A description of Abun:

a West Papuan language of Irian Jaya

Berry, K. and Berry, C. *A Description of Abun: A West Papuan Language of Irian Jaya*.
B-115, xii + 236 pages. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1999. DOI:*10.15144/PL-B115.cover*

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Pacific Linguistics is a publisher specialising in linguistic descriptions, dictionaries, atlases and other material on languages of the Pacific, the Philippines, Indonesia and Southeast Asia. The authors and editors of Pacific Linguistics publications are drawn from a wide range of institutions around the world.

Pacific Linguistics is associated with the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at The Australian National University. Pacific Linguistics was established in 1963 through an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund. It is a non-profit-making body financed largely from the sales of its books to libraries and individuals throughout the world, with some assistance from the School.

The Editorial Board of Pacific Linguistics is made up of the academic staff of the School's Department of Linguistics. The Board also appoints a body of editorial advisors drawn from the international community of linguists. Publications in Series A, B and C and textbooks in Series D are refereed by scholars with relevant expertise who are normally not members of the editorial board.

To date Pacific Linguistics has published over 400 volumes in four series:

Series A: **Occasional Papers**; collections of shorter papers, usually on a single topic or area.

Series B: **Monographs** of intermediate length.

Series C: **Books**; publications of greater length, especially reference books such as dictionaries and grammars, and conference proceedings.

Series D: **Special Publications**; including archival materials, pedagogical works, maps, audiovisual productions, and materials that do not fit into the other series.

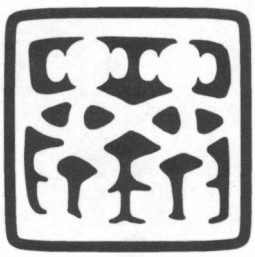
Pacific Linguistics would like to assure prospective Australian authors and readers that it qualifies as a commercial publisher for The Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA) purposes in measuring research output.

Series B, Volume 115

A DESCRIPTION OF ABUN:

a West Papuan language of Irian Jaya

Keith Berry
Christine Berry



Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra

Published by Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
PO Box 1428
Canberra ACT 2601
Australia

First published 1999

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 85883 482 0

1. Abun language. I Berry, Christine. II. Australian National University.
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. Pacific Linguistics.
III. Title. (Series: Pacific linguistics. Series B-115)

499

Copyedited/Typeset by Margaret Forster
Printed by ANU Printing Service, Canberra
Bound by F & M Perfect Bookbinding, Canberra

The *Pacific Linguistics* logo was designed by Ian Scales after one small panel of a *poro batuna* from Vella Lavella, held in the Australian Museum (A8517). This is an artefact made from a plaque of fossilised giant clam shell (*Tridacna* sp.), carved into an elaborate fretwork design. These particular artefacts were made in the western Solomon Islands, probably between 100 and 200 years ago.

The basic cover design is also by Ian Scales. The motif was drawn by Malcolm Ross after the stylised representation of a design on Lapita pottery found by Roger Green in the Reefs–Santa Cruz Islands (source: Matthew Spriggs, 1990 ed. *Lapita design, form and composition.* Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

This work represents the combination of two theses written in fulfilment of the degree of Master of Arts by each of the two authors. The examiners of each thesis raised several points, which has led to this revised version. Two examiners made comments regarding the constituent analysis of complement clauses. The implications of these comments have been considered in both alterations to the original text and throughout various footnotes. One examiner noted that in the original thesis no mention was made of Foley and VanValin's work. This has now been included in such a way as to point out that a traditional subordination/coordination distinction cannot be maintained in Abun grammar. Several points raised by the examiners covering a wide range of areas, and of a minor nature have been addressed in the body of this work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to acknowledge the help and support of Dr Barry Blake and Dr Graham Scott, both of LaTrobe University, Melbourne, Australia.

We are also immeasurably indebted to the Abun people who have become our close friends over the years as we have learned their language. In particular, we would like to thank Isak Yekese and his wife, Yemina Yesawen, who have made significant contributions to our understanding of Abun.

ABBREVIATIONS

ALT	alternative
ANA	anaphoric referent
AQM	alternative question marker
ASS	assertive modal marker
BEN	benefactive preposition
CAM	completive aspect marker
CAUS	causative
CERT	certainty
CL	classifier
COM	complement marker
CONJ	conjunction
CQM	confirmative question marker
DEIC	deitic marker
DEM	demonstrative marker
DET	determiner
DET.I	indefinite determiner
DIR	directional marker
EXT	external referent
FOC	focus marker
FQM	final question marker
FRUS	frustrated action marker
FUT	future
FVV	foreign verb verbaliser
HORT(M)	mild hortative
HORT(S)	strong hortative
IMP	imperative
INCAM	incompletive aspect marker
INDEF	indefinite article
INT	intensifier
INTER	interrogative
IO	indirect object preposition
IQM	initial question marker
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative preposition
NEG	negative particle
NMP	noun modifying particle
NOM	nominaliser
PCL	particle
PERF	perfect aspect marker
PERL	perlative preposition
PERS	personaliser
PL	plural
PMM	possibility modal marker
POSS	possessive marker
PRED	predicate marker
PROB	probability modal marker
QM	question marker
REAL	realis
RECIP	reciprocal particle
REFL	reflexive particle
REL	relative conjunction
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneity clitic
SPEC	specifier
SUBJ	subjective mood marker
TOP	topic
TRS	transitiviser
VBPCL	verbal particle
YNQM	yes/no question marker

Berry, K. and Berry, C. *A Description of Abun: A West Papuan Language of Irian Jaya*.
B-115, xii + 236 pages. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1999. DOI:*10.15144/PL-B115.cover*

CHAPTER 1

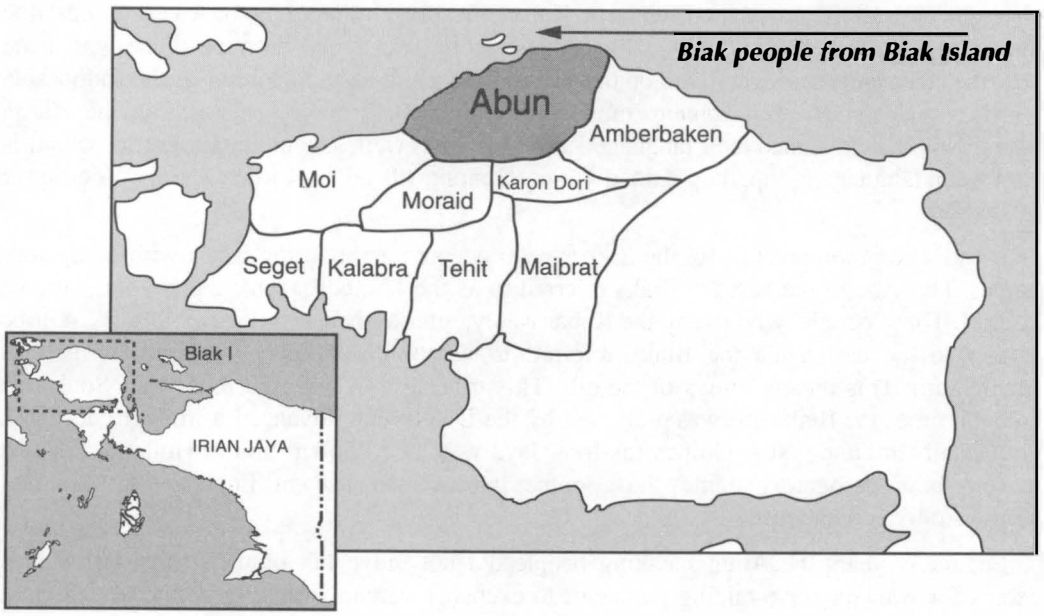
INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE LOCATION OF THE ABUN LANGUAGE

The Abun language is spoken in Irian Jaya, Indonesia, in the northern area of the Bird's Head Peninsula. The language is spoken in the subdistricts of Sausapor and Mega. It is bordered by several other languages: to the east, Amberbaken (also known as Mpur or Kebar); to the south, Karon Dori (also known as Mare, a dialect of Mai Brat) and Moraid; and to the west, Moi (as seen on Map 1.1 below).

There are approximately three thousand speakers who live in eighteen villages, ten on the coast and eight in the interior, as well as in isolated hamlets.

There are four identifiable dialects all of which are mutually intelligible, although intelligibility decreases when greater geographic distance is involved. The names given to the dialects are those used by the speakers themselves and concern the different terms for the first person singular pronoun. Further details follow in §1.7.



MAP 1.1: ABUN AND SURROUNDING LANGUAGES

Bird's Head Peninsula

Berry, K. and Berry, C. *A Description of Abun: A West Papuan Language of Irian Jaya*.
B-115, xii + 236 pages. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1999. DOI:*10.15144/PL-B115.1*

1.2 THE NAME OF THE ABUN LANGUAGE

Abun is the name given to the language by the people themselves; *a* means 'language', and *bun* means 'bush, jungle'. They call themselves the Yenden people, *ye-* 'person' and *nden* 'interior, land'. Sometimes they refer to the name of their language as Anden, but more commonly Abun. Rarely do they call themselves the Yembun people; rather they say that they, the Yenden people, speak the Abun language.

The Abun language has been known by various names including Karon Pantai, Madik and Yimbun. The name Karon Pantai, as it is listed in Voorhoeve (1975a:48), is the name given to the Abun-speaking people by the Biak people. The Moi people to the west call them Madik, the meaning of which is uncertain. Voorhoeve (1975a:48) listed the name Madik as a separate language for what has since been analysed as the Abun Ji dialect (Berry & Berry 1987). The Amberbaken to the east call them the Yimbun, or Yembun, a name which they obviously acquired from the Yenden themselves. This name is commonly used at the western end of the language group.

The Biak name of Karon Pantai relates to the first contact between the two groups. The Biak people arrived from the island of Biak around the turn of the twentieth century and settled along the north coast of the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, as in map 1.1 above. Their initial contact with the Abun-speaking people was rather unusual. Some of the Biaks landed on the mainland and found several Abun-speaking people who had feigned death and smeared maggots over their bodies. The Abun-speaking people did this in the hope that the Biaks would just ignore them and leave. But the Biaks soon discovered that they were still alive. As a result they used the Biak term, Karon, meaning 'rotten/maggot -eaten' to describe the Abun-speaking people. Later a further distinction was made between those who lived near the coast and those who lived on the Tamrau ranges; thus the addition of the Indonesian words *pantai* 'coast' and *gunung* 'mountain'. So the Biak people called them the Karon Pantai people, and named their language Karon Pantai as well. The mountain group, which is a different language group, they named Karon Gunung (listed as Karon Dori by Voorhoeve 1975a:48).

It was a common practice for the Biak tribe to denote neighbouring tribes with derogatory names. The tribe to the east the Biaks referred to as the 'Amberbaken', literally the 'strange bodies'. These people, who live in the Kebar valley, refer to their language as 'Mpur'. A tribe further to the east again the Biaks referred to as the 'Manikion' (sometimes spelt as Manichion). This means 'dregs of the oil'. This tribe is now referred to as the 'Soub'. In colonial times the Biak tribe was promoted by the Dutch who advanced it in their education, both locally in Dutch New Guinea (as Irian Jaya was then known) and in Holland. For this reason these derogatory names have come into written use in linguistic articles and administrative documents.

For many years the Abun-speaking people did not move out of their tribal homelands except for war, on slave-raiding parties or to exchange certain goods, in particular the cloth referred to throughout the entire Bird's Head region as *kain timur* 'eastern cloth'. Even today the majority of Abun speakers have not left their tribal area and have not ventured out to the Indonesian towns. Prior to the incorporation of Irian Jaya into Indonesia in 1963, there were only two documented visits by non-Irianese to the interior of the Abun-speaking area—that of Reverend Kamma and another by an Ambonese man in an official capacity. This lack of 'outside contact' was most likely due to the fact that the Abun still practised cannibalism.

Therefore in the closest major town, Sorong, the Biak name 'Karon' or 'Karon Pantai' is still used to refer to this people. Because it is the only name understood by outsiders (those who are not Abun speakers), Abun-speaking people will often refer to themselves as 'Karon' when talking to outsiders. Even so, Abun-speaking people do not like the name Karon because of its negative connotations. And since the name, Abun, has now been introduced into the literature by Silzer and Heikkinen-Clouse (1991) and Grimes (1992), this work will use Abun as the name for the language spoken by the Yenden people.

1.3 Previous studies

Abun has received only cursory mention by various authors such as Wurm (1982:206) and Voorhoeve (1975b:720). Also Voorhoeve (1975a) has word lists for Abun (Karon) and Abun Ji /l/ dialect (Madik). Berry and Berry (1987) include a report on Abun as one of several languages surveyed in the west Bird's Head peninsula.

This work, therefore, is the first extensive description of Abun grammar.

1.4 Scope of research

This description is an attempt to provide a comprehensive view of the structure of Abun. It deals with the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language, including not only simple clauses but also complex sentences, with attention drawn at many points to established linguistic universals.

The present description of basic Abun grammar is based upon data collected during fieldwork in the Abun area, under the auspices of the cooperative project between Cenderawasih University of Irian Jaya and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, between October 1986 and December 1992. The bulk of the data was collected in the villages of Werur Besar and Sausapor.

The data used consists of over 35,000 words of transcribed oral texts and 10,000 words of written Abun text which include traditional stories, narratives, dialogues, speeches and procedural descriptions.

1.5 The general linguistic situation

1.5.1 Classification of the Abun language

The Abun language is classified as a Papuan language by Wurm (1982:206). It belongs to the small West Papuan Phylum. It is part of the Bird's Head Superstock, the Central Bird's Head Stock, and more specifically the North Bird's Head Family, of which Abun and Madik are listed as members. While Wurm listed Abun and Madik as separate languages, Berry and Berry (1987) have presented further information regarding lexical similarities and structural similarities which indicate that Abun and Madik are dialects of the same language. Therefore, Abun is a family-level isolate in the Central Bird's Head Stock.

1.5.2 PAPUAN VERSUS AUSTRONESIAN FEATURES OF THE ABUN LANGUAGE

Wurm's classification of Abun as a Papuan language seems to be based mainly on its lexical inventory, with special reference to its set of personal pronouns. There are a considerable number of Austronesian loan words in the West Papuan (WP) Phylum languages, and when only non-Austronesian lexical items are compared, the lexical interrelationship between the WPP languages is much closer. WPP languages in the Bird's Head contain a small Trans New Guinea (TNG) Phylum lexical element, some of which may be due to borrowing from the South Bird's Head Stock (which is part of the TNG Phylum), or may be traces of an old TNG Phylum substratum (Wurm 1982:204). The personal pronouns are clearly Papuan, belonging to Wurm's set III (Wurm 1982:40). Abun personal pronouns do not distinguish between first person plural inclusive and exclusive, whereas this is universal for Austronesian languages. Neither are there bound subject markers on the verb, which is a feature of Austronesian languages. Thus Abun's pronouns are more akin to Papuan languages than to Austronesian languages.

Other Papuan (or perhaps non-Austronesian) features include: no bound subject markers on the verb, phonologically relevant tone and an irrealis-realis (or non-past/past) distinction which is marked only on complex sentences. Perhaps the most striking Papuan features of Abun syntax are found at the level of the complex sentence. In some Abun complex sentences there is no clear syntactic marking to distinguish those clauses which could be considered subordinate from those which might be termed coordinate. This lack of subordinate/coordinate distinction is found in Papuan clause-chaining languages. Likewise, in Papuan clause-chaining languages the semantic notions of temporal sequence and simultaneity are strongly marked (Longacre 1985:264). These notions also feature strongly in Abun complex sentences.

However, Abun has a number of Austronesian features. Most notable is the rigid word order of SVO as distinct from the Papuan SOV word order (Wurm 1982:64). Other significant Austronesian features include: a very simple derivational morphology; uncomplicated and very little inflectional affixation; the common use of particles where verb affixation would be used in Papuan languages; the use of prepositions instead of postpositions or case marking; no special sentence-medial verbs; a decimal numbering system unlike the normal Papuan binary, trinary or quinary systems (Wurm 1982:64); the existence of reduplicated adverbs; simple morphophonemic changes and the common use of labialised consonants.

Despite these features which could make it appear that grammatically Abun has more in common with Austronesian languages, Abun has some unique features which distinguish it from both Papuan and Austronesian languages. The use of particles in Abun is so extensive that it is far greater than in Austronesian languages such as Indonesian. Particles are the main means of grammatical communication, with affixation playing an extremely minor role. Due to the lack of affixation in Abun syntax, other grammatical strategies have been developed. In particular, the use of bracketing (whereby two particles act as boundary markers for a particular grammatical constituent) serves to identify some important grammatical features, namely negation, interrogatives and relative clauses. Therefore, Abun does not neatly fit into either of the neighbouring language classifications, that is Austronesian or Papuan, but shares features of both.

1.5.3 THE INFLUENCE OF SURROUNDING LANGUAGES ON ABUN

The influence of surrounding languages on Abun has been significant. It is particularly easy to see the influence of Biak and Indonesian, as will be demonstrated below, but less so the influence of the three neighbouring languages of Moi, Mpur and Mai Brat (Mare). This is no doubt because the contact with Biak and Indonesian has been closer and more continuous.

There are two tribal groups which have migrated to the region where Abun is spoken, the As and the Biak people. The As language group, who migrated from Gag island before the turn of the century, came to live in the subdistrict of Mega where the Abun Ji dialect is spoken. The Biak people, who fled from the island of Biak, came into the Sausapor area in the early 1900s and have had a significant influence on the language of the Abun people. The Biak people brought the Christian message to the Abun people and in doing so used many of their own words and phrases. Words such as *rur* 'spirit', *nadi* 'pray', *som* 'worship' were introduced from the Biak language. The word for 'God', *Yefun,* has come from the Biak *fun* 'respected person' combined with the Abun personaliser prefix *ye-* 'person'. Also many words for fish and terms related to the sea and seaside have been assimilated from the Biak language.

The Abun-speaking people have had contact not only with the Biak people. Trade in *kain timur* '(antique) eastern cloth' with neighbouring language groups has had an influence on Abun. *Kain timur* is one of the Abun-speaking people's main tokens of wealth and is used for paying bride price as well as fines. It originates from East Timor.

Most villagers stay close to their own village and do not travel far. Even so, the Indonesian language has found its way to some extent even to the remotest Abun village. Many Indonesian words also accompanied the introduction of Christianity and government systems, and have become part of Abun vocabulary. Indonesian words such as *selamat* 'save', *ampuni* 'forgive', *perintah* 'command, rule', *desa* 'village' and *berkat* 'bless' have been introduced, although Abun speakers seldom understand the meaning of some of these Indonesian terms.

Several Indonesian and Biak verbs have been included in common use in Abun even though in many cases there is an Abun lexical item for the same idea. A *bi-* prefix, probably borrowed from the Biak language, is attached to verbs that are introduced from other languages. All borrowed verbs are verbalised with what could be named, the foreign verb verbaliser (FVV) prefix. Example 1.1 shows the borrowing of the Indonesian word *mengerti* 'understand'; example 1.2 uses the Biak word *win* 'sail'.

1.1 *Isak* ***bi-mengerti*** *suk gato nan ki ne.*
Isak FVV-understand thing which 2SG say DET
Isak understands what you are saying.

1.2 *Men* ***bi-win*** *mu mo ef.*
1PL FVV-sail go LOC island
Let's sail to the island.

Abun-speaking people have borrowed words to handle new concepts such as sailing. In example 1.2 the word is borrowed from Biak. The Abun people traditionally lived on and around the Tambrau ranges and so did not have cause to sail anywhere. Other verbs that have been introduced from Indonesian are *tutup* 'close', *buka* 'open' for closing and opening

doors. Doors are also a new thing for the Abun. In the past they just had a *nu-syo* 'house opening; doorway' (lit. house-mouth) with no door as such.

Often the words borrowed by the Abun speaker do not retain the original pronunciation. Abun does not have a separate velar nasal phoneme. The velar nasal occurs only medially preceding a voiced velar plosive. So when words are borrowed such as *bunga* 'flower', the *ng* (which represents a velar nasal) is pronounced as a prenasalised plosive by Abun speakers. When a velar nasal is word-final in borrowed words such as *kosong* 'nil, empty, zero', it is pronounced as an alveolar nasal, (*koson*).

Words borrowed from other languages are also changed in pronunciation, not just according to Abun phonology, but also because the first ones who heard the words that were borrowed did not recall and repeat the words accurately. For example, the Biak word *farkor* 'study' was somehow changed to *faskor* by the speakers of Abun Ji dialect whereas Abun Ye dialect speakers do not make any change.

Indonesian conjunctions have also found their way into the Abun language. The main conjunctions adopted from Indonesian are *kalau* 'if, when', *sebelum* 'before', *baru* 'then (in colloquial use)', *jadi* 'so, therefore'. Indonesian conjunctions are frequently used in addition to Abun conjunctions because the placement of Abun conjunctions in the sentence often differs from the Indonesian placement. In Indonesian the word *sebelum* 'before' is sentence-initial, whereas in Abun the expression *nde tó* 'before' occurs at the end of the first clause as in example 1.3 below.

1.3 *Men* ***yo*** *mu* ***nde*** ***tó,*** *men git su-git.*
1PL NEG go NEG INCAM 1PL eat NOM-eat
Before we go let's eat.

The Abun speaker who borrows the Indonesian *sebelum* 'before', also keeps his own language's expression for the same idea. So the use of the more redundant form as in example 1.4 is common.

1.4 ***Sebelum*** *men* ***yo*** *mu* ***nde*** ***tó,*** *men git su-git.*
before 1PL NEG go NEG INCAM 1PL eat NOM-eat
Before we go let's eat.

This is not just limited to conjunctions but also to other items such as the Indonesian prohibition *jangan* 'do not'. In Abun, negation requires that *yo* and *nde* bracket the predicate as in example 1.3. In the prohibitive form the *yo* is omitted. Example 1.5a is the traditional way of saying 'Don't cry!', but Abun speakers who have been influenced by Indonesian add *jangan*, as in 1.5b. However, example 1.5c is unacceptable.

1.5 a. *Nan wo* ***nde.***
2SG cry NEG
Don't cry!

b. ***Jangan*** *nan wo* ***nde.***
do.not 2SG cry NEG
Don't cry!

c. ****Jangan*** *nan wo.*
do.not 2SG cry
Don't cry!

Abun speakers have borrowed some Indonesian words to make meanings more specific. The Abun word *jam* has the meaning of both 'to know' and 'to understand', as in examples 1.6 and 1.7. They have equated *jam* with the Indonesian word *tahu* 'to know', but have borrowed the Indonesian *mengerti* 'to understand' in many cases to differentiate the two concepts, as in example 1.7b.

1.6 *Ji jam an gum.*
1SG know 3SG name
I know his name.

1.7 a. *Ji* ***jam*** *nan bi suk-du.*
1SG understand 2SG POSS NOM-speak
I understand what you are saying.

b. *Ji* ***bi-mengerti*** *nan bi suk-du.*
1SG FVV-understand 2SG POSS NOM-speak
I understand what you are saying.

Some borrowed words undergo a shift in meaning from the original meaning in the source language. For example, even though the Abun have a way to express intensification, they have borrowed an Indonesian word, *jadi* 'to happen, become' and mixed this with *nde* 'not' to make *jadi nde* 'INTENSIFIER'. They actually have many ways of expressing intensification (see §5.5), but they have borrowed this, even though the actual use of the Indonesian is not standard. The meaning of *jadi nde* according to its components is 'did not happen'. But the meaning given to it is 'happened very much', as in example 1.8.

1.8 *An wo* ***jadi*** ***nde.***
3SG cry happen NEG
He cried very much.

1.6 ABUN AND OTHER WEST PAPUAN PHYLUM LANGUAGES

The closest language lexically to the Abun language is Mai Brat (and in particular, the Karon Dori dialect), which is also part of the Central Bird's Head Stock, but is in a different family, the Central Bird's Head Family. Even then the lexical relationship is rather low: somewhere in the order of 10–15% are cognate depending upon the dialects compared. Berry and Berry (1987:30) show figures of 6–8% cognate for a dialect of Mai Brat and each of the three main Abun dialects. This is based on a word list of 200 words. However, when the Swadesh 100 list is used the percentages tend to be about 5% higher as illustrated in Berry and Berry (1987:56).

The other West Papuan Phylum languages show a lexical similarity of 3–6% (Berry & Berry 1987:30), or about 8–11% based on the 100-word Swadesh list. According to the critical percentages used for classification of languages based on lexicostatistical comparison in Voorhoeve (1975a:16), these other languages would be considered as part of a different stock to Abun. A figure of 12–27% of shared cognates would result in the classification of the languages as belonging to the same stock, but different families. So Abun and Mai Brat belong to one stock, but they are in different families, on the basis of lexical similarity. The other languages in the West Papuan Phylum in the Bird's Head belong to other stocks.

Phonologically, Abun and other WPP languages are very similar in terms of the number and types of phonemes and syllable structure. However, there are several differences between Abun and the closest related language, Mai Brat. Specifically, there is one additional consonant phoneme in Mai Brat /h/, and a much wider variety of consonant clusters, including /sr/, /hr/, /rkn/, /mk/, /msy/, /mf/, which do not occur in Abun. Also in Abun, tone is significant, but not in Mai Brat. To the east, Mpur also has several contrastive tones.

Syntactically all WPP languages are similar. All have SVO sentence structure. Even so, there are differences between Abun and Mai Brat as revealed in Brown (1990:43-61). Brown's paper on nominal phrases alone reveals that Mai Brat has an obligatory subject person agreement prefix on verbs. According to Wurm (1982:208), "An important structural and typological feature of the West Papuan Phylum languages is the indication of both subject and object of the verbs by prefixes, with a masculine-feminine gender distinction in the 3sg". This may be true of most other members of WPP, but for Abun there are no such prefixes on verbs nor is there a masculine-feminine distinction. Abun stands in stark contrast to other WPP languages at this point.

An examination of Brown's examples also reveals that in Mai Brat possessive phrases, where kinship relationships are involved, the possessor and the possessum are juxtaposed. However in Abun, a linker, *bi* is used. Thus there are some significant differences between Abun and the closest related WPP language, Mai Brat, but most of the basic syntax is similar. For a more detailed comparison of Abun with other WPP languages in terms of phonology and syntax see Berry and Berry (1987:30-35).

TABLE 1.1: ABUN DIALECTS

Dialect	Location	Number of Speakers[1]
Abun Tat	north-eastern region	600
Abun Ye	middle coastal region	400
Abun Ji /r/	coastal and interior region north of the Som river	1,200
Abun Ji /l/	region south of the Som river	800

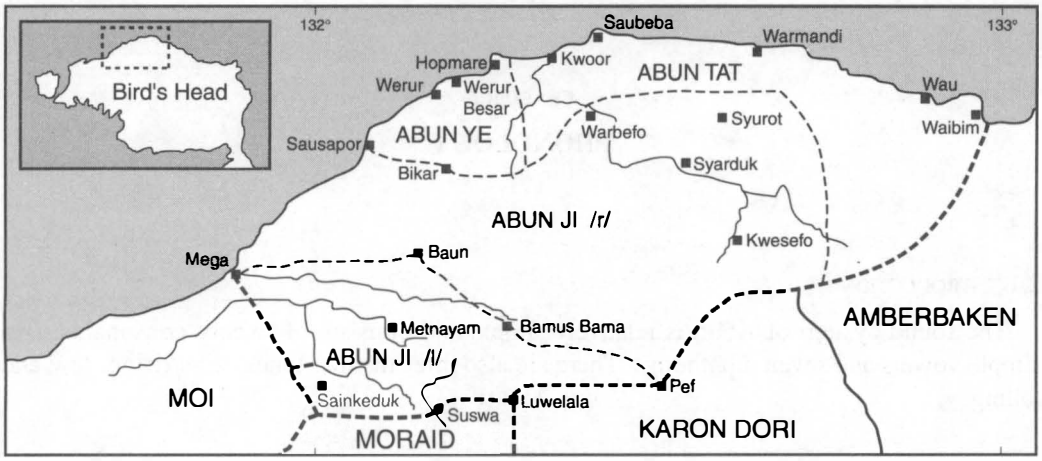
1.7 ABUN DIALECTS

There are four distinct dialects of Abun. Each one is known by the word used for the first person singular pronoun in the dialect. The table above lists each dialect together with the location and estimated number of speakers. Below in Map 1.2 each dialect location can be seen.

The two Abun Ji dialects are primarily distinguished by the use of either /r/ or /l/ in their respective phonemic systems.

---

[1] These figures are from the surveys published in Berry and Berry (1987:59).



MAP 1.2: VILLAGES AND DIALECTS OF ABUN

Each dialect is mutually intelligible, but the greater the distance from each other the greater is the likelihood of lower intelligibility because the dialects are in a chain from Abun Ji /l/ to Abun Ji /r/ to Abun Ye to Abun Tat. Thus speakers of Abun Tat from Waibim find it difficult to understand everything that speakers of Abun Ji /l/ from Mega say. Berry and Berry (1987:47) list the lexical similarity of Abun Tat (Wau) with Abun Ye (Sausapor) as 86%, Abun Tat (Wau) with Abun Ji /l/ (Mega) as 82%, but Abun Tat (Wau) with Abun Ji /l/ (Metnayam) as 74%. The further away from each other, the lower is the lexical similarity. Abun Ye speakers, being most central, are in the best position to understand all the other dialects. The majority of text analysed and discussed in this work is from Abun Ye and Abun Ji /r/ dialects.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The sound system of Abun is relatively simple and consists of twenty consonants, five simple vowels and seven diphthongs. There are also three distinct tones, high/rising, low and falling.

2.2 CONSONANTS

The consonant phonemes of Abun are displayed in Table 2.1 below.

TABLE 2.1: CONSONANTS

	Labial	**Alveolar**	**Palatal**	**Velar**
plosives voiceless	*p*	*t*		*k*
plosives voiced	*b*	*d*	*j**	*g*
plosives prenasalised	*mb*	*nd*	*nj**	*ng**
fricative	*f*	*s*	*š**	
nasal	*m*	*n*	*ñ**	
glides	*w*	*r*	*y**	

The IPA values/symbols for the asterisked items above are
j = *dʒ*, *nj* = *ndʒ*, *š* = *ʃ*, *y* = *j*, *ñ* = *ɲ*, *ng* = *ŋg*

2.2.1 PLOSIVES

Plosives are differentiated by voicing and prenasalisation at four different points of articulation. Plosives are distinguished from the other consonants in that they are [-continuant, -sonorant]. Phonetically the palatal plosives are affricates. Plosives are differentiated by the features listed in Table 2.2 below.

TABLE 2.2: PLOSIVES

	p	*t*	*k*	*b*	*d*	*j*	*g*	*mb*	*nd*	*nj*	*ng*
voicing	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
anterior	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
coronal	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-

There is a gap in the consonant phoneme chart because a voiceless palatal (/tš/) does not occur as a separate phoneme. A voiceless palatal affricate [tš] occurs in the Abun Ji dialect on occasion in free variation with the palatal fricative [š] as in example 2.1. At this time there are no contrasts but only free variation between these two. In the future the voiceless palatal affricate [tš] may be added to the inventory of Abun phonemes due to the influence of Indonesian, where both the palatal fricative and this palatal affricate contrast.

2.1	/še/	[še ~tše]	big
	/šeša/	[šeša ~ tšetša]	go out

Futherrnore, in the Abun Tat dialect to the east there is no separate /j/. In that dialect [j] is in free variation with [y] as in example 2.2.

2.2	/jam/	[jam ~ yam]	understand
	/sukjimnot/	[sukjimnot ~ sukyimnot]	love

Neither does the /nj/ phoneme occur in the Abun Tat dialect. Rather it is an allophone of /ñ/ as in example 2.3.

2.3	/nje/	[nǰe ~ ñe]	people
	/suknjep/	[sʊknǰɛp ~ sʊñɛp]	gentle

Affricates are widely attested in the world's languages according to Ruhlen (1976:141). He found that 70% of languages he studied had affricates. However, in the Indo-Pacific area only 28% of languages studied had affricates. Abun did not have affricates [tš], [j] and [nj] in the past, but in recent years, with the influence of the national language, Indonesian, these are becoming distinct phonemes. To date, only [j] and [nj] have achieved this.

Prenasalised plosives are analysed as units. They could have been analysed as consonant clusters to make the phonemic inventory simpler, but this reason does not have a place in linguistic analysis and description according to Herbert (1986:76). An attempt has been made to discover "what is, in some sense, psychologically 'real' for the native speaker", as Herbert puts it. There are several reasons that could be advanced to support the unit interpretation including: timing considerations, irreversibility of the components and sonority hierachy considerations; but the most significant is syllable structure considerations, in particular an analysis of word-initial consonant clusters. The only non-suspect word-initial consonant clusters are /pr/, /br/, /fr/, /kr/ and /gr/. No non-suspect examples of CCC clusters occur word-initially. Therefore, in examples such as *mbre* 'antique cloth', /mb/ must be interpreted as a unit because no non-suspect CCC pattern exists. This is in accordance with Pike (1947:60) in his fourth premiss, which says that "Characteristic sequences of sounds exert structural pressure on the phonemic interpretation of suspicious segments or suspicious

sequences of segments". Thus /mb/ and the other prenasalised plosives have been interpreted as complex units. Having said that, it is possible to interpret the prenasalised plosives as two distinct phonemes depending upon one's concept of phoneme. That would result in a smaller inventory of consonants. However, to include them in the list gives, in our opinion, a much better description of the language by making this clear.

The feature of prenasalised plosives is found chiefly in Indo-Pacific languages and the Nilo-Saharan languages according to Ruhlen (1976:140). Of the 693 languages Ruhlen (1976) studied, 10% have this feature, whereas in these two areas 36% of the languages studied had prenasalised plosives. Of the eight ways that prenasalisation may interact with voicing, the most common systems are 'p ᵐb' and 'p b ᵐb', accounting for 31 and 30 of the languages respectively. The full system of 'p ᵐp b ᵐb' was found only in five languages and 'p ᵐp b' in two. Other possible systems such as 'ᵐp b', 'ᵐp ᵐb', 'p ᵐp ᵐb' and 'ᵐp b ᵐb' were neither found nor expected. Abun fits the 'p b ᵐb' system.

All plosives occur word-initially and word-medially, but not all occur word-finally. Contrasts between voiced and the voiceless plosives are neutralised word-finally, that is, voiceless plosives occur word-finally, but voiced and prenasalised plosives do not.

Examples of plosives :

2.4			
	[pɛt]	/pet/	to split
	[gap]	/gap/	mouse
	[napawá]	/napawá/	remember
	[bʊt]	/but/	to arrest
	[tɛkto]	/tekto/	for
	[gɪt]	/git/	to eat
	[dɪk]	/dík/	one
	[kidar]	/kidar/	to lie
	[sʊkrɔt]	/sukrot/	song (type)
	[kwɪk]	/kwik/	rotten
	[gam]	/gam/	river mouth
	[bogé]	/bogé/	fish
	[mban]	/mban/	to hit
	[sʊkmbrau]	/sukmbraw/	decoration
	[nde]	/nde/	not
	[sʊkndo]	/sukndo/	good thing
	[njak]	/njak/	prickle
	[sʊknjɛp]	/suknjep/	smooth
	[ŋgwɛ]	/ngwe/	garden
	[maŋgores]	/mangores/	spinach

2.2.2 Fricatives

There are three voiceless fricatives in the Abun language and no voiced ones. Fricatives are distinguished from the other consonants in that they are [+continuant, -sonorant]. All fricatives occur word-initial, medial and final with the exception of /š/ which neutralises to /s/ syllable-finally. They are differentiated as follows:

TABLE 2.3: FRICATIVES

	f	*s*	*š*
anterior	+	+	-
coronal	-	+	+

Examples of fricatives:

2.5	[frɛm]	/frem/	landslide
	[mɔfɯt]	/mofit/	seven
	[kaf]	/kaf/	crab
	[sɛs]	/ses/	full
	[mɪsé]	/misé/	evil
	[šɛšar]	/šešar/	to go out

2.2.3 NASALS

Nasals are distinguished from other consonants in that they are [-continuant, +sonorant]. All nasals occur word-initial, medial and final with the exception of /ñ/, which neutralises to /n/ word-finally. The three nasals are differentiated by the same features as fricatives, as seen in Table 2.4 below:

TABLE 2.4: NASALS

	m	*n*	*ñ*
anterior	+	+	-
coronal	-	+	+

Examples of nasals:

2.6	[mɛn]	/men/	we
	[tam]	/tam/	to story
	[nak]	/nak/	below
	[jɪmnɔt]	/jimnot/	love
	[san]	/san/	cloth
	[ñak]	/ñak/	diarrhea

2.2.4 GLIDES

There are three glides in Abun, /w r y/. Glides are distinguished from other consonants because they are [+continuant, +sonorant], and from the vowels because they are [-syllabic]. The /w/ has been listed at the labial point of articulation because it functions more like the labial stops morphophonemically. For example, when the prefix *suk-* is added to a stem beginning with the velar stops, the /k/ is elided. However, when *suk-* is added to a stem beginning with labials /b p w/, the /k/ is not elided. The /r/ is actually a trill, but in fast speech

often becomes flap. The glides are differentiated by the same features as for fricatives and nasals, as listed in Table 2.5 below:

TABLE 2.5: GLIDES

	w	*r*	*y*
anterior	+	+	-
coronal	-	+	+

Glides occur word-initial, medial and final as in the examples below. There are no final consonant clusters.

2.7	[ré]	/ré/	this
	[frɔ]	/fro/	to prepare
	[paré]	/pare/	slowly
	[šʊr]	/šur/	water
	[wí]	/wí/	scorpion
	[duwé]	/duwé/	to say
	[yɛ]	/ye/	difficult
	[sʊkya]	/sukya/	wok
	[na^{u}]	/naw/	palm wine
	[ka^{i}i]	/kayi/	only
	[be^{i}]	/bey/	sago

2.2.5 SUMMARY OF CONSONANT FEATURES

Table 2.6 lists distinctive feature values for all of the consonants.

TABLE 2.6: CONSONANT DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

	p	*t*	*k*	*b*	*d*	*j*	*g*	*mb*	*nd*	*nj*	*ng*	*f*	*s*	*š*	*m*	*n*	*ñ*	*w*	*r*	*y*
continuant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
sonorant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
voicing	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
anterior	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
coronal	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+

2.3 VOWELS

The five Abun vowels are distinguished from the consonants because they are [+syllabic], and by inference [+continuant, +sonorant]. They form a typical five-vowel system as displayed in Table 2.7.

TABLE 2.7: VOWELS

	Front	**Back**
High	*i*	*u*
Mid	*e*	*o*
Low		*a*

The following table shows the distinctive features of these five vowels:

TABLE 2.8: VOWELS DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

	i	*e*	*a*	*u*	*o*
high	+	-	-	+	-
low	-	-	+	-	-
back	-	-	+	+	+

Abun vowels tend to be more tense when in open syllables or when tone is high. For the high vowels, /i/ and /u/, tensing is particularly noticeable in open syllables as seen in example 2.8. For the mid vowels, /e/ and /o/, tensing is more noticeable when tone is high, as in example 2.9. Abun's one low vowel, /a/, has no perceptible allophonic variations.

2.8	[i.bɪt]	/ibit/	bad
	[ti]	/ti/	stand
	[ɪs]	/is/	to go down
	[kʊk]	/kuk/	to swallow
	[ʊt]	/ut/	to stick
	[du]	/du/	to say
2.9	[bók]	/bók/	salt
	[bɔk]	/bok/	to put inside
	[ót]	/ót/	sharp
	[ɔt]	/ot/	number
	[ndó]	/ndó/	bitter
	[ndɔ]	/ndo/	good
	[sém]	/sém/	to sleep
	[sɛm]	/sem/	salt water
	[bé]	/bé/	kangaroo
	[bɛ]	/be/	later

There are also seven complex syllable peaks (diphthongs) in Abun—[ai], [au], [ei], [eu], [oi], [ou] and [ui]. These could be interpreted as single units consisting of movement from lower to higher (ai, au, ei, eu, oi and ou) or back to front (ui). However, they have been interpreted as VC clusters on the basis that they never occur before a consonant within a syllable. Indeed, a unit interpretation is also viable based on non-suspect syllable patterns, but the absence of a CVC syllable, where the V is a diphthong, is significant. Thus for this

reason diphthongs, which are not very common in Abun, have been interpreted as sequences of VC clusters.

Example of diphthongs:

2.10	[na^{u}]	/naw/	palm wine
	[we^{u}]	/wew/	banana
	[ko^{i}]	/koy/	short
	[a^{i}.na]	/ay.na/	moon
	[Aba^{i}dim]	/Abaydim/	Abaydim (name)

2.4 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Although some linguists doubt the reality of the syllable as a phonologically definable linguistic unit (Herbert 1986:67), it is a useful aid in description. In Abun, syllable structure may be given simply as (C)(C)V(C). This assumes the definition of a syllable as a sequence of sounds containing one peak of prominence. The peak is represented by a vowel.

The most common syllable is CV. Any consonant can occur in the syllable onset of this type of syllable. Also any of the five vowels can occur as the peak. The only restriction is that *wu* is unacceptable. All consonants may be absent, resulting in simple V syllables. Examples of these two syllable types are listed in example 2.11 below:

2.11	V	/i/	sick
	CV	/šú/	long
	V.CV	/a.na/	that one
	CV.CV	/mo.re/	here
	V.CV.CV	/o.nde.wo/	however
	CV.CV.CV	/su.be.re/	so that

The next most common syllable type is CVC. The onset can be any consonant and the peak is any one of the five vowels. The coda is limited to the phonemes /p t k f s m n w r y/, that is voiceless obstruents, nasals and glides. The obstruent /š/ and the nasal /ñ/ are neutralised to /s/ and /n/ respectively in the coda position. The initial consonant may be absent, resulting in VC syllables. Examples of these syllable types are listed in example 2.12 below:

2.12	CVC	/kam/	sun
	VC	/ón/	stomach
	VC.CV	/ay.na/	moon
	V.CVC	/i.bit/	bad
	CVC.V	/way.i/	also
	VC.CV	/or.ge/	and then
	CV.CVC	/su.gum/	money
	V.CVC.CV	/a.bok.še/	spirit name

2.12	CV.CVC.VC	/ma.ngor.es/	spinach
	CVC.CV	/tep.su/	same
	CVC.CVC	/nuk.bót/	to story
	CVC.V.CVC	/suk.i.bit/	bad thing
	CVC.VC.CV	/suk.am.no/	parable
	CVC.CV.CV	/suk.si.ri/	wrong thing
	CVC.CV.CVC	/suk.da.ret/	random thing
	CVC.CVC.CV	/jim.not.ku/	love

The least common syllable patterns are CCV and CCVC, where the first element of the CC cluster consists of one of eight phonemes listed below in Table 2.9. Either of the glides, /r/ or /w/ can be the second element, however the glide /y/ does not occur in this position (+ means occurs, - means does not occur).

TABLE 2.9: WORD-INITIAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS

	r	*w*
p	+	-
b	+	-
mb	+	-
f	+	-
k	+	+
g	+	+
ng	+	+
m	-	+

The first consonant in these clusters is always [-coronal]. The [-coronal] consonants /m/ and /w/ are not found in the non-suspect clusters with /r/, but they are distinguished from the other [-coronal] consonants because both /m/ and /w/ are sonorant. Thus non-suspect CC clusters in Abun are in general made up of:

C	+	C
[-cor]		/r/
[-son]		

However, when the second element is /w/, then the first consonant is usually [-anterior].

There is only one exception to this, and that is the existence of /mw/. There are very few words beginning with /mw/. It is possible that these may have been introduced from the Amberbaken language to the east. The word used for 'many' in Abun Ji dialect is *ok*, while in Abun Tat it is *mwa*. The other /mw/ words also figure more prominently in the Abun Tat dialect, which is at the western extremity of the Abun language.

Examples of the CCV and CCVC types of syllables are listed in example 2.13 below:

2.13	CCV	/bro/	to boil
	CCVC	/krok/	to rattle
	CV.CCVC	/ye.bris/	boy
	CVC.CCVC	/suk.mbraw/	decoration
	CCV.CV.CVC	/kro.wa.dik/	surprised
	CV.CV.CCV	/me.ka.gri/	we three

Apart from consonant clusters commencing a syllable, there are clusters across syllable boundaries. The first element must be one of the eight phonemes that are in the coda position of a syllable as listed vertically in Table 2.10. The second component can be one of 20 phonemes as displayed horizontally in the table below.

TABLE 2.10: WORD-MEDIAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS

(+ means occurs, - means cannot occur, 0 means may occur, but there are no examples in the data to date)

	p	*t*	*k*	*f*	*s*	*š*	*m*	*n*	*ñ*	*w*	*r*	*y*	*b*	*d*	*j*	*g*	*mb*	*nd*	*nj*	*ng*
p	-	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	-	+	0	+	-	-	-	-
t	0	-	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
k	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
f	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
s	0	0	+	-	-	-	+	+	0	+	+	-	+	0	0	+	-	-	-	-
m	0	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
n	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
w	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	0	0	-	0	0	+	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
r	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	-	0	+	+	0	+	-	-	-	-
y	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	+	0	0	0	-	0	+	0	0	-	-	-	-

We can make the following observations from Table 2.10:

1. Geminate clusters do not occur. Several other consonants are analogous to geminate clusters such as a voiceless plosive followed by a voiced plosive (/pb/, /td/, /tj/, /kg/), fricatives with other fricatives (/fs/, /fš/, /sf/, /sš/) and the cluster /nñ/ does not occur.
2. Apart from geminate clusters, the /k/ phoneme precedes all consonants word-medially, with the exception that a word-medial /kñ/ has not yet been found in the data to date. The only prefix in Abun ending with a consonant is *suk-* 'NOM'. This may account for the fact that virtually all consonants follow /k/.
3. Nasals before prenasalised plosives are elided. Nasals do not always assimilate word-medially to a following oral or nasal stop, such as in *semda* 'dream', *benbot* 'do according to', *jamgwatu* 'sweet potato', *jamñi* 'sweet potato (variety)'.
4. Plosives, nasals and the glide /r/ may all be followed by fricatives.
5. Nasals are not followed by /r/.
6. Only the /k/ phoneme precedes prenasalised plosives.

7. Both /s/ and /n/ followed by /y/ word-medially become /š/ and /ñ/ respectively.
8. There are many blank spaces left because Abun has a large proportion of monosyllabic words (see §3.1), and although a particular combination does not occur in the data to date, the possibility is not ruled out. Words with /p f ñ y w/ medially are rather uncommon thus resulting in many '0' spaces in those rows and columns.

A cluster of three consonants word-medially is rare in Abun. The only cases found in over 100,000 words of data to date are listed in example 2.14 below:

2.14

/šap.kwa/	tongs
/jam.gwa.sem/	manioc
/mas.kwa/	angry
/suk.mbraw/	decoration

2.5 MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

2.5.1 *k* DELETION

The voiceless velar stop /k/ is deleted before velar stops in normal speech.

$$k \rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, \_\_ \begin{matrix} C \\ [\text{-ant, -cont}] \end{matrix}$$

2.15

/suk+gít/	→	/sugít/	food
/suk+kos/	→	/sukos/	song

2.5.2 NASAL DELETION

The nasal of a prenasalised stop is elided where prenasalised stops are preceded by a nasal across word boundaries, according to the following rule.

$$\begin{matrix} C \\ [\text{+nas, -son}] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} C \\ [\text{-nas}] \end{matrix} \,/\, \begin{matrix} C \\ [\text{+nas, +son}] \end{matrix} \#\_\_\_$$

2.16

/jam#nde/	→	/jam de/	don't know
/án#mbaú/	→	/án baú/	he is well

The two pronouns, *nan* '2SG' and *men* '1PL' are exceptions to the norm in that the final nasal is deleted at the word boundary when it is followed by a vowel, a voiceless consonant or a nasal.

$$\begin{matrix} C \\ [\text{+nas}] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \begin{cases} \_\_\_\#V \\ \_\_\_\#C\ [\text{-vd}] \\ \_\_\_\#C\ [\text{+nas}] \end{cases}$$

2.17

/nan#ít/	→	/na ít/	get up
/men#kem/	→	/me kem/	we stay
/nan#má/	→	/na má/	come

For these two pronouns only, a word-final nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of a following voiced stop across word boundaries as in the following rule:

C	+ C	→	C
[+nas]	[+vd]		[+nas]
	[-cont]		[-cont]
	[αant]		[αant]
	[βcor]		[βcor]

Or, put more simply, N + b → mb
N + d → nd
N + g → ng

2.18	/men#ben/	→	[mem.ben]	/mem ben/	we do
	/nan#da/	→	[nan.da]	/nan da/	drink
	/men#gat/	→	[meŋ gat]	/men gat/	we spear
	/nan#gwát/	→	[naŋ gwát]	/nan gwát/	bring

2.5.3 *r* DELETION

The alveolar glide /r/ is deleted preceding morpheme boundaries. The only instances observed involve the form /šúr/ 'water' which forms compounds with the names of rivers and creeks.

r → ∅ / ___+

2.19	/šúr+nju/	→	/šúnju/	Nju river
	/šúr+yan/	→	/šúyan/	Yan river

2.6 STRESS

In Abun, stress is predictable. Stress occurs on the last syllable of each word. The following examples illustrate this. Stress is indicated by ' preceding the stressed syllable.

2.20	/ye.'bris/	male
	/bo.'gé/	fish
	/kwé.'nú/	tree sap
	/í.'bit/	bad
	/no.wa.'rék/	lightning
	/man.gor.'es/	spinach

2.7 TONE

Tone in Abun has a low functional load and may be disappearing as a useful contrastive feature. There are three contrastive tones, high/rising, low, and falling. In this section, high or rising tone is marked with an acute accent mark above the vowel of the syllable, falling tone is marked with a grave accent, and low tone is unmarked. Elsewhere in this work, tone is marked only where it is germane to the discussion, as normally the context makes it clear to an Abun speaker what tone is required. In example 2.21a /òn/ has a falling tone, whereas in example 2.21c /on/ has a low tone. In example 2.21a /buk/ has a low tone, whereas in 2.21b /búk/ has a rising tone.

2.21 a. *An òn buk.*
3SG stomach tight
She is pregnant.

2.21 b. *An òn búk.*
3SG stomach lump
He has a stomach lump.

2.21 c. *An on buk.*
3SG stools tight
He needs to defecate.

The three-way distinction of tones can be seen in the following examples, but in 2.22a the word *še* is a verb, while in the other two examples it is an adjective.

2.22 a. *Šúr šè.*
water flow
The water flows.

2.22 b. *šúr šé*
water flood
a big flood

2.22 c. *šúr še*
water big
a big river

Other sets where tone affects the lexical meaning of Abun words are *i* '(be) sick' and *í* '(be) happy'; *ndò* 'good' and *ndó* 'bitter'. There are very few minimal pairs in the same word class, so the functional load borne by tone in Abun is very low.

Tone is also used in some instances to indicate plurality. The most common use of tone here is to differ between the singular and plural forms of the third person pronoun, in which '3PL' is /án/ with a rising tone, while '3SG' is /an/ with a low tone, as in example 2.23. Other examples of where high/rising tone is used to pluralise are seen in example 2.24.

2.23 /an bro sugít/ he boils the food
/án bro sugít/ they boil the food

2.24	/ndam/	bird	/ndám/	birds
	/nu/	house	/nú/	houses
	/gwa/	taro tuber	/gwá/	taro tubers

Tone sandhi also occurs in Abun. Ladefoged (1993:255-256) says,

> Even in a tone language the pitch of the voice changes continuously... assimilations occur between tones in much the same way as they do between segments. When a high tone precedes a low tone, then the low tone will usually begin with a downward pitch change... There seems to be a tendency in the languages of the world for tone assimilations to be perseverative—the tone of one syllable hanging over into that of later syllables—rather than anticipatory...

In Abun, where a high/rising tone precedes a low tone, the low tone begins with a downward pitch, that is, it appears to be like a falling tone, but not falling as much as a true

falling tone. So, in example 2.25a, when /ma/ is preceded by /án/ it has a falling tone, but when it is preceded by /an/ as in example 2.25b, /ma/ has a level low tone.

2.25 a. ***Án*** ***ma*** *mo-ré* *rè.*
3PL come LOC-here PERF
They have come here.

b. ***An*** ***ma*** *mo-ré* *rè.*
3SG come LOC-here PERF
He has come here.

When a low or falling tone precedes a high tone, the high tone begins with an upward pitch, like a rising tone, whereas elsewhere it is a high tone. The particle, /ít/ in example 2.26a, although normally a high tone, has a rising variant in this case due to the influence of /jàm/, which has a falling tone. When /jàm/ is replaced with /gít/, which has a high tone, as in example 2.26b, /ít/ also has a level high tone.

2.26 a. *An* ***jàm*** ***ít.***
3SG know CAM
He finally knows.

2.26 b. *An* ***gít*** ***ít.***
3SG eat CAM
He finally ate.

2.8 THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF ABUN

The orthography used in the remainder of this work uses the phonemic symbols presented in the consonant and vowel charts (Tables 2.1 and 2.7 above), with the exceptions that /š/ is written as sy, and /ñ/ is written as ny. Also diphthongs such as /a^{u}/, /e^{u}/, /o^{i}/ and /a^{i}/, although interpreted earlier as CV, are written as au, eu, oi and ai respectively. This then reflects the practical orthography used in Abun, which is in line with Indonesian orthography.

CHAPTER 3

MORPHOLOGY AND WORD CLASSES

Traditionally major classes of words that are grammatically distinguished in a language have been called parts of speech. In this chapter, after a brief discussion of morphological typology (§3.1), we will explore the parts-of-speech distinctions that are significant for the Abun language (§3.2), the components of each word class and their formation (§§3.3 and 3.4).

Of particular interest is the analytical or isolating nature of the Abun language which therefore has very little affixation and has, as a result, a prominent role of closed function word classes.

In addition, many of the free forms in Abun are undergoing the process of grammaticalisation to become affixes, since they focus on grammatical function rather than lexical meaning. These free forms are handled together with the affixes in this description of Abun morphology.

3.1 TYPOLOGY

The Abun language is best classified as an isolating or analytic language, since it largely has a one-to-one correspondence between words and morphemes as is illustrated by the following sentence:

3.1 *Men ben suk mo nggwe yo, men ben suk sino.*
1PL do thing LOC garden then 1PL do thing together
If we do things at the garden, then we do them together.

Furthermore, words in Abun are mostly monosyllabic. A sampling of the first 200 words in five stories, each by a different speaker, reveals that 80.8% of the words are monosyllabic, 17.8% have two syllables and only 1.4% have three or more.

In relation to morphological typology, Comrie (1989:46) discusses two indices, the index of synthesis and the index of fusion, the most significant for Abun being index of synthesis. This index has two extremes. At one extreme are isolating languages, which have a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and words. At the other extreme are polysynthetic languages which have a high level of morpheme-to-word ratio. Each language fits somewhere along this continuum. Abun is particularly noteworthy because it is very close to the isolating end of the spectrum. Examples of affixation and word compounding exist, but the vast majority of Abun words consist of only one morpheme. Analysis of the sample mentioned above reveals an average morpheme-to-word ratio of 1:1.13. This compares with English 1:1.68, Sanskrit 1:2.59 and, at the other end of the scale, Eskimo with 1:3.72 (Lyons 1968:188).

The second index that Comrie discusses is the index of fusion, which measures the extent to which morphemes within the word are readily segmentable, with the extremes being agglutination and fusion. The few affixes which occur in Abun are easily segmentable. There is some slight variability of morpheme shape predictable in terms of general phonological rules discussed in §2.5. Abun, then, has an agglutinating morphology within its relatively small amount of polymorphemic words. Very little fusion is evident.

Comrie (1989:46ff.) discusses several languages in relation to the index of fusion including Turkish, Hungarian and Russian. Turkish is relatively agglutinating, Hungarian exhibits more fusion, and Russian even more fusion again. Abun, however, is more like Turkish in that it is close to the agglutinating end of the continuum.

Therefore, Abun is an isolating language, mostly monosyllabic. In the few cases of affixation and word compounding that do occur, the morphemes are easily segmentable.

The implications of very little affixation in Abun are that other strategies are required to effect what is normally achieved through affixation. For example, in many languages affixation on the head of a noun phrase defines grammatical relations. However, in Abun, word order alone defines core grammatical relations, while prepositions are used with obliques. Number is expressed with a classifier and a number word, rather than an affix. Possession is not marked with an affix, but instead a linker is used between the possessor and the possessum.

Very little affixation occurs on Abun verbs. Instead of person/number agreement affixes on verbs, only free form pronouns are used. While other languages in the West Papuan Phylum have both free pronominal forms and person/number prefixes on verbs, including the most closely related language, Maibrat, Abun does not. Time adverbs, temporal prepositional phrases and some conjunctions indicate notions of time normally carried by tense affixes. Polarity, aspect, mood and modality are conveyed by the use of particles, not by affixation on verbs as is common in Papuan languages (Foley 1986).

The processes of word-building in Abun are therefore rather limited. The following processes are evident: limited suffixation on verbs (§3.3.1); three prefixes for nouns (§3.3.2); word compounding, principally in nouns (§3.3.2); and some adjectives are used as manner adverbs (§3.3.3 and §3.3.4).

3.2 ESTABLISHING WORD CLASSES

In this section the parts of speech appropriate for the Abun language will be defined after a discussion of the basis upon which the distinctions are made.

In establishing the parts-of-speech classification for the Abun language, grammatical criteria have been employed, namely the word's distribution, its range of syntactic functions and the morphological or syntactical categories for which it is specifiable. These criteria are listed by Schachter (1985:3), who states they are not open to the objections of unclear application that traditional definitions are.

Once the types of word classes are established on the basis of grammatical criteria, they are given a label that reflects their characteristics. For example, words that express actions, processes and the like are called verbs. A label for a word class is decided upon after the word class has been established.

Honey (1972:277) makes the point that "the object of the grammarian is to establish categories of words which are most efficient for enabling him to make the most comprehensive and, at the same time, the simplest grammatical statements...". Honey developed systematic syntactic statements whereby he established his system of word classes for Vietnamese (which is also an analytical language like Abun) on the basis of positional relationships of certain selected words and/or classes of words. Some of his methods have been applied in order to establish a set of word classes for Abun.

The word classes in Abun have been divided into open and closed classes. Open classes of verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs have a membership that is in principle unlimited. Closed classes, which in Abun are noun adjuncts, verb adjuncts, conjunctions, proforms, particles and interjections, have a fixed and generally small number of words.

3.3 OPEN WORD CLASSES

There are four open word classes discussed below, verbs (§3.3.1), nouns (§3.3.2), adjectives (§3.3.3) and adverbs (§3.3.4), as shown in Table 3.1 below.

According to Schachter (1985:4), the distinction between *nouns* and *verbs* is one of the few universal parts-of-speech distinctions. Regarding the distribution of nouns in Abun, they may directly follow or precede the possessive linker *bi* but never directly follow the predicate marker *yo*. Conversely, verbs never directly follow *bi* but may directly follow *yo*.

Adjectives are distinguished from nouns and verbs in §3.3.3. Many adjectives do double duty as adverbs and there are several other distinct adverb subclasses discussed in §3.3.4.

TABLE 3.1: OPEN WORD CLASSES

Open Class:	**Subclasses:**	
	open	*closed*
Verbs	Intransitive Transitive Ditransitive	
Nouns	Proper Common Compound	Body parts Relator
Adjectives		
Adverbs	Temporal Manner	Degree Directionals

3.3.1 VERBS

Verbs in Abun have three subclasses: transitive, intransitive and ditransitive. These subclasses are distinguishable on the basis that intransitive verbs do not occur with objects, transitive verbs do; whereas ditransitive verbs occur with an object as well as an 'indirect

object' in the form of a prepositional phrase. A subclass of intransitive verbs can be transformed into transitive verbs by the suffixation of *-wa*.

Suffixation on verbs is relatively limited in Abun. Four suffixes occur, three of these resulting from grammaticalisation of prepositions, and the fourth from the coalescence of an adverb. The following table lists verb suffixes:

TABLE 3.2: ABUN VERB SUFFIXES

Suffix	Meaning
-wa	transitive/benefactive
-bot	extends scope
-ket	various
-gat	intensifier

Three of the suffixes that occur with verbs come from the prepositions, *wa* BENEFACTIVE, *bot* PERLATIVE and *ket* 'along'. These three prepositions occur in their free form, but also they have become attached to some verbs and nouns with which they frequently co-occur. For example, the benefactive preposition has become affixed to some verbs to form verbs that have a different meaning incorporating a benefactive notion. Likewise, the other two prepositions have also become affixed to some verbs. This procedure follows the grammaticalisation principle of divergence proposed by Hopper (1991:22), "when a lexical form undergoes grammaticization to a clitic or affix, the original form may remain as an autonomous element..." Indeed the original form of each of these prepositions has remained as an autonomous element, but it has also changed to become an affix. The change of status from a free-form preposition to an affix is based on the grounds of both prosody and meaning change of the resultant form. The fourth suffix is derived from the adverb *gat* 'INTENSITY'. The grammaticalisation of each affix is discussed below.

3.3.1.1 THE GRAMMATICALISATION OF *wa*

One of the suffixes that is an inflection on verbs or derives verbs from nouns is *-wa*. This suffix has resulted from the lexical form, *wa* 'BENEFACTIVE', undergoing grammaticalisation.

Frequently the free-form *wa* is separated from the verb as in example 3.2. It is common also for *wa* to be adjacent to the verb, and in these cases coalescence results in a semantic shift as well as a change in prosody. This occurs because the object is frequently omitted in Abun grammar, leaving the verb adjacent to *wa*. The preposition does not coalesce in all cases, but particularly when the interpretation of the verb and *wa* is no longer compositional, it is clear that *wa* has become the suffix *-wa*. According to Anderson (1985:42), the inflected verb, once formed, is then like all words, subject to shift, specialisation, generalisation and other changes of meaning. The inflected form is seen in example 3.3 as well as in example 3.4.

3.2 *An fro nu yo* ***wa*** *men.*
3SG prepare house a BEN 1PL
He prepared a house for us.

3.3 *Marinus* ***me-wa*** *kwem.*
Marinus see-BEN canoe
Marinus takes care of the canoe.

3.4 *Men* ***kon-wa*** *nu ari.*
1PL cook-BEN house Sunday
We celebrated (the opening of) the church.

The suffix *-wa* has two basic uses in Abun. One transitivises intransitive verbs and the other changes the meaning of transitive verbs to include a benefactive notion.

There are several intransitive verbs that may be transitivised by the addition of the suffix *-wa.* Verbs like *nyu* '(be) fearful', *i* '(be) happy', *fo* '(be) unclean', *ti* 'stand', *kem* 'sit' are transitivised in this way. Examples 3.5 and 3.7 show intransitive forms, while examples 3.6 and 3.8 show transitive forms. In example 3.8, the form *kem* is shortened to *ke*. Shortening of this type is a common practice among Abun speakers, even though normally the nasal would not be elided as seen in example 3.9 below.

3.5 *Ji* ***nyu.***
1SG fear
I am afraid.

3.6 *Nu* ***nyu-wa*** *men o nde.*
2PL fear-TRS 1PL again NEG
Don't fear us anymore.

3.7 *Ji* ***kem.***
1SG sit
I sit.

3.8 *Noru ne ye* ***ke-wa*** *Lamber nombrak.*
night DET 3INDEF sit-TRS Lamber morning
That night they guarded Lamber's (body until) the morning.

The transitive verb *syim-wa* 'shut' can be derived by the suffixation of *-wa* to the noun *syim* 'hand' as in example 3.9.

3.9 *Isak* ***syim-wa*** *nu-syo.*
Isak hand-TRS house-mouth
Isak shut the door.

In addition to transitivising some intransitive verbs and nouns, the suffixation of *-wa* to transitive verbs changes the meaning to include a benefactive notion. In example 3.10, the transitive verbs *me* 'see' and the preposition *wa* have combined to form the inflected word, *mewa* 'take care of' in example 3.11. The benefactive notion combined with 'seeing' the canoe results in the idea of 'taking care of' the canoe.

3.10 *Marinus* ***me*** *kwem.*
Marinus see canoe
Marinus saw the canoe.

3.11 *Marinus* ***me-wa*** *kwem.*
Marinus see-BEN canoe
Marinus takes care of the canoe.

Similarly the verb *kon* 'cook' and *wa* coalesce to result in a different meaning. In example 3.12, the transitive verb *kon* 'cook' is used in its normal sense, but if we cooked food for Isak then the benefactive preposition would be a free form as in example 3.13. However, to celebrate something, which comes from the idea of cooking for something, results in the suffixation of *-wa* as in example 3.14.

3.12 *Men* ***kon*** *su-git.*
1PL cook NOM-eat
We cooked food.

3.13 *Men* ***kon*** *su-git* ***wa*** *Isak.*
1PL cook NOM-eat BEN Isak
We cooked food for Isak.

3.14 *Men* ***kon-wa*** *nu ari.*
1PL cook-BEN house Sunday
We celebrated (the opening of) the church.

Other verbs that change in their semantic scope as a result of the suffixation of *-wa* are:

3.15

bi	give	***biwa***	pay for
ki	say	***kiwa***	ask for
napa	recall	***napawa***	remember

There are also a few verbs that no longer have an uninflected form such as *syaretwa* 'to listen to'; *rewa* 'to deny'; *sakanwa* 'to meet at a nominated location not at either person's home'; and *eswa* 'to wait for'. The forms, *syaret, re, sakan* and *es* no longer occur.

3.3.1.2 THE GRAMMATICALISATION OF *bot*

Bot, too, has undergone a process of grammaticalisation. The free form *bot* is a PERLATIVE preposition, meaning 'along, about or through'. In example 3.16 below, the normal use of this preposition as 'about' is shown.

3.16 *Pa siker nok* ***bot*** *kwa-yo-kwa-yo.*
young.man tease wild.pig PERL thing-a-thing-a
The young men teased the wild pig about many things.

The form *bot* has in many cases become combined with verbs. The resultant forms have a different semantic scope when compared to the uninflected forms, for example *wat* 'separate' and *watbot* 'examine' in examples 3.17 and 3.18. The uninflected *wat* means 'separate', while *watbot* contains the perlative notion of separating about or along a particular path.

3.17 *Nggon we* ***wat*** *nok onyar, i be onyar i.*
women two separate wild.pig intestines own kangaroo intestines own
The two women separated the wild pig's intestines from the kangaroo's intestines.

3.18 *An* ***wat-bot*** *buku.*
3SG separate-PERL book
She studies the book.

Some verbs that combine with *bot* and have meaning changes to include a perlative notion are:

3.19

wat	separate/divide	***wat-bot***	examine
jam	know, understand	***jam-bot***	believe
tik	pull	***tik-bot***	draw conclusions
ki	say	***ki-bot***	discuss
nut	think	***nut-bot***	think about
mu	go	***mu-bot***	go along
is	go down	***is-bot***	go down along

3.3.1.3 THE GRAMMATICALISATION OF *ket*

Ket also follows the same grammaticalisation procedure as *bot* and *wa*. The free form *ket* is a LOCATIVE preposition. It precedes the location of the path of the action. For example, the location where goods were being carried in example 3.20 is along the ground, that is by foot, and the location of the path of the cutting across in example 3.21 was towards the interior (rather than the sea).

3.20 *Men sam suk* ***ket*** *bur.*
1PL carry things LOC earth
We carried the things, walking along.

3.21 *Men tot* ***ket*** *nden.*
1PL cut LOC interior
We cut across to the interior (path).

As stated above, objects are frequently omitted in Abun, resulting in the preposition *ket* being adjacent to a verb. This has resulted in the combining of some verbs with *ket* with a subsequent semantic shift. The free form *ket* occurs adjacent to the verbs *mu* 'go', *ti* 'stand', *tot* 'cut', and *e* 'fall over', but there is no evidence of semantic shift or change of prosody in these cases, so *ket* remains as a free form and is not affixed to these verbs. However, *ket* has become a suffix in the case of the two adjectives *mbrin* 'unconscious' in example 3.22 and *ye* 'difficult' in example 3.23. This is clear because of both prosody and significant meaning changes in these two examples. Another example of a change of meaning is the suffixation of *-ket* with the verb *ki* 'say'. The resultant word is *ki-ket* 'slander'.

3.22 *Ji* ***mbrin-ket*** *nan gum re.*
1SG unconscious-LOC 2SG name PERF
I have forgotten your name.

3.23 *Ji* ***ye-ket*** *we ji ben suk ga-ne.*
1SG difficult-LOC because 1SG do thing REL-DET
I'm surprised because I did that thing.

3.3.1.4 THE GRAMMATICALISATION OF *gat*

The free form *gat* 'to spear, join' is a regular verb as in example 3.24, and it also behaves as an adverb meaning that an action is done with intensity or penetratingly. In example 3.25, *gat* signifies that the act of entering new students of witchcraft into the training house was not just at its old pace, but that now there was a new emphasis on doing it, and that emphasis was more intense.

3.24 *Musa* **gat** *nok.*
Musa spear wild.pig
Musa speared the wild pig.

3.25 *An sok pa ye-won ne, i-be* **gat.**
3SG enter young.men PERS-knowledge DET its-new INT
He is putting in young men (to train as) shamen, lots of new ones.

Adverbs follow the object in Abun clauses. Since objects are frequently elided, the adverb often directly follows the verb, just like the prepositions *wa, bot* and *ket*. Some verbs and nouns undergo prosody and semantic changes when they co-occur with the adverb *gat*, and so they coalesce. In these cases, the semantic changes are not always equal to the compositional meaning of the components. However, the inflected verbs do have notions of intensity or pressure. The conversion of status from a free form (the adverb) to an inflection on the verb is clear due to prosody and semantic changes. In example 3.26, the verb *wer* 'to try (to seduce)' combines with *-gat* to form *wer-gat* 'make a determined effort, work hard at'. Likewise the verb *ki* 'speak', combined with *-gat*, forms *kigat* 'speak persuasively'. Furthermore, the verb *i* '(be) sick' combines to form *i-gat* '(be) frequently sick' in example 3.27.

3.26 *An wer-***gat** *an baca.*
3SG push-INT 3SG read
S/he pushed herself/himself intensely to be able to ready.

3.27 *An yo i-***gat** *saga nyim nde re.*
3SG NEG sick-INT like before NEG PERF
She is not always sick like she had been.

An alternative analysis is to consider this as word compounding, where it is actually the verb *gat* that is coalescing with another verb. Sentences like example 3.28 show that indeed both the verb and adverb *gat* can occur in the one clause. The verb makes clear that they are spearing each other and the adverb conveys the manner in which they were doing it. In fact, *ndi* and *gat* in example 3.28 are not compounding; rather both verbs stand alone on prosody grounds, and there is certainly no change of compositional meaning compared to each verb's meaning when they occur in this way. This is a case of serial verbs. In contrast to this, when the adverb and a verb co-occur coalescence results. So in example 3.29, the *-gat* in *ndi-gat* refers to the intensity of fighting. Instead of an independent stress centre on each morpheme the primary stress is on *-gat*, according to the stress patterns found in Abun words.

3.28 *Án we ndi* **gat** *yu* **gat.**
3PL two fight spear each.other INT
They (two) fought, spearing each other furiously.

3.29 *Án we* ***ndi-gat.***
3PL two fight-INT
They (two) fought furiously.

A few nouns have also combined with *-gat* to form verbs, such as: *syim-gat* 'hand-INT: to start' and *syo-gat* 'mouth-INT: to order'.

3.30 *Pilot syim-**gat** kaparok uk satu o.*
pilot hand-INT airplane sound return again
The pilot started up the plane again.

3.31 *An syo-**gat** pa kem.*
3SG mouth-INT child sit
He ordered the child to sit.

Some verbs no longer have the uninflected forms in the language. For example, the form *syaugat* 'to command' occurs, but *syau* does not.

3.3.2 NOUNS

Within the noun class there are five distinct subclasses: proper nouns, common nouns, compound nouns, body parts, and relator nouns, the last two of these subclasses being closed ones. Proper nouns, which together with pronouns always directly precede *bi* 'possessive linker' when *bi* co-occurs, consist of words such as names of people or places. They are distinguished from common nouns in that they never occur after the possessive linker. The subclass of body parts occurs in inalienable possessive constructions and is juxtaposed to the possessor; see §5.3 for more details.

Nouns are in general a single morpheme, but can also consist of multiple morphemes. Multiple morphemes are derived from single morpheme nouns or some other form classes through the processes of affixation and compounding.

There are three *prefixes* on nouns; a nominaliser, *suk-*; a personaliser, *ye-*; and *i-*, a possessive pronoun prefix for non-human referents, which replaces the whole of a non-human whole–part relationship in compound nouns. They are listed in Table 3.3 below:

TABLE 3.3: ABUN NOUN PREFIXES

Prefix	Type	Usage
suk-	classchanging	nominaliser
ye	subclass	personaliser
i-	subclass	part of whole

Since both *suk* and *ye* also occur as free forms, an alternative analysis would be to describe them as being used in forming noun compounds.[2] However, the choice of prefix is

2 It appears that this dilemma is common; to quote Anderson (1985:45), "The line between compounding and stem modification is not always easy to draw... but this is not a matter of major importance since the division is primarily a matter of convenience".

preferred here because all three prefixes involved convey grammatical rather than lexical information. Furthermore, affixes may also exist as free forms, such as *in* in the English *input*.

3.3.2.1 THE NOMINALISER, *suk-*

In the same way that the prepositions discussed above are grammaticalised, the free lexical form *suk* 'thing' has also undergone grammaticalisation to become a nominalising prefix. The following examples show that the free form *suk* can mean 'thing', not further defined as in example 3.32, or 'possessed thing' as in example 3.33. This free form is also used in a pronominal way to refer back to a situation, or certain inanimate things. In example 3.34, *suk* refers to a list of items including cassowary, blackbird and possum.

3.32 *Me kon* ***suk*** *su syur.*
1PL cook thing with water
We cook things in water.

3.33 *Men ndau an bi* ***suk*** *kadit kapar.*
1PL unload 3SG POSS thing from ship
We unloaded his things from the ship.

3.34 ***Suk*** *ne fo sane pa wogan git nde.*
thing DET forbidden so child small ear NEG
Those things are forbidden, so small children must not eat them.

This prefix is derivational, forming nouns from verbs and adjectives. So, for example, instead of just saying *An git suk* 'They ate things', one could say *An git sugit* 'They ate food'. Here the prefix *suk-* combines with the verb *git* 'eat' to form the noun *sugit* 'food'.

A subclass of verbs including activities such as eat, grow, plant, fight, decorate, dance and any speaking type of verb such as say, advise, tell stories, sing or chant can be prefixed with *suk-*. Adjectives can also be prefixed by *suk-*. Intransitive motion verbs do not combine with this prefix. There is only one example in the data of a noun, *bo* 'fruit' combining with *suk-*. The phonological rule, that geminates do not occur in Abun, results in the ellipsis of *k* preceding velar stops. In addition, the primary stress occurs on the final syllable and so the prefix, *suk-*, is unstressed. Some examples are below:

3.35

mbrau	to decorate	***suk-mbrau***	decoration
du	to speak	***suk-du***	news/story
sara	to dance	***suk-sara***	dance
git	to eat	***su-git***	food

3.35

i	sick	***suk-i***	sickness
kwop	die	***su-kwop***	funeral
ndo	good	***suk-ndo***	goodness
gum	round	***su-gum***	money
nggi	strong	***suk-nggi***	strength
bo	fruit	***sukbo***	container

3.3.2.2 THE PERSONALISER, *ye-*

Similar to *suk*, the free lexical form *ye* 'person' also undergoes grammaticalisation to become a personaliser prefix, yet remains elsewhere as an autonomous element. The free form occurs as an undefined or indefinite third person pronoun in example 3.36. In such cases it has its own independent stress.

3.36 ***Ye*** *mu mo nden.*
3INDEF go LOC outside
They (indefinite) went outside.

This independent stress is lost when the personaliser *ye-* combines with nouns to form names for persons in different roles or positions. The prefix is a derivational prefix and the resultant forms, which are in a different subclass, are frequently not equal to the compositional meaning of the components. In example 3.37, the one who stands on a tree stump does so because he is a leader in society. In example 3.38, a man who has not been trained at one of the shaman training schools (where Abun men are trained to relate to spirit beings and so become 'priests' of their animistic religion) is considered to be not a 'normal' man but literally a 'woman-person'.

3.37 ***ye-kwe-su***
PERS-tree-head
leader (lit. tree-stump person)

3.38 ***ye-nggon***
PERS-woman
male who is not a shaman

Not all the affixed forms are idiomatic, but aspects of a particular person's origin or features are referred to, such as:

3.39 *An* ***ye-nden.***
3SG PERS-inland
He is a non-coastal (inland) person.

3.40 *An* ***ye-ka-kwo.***
3SG PERS-body-white
He is a white person.

Use of the *ye-* prefix is also made in the Abun people's names. Almost all clan names, which are used like a family name, are formed by the prefixing of *ye-* to a verb or adjective, such as *ye-njau* 'PERS-bite', *ye-bro* 'PERS-boil', *ye-rin* 'PERS-pour', *ye-nggren* 'PERS-shine', and *ye-kese* 'PERS-evil'.

3.3.2.3 NOUN COMPOUNDS

In addition to the stem modification processes such as those discussed above, a significant feature of Abun is word compounding. Words are formed by the combination of two or more members of open lexical classes such as *kapar-ok* 'boat-fly: airplane', *kwe-nggwot* 'tree-packaged: book'. The components of these compounds are noun + verb and they form nouns. This may be expressed as [N–V]N, in the same format Anderson (1985:46) uses. Other compounds, such as *gwem-bo* 'face-fruit: nose', *nu-syo* 'house-mouth: doorway' consist of noun + noun to form a noun and can be expressed as [N–N]N.

The compound status of the examples given here is confirmed by the way the forms have shifted in meaning, which is more common for words than for phrases (Anderson 1985:43). So a *ye-gwes-wai* 'PERS-leg-pass: leg-passing person' is actually a mediator, a *kwe-ngwot* 'tree-packaged: packaged tree' is a book and so on. But the main factor determining the compound status of the forms is the fact that stress in Abun is predictably syllable-final, so the lack of stress on the initial syllables indicates that in the Abun mind a new word is derived. Thus in *kapar -ok* the final syllable *ok* is stressed, while the syllables *ka* and *par* are not. If this was a clause, in the unusual event of a boat flying, then *par* of *kapar* would be stressed and the word *ok* would have its own independent stress.

Some noun compounds consist of the personaliser and noun and verb, [N–V]$_N$, or a noun and adjective [N–Adj]$_N$; for example, *ye-gwes-wai* 'PERS-leg-pass: mediator', *ye-da-mok* 'PERS-skin-raw: foreigner' and *ye-pa-sye* 'PERS-child-big: important person'.

Non-human whole–part compounds are combinations of nouns where the second member is a bound morpheme. All of these may be represented as [N–N]$_N$, since they are combinations of nouns, and the resultant form is also a noun, for example *gur-bo* 'coconut-fruit', *su-go* 'head-hair', *be-ku* 'kangaroo-flesh: kangaroo meat'. In addition, bird names are compounds. The word *ndam* 'bird' occurs in isolation, but the second morpheme (bird type) does not; for example, *ndam-kokor* 'bird-fowl: domesticated fowl', *nda-wam* 'bird-crow: crow', and *nda-som* 'bird-bat: fruit bat'. All of these types of compounds indicate a possessor-possessed or whole–part relationship. For example, the generic word for tree is *kwe*. But when leaves are referred to, the form is *kwe-nat* 'tree-leaves'. The first morpheme, *kwe,* is a free-form morpheme, but the latter morpheme *-nat* 'leaves' is bound. Leaves are never referred to as **nat*. Likewise branch, bark, roots are formed using *kwe* together with the respective bound morpheme, *kwe-guk* 'branch', *kwe-da* 'bark' and *kwe-nos* 'roots'. The 'whole' in these types of whole–part relationships is not just limited to *kwe,* but also other plants such as *gur-nat* 'coconut leaves' and *bei-nat* 'sago palm leaves'. Furthermore, other living things such as birds, animals, fish and some inanimate objects and their parts are also compounds, for example, *ndam-go* 'feathers of bird', *wo-dar* 'scales of fish', and *yor-ot* 'spear-tip'. The morpheme representing the part is always bound.

3.3.2.4 NOUN COMPOUNDS AND THE *i-* PREFIX

After the initial reference to a 'whole–part' type noun in a discourse, further reference can be made to the item by replacing the morpheme representing the whole with the prefix, *i-*. Therefore, after an initial reference to *kwenat*, additional reference to that item later in the discourse is made by using the prefix *i-* as a pronominal referent, and so the form would be *i-nat* 'its-leaves'. Likewise with the other types of whole–part relationships, *ndam-go* becomes *i-go* 'its-feathers', *wo-dar* becomes *i-dar* 'its-scales' and *yor-ot* becomes *i-ot* 'its-tip'. In such words both morphemes are bound.

In human whole–part relationships or inalienable possession, the prefix *i-* is not used, rather the person's name or person pronoun is used, for example *Musa syim* 'Musa's arm/hand', *ji syim* 'my arm/hand', *an gwes* 'his/her leg'. The possessive pronoun for human inalienable possession is the same as the subject and object pronoun for each person. Furthermore, the body part (*syim,* 'arm', *gwes* 'leg' etc.) may occur as a free form and is not a bound morpheme, as is the case of the 'part' in non-human whole–part relationships. Therefore, the prefix *i-* is only used as an inalienable possessive pronoun prefix for non-

human referents, replacing the 'whole' in the whole–part relationship in the same way a pronoun replaces a noun.

3.3.2.5 RELATOR NOUNS

The final noun subclass is relator nouns. These may appear in some cases as the head or as a modifier in a locative prepositional phrase (see §5.4.2 for examples). Words in this subclass can be broken into two subsubclasses, those that stand on their own and those that compound with *de* 'side'. There are nine in the former group and six in the latter. These are listed in the following two tables:

TABLE 3.4: RELATOR NOUNS

Relator Noun	Meaning
mit	inside
git	in front of
yu	on top of
ke	at the base of
ndet	in between
nim	above
nim	eastern
ket	western
de	at the side

TABLE 3.5: COMPOUND RELATOR NOUNS

Relator Noun	Meaning
de ju	upstream side
de ti	sea side
de dari	behind
de rut	at the back of
de (s)nak	underneath
de nden	outside

3.3.3 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are a class of words denoting qualities or attributes, which in Abun functionally modify nouns and frequently function as predicates as in example 3.41a. Adjectives are distinct from verbs in that they function as head of adjectival phrases and, in those phrases, can specify degree such as comparative and superlative as in example 3.41b, c. Furthermore,

although structurally both adjectives and verbs directly follow the predicate marker *yo*, verbs never directly precede the intensifier *wai*, whereas adjectives do.

3.41 a. *Yenggras* *ne* ***nggi.***
old/respected.man DET strong
The old man is strong.

b. *Yenggras* *ne* ***nggi*** ***wai*** *kadit* *nan.*
old/respected.man DET strong INT from 2SG
The old man is stronger than you.

c. *Yenggras* *ne* ***nggi*** ***wai*** ***ore.***
old/respected.man DET strong INT complete
The old man is the strongest.

The class of adjectives in Abun hovers on the borderline of being an open or closed word class. While on the one hand adjectives do occur as predicates and also specify degree, which are features of an open class of adjectives, many adjectival meanings are expressed through verbs, which is more typical of a language with a closed adjective class according to Schachter (1985:16).

Relativisation of verbs express the equivalent of a modifying adjective. For example:

3.42 *Pa* ***gato*** ***jam*** ***suk*** ***mwa*** *ma.*
child REL know things many come
1. The boy who knows many things came.
2. The *intelligent* boy came.

3.43 *An* *sok-bot* *nu-syo* ***gato*** ***kak*** *ne.*
3SG enter-along house-mouth REL open DET
He entered though the *open* door.

Among the adjectives which modify the head of a noun phrase, syntactically only one class can be distinguished, because only one adjective can modify a noun head in a noun phrase. The modification of a noun by more than one adjective requires the use of other constructions which are discussed in §5.2.1.

In the corpus of data to hand a total of 38 adjectives has been distinguished, but there may well be others, thus it is included as an open word class. Semantically, distinctions can be made to form groups of colour, size, quality or age adjectives, but syntactically they all function in the same way.

There is one adjective compound formed by two adjectives, $[\text{ADJ–ADJ}]_{\text{Adj}}$, *wok-gan* 'small-little: young and small'.

3.3.4 ADVERBS

The class of adverbs, which function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns (Schachter 1985:20), is a heterogeneous group in Abun consisting of several subclasses, 'directional' adverbs, 'time' adverbs, 'manner' adverbs and 'degree' adverbs. Directional and degree adverb subclasses are closed, and the number of manner adverbs is limited. Time adverbs have more flexibility with some compounding evident.

The first subclass is *directional adverbs.* These include words such as *nim* 'east(erly)', *ju* 'upstream' and act as adverbs when they occur outside the phrase, that is directly following a determiner as in examples 3.44b and 3.45b. This same subclass of words (listed as relator nouns above) may also occur within the phrase to modify the head of a locative prepositional phrase as seen in 3.44a and 3.45a. This subclass of relator nouns does 'double duty', acting both as modifiers of a phrase and as a closed subclass of directional adverbs, in which case they occur outside the phrase.

3.44 a. *mo banbo sye* ***nim*** *ne*
LOC mountain big east DET
on the big eastern mountain

b. *mo banbo sye ne* ***nim***
LOC mountain big DET east
on the big mountain in the easterly direction

3.45 a. *mo Nyarwon bi nu* ***de-ju*** *ne*
LOC Nyarwon POSS house side-upstream DET
on the upstream side of Nyarwon's house

b. *mo Nyarwon bi nu ne* ***de-ju***
LOC Nyarwon POSS house DET side-upstream
at Nyarwon's house, upstream side

The second subclass of adverbs is *time adverbs*, which consists of words such as *ik* 'tomorrow', *kamekre* 'yesterday', and compound constructions like *kam-dik-kam-dik* 'day-one-day-one: everyday' and *ber-gan* 'later-little: shortly'. These adverbs are usually sentence-initial in their distribution, but may also be part of the predicate. This subclass of adverbs alone has considerable options in its placement in the sentence. For example:

3.46 a. ***Kam-dik-kam-dik*** *an ma mo ji bi nu.*
day-one-day-one 3SG come LOC 1SG POSS house
Everyday he came to my house.

b. *An* ***kam-dik-kam-dik*** *ma mo ji bi nu.*
3SG day-one-day-one come LOC 1SG POSS house
Everyday he came to my house.

c. *An ma* ***kam-dik-kam-dik*** *mo ji bi nu.*
3SG come day-one-day-one LOC 1SG POSS house
He came everyday to my house.

d. *An ma mo ji bi nu* ***kam-dik-kam-dik.***
3SG come LOC 1SG POSS house day-one-day-one
He came to my house everyday.

The third subclass of adverbs is *manner adverbs.* This subclass is not as 'open' as a regular open class because many adverbial meanings are expressed in other ways, such as associative prepositional phrases *su sangge* 'with truth: truly', or the use of adjectives without any special markings. Schachter (1985:22) mentions this possibility, noting that there are languages in which the class of adjectives do double duty, modifying verbs as well as nouns. Abun's adjectives do that type of double duty; for example, *ndo* in example 3.47 is a manner

adverb, whereas *ndo* in example 3.48 is an adjective. Alternatively, one may say that some adjectives undergo conversion to form a subclass of manner adverbs.

3.47 *An ben an bi suk i ne* ***ndo.***
3SG do 3SG POSS thing own DET good
He does his things well.

3.48 *An it san* ***ndo*** *sepatu* ***ndo.***
3SG wear clothes good shoes good
He was wearing good clothes and good shoes.

Manner adverbs consist of a small group of adjectives (about 12) that do double duty as adjectives and manner adverbs such as *ndo* 'good/well', *ibit* 'bad/badly', *nggi* 'strong/strongly', *ot* 'sharp/sharply'. In addition there is another group, that behaves only as adverbs, including *kekro* 'quickly', *pare* 'slowly' and a reduplicated form[3], *nyip-nyap* 'finely crushed'. All manner adverbs are distinguished distributionally in that they fall outside the noun phrase or possessive phrase, directly following the determiner as seen in example 3.47.

'Degree' adverbs are a small closed subclass of adverbs which modify manner adverbs as well as adjectives. Distributionally, they always directly follow an adjective or an adverb. There are two adverbs in this subclass, *teker* 'very/too' and *wai* 'more than/passing' as seen in examples 3.49 and 3.50 below.

3.49 *An nuk ye* ***teker.***
3SG speak people INT
She spoke (about) people too much.

3.50 *An bes an nggwa kok* ***wai*** *ore.*
3SG lift 3SG body high INT complete
He lifted up (exalted) himself as the highest.

3.4 CLOSED WORD CLASSES

In Abun, there are six basic closed word classes consisting of noun adjuncts, verb adjuncts, conjunctions, proforms, particles and interjections. Each of these and their subclasses will be discussed in turn below.

With regard to closed classes, Schachter (1985:23) makes the comment that there is a correlation between the prominence of closed classes in a language and the position of the language on the analytic-synthetic scale. The more analytic the language is, the more prominent is the role of closed classes. Schachter (1985:24) adds, "...much of the semantic and syntactic work done by the members of closed word classes in analytic languages is done instead by *affixes* in synthetic languages." Therefore, Abun, being heavily analytic, has many distinct types of closed classes and very few affixes.

---

3 Reduplicated forms occur in Abun but number less than ten. There are some verbs like *rup-rek* 'twinkle', *fot-fat* 'break' and a noun, *mok-muk* 'body'.

TABLE 3.6: CLOSED WORD CLASSES

Closed Classes	Subclasses	Sub-subclasses
Noun adjuncts	Possessive linker Prepositions Classifiers	
	Quantifiers	General Cardinal Numerals Ordinal Numerals
	Determiners	Articles Deictics Referents
Verb adjuncts	Predicate markers Verbal particles	
Conjunctions	Coordinating Subordinating	
Proforms	Pronouns Prosentences Interrogative proforms	
Particles	Topicaliser Negation Aspect Mood Modal	
Interjections		

The closed classes in Abun are distinguished on the basis of syntax; for example, pronouns (together with proper nouns) may be directly followed by the possessive linker *bi*, predicate markers always directly precede a verb or predicate adjective, prepositions always precede their noun, and particles, except the topicaliser, are always sentence-final.

3.4.1 NOUN ADJUNCTS

There are several subclasses of noun adjuncts including the possessive linker *bi* (for more detailed use of this linker see §5.3); ten prepositions; many quantifiers (including general quantifiers, cardinal and ordinal numerals); classifiers and determiners (which have three sub-subclasses and many compounds forms).

Below is a list of the *prepositions* used in Abun with their English equivalent. More details of their use is found in §5.4.

TABLE 3.7: ABUN PREPOSITIONS

Preposition	English	Preposition Type
is/nai	to	dative
mo	at/ to	spacio-temporal
subot/bot	about/along	
kagit/kadit	from	
karowa	near	
ket	across/ at (non-locative)	
wade/kom mo	until/for	
su	with	associative, instrumental, temporal
wa	for	benefactive/purposive

Quantifiers may be either general or a specific numeral. The general quantifiers are *mwa* 'many', *bok* 'several' and *deyo* 'some'. They follow adjectives, when present, in the noun phrase.

The Abun *numeral* system is a decimal system. This is common in the West Papuan Phylum, to which Abun belongs, but the languages belonging to the neighbouring Trans-Papuan Phylum, some of which are in the south of the Bird's Head Peninsula of Irian Jaya, have a binary and additive system. Table 3.8 below lists the Abun numerals. Note that *sop* means 'and/in addition'. The same word is also used in *an syim-sop-kwa* 'his arm-addition-thing: his finger'.

TABLE 3.8: ABUN CARDINAL NUMERALS

Abun	English
dik	one
we	two
gri	three
at	four
mumek	five
mumat	six
mufit	seven
munggwo	eight
musi	nine
musyu	ten
(musyu dik) sop dik	eleven
(musyu dik) sop we...	twelve
(musyu dik) sop mumek	fifteen
musyu we	twenty
musyu we sop dik	twenty-one
musyu gri	thirty
musyu musyu dik or *wotin*[4] *dik*	one hundred
wotin dik musyu at sop mumek	one hundred and forty-five
ribu[5] *dik*	one thousand

Ordinal numerals are formed by a combination of *do* and each numeral except for *do-ketke* 'first', or the dialectal variant, *do-futmo* 'first'. Every other ordinal numeral is formed by the combining of *do* with the appropriate cardinal numeral; for example, *do-mumek* 'fifth', *do-musyu dik sop we* 'twelfth' and so on.

When the quantifier is a specific numeral, a *classifier* normally precedes it to indicate something of the shape and size of the object. There are many types of classifiers that may be used depending upon the type of noun in the phrase head. In Table 3.9, the common classifiers are listed with the types of nouns to which they apply.

4 *wotin* is borrowed from the Biak language.

5 *ribu* is borrowed from Indonesian.

TABLE 3.9: NOUN CLASSIFIERS

Classifier	Noun Type
bo	fruit, motor
but	bundles of things
ge	person, animal
gwes	bamboo (cut pieces)
is	tuber
ka	person
ke	tree, house
koi	stick (cut pieces)
sak	cloth
wak	cloth

There are several subclasses of *determiners* including what may be called articles that deal with a specific/unspecific distinction, these are *yo* 'a' and *ne* 'the'. A second subclass is the deictics which consist of *ré* 'this', *ne* 'that' and *tu* 'that (distant)'. Thirdly, there is a referents subclass which consists of an anaphoric referent, *ga*, and an external referent *to*. Also, the three deictic particles and the subordinating conjunction *to* (a different *to* to the external referent) form compounds with the referents; as well as the focus or topicaliser particle *ana*; the simile particle *sa*; and the general locative preposition *mo*, as shown in Table 3.10 below:

TABLE 3.10: DETERMINER RELATED COMPOUNDS

Deictic	*ré*		*ne*		*tu*		*to*	
locative	*mo-ré*	here	*mo-ne*	there	*mo-tu*	over. there		
external	*to-ré*	is.here	*to-ne*	is.there	*to-tu*	is.over. there		
anaphoric	*ga-ré*	latter/ recent	*ga-ne*	former/ then	*ga-tu*	back. then	*ga-to*	relative conjunction
focus	*ana-ré*	this.is/ now	*ana-ne*	that.is/ then			*ana-to*	topicaliser
simile	*sa-ré*	like.this	*sa-ne*	like.that			*sa-to*	for. example

3.4.2 VERB ADJUNCTS

There are two subclasses in the closed class of verb adjuncts. First there are certain verbs that combine with *verbal particles*. These particles, such as *ma* 'come', *mu* 'go' and *kem* 'stay' do double duty as verbs, but when used as *verbal particles* are discontinuous with the verb and follow the object; see §5.1 for more details. Some of the verbal particles, like *we* 'away', are not used as any other part of speech. Some verbs with verbal particles are listed in Table 3.11 below:

TABLE 3.11: VERBAL PARTICLES

Verb	Verbal Particle	Meaning
gwat	*mu*	take (carry ... go)
gwat	*ma*	bring (carry ... come)
grem	*kwop*	put away
grem	*kem*	put down
bi	*mu*	send away
bi	*ma*	send here
bare	*we*	throw away

A second subclass consists of four *predicate marker particles* which always directly precede the verb when present. The meanings of the predicate markers range across the entire spectrum of concepts that are normally referred to as tense, aspect or mood.[6] See §10 for more details. They are contained in Table 3.12 below:

TABLE 3.12: PREDICATE MARKERS

Particle	Meaning	Used in
yo	this did not happen	simple sentences
waii	this happened exactly as before (same verb and object)	simple sentences
da	this did actually happen	complex sentences
do	this is in the process of happening together with...	complex sentences

3.4.3 CONJUNCTIONS

There are many conjunctions in Abun. The conjunctions which coordinate clauses are more closely associated with the first conjunct in the sentence, since a pause occurs after the conjunction. Schachter (1985:47) says that this type of conjunction "can be characterised as *postpositional* since they form structural conjuncts with the conjuncts they follow". This is surprising since it is expected that they would follow Abun's general word-order characteristic, that is prepositional.

Table 3.13 below lists both the coordinating and subordinating conjunctions found in Abun. Many of the conjunctions are formed by compounding, and the benefactive preposition *wa* does double duty as a subordinating conjunction. For more detailed discussion about Abun conjunctions see §11 and §12.

---

6 Lyons (1968:317) noted that in some languages these concepts may merge into one another. In attempting to define the precise meaning of the predicate markers they can be loosely described as falling into this broad area.

TABLE 3.13: CONJUNCTIONS

Coordinating		Subordinating	
e	and	*do*	complementiser
si	with, and	*to*	unrestricted relative conjunction
bado	or	*gato*	restricted relative conjunction
wo	but	*sa*	while, when, as (realis)
o-nde-wo	again-NEG-but: but really	*yo*	when...then (irrealis)
te	then	*o-nde-sa*	again-NEG-while: otherwise (would)
e-te	and-then	*o-nde-yo*	again-NEG-when: otherwise (will), unless
or-e-te	completely-and-then: after that/then	*or-e-te-yo*	completely-and-then-when: and next/and so
		wa	for, in order to
		we	because
		sawe	in case, lest
		sane	so, therefore
		sude	so that
		anato	that is the reason
		kapre	although
		i...i (clitic)	simultaneous action

3.4.4 PROFORMS

Abun has three subclasses of proforms including pronouns, prosentences, and interrogative proforms.

There is only one set of *pronouns* in Abun which is used for subject, object and possessor and is listed in Table 3.14 below. There is significant dialectal variation, with the three main dialects being distinguished by their first person singular pronoun. In addition to dual forms trial and greater are possible. Thus *me-ka-gri* 'we three' or *an-ka-at* 'they four' are frequently used in story telling.

TABLE 3.14: PRONOUNS

(NB. Dialect variants of Abun pronouns are represented in the following way: *nin/nu.)*

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*ji/ye/tat*	*me-ka-we*	*men*
2	*nan/a*	*nin-(ka)-we*	*nin/nu*
3	*an*	*an-(ka)-we*	*án*
3f	*an/mom*		
non-human	*i-*		

In addition to the above pronouns, Abun has a reciprocal pronoun, *yu*, and two reflexive forms, *dakai* and *wadigan.* These modify the appropriate pronoun above and *yu.* For further details regarding the distinction between these two see §5.2.1. The same form of this pronoun is used for all persons.

The Abun *prosentence subclass* consists of one member, which is also the primary negation particle, *nde.* This word is used to answer questions with a 'no' and, as such, is equivalent to a negative sentence. Affirmative answers use an echo system rather than a prosentence (see §6.1 for more details).

There are three members of the *interrogative proforms subclass*, namely *u* 'which', *suma* 'what' and *ot* 'how many'. These forms combine with other words to create interrogative expressions such as, *mo u* 'LOC which: where' and *kam ot* 'day how.many: when'. For more details see §6.1.4.

3.4.5 PARTICLES

There are several subclasses of particles including a topicaliser particle, a particle used for negation, three aspect, three modal and eight mood particles. The term particle is used to mean a free form word that does not take any type of inflection. It is an invariant form that never occurs in an environment where it could be described as 'bound'.

The topicaliser or focus particle is *ana(to)*, which always occurs after the subject and before the verb. See §4.7.2 for more details about the use of this particle.

There is one negative particle, *nde*, which occurs after the predicate and before aspect mood or modal particles. Used on its own it may answer a question in the negative. To form the indicative negative this particle along with the predicate marker *yo* form a linked pair of particles. These particles jointly bracket the constituent 'predicate'. Used in a sentence without *yo, nde* makes the mood of the sentence prohibitive. For further details see §8.

If a clause includes aspect, modal or mood particles, those particles will always be in clause-final position in that order. The particles may occur after either the verb, the object, the indirect object or an adjunct, depending on the constituents of the particular clause concerned. Also, these particles are not clitics in that the particle takes equivalent phonological stress along with every other word in the clause.

The three *aspect* particles are listed in Table 3.15 below. For more details see §7.1.

TABLE 3.15: ASPECT PARTICLES

Particle	Aspect Type	Meaning
re	perfect	already
it	completive	completed
tó	incompletive	yet, still

There is a limited number of particles which some writers refer to as *'modality'* rather than as aspect (Foley 1986:152ff.). In Abun, three modal particles are used. These are listed in Table 3.16 below and are discussed in more detail in §7.2.

TABLE 3.16: MODAL PARTICLES

Particle	Modal type	Meaning
bayok	probability	maybe, could, probably
ya	possibility	might
go	assertive	should, could really, certainly

In Abun, the constituent termed *mood* is an element of the clause expressed through the means of a clause-final particle. The indicative mood is unmarked. One interesting feature of the mood particles is the use of *two* particles as a linked pair to indicate interrogation. In a similar way, negation of indicative sentences uses a linked pair of particles. In Abun, the strategy of using *two* particles (as opposed to one) is for the purpose of delineating constituent boundaries. Thus the constituent 'interrogative' is marked by two particles, one termed the initial question marker (IQM), occurring clause-initially and the other, the final question marker (FQM), which ends or closes the interrogative. In modern usage the initial question marker *te* appears to be optional, perhaps influenced by the national language, Indonesian, which does not possess such a particle. The FQM differs according to the type of interrogative.

A table of the eight mood particles is listed below. For further information about mood particles listed here see §6.

TABLE 3.17: MOOD PARTICLES

Particle(s)	Mood Type
te	interrogative (IQM)
e	interrogative (FQM yes/no Q)
fe	interrogative (FQM confirm Q)
bado	interrogative (FQM alt Q)
ne/o	interrogative (FQM info Q)
tom/se	strong hortative
et	mild hortative
ware	frustrated action

3.4.6 INTERJECTIONS

There are several interjections in Abun, such as *mban!* 'expression of surprise/alarm' (for example, when a coconut falls nearby); *mara!* 'expression of disgust' (for example, when someone doubts the integrity of another person, this interjection would begin a defence); and *bei!* 'expression of surprise'. According to Schachter (1985:58), "The class of interjections often includes words which are phonologically distinctive". However, in contrast to this, those interjections observed so far fit within the regular phonological patterns of the language.

CHAPTER 4

CLAUSE STRUCTURE

The focus of this chapter is the structure of an Abun main clause. Firstly, some comments are made about the core grammar and grammatical relations (§4.1) followed by a note on how the grammatical relations hierarchy relates to Abun (§4.2). A discussion of clause types (§4.3), peripheral constituents, which are labelled here adjuncts (§4.4), and clause-final particles (§4.5) completes the picture of the Abun verbal main clause. In §4.6, Abun verbless clauses are discussed.

A feature of Abun clauses is their fairly rigid word order, especially in the core, but also in the periphery. The acceptable variations are limited. There are several syntactic information-packaging options in Abun clauses such as de-focusing, topicalisation and cleft-like constructions, which are discussed in §4.7.

4.1 CORE GRAMMAR AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

The basic word order of an Abun clause, like all other West Papuan Phylum languages, is SUBJECT VERB OBJECT.

Firstly, in regard to subjects, Andrews (1985:104) points out that in a great many languages a subject grammatical relation is clearly marked by the coding features of ordinary main clauses. For example, in English, subjects are primarily marked by the coding feature of preverbal position, and in some limited cases indicated by case marking and cross-referencing. Abun subjects are similar to English because they are clearly encoded by word order. No case-marking or other coding devices signify an Abun subject. Rather, Abun subjects are *always* the constituent realised by a noun phrase that immediately precedes the verb.

The direct object in an Abun transitive clause is also encoded by word order alone. The Abun object is *always* the constituent realised by a noun phrase that immediately follows the verb, except in certain contexts where the object can be fronted (see §4.7.2).

According to Andrews (1985:69), the first step in analysing the system of grammatical relations in a language is to identify A, S, and O, where A is transitive subject (prototypically an agent), S is intransitive subject (either agent or patient) and O is transitive object (prototypically a patient). Typologically languages differ according to how these grammatical relations group. Nominative/accusative systems combine A and S functions, whereas absolutive/ergative systems combine S and O functions.

On this basis, Abun is a nominative-accusative language since it combines the S and A functions. Abun combines S and A on a syntactic level, the syntactic coding being word order. S and A precede the verb, whereas O follows the verb. In an intransitive clause, a

subject (S) precedes the verb, as in example 4.1. The same is true for a transitive clause, the subject (A) precedes the verb and an object (O) follows, as in 4.2.

4.1 *Men* *kas.*
1PL run
SUBJECT VERB
We ran.

4.2 *Men* *gwa* *Isak.*
1PL hit Isak
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT
We hit Isak.

Morphologically the constituents of noun phrases are the same, irrespective of the grammatical role filled by the noun phrases. In example 4.2 the subject of the transitive clause (A) is first person plural, while an identical form is also the object (O) of 4.3 and subject of the intransitive clause (S) in 4.1. All Abun pronouns are invariant in form, whether they refer to the subject, object or possessor. See Table 3.14 in §3.4.4 for a full list of pronouns.

4.3 *Isak* *gwa* *men.*
Isak hit 1PL
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT
Isak hit us.

Most other grammatical relations, including that of dative, are encoded by the use of prepositions. In addition to being encoded by prepositions, word order is still fairly rigid. For example, dative, where present, follows an object and precedes other prepositional phrases. Locative phrases with the preposition *mo* usually follow all other prepositional phrases.

Free-form adverbs or adverbial phrases which express time or location are free from the otherwise rigid word order of the Abun clause, with the exception that they cannot occur preceding the direct object (see §4.4.1).

Thus, an Abun main clause consists of:

(ADJUNCTS) SUBJECT VERB (DIRECT OBJECT) (INDIRECT OBJECT) (ADJUNCTS) (PARTICLES)

Adjuncts include free-form adverbs or adverbial phrases and various prepositional phrases expressing associative, instrumental, benefactive and the like. The subject is obligatory and is rarely elided, even in subordinate clauses. Particles may optionally occur clause-finally to indicate polarity, aspect, modality or mood. A detailed discussion of these particles is the subject of the chapters 6, 7 and 8 of this work.

Objects may be topicalised by fronting. Adjuncts expressing location or time may also be fronted and thereby precede the subject in certain contexts (see §4.7 below). Those expressing time usually precede the subject, whereas those expressing location are only fronted on rare occasions.

4.2 ABUN AND THE GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS HIERARCHY

Blake (1990:1) summarises some of the basic notions of relational grammar and includes a discussion of grammatical relations that can be arranged in a hierarchy, namely subject, object, indirect object and obliques (that is, adjuncts). Each level of the hierarchy can be distinctly marked; for example, the presence of case marking or adpositions tends to be associated with the oblique end of the hierarchy.

In arranging the grammatical relations of the Abun language in a hierarchy, it can be seen that each level is marked in a distinct way, as listed in Table 3.18 below. First, the subject is marked by word order; it is simply preverbal. Second, the object also is marked by word order; it is postverbal. Next, at the level of indirect object, a change in marking takes place. Higher in the hierarchy, word order alone marks the grammatical relations, but for indirect objects and obliques grammatical relations are marked by prepositions, with word order taking a secondary role.

TABLE 3.18: GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS HIERARCHY

Relation	Indication
Subject	precedes verb
Object	follows verb, and intransitive verbs require class changing suffix, *-wa*
Indirect Object	follows object, and takes indirect object preposition *is/nai*
Adjunct	occurs clause-finally following object or indirect object, and takes appropriate preposition to indicate locative, benefactive, instrument etc.

4.3 CLAUSE TYPES

The number of arguments associated with each verb differs. Three types exist in Abun: intransitive, requiring one argument (§4.3.1), transitive, requiring two arguments (§4.3.2) and ditransitive, requiring three arguments (§4.3.3). In Abun, no verbs have specific valency markings except for the use of the *-wa* suffix, which forms transitive verbs out of intransitive verbs (see §3.3.1).

4.3.1 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

The verbs in intransitive clauses may be simple verbs of motion such as *kas* 'run', *mu* 'go', *ma* 'come', *titi* 'flee', *ok* 'fly', *e* 'fall over', *ges* 'fall down', *sun* 'get up'; verbs of body functions such as *semda* 'dream', *ro* 'urinate', *ku* 'cough'; or verbs relating to a state such as *sem* 'be asleep', *kwop* 'be dead', *nyu* 'be afraid', *i* 'be sick', *í* 'be happy' *det* 'be broken', *kam* 'be hot'.

The basic structure of an intransitive clause is SUBJECT + VERB. The verbs are in most cases uninflected, except for those inflections discussed in §3.3.1. The subject is obligatory since no cross-referencing on the verb indicates who or what the subject was. The closest related language, Maibrat, does have a subject person prefix on the verb, but Abun does not,

necessitating the continual use of the subject. So, for example, in example 4.4 *Isak* is obligatory.

4.4 *Isak* *ma.*
Isak came
SUBJECT VERB
Isak came.

Likewise the verb is obligatory. Any verb in isolation is ungrammatical. An intransitive clause may consist of several verbs together as in example 4.5. Serial verbs like this function as a unit.

4.5 *An* ***kas mu sem*** *mo* *nden.*
3SG run go sleep LOC bush
SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVEPHRASE
He ran and slept in the bush.

Intransitive clauses may also contain prepositional phrases. These phrases usually follow the verb as in example 4.5, and will be discussed in greater detail below, regarding position and types in §4.4.2 and §5.3 respectively.

4.3.2 TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Transitive clauses contain verbs such as *sap* 'cut', *git* 'eat', *gwa* 'hit' and *nai* 'get'. The basic structure is SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT. Example 4.6 illustrates a transitive clause:

4.6 *Men* *git* *boge-ku.*
1PL eat fish-flesh
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT
We ate fish.

The subject, as for intransitive clauses, is obligatory. The object is also notionally obligatory, however object ellipsis frequently occurs in discourse. In example 4.7 there are two transitive clauses, the first containing *sugit* 'food' as the object. However, in the second clause the object is elided. It could be phrased *an git sugit or*, including the object, and the statement would still be acceptable grammatically. In all cases where the object is elided it is recoverable from the context.

4.7 *An* *git* ***su-git.*** *An* *git* *or.*
3SG eat NOM-eat 3SG eat completely
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT SUBJECT VERB
He ate the food. He ate (it) all.

Transitive clauses may also include serial verbs, depending upon speaker preference. Some speakers may use a pronoun to separate verbs such as in example 4.8, while others may run several verbs together, such as in *Ji mu git* 'I went and ate'. Three verbs have been observed together in the data, as seen in 4.9. Conceivably more than three could be acceptable given suitable semantic connections. In serial verb constructions like this, intransitive verbs precede transitive verbs. Where transitive verbs precede intransitive verbs an object intervenes.

4.8 *Ji* ***mu*** *ji* ***git*** *su-git* *mo* *nu.*
1SG go 1SG eat NOM-eat LOC house
SUBJECT VERB SUBJECT VERB OBJECT LOC PHRASE
I went and ate at home.

4.9 *Ye-suk-mise* ***ma*** ***nai*** ***gwat*** *an* *mu* *ket.*
PERS-NOM-evil come capture carry 3SG go west
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT VBPCL ADVERB
The police came and caught him and took him westward.

4.3.3 DITRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Ditransitive clauses include verbs that require three arguments such as *syo* 'give', *kadum* 'show' and *bi* 'send'. They are constructed in a similar way to transitive clauses but also include an obligatory dative prepositional phrase as the third argument. A ditransitive clause consists of:

SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT + DATIVE

The dative argument here is obligatory. It is filled by a prepositional phrase that begins with the preposition *is* (Abun Ji) or *nai*, dialectal variant (Abun Ye/Tat), and it usually precedes other types of prepositional phrases, as seen in examples 4.10 and 4.11.

4.10 *Men* *kadum* *men* *bi* *tiket* ***is*** *ye-suk-mise.*
1PL show 1PL POSS ticket to PERS-NOM-evil
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE
We showed our tickets to the police.

4.11 *Nggon* *ne* *syo* *suk-ne* ***nai*** *an* *bi* *im* *mo* *nu.*
girl DEM give NOM-DET to 3SG POSS mother LOC house
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE LOCATIVE
That girl gave those things to her mother at home.

Frequently the object is omitted where it is understood from the context. In example 4.12 the object, 'three plates', is elided from the second clause. This is possible because it is recoverable from the context that three plates were given to Isak. In the same way the indirect object itself, when recoverable from the context, can be elided, except for the preposition. In example 4.13 it is clear that the third person singular referred to in the first clause is the recipient of the ginger.

4.12 *An* *nai* *brek* *gri,* *an* *syo* ***is*** *Isak.*
3SG get plate three 3SG give to Isak
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT SUBJECT VERB DATIVE
He took three plates (of food), he gave (them) to Isak.

4.13 *Ji* *si* *an* *ma,* *ji* *bi* *ri* ***nai.***
1SG with 3SG come 1SG give ginger to
SUBJECT VERB SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE
He and I came (to the house), and I gave the ginger to (him).

4.4 ADJUNCTS

Adjuncts express spatio-temporal settings of events and other secondary participants and information not contained in the core arguments. Adjuncts are distinguished from the core arguments by syntactic positioning outside of the core and by marking with prepositions. Adjuncts of a clause are therefore typically filled by adverbial phrases (see §4.4.1) and prepositional phrases (see §4.4.2).

4.4.1 ADVERBIAL PHRASES

Adverbial phrases consist of an adverb and an optional intensifier. In most cases such phrases are realised by an adverb alone.

There are several types of adverbs discussed in §3.3.4 such as time adverbs, manner adverbs, directional adverbs and degree adverbs. Degree adverbs are used in forming adverbial and adjectival phrases and will be discussed later in §5.5. The other three types occur as free forms or as the head of an adverbial phrase. There is some flexibility in their placement in the Abun sentence, but as a general rule time adverbs are sentence-initial while manner and directional adverbs generally follow the object and precede prepositional phrases.

The most flexible as to their placement in an Abun sentence are time adverbs. An example below repeated from §3.3.4 (examples 3.46a, b, c, d) illustrates this. Usually time adverbs are sentence-initial, but to change the focus and semantic scope of the predicate they may follow the verb. This is particularly significant in negative indicative sentences which are discussed in §8.5. Also time adverbs can occur between a subject and verb on rare occasions, as in example 4.14b, breaking the normal pattern of Abun main clauses.

4.14 a. ***Kam-dik-kam-dik*** *an* *ma* *mo* *ji* *bi* *nu.*
day-one-day-one 3SG come LOC 1SG POSS house
ADVERB SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE
Everyday he came to my house.

b. *An* ***kam-dik-kam-dik*** *ma* *mo* *ji* *bi* *nu.*
3SG day-one-day-one come LOC 1SG POSS house
SUBJECT ADVERB VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE
Everyday he came to my house.

c. *An* *ma* ***kam-dik-kam-dik*** *mo* *ji* *bi* *nu.*
3SG come day-one-day-one LOC 1SG POSS house
SUBJECT VERB ADVERB LOCATIVE PHRASE
He came everyday to my house.

d. *An* *ma* *mo* *ji* *bi* *nu* ***kam-dik-kam-dik.***
3SG come LOC 1SG POSS house day-one-day-one
SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE ADVERB
He came to my house everyday.

In Abun adverbs of manner there is some flexibility, but they generally follow the object, where present. Therefore in intransitive clauses these adverbs directly follow the verb, as in example 4.15a, or another adjunct, 4.15b; but they are unacceptable preverbally, 4.15c, or following any polarity, aspect, modality or mood particle.

4.15 a. *An sem* ***not*** *mo gum-wak re.*
3SG sleep quietly in wall-hole PERF
SUBJECT VERB ADVERB LOCATIVE PHRASE ASPECT
She has been sleeping quietly in the room.

b. *An sem mo gum-wak* ***not*** *re.*
3SG sleep in wall-hole quietly PERF
SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE ADVERB ASPECT
She has been sleeping quietly in the room.

c. **An* ***not*** *sem mo gum-wak re.*
3SG quietly sleep in wall-hole PERF
SUBJECT ADVERB VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE ASPECT
She has been sleeping quietly in the room.

Usually an adverb indicating the manner of the action not only follows the object but also precedes the dative, as seen in example 4.16a. It may also follow any adjunct including the dative as in 4.16b, but it may not occur in any position ahead of the object, as in 4.16c to 4.16e.

4.16 a. *An syo su-git* ***kekro*** *is ji.*
3SG give NOM-eat quickly to 1SG
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT ADVERB DATIVE
He gave food quickly to me.

b. *An syo su-git is ji* ***kekro.***
3SG give NOM-eat to 1SG quickly
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE ADVERB
He gave food to me quickly.

c. **An syo* ***kekro*** *su-git is ji.*
3SG give quickly NOM-eat to 1SG
SUBJECT VERB ADVERB OBJECT DATIVE
*He gave quickly food to me.

d. **An* ***kekro*** *syo su-git is ji.*
3SG quickly give NOM-eat to 1SG
SUBJECT ADVERB VERB OBJECT DATIVE
He quickly gave food to me.

e. ****Kekro*** *an syo su-git is ji.*
quickly 3SG give NOM-eat to 1SG
ADVERB SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE
Quickly he gave food to me.

Adverbs indicating direction also occur in the same position, that is, following the object and preceding any prepositional phrase, as in example 4.17. These adverbs are free-form relator nouns (see §3.3.2) such as *ti* 'sea, north', *bur* 'earth, down', *nim* 'above, east', *ket* 'west', and *nden* 'interior, south'.

4.17 *Me* *wai* *yu* *mu* ***ti*** *mo* *Dom.*
1PL turn.around ourselves go seaward LOC Sorong
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT VBPCL ADVERB LOCATIVE
We turned around to go seaward at Sorong.

4.4.2 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Prepositional phrases consist of dative, spacio-temporal, benefactive, manner, associative, and instrumental phrases. Prepositional phrases follow an object. When there is a dative prepositional phrase, it usually precedes other prepositional phrases. The order amongst the other types of phrases is somewhat fluid.

The following examples illustrate the position of various types of phrases in the clause. For more details regarding the types of prepositional phrases see §5.4. Several types of phrases begin with a preposition *su* 'with'; for example, temporal phrases as in example 4.18, associative phrases 4.19, instrumental phrases 4.20 and 4.21 and manner phrases 4.22.

4.18 *An* *kem* *mo* *kampung* *ré* ***su*** *tahun* *musyu* *mufit*
3SG live LOC village DET in year ten seven
SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE PHRASE TEMPORAL PHRASE

sop *gri.*
and three
He was living in this village in 1973.

4.19 *Nan* *ma* *kem* ***su*** *men.*
2SG come live with 1PL
SUBJECT VERB ASSOCIATIVE PHRASE
Come and live with us.

4.20 *An* *gwa* *Simon* ***su*** *kwe* *koi* *sye.*
3SG hit Simon with tree piece big
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT INSTRUMENTAL PHRASE
He hit Simon with a big piece of wood.

4.21 *Isak* *syo* *su-git* *is* *men* ***su*** *an* *syim* *mo* *nden.*
Isak give NOM-eat to 1PL with 3SG hand LOC bush
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT DATIVE INSTRUMENTAL LOCATIVE
Isak gave us food with his hand in the bush.

4.22 *An* *sok* *mo* *Yefun* *bi* *rus* ***su*** *sange.*
3SG enter into God POSS family with true
SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE MANNER
He truly entered into God's family.

Benefactive phrases begin with the preposition *wa* 'for', as in example 4.23. Locative phrases generally begin with the locative preposition *mo* 'at, in, on' in 4.18, or can also begin with *ket* 'along', 4.24, *bot* 'about', 4.25, or *kadit* 'from' as in 4.26. The preposition *kadit* is also used to form temporal phrases, as in 4.27.

4.23 *An* *so* *semen* *mo-re* ***wa*** *an* *bi* *nu.*
3SG buy cement LOC-here for 3SG POSS house
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT LOCATIVE BENEFACTIVE
He bought cement here for his house.

4.24 *Men* *mu* ***ket*** *sem* *de* *ne.*
1PL go along sea side DET
SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE
We went along the seaside.

4.25 *An* *saye* ***bot*** *nu* ***bot*** *nden* *nu* *de* *ne* *ju.*
3SG shout about house about outside house side DET east(near)
SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE LOCATIVE
She shouted (for me) about the houses, about the outside of the houses just up to the east (of the village).

4.26 *Men* *mu* ***kadit*** *Dom* *mu* *mo* *Uigwem.*
1PL go from Dom go to Uigwem
SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE VERB LOCATIVE
We went from Dom to Uigwem.

4.27 *Ji* *ben* ***kadit*** *ketke* *sor* *kom* *mo-re.*
1SG do from beginning until to LOC-here
SUBJECT VERB TEMPORAL
I have done (that) all the time up until now.

The position of prepositional phrases relative to each other is somewhat fluid as is normally the case for adjuncts. However, in the corpus of data it is clear that there is a preference for *su* (associative and instrumental) phrases to precede *mo* locative phrases.

Of the adjuncts, temporal phrases more commonly precede the subject as in example 4.28, and they may be placed just like time adverbs illustrated in 4.14 above.

4.28 ***Su*** ***futmo*** *ye* *mu* *nai* *su-git* *mo* *nggwe.*
with first 3INDEF go get NOM-eat LOC garden
At first people went to get food from the garden.

Prepositional phrases can occur in series as in the case of locative phrases with the prepositions *bot*, as in example 4.25 above, and *mo* 4.29.

4.29 *Yen* *taru* *mu* ***mo*** *nje* ***mo*** *nden* ***mo*** *Syubun.*
3INDEF send.message go LOC 3INDEF LOC bush LOC Syubun
SUBJECT VERB LOCATIVE LOCATIVE LOCATIVE
They sent a message to the people in the bush at Syubun.

4.5 PARTICLES

The role of particles in Abun clauses is significant. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 of this work are devoted to a discussion thereof. To complete the general picture of Abun main clauses, here is a brief summary of the role of particles used to convey notions of negation, aspect, modality and mood. They all occur clause-final in the following order:

(NEGATION) (ASPECT) (MODALITY) (MOOD)

Each particle is optional. They may co-occur where semantically feasible. Furthermore, the particle expressing negation may co-occur with another particle, *yo,* which is preverbal, forming a linked pair, as discussed in §8.2. Likewise the particle expressing interrogative mood may co-occur with a sentence-initial particle, *te*, forming a linked pair, as discussed in §6.1.

4.5.1 NEGATION

Givón (1984:336) comments that NEG-markers tend to attach themselves as morphemic operators almost always to the verb. However Abun differs markedly from the norm in that its main NEG-marker, *nde*, is not attached to the verb, and is frequently distant from the verb, being one of the clause-final particles. For prohibitive sentences *nde* is used as in examples 4.30 and 4.31; but for negative indicatives the predicate (V, O and all ADJUNCTS) is bracketed by two particles, *yo* and *nde*, as seen in 4.32 and 4.33. For a more detailed discussion of negation see §8.1.

4.30 *Nggon git su-ge ga sye* ***nde.***
women eat NOM-body REL big NEG
Women must not eat big animals.

4.31 *Nan mu* ***nde.***
2SG go NEG
Don't go!

4.32 *An* ***yo*** *gwat kwem* ***nde.***
3SG NEG bring canoe NEG
SUBJECT NEG VERB OBJECT NEG
He did not bring the canoe.

4.33 *Ji* ***yo*** *syo mbre is Musa mo nu* ***nde.***
1SG NEG give antique.cloth to Musa LOC house NEG
SUBJECT NEG VERB OBJECT DATIVE LOCATIVE NEG
I didn't give antique cloth to Musa at the house.

4.5.2 ASPECT

The verb in Abun is uninflected for either tense, mood or aspect. Aspect particles add increments to the meaning of the verb and occur clause-finally. In Abun, aspect particles, which are optional, refer to the distribution of time or contour of an action or state of affairs. They are:

re	PERFECT
it	COMPLETIVE
tó	INCOMPLETIVE

Examples of each type are given in examples 4.34 to 4.36. For further details about aspect in Abun see §7.1.

4.34 *An we mu* ***re.***
3PL two go PERF
SUBJECT VERB ASPECT
They (two) had gone.

4.35 *Nggon we sap yu* ***it.***
women two slash each.other CAM
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT ASPECT
The two women had already slashed each other.

4.36 *An ben suk mo nggwe* ***tó.***
3SG do thing LOC garden INCAM
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT LOCATIVE ASPECT
He is still working in the garden.

Aspect particles follow both prepositional phrases and the final negative particle, *nde*, where present. It is uncommon for two aspect particles to occur together, but it is possible where the clause is both negative and perfect, as in example 4.37.

4.37 *Ji* ***yo*** *jam kom mo mit* ***nde tó re.***
1SG NEG know up.to LOC inside NEG INCAM PERF
I still have not yet understood the whole thing.

4.5.3 MODALITY

Modal markers optionally occur where the attitude of the speaker is marked grammatically near the end of a clause, following negation or aspect particles and just preceding any mood marking. Modals in Abun are:

ya	POSSIBILITY (example 4.38)
bayok	PROBABILITY (example 4.39)
go	ASSERTIVE (example 4.40)

They are all clause-final and, where semantically possible, may occur with negation, aspect and mood particles. For more details see §7.2. Examples are:

4.38 *Prisila ma sap Barbarina o* ***ya.***
Prisila come cut Barbarina again PMM
SUBJECT VERB OBJECT ADVERB MODAL
Prisila might come and cut Barbarina again.

4.39 *An jam it* ***bayok.***
3SG know CAM PROB
SUBJECT VERB ASPECT MODAL
He probably already knows.

4.40 *Ye ga sa-ne be ben siri su an ne* ***go***
person REL like-that later do wrong with 3SG DET ASS
SUBJECT ADVERB VERB OBJECT ASSOCIATIVE MODAL
A person like that will really commit adultery with her.

4.41	*An*	*ben*	*suk*	*ye*	*ndo*	*nde*	***go***	*fe?*
	3SG	do	things	difficult	good	NEG	ASS	CQM
	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	ADJECTIVAL PHRASE		MODAL		MOOD

He really made things very very difficult, didn't he?

4.5.4 MOOD

According to Lyons (1968:307) the term mood "is best defined in relation to an 'unmarked' class of sentences which express simple statements of fact, unqualified with respect to the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying".

In Abun the *indicative* mood is unmarked while the other two basic types of mood are marked by the use of particles which occur clause-final. In addition Abun also marks another mood, that of frustrated action. A list of all Abun mood particles is given in Table 3.16 in §3.4.5.

Interrogative mood, in addition to the question word itself, has two particles that bracket the clause, *te* 'INITIAL QUESTION MARKER', for all types of questions and a final question marker which is one of:

ne	INFORMATION FINAL QUESTION MARKER (example 4.42)
e	YES/NO FINAL QUESTION MARKER (example 4.43)
bado	ALTERNATIVE QUESTION MARKER (example 4.44)
fe	CONFIRMATIVE QUESTION MARKER (example 4.45)

The initial question marker is optional; however, the final question marker is obligatory. More details of interrogative structure types are found in Chapter 6.

4.42	***(Te)***	*nan*	*jan*	*suma*	*mo*	*nggwe*	***ne?***
	IQM	2SG	plant	what	LOC	garden	FQM
	MOOD	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	LOCATIVE		MOOD

What did you plant in the garden?

4.43	***(Te)***	*an*	*ma*	*it*	***e?***
	IQM	3SG	come	CAM	FQM
	MOOD	SUBJECT	VERB	ASPECT	MOOD

Has he arrived yet?

4.44	***(Te)***	*nin*	*jam*	*Yefun*	*bi*	*geret*	***bado***	*nde*	*e?*
	IQM	2PL	know	God	POSS	family	AQM	NEG	FQM
	MOOD	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT		MOOD			

Do you know God's family name or not?

4.45	***(Te)***	*Ji*	*kem*	*rok*	*mo-re*	*it*	***fe?***
	IQM	1SG	live	long	LOC-here	CAM	FQM
	MOOD	SUBJECT	VERB	ADVERB	LOCATIVE	ASPECT	MOOD

I have lived a long time here, haven't I?

The initial question marker, *te*, is used to alert the hearer that a question is about to be asked. It is more commonly used within a complex sentence, as in example 4.46, than in

simple sentences. In a sample of 194 questions in the corpus of data, *te* occurred 41 times, that is about 21% of questions used *te*.

4.46
Nggwe	*ga*	*nan*	*kem*	*sure*	***te***	*nu*	*but*	***bado,***
garden	REL	2SG	live	now	IQM	2PL	clear	AQM

nok	*git*	*suk-jan*	*mo*	*nggwe*	*mit*	*ne*	***bado?***
wild.pig	eat	NOM-plant	LOC	garden	inside	DET	AQM

In the garden where you are living, have you cleared it (and worked it), or have pigs eaten the plants in the garden?

For *imperative*, the following particles are clause-final: *se* (Abun Ji) and the dialectal variant, *tom* (Abun Tat) STRONG HORTATIVE as in example 4.47; *et* MILD HORTATIVE 4.48, and *nde* 'PROHIBITIVE' 4.49. The unmarked form, 'BASIC IMPERATIVE' 4.50, is distinguished from indicative mood by context. For further discussion regarding imperative mood see §6.2.

4.47
Nggon	*mise,*	*men*	*gat*	*yu*	*o*	***se!***
woman	evil	1PL	spear	each.other	again	HORT(S)
SUBJECT			VERB	OBJECT	ADVERB	MOOD

Evil woman, let's spear each other again!!!

4.48
Nan	*me*	*Sadrak*	*bi*	*im*	***et!***
2SG	see	Sadrak	POSS	mother	HORT(M)
SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT			MOOD

(Go and) see Sadrak's mother!

4.49
Nan	*wo*	***nde!***
2SG	cry	IMP
SUBJECT	VERB	MOOD

Don't cry!

4.50
Nan	*sam*	*nan-bi*	*suk*	*ma*	*kekro!*
2SG	carry	2SG-POSS	thing	come	quickly
SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT		VBPCL	ADVERB

Bring your things here quickly!

Frustrated action mood uses the particle *ware*, as in example 4.51. The nearest English equivalent would be 'in vain', 'to no avail' or 'but without success'. Its meaning is that an action was attempted but the goal of the action was not achieved. It is clause-final like other moods following modal markers. See §6.3 for more details.

4.51
Yen	*syuret*	*an*	*mo-ne*	***ware.***
3INDEF	look.for	3SG	LOC-there	FRUS
SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	LOCATIVE	MOOD

They looked for him there without success.

4.6 VERBLESS CLAUSES

In Abun there are a small number of verbless clauses. Three of them are simply juxtaposed, while a fourth uses the complement particle, *do*, to attribute a proper name. The four types are:

- Equational clauses: attribute a nominal to the subject (example 4.52).

- Name clauses: attribute a proper name to the subject (example 4.53).
- Descriptive clauses: attribute an adjective to the subject (example 4.54).
- Locational clauses: attribute a location to the subject (example 4.55).

4.52 *An ye-nden.*
3SG PERS-jungle/bush/interior
He (is a) Yenden (lit. bush.person).

4.53 *Pa gum do Ofni.*
child name COM Ofni
The child's name is Ofni.

4.54 *Ofni bi nu sye.*
Ofni POSS house big
Ofni's house is big.

4.55 *An mo nu.*
3SG LOC house
He (is) at (the) house.

The first two types are negated by the use of *nde* only (see §8.1.3), while the latter two require the use of a linked pair of negative particles, *yo...nde*, as discussed in §8.2.3 and §8.2.4.

Name clauses require the use of the complement particle. The same particle is also used to introduce direct and indirect speech. For a full discussion regarding these complements in Abun, see Chapter 10.

4.7 SYNTACTIC INFORMATION-PACKAGING OPTIONS IN ABUN CLAUSES

According to Foley and Van Valin (1985:299) there is a wide variety of syntactic information-packaging options used in languages. They discuss the options of passive, dative shift, left-dislocation, topicalisation, and cleft constructions.

Of those defined by Foley and Van Valin, passive, dative shift, left-dislocation and cleft constructions do not occur in Abun. However, de-focusing constructions which achieve the same purpose as passive (§4.7.1), topicalisation (§4.7.2), and cleft-like constructions (§4.7.3) do occur in Abun.

4.7.1 DE-FOCUSING

According to Foley and Van Valin (1985:299) passives characteristically present the undergoer argument as the subject. They also say that, traditionally, the subject has been described as the constituent which specifies what the sentence is *about*, meaning that passive sentences are understood to be *about* the undergoer argument.

In Abun there is no passive construction as such. However, to make the undergoer argument the item which the sentence is about, different means are used. The indefinite pronoun *ye* becomes subject of the sentence. This has the effect of backgrounding the subject, and so transfers attention to the undergoer argument. So instead of saying, 'The bag

was taken to the bush', the Abun people say, 'Someone took the bag to the bush' as in the following example:

4.56 ***Ye*** *gwat yu ne mu mo nden.*
3INDEF take bag the go LOC bush
The bag was taken to the bush.

The sentence here is *about* the bag, not *about* the indefinite subject, 'someone'. The use of an indefinite pronoun in this way therefore results in a semantic force similar to an agentless passive. Compare Foley and Van Valin's (1985:334) statement that "There are many languages that lack all of the constructions... [of both backgrounding and foregrounding passives]. Nevertheless, they do have means of expressing that a non-actor is more important than the actor". See example 4.56 above.

4.7.2 TOPICALISATION

Foley and Van Valin (1985:355) define topicalisation as a procedure used to place an NP, other than a subject, sentence-initially. In contrast to passive structures which are clause-internal, Foley and Van Valin consider topicalisation as clause-external. They say, "Topicalisation...involve(s) the occurrence of an external topic NP followed by a sentence which relates to it in some way".

In Abun, simple prepositioning is used to foreground objects and *mo* locative phrases with no pronoun trace left in the sentence. The foregrounded item becomes the topic upon which a comment follows. For example:

4.57 ***Yu ne*** *ye gwat mu mo nden.*
bag ANA 3INDEF take go to bush
1. The bag, someone took (it) to the bush.
2. The bag was taken to the bush.

4.58 ***Mo nden ne*** *men git boge.*
LOC bush ANA 1PL eat fish
In the bush we ate fish.

Foley and Van Valin (1985:356) claim that "...the primary functions of these [topicalised] constructions are to introduce new referents into a discourse, or to reintroduce a referent which was previously introduced but which has not been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse".

The function of topicalisation in Abun is the second of those mentioned above, namely to reintroduce a previously introduced referent. However, the referent may have been mentioned in the immediately preceding sentence, such as in example 4.59.

4.59 *An mu me* ***su-git*** *yak mo nden.*
3SG go see NOM-eat jump LOC outside

Su-git jon ne *men grem kop mo dapur.*
NOM-eat cooked ANA 1PL put aside LOC kitchen
He went quickly outside to see the food. The cooked food, we had put aside in the kitchen.

In Abun, topicalisation does not occur in isolation. The object or location must have been mentioned in previous discussion. For this reason, in all cases of topicalisation in Abun, the determiner, or more specifically the anaphoric referent *ne*, is obligatory. In example 4.59 'food' was already mentioned in the sentence previous to the one where it is topicalised.

Foley and Van Valin (1985:301) also make the point that in most languages passive is restricted to core constituents while topicalisation is not. In Abun, de-focusing constructions are limited to the core, whereas topicalisation is also possible with peripheral constituents, but only with *mo* locative phrases, as seen in example 4.60. Topicalisation of other phrase types such as benefactive (4.61) or instrumental (4.62) is unacceptable to an Abun speaker.

4.60 ***Mo kampung mit ne*** *an gu ye or re.*
LOC village inside ANA 3SG kill 3INDEF completely PERF
Inside that village she had killed everyone.

4.61 ****Wa Wonja*** *Marta kon su-git.*
BEN Wonja Marta cook NOM-eat
For Wonja, Marta cooked food.

4.62 ****Su mbam*** *an gu ndar ne kwop.*
with axe 3SG kill dog DET die
With an axe he killed the dog.

Regarding the frequency of topicalisation in Abun, in a sample of five different stories by five different speakers, seven examples of topicalisation were found, four of object fronting, and three of *mo* locative phrase fronting. This represented about 1.5% of the clauses examined. Thus topicalisation, although possible, is uncommon in Abun.

4.7.3 CLEFT-LIKE CONSTRUCTIONS

According to Huddleston (1984:459) the general effect of a cleft construction is to give added prominence to a particular constituent, which he calls the highlighted element.

The Abun equivalent of what translates into English as a cleft is not syntactically a cleft construction. In other words, there is no subordinate clause or division into two clauses that causes prominence of a particular constituent. Instead, a particle *anato* serves to highlight the constituent immediately preceding it and intensifies any focus or topics already structured. For example, compare unmarked example 4.63a with the cleft-like construction in 4.63b:

4.63 a. *Ron bi wa men.*
Ron pay for 1PL
Ron paid for us.

b. *Ron* ***ana-to*** *bi wa men.*
Ron FOC-NMP pay for 1PL
1. It was Ron who paid for us.
2. Ron is the one who paid for us.

Anato is a compound of *ana* 'FOCUS' and *to* 'NOUN MODIFYING PARTICLE'. *To* usually indicates that embedding will follow. Such embedding refers to and modifies the noun preceding. In other words, *to* introduces more information about the preceding noun. So we

know that any noun followed by *to* is going to have some modification. In this case the additional information conveyed by adding *to* to the noun is that of prominence, highlighting or additional focus.

CHAPTER 5

PHRASE STRUCTURE

The structure of phrases in Abun is consistent with what has already been stated about its syntax; namely that fixed word order and particles, rather than affixation, are used to signify meaning.

This chapter consists of a survey of phrase types, namely verb phrases (§5.1), noun phrases (§5.2), possessive phrases (§5.3), prepositional phrases (§5.4), adverbial and adjectival phrases (§5.5), quantifier phrases (§5.6) and complex phrases (§5.7). The head of each phrase type is indicated by *word order*, and word order alone. Table 5.1 below summarises the structure of each of these phrase types.

TABLE 5.1: PHRASE TYPES

Phrase Type	Structure
Verb Phrases	(Predicate Marker) Verb (Verbal Particle)
Noun Phrases	Head (Modifiers) (Determiner)
Possessive Phrases	
Inalienable	NP[Possessor] NP[Possessum]
Alienable	NP[Possessor] ***bi*** NP[Possessum]
Prepositional Phrases	Preposition NP
Adverbial Phrases	Adverb (Intensifier)
Adjectival Phrases	Adjective (Intensifier)
Quantifier Phrases	(Classifier) Quantifier

5.1 VERB PHRASES

For the purposes of this discussion we shall define a verb phrase not as a total predicate, but limited to the verb and its modifiers, as discussed by Schachter (1985:41). In Abun, verb phrases are defined as consisting of a verb as head, with optional predicate markers and verbal particles.

Auxiliaries, which carry notions of tense, aspect, mood, modality, polarity and voice, are not considered as part of the Abun verb phrase since they are separated from the verb, not only by any object, but also by any adverbs and adjuncts in the sentence. Aspect, mood, polarity and modality particles can be contiguous with the verb only when there are no object(s), adverbs or adjuncts. Therefore, for Abun, such particles are not analysed here as part of the verb phrase, but are considered separately because they operate on the clause level. They are discussed separately in §6, §7, and §8.

Thus an Abun verb phrase consists of:

(PREDICATE MARKER) VERB* (VERBAL PARTICLE)

(*a direct object, where present, occurs between its verb and the verbal particle)

One of the two modifying components is a *predicate marker particle.* There are four predicate marker particles which when present always directly precede the verb. They are listed in Table 5.2 below:

TABLE 5.2: PREDICATE MARKERS

Particle	Meaning
yo	did not happen
waii	happened exactly as before (same verb and object)
da	did actually happen
do	is in the process of happening together with...

The first of these particles, *yo*, is the first particle of a linked pair of particles, where the second particle is *nde* 'NEGATIVE'. *Yo* occurs only in negative indicative sentences as in example 5.1. For further discussion of this predicate marker and its role in delineating the scope of negation see §8.5.

5.1 *Án* ***yo*** *ma mo nu* ***nde.***
3PL NEG come LOC house NEG
They did not come to the house.

The second of the predicate markers, *waii*, indicates that the action is the same type of action as the previous one. The object is also the same type of object, as seen in the sentences below:

5.2 *Men mu nai sugit ete Apner ki nai Isak do*
1PL go get food then Apner said to Isak COM

"Nan ***waii*** *mu nai sugit".*
2SG also go get food
We went to get food, then Apner said to Isak, "You also go and get some food".

5.3 *An we sam nyim mo nu ete men* ***waii*** *sam wari.*
3SG two carry ahead LOC house then 1PL also carry behind
They (two) carried (things) ahead of us to the house and we also carried (things) after them.

The third and fourth predicate markers are used in complex sentences only. Below is one example of each.

5.4 *Yunus* ***da*** *sok-wa Isak sare...*
Yunus actually look-TRS Isak but
Yunus actually looked at Isak but... (he didn't do anything)

5.5 *Men* ***do*** *is* *mone* *sa* *men* *yo* *ku* *auto* *nde.*
1PL PRED came.down there then-REAL 1PL NEG find car NEG
And when we landed there we did not find a car.

The other modifying component of Abun verb phrases is *verbal particles.* These particles are attached to certain verbs like 'up' in the English, 'He *looked up* the words', which may, in English, also be in the form, 'He *looked* the words *up*'. This type of verbal particle is referred to by Schachter (1985:45) who comments that they frequently have a directional or locative notion. Abun has similar forms as seen in the following examples:

5.6 a. *An* ***gwat*** *buku* ***ma*** *mo* *nu.*
3SG carry book come LOC house
He brought the book to the house.

b. *An* ***gwat*** *buku* ***mu*** *mo* *nu.*
3SG carry book go LOC house
He took the book to the house.

5.7 *Pa* ***bare*** *jamsem* *ne* ***we*** *mo* *nden.*
child throw cassava DET away LOC outside
The child threw away the cassava outside.

5.8 *An* ***grem*** *buku* *ne* ***kwop*** *mo* *nu* *mit.*
3SG put book DET down LOC house inside
He put the book down inside.

In English the verbal particles 'up', 'down', and so on, may be continuous or discontinuous with the verb. In Abun, however, the particle is discontinuous when there is a direct object, as seen in the examples above. When the verb is intransitive, the verbal particle is continuous with the verb, as in example 5.9:

5.9 *Nan* *jam* ***we.***
2SG move away
Get out of the way!

Schachter (1985:45) states that in some languages verbal particles are derived from adpositions, while in other languages they are not. None of the Abun verbal particles appear to have been derived from adpositions. Instead, most of the verbal particles are derived from verbs such as *mu* 'go', *ma* 'come' and *kwop* 'die'. Some, such as *we* 'away', are used only as verbal particles.

5.2 NOUN PHRASES

An Abun noun phrase typically has the following structure:

HEAD (MODIFIERS) (DETERMINER)

The **head** of a noun phrase is normally filled by a member of the noun word class as in example 5.10, but may also be filled by a pronoun, as in 5.11, with a restricted set of modifiers. In other words, other nouns and adjectives do not co-occur with a pronoun when it is head of a noun phrase; only classifiers, quantifiers and determiners may co-occur with pronouns, as seen in 5.11.

5.10 ***Ndar*** *kwo* *git* ***boge*** *ge* *we* *or* *re.*
dog white eat fish CL two completely PERF
The white dog had completely eaten the two fish.

5.11 ***Án*** *ka* *we* *ne* *git* *boge.*
3PL CL two DET eat fish
Those two ate fish.

A proper name will usually occur alone, but may be modified by a relative clause, as seen in example 5.12.

5.12 ***Mauren*** *gato* *kwop* *ré...*
Mauren REL die recently
Mauren who had died recently...

Modifiers are optional. The types, their order and co-occurrence restrictions are discussed below in §5.2.1.

Determiners, like modifiers, are optional. They are used less frequently than determiners are in English. They will be discussed in §5.2.2 below.

Since modifiers and determiners are optional, frequently a noun phrase consists of a single noun. For example:

5.13 ***Fredik*** *bari-wa* *git* ***yetu.***
Fredik not.want-TRS eat people
Fredik does not want to eat people.

Noun phrases fill subject and object positions, as seen in the examples below. They also fill head positions in possessive and prepositional phrases and these will be discussed in §5.3 and §5.4 respectively.

5.14 *Men* *dakai* *git* *nok* *ku* *koi* *bok* *yo.*
1PL REFL eat wild.pig flesh CL several DET
We ourselves ate several pieces of wild pig meat.

5.15 *Yetu* *ge* *we* *gwa* *ndar* *er* *ne* *su* *kwe* *koi.*
people CL two hit dog red DET with wood piece
Two men hit the red dog with a piece of wood.

5.2.1 NOUN PHRASE MODIFIERS

All modifiers in noun phrases are posthead. They occur after the head and before any determiner which may appear. Such modifiers may consist of members from each of the following classes of words or phrases:

other nouns

adjectival phrase, consisting of adjectives such as colour (black, white), size (big, small) or quality (hard, soft), followed by an optional intensifier

quantifier phrase, optionally preceded by a classifier, with quantifiers:

general (many, few, some)
cardinal numerals (one, two...)
ordinal numerals (first, second)

These modifiers appear in the noun phrase in the following order:

(OTHER NOUN) (ADJECTIVAL PHRASE) (QUANTIFIER PHRASE)

For example:

5.16

nok	*ku*	*sye*	*teker*	*koi*	*bok*	*yo*
wild.pig	flesh	big	INT	CL	several	DET
Head	**Noun**	**Adj Phrase**		**Class**	**Quant**	Det

several very big pieces of wild pig meat

A noun phrase of the type given in the example above, although acceptable to an Abun speaker, is rather 'heavy'. By that we mean normally they would not include as many modifiers together in this way. In order to retain the modification in a more natural style, various strategies are employed to limit the number of modifiers in any one noun phrase. These are discussed later in this section.

Each modifier type will now be discussed with further examples.

Other nouns may modify the head of a noun phrase. This type of construction is usually referred to as a complex noun phrase, but since the addition of another noun following the head modifies the head analogous to other modifiers, we have chosen to discuss it as a modifier. Examples of this type are:

5.17

nggwe	***jamsem***	*ne*
garden	cassava	DET

the cassava garden

5.18

mbre	***toba***	*sak*	*gri*
eastern.cloth	*toba*	CL	three

three lengths of *toba* cloth

The use of *adjectival phrases* as modifiers of the heads of noun phrases is by far the most common type of modification. In most cases an adjectival phrase is realised by a single adjective only, such as colour as in example 5.19, size 5.20, and quality 5.21. This type of modification follows any other nouns that modify the head of the noun phrase. For more complex examples of adjectival phrases see §5.5.

5.19

Ye	*gu*	*minda*	***kri***.
people	kill	butterfly	yellow

They killed yellow butterflies.

5.20

os	***nggwot***	*ne*
path	narrow	DET

the narrow path

5.21

os	***ibit***	*yo*
way	bad	DET

a bad way

Quantifier phrases may have either a general quantifier, an ordinal numeral or a cardinal numeral as its head, and is preceded by an optional classifier when the head is a general quantifier or an ordinal numeral, and an obligatory classifier when the head is a cardinal numeral. See §5.6 for a discussion of quantifier phrases. Some examples are:

5.22 *Nggon* ***(ge)*** ***mwa*** *ma.*
woman CL many come
Many women came.

5.23 *An bi nu* ***(ke)*** ***do-gri.***
3SG POSS house CL the.one.which-three
His house is the third one.

5.24 *Ji ku ndar sye* ***ge*** ***at.***
1SG meet dog big CL four
I found four big dogs.

There are *limitations* concerning modifiers within an Abun noun phrase. There are, of course, semantic restrictions as to which modifiers may co-occur with others, and moreover, there is pressure to limit the number of modifiers, so that the maximum noun phrase will normally include only one of each type of modifier. Thus a noun phrase with two adjectives is unacceptable. If a speaker desires to say something like 'two big white dogs', which involves two adjectives, it is unacceptable to the Abun speaker to use the expression found in example 5.25; rather, relativisation is usually employed, as in 5.26a, and 5.26b.

5.25 **ndar kwo sye ge we*
dog white big CL two
two big white dogs

5.26 a. *ndar kwo ge we* ***gato*** ***sye***
dog white CL two REL big
1. two white dogs that are big
2. two big white dogs

b. *ndar sye ge we* ***gato*** ***kwo***
dog big body two REL white
1. two big dogs that are white
2. two big white dogs

One may posit that the relative clause modifies the noun phrase as a whole since it follows the determiner, as seen in example 5.27 below. (See further discussion in §5.2.3.)

5.27 *suk wokgan* ***yo*** *gato men mbrinket*
thing small DET REL 1PL forget
1. some small things that we forgot
2. some small forgotten things

Alternatively, the speaker may frequently also juxtapose one of the adjectives in the form of an appositional verbless clause, as seen in example 5.28. This type of modification is more typical when the noun phrase fills the object position. In this case the modification is syntactically outside the noun phrase; it is like a parenthetical comment.

5.28 *ndar kwo ge we,* ***ndar*** ***ne*** ***sye***
dog white body two dog DET big
two white dogs, the dogs are big

5.2.2 DETERMINERS IN NOUN PHRASES

There are five distinct types of determiners used in Abun noun phrases. The first type is the unspecific/specific distinction. The others are: deictics, anaphoric referents (which refer to a previously mentioned person/thing), external referents (which refer to the proximity of an item in relation to the speaker), and reflexives. Both anaphoric and external referents may compound with deictics. These particles occur in phrase-final position. Table 5.3 lists each type and the relevant particles, each of which will be discussed in turn below.

TABLE 5.3: DETERMINERS

Type	Particles		
Specificity	*yo* a, some Unspecific	*ne* the, that Specific	
Deictics	*ré* this, here	*ne* that, there	*tu* over there
Anaphoric Referents	*ga-ré* latter/ recent	*ga-ne* former/ then	*ga-tu* back. then
External Referents	*to-ré* is.here	*to-ne* is.there	*to-tu* is.over. there
Reflexive	*dakai* self	*wadigan* self alone	

The first determiner type of specificity contrasts *unknown/known* or *unspecific/specific* and requires the use of the particles *yo* 'a, some' (for the former) and *ne* 'the' (for the latter). The following examples illustrate each of these determiners:

5.29 *An rem kwokwe bo* ***yo.***
3SG had egg.plant CL DET
She had some egg plants. (unspecific quantity)

5.30 *Ye* ***yo*** *bi nggarmom muk* ***yo...***
person DET give iron piece DET
Someone gave some piece of iron... (to him)

5.31 *Nggon* ***ne*** *it san dik* ***yo.***
woman DET wear clothes one DET
The woman wore a dress. (known woman, unspecific dress)

The second type of determiner, the *deictic* type, has the form *ré, ne* or *tu.* These refer to locational or temporal characteristics of the situation within which an utterance takes place. *Ye* 'person' in combination with each of these results in:

ye ré	this person (here)
ye ne	that person (there)
ye tu	those people (distant)

There is a progression from close to near to distant in meaning from *ré* to *ne* to *tu.* This occurs not only in a locative sense, but also in a temporal sense, (recent, not-so-recent to distant past) as well as in a referential sense, (*ré* 'this (just previously referred to)', *ne* 'that

(slightly further removed reference)' and *tu* 'that (distant) (even further removed)'). Each of these senses is determined from the context.

Examples of each of the deictics are below. The temporal meaning of now, or at some other time is seen in examples 5.32 and 5.34; reference to Fredik (meaning the one we know or can locate, as distinct from other Frediks) in 5.32; and locative meanings of the deictics, 'here' in 5.32, 'there' in 5.34 and 'distant' in 5.35 and 5.36. See Table 3.10 in §3.4 for a list of these and other determiner compounds.

5.32 *Su* ***ré*** *Fredik* ***ré*** *kem* *mo-**ré*** *re.*
with DET Fredik DET lives LOC-DET PERF
Now this Fredik already lives here.

5.33 *Men* *ki-bot* *suk-du* ***ne.***
1PL say-about NOM-speak DET
We discussed that news.

5.34 *Su* ***ne*** *nggon* ***ne*** *ben* *suk-ibit* *mo-**ne.***
with DET woman DET do NOM-bad LOC-DET
At that time, that woman did a bad thing there.

5.35 *Ye* *ket-bot* *nden* ***tu.***
people way-along bush DET
They went along the distant bush (track).

5.36 *An* *we* ***ne*** *mu* *mo* *banbo* ***tu*** *nim.*
3SG two DET go LOC mountain DET east
Those two went to the distant eastern mountain.

The deictic, *tu*, can have the meaning 'respected', rather than distant, in relation to old/respected men or women, *yenggras tu* 'that old/respected man' and *nggongras tu* 'that old/respected women'. The idea of respect also encompasses those who are more powerful, as in the example of a killing party below:

5.37 *Yeko* ***ne*** *kwop* *or* *Yeko* ***tu***
killing.party DET die completely killing.party DET(respected)

ana *mu* *gu* *ye* ***ne*** *or* *re.*
TOP go kill people DET completely PERF

That killing party died outright. The (other respected/better) killing party were the ones who had killed those people outright.

The third type of determiner is *anaphoric referent*. One particle, *ga*, is used to refer back to a person or thing mentioned. This can be used to distinguish several people of the same name who could be understood to be part of a story as in the following examples:

5.38 *Ji* *sok-bot* *Yohana* ***ga.***
1SG look-about Yohana ANA
I looked at Yohana (previously mentioned).

5.39 *Prisila* ***ga*** *sa.*
Prisila ANA laugh
Prisila (previously mentioned) laughed.

Or, when a person has been mentioned and the speaker wants to ensure that the hearers understand that the pronoun, in example 5.40 below, *an* '3SG', does actually mean the last person mentioned, the anaphoric referent is added.

5.40 *Ji si an* ***ga*** *mu mo nden.*
1SG with 3SG ANA go LOC bush
I together with him (previously mentioned) went to the bush.

This anaphoric referent may then also be combined with the deictics, *ré, ne* or *tu* to produce the compounds *garé, gane* and *gatu*. (It is on the basis of word-final stress patterning that these forms are considered as compounds.) The difference between these three compounds is the proximity of reference in the mind of the speaker. Those persons or things that were mentioned are referred to by the use of *gare* 'this/these, just mentioned' as in examples 5.41 and 5.42; *gane* 'that/those, just mentioned' as in 5.43 and 5.44; and *gatu* 'that/those, mentioned in the past' as in 5.45.

5.41 *Nggon we* ***ga-re*** *ben suk-ndo.*
women two ANA-here do NOM-good
These two women do things well.

5.42 *Nggon we ben suk* ***ga-re*** *ndo.*
women two do thing ANA-here good
The two women did these things well.

5.43 *An git ri* ***ga-ne.***
3SG eat ginger.root ANA-there
He ate that ginger root (that one previously mentioned).

5.44 *Ji ku suk-ye mwa* ***ga-ne.***
1SG get NOM-difficult many ANA-there
I had those many difficulties.

5.45 *Nin kidar ji mo nggon* ***ga-tu*** *it.*
2PL deceive 1SG LOC woman ANA-there (distant) CAM
You have deceived me about those women (the ones you talked about in the distant past).

The fourth type of determiner is *to,* the *external referent.* This particle refers to the external setting where the utterance occurs and the proximity of the person or thing under discussion to that place. When this particle occurs as a free form, it introduces additional modifying phrases or clauses (see §5.2.3). It may also compound with the deictic particles *ré, ne* and *tu*, and is used by a speaker who wants to make reference to something he/she is touching while speaking; (*tore* in examples 5.46 and 5.47), or is pointing to while speaking, (*tone* in 5.48); or is pointing to in the distance (*totu* in 5.49).

5.46 *An gwa ji gro* ***to-re.***
3SG hit 1SG eye EXT-here
He hit my eye. (speaker is pointing to his eye)

5.47 *Men kem mo kampung* ***to-re.***
1PL live LOC village EXT-here
We live in this village. (the one where the speaker relates the story)

5.48 *Nan me ji de* ***to-ne.***
2SG see 1SG blood EXT-there
See my blood. (the speaker points to it)

5.49 *Nggon we ma mo banbo* ***to-tu.***
women two came LOC mountain EXT-there(distant)
The two women came to that mountain (speaker points to location in the distance).

The final type of determiner is *reflexives* such as himself, yourself, and themselves. The form *dakai* REFLEXIVE is used for all persons and numbers and usually co-occurs with a pronoun or person's name, as seen in examples 5.50 and 5.51, but also co-occurs with nouns modified by quantifiers 5.52.

5.50 *Yemina* ***dakai*** *kon Barbarina wip ne sor.*
1SG REFL cook Barbarina sore DET just
Just Yemina herself cared for Barbarina's sore.

5.51 *Men i-wa men* ***dakai*** *ki-bot men* ***dakai.***
1PL happy-TRS 1PL REFL speak-about 1PL REFL
We ourselves wanted to talk about ourselves.

5.52 *Nggon* ***ge gri dakai*** *mu.*
woman CL three REFL go
The three women themselves went.

In addition, the form *wadigan* 'alone' is reflexive, meaning 'by himself/alone', 'by itself/alone', 'by themselves/alone' and so on, as in the examples below:

5.53 *sugit suge* ***wadigan***
food animal alone
1. meat by itself
2. meat alone
3. only meat

5.54 *mbre sye* ***wadigan***
antique.cloth big alone
valuable antique cloth alone

This form implies separateness from other people or things, while *dakai* implies a distinctiveness from other people. So in example 5.55, Isak was by himself rowing the canoe; no-one else was present. Whereas if *dakai* replaced *wadigan*, the implication is that Isak as distinct from the others rowed the canoe; that is, there could have been others with him in the canoe.

5.55 *Isak wadigan mbros kwem.*
Isak alone row canoe
1. Isak rowed the canoe by himself.
2. Isak alone rowed the canoe.

5.2.3 POST-DETERMINER NOUN PHRASE MODIFIERS

There are other ways to modify a noun phrase apart from using the modifiers discussed above. Phrases or clauses may be added to a noun phrase by the use of *to* NOUN MODIFYING PARTICLE, or by the juxtaposition of locative prepositional phrases (in order to modify the head of the noun phrase in regard to its location). A special case, *sino* 'all together', is also discussed at the end of this section.

In these instances an Abun noun phrase consists of:

HEAD (MODIFIERS) (DETERMINER) (MODIFIERS)

Usually only one modifier follows the determiner, but more than one is possible as in example 5.68 below.

The noun modifying particle (NMP) introduces a phrase or clause which modifies the head of a noun phrase. Phrases and clauses introduced by NMP are added to the noun phrase and modify it. Consider the following example:

5.56 *Wo suk-fo* ***to*** ***ndam*** ***syor*** ***ne*** *yo, nu-we*
but thing-taboo NMP bird cassowary DET then.IRR 2PL-two

git nde.
eat NEG
But the cassowary is taboo, you must not eat it.

The phrase 'the cassowary', introduced by the NMP, modifies the forbidden thing. Again in example 5.57 below, the noun *banbo* 'mountain' is modified by the addition of the phrase 'the Waibe'.

5.57 *Men gwa bei yamo banbo* ***to*** ***Waibe*** ***ne*** *de rut.*
1PL beat sago at mountain NMP Waibe DET side far
We beat the sago on the mountain, that is on Waibe mountain on the far side.

The NMP also joins unrestrictive relative clauses to a noun phrase in order to modify a noun, as seen in the following example:

5.58 *An ki nai Martinus to-re* ***to*** ***kra*** ***Domingas***
3SG say to Martinus EXT-this REL marry Domingas

ne *bi ai gum do Simam Yorfen do...*
DET POSS father name COM Simam Yorfen COM
He said to Martinus' father (the Martinus who lives here, who married Domingas) (whose) name was Simam Yorfen that...

When *sa* 'like, as' compounds with *to*, the compound form *sato* 'for example/such as' results. The use of this form precedes complex noun phrases which are added to modify or explain the head of the noun phrase, as seen in the example below. (See §5.7 for more details on complex noun phrases.)

5.59 *Regina ben siri su pa yesok* ***sato*** ***Arnol*** ***e***
Regina do wrong with child youth such.as Arnol and
Lambertus ***e.***
Lambertus and
Regina committed adultery with (some) young men such as Arnol and Lambertus.

Furthermore the anaphoric referent *ga* also compounds with *to* and forms *gato*, the relative conjunction, which is used to form restrictive relative clauses. Examples show how these forms modify the nouns in the phrases below. Note that the form *ne* 'DET' is frequently a relative clause boundary marker, as distinct from the same form used as a determiner in the noun phrase.

5.60 ***Suk-jan*** ***gato*** ***án*** ***jan*** ***mo*** ***nggwe*** ***ne*** *bere te.*
NOM-plant REL 3PL plant LOC garden DET later die
Plants that they plant in that garden will die.

5.61 *Men mu de syur mo syur wak gato nje ben ne.*
1PL go go.in water LOC water hole REL people make DET
We went and washed at the well that people had made.

5.62 *Yenggras gato Mauren gato kwop ré anato ma.*
elder REL Mauren REL die recently FOC come
The elder whose (name was) Mauren who died recently was the one who came.

Such clauses also modify the head of a noun phrase, and are one possible option where the speakers desire to include more than one adjectival type of modification to a noun phrase as explained in §5.2.1 above. For more details regarding restrictive and unrestrictive relative clauses, see §9.

A locative *prepositional phrase* frequently modifies the head of a noun phrase, as in the following examples. The clothes spoken of in example 5.63 are 'clothes at the sea' which modifies the noun, clothes. The resulting meaning is *modern* clothes as distinct from 'clothes in the bush' (the traditional bark cloth worn in the bush).

5.63 ***san*** ***mo*** ***sem*** ***ne***
clothes LOC sea DET
modern clothes ('sea' clothes cf. 'bush' clothes)

Other locative prepositional phrases modify the noun by indicating its location. Thus it is clear in example 5.64 which garden and in 5.65 and 5.66 which people are being spoken about.

5.64 *mo nggwe mo banbo to-tu nim*
LOC garden LOC mountain EXT-there(distant) east
at the garden on the distant eastern mountain

5.65 *Nin mo Fef ma mo Syurur Sye.*
2PL LOC Fef came LOC Syurur Sye
1. You Fef (people) come to Syurur Sye.
2. You in Fef come to Syurur Sye.

5.66 *Yetu mwa mo nu mit ne gu yu.*
people many LOC house inside DET fight RECIP
Many people in the house fought each other.

Finally, there is a special modifier that occurs after determiners: *sino* 'all/together'. *Sino* is always the final constituent of a noun phrase whenever it occurs as seen in examples 5.67 and 5.68. It modifies the whole phrase in a similar way to relative clauses. This is similar also to English where 'all' modifies the whole noun phrase as in '*all* the king's men...'.

5.67 *yenggras mwa ne* ***sino***
old.men many DET all
all the many old respected men

5.68 *ye-wis yi ga mo bur ré* ***sino***
person-family other REL LOC land this all
all the other tribes which are in this land

This modifier is out of character with all the other single-word modifiers in that it follows the determiner. It could be that it was originally a phrase (*si no* 'with completeness') that has compounded to form the single word. In that case *sino* would be considered as a noun phrase itself and the whole utterance would be considered as two noun phrases conjoined, with *si no* being the second noun phrase. For further discussion of complex phrases see §5.7.

5.3 POSSESSIVE PHRASES

Abun has two types of possessive constructions which, in other languages, have been referred to as 'alienable' and 'inalienable' possession (Crystal 1985:12). Alienable possession is that type of possession where the item possessed (hereafter known as possessum) is seen as having only a temporary or non-essential dependence on the possessor, such as 'his house' or 'the woman's book'. On the other hand, inalienable possession is where the possessum has a permanent or necessary relationship with the possessor such as 'her arm'.

Of the ten different genitive construction types discussed by Croft (1990:28-32), Abun makes use of only two, and uses them to distinguish between alienable and inalienable possession. The first of these construction types used in Abun is simple juxtaposition of two noun phrases; one representing the possessor and one representing the possessum. This type of construction is used to form Abun inalienable genitive constructions, as in example 5.69. Frequently the noun phrases are realised by only a pronoun and a noun, juxtaposed in that order, as seen in 5.70.

5.69 *Ndar sye ne gwes de-dari fot.*
dog big DET leg side-back broken
Possessor(NP) Possessum(NP)
The big dog's back leg is broken.

5.70 *Ji syim fot.*
1SG arm broken
My arm was broken.

A less common strategy discussed by Croft (1990:32) is that of the use of a linker. He says, "The linker is invariant or contrasts only with simple juxtaposition, and functions merely to link the possessor and head noun grammatically". This is the second type of genitive construction found in Abun. Abun alienable genitive constructions use this type of strategy. The possessive marker *bi* is a linker. It links the possessor and the possessum, as seen in examples 5.71, 5.72 and 5.73.

5.71 *Gap sye ne bi gan ge we kwop re.*
rat big DET POSS young.one CL two die PERF
Possessor Possessum
The big rat's two young offspring had died.

5.72 *Ji ben ji bi nggwe.*
1SG do 1SG POSS garden
I made my garden.

5.73 *Ji bi pa ge we mu mo nu.*
1SG POSS child CL two go LOC house
My two children went home.

The noun phrase that represents the possessor undergoes no morphological change when it is juxtaposed or linked to the possessum. The possessum likewise is not marked morphologically in any way. Even the linker, *bi,* can be shown to be a free form (and will be in §5.3.2) and thus be considered separate from both the possessum and the possessor. Abun possessive phrases syntactically appear to be like coordinate noun phrases, one form juxtaposed and the other using the linker *bi* as the coordinating particle, just as *si* is used to conjoin noun phrases (see §5.7).

Consistent with the absence of morphological marking in possessive phrases noted here, Abun does not have a set of possessive pronouns, but uses the same set of pronouns as are used in all other phrase types. In contrast to this, in an early cursory analysis of Abun (previously named Karon), Voorhoeve wrote (in Wurm 1975:720) that possessive prefixes had been noted with kinship terms: *tabai* 'my father' and *nambai* 'your father', being cited as examples. However in slow speech these two forms are: *tat bi ai* '1SG POSS father: my father' and *nan bi ai* '2SG POSS father: your father' (these phrases are in the Abun Tat dialect, where *tat* is '1SG'). No markings are made on either the head or the dependent in possessive phrases. The same pronouns are employed in possessive phrases as in noun phrases that occur in subject and object positions, that is, there is *no special set of possessive pronouns in Abun.* In this way Abun differs from many other languages.

The choice of which type of possessive construction to employ is determined by the lexicon. The inalienable class of nouns which includes body parts, name, and analogously, the parts of whole-part relationships such as trunk of tree and scales of fish (as discussed in §3.3.2.3), is restricted and could be considered a closed set. All other nouns belong to an open set of nouns and include names of places, objects, kinship terms, and advice. Many languages with the alienable/inalienable distinction include kinship terms in the inalienable category, but, in Abun, kinship terms are considered to be alienable.

Now we turn to a more detailed discussion of each of the two types of genitive constructions, inalienable (§5.3.1) and alienable (§5.3.2).

5.3.1 INALIENABLE POSSESSION

Abun inalienable possessive phrases may be represented as:

NP[POSSESSOR] NP[POSSESSUM]

where for pronominal reference the possessor may be replaced by *i-*, in the case of non-human referents, or be elided in the case of body part referents.

In inalienable possession, the possessor and the possessum are simply juxtaposed as in example 5.74. This type of possessive construction is used for body parts (such as my arm, his leg) and more generally for whole-part relationships (such as tree-leaves, deer-meat, house-opening (doorway)). Also a person's name is considered as an inalienable possession, as in 5.75 and 5.76.

5.74 *Wo Kwai tik **Sepenyel gwes.***
fish kwai pull Sepenyel leg
The Kwai fish pulled Sepenyel's leg.

5.75 ***An gum** do Marta.*
3SG name COM Marta
Her name is Marta.

5.76 ***Marta gum sye** do Yekese.*
Marta name big COM Yekese
Marta's surname is Yekese.

Whole-part relationships, in principle, follow the same structure as inalienable possessive phrases, and could be analysed as separate words or as compounds. Here they are analysed as compounds since the possessum is a bound root. It never stands on its own in normal utterance. It is structurally bound to the preceding word, which represents the 'whole'. So *rom* 'liquid' in example 5.77 is bound to *gur* 'coconut'. No evidence has been found that words like *rom* have ever been free forms.

5.77 *Ji da **gur-rom.***
1SG drink coconut-liquid
I drink coconut milk.

The 'whole' may not just be a single word, but may also be a noun phrase, for example 'a young coconut', that compounds with the bound root, 'liquid', as seen in example 5.78.

5.78 *da **[gur bo dek]-rom** si git i-ka nde e...*
drink coconut CL young-liquid with eat its-flesh NEG and
don't drink young coconut milk and eat its flesh, and...

There is one structural difference between inalienable possessive phrases and 'whole-part' compounds. The difference is that the possessor in the phrase may be elided, whereas in the compound it cannot. In the latter case, the possessor or 'whole' is replaced with a prefix *i-*. For example, a free form (or the 'whole' in whole-part relationships), such as *kwe* 'tree' in example 5.79, can be replaced by the non-human possessive pronoun prefix, *i-*, as seen in 5.80. (See §3.3.2.4 for further discussion about the *i-* prefix.)

5.79 *Ji yo* ***kwe-muk*** *e* ***kwe-guk.***
1SG gather tree-trunk and tree-branch
I gathered up the trunks and branches.

5.80 *Ji yo* ***i-muk*** *e* ***i-guk.***
1SG gather its-trunk and its-branch
I gathered up the trunks and branches.

However for body parts the possessum is an unbound form. The *i-* prefix is not used with this type of construction when the possessor is elided. So when, say, an arm is referred to on subsequent occasions, the free form of the possessum is sufficient and ellipsis of the possessor is acceptable, as seen in example 5.81.

5.81 *Men sorom* ***men syim.*** *Men sorom* ***syim*** *mo nu.*
1PL shake 1PL hand 1PL shake hands LOC house
We shook hands. We shook hands in the house.

Both body parts and whole-part relationships can be combined as in examples 5.82 and 5.83. In the latter case, the nails belong to the fingers, which belong to the arm (whole-part relationships) and the arm belongs to him (body-part relationship).

5.82 *Prisila sap* ***Moses syim-brot*** *toko re.*
Prisila cut Moses arm-vein apart PERF
Prisila had cut Moses' veins in his arm apart.

5.83 a. *Yen gwat* ***an syim-sopkwa-bris.***
3PL cut 3SG arm-finger-nail
They cut his fingernails.

b. *Yen gwat* ***an syim sopkwa bris.***
3PL cut 3SG arm finger nail
They cut his fingernails.

An alternative analysis of whole-part relationship structures is shown in 5.83b above. Each item here is treated as a separate word and, in this case, *sopkwa bris* is an inalienable posessive phrase which is juxtaposed to and modifies another inalienable possessive phrase, *an syim.*

5.3.2 ALIENABLE POSSESSION

Abun alienable possessive phrases consist of:

NP[POSSESSOR] ***bi*** NP[POSSESSUM]

This structure is used for all possessive phrases, except for those discussed above. The possessor noun phrase is commonly realised as a pronoun as in example 5.84, proper name as in 5.85, and may also be a longer noun phrase as in 5.86. The possessum is a noun phrase which is commonly realised by a single noun as in 5.85 or may be a longer expression as in 5.87.

5.84 ***An bi nggon*** *jam nde to.*
3SG POSS wife know NEG INCAM
His wife didn't know yet.

5.85 ***Andar bi im*** *ma.*
Andar POSS mother come
Andar's mother came.

5.86 ***Yetu ge dik yo bi nu*** *anane.*
person CL one DET POSS house DEM
This is someone's house.

5.87 *Ji mu mo* ***ji bi nggwe jamsem nim ne.***
1SG go LOC 1SG POSS garden cassava east DET
I went to my eastern cassava garden.

The linker, *bi*, is a free morpheme. Sometimes the possessor can be elided from the linker, as in example 5.88. Sometimes the possessum can also be elided from the linker, as in 5.89. It is also possible for both possessor and possessum to be elided, as in 5.90, leaving the linker stand on its own. In all cases this may occur only when the possessor and possessum are recoverable from the context. For example, in 5.90, it is known that the possessum is a wife because that was the topic of discussion.

5.88 *Sadrak bi im ré ben* ***bi suk*** *ot ye.*
Sadrak POSS mother DEM do POSS thing sharp very
1. Sadrak's mother does her things very callously.
2. Sadrak's mother is callous.

5.89 *Markus it mo kwem wokgan gato* ***Martinus bi*** *ne.*
Markus board LOC canoe small REL Martinus POSS DET
Markus got into the canoe which was Martinus'.

5.90 *Nan kra* ***bi*** *bado Moses kra* ***bi,*** *bado nin*
2SG marry POSS or Moses marry POSS or 2PL
me-wa ndo.
see-TRS good
If you are going to marry yours (wife), or Moses marry his (wife), then take good care (of them).

The Abun possessive phrase construction influences the way Abun speakers construct their Indonesian. Instead of using standard Indonesian, *rumah saya* 'my house', they say *saya punya rumah*, as in example 5.91. The word *punya* means 'to have, possess' in Indonesian; however, standard Indonesian does not employ 'have' in possessive phrase constructions.

Indonesian:

5.91 *Saya punya rumah roboh.*
1SG POSS house fallen.down
My house has fallen down.

Alienable possessive phrases may be intensified by the addition of *i*. In this case the form would be:

NP[POSSESSOR] ***bi*** NP[POSSESSUM] ***i***

This particle changes the intensity of possession in a similar way to the English, 'his *own* house', as distinct from 'his house'. The following examples illustrate this type of phrase:

5.92 *ji bi nu **i***
1SG POSS house INT
my own house

5.93 *an bi bur **i***
3SG POSS land INT
his own land

This type of construction is further used to distinguish two different ownerships in contrast to each other, as in the following:

5.94 *Ji bi bur **i** anare, nan bi bur **i** anatu.*
1SG POSS land INT DEM(here) 2SG POSS land INT DEM(there)
This is my own land here, that is your own land there.

5.95 *Yewon bi sukduno **i** tara re*
shaman POSS teaching INT different PERF
Yefun bi sukduno i tara re.
God POSS teaching INT different PERF
The shaman's own teachings are different to God's own teachings.

5.3.3 RECURSIVE POSSESSIVE PHRASES

Possessive phrases may be embedded within one another, for alienable possession, by the addition of the linker and the possessum, as in examples 5.96 and 5.97, or for inalienable possession, by the addition of the possessum, as in 5.98.

5.96 *Rahel **bi** ai **bi** **nyom***
Rachel POSS father POSS machete
Rachel's father's machete

5.97 *An **bi** nji **bi** nggon **bi** nu*
3SG POSS brother POSS wife POSS house
His brother's wife's house

5.98 *Rahel **bi** ai **syim***
Rachel POSS father arm
Rachel's father's arm

5.4 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Prepositional phrases consist of a noun phrase preceded by a preposition. Prepositional phrases fill dative, locative, instrumental and other adjunct positions in the sentence. Table 5.4 is a list of the prepositions used in Abun with their English equivalent, and categorised into four different general types. This is Table 3.7 repeated here for convenience.

A general feature of prepositional phrases that will be illustrated below is the possibility of ellipsis of the head of the phrase, leaving the preposition stand alone. In such cases the head is readily recoverable from the context.

TABLE 5.4: PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE TYPES

Preposition	English	Preposition Type
is/nai	to	dative
mo	at/ to	spacio-temporal
subot/bot	about/along	
kagit/kadit	from	
karowa	near	
ket	across/ at (non-locative)	
wade/kom mo	until/for	
su	with	associative, instrumental, temporal
wa	for	benefactive/purposive

The prepositions in these phrases differ from the linker *bi* used in possessive phrases because *bi* only links two noun phrases, whereas this group of prepositions is used for verb (predicate)-argument NP relations. Each preposition will be discussed in turn.

5.4.1 DATIVE PHRASES

A phrase filling the dative function is a prepositional phrase with either *is* or *nai* as the preposition. These two prepositions are dialectal variants, *is* is used in Abun Ji and *nai* is used in Abun Ye and Abun Tat. This prepositional phrase type is distinguished from other types because Abun speakers strongly prefer to place it directly following the object of the sentence.

As with all prepositional phrases, the preposition precedes a noun phrase such as a possessive phrase as in example 5.99, a noun phrase as in 5.100, or the ellipsis thereof as in 5.101.

5.99 a. *Nggon ne syo suk-ne* ***nai*** *an* ***bi*** *im.*
girl DEM give NOM-DEM to 3SG POSS mother
That girl gave those things to her mother.

b. *Nggon ne syo suk-ne* ***is*** *an* ***bi*** *im.*
girl DEM give NOM-DEM to 3SG POSS mother
That girl gave those things to her mother.

5.100 *Ji nuk suk-mwa ne* ***is*** *pa* ***wok*** *ne.*
1SG speak thing-many DET to child small DET
I told all those things to the small child.

5.101 *Pa bi im syo syur* ***is*** *da nde.*
child POSS mother give water to drink NEG
The child's mother must not give water to (the child) to drink.

5.4.2 SPACIO-TEMPORAL PHRASES

A group of phrases with the prepositions *mo, bot, kagit, karowa, ket* and *wade* generally have locative, directional or temporal notions. Locative (*mo*) prepositional phrases are by far the most common type, and they differ structurally to the other types in this category. Again, each spacio-temporal prepositional phrase consists of a preposition followed by a noun phrase. Of the several prepositions listed in the table above under this type, each will be discussed in turn below.

(i) ***mo***

Mo is the general locative preposition meaning 'in, at, to', as seen in the examples below:

5.102 *Ye mu nai su-git* ***mo*** ***nggwe.***
people go get NOM-eat LOC garden
They went to get food at the garden.

5.103 *Men mu* ***mo*** ***Filipus bi nu.***
1PL go LOC Filipus POSS house
We went to Filipus' house.

Several locative prepositional phrases may occur together such as in example 5.104. Both *mo* and *bot* have a tendency for recursiveness. The limitations to the number of phrases appear to be pragmatic.

5.104 *Yen taru mu mo nje mo nden mo Syubun.*
people send.message go LOC people LOC bush LOC Syubun
They sent a message to the people in the bush at Syubun.

Mo is a general locative preposition, and when a more specific location, such as 'in front of', 'next to', or 'behind' is intended, another locative word further specifies the location. Such modifications are found only in locative prepositional phrases where the preposition is *mo*. For example:

mo nu mit	**inside** the house
mo nu git	**in front of** the house
mo nu yu	**on top of** the house
mo nu ke	**at the base of** the house
mo nu ndet	**in between** the houses
mo nu nim	**above** the house
mo banbo nim	**eastern** mountain
mo nu de	**at the side** of the house
mo nu de ju	**upstream side** of the house
mo nu de ti	**sea side** of the house
mo nu de dari	**behind** the house
mo nu de rut	**at the back** of the house
mo nu des nak	**underneath** the house
mo nu de nden	**outside** the house

These locative words which follow the head of a locative phrase could be described as 'relator nouns'. They can become the head of the phrase when the actual head of the phrase is elided, such as *mo mit* 'inside (the house)', and *mo nden* 'outside (the house)'.

Many of the relator nouns are preceded by *de* 'side', as can be seen in the list above. So the form of the locative prepositional phrase may be further defined as: *mo* + NP, where an additional modifier, a relator noun or [*de* + relator noun] can be included *preceding* the determiner and following other modifiers in the noun phrase, such as in examples 5.105a and 5.106a.

When the same directional word or relator noun follows the determiner of the phrase the meaning is different. Compare example 5.105a with 5.105b, and 5.106a with 5.106b. In the latter cases the directional word is now outside of the prepositional phrase. When it is within the prepositional phrase (which has its boundary delineated by the determiner) it modifies the head of the phrase.

5.105 a. *mo banbo sye* ***nim***
LOC mountain big east DET
on the big eastern mountain

b. *mo banbo sye ne* ***nim***
LOC mountain big DET east
on the big mountain in the easterly direction

5.106 a. *mo Nyarwon bi nu* ***de ju*** *ne*
LOC Nyarwon POSS house side upstream DET
on the upstream side of Nyarwon's house

b. *mo Nyarwon bi nu ne* ***de ju***
LOC Nyarwon POSS house DET side upstream
at Nyarwon's house, upstream side

Recursive prepositional phrases may also include relator words. For example:

5.107 *mo nggwe mo banbo tatu* ***nim***
LOC garden LOC mountain distant east
at the garden on the distant eastern mountain

5.108 *mo nggwe moré* ***ju***
LOC garden close upstream
at the nearby upstream garden

More than one relator noun in either order (*yu nim* or *nim yu*) can modify the noun head of a phrase. For example:

5.109 a. *mo banbo* ***yu nim*** *ne*
LOC mountain top east DET
on the top of the eastern mountain

b. *mo banbo* ***nim yu*** *ne*
LOC mountain east top DET
on the top of the eastern mountain

(ii) ***subot/bot***

Bot, which is a shortening of *subot,* introduces a phrase which could be described as perlative in meaning, that is 'about, along or through'. *Bot* is preferred in fast speech. The following examples illustrate this type of prepositional phrase. *Bot* has undergone a process of grammaticalisation to become a suffix on some verbs, as discussed in §3.3.1.

5.110 *Pa siker nok bot kwa-yo-kwa-yo.*
young.man tease wild.pig about thing-a-thing-a
The young men teased the wild pig about many things.

5.111 *An mu subot yen ne ket ya ne.*
3SG go along sand DET west flat DET
He went along the sand in a westerly direction on the flat part.

This type of prepositional phrase can be recursive, as in example 5.112. Speakers have a strong preference for *bot* phrases to precede *mo* phrases, as seen in 5.113, and, when the noun phrase is recoverable from the context, ellipsis of the phrase itself is possible, leaving only the preposition as in 5.114.

5.112 *An saye bot nu bot nden nu de ne ju.*
3SG shout about house about outside house side DET upstream
1. She shouted (for me) about the houses, about the outside of the houses just up to the upstream side (of the village).
2. She shouted out (for me) outside each house on the upstream side (of the village).

5.113 *An gu bot rus mo kampung ne.*
3SG kill about family LOC village DET
She killed all the families in the village.

5.114 *Nggon mise syun ma bot.*
woman evil chase come about
The evil woman chased after (them).

(iii) ***kagit/kadit***

Here again is a dialect variation, *kadit* and *kagit* are identical in meaning and use. This preposition has several shades of meaning. The basic meaning is 'from', and this can be from a location as in example 5.115, a situation as in 5.116, or a point in time as in 5.117.

5.115 *An ma kagit Filipus bi nu.*
3SG come from Filipus POSS house
He came from Filipus's house.

5.116 *An ge kadit an bi suki ne.*
3SG healed from 3SG POSS sickness DET
He is healed from the sickness.

5.117 *Ji ben kadit ketke sor kom mo-re.*
1SG do from beginning only until LOC-here
I have just done (that) all the time up until now.

(iv) ***karowa***

The preposition *karowa* means 'near, close to', and may also be used as an adverb. Its main use is locative as in examples 5.118 and 5.119a, but it is also used in a temporal sense as in 5.120. In some contexts the head of the phrase can be elided, leaving the preposition stand alone as in 5.119b.

5.118 *Men mu mo os mit karowa nu-ari Ebenezer.*
1PL go LOC road middle near house-Sunday Ebenezer
We were walking on the middle of the road near the church, Ebenezer.

5.119a. *Nan yo mu karowa Moses bi pe i nde.*
2SG NEG go near Moses POSS place own NEG
You are not to go near Moses' own place.

b. *Nan mu karowa nde.*
2SG go near NEG
Don't go near (Moses' place).

5.120 *Karowa kam dek...*
near sun cool
Close to sunset...

(v) ***ket***

The form *ket* is another locative preposition. It precedes the location of the *path* of the action. For example, the location of the path where goods were being carried in example 5.121 is along the ground, that is by foot, and the location of the path of the movement in 5.122 was towards the interior (rather than the sea). The preposition undergoes grammaticalisation to become a suffix on some verbs and this is discussed in §3.3.1.

5.121 *Men sam suk* ***ket bur.***
1PL carry things LOC earth
We carried the things, walking along.

5.122 *Men tot* ***ket nden.***
1PL cut LOC interior
We cut across to the interior (path).

5.123 *Pa mu* ***ket os kwa syu ne.***
child go LOC path the.one long DET
The child went on the long path.

5.124 *Ji ben* ***ket ji i.***
1SG do LOC 1SG desires
I did (things) according to my desires.

(vi) ***wade/kom mo***

Another type of spacio-temporal prepositional phrase is formed with the preposition *wade/kom mo* 'until/for'. These two forms are used interchangeably. For example:

5.125 a. *Men kem mone wade kam-gwe rek.*
1PL live there for day-two full
We stayed there for two full days.

b. *Men kem mone kom mo kam-gwe rek.*
1PL live there until LOC day-two full
We stayed there for two full days.

5.126 *An gwat su kre ré mu wade noru mit*
3SG take with afternoon this go until night middle
jam musi.
hour nine
He took it from this afternoon until the middle of the night, nine o'clock.

5.4.3 ASSOCIATIVE PHRASES

The preposition used for associative as well as instrumental and temporal prepositional phrases is *su*. *Su* is mainly used in prepositional phrases that carry a sense of association. The examples below illustrate an 'association' with humans as in examples 5.127 and 5.128, and also things, such as those in the canoe with Isak in 5.129.

5.127 *Nan sam kwem **su** **Isak**.*
2SG carry canoe with Isak
Carry the canoe with Isak.

5.128 *An grem pa **su** **an** **bi** **im**.*
3SG put child with 3SG POSS mother
She left the child with her mother.

5.129 *Isak mbros kwem **su** **suk** **e** **bukur** **e** **ne**.*
Isak row canoe with things and bowls and DET
Isak rowed the boat with things, bowls and so on.

Furthermore the preposition can by itself act as a proform for the whole phrase in cases where, from the context, the contents of the phrase are known. In the example below, the speaker was talking about his wife's sickness and how it necessitated the construction of a house in the bush. So he built the house 'with that situation in mind', and only requires the preposition *su* to communicate that. There is no need for a pause or any other phonological device to signify this phrase. Another phrase beginning with the preposition *mo* makes it clear that the *su* phrase has been completed.

5.130 *Ji go nu wok **su** mo nden ne.*
1SG build house small with LOC bush DET
I built a small house (with that situation in mind) in the bush.

Examples of phrases where *su* has an instrumental meaning are:

5.131 *Alfon gwa Simon **su** **kwe** **koi** **sye**.*
Alfon hit Simon with wood piece big
Alfon hit Simon with a big piece of wood.

5.132 *Ji kon an gwes **su** **weu** **gan**.*
1SG cook 3SG leg with banana young
I treated his leg with a young banana.

5.133 *An gu Musa **su** **an** **bi** **im** **bi** **nggarmom** **muk**.*
3SG kill Musa with 3SG POSS mother POSS iron pipe
He killed Musa with his mother's iron pipe.

In context all but the preposition in a prepositional phrase may be elided. This is a common feature for all prepositional phrases. Thus, in a discussion about going to get a young banana tree and bringing it back home to prepare a treatment, one could then say,

5.134 *Be ji kon an gwes **su**.*
later 1SG cook 3SG leg with
Later I will treat his leg with (it).

The use of *su* can also include temporal ideas; the phrase, 'with the cool sun' means 'in the late afternoon'. It may be sentence-initial as in example 5.135, or part of the predicate following the verb as in 5.136 and 5.137, while 5.138 shows how the preposition itself may be sufficient where the phrase is elided.

5.135 ***Su** **futmo** **ne** an kra su Lamber.*
with first DET 3SG marry with Lamber
In the first place, she married Lamber.

5.136 *Prisila ti **su** **noru** **ne** mu mo an bi im.*
Prisila flee with night DET go LOC 3SG POSS mother
Prisila fled at/during the night to her mother.

5.137 *Men ne syesyar **su** **tahun** **musyu** **mofit**.*
1PL DET came.out with year ten seven
We came out in 1970.

5.138 *Tahun ne anato men syesyar **su**.*
year DET the.one.which 1PL came.out with
That was the year in which we came out from the jungle.

Su, which has an associative notion, can be replaced with *si,* which is used for coordination of noun phrases, as discussed below in §5.7.1. On some occasions, Abun speakers split coordinate noun phrases around the verb as in example 5.139a. When that occurs, *si* acts like a preposition equivalent to *su,* as in 5.139b. In such a case *su* would also be acceptable, as seen in 5.139c. There is a progression from closer coordination to looser coordination of the participants, from 5.139a to 5.139c. When a coordinate noun phrase is not split around the verb, *su* cannot replace *si,* as in 5.139d. Usually coordinate noun phrases are not split. In more than 90% of the occurrences in the data, speakers do not split coordinate noun phrases; instead they prefer to keep them together, as in 5.139a, rather than split as in 5.139b.

5.139 a. *Apner **si** Fredik **si** Musa git sugit.*
Apner with Fredik with Musa eat food
Apner, Fredik and Musa ate food (together).

b. *Apner git sugit **si** Fredik **si** Musa.*
Apner eat food with Fredik with Musa
Apner ate food with Fredik and Musa.

c. *Apner git sugit **su** Fredik **su** Musa.*
Apner eat food with Fredik with Musa
Apner ate food with Fredik and with Musa.

d. **Apner **su** Fredik **su** Musa git sugit.*
Apner with Fredik with Musa eat food
Apner, Fredik and Musa ate food (together).

5.4.4 BENEFACTIVE PHRASES

The benefactive/purposive phrase has the preposition *wa* 'for'. This preposition has undergone a process of grammaticalisation as discussed in §3.3.1. Its common use is in benefactive prepositional phrases. For example:

5.140 *Ye fro suk **wa men ka gri.***
people prepare things for 1PL CL three
They prepared things for us three.

5.141 *Ji kon **wa ji bi nu ne** sor.*
1SG cook for 1SG POSS house DET only
I only cook for my household.

5.142 *Sugane ye mu **wa kam sye** mo Uigwem.*
at.that.time people go for day big LOC Uigwem
At that time they went for the celebrations at Uigwem.

The preposition *wa* is also a conjunction. In the following example, the first *wa* is a purpose conjunction and the second a benefactive/purpose preposition.

5.143 *An ben mbros **wa** an mu **wa** Isak.*
3SG do oar for 3SG go for Isak
He made an oar so he could go for (to help) Isak.

5.5 ADVERBIAL AND ADJECTIVAL PHRASES

Adverbial phrases in Abun consist of:

ADVERB + (INTENSIFIER)

Usually the optional intensifier is absent, leaving a single adverb as head of the phrase. This phrase type is limited in that only two particles can be used to intensify adverbs. The particle *wai*, which comes from the verb 'to pass', acts as an intensifier with adverbs. It has the sense of a surpassing manner of action. In other words, it is a comparative form. Thus, in example 5.144a, *wai* gives the idea that the speaker told his story much quicker than anyone else. However, the other intensifier, *teker,* has more of a superlative idea, so *kokro teker* can mean either 'fastest', or 'too fast', depending on the context. Frequently the use of *teker* implies intensified action militating against achieving its desired result; so in 5.144b 'He told the story too quickly' implies that the hearers were prevented from understanding the story clearly.

5.144 a. *An ki suk-du ne* ***kokro*** ***wai.***
3SG say NOM-say DET fast INT
He told the story very quickly.

b. *An ki suk-du ne* ***kokro*** ***teker.***
3SG say NOM-say DET fast INT
He told the story too quickly.

Adverbial phrases occur after the object of a transitive sentence, as in example 5.144, or after the verb of an intransitive sentence, as in the following example:

5.145 *Isak kas* ***nggi*** ***wai.***
Isak run strong INT
1. Isak runs very strongly.
2. Isak is a very strong runner.

Adjectival phrases are similar to adverbial phrases in that they consist of a head modified by an intensifier, that is, adjectival phrases consist of:

ADJECTIVE + (INTENSIFIER).

Usually the optional intensifier is absent, leaving a single adjective as head of the phrase.

Intensifiers used in adjectival phrases are the same as in adverbial phrases, with the addition of *ye* 'very' and *ndo nde* 'good NEG: very (with negative connotations)' as seen in the examples below. For extra intensification *ye* may occur with *ndo nde*, as in example 5.147b.

5.146 a. *Ndar sye* ***wai*** *ma jau ji.*
dog big INT come bite 1SG
A very big dog (bigger than normal) came and bit me.

b. *Ndar sye* ***teker*** *ma jau ji.*
dog big INT come bite 1SG
An extremely big dog came and bit me.

c. *Ndar sye* ***ye*** *ma jau ji.*
dog big INT come bite 1SG
A very big dog came and bit me.

d. *Ndar sye* ***ndo nde*** *ma jau ji.*
dog big good NEG come bite 1SG
A very big dog came and bit me.

5.147 a. *sugit mo nu sare sugum sye* ***ndo nde***
food LOC house like.that money big good NEG
in a restaurant like that the food is very expensive

b. *sugit mo nu sare sugum sye* ***ye ndo nde***
food LOC house like.that money big very good NEG
in a restaurant like that the food is very, very expensive

The intensifier *ye* differs from *wai* in that *ye* does not convey any comparative notions as does *wai*.

The general quantifier *mwa* 'many' may also be intensified in the same way as both adjectives and adverbs, as the following examples show:

5.148 a. *yetu mwa* ***teker***
people many INT
too many people

b. *yetu mwa* ***wai***
people many INT
very many people

5.149 *Nggon ne ben siri mwa* ***ye.***
woman DET do wrong many very
The woman has done many, many wrong things.

5.150 *Nggon ne ben siri su ye mwa* ***ye ndo nde.***
woman DET do wrong with people many very good NEG
The woman has done wrong things with many, many people.

5.6 QUANTIFIER PHRASES

A quantifier phrase consists of:

(CLASSIFIER*) QUANTIFIER

(*a classifier is obligatory for cardinal numerals)

A classifier indicates something about the shape or size of an object that is head of a noun phrase, in the same way as 'loaves' in the English, three loaves of bread. There are many types of classifiers that may be used depending upon the type of noun in the phrase head, such as *ge* for persons or animals; and *gwes* for long items like pieces of bamboo. In §3.4.1, Table 3.9 lists each classifier and the types of nouns to which they apply.

General quantifiers are *mwa* 'many', *bok* 'several' and *de* 'some/part'. With more commonly used nouns, classifiers have a greater tendency to be absent. Some examples are:

5.151 *yenggras* ***(ge) bok*** *ne*
old.men CL several DET
the several old respected men

5.152 *yenggras* ***(ge) mwa*** *ne*
old.men CL many DET
the many old respected men

5.153 *Men git weu* ***(bo) de*** *yo.*
1PL eat banana CL some DET
We ate some of the bananas.

5.154 *Minda kri* ***(ge) mwa*** *ok kadit pe ne.*
butterfly yellow CL many fly from place DET
Many yellow butterflies flew away from that place.

5.155 *An nai jamsem* ***(is) mwa.***
3SG get cassava CL many
He took many cassava.

An Ordinal numeral, which may be head of a quantifier phrase, is formed by a combination of *do* 'the one which' and the numeral, except for *do-ketke* 'first', or the dialectal variant, *do-futmo* 'first'. A classifier is optional with these. Some examples are:

5.156 *wam do-ketke*
time the.one.which-one
first time

5.157 *nu gwes kok kwat do-gri*
house leg high platform the.one.which-three
the house on stilts' third level

5.158 *An git weu (bo) do-at.*
3SG eat banana CL the.one.which-four
He is eating the fourth banana.

Cardinal numerals may also be head of a quantifier phrase. Classifiers, however, are obligatory when a cardinal numeral is used, except for a few common cases such as *an (ge) we* 'they two', where the classifiers are sometimes elided due to common usage. Some examples of the use of cardinal numbers are seen in examples 5.159 to 5.162 below. Cardinal numerals are listed in Table 3.8.

5.159 *weubam* ***bo*** ***at***
pineapple CL four
four pineapples

5.160 *dem* ***gwes*** ***mufit***
bamboo CL seven
seven sticks of bamboo

5.161 *jamsem* ***is*** ***musyu*** ***we***
cassava CL ten two
twenty cassava tubers

5.162 *ye* ***ge*** ***gri***
people CL three
three people

5.7 COMPLEX PHRASES

Complex phrases consist of two basic types, coordination and apposition.

Regarding the first of these, coordination, all languages possess strategies that permit various types of coordination to occur at the phrasal and sentential level, thereby forming complex phrases and sentences. According to Payne (1985a:3), there are "five basic co-ordination types which are realised linguistically both at phrasal and sentential levels: conjunction (p and q), postsection (p and not q), presection (not p and q), disjunction (p or q) and rejection (not p and not q; not p or q)".

Payne (1985a:3) claims that most languages treat postsection, presection and rejection analytically as a combination of conjunction and negation, or disjunction and negation; that is,

there is no distinct synthetic form. Abun also treats these three types of coordination analytically. Therefore only conjunction and disjunction are distinct categories in Abun.

The second basic type of complex phrase is that of apposition. Since this is structurally the same as one type of coordination (simple juxtaposition), it will be discussed under that section.

Table 5.5 following summarises each complex noun phrase type and structure that will be discussed below.

TABLE 5.5: COMPLEX NOUN PHRASES

Complex Phrase	Structure	Strategy Type
Conjunction	NP NP [NP *e*] n NP *e* [NP *si*] n NP	juxtaposition – unmarked and – general linkage with – closer linkage
Disjunction	NP ***bado*** NP ***bado***	or

5.7.1 CONJUNCTION

There are five different strategies used to conjoin phrases and sentences listed by Payne (1985a:25–37), consisting of the use of simple juxtaposition (he calls the 'zero' strategy), 'and', 'with', 'pronoun' and 'dual' strategies. Abun employs the first three types of strategies to conjoin phrases and sentences.

In *simple juxtaposition*, there are no markers of conjunction. Juxtaposition is a normal alternative existing alongside other strategies. This strategy is permitted at all levels from sentence to noun phrase, as well as in verb phrases (verb phrases, incidentally, only allow this type of strategy to give what appear to be serial verb formations). Examples are:

(i) **Sentence:**

5.163 *Ye kwam ye gu an.*
people hit.with.instr people hit.with.hand 3SG
They were hitting with a stick and (they were) punching him.

(ii) **Prepositional Phrase:**

5.164 *Ye ma kagit Pef kagit Bamogwem kagit Bikar.*
people come from Pef from Bamogwem from Bikar
They came from Pef, Bamogwem and Bikar.

(iii) **Noun Phrase:**

5.165 *An bi nggon nggon yi dom an rot nde.*
3SG POSS woman woman other also 3SG touch NEG
His wife and other women also he must not touch.

(iv) **Verb Phrase:**

5.166 *An* ***kas*** ***mu*** ***sem*** *mo* *nden.*
3SG run go sleep LOC bush
He ran and went and slept in the bush.

5.167 *Ye-suk-mise* ***ma*** ***nai*** ***gwat*** *an* *mu* *ket.*
PERS-NOM-evil come capture take 3SG go west
The police came and caught him and took him westward.

Apposition, where the two heads involved stand in a mutually attributive relationship (that is, each head is at the same time an attribute of the other head), is a special case of this unmarked type of coordination. Alternatively, when the heads are single nouns, as in examples 5.168 and 5.169, they may be analysed as a single noun phrase, as discussed in §5.2.1 above. Thus an apposition noun phrase in Abun has the structure of NP + NP. Two or more noun phrases are juxtaposed. For example:

5.168 ***Men*** ***ye-nden*** *git* *nggruk* *nde.*
1PL PERS-bush eat turtle NEG
We, 'Bush' people must not eat turtle.

5.169 *Ye* *ne* ***ye-su-go-te*** ***ye-Waropen.***
person DET PERS-head-hair-black PERS-Waropen
That person is a Papuan, a Waropen.

5.170 ***Ji*** ***bi*** ***nji*** ***ye-guru*** ***mo*** ***nden*** *kwop* *re.*
1SG POSS brother PERS-teacher LOC bush die PERF
My brother, the inland teacher, has died.

With *recursive apposition*, the head of the noun phrase is repeated, as in example 5.171. By way of contrast, in the case where a subsequent noun phrase modifies the first using the noun modifying particle *to*, the head of the phrase is not repeated, as in 5.172.

5.171 *An* *it* ***san*** ***be,*** ***san*** ***mo*** ***sem*** ***ne*** ***san***
3SG put.on clothes new clothes LOC sea DET clothes

to-ré ***san*** ***pis.***
EXT-this clothes wrap.around
She put on new clothes, modern clothes, these clothes, wrap-around clothes.

5.172 *Wo* ***suk-fo*** ***to*** ***ndam*** ***syor*** ***ne*** *yo,* *nu-we* *git* *nde.*
but thing-taboo NMP bird cassowary that then.IRR 2PL-two eat NEG
But a forbidden thing, that is that cassowary, you two can not eat.

In the *'and' strategy*, the coordinating particle *e* is used as a conjunction in sentences and phrases. In the case of noun phrases the form is:

$$[\text{NP } \boldsymbol{e}\,]^{n}\ \text{NP } \boldsymbol{e}$$

There is no distinction in meaning between the use of this particle and simple juxtaposition. Therefore examples are found in sentences, prepositional phrases and noun phrases similar to those examples given above. In all cases *e* may be added between the noun phrases, but may not be added for verb phrases. This particle is widely used and conjoins phrases in subject or object positions in Abun sentences, as in examples 5.173 and 5.174

respectively. Topicalised objects may also include complex phrases conjoined by *e*, as in example 5.175.

5.173 *Abi e Arun e Joni e nin gro mut et.*
mother and Arun and Joni and 2PL eye close HORT(M)
Mum, Arun and Joni, close your eyes.

5.174 *Nin we git suge sato nok e be e ron*
2PL two eat animal like wild.pig and kangaroo and tree.kangaroo
e ne.
and DET
Eat animals such as wild pigs, kangaroos, tree kangaroos and the like.

5.175 *Mbos e ndabu e ndam ga sye ne e an*
pigeon and dove and bird REL big DET and 3PL
fowa sino.
forbidden all
Pigeons, doves and birds that are big, they are all forbidden (for women to eat).

The *'with' strategy* is widely used to conjoin noun phrases. It is rarely used in sentences and is not permitted in prepositional phrase constructions. Payne points out that this is a very common strategy and that usually the coordinating particle is identical to the adposition marking the associative sense of 'with' (1985a:29). This is not quite true for Abun, where the coordinating particle is *si* 'with', while the associative preposition is *su* 'with'; the two forms nevertheless appearing cognate.

The 'with' strategy is evident in Abun coordinate noun phrases in either of two ways:

1. [NP ***si***] n NP

5.176 *Ji si Dina si Yulius si Isak, men ma nyim mo*
1SG with Dina with Yulius with Isak 1PL come ahead LOC
nu re.
house PERF
1. I with Dina and with Yulius and with Isak, we had come ahead to the house.
2. Dina and Yulius and Isak and I, we (all) had come ahead (of the others) to the house.

2. NP n ***si*** NP

5.177 *Apner, Fredik si Musa git sugit.*
Apner Fredik with Musa eat food
Apner, Fredik and Musa ate food (together).

The former type is more emphatic than the latter in much the same way as in English where 'and' can be repeated, as illustrated in the second translation of example 5.176 above.

A slightly hybrid version of these two types is seen in example 5.178 below. This is due to the use of the first person sentence-initially. In Abun, the first person is mentioned first in a list of persons; that is, an Abun speaker normally refers to himself first.

5.178 *Ji* ***si*** *Adolof Senderina Erlendsi Yususina* ***si***
1SG with Adolof Senderina Erlendsi Yususina with

nggonggras Barbarina.
Mrs Barbarina
[We went to process sago at the river] I with Adolof, Senderina, Erlendsi, Yususina and with Mrs Barbarina.

It should be noted that it is possible for the conjuncts to be split around the predicate to form: NP PRED ***si*** NP, where the second phrase could be analysed as a *si* (associative) prepositional phrase (discussed in §5.4.3). Note that the meaning of both examples 5.177 and 5.179 is similar; however, the former construction is much more common. (Payne 1985a:32) indicates that this split of conjuncts occurs in other languages, such as Russian.

5.179 *Apner git sugit* ***si*** *Fredik si Musa.*
Apner eat food with Fredik with Musa
Apner ate food together with Fredik and Musa.

The 'with' strategy is not only used for joining phrases where the head is a name or a pronoun, but also where the head is another type of noun, a noun phrase or a possessive phrase, such as in the following examples:

5.180 *Suk sato sukom si bok si barisyan an git sore.*
things like vegetables with salt with chilli 3PL eat only
Only things like vegetables with salt and with chilli they can eat.

5.181 *Men kadum Syunsom si ef Um.*
1PL point.out Syunsom with island Um
We pointed out Syumsom and Um island.

5.182 *Rahel si bi im si bi ai mu re.*
Rachel with POSS mother with POSS father go PERF
Rachel and her mother and father had already gone.

The 'with' strategy is limited to the conjoining of noun phrases and, in some rare cases, in the joining of clauses with a common subject. The following example, where two clauses are joined, comes from a text where the speaker is giving advice on what children with diarrhea should not do.

5.183 *Pa da gur bo dek rom* ***si*** *git i-ka nde.*
child drink coconut CL young liquid with eat its-flesh NEG
1. Children must not drink young coconut milk together with eating its flesh.
2. Don't drink young coconut milk and eat its flesh.

There appears to be no limit to how many phrases can be joined by *si* 'with' (or *e* 'and'). One recorded example has a list of nine places that Isak pointed out to the author of the story: "*Isak kadum Jokya, Syugai, Syurgwem, Syukwo, Somsibo, Weyos, Bangkui, Bangkwau si Wai is ji*". This utterance used the pause much like English and concluded with *si* 'with' before the final place name.

The use of the 'with' strategy is more common with coordinate phrases in subject position. This is because subjects are mostly agents. On the other hand, use of *e* is more

common with coordinate phrases in object position, although there are exceptions as seen in example 5.173.

Semantically there are some restrictions on the use of the 'with' strategy. The conjuncts must be seen as acting together, as in example 5.182 where Rachel and her parents went together. If they went separately, the speaker would use the 'and' strategy. Also, to employ the 'with' strategy, the conjuncts could be seen as being located close together. Thus in 5.181, the island and Syunsom were seen together or pointed out together, and so *si* was used. Also in 5.180, the items spoken about are of the same type, in the sense that vegetables are eaten together with either or both of salt and chilli. If, however, these items were in a list and not necessarily eaten together then *e* would be used, as in 5.174, where different food items that would not be eaten together are listed.

There are times when *si* and not *e* must be used. In example 5.184, the use of *si* means that the clothes mentioned are actually in the bags. If the clothes were separate from the bags then *e* would be more appropriate than *si*. The use of *si* therefore implies a togetherness much more so than the use of *e*.

5.184 *Pa pe yu* ***si*** *san e sukmwa ne.*
child carry bag with clothes and many.things DET
The children carried the bags with clothes and the many (other) things.

In example 5.185, for example, Apner, Markus and RK are not together when the speaker refers to them. They are in different locations and are being spoken about at different points in time. Therefore since there is no 'togetherness', *e* is more appropriate.

5.185 *An nuk Apner e Markus e RK e.*
3SG spoke.about Apner and Markus and RK and
She spoke about Apner, Markus and RK.

In summary, of the three strategies used for conjunction, namely juxtaposition, 'and' and 'with', there is a strengthening of coordination from one to the next; that is, the first is more a general grouping of items, while the last is more a specific linking of items.

5.7.2 DISJUNCTION

According to Payne (1985a:40), the majority of languages appear to possess at least one unequivocal strategy for disjunction, and this is invariably permitted at sentential and phrasal levels. This is true in Abun. The basic structure for disjunction is for the speaker to follow each phrase or sentence with the word, *bado*. In Abun, disjunct phrases consist of: NP ***bado*** NP ***bado*** and so on. The form *bado* is the alternative conjunction.

Examples of the use of *bado* from sentence to phrase level are:

(i) **Sentence:**

5.186 *Pa yo ki nai* ***bado*** *Ester mu mo Barbarina ete*
child DET say to or Ester go LOC Barbarina and.then
ma ***bado***...
come or
A child told (them) or Ester went to Barbarina and came (with the answer)...

(ii) **Prepositional Phrase:**

5.187 *Pa ne mo nu* ***bado*** *mo nggwe* ***bado.***
child DET LOC house or LOC garden or
The child is at home or in the garden.

(iii) **Possessive Phrase:**

5.188 *Barbarina titi mu kem mo gato Yulius bi nu ne ti*
Barbarina flee go stay LOC REL Yulius POSS house DET sea

bado *Obet bi nu i* ***bado...***
or Obet POSS house own or
Barbarina fled and stayed at Yulius' house at the sea or Obet's house...

(iv) **Noun Phrases:**

5.189 *An so pa ré tepsu jot* ***bado*** *kokor* ***bado.***
3SG sell child this like pig or chicken or
He sold the child like a pig or a chicken.

5.190 *Erensi nai mbre toba ré sak we* ***bado*** *sak*
Erensi took cloth toba this handspan two or handspan

gri ***bado*** *sak at* ***bado.***
three or handspan four or
Erensi took the *toba* cloth, (it was) two or three or four handspans.

Payne (1985a:40) also points out that in certain environments the distinction between 'and' and 'or' (when the latter is indifferent in the choice between the elements) may be a minimal one. For example, in example 5.174 above, an alternative translation would be, 'Eat animals such as wild pigs (or), kangaroos (or), tree kangaroos or the like'. Likewise, there is some merging of 'and' and 'or' in examples 5.165 and 5.175. On the other hand, examples 5.173 and 5.185 may not be translated as 'or', but must only be 'and'.

Juxtaposition is sometimes used as an alternative to *bado*. It is particularly evident when quantifiers are used in noun phrases, such as in example 5.191.

5.191 *mbre dik yo we yo*
cloth one a two a
one or two cloths

Other alternatives to *bado*, that are frequently used as alternative conjunctions in spoken Abun, are *ke* and *ka*. These come from Biak and Indonesian respectively, the latter being a corruption of the yes/no question particle, *kah*. This has come about because *bado* is used in asking alternative or tag questions, as in '*An ma, bado, (nde e)?*' 'He has come or (not)?' Frequently *nde e* is omitted, so the alternative conjunction may also act like a yes/no interrogative particle. Thus Abun speakers have adopted the Indonesian, *kah*, and use that just as they use their own, *bado*; that is, as an alternative conjunction and in alternative questions, even though in Indonesian *kah* is only a yes/no question marker and not an alternative conjunction. The alternative conjunction in Indonesian is *atau*, which also is sometimes borrowed by Abun speakers. Examples are:

5.192 *Nan kra bi* ***ka*** *Moses kra bi* ***ka*** *Set kra bi* ***ka***...
2SG marry POSS or Moses marry POSS or Set marry POSS or
If you marry yours, or Moses marries his, or Set marries his...

5.193 *Men mu mo Resye* ***ke*** *Syukwor tuya* ***ke*** *Uigwem tuya* ***ke***.
1PL go LOC Resye or Syukwor distant or Uigwem distant or
We will go to Resye or distant Syukwor or distant Uigwem.

CHAPTER 6

MARKED MOODS

There are three moods which are marked in Abun, namely interrogative, imperative and frustrated action. Mood is marked by a clause-final particle which follows other particles (that is, those that mark negation, aspect and modality). Each marked mood will be discussed in turn.

6.1 INTERROGATIVE MOOD

Interrogative mood, like other moods in Abun, uses particles. Two particles are used to bracket or delineate the constituent being interrogated. The pattern of bracketing a grammatical constituent by particles is a feature of the Abun language. It is used in negation (see §8.2), and also in relative clauses, both restricted and unrestricted, as discussed in §9.

The basic structure of an interrogative sentence in Abun is:

IQM clause FQM

The optional particle *te* (referred to as IQM 'Initial Question Marker') and another particle called FQM 'Final Question Marker' bracket the clause in question. For all question types *te* is the IQM, but the particle FQM varies according to the type of question being asked.

The initial particle *te*, although now apparently totally optional, may well have been an obligatory part of interrogative structures in the past, before the influence of the national language, Indonesian. This is borne out by the fact that those less influenced by the national language, from interior villages, use *te* much more than those on the coast, where the effects of the national language are more prevalent.

As a general rule, the pattern of intonation in interrogative sentences is a final falling contour. The exception is confirmative questions which have a final rising intonation.

All interrogatives are seeking some type of information. On lexical grounds, namely the variation in the FQM particle, it is apparent that Abun has four basic types of interrogatives. The four types are the:

- YES/NO (or NEXUS) question, one that seeks a comment on the truth of a proposition;
- CONFIRMATIVE question, that seeks agreement, or confirmation from the addressee;
- ALTERNATIVE question, which provides a list of possibilities from which the addressee selects an answer;
- INFORMATION or QUESTION WORD question, which seeks particular information such as 'who', 'what', 'how', 'why', 'when' and 'where'.

A summary of Abun question types, their structure and related final intonation pattern is contained in Table 6.1 below. Each type will be discussed in turn below.

TABLE 6.1: SUMMARY OF INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE TYPES

Question Type	Structure	Intonation
Yes/no	(*te*) clause *e*	final falling
Confirmative	(*te*) clause *fe*	final rising
Alternative	[(*te*) clause *bado*]^{n} clause *e*	final falling
Information	(*te*) clause (incl question word) *ne/o*	final falling

6.1.1 YES/NO QUESTIONS

There are many characteristics that distinguish yes/no questions from other structures in the world's languages. Characteristics listed by Sadock and Zwicky (1985:181) in order of frequency in their sample were: rising final intonation contour, a sentence-initial particle, a sentence-final particle, special verb morphology and word order. Abun yes/no questions are marked with an optional sentence-initial particle and an obigatory sentence-final particle.

The structure of a YES/NO question in Abun is:

(***te***) CLAUSE ***e***

The Yes/No Question Marker *e* is always used in yes/no questions. However, the 'Initial Question Marker' *te* is always optional and more often than not is omitted. Of those yes/no questions studied, about 35% used *te*. Examples 6.1 and 6.2 illustrate typical yes/no questions, showing that with or without *te* the meaning is the same.

6.1 a. ***Te*** *nan* *kra* *it* *e?*
IQM 2SG marry CAM YNQM
Are you married?

b. *Nan* *kra* *it* *e?*
2SG marry CAM YNQM
Are you married?

6.2 a. ***Te*** *nan* *nai* *nan* *bi* *suk* *it* *e?*
IQM 2SG get 2SG POSS things CAM YNQM
Have you got your things?

b. *Nan* *nai* *nan* *bi* *suk* *it* *e?*
2SG get 2SG POSS things CAM YNQM
Have you got your things?

One of the most striking characteristics of yes/no questions noted by researchers is a rising-final intonation contour (Sadock & Zwicky 1985:181). An analysis of the intonation patterns in Abun yes/no questions reveals the opposite, that is a falling final intonation contour. The intonation pattern for interrogative sentences is the same as that for indicative sentences. Therefore intonation is not such a significant distinguishing feature of yes/no questions in Abun as it is in many other languages. Ultan (1978:230) points out that in his 79-language sample, those languages that had prepositions *always* had a rising terminal

contour intonation pattern. Abun is clearly an exception to this (see Figures 6.1 and 6.2 below which contrast yes/no and confirmative question intonation patterns).

There are three basic systems for short answers to yes/no questions: yes/no, agree/disagree and echo systems. Abun speakers use a mixture of these systems: an echo system for positive responses; and a negative particle, *nde*, for negative responses. They do not have *both* positive and negative particles for answering like the English 'yes' and 'no', but rather they only have the negative particle. When a question such as that in example 6.3 is asked, a positive answer would be the echo, 'There is cooked food'. Frequently such answers may be shortened even further, a possible response to 6.3 being *mo* 'there is'. A negative response would require the use of *nde* 'no'.

6.3 *A kon suk a yo jon e?*
2SG cook thing PAUSE some cooked YNQM
Have you cooked anything?

Although Abun speakers use an echo system for positive responses, their body-language responses to yes/no questions uses a yes/no system. Raising of the eyebrows means 'yes', and turning up of their nose means 'no'.

6.1.2 CONFIRMATIVE QUESTIONS

This type of question asks for confirmation of a presumed situation. The structure is:

(***te***) CLAUSE ***fe***

Such constructions are very similar to yes/no questions, but they have a rising final intonation contour and use the marker *fe* 'Confirmative Question Marker, CQM' sentence-finally, as in examples 6.4 and 6.5.

6.4 ***Te*** *ji bi suk ane* ***fe?***
IQM 1SG POSS thing DEM CQM
That's mine! Right?

6.5 *Ndo* ***fe?***
good CQM
1. That's good! Right?
2. That's good, isn't it?

These questions presume a positive response and may also be called positively biased yes/no questions. Negatively biased yes/no questions, such as in example 6.6, are unacceptable to an Abun speaker.

6.6 **Ndar anane nde* ***fe?***
dog DET NEG CQM
That's not a dog, right?

Confirmative questions not only have a distinct FQM, but are also distinguished from yes/no questions by a rising final intonation contour. Example 6.7 has the intonation pattern as shown in Figure 6.1, which contrasts with the intonation pattern for the yes/no question of 6.8, shown in Figure 6.2 below.

6.7 *...sube yen bi-nilai men fe?*
so.that 3PL FVV-value 1PL CQM
...so that they can see how good we are, right?

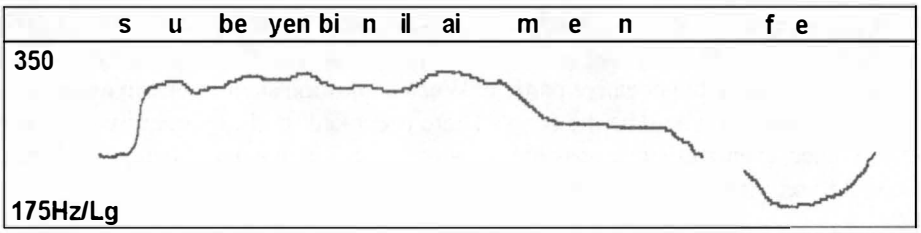


FIGURE 6.1: INTONATION PATTERN OF A CONFIRMATIVE QUESTION

The following figure shows:

6.8 *A kon suk a yo jon e?*
2SG cook thing PAUSE some cooked YNQM
Have you cooked anything?

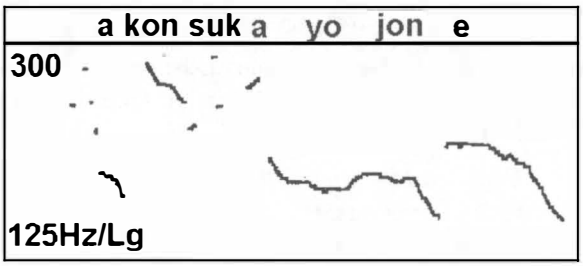


FIGURE 6.2: INTONATION PATTERN OF A YES/NO QUESTION

6.1.3 ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS

In an alternative question, two or more possibilities are presented by the speaker. Combinations include two possibilities such as, 'Do you want to go, or not?', where the alternative is a positive or negative reply; or 'Do you want a banana, or a coconut?', where the alternative is between two items. Another possibility is where one alternative is specified and the second alternative seeks information such as, "Is the palm wine sweet, or what?" Also more extensive lists of alternative items are possible.

For an alternative question where there are two alternatives, the structure is:

(*te*) CLAUSE ***bado*** CLAUSE ***e***

Example 6.9 illustrates two alternatives:

6.9 *A kra Moses* ***bado*** *a bari* ***e?***
2SG marry Moses AQM 2SG do.not.want YNQM
Do you want to marry Moses, or don't you want to?

Instead of having a number of varied alternatives, a further possibility is to have just two alternatives, one being the negation of the other. In these cases the first alternative (which is positive) is followed by *bado*, while the second alternative is the negative particle, *nde*, followed by the yes/no question marker, *e*. Thus the structure of a positive-negative alternative question is:

(*te*) CLAUSE ***bado nde e***

Example 6.10 illustrates this type of question.

6.10 ***Te*** *men frot án* ***bado,*** *nde* ***e?***
IQM 1PL inform 3PL AQM NEG YNQM
Will we tell them or not?

This form is often shortened by the ellipsis of *nde e* resulting in a form like that of yes/no questions, but with a different FQM, that is *bado*. Such a form, as in example 6.11, is still a positive/negative alternative question. It has the same meaning as if *nde e* was present.

6.11 *A jam nadi,* ***bado?***
2SG know pray AQM
Do you know how to pray (or not)?

This type of construction could be called a truncated positive-negative alternative question. The addition of *nde e* makes the question more forceful and is used in cases where a question, like that in example 6.11, is ignored or not answered quickly enough, so the speaker would reiterate the question with *nde e* in addition to *bado*.

A further variation of the type of alternative question is one where the final alternative seeks information. The final clause follows the same structure as information-seeking questions, discussed in §6.1.4. Example 6.12 illustrates this type, where the last alternative is actually an information-seeking question, and uses the particle *ne* as FQM.

6.12 *Nau ne wik* ***bado*** *sa* ***u*** ***ne?***
palm.wine DET good.tasting AQM like which FQM
Does that palm wine taste good, or what?

Regarding intonation in alternative questions, Abun has a falling final intonation contour on *bado* in much the same way as intonation falls in yes/no questions as well as indicative sentences.

No matter what type of alternative question is asked, the syntax is the same, that is the 'Alternative Question Marker' (AQM), *bado*, follows each alternative. The final alternative is followed by its relevant QM, usually the yes/no question marker, except for cases where it is one seeking information. The 'Initial Question Marker' (IQM) is optionally present, as for other question types. The structure of an alternative question (where n + 1= the number of alternatives) is:

[(*te*) CLAUSE ***bado***]^{n} CLAUSE ***e***

In example 6.13 there are four alternatives. Each one, except the last, is followed by *bado*. This means that the clause which precedes it is in question as a possible alternative and every clause in an alternative question must be followed by *bado*. The comma before *bado* and the semicolon after it represent a pause and a longer pause respectively.

6.13 *Be nggon gato syimfar ne **te** mu ben suk mo nggwe*
will girl who pregnant DEM IQM go do things at garden

*dom, **bado**; mu os syu dom, **bado**; sam suk de dom, **bado**;*
also AQM go path long also AQM carry things heavy also AQM

*an kem mo nu sore etejo an i nu, **e**?*
she stay at home only then she sweeps house YNQM
When a woman is pregnant does she also go to the garden, does she go on long trips too, does she carry heavy things too, or does she just stay at home and sweep the house?

6.1.4 INFORMATION-SEEKING QUESTIONS

Questions seeking information, such as those asking 'who', 'what', 'how', 'why', 'when' and 'where', are all formed in Abun in a similar way. They follow the general bracketing pattern that is evident in negation. A question of this type is formed by using two particles or markers: *te* (always optional) at the start of the sentence and FQM at the end. An interrogative proform is also used in conjunction with these markers. This is a rare combination according to Sadock and Zwicky (1985:183), who say that inversion and special morphology frequently co-occur with interrogative words, whereas particles and contrastive intonation do not.

The structure of information-seeking interrogative sentences in Abun is:

(*te*) S V O ADJUNCT (Q) FQM

where FQM is a 'Final Question Marker' and (Q) represents a single interrogative word which may follow one of either the subject, the verb, the object or the adjuncts, depending upon which constituent is being interrogated. Exceptions to this pattern occur when information seeking-interrogative sentences are topicalised, as in example 6.14. This pattern is discussed in detail in §6.1.4.4.

6.14 ***Ben** **sa** **u** **anato** nan yo ma more nde **ne**?*
do like which FOC 2SG NEG come here NEG FQM
1. How is it that you didn't come here?
2. Why didn't you come here?

Regarding the initial marker, *te,* in a sample of 194 questions in text material *te* occurred 41 times, that is about 21% of information-seeking questions use *te*. Therefore questions like that in example 6.15 are without the IQM and are more common than those with *te*.

6.15 *Ji bi suma is nan **o**?*
1SG give what IO 2SG FQM
1. What can I give to you?
2. How can I help you?

The final question marker (FQM) is either *ne* or *o*. The use of either one of these particles is obligatory. The particles *ne* and *o* are used interchangeably, with no change in meaning. So example 6.16a has the same meaning as 6.16b. These two particles appear to have been originally dialectal variants which have now been incorporated into all dialects. There is no apparent difference in meaning; *ne* is more common than *o*, occurring in 90% of all questions analysed.

6.16 a. *Nan jan suma* ***ne?***
2SG plant what FQM
What did you plant?

b. *Nan jan suma* ***o?***
2SG plant what FQM
What did you plant?

Both particles (*te...ne/o*) bracket the whole sentence irrespective of its complexity. In a complex sentence as in example 6.17, two clauses are embedded: a relative clause and a dependent purpose clause. Both are bracketed by the initial and final particles.

6.17 ***Te*** *ye gato i ne git* ***suma*** *sube án ge ó* ***ne?***
IQM person REL sick DET eat what so.that 3PL well again FQM
1. People who are sick eat what so they will get well again?
2. What do sick people eat so they will get well again?

Information-seeking questions have a final falling intonation contour similar to yes/no and alternative questions. Such type of intonation is not what would be expected according to the findings by Ultan (1978:230), where he points out that information questions have a considerably better-than-chance probability of having a rising terminal contour.

The question word follows the constituent that is the focus of interrogation. In example 6.18, the subject, that is 'the person who came', is the focus of interrogation; whereas in 6.19 the object, that is 'the types of plants', is the focus of interrogation. In 6.20 the location is the focus of interrogation, and in 6.21 the indirect object is the focus of interrogation.

6.18 *Te* ***je*** ***u*** *ma more ne?*
IQM person which come here FQM
Who came here?

6.19 *Te nan jan* ***suk-jan*** ***u*** *ne?*
IQM 2SG plant NOM-plant which FQM
Which plants did you plant?

6.20 *Nan grem buku ne* ***mo*** ***u*** *ne?*
2SG put book DEM LOC which FQM
Where did you put the book?

6.21 *Te an syo buku ne nai* ***je*** ***u*** *ne?*
IQM 3SG give book DEM IO person which FQM
Who did he give the book to?

With regard to the interrogative proforms used in information-seeking questions, Abun has only three. According to Sadock and Zwicky (1985:184), theoretically it should be possible that only one single morpheme, glossed as 'what', is needed. Therefore, all

information questions would involve periphrasis (that is, 'what person' for who, 'what place' for where, and so on). However, in practice the smallest system known to them is the Yokuts system with three interrogative words. Abun can therefore be added as one of the smallest systems known. The three proforms are:

suma	what	general interrogative
u	which	specific interrogative
ot	how many	pronumeral interrogative

Table 6.2 shows each interrogative word and its periphrasis together with the equivalent question words in English.

Abun is even more unusual than Yokuts, not having a distinct interrogative proform that makes a distinction between personal and impersonal ('who' and 'what' in English). Ultan (1978:229) points out that this contrast is almost always present. But instead Abun forms the pronominal interrogative, 'who', by a combination of *je* 'person' and *u* 'which'.

Each interrogative word with examples of various question types is discussed below.

TABLE 6.2: INTERROGATIVE EXPRESSIONS

Word	Abun	English
u	*je* *u* person which	who
	je *u* *bi* person which POSS	whose
	Noun *u* x which	whichx
	sa *u* like which	how, what
	mo *u* LOC which	where
	kadit *u* from which	from where
	ket *u* way which	which direction
	wa *sa* *u* for like which	why
	kap *u* time which	when
suma	*suma* what	what
	wa *suma* for what	why
	suma *ben* what do	why (topicalised)
ot	*kap* *ot* time how.many	when
	N *ge*[7] *ot* x CL how.many	how many

6.1.4.1 *u* QUESTIONS

The most widely used interrogative word is *u*. It is used to form the following types of interrogatives.

7 See §3.4.1 for a list of classifiers and the types of nouns to which they apply.

(i) **who**

U forms questions inquiring about the identity of a person, who may be either subject, as in example 6.22, object, 6.23, or accompaniment, 6.24, in a sentence.

6.22 ***Je u*** *ma mo-re* ***ne?***
person which come LOC-here FQM
Who came here?

6.23 *Ndar ne jau* ***je u*** ***ne?***
dog DET bite person which FQM
Who did the dog bite?

6.24 *Nan kem su* ***je u*** ***ne?***
2SG live with person which FQM
Who do you live with?

(ii) **whose**

Examples 6.25 and 6.26 illustrate questions inquiring about the possession of a dog and pig respectively.

6.25 *Je u ana bi ndar ne ne?*
person which FOC POSS dog DEM FQM
1. Who is it that owns that dog?
2. Whose dog is that?

6.26 *Nan gu je u bi jot ne?*
2SG kill person which POSS pig FQM
Whose pig did you kill?

(iii) **which/what x**

The following examples illustrate the use of *u* in asking questions about the identity of a particular thing, such as what type of fish in example 6.27, or what type of plants in 6.28.

6.27 *Nan sok* ***boge u*** *ne?*
2SG fish fish which FQM
What type of fish do you fish for?

6.28 ***Suk-jan u*** *kom ndo ne?*
NOM-plant which grow well FQM
Which plants are growing well?

(iv) **how, what**

Questions that ask about the state of something, (like a name as in example 6.29, or a body size as in 6.30), and questions that ask about the manner in which something is to be done (6.31 and 6.32), all use *sa u* 'like which'.

6.29 *Nan gum sa* ***u*** *ne?*
2SG name like which FQM
What is your name?

6.30 *Nan bi ndar ka sa **u** ne?*
2SG POSS dog body like which FQM
What is your dog like?

6.31 *Nan jan weu sa **u** ne?*
2SG plant banana like which FQM
How do you plant bananas?

6.32 *An git an bi sugit i sa **u** ne?*
3SG eat 3SG POSS food his.own like which FQM
How does he eat his food?

Questions inquiring into what type of actions someone has done, (example 6.33) or will do in the future (6.34) use *ben sa u* 'do like what'. There is an overlap in the use of *suma* and *u* in these types of questions. In both cases below, *suma* could replace *u* and be syntactically correct. However when *suma* is used the answer sought would be more general in nature, consistent with the differentiation between these two interrogative words explained above.

6.33 *Kamekre nggon ne **ben** sa **u** ne?*
yesterday women DEM do like which FQM
What did the women do yesterday?

6.34 *Mo-re ye **ben** sa **u** sube yo ku suki*
LOC-here people do like which so.that NEG get sickness
sunggu nde ne?
mosquito NEG FQM
What do people here do so that they won't get malaria?

(v) **where, from where, which direction**

For questions regarding location, source or direction the appropriate preposition is used together with *u*. So for location, *mo u* means 'where' in example 6.35; source, *kagit u* 'from where' as in 6.36 and direction, *ket u* 'which direction' as in 6.37.

6.35 *Nan ontu **mo** **u** ne?*
2SG umbilical.cord LOC which FQM
Where were you born?

6.36 *An mu **kagit** **u** ne?*
3SG go from where FQM
Where did he come from?

6.37 *Nggon mise mu **ket** **u** ne?*
woman evil go way which FQM
Which way did the evil woman go?

(vi) **why**

Another type of question asked using *u* is questions that inquire as to the reason for a particular action, or inaction, as in example 6.38.

6.38 ***Te*** *nan fowa* ***suk*** *ne* ***wa sa*** ***u*** *ne?*
IQM 2SG forbidden thing that for like which FQM
Why are you forbidden (to eat) that?

(vii) **when**

Questions asking about time usually use the interrogative pronumeral, *ot*; however, when one is asked to specify the name of the day or month *u* can be used, as in example 6.39.

6.39 ***Kam u*** *ete nan mu ne?*
day which then 2SG go FQM
When will you be going?

6.1.4.2 *suma* QUESTIONS

The interrogative word, *suma*, is used to form questions inquiring about the identity of something, as in example 6.40, the nature of a particular action, as in 6.41, the reason for a particular action, as in 6.42, or its topicalisation, as in 6.43.

(i) **what**

6.40 *Nan sok* ***suma*** *ne?*
2SG fish what FQM
What do you fish for?

6.41 *An* ***ben suma*** *o?*
3SG do what FQM
What did he do?

(ii) **why**

6.42 *Nan yo ma more nde* ***wa suma*** *ne?*
2SG NEG come here NEG for what FQM
Why didn't you come here?

(iii) **why (topicalised)**

6.43 ***Suma ben anato*** *nan yo ma more nde ne?*
what do FOC 2SG NEG come here NEG FQM
1. What was the reason that you didn't come here?
2. Why was it that you didn't come?

The distinction between *u* and *suma* is one of specific and general. *U* is more specific than *suma.* Consider examples 6.44 and 6.45 below.

6.44 *Nan jan suk-jan* ***u*** ***ne?***
2SG plant NOM-plant which FQM
Which plants did you plant?

6.45 *Nan jan suma* ***ne?***
2SG plant what FQM
What did you plant?

Example 6.44 is looking for a more specific answer than 6.45. We may get an answer like corn, cassava and tomatoes; whereas the answer to the second question may be something more general, like vegetables. Often the answer may not be different, but the question in example 6.45 is more likely to result in a less specific answer.

Suma is limited in its use as an interrogative word to asking questions such as 'what' or 'why'. However *u* is more widely used and is involved in periphrasis to form most types of questions, such as 'who', 'whose', 'what', 'which', 'where', 'why', 'how' and 'when'.

The third interrogative word, *ot* 'how many', is used in forming questions relating to quantity and time, that is, 'when' and 'how many'.

6.1.4.3 *ot* QUESTIONS

The interrogative pronumeral *ot* is used to form questions about time and quantity. There is some overlap of *u* and *ot* in asking time questions. Compare example 6.46 below with 6.39 above. The difference is that in 6.39 the answer would be expected to name a day, month or other point in time, such as next year; whereas 6.46 would expect an answer such as 'in five days' or 'three months', that is with some type of numerical response.

6.46 ***Kam ot*** *ete nan mu ne?*
day how.many then 2SG go FQM
When will you be going?

There are no tense markers on verbs in Abun, so whether a time question (such as in example 6.47) is in the past or future is determined by reference to the context, or by the special use of the word *ete* 'then', (as in 6.46) or *be* 'later' (as in 6.48) to indicate future time.

(i) **when**

6.47 *An ma more* ***su kam ot*** ***ne?***
3SG come here with day how.many FQM
When did he come here? (lit. how many days ago)

6.48 *Be an ma more* ***su kam ot*** ***ne?***
later 3SG come here with day how.many FQM
When will he come here?

(ii) **how many**

To ask about the duration of some event, *kom mo* is used instead of *su*, as in example 6.49.

6.49 *Nan kem more* ***kom mo kam ot*** *ne?*
2SG live here for to day how.many FQM
How long have you lived here?

Ot is also used in questions of quantity. In this type, *ot* follows the noun for a specific item such as 'pigs' or 'money' with its appropriate classifier, as in examples 6.50 and 6.51. See §3.4.1. for a list of classifiers and the types of nouns to which they apply.

6.50 *Nan bi **jot** **ge** **ot** ne?*
2SG POSS pig body how.many FQM
How many pigs do you have?

6.51 *Nan bi **nu** **ke** **ot** ne?*
2SG POSS house base how.many FQM
How many houses do you have?

The word *wam* 'times' does not require a classifier, as in examples 6.52 and 6.53.

6.52 ***Te** nan i su suk-i sunggu ne **wam** **ot** ne?*
IQM 2SG sick with NOM-sick mosquito DEM times how.many FQM
How many times have you had malaria?

6.53 *Nan mu **wam** **ot** mo Dom ne?*
2SG go times how.many LOC Sorong FQM
How many times have you gone to Sorong?

6.1.4.4 TOPICALISATION OF INFORMATION-SEEKING QUESTIONS

Information-seeking questions, like indicative sentences, can be topicalised (see §4.7.2). In these forms the question word is followed by the demonstrative-focus word (or topicaliser), *anato*, as in example 6.54. The use of this form brings *sukjan* 'plants' into greater focus or emphasis than the non-topicalised forms, as in 6.55 and 6.56.

6.54 *Te suk-jan u **anato** nan jan ne?*
IQM NOM-plant which FOC 2SG plant FQM
Which plants are the ones that you planted?

6.55 *Te nan jan **suk-jan** **u** ne?*
IQM 2SG plant NOM-plant which FQM
Which plants did you plant?

6.56 *Nan jan suma ne?*
2SG plant what FQM
What did you plant?

In a sample of 127 information-seeking questions, 25% were topicalised.

In Abun the constituents of a sentence that may be topicalised in questions are the subject. Even though the subject is the topic, it may receive extra focus by the use of *anato*, as in example 6.57 and object, as in 6.54.

6.57 *Te **je** **u** **anato** ndar ne jau ne?*
IQM person which FOC dog DET bite FQM
Who was it that the dog bit?

Other constituents such as location in example 6.58 cannot be topicalised.

6.58 ***Mo** **u** **anato** nan ontu ne?*
LOC which FOC 2SG umbilical.cord FQM

6.1.5 USAGE OF INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

Abun has no special form for rhetorical questions. Instead interrogative sentences can be used in a rhetorical sense; that is, the speaker not only is sure of the answer, but also requires no answer. So on some occasions, although the structure is interrogative, the illocutionary force is not. This is plain in narrative texts where the speaker continues after asking a 'question' because the answer is obvious. Examples taken from text are:

(i) **a negative statement**

6.59 *Ji da sok ari sarewo Yefun ne* ***sa u ne?***
1SG even.though enter church.service but God DEM like which FQM
1. Even though I went to church, what was God like?
2. Even though I went to church, I couldn't understand who God was.

6.60 *Ji yo bi os wa ji kem mo Dom nde*
1SG NEG POSS way for 1SG live in Sorong NEG

be ***je u anato*** *mewa ji* ***ne?***
later person which FOC care.for 1SG FQM
1. I had no way I could live in Sorong, who could take care of me?
2. I couldn't live in Sorong because there was no one there who would have taken care of me.

(ii) **an exclamation expressing surprise or even disgust**

6.61 *An jimnot ware an ki do "Suma ben ji anato*
3SG think FRUS 3SG say that what do 1SG FOC

ji sem mo nat ré e ji i sare ne?"
1SG sleep LOC place this and 1SG sick like.this FQM
1. He thought about it with no success, "What ever made me sleep in this place and get sick like this?"
2. He couldn't work out what made him sleep in a place like that that made him so sick.

Example 6.61 comes from a narrative, and at this point there was no interaction with anyone. The speaker was really disgusted with himself for doing such a stupid thing. In English we often ask ourselves, "Why did I do such a stupid thing?", in the sense, "What a stupid thing for me to have done!" So the semantic force of this interrogative structure is not to ask a question but to make a statement expressing disgust.

(iii) **a statement expressing uncertainty**

This example comes from a narrative where the speaker was not interacting with anyone.

6.62 *An ki do "Ye ne Yesugote ye Waropen* ***bado?"***
3SG say that person that Irianese person Waropen AQM
1. He said, "Was that Irianese person a Waropen person?"
2. I think he said that the Irianese person was a Waropen person.

(iv) **a rebuke or negative command**

6.63 *Nan nok **wa suma ne?***
2SG afraid for what FQM
1. Why are you afraid?
2. Don't be afraid!

The above type of interrogative structure is a rhetorical question found in cases where the speaker continues, not waiting for an answer. In the context of example 6.63, people said (literally), "Why are you afraid? Go on inside!" In saying this they effectively rebuked the one who was being slow about doing what he should have done.

(v) **a condition**

6.64 *Yonatan bi ai ndo do "**Te** more nu sugit yo*
Yonatan POSS father asked that IQM here house food a

*yen bro jamsem yo **bado?** Ge ber men git sore".*
3PL boil cassava some AQM then later 1PL eat just
Yonatan's father said, "If there is a restaurant here that boils cassava then let's just go and eat there".

6.2 IMPERATIVES

Imperative sentences convey a request, command, order, suggestion, instruction or an entreaty. Sadock and Zwicky (1985:171) note that since human social life so frequently consists of activities of requesting, commanding and the like, no language (it seems) lacks a form dedicated to imperative sentences. This is indeed true for Abun.

First we will make some general typological comments about Abun imperative sentences in relation to universal observations (§6.2.1). This will be followed by a discussion of the types of imperative sentences found in Abun consisting of the basic imperative type (§6.2.2), a group of two types that may be called hortative (§6.2.3), and another type labelled prohibitive (§6.2.4).

6.2.1 IMPERATIVE TYPOLOGY AND ABUN

Because the imperative mood is basically connected with the second person and relates to an action to be performed in the immediate future, the second person pronoun, tense and aspect distinctions are usually absent because they are implied. For this reason, verbs in the imperative mood in many languages are in their most basic form. Indeed, Lyons (1977:746) points out that in many languages imperative sentences are characterised by a change in the form of the main verb of the sentence to its most simple form. However, in Abun, the form of the verb is *exactly* the same as for declarative and interrogative moods. On the other hand, consistent with most languages, tense and aspect distinctions, which are normally expressed by adverbs and particles in Abun, are not found in imperative sentences. Instead Abun uses optional particles to show strength of imperatives. These occur clause-finally.

According to Sadock and Zwicky (1985:173), the removal of the subject pronoun and/or verbal concord affix is amazingly common. Abun, however, does not allow the removal of

the subject in imperative sentences. On the contrary, subject is obligatory in all types of Abun speech acts.

Sadock and Zwicky (1985:171) also point out that there is considerable diversity in the way in which imperative sentences are marked, including pre- or post-sentential particles, verbal clitics, special verb morphology, and intonation. In Abun, imperative sentences may be marked or simply left unmarked. Marked forms are distinguished by the use of one of three optional clause-final (or post-sentential) particles. The three markers are seen in Table 6.3 below:

TABLE 6.3: IMPERATIVE MARKERS

	Mild	**Strong**
Positive	*et*	*tom/se*
Prohibitive	*nde*	

6.2.2 BASIC IMPERATIVE

The basic imperative in Abun is simply unmarked where the subject of the sentence is second person, *and* the established time setting is not in the past (this is normally clear from the context, as indicated by adverbs, mood or aspect particles, since there are no tense markers in Abun). The examples below require a certain context to make them imperative sentences. Without knowing the context there could be several translations. Intonation is the same as for indicate sentences, but there may be greater force. For example:

6.65 *Nan git boge mone.*
2SG eat fish there
1. Eat that fish!
2. You are/were eating fish there.

6.66 *Nan syo mbre sak dik is ji.*
2SG give antique.cloth CL one IO 1SG
1. Give me one antique cloth!
2. You gave one antique cloth to me.

6.67 *Nin ma mo Syurur kekro.*
2PL come LOC Syurur quickly
1. Come quickly to Syurur!
2. You came to Syurur quickly.

6.2.3 HORTATIVE

Sadock and Zwicky (1985:160) claim that "most languages have an imperative restricted to second person logical subjects". To show an exception to this they refer to Onondaga, which has a general imperative type that occurs in all persons and numbers and covers a wide range of more specific acts. In labelling such a sentence type, they argue (1985:77) that "The HORTATIVE is in some languages simply a first or third person form of the imperative... We might say that...(as in Onondaga), there is only a hortative form...". Abun, likewise, does not restrict the subject to second person, but also includes other persons; thus we have labelled

the particles *et* as 'MILD HORTATIVE' and *tom/se* as 'STRONG HORTATIVE'.[8] Unmarked imperatives can also be used with first and third person as well as second person, as exemplified below:

(i) **first person**

6.68 a. *Men mu mo nden.* (unmarked)
1PL go LOC bush
1. Let's go into the bush.
2. We went into the bush.

b. *Men mu mo nden* ***et!***
1PL go LOC bush HORT(M)
Let's go into the bush!

c. *Men mu mo nden* ***tom!!***
1PL go LOC bush HORT(S)
Let's go into the bush!!

d. *Men mu mo nden* ***nde!***
1PL go LOC bush NEG
1. Let's not go into the bush!
2. We must not go into the bush.

6.69 *Ji anato kwas* ***et*** *ji anato go* ***et!***
1SG FOC burn.off.hair HORT(M) 1SG FOC cut.up HORT(M)
1. I want to burn off its hair, I want to cut it up.
2. Let me burn off its hair and cut it up!

6.70 *Men sam kwem mu ti* ***tom!!***
1PL carry canoe go sea HORT(S)
Let's carry the canoe to the sea!!

(ii) **second person**

6.71 *Dao, nan ma gi ba mo ji* ***et!***
Dao 2SG come rub nettle LOC 1SG HORT(M)
Dao, come and rub the nettle on me!

6.72 *Nu en sem tekto men git si suk* ***et!***
2PL draw sea in.order 1PL eat with things HORT(M)
Draw water from the sea so we can eat (the food) with (salt), (please)!

6.73 *Nan mu* ***tom!!***
2SG go HORT(S)
Go!!

---

8 An alternative label that embraces a more general clause type than imperative that could also be used here is *jussive* as suggested by Huddleston (1984:360).

(iii) **third person**

6.74 *An gu bi ndar ne we* ***et!***
3SG kill POSS dog DET away HORT(M)
1. Let him kill his dog!
2. He should kill his dog.

6.75 *An jammo ji* ***et!***
3PL listen.to 1SG HORT(M)
1. Let them obey me!
2. They should obey me.

6.76 *Nan ki nai Yonas* ***tom*** *do an git sugit* ***tom!!***
2SG say IO Yonas HORT(S) COM 3SG eat food HORT(S)
Tell Yonas that he is to eat food!!

The unmarked form, *et* and *tom* express different degrees of urgency with which the speaker wants the addressee to perform the act and different degrees of forcefulness. *Tom* is a command, where the addressee has no option to refuse, whereas *et* and the unmarked form are requests, which allow the addressee more leeway to refuse or to comply more slowly. So it may be said that the differences between the basic imperative and the mild and strong hortatives are that of immediacy and intensity, with the force of suggestion, request and command respectively. Thus in example 6.77a the request (if ascertained to be one from the context) is not as urgent as in 6.77b; whereas 6.77c demands immediate action of the addressee. In 6.77d, it is the negative imperative or prohibitive form which is mild to strong, depending upon intonation.

6.77 a. *Nan mu me Sadrak bi im.*
2SG go see Sadrak POSS mother
1. Go and see Sadrak's mother.
2. You went to see Sadrak's mother.

b. *Nan mu me Sadrak bi im* ***et!***
2SG go see Sadrak POSS mother HORT(M)
Go and see Sadrak's mother!

c. *Nan mu me Sadrak bi im* ***tom!!***
2SG go see Sadrak POSS mother HORT(S)
Go and see Sadrak's mother!!

d. *Nan mu me Sadrak bi im* ***nde!***
2SG go see Sadrak POSS mother NEG
Don't go and see Sadrak's mother!

6.2.4 PROHIBITIVE

The prohibitive form prohibits action; for example, the addressee in the example above is prohibited from going to see Sadrak's mother. Compare the commands for action in 6.77a –c, to the prohibition, using *nde,* in 6.77d. This example is a negative imperative applying to the second person.

The prohibitive form also encompasses first and third persons, hence the use of the label 'prohibitive' rather than 'negative imperative'. The term prohibitive includes all persons and numbers in the same way as do requests and commands discussed above. Examples 6.78 and 6.79 show that the meaning can be regulatory or enforcing a prohibition, making clear this form is not limited to negative imperatives. In these examples the third and first persons are prohibited respectively. For further discussion see §8.1.1.

6.78 *Nggon git ndam-syor* ***nde.***
Women eat bird-syor NEG
Women must not eat cassowary.

6.79 *Men git sek* ***nde.***
1PL eat possum NEG
We must not eat possum.

The particle *nde* does not indicate any difference in urgency or force as the positive imperatives do. Instead *nde* simply conveys prohibition. It is unacceptable to include the hortative particles with *nde* in the following example:

6.80 **Nan git ji bi sugit* ***tom nde!!***
2SG eat 1SG POSS food HORT(S) NEG
Don't eat my food!!

Sadock and Zwicky (1985:175) note that a striking feature of negative imperatives is how differently they are handled from negative declaratives. They say it is quite unusual for the marks of negation from other sentence types to be added to the imperative formula. Abun actually takes one of its negative particles used in declarative sentence types and uses it for making negative imperatives. Negation in declarative sentences is marked by a linked pair of particles, *yo...nde*, whereas for negative imperatives *nde* alone is used. Compare 6.81a with 6.81b.

6.81 a. *Nan git gur* ***nde.***
2SG eat coconut NEG
Don't eat coconuts.

b. *Nan* ***yo*** *git gur* ***nde.***
2SG NEG eat coconut NEG
You do not eat coconuts.

6.3 FRUSTRATED ACTION

Frustrated action is marked by the particle *ware*, which syntactically occurs in the same position as other mood markers, that is as the last among a group of clause-final particles. Thus we have analysed it as a mood. The particle *ware* could be translated as 'in vain', 'to no avail' or 'but without success'. Its meaning is that an action was attempted but the goal of the action was not achieved. For example:

6.82 *An ben syu-syo wa nok* ***ware.***
3SG make rotan-mouth for wild.pig FRUS
1. He made a trap for wild pigs but he did not trap any.
2. He made a trap for wild pigs but to no avail.

6.83 *An pet ndam* ***ware,*** *kunus yo kom nde.*
3SG shoot bird FRUS arrow NEG reach NEG
1. He shot a bird in vain, his arrow did not reach (it).
2. He tried to shoot a bird, but his arrow missed (it).

Frequently a clause is added following the use of *ware* as in example 6.83 above to give further information as to how the action was frustrated. In 6.82, by contrast, we are not sure how the action was frustrated. It may have been that no pigs passed by the trap, or that when the trap went off it did not catch a pig.

Ware, in common with all mood markers, follows aspect and modal particles (such as *go* 'ASSERTIVE'), as seen in the following example:

6.84 *Ji duwer an mo sor ndo nde go* ***ware.***
1SG argue 3SG LOC continually good NEG ASS FRUS
I continually argued with him very much, I really did, but to no avail.

CHAPTER 7

ASPECT AND MODALITY

Two classes of particles that optionally occur immediately preceding any mood particles are aspect and modality particles. These particles occur in that order.

7.1 ASPECT

The notion of aspect, according to Comrie (1976:1-3), tends to be a less familiar notion to students of linguistics than other terms for verbal categories. In order to define the term, he firstly distinguishes it from tense. He points out that "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation". Lyons (1968:315) also distinguishes tense from aspect by noting that tense has to do with the location in time of an action or state, whereas aspect has to do with the distribution of time or contour of an action or state. He claims that the main aspectual notions of 'completion' and 'duration' are found in many languages.

Abun uses particles to express aspectual notions. The notion of 'completion' is expressed by two particles, *re* and *it*, while the notion of 'incompleteness' is expressed by the particle *tó*. When these optional particles occur, they follow negative markers, where present, but precede mood and modality particles.

TABLE 7.1: ABUN ASPECT PARTICLES

Particle	Type	Definition
re	perfect	an action or state has or will have occurred, and has/will have continuing relevance
it	completive	an action or state is considered finished
tó	incompletive	an action or state is considered incomplete

The use of clause-final particles is a unique feature of the Abun language, and is a particularly unusual way to mark aspect. Foley (1986:143) points out that aspect tends to be indicated lexically in Papuan languages, most commonly by the use of serial verb constructions. He also notes that aspect is also frequently indicated in Papuan languages by bound verbal affixes. However, the possibility of indicating aspect by a clause-final particle, as in Abun, is not mentioned in his discussion.

Foley (1986:143) also points out, as do other writers (such as Comrie and Lyons), that aspect says nothing about the relationship between the time of the event and the time of the

speech act, which tense does. Rather, aspect may describe the distribution of time of an action or state in the past, present or future.

7.1.1 PERFECT ASPECT

Re, a totally different morpheme from the determiner *ré* 'this', in the absence of any contextual time reference indicates that an event has taken place. The use of *re* confirms the actuality of an event, and implies its continuing present relevance. Such is the definition of 'perfect' suggested by Comrie (1976:52). By comparing the examples in 7.1, one can see that the latter indicates the continuing relevance of the action 'cut' to the remainder of the story. On the other hand, 7.1a says nothing about the continuing relevance of the cut confirmed by the next sentence of the discourse, which tells of how the storyteller went to see Moses and of the extent of the cut.

7.1 a. *Prisila sap Moses syim brot toko.*
Prisila cut Moses hand vein broken
Prisila cut a vein in Moses' hand in half.

b. *Prisila sap Moses syim brot toko* ***re.***
Prisila cut Moses hand vein broken PERF
Prisila had cut a vein in Moses' hand in half.

Again, in example 7.2, Prisila had gone to the mountain and was still there when the next part of the discourse took place; that is, the use of *re* indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation to the coming events. In a sense it provides the background or situation in which the coming events occur.

7.2 *An mu mo banbo* ***re.***
3SG go LOC mountain PERF
She had gone to the mountain.

The use of the perfect aspect particle is also common with states such as death and marriage, for example:

7.3 *Pa ne kwop* ***re.***
child DET die PERF
The child had died.

7.4 *An kra Andar bi im* ***re.***
3SG marry Andar POSS mother PERF
He had married Andar's mother.

Comrie (1976:56) discusses four different types of perfect: perfect of result, experiential perfect, perfect of persistent situation and perfect of recent past. He says that not all languages with forms for perfect meaning have the full range of meaning listed here. In Abun, the particle *re* covers the meaning of the first three types of perfect. Example 7.5b is a perfect-of-result type in that a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation, as defined by Comrie (1976:56). In this case it indicates that Fredik is still in Sorong, whereas 7.5a does not necessarily imply that. Normally in unmarked cases, the present time is implied unless another time is indicated by the context.

7.5 a. *Fredik mu mo Dom.*
Fredik go LOC Sorong
Fredik went to/is going to Sorong.

b. *Fredik mu mo Dom* ***re.***
Fredik go LOC Sorong PERF
Fredik has gone to Sorong.

c. *Fredik mu mo Dom* ***mo re.***
Fredik go LOC Sorong LOC PERF
Fredik has been to Sorong.

A second type of perfect is experiential perfect, which Comrie (1976:58) defines as a perfect aspect which "indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past up to the present". For this aspect an additional particle, the general locative preposition *mo*, directly precedes *re*. This means that, in example 7.5c for example, Fredik has been to Sorong at some time (that is, he has experienced going to Sorong), but where he is now is not under discussion.

For perfect aspect, Comrie (1976:53) says that it may be present, which expresses a relation between present state and past situation; past, which expresses a relation between a past state and an earlier situation: or future, which expresses a relation between a future state and a situation prior to it. Examples in Abun of present perfect are seen in examples 7.1b and 7.5b. The form of past perfect, however, is expressed only in a complex sentence, where *re* occurs with *sa*, such as in 7.6.

7.6 *Domingas git mbem dik ne or* ***re sa***
Domingas eat plate one DET completely PERF when.REAL
Gerad bi im ma.
Gerad POSS mother come
When Domingas had eaten one plate (of food), Gerad's mother came.

The perfect in Abun is understood from the context (so example 7.7 can be in either future or present time), or may be clarified by the use of temporal phrases, like *bere* in 7.8.

7.7 *Ji ben ji bi nggwe* ***re.***
1SG do 1SG POSS garden PERF
1. I will have been working in my garden.
2. I had been working in my garden.

7.8 *Ji mu aina dik sore bere ji satu* ***re.***
1SG go month one only later 1SG return PERF
I am only going for one month, then I will have returned.

7.1.2 COMPLETIVE ASPECT

Comrie (1976:18), in discussing perfective aspect,[9] makes the comment that very frequently perfectivity is characterised by completed action. He says that this is not quite

[9] This is distinct from perfect aspect as used above. Comrie makes a sharp distinction between perfect and perfective. The aspects *re* and *it* in Abun are similar to what Comrie defines as perfect and perfective respectively, but the latter is slightly different from perfective in the way it places

correct, because while perfective does indeed indicate a complete situation, to say it indicates a 'completed' situation puts too much emphasis on the termination of it. Perfective presents all parts (beginning, middle, and end) as a single whole. It does not place emphasis on the end of a situation or any other part. The Abun particle *it*, however, does place emphasis on the end of a situation, and so here we have called it 'completive' aspect, rather than 'perfective' aspect.

Put in other words, the completive aspect in Abun is used by a speaker whenever they want to focus on the finality of an action. For example, when a decision has been made about something after discussion, the use of the particle *it* makes it clear that a *final* decision has been reached, as in example 7.9.

7.9 *Suk-siri ne yenggras ki-bot* ***it***
NOM-wrong DET elders speak-about CAM
On that wrongdoing, the elders have discussed it (and made a final decision).

Also when an Abun speaker tells a story, the speaker frequently finishes with the phrase as in example 7.10. The particle *it* is clearly used to indicate finality or completed action. It is used to emphasise the terminal point of actions such as discussing as in 7.9 or killing as in 7.11, and states such as knowing as in 7.12.

7.10 *Or* ***it.***
completely CAM
The end.

7.11 *Sinus gu ge yo kwop* ***it.***
Sinus kill body a die CAM
Sinus has already killed one (wife).

7.12 *An jam baca ndo* ***it.***
3SG know read good CAM
1. She already knows how to read well.
2. Her knowledge of how to read well has been brought to completion.

Completive aspect may emphasise the termination of a situation in either the past or the future. Examples 7.10–7.12 above refer to the past in their contexts. Examples 7.13 and 7.14 below show how completive aspect may be used in future time.

7.13 *An bi nggon jam* ***it*** *e?*
3SG POSS wife know CAM FQM
Does your wife (finally) know yet?

7.14 *Yesyim, nan git sugit kokro we noru* ***it***
friend 2SG eat NOM.eat quickly because night CAM

bere wo kwai git ***it.***
later fish kwai eat CAM
Friend, eat the food quickly because it is already night time, the kwai fish will finally be biting.

---

emphasis on the finality of the action; hence we have used the term completive instead of perfective for *it*.

7.1.3 INCOMPLETIVE ASPECT

A third aspect type in Abun is that of incompletive; that is, the termination point of an action or state has not yet taken place. In other words, that action or state is still going on. Traditionally this aspect type is known as imperfective or continuous. The particle *tó* is used clause-finally to indicate this where necessary. Thus in example 7.15 the action of speaking is still continuing, in 7.16 the state of Lamberta being single still continues, and in 7.17 the action (or, should we say, inaction) of 'not going' continues.

7.15 *Án nuk suk-du* ***tó.***
3PL speak NOM-say INCAM
They are still speaking.

7.16 *Lamberta an nggon-nak* ***tó.***
Lamberta 3SG woman-single INCAM
Lamberta is still a single woman.

7.17 *Men yo mu nde* ***tó.***
1PL NEG go NEG INCAM
We are not going yet.

Like the other aspects the incompletive may occur in the past, present or future. Examples 7.15–7.17 above illustrate incompletive aspect in the present. Example 7.18 is in the past (which requires a complex sentence), and 7.19 is in the future.

7.18 *Kamekre an git sugit* ***tó*** *ete kwis ges mo an.*
yesterday 3SG eat NOM.eat INCAM and.then snake fall LOC 3SG
Yesterday he was still eating and a snake fell on him.

7.19 *Be yen gu yu* ***tó.***
later people fight RECIP INCAM
People would still be fighting each other.

7.1.4 INTERACTION OF ABUN ASPECTS

The perfect and completive aspects are very similar in many respects. Abun speakers who know Indonesian translate *re* and *it* with one word, *sudah*, which is perfect aspect in Indonesian. Both of these aspects mean that something has occurred or will have occurred, with the latter giving greater emphasis to the finality of the action as explained above. In English this distinction is hard to express systematically. For example, in 7.20a and 7.20b, both sentences mean that the coming has occurred; the former emphasises that the coming has occurred and he is still here, while the latter emphasises that his coming has finally occurred, with the implication that he is still here. So Abun speakers may use either, depending upon which facet they want to emphasise.

7.20 a. *An ma* ***re.***
3SG come PERF
He has arrived.

b. *An ma* ***it.***
3SG come CAM
He has finally arrived.

An Abun speaker may also simply say, *An ma* 'He came/is coming', which does not emphasise either the persistence of the result (that is, that he is still there) or the finality of his coming. Normally, when a group of people are waiting for a particular person to arrive, and then someone sees him coming, they would announce the arrival, as in example 7.20b, because the finality of the action is of importance to the hearers.

In a language like Abun which does not use specific tense markers, these two aspect markers have a close relationship with past time, especially in the absence of any contextual indications of time reference, such as a temporal adverbial. Likewise, when aspect is unmarked there is a close relationship with present time. Comrie (1976:83) makes similar comments regarding the role of aspect in languages without tense markers.

In answer to a question like that in example 7.13 above, one may answer including either of the aspect markers, *re* or *tó*. The actual answer given by the speaker was:

7.21 *An ki do "Nde* ***re.*** *An bi nggon jam nde* ***tó."***
3SG say COM NEG PERF 3SG PERF wife know NEG INCAM
He said, "No. His wife does not yet know".

He wanted to emphasise two aspects here. Firstly, his wife did not know and this 'not knowing' persisted (*nde re*) and secondly, she did not *yet* know and this 'not knowing' still continued, or, in other words, the 'knowing' was not yet completed (*nde tó*).

According to Comrie (1976:24), languages may combine several aspects where they are compatible and there are formal means to do so. Abun speakers may follow *tó* with *re*, as seen in example 7.22, but no evidence has been found of *re* followed by *tó* or combinations of *tó* and *it*, or *re* and *it*.

7.22 *An yo ma nde* ***tó*** ***re.***
3SG NEG come NEG INCAM PERF
He has still not come.

7.2 MODALITY

Modality has been defined by Lyons (1977:452) as the attitude or opinion of the speaker towards the proposition that the sentence expresses, or the situation that the proposition describes. Lyons considers modality to be a parenthetical sentence-adverb that expresses speakers' attitudes such as certainty, necessity, possibility, and doubt. In Abun, a syntactically distinct closed class of words expresses a speaker's attitude in some of these ways. The modals and their types are listed in Table 7.2 below:

TABLE 7.2: MODAL PARTICLES

Particle	Modal Type	Meaning
ya	possibility	might
bayok	probability	maybe, could, probably
go	assertive	should, could really, will certainly

These particles are part of the cluster of clause-final particles. They are optional and occur following any negative and aspect particles, and preceding any mood particles.

Similar to aspect, modality does not relate to the timing of the event or proposition about which the speaker expresses an attitude. Each modality type, therefore, can be used in sentences that are understood to be in the past or future.

A comparison of modal particles reveals that there is a greater degree of intensity from *ya* to *bayok* to *go*. (See §7.2.4).

7.2.1 POSSIBILITY

The first type of modal particle is *ya*, which expresses possibility or 'might'. This type of modal can be associated with future time, as seen in examples 7.23 and 7.24, or in the past, as in 7.25.

7.23 *Prisila ma sap Barbarina o* ***ya.***
Prisila came cut Barbarina again PMM
Prisila might come and cut Barbarina again.

7.24 *Be nggon ne ma o wa be ku men gane* ***ya.***
later woman DET come again for later meet 1PL DET PMM
The woman might come again in order see us.

7.25 *Kamekre an ma mo-re* ***ya.***
yesterday 3SG come LOC-here PMM
He possibly came here yesterday.

7.2.2 PROBABILITY

The particle that a speaker uses to indicate that a proposition expressed is probably true is *bayok*. The particle *bayok* is most commonly used when the speaker is confident of the general amount but not sure of the exact number, both with quantities as seen in example 7.26 and time as in 7.27.

7.26 *Yenggras ki-bot sor wam mek* ***bayok.***
elders speak-about until times five PROB
The elders spoke about (a marriage partner for me) probably five times.

7.27 *Pa kem wade aina dik* ***bayok.***
child stay until month one PROB
The child probably stayed (there) for one month.

Other expressions of probability use the same particle, for example, the likelihood/doubt of having sufficient money as in 7.28, receiving help in 7.29, and understanding as in 7.30. Note the position of the particle; it follows the negative particle *nde* in 7.28, as well as aspect particles, such as *it* in 7.30.

7.28 *Ji bi sugum yo tep nde* ***bayok.***
1SG POSS money NEG enough NEG PROB
I probably don't have enough money.

7.29 *Bere Yonatan bi ai os nan* ***bayok.***
later Nathan POSS father help 2SG PROB
Nathan's father will probably help you.

7.30 *An jam it* ***bayok.***
3SG understand CAM PROB
He probably finally understood.

As noted above, modality says nothing about the time of an event and the time of the speech act in relation to it; rather, modal particles express the speaker's attitude about a proposition, so modality is not related to tense. Thus, like aspect particles, the modal particle *bayok* may be used irrespective of the time referred to, such as present in example 7.28, future in 7.29, and past in 7.30.

7.2.3 ASSERTIVE

The third type of modality is assertive, which means that the speaker asserts very strongly that his attitude about the proposition is really true. In other words, the speaker parenthetically comments, "I really mean it.", or in Australian colloquial terms, "fair dinkum". In a culture where deception is considered positive, speakers need a way to convince the hearer that they mean business. So in Abun the modal particle *go* is used to do this. For example:

7.31 *Nan ges* ***go.***
2SG fall ASS
1. You will surely fall.
2. You will fall, I mean it.

7.32 *An ndo mo ye yi an ndo mo ji sore* ***go.***
3SG ask LOC person other 3SG ask LOC 1SG only ASS
He asked another person, but he should have just asked me, really.

7.33 *Be an bi ya gu an kwop re* ***go.***
later 3SG POSS husband kill 3SG die PERF ASS
Her husband will have killed her, I mean it.

This modal particle can be used in the past, as seen in example 7.32, but is usually used in reference to an event that is about to take place, as seen in 7.31 and 7.33.

7.2.4 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MODAL PARTICLES

Modal particles do not co-occur. To change from one to another results in a change of degree of intensity. There is a progression of certainty from one particle to the next. When mode is unmarked, nothing is indicated in the speaker's attitude. When *ya* is used, the speaker expresses the attitude that the proposition is possibly true; whereas *bayok* is a little stronger, that is probably true; while *go* asserts the truth of the proposition very strongly, that is, as almost certain.

7.34 a. *Nan bro nan su be nan su-go buk or.*
2SG scratch 2SG head later 2SG head-hair fall.out completely
If you keep on scratching your head all your hair will fall out.

b. *Nan bro nan su be nan su-go buk or* ***ya.***
2SG scratch 2SG head later 2SG head-hair fall.out completely PMM
If you keep on scratching your head all your hair might fall out.

c. *Nan bro nan su be nan su-go buk or* ***bayok.***
2SG scratch 2SG head later 2SG head-hair fall.out completely PROB
If you keep on scratching your head all your hair will probably fall out.

d. *Nan bro nan su be nan su-go buk or* ***go.***
2SG scratch 2SG head later 2SG head-hair fall.out completely ASS
If you keep on scratching your head all your hair will certainly fall out.

CHAPTER 8

NEGATION

Negation may take a variety of forms, such as 'negative verbs', negative particles or fully bound derivational morphemes (Payne 1985b:222). According to Payne, the use of negative particles is the most likely form of negation, as is the case in Abun.

This chapter presents the negation strategy used in Abun. Two particles form the basis of negation. The primary particle is *nde*, which is a typical particle, a function word that is invariant. Consistent with the isolating nature of the Abun language, *nde* does not vary for tense, aspect, number or agreement. While *nde* is primary, a further particle, *yo,* also invariant, is used in conjunction with it, mainly in the negation of indicative sentences. These two particles bracket the predicate. In Abun, whenever two particles are used like this, the function is to mark the extent of a particular grammatical constituent. Bracketing by a pair of particles not only is one of the main strategies used in negation, but also is used in the formation of relative clauses, both restrictive and unrestrictive (see §9), as well as interrogative sentences (see §6.1). In most cases of negation, the pair of particles *yo...nde* bracket the predicate to negate Abun sentences.

The primary particle, *nde,* is used in all types of negation. Not only is it used as the primary negation particle, but standing alone it simply means 'no'. When a question is asked and the response is negative, a simple *nde* is sufficient in reply. In contrast, the other negative particle, *yo*, is used only in conjunction with *nde.* So it can be said that *nde* is indeed the primary or basic negative particle.

The particle *nde* is required to form prohibitive sentences, positive-negative alternative questions and negative equational sentences (§8.1).

The secondary particle *yo* is used in conjunction with the primary particle in the formation of the following sentence types: negative indicative sentences, negative information-seeking interrogatives, negative descriptive sentences, negative location sentences. It is also used in the negation of subordinate clauses (§8.2).

Placement of the negative particles when they occur is invariant: *yo* **always** precedes the predicate, while *nde* **always** follows the predicate. The following example illustrates negation of a simple indicative sentence, where both *yo* and *nde* are obligatory:

8.1 a. *Án ma mo nu.*
3PL come LOC house
They came to the house.

b. *Án* ***yo*** *ma mo nu* ***nde.***
3PL NEG come LOC house NEG
They did not come to the house.

In the above example the predicate *ma mo nu* is bracketed by the linked pair of particles, *yo* follows the subject and precedes the predicate, and *nde* follows the predicate. If, for example, the subject of a negative indicative sentence is preceded by *yo,* this would be syntactically unacceptable to an Abun speaker. Word order here is rigid. The particles must bracket the whole predicate, PRED (includes V, O and any adjuncts). The subject is never included within the bracket for reasons discussed under the scope of negation in §8.5.

There are two patterns of negation found in Abun as follows:

S PRED ***nde***
S ***yo*** PRED ***nde***

They are unusual and have been documented in only a few languages. In SVO languages the negative particle normally precedes the verb (Payne 1985b:224). One would expect the particle *nde* to be preverbal, but instead, in Abun, it is not only postverbal but also postobject and adjunct. This pattern type, though uncommon, is also found in a few documented languages such as Bolewa, Ngizim, Angas, Ron, Gisiga, Higi and Tera (Payne 1985b:226).

Furthermore the second pattern type, where a pair of linked negative particles occur, is also uncommon. In French a linked pair of particles is used in negation, but this pair brackets only the verb and its associated clitics, whereas in Abun the linked pair brackets the whole predicate including object and adjuncts. However, this pattern type is an attested one in some Chadic languages such as Hausa, Jegu and Sura (Payne 1985b:225–226). The difference with these languages is that their word order is not rigid as in Abun. In Hausa both particles can move to bracket the constituent that is to be negated, and thereby very neatly indicate the scope and focus of negation (Schachter 1985:60).

Syntax of negation involving the use of *nde* (§8.1), the use of *yo* (§8.2), negation in subordinate clauses (§8.3), negation in words (§8.4) and a discussion of the scope of negation in Abun (§8.5) provides an organising framework for the remainder of this chapter.

8.1 THE USE OF *nde*

As indicated earlier, the simplest negative sentence is just the negative reply to a question, '*Nde*'. In this section, types of negative structures that require the use of *nde* without *yo* are discussed. These types of structure are: prohibitive sentences, positive-negative alternative questions, and negative equational sentences.

8.1.1 PROHIBITIVE SENTENCES

The primary negative particle *nde* is the only negative particle used to form prohibitive sentences. The structure of this type of sentence is S PRED ***nde***, as in example 8.2b. The prohibitive sentence structure is used in Abun when the speaker wants to prohibit the subject from doing a particular thing. Negative imperative sentences are the most common type of prohibitive sentence. Example 8.2a is a simple indicative sentence, while 8.2b is the same sentence transformed to become a negative imperative sentence.

8.2 a. *Nan wo.*
2SG cry
You are crying.

b. *Nan wo* ***nde!***
2SG cry NEG
Don't cry!

Here we have used the label 'prohibitive' to cover a more general type of negative imperative (which includes first and third person, as well as second person) to distinguish it from the normal use of the term 'negative imperative', which implies a negative command to only the second person, as discussed by Sadock and Zwicky (1985:160) and in §6.2.3.

The same structure is used in Abun for all prohibitive sentences including first and third persons, as in examples 8.3 and 8.4. In these cases the English translation is more like 'We must not eat possum'! or 'Women must not touch cassowary'!

8.3 a. *Men git sek.*
1PL eat possum
We are eating/ate possum.

b. *Men git sek* ***nde.***
1PL eat possum NEG
We must not eat possum.

8.4 a. *Nggon syimtok ndamsyor.*
women touch cassowary
The women are touching/touch cassowaries.

b. *Nggon syimtok ndamsyor* ***nde.***
women touch cassowary NEG
Women must not touch cassowaries.

8.1.2 POSITIVE-NEGATIVE ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS

The primary negative particle is also used in asking positive-negative alternative questions. The structure of this type is:

S PRED *bado* ***nde*** *e?*

These questions could be called negative tag questions with a positive-negative alternative, 'Do you want to go back to your wife, **or not**?', as in example 8.5 where a person is being asked to make a decision between positive and negative alternatives.

8.5 *Nan satu mo nan bi nggon bado,* ***nde*** *e?*
2SG go.back LOC 2SG POSS woman AQM NEG YNQM
Do you want to go back to your wife, or not?

Example 8.6 has the same structure, but differs in meaning. It comes from a text where the speaker is lecturing another about his relationship with his wife. He is not asking whether the one addressed thinks about his wife, or not, as in a positive-negative alternative type of question. Rather, he is using it as a rhetorical question with the meaning, 'You don't think about your wife'! The context makes it clear when a negative tag question is being asked or is being used rhetorically.

8.6 *Nan nutbot nan bi nggon bado,* ***nde*** *e?*
2SG think.about 2SG POSS woman AQM NEG YNQM
Don't you think about your wife?

Negative yes/no interrogative structures such as, 'Are you not going?' are not used in Abun. Instead the Abun speaker would formulate this type of question as, *Nan mu e?* 'Are you going?'

8.1.3 NEGATIVE EQUATIONAL SENTENCES

Equational sentences, which attribute a nominal to the subject, are negated by the use of *nde*. These sentence types are verbless and their structure as shown in the examples below is:

S NOMINAL ***nde***

8.7 a. *An ye-nden.*
3SG person-inland
He is an inland person.

b. *An ye-nden* ***nde.***
3SG person-inland NEG
He is not an inland person.

8.8 a. *Ji bi ai yewon.*
1SG POSS father shaman
My father is a shaman.

b. *Ji bi ai yewon* ***nde.***
1SG POSS father shaman NEG
My father is not a shaman.

When the nominal is a demonstrative the same pattern is followed, as in example 8.9 below.

8.9 a. *Ndar anane.*
dog DET
That is a dog.

b. *Ndar anane* ***nde.***
dog DET NEG
That is not a dog.

Where the subject is a possessed item the same structure is used. Example 8.10 illustrates alienable possession and 8.11 illustrates inalienable possession. The negation of the sentences are shown in 8.10b and 8.11b.

8.10 a. *An bi nu anane.*
3SG POSS house DET
That is his house.

b. *An bi nu anane* ***nde.***
3SG POSS house DET NEG
That is not his house.

8.11 a. *Ji de anane.*
1SG blood DET
That is my blood.

b. *Ji de anane* ***nde.***
1SG blood DET NEG
That is not my blood.

8.2 THE USE OF *yo*

The negative particle *yo* is used in negative indicative sentences, information-seeking interrogative sentences, negative descriptive and location sentences and in the negation of complex sentences. It is never used to negate a sentence by itself, but is always linked with the primary negative particle *nde*. These two particles form a linked pair that bracket the predicate of the sentence. The particle *yo* always occurs between a subject and predicate. The word order is rigid.

The use of linked pairs of negative particles is uncommon. However French is a well-documented example of the use of a linked pair of negative particles, for example, *je* ***ne...suis pas***. The first particle *ne* is the primary particle and then *pas* is added. Payne (1985b:224) claims that in the case where such linked pairs of negative particles do occur, the second particle occurs because there is a strong tendency for a single negative particle to be reinforced and emphasised by the addition of a second particle. Payne analyses *pas* as the added particle that reinforces the negation in French.

By way of contrast, Abun places the primary particle **after** the predicate, not before as in French. Also the operation of the secondary particle in Abun is not so much to reinforce the negation of a sentence as Payne claims of French, but rather to mark the predicate and thus delineate the scope of negation.

8.2.1 NEGATIVE INDICATIVE SENTENCES

The basic structure of a negative indicative sentence is:

S ***yo*** PRED ***nde***

Whatever elements are within the predicate (such as verb, object, any adjuncts, and embedded clauses), all are bracketed by the pair of particles, *yo* and *nde*. Irrespective of whether the sentence is intransitive, transitive or ditransitive, *yo* remains constant in both form and position. Likewise, *nde* remains constant in form and position. Each of these sentence types is illustrated in the examples below:

8.12 a. *Pa mwa it mo kelas gri.* (intransitive)
children many rise LOC class three
Many children did go up to grade three.

b. *Pa mwa* ***yo*** *it mo kelas gri* ***nde.***
children many NEG rise LOC class three NEG
Many children did not go up to grade three.

8.13 a. *Men ku mbre ne mo nu.* (transitive)
1PL find eastern.cloth DET LOC house
We found the eastern cloth in the house.

b. *Men* ***yo*** *ku mbre ne mo nu* ***nde.***
1PL NEG find eastern.cloth DET LOC house NEG
We didn't find the eastern cloth in the house.

8.14 a. *Ye syo sugum nai ji.* (ditransitive)
3PL give money IO 1SG
They gave money to me.

b. *Ye* ***yo*** *syo sugum nai ji* ***nde.***
3PL NEG give money IO 1SG NEG
They didn't given money to me.

8.2.2 NEGATIVE INFORMATION-SEEKING INTERROGATIVES

In contrast to positive-negative alternative questions, negative interrogative sentences seeking information require both negative particles, *yo* and *nde,* such as in the following examples:

8.15 a. *Te nan ma wa suma ne?*
IQM 2SG come for what FQM
Why have you come?

b. *Te nan* ***yo*** *ma* ***nde*** *wa suma ne?*
IQM 2SG NEG come NEG for what FQM
Why didn't you come?

8.16 a. *Je u ana ma ne?*
person what TOP come FQM
Who has come?

b. *Je u ana* ***yo*** *ma* ***nde*** *ne?*
person which TOP NEG come NEG FQM
Who has not come?

Take note that the interrogative mood also has two bracketing particles, *te* the initial question marker and *ne* the final question marker. The bracketing required to negate a clause falls within the bracketing required to form an interrogative construction, as seen in example 8.15b.

8.2.3 NEGATIVE DESCRIPTIVE SENTENCES

A descriptive sentence is defined as a sentence that attributes an adjective to a noun, for example 'Musa has a big arm' or 'The book is old'. The behaviour of words that could be considered adjectives in Abun does not differ greatly from that of verbs. These words can act as predicates, and so both particles are required to negate these sentence types. In such sentences the adjectival part of the sentence is negated using the linked pair of *yo* and *nde.* The structure of negative descriptive sentences as shown in the examples below is:

S ***yo*** ADJECTIVE ***nde***

8.17 a. *Isak bi nggwe sye.*
Isak POSS garden big
Isak's garden is big.

b. *Isak bi nggwe* ***yo*** *sye* ***nde.***
Isak POSS garden NEG big NEG
Isak's garden is not big.

8.18 a. *Musa i.*
Musa sick
Musa is sick.

b. *Musa* ***yo*** *i* ***nde.***
Musa NEG sick NEG
Musa is not sick.

This same construction holds when the subject of the sentence is expanded, for example by means of a relative clause such as, 'The children who went up to third grade'. The description of this subject, namely *mwa* 'many', is negated in the same way using the linked pair, as in the example below:

8.19 a. *Pa ga it mo kelas gri ne mwa.*
children who rise LOC grade three DET many
The children who went up to grade three were many.

b. *Pa ga it mo kelas gri ne* ***yo*** *mwa* ***nde.***
children who rise LOC grade three DET NEG many NEG
The children who went up to grade three were not many.

8.2.4 NEGATIVE LOCATION SENTENCES

A location sentence attributes a location to the subject. Since location is one of the predicate elements it also is negated by using both particles. The structure as shown in the examples below is:

S ***yo*** LOCATIVE PHRASE/WORD ***nde***

8.20 a. *Musa mo nu.*
Musa LOC house
Musa is at home.

b. *Musa* ***yo*** *mo nu* ***nde.***
Musa NEG LOC house NEG
Musa is not at home.

8.21 a. *Dao bi im mo-re.*
Dao POSS mother LOC-here
Dao's mother is here.

b. *Dao bi im* ***yo*** *mo-re* ***nde.***
Dao POSS mother NEG LOC-here NEG
Dao's mother is not here.

The locative phrase has the preposition *mo* (as in the examples above), which also in some contexts means 'to exist', and the negation of which follows the same pattern as in any negative indicative sentence, as in the example below:

8.22 a. *Sugum mó.*
money exist
There is money.

b. *Sugum* ***yo*** *mó* ***nde.***
money NEG exist NEG
There is no money.

8.2.5 NEGATION IN COMPLEX SENTENCES

Complex sentences, where a clause is embedded within a main clause, are negated in Abun in the same way as simple sentences. The pattern is:

S ***yo*** PRED ***nde***,

where clauses may be embedded in the object position, such as in example 8.23. The word order remains rigid in these constructions, with the whole of the predicate including the embedded clause bracketed by the particles.

8.23 a. *Ji me Isak ben suk mo nggwe.*
1SG see Isak do things LOC garden
I saw Isak working in the garden.

b. *Ji* ***yo*** *me Isak ben suk mo nggwe* ***nde.***
1SG NEG see Isak do things LOC garden NEG
I did not see Isak working in the garden.

A complement expressing indirect speech is introduced by the subordinating conjunction *do*, and is also embedded in the object position as in example 8.24. The negation of this type of complex sentence follows the same pattern as for a simple sentence.

8.24 a. *Moses ki gado do an kra su Barbarina o.*
Moses say earlier that 3SG marry with Barbarina again
Earlier Moses said again that he would marry Barbarina.

b. *Moses* ***yo*** *ki gado do an kra su Barbarina o* ***nde.***
Moses NEG say earlier that 3SG marry with Barbarina again NEG
Earlier Moses did not say again that he would marry Barbarina.

8.2.6 THE INTERACTION OF *yo* AND *nde*

In summary, the negation of a sentence with just the primary particle *nde* means that one is not allowed or prohibited to do a particular thing, as in example 8.25b. In contrast to this, the addition of the secondary negative particle (or predicate marker) *yo* changes the nature of the sentence to become simply a negative indicative statement, as in 8.25c.

8.25 a. *An ma.*
3SG come
He came.

b. *An ma* ***nde.***
3SG come NEG
He cannot come.

c. *An* ***yo*** *ma* ***nde.***
3SG NEG come NEG
He did not come.

The use of *nde* alone implies that there is something that prevents the person doing something or makes it impossible for the person to do something, as in the example, 'He cannot come'. We do not actually know why he cannot come. But when the speaker simply wants to make an indicative statement that he has not or did not come, then the additional particle *yo* makes that clear. That is, there was nothing preventing the person from coming, they just have not come.

8.3 NEGATION IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

According to Payne (1985b:240), in many languages the devices which are used for negating subordinate clauses are different from those used in main clauses. He cites several examples, including Yoruba, where the main clause negative particle is *kò*, while the particle used to negate subordinate clauses is *má*. In Abun most subordinate clauses are negated in the same way as main clauses, the only exception being negative purpose subordinate clauses, as in English 'lest' (or 'in order that...not').

For example, in 8.26a the whole sentence is negated. By way of contrast, 8.26b illustrates how the embedded clause itself may be negated, resulting in a different meaning. The same pair of negative particles is used.

8.26 a. *Ji* ***yo*** *me Isak ben suk mo nggwe* ***nde.***
1SG NEG see Isak do things LOC garden NEG
I did not see Isak working at the garden.

b. *Ji me Isak* ***yo*** *ben suk mo nggwe* ***nde.***
1SG see Isak NEG do things LOC garden NEG
I saw Isak not working at the garden.

Again, when the subordinate clause is indirect speech introduced by the subordinating conjunction *do*, the negation of that clause uses the same pair of linked particles. In example 8.27a the whole sentence is negated, whereas 8.27b shows the negation of the subordinate clause.

8.27 a. *Moses* ***yo*** *ki gado do an kra su Barbarina o* ***nde.***
Moses NEG say earlier that 3SG marry with Barbarina again NEG
Earlier Moses did not say again that he would marry Barbarina.

b. *Moses ki gado do an* ***yo*** *kra su Barbarina o* ***nde.***
Moses say earlier that 3SG NEG marry with Barbarina again NEG
Earlier Moses said that he would not marry Barbarina again.

Abun does have a form corresponding to the English 'lest', which consists of the preposition *kadit* 'from' linking with the primary negative particle *nde* to bracket the subordinate clause as illustrated in example 8.28.

8.28 *Nan os ji* ***kadit*** *ji ku suki* ***nde.***
2SG help 1SG lest 1SG get sickness NEG
1. Help me lest I get sick.
2. Help me in order that I don't get sick.

8.29 *Nan os ji* ***kadit*** *ji mu ket os ibit* ***nde.***
2SG help 1SG lest 1SG go along way bad NEG
1. Help me from not going on a bad way.
2. Help me lest I go on a bad way.

In both examples 8.28 and 8.29 the preposition *kadit* 'from', which normally pre-empts a noun phrase, is followed by an embedded clause. Embedded clauses of this nature, when negated, do not use the secondary negative particle *yo* since it has been replaced by *kadit*. This happens even though they may be of the sentence type that normally requires both negative particles.

A further clarification of negation in subordinate clauses is necessary in the case where a relative clause in the object position is negated as well as the whole sentence. In such a case only one *nde* is required, as in example 8.30a. This particle forms the bracket for both the subordinate clause and the sentence. There are two occurrences of *yo* in 8.30a, whereas in 8.30b only the relative clause is negated, while in 8.30c the whole sentence is negated.

8.30 a. *An* ***yo*** *git roti gato* ***yo*** *it* ***nde.***
3SG NEG eat bread REL NEG rise NEG
He did not eat bread that was not risen.

b. *An git roti gato* ***yo*** *it* ***nde.***
3SG eat bread REL NEG rise NEG
He ate bread that was not risen.

c. *An* ***yo*** *git roti gato it* ***nde.***
3SG NEG eat bread REL rise NEG
He did not eat bread that was risen.

A similar structure (with two occurrences of *yo* and one of *nde*) is used to indicate that a particular action has never been done, as in example 8.31. Both occurrences of *yo* are preferred here because Musa does not eat fish **and** he has not ever done this. The second occurrence of *yo* can be omitted, but Abun speakers tend to include it to reinforce the point they are making — 'Musa doesn't eat fish, he never does'.

8.31 *Musa* ***yo*** *git boge* ***yo*** *mo* ***nde.***
Musa NEG eat fish NEG exist NEG
Musa has never eaten fish.

For further discussion of negation in subordinate clauses see §10.2.5 and §10.3.1.2.

8.4 NEGATION IN WORDS

Abun is a language with very little affixation. As may be expected there are no affixes used to negate words, as in the case of English, with words such as 'un-happy' and 'dislike'. However, there are a number of verbs that are inherently negative in meaning such as:

bari	do not want
bagri	do not want to eat
bambrai	do not want to do something
bandof	do not feel comfortable with heights
bagwo	do not like being tickled

Ba- could be analysed as a negative prefix, but the roots *-ri*, *-gri*, *-brai*, *-ndof* and *-gwo* do not occur as free morphemes.

These verbs remove the need for the use of the negative particles. Example 8.32a is a negative indicative sentence. The use of an inherently negative verb (*bariwa* 'do not want to', as in example 8.32b), without the negative particles has the same meaning as the corresponding positive verb used with the negative particles. The use of the inherently negative verb with the negative particles makes the meaning a positive one, as in 8.32c.

8.32 a. *Ji* ***yo*** *i-wa* *ji* *mu* *mo* *nggwe* ***nde.***
1SG NEG want-TRS 1SG go LOC garden NEG
I don't want to go to the garden.

b. *Ji* *bari-wa* *ji* *mu* *mo* *nggwe.*
1SG do.not.want-TRS 1SG go LOC garden
I don't want to go to the garden.

c. *Ji* ***yo*** *bari-wa* *ji* *mu* *mo* *nggwe* ***nde.***
1SG NEG do.not.want-TRS 1SG go LOC garden NEG
1. I am not against going to the garden.
2. I want to go to the garden.

8.5 THE SCOPE OF NEGATION

Klima (1964), Reesink (1986) and Payne (1985b) discuss the scope of negation in terms of 'constituent' and 'sentential'. The negation of words or phrases may be called 'constituent negation', while the negation of predicates, sentences and more complex sentences has traditionally been called 'sentential negation'. These two terms were coined initially in relation to English. In the sentence, 'John is unhappy', the negation is defined as 'constituent' because the negation operates on one part (or constituent) of the sentence; while in 'John is not happy', the type of negation is defined as 'sentential'.

In Abun the scope of negation is usually sentential (or, more precisely, the negation of the predicate) and this is syntactically marked by use of the linked pair of negative particles (§8.5.1). Take, for example, the sentence in example 8.33, a simple negative indicative sentence where the two negative particles surround the predicate. In this case, the action (killing), the object (the wild pig) or the location (by the Nai river) all fall within the scope of negation. The subject (Isak), however, does not fall within the scope of negation here because subjects are usually contextually bound.

8.33 *Isak* ***yo*** *gu nok mo syur Nai de* ***nde.***
Isak NEG kill wild.pig LOC water Nai bank NEG
Isak did not kill a wild pig by the Nai river.

As to which constituent is actually being negated in the mind of the speaker would in most cases be clear from the context, but there are syntactic strategies by which the scope of negation can be narrowed to focus on one constituent. This is discussed in §8.5.2.

8.5.1 THE SCOPE WITH BOTH NEGATIVE PARTICLES

The scope of negation is readily determined by the use of the linked pair of negative particles, *yo* and *nde*. These two particles bracket the predicate, making the scope of negation syntactically evident. In Abun the scope of negation, when the linked pair of negative particles is used, is always encoded as a predicate since the linked particles **always** and **only** bracket a predicate. The subject can never be bracketed by the two negative particles.

Payne (1985b:199) points out that subjects are usually context-bound and that contextually bound elements are removed from the scope of negation. What is actually negated is the contextually free part of the sentence. This, he says, "...often gives the impression that sentential negation might better be described as 'VP negation'". Indeed, this is clearly the case for Abun because the syntax makes that evident by the way the two particles bracket the predicate (that is, the VP).

Therefore when both particles are used, the scope of negation excludes the subject. When we consider a situation where someone is discussing a hunting trip, one might say, 'Isak killed a pig near the Nai river'. In order to negate this sentence, one would say, 'Isak did not kill a pig near the Nai river', as in example 8.33. In this example, the subject, Isak, is not within the scope of negation because it is contextually bound; that is, Isak's actions were under discussion. It is the relationship between Isak and the killing of a pig near the Nai river that falls within the scope of the negation. The scope of negation when both particles are used is the predicate, as is evidenced by the position of the two negative particles.

So it is either the action (killing), the object (the wild pig) or the location (by the Nai river) that could be negated. All three of these fall within the scope of negation. The subject, Isak, does not. Which constituent is actually being negated in the mind of the speaker would in most cases be clear from the context.

The shifting of words and phrases from outside to inside the bracketing of the linked pair of negative particles illustrates that the two particles do in fact determine the scope of negation. In example 8.34, if *kamdik-kamdik* 'every day' is included within the bracket it is also included within the scope of negation. If it is inside the bracket as in 8.34c, then the frequency of eating fish is also negated. Therefore the meaning changes to 'I do not eat fish every day' or 'Not every day I eat fish', implying that on some days fish is eaten, but not every day. Example 8.34b has 'every day' outside of the bracket formed by the linked pair of particles. In this way the action of eating, and the object, fish, are within the scope of negation, but not the frequency. The temporal word in this case is outside of the scope negation. In this way the two negative particles delineate the scope of negation, in the sense that whatever falls between them falls within the scope of negation.

8.34 a. *Ji git boge kam-dik-kam-dik.*
1SG eat fish day-one-day-one
I eat fish everyday.

b. *Kam-dik-kam-dik ji* ***yo*** *git boge* ***nde.***
day-one-day-one 1SG NEG eat fish NEG
1. Every day I do not eat fish.
2. I never eat fish.

c. *Ji* ***yo*** *git boge kam-dik-kam-dik* ***nde.***
1SG NEG eat fish day-one-day-one NEG
1. Not every day I eat fish.
2. I do not eat fish every day (I do sometimes).

Phrases such as temporal phrases or locative phrases may be inserted either before the subject or within the predicate, as seen in examples 8.34 and 8.35. Phrases placed outside *yo...nde* are outside the scope of negation.

8.35 a. *Isak* ***yo*** *ben suk mo nggwe* ***nde.***
Isak NEG do things LOC garden NEG
Isak did not do anything at the garden.

b. *Mo nggwe Isak* ***yo*** *ben suk* ***nde.***
LOC garden Isak NEG do things NEG
In the garden Isak did not do anything.

In example 8.35a, the garden falls within the scope of negation. Isak may not have been at the garden. He may have done things elsewhere. In 8.35b, the garden is outside the scope of negation. It is contextually bound, since a construction of this nature occurs only when the garden is being discussed. Information considered contextually free is bracketed by particles.

In complex sentences it is clear how the scope of negation changes according to what is bracketed. In example 8.36, when the bracketing changes from the whole sentence to the complement, the meaning is significantly different.

8.36 a. *Moses* ***yo*** *ki gado do an kra su Barbarina o* ***nde.***
Moses NEG say earlier that 3SG marry with Barbarina again NEG
Moses did not say earlier that he would marry Barbarina again.

b. *Moses ki gado do an* ***yo*** *kra su Barbarina o* ***nde.***
Moses say earlier that 3SG NEG marry with Barbarina again NEG
Earlier Moses said that he would not marry Barbarina again.

In a similar way the Chadic language, Hausa, syntactically marks the scope of negation by the use of two negative particles. In that language these particles can move around to bracket the subject, the predicate or other parts of the sentence. Examples are found in Schachter (1985:60). However word order is not rigid as it is in Abun. In Hausa, both particles can move to bracket the constituent that is being negated and thereby very neatly indicate the scope as well as the focus of negation. Abun's use of the linked particles is not as flexible: because for example, the subject can never be surrounded by the linked pair of particles. However the subject may be included in the scope of negation as discussed in the next section.

8.5.2 NARROWING THE SCOPE OF NEGATION

Example 8.33 above does not specify which of the components within the predicate are being negated. Was it not a wild pig killed? Was it not a killing? Was it not at that location? All of these components are within the scope of negation. To know which component is being negated one needs to refer to the context of the discussion. Since negative sentences are rarely said in isolation, that part which is being negated is usually known from the context.

In English several strategies are used to narrow the scope of negation to the elements of the sentence or predicate that the speaker wants to negate. These include the use of phonological devices such as emphatic stress, or syntactic devices such as cleft constructions. So, for example, the use of intonation to stress components of the sentence is a way to negate a constituent as in, 'Isak did not eat the RICE (but the fish)'. Or, 'Isak did not EAT the rice (but he just swallowed it)'. Alternatively, or in addition, syntactic features may be used to negate a constituent. Topicalisation, for example, is used in English, 'It was not the rice that Isak ate'.

In the same way, Abun, like English, has some syntactic techniques that enable us to focus on the negation of a certain part of the sentence. Essentially the constituent to be negated needs to be bracketed by *yo* and *nde*. In order to achieve this the predicate needs to be transformed so that only one constituent is bracketed by the negative particles. As a result of limiting the scope of negation, elements within the predicate are topicalised or relativised. The scope can also be narrowed by a second use of the particle, *yo*.

Firstly, by *topicalising* elements of the predicate the scope of negation is narrowed. Topicalisation of an element removes such an element from the scope of negation, thereby reducing the number of possibilities to which the negation may apply. So, for example, if the wild pig in example 8.37a, is topicalised, it becomes 8.37b, meaning that either the action (killing) or the location fall within the scope of negation. If, then, the location is likewise topicalised, as in 8.37c, the result is that either the action or the object falls within the scope of negation. Also it is possible to front both the object and the location, thereby effectively narrowing the scope of the negation to the action alone. Thus, in 8.37d, the wild pig near the Nai river is under discussion and Isak did not kill it; he must have done something else to it.

8.37 a. *Isak* ***yo*** *gu nok mo syur Nai de* ***nde.***
Isak NEG kill wild.pig LOC water Nai bank NEG
Isak did not kill a wild pig by the Nai river.

b. *Nok ne Isak* ***yo*** *gu mo syur Nai de* ***nde.***
wild.pig DET Isak NEG kill LOC water Nai bank NEG
That wild pig Isak did not kill by the Nai river.

c. *Mo syur Nai de Isak* ***yo*** *gu nok* ***nde.***
LOC water Nai bank Isak NEG kill wild.pig NEG
By the Nai river, Isak did not kill a wild pig.

d. *Nok ga mo syur Nai de ne Isak* ***yo*** *gu* ***nde.***
wild.pig REL LOC water Nai bank DET Isak NEG kill NEG
(Concerning) a wild pig that was by the Nai river, Isak did not kill (it).

Secondly, in order to narrow the scope of negation to the modifier of a noun head of the subject, the predicate of the sentence may be *relativised* to become embedded within the subject position, with the modifier becoming the negated predicate. Take, for example, the

modifier of the head of the noun phrase, *mwa* 'many', in example 8.38a. Sentential negation of 8.38a is shown in 8.38b. But to narrow the scope of negation to the constituent, *mwa*, a structural change is made to form 8.38c, where the item to be negated, *mwa* alone is bracketed by *yo* and *nde*. To achieve this, the predicate of 8.38b is relativised to become part of the subject and *mwa* then behaves as a predicate and can be negated with the linked pair of negative particles, as in 8.38c.

8.38 a. *Pa mwa it mo kelas gri.*
children many go.up LOC grade three
Many children went up to grade three.

b. *Pa mwa* ***yo*** *it mo kelas gri* ***nde.***
children many NEG go.up LOC grade three NEG
Many children did not go up to grade three.

c. *Pa ga it mo kelas gri ne* ***yo*** *mwa* ***nde.***
children who rise LOC grade three DET NEG many NEG
The children who went up to grade three were not many.

Finally, the scope can also be narrowed by the use of *yo* a second time in the sentence to intensify or emphasise the negation thereof; compare example 8.39a to 8.39b, 8.39c and 8.39d. This second use of *yo* is limited to occasions when it precedes the verb *mo* 'to exist'

8.39 a. *Men* ***yo*** *ku an mo* ***nde.***
1PL NEG meet 3SG exist NEG
1. We have not ever met him.
2. We have never met him.

b. *Men ku an* ***yo*** *mo* ***nde.***
1PL meet 3SG NEG exist NEG
1. We have met him, never.
2. We have never met him.

c. *Men* ***yo*** *ku an* ***nde.***
1PL NEG meet 3SG NEG
We have not met him.

d. *Men* ***yo*** *ku an* ***yo*** *mo* ***nde.***
1PL NEG meet 3SG NEG exist NEG
1. We have not met him, never.
2. We have NEVER met him.

In Abun the use of topicalisation, fronting and relativisation of predicates or part thereof, or a second use of *yo* to narrow the scope of negation (to focus on or emphasise one constituent of a sentence) is not very common. In most cases the constituent being negated is understood from the context, obviating the need for such constructions.

CHAPTER 9

RELATIVE CLAUSES

In this section subordinate clauses of the type known as relative clauses will be discussed. In Abun, relative clauses can be divided into the two basic types, restrictive and non-restrictive. The restrictive type is by far the more common and more flexible grammatical structure and so it will be discussed in more detail here. This discussion will attempt to show that the Abun relative clause utilises a relative conjunction together with a strategy called a gap strategy, in order to relativise various grammatical relations.

By using a different conjunction, a non-restrictive relative clause as well as a third type which could be described as an indefinite relative clause are also possible in the Abun language. These will be described in detail below.

9.1 THE STRUCTURE OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ABUN

Relative clauses have been described as consisting minimally of a head and a restricting clause (Comrie 1989:143). How do Abun relative clauses compare to this general description? This discussion illustrates that the Abun relative clause consists minimally of a head, a relative conjunction and a clause that is either restricting or non-restricting. In some cases a determiner follows the relative clause. Examples of these clauses are shown below.

(i) ***Abun restrictive relative clause***

HEAD + CONJUNCTION - *gato* + RESTRICTING CLAUSE

9.1 *Men mu gu ye* ***gato*** *man siri su men bi nggon.*
1PL go kill person REL do wrong with 1PL POSS woman
We will go and kill the person who committed adultery with our (clans) woman.

(ii) ***Abun restrictive relative clause with determiner***

HEAD + CONJUNCTION - *gato* + RESTRICTING CLAUSE + DETERMINER

9.2 *Men mu de syur mo syur wak* ***gato*** *nje ben* ***ne.***
1PL go go.in water at water hole REL people make DET
We went and washed at the well that people had made.

(iii) ***Abun indefinite relative clause***

HEAD + CONJUNCTION - *to* + RESTRICTING CLAUSE

9.3 *Ye* ***to*** *gwa* *ye-won* *dabe* *yo* *ye*
Person REL punch person-knowledge ear when.IRR person

ne *bi* *denda* *su* *mbre.*
that pay fine with eastern.cloth
Anyone who punches a shaman (lit. knowledge person) on the ear must pay a fine with (antique) eastern cloth.

(iv) ***Abun non-restrictive relative clause***

HEAD + CONJUNCTION - *to* + NON-RESTRICTING CLAUSE + DETERMINER

9.4 *An* *ki* *nai* *Martinus* *to-re* ***to*** *kra* *Domingas*
3SG say IO Martinus DEIC-this REL marry Domingas

ne *bi* *ai* *gum* *do* *Simam* *Yorfen* *do...*
DET POSS father name COM Simam Yorfen COM
He said to Martinus' father (the Martinus here, who married Domingas) (whose) name was Simam Yorfen that...

9.2 THE HEAD OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

The head which is to be relativised may consist of either a noun phrase as in example 9.5, a pronoun, as in example 9.6, or a pro-form, as in examples 9.7, 9.8 and 9.9 below.

9.5 ***Suk-jan*** ***gato*** *án* *jan* *mo* *nggwe* *ne* *bere* *te.*
NOM-plant REL 3PL plant in garden ANA FUT die
Plants that they plant in that garden will die.

9.6 ***Nan*** ***gato*** *ben* *suk-daret* *bu* *ji* *bari* *re!*
2SG REL do NOM-random always 1SG not.want PERF
You, who always behave carelessly, I want nothing to do with you!

9.7 *Sane* ***kwa*** ***gato*** *me-ka-we* *yo* *ben* *ndo* *nde,*
so part.some.of REL 1PL-CL-two NEG do good NEG

an-we *ki* *suk-du* ***gato*** *bere* *os* *men.*
3PL-two say NOM-speak REL FUT help 2PL
So the part which the two of us didn't do very well, they (two) told us things (lit. 'news') that would help us.

9.8 *Ji* *ki* *do* ***do*** ***gato*** *yenggras* *ki* *ete*
1SG say COM the.one REL elders say then

yenggras *i-mo* *ete* *be* *ji* *kra.*
elders happy-exist then FUT 1SG marry
I said I would marry whichever (woman) the elders nominate for me and are happy with.

9.9 *Ndam* *kokor* ***do*** ***gato*** *ku* *suk-i* *yo* *men* *gu* *wé.*
bird fowl some.of REL get NOM-sick when.IRR 1PL kill off
With our chickens, if there are some that are sick then we kill (them) off.

The pro-forms *kwa* and *do* both have a similar meaning. They both refer to a previously mentioned noun phrase which usually represents a group of undefined size. When either *kwa* or *do* are used they refer to part of the previously mentioned whole. *Kwa* can only be used with non-tangible referents (that is, nouns that cannot be counted or considered specific items). For this reason it is best translated as 'part of' or 'some of'. *Do* can be used only with specific or tangible referents.

In the instance where the head of the relative clause is the noun *suk* 'thing/things', this noun merges with the relative clause conjunction to create a compound form. The final *k* is lost so that the resultant form is *sugato* 'thing that/that which', as in examples 9.10 and 9.11 below.

9.10 *Pa git* ***su-gato*** *sye mo nde.*
child eat things-that big exist NEG
The children must not eat large animals (lit. anything that is large) at all.

9.11 *Men nut-bot* ***su-gato*** *men ben nyim ne.*
1PL think-about things-that 1PL do before DET
We thought about what we did earlier.

9.3 THE RELATIVE CONJUNCTION *gato*

The relative conjunction *gato* is made up of two morphemes: *ga* 'anaphoric referent/the former' and *to* 'noun modifying particle (NMP)'. *Gato* may be translated as 'that', 'which', 'who' and so on. In quick speech it is abbreviated to *ga,* indicating that the particle *to,* which carries a grammatical meaning rather than a lexical one, is not always considered necessary. *Gato* is not a relative clause pronoun since neither *ga* nor *to* can be used on their own to replace nouns, as will be further discussed below. However, *gato* cannot be described as a general subordinating conjunction (as is the case with English 'that'). *Gato* is exclusively used to mark constructions of the restrictive relative clause type. A study of its two component morphemes shows how it fulfils this role.

9.3.1 ANAPHORIC REFERENT *ga*

The particle *ga* 'anaphoric referent' was briefly introduced in Chapter 3 as a type of determiner (see §3.4.1). As such it can never be used on its own as a pronoun to replace some previously mentioned noun. *Ga* always modifies a noun and is always part of a noun phrase. It assists in referring to a previously mentioned noun. In discourse it serves to distinguish secondary participants from the main participant/speaker. The noun which *ga* modifies will have been introduced earlier as a secondary participant. When this participant is mentioned again, *ga* is added as if to remind the hearers. In the examples below, several sentences of the discourse have been included to show how this particle is used.

9.12 *Ji ki do "A me-wa ber-gan Prisila ku Barbarina ré"*
1SG say COM 2SG look-TRS later-little Prisila meet Barbarina this

Ji do ma sa Prisila ***ga*** *wai mo ji.*
1SG PRED come when.REAL Prisila ANA go.past at 1SG
I said, "You look out (for yourself). In a little while Prisila will meet Barbarina". As I was coming along Prisila, that I had just mentioned, came past me.

9.13 *Sepenyel mu fro bi suk or an ma*
Sepenyel go prepare POSS things finish 3SG come

ti kenyak ji mo ji bi nu. Ji si
seaward plan.to.meet 1SG at 1SG POSS house 1SG with

an ***ga*** *mu mo syu-Nggwe.*
3SG ANA go to river-Garden
After Sepenyel went to prepare his things he went to meet me at my house. I went together with him (the last mentioned) to Garden River.

In the English translation of these sentences it seems awkward to include the literal meaning of *ga* 'the one that was last mentioned'. In Abun discourse, however, it is a necessary inclusion as a means of identifying participants. When *ga* is joined to the noun-modifying particle *to* to make up the relative conjunction *gato*, *ga* serves to identify or mark the head of the relative clause as a specific referential identity. Although, within the relative clause, *ga* does not actually indicate that the head has been already mentioned, it does indicate that the head is specific in that it is either known to the hearers or present within the events being described. For a restrictive relative clause *ga* identifies the head that is to be modified. Instead of meaning 'the noun/participant that we were just talking about' as it would in a discourse, here it means 'this is the noun that we are going to describe further'.

9.3.2 THE FUNCTION OF THE NOUN-MODIFYING PARTICLE *to*

The noun-modifying particle *to* (from here onwards abbreviated to NMP) serves to indicate that a noun has been modified in some way other than by an adjective. In some cases this modification will be another noun phrase added to give extra clarification to the speaker's meaning. For example:

9.14 *Wo suk-fo* ***to*** *ndam syor ne yo, nu-we git nde.*
but thing-taboo NMP bird cassowary DET when.IRR 2PL-two eat NEG
But that cassowary is taboo, and you two cannot eat it.

In other cases the modification is a noun phrase embedded within a locative phrase to clarify the location further.

9.15 *Men gwa bei yamo banbo* ***to*** *Waibe ne de rut.*
1PL beat sago at mountain NMP Waibe DET side far
We beat the sago on the mountain, that is on Waibe mountain on the far side.

When a speaker wishes to give illustrations of his subject matter then *sa* 'like' is added to *to* forming *sato* 'for example/such as'. The noun phrases that follow *sato* are all embeddings of the noun phrase which *to* modifies.

9.16 *Regina ben siri su pa yesok* ***sato*** *Arnol e*
Regina do wrong with child youth such.as Arnol and
Lambertus e ***sato*** *ye Timor.*
Lambertus and such.as person Timor
Regina committed adultery with (some) young men such as Arnol and Lambertus, and such as the Timorese man.

In all of the above examples the modification that *to* identifies is a noun phrase. However, since relative clauses are also modifications of a noun, *to* has the grammatical role of indicating that these clauses are embedded or subordinate. Instead of describing *to* as a noun-modifying particle, an alternative is to describe it as a general subordinating conjunction. If a conjunction can embed phrase within phrase, as in examples 9.14 and 9.15 above, then this is certainly the best description of *to*.

9.3.3 *gato* – A RELATIVE MARKER OR A RELATIVE CONJUNCTION?

Comrie's definition, given earlier, (Comrie 1989:143) that a relative clause consists minimally of a head and a restricting clause does not seem to leave room for a relative conjunction as a unit in its own right within the relative clause. Under Comrie's definition, it is necessary to place such items as relative pronouns or relative markers within the restricting clause. For instance relative pronouns are considered clause-initial. However, since *gato* is not a relative pronoun it cannot be considered as part of the restricting clause. Regarding the particle *ga* this is always a part of a noun phrase. For example, it is possible to say *Yohana ga* 'Yohana who I just mentioned' or *an ga* 'he, the one I just mentioned', as described in §9.3.1 above. But this is not the case for the particle *to*. It is not possible to say *Yohana to*, for this has no meaning. Because the grammatical function of *to* is to identify a subordinate structure of some kind, it cannot stand as part of a noun phrase, but rather it is the initial component of the subordinate structure.

The two morphemes of *gato* thus enable it to behave as a conjunction or linker. The first morpheme, *ga*, could be said to be actually part of the noun phrase head of the relative clause. The second morpheme *to* is the initial component of the restricting clause. The combined form, *gato*, therefore behaves like a bridge or linker between both head and restricting clause, giving rise to the description stated earlier in §9.1.

HEAD + CONJUNCTION – *gato* + RESTRICTING CLAUSE

This structure is similar to English relative constructions when two elements such as 'that which' in 'He knows that which he wants' merge to the single element 'what' in 'He knows what he wants'.

There are also other reasons for considering *gato* a relative conjunction and not simply some sort of relative particle. Although the particle *ga* serves to identify the head, there are subordinating conjunctions in Abun that are likewise part of the clause that precedes them (see §11.2). They may not be removed from it. Although these subordinating conjunctions are considered part of the initial clause and are clause-final, a secondary clause follows them

because they are subordinating conjunctions. They can never be sentence-final in the same way that *to* may never be sentence-final (or for that matter phrase- or clause-final).[10]

Thus the relative conjunction *gato* is an integral part of both head and clause and cannot be separated from either. The fact that the conjunction behaves additionally as a linker between the two parts is not unusual in Abun grammar.[11] Later, in §9.6, *gato* is shown to behave as a conjunction joining two clauses, not a noun head and another clause as is the case with relative clauses. This is another reason for considering *gato* a conjunction rather than simply a relative particle.[12]

9.4 THE COMPONENTS OF THE RESTRICTING CLAUSE

Besides consisting of a full clause, the restricting clause may consist of a single word. This single word may be an adjective as in example 9.17, or an adverb as in 9.18.

9.17 *Kwa* ***ga*** ***ndo*** *yo,* *men* *nai,*
those.things REL good when.IRR 3PL take

wo *kwa* ***ga*** ***ibit*** *yo* *men* *misyar.*
but those.things REL bad when.IRR 3PL ignore
Those things that are good we take, but those things that are bad we ignore.

9.18 *Ye-wis* *Ye-nden* *ye-wis* ***gato*** ***ketke.***
people-type people-interior people-type REL beginning
The Bush people tribe was the tribe who (were from) the beginning.

The clause may also consist of a single phrase such as a locative phrase, as in example 9.19, or an instrumental phrase, as in 9.20.

9.19 *Men* *syesyar* *men* *bi* *suk* *mwa* ***gato*** ***mo*** ***nu*** ***ré*** *dakai* *or.*
1PL put.out 1PL POSS things many REL at house this just end
We gave out (in payment) many of our possessions that (were) in this house (until) there was nothing left.

9.20 *Nggon* *git* ***su-ga*** *su* *manik* *nde.*
women eat thing-REL with oil not
Women must not eat things that (are cooked) with oil.

It is possible to have more than one relative clause modifying a head as in example 9.21.

9.21 *Yenggras* ***gato*** *Mauren* ***gato*** *kwop* *ré* *anato* *ma* *si* *Yulianus.*
elder REL Mauren REL die this FOC come with Yulianus
The elder whose (name was) Mauren, who died recently, was the one who came with Yulianus.

---

10 These conjunctions are described in detail in Chapter 11.

11 See Chapter 5 where the possessive marker *bi* is analysed as a possessive linker.

12 This is not to rule out the possibility that the relative conjunction *gato* may not be a true linker. However its overall behavioural charateristics indicate that it is a conjunction and not just a particle found only in relative clauses.

9.5 RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION STRATEGY

In any relative construction, the noun phrase that is denoted 'head' holds a grammatical relation in both clauses of that construction, namely in the main clause and in the relative clause. Cross-linguistically, it appears that there is more significant variation in encoding the grammatical relation of the head in the embedded clause, than is found in the main clause (Comrie 1989:147, 153). Comrie distinguishes four major strategies for encoding the head within the relative clause. These he terms non-reduction, pronoun retention, relative pronoun and gap (Comrie 1989:147). Non-reduction means "that the head noun appears in full, unreduced form, in the embedded sentence, in the normal position and/or with the normal case marking". With pronoun retention, the head noun is represented in the embedded clause as a pronoun. When a relative pronoun is used, it is in clause-initial position and it is marked for case. With any of these three strategies the role of the head noun within the relative clause is overtly indicated (1989:151). The fourth strategy, however, does not provide any overt indication at all of the role of the head within the relative clause. The head is actually omitted from the relative clause. For this reason it is called a gap strategy. A study of Abun relative clause structure shows that Abun uses the fourth strategy in Comrie's list, the gap strategy.

Abun does not make any overt reference to the head noun within the restricting clause. The embedded clause does not retain a pronoun referring to the head noun, nor is there a relative clause pronoun which specifically refers to the head noun, nor is there a full noun phrase inside the embedded clause. The head is omitted in the restricting clause, thereby creating a gap. But since the restricting clause does not contain any reference to the head noun, how can one know what grammatical relation the relativised argument holds?

As explained in Chapter 4, Abun does not actually mark the case of nouns. The grammatical relations of Subject, Object and so on are normally marked by word order. Therefore, it is the word order of the relative clause and the location of the gap created by the omission of the head that provide the clues for encoding the grammatical relation of the head. For example:

9.22 *Me mu gu ye* ***gato*** *man siri su men bi nggon.*
1PL go kill person REL do wrong with 1PL POSS woman
We (will) go (and) kill the person who has slept with our woman (woman from our clan).

In example 9.22 above the restricting clause following *gato* contains no subject. There is a gap between the relative conjunction *gato* and the verb phrase *man siri* 'do wrong', indicating that the embedded clause contains no overt subject. Therefore the grammatical relation of the head *ye* 'person' within the restricting clause is subject. Compare this example with the relation of the relativised argument in example 9.23:

9.23 *Ji nut-bot ye* ***gato*** *ji i-wa ne.*
1SG thought-about person REL 1SG happy-TRS DET
I thought about the person that I liked.

Here there is a gap after the verb *iwa* 'like', even though the transitive suffix *-wa* indicates that this verb is a transitive verb. Therefore in this case the head *ye* 'person' is interpreted as having the grammatical relation of object in the relative clause.[13]

---

[13] It is to be noted here that this clause also contains a determiner which will be discussed in §9.5.1 below. The determiner is more common when the head has the grammatical relation of object.

9.5.1 THE ROLE OF THE DETERMINER

It was said in §9.1 above that some restrictive relative clauses are closed with a determiner. The demonstrative pronouns *ré* 'this' and *ne* 'that' have several functions in Abun and one of these is to behave as a determiner. Unlike English determiner usage it is not obligatory to use the determiner after a noun in Abun.

What factors govern the use of the determiner in the relative clause? It is not found in every instance of a restrictive relative clause. Example 9.22 above has no determiner, in contrast to example 9.23, in which the restrictive relative clause is closed by the determiner *ne*. These two examples differ in two ways. Firstly, in example 9.22 the relativised argument of the clause has the grammatical relation of subject. In 9.23 the relativised argument has the grammatical relation of object. Secondly, due to Abun word order the location of the gap in each restricting clause is different. In example 9.22 the gap is clause-initial since the subject in Abun is clause-initial. In 9.23 the gap would have been clause-final if the determiner had not closed the restricting clause. The determiner, by closing the clause, actually assists in locating the gap, and thereby assists in encoding the grammatical relation of the head.

The determiner's role in locating the gap is most clearly seen when a direct object is to be relativised. The determiner *ne* is used frequently when a direct object is to be relativised, but not in all instances. To understand how the determiner is used in locating the gap in the restricting clause, several examples are set out below. In example 9.24 to 9.27 both the head and the relative conjunction have been highlighted. Further elements within the restricting clause are underlined to show where the determiner has been omitted. Example 9.24 shows the determiner as it normally appears, at the end of the relative clause.

9.24 *Men ki nai yu do* ***suk*** ***gato*** *men ye mo*
1PL say IO REFL COM things REL 1PL difficult exist

re ***ne,*** *men ku re.*
PERF DET 1PL get PERF
We said to each other that we have the things that we needed.

In the following examples, 9.25 to 9.27, the omitted direct object is not the final element of the relative clause, as is the case in 9.24 above, where the determiner *ne* closes the relative clause. In examples 9.25 and 9.26 there is a phrase which follows the gap, an adjunct phrase in 9.25 and an indirect object phrase in 9.26.

9.25 *An ndo mo ji bi nggon subot* ***ji*** ***bi*** ***buku***
3SG ask to 1SG POSS woman about 1SG POSS book

gato *an gre mo bot.*
REL 3SG burn LOC fire
He asked my wife about my book that she burned in the fire.

9.26 *Pa nut du an ben* ***suk*** ***mwa*** ***gato*** *an bi im*
child think COM 3SG do things many REL 3SG POSS mother

duno is an.
teach IO 3SG
The child thought that he (would) do the many things that his mother (had) taught to him.

In example 9.27 below, the word *ka* 'form/body' actually is a reference to the head of the relative clause within the restricting clause. In English this needs to be translated as 'its body', so that a pronoun replacing the head is now within the restricting clause. In these instances there is now actually no gap (created by the omission of the head) within the restricting clause because a word such as *ka* refers to the head, which in this example has the grammatical relation of direct object. This creates no need for the use of the determiner *ne*.

9.27 *Yen kendo do nu-fo ne* ***nu gato***
people call COM house-taboo DET house REL
ye me ka mo nde.
people see form exist NEG
1. People call it the sacred house, the house that must not be seen.
2. People call it the sacred house, that people must not see the form of it.

In all these examples, although they represent relativisations of a direct object, the determiner has not been used. The word order is sufficient to locate the gap, created by the omission of the head, since prepositional phrases must always follow a direct object. In these cases the gap is not clause-final and there is no need to indicate the boundary of the restricting clause. Therefore, whenever there is an adjunct or complement of some kind within the structure of the restricting clause, the determiner does not need to be used. So a relativisation of the direct object may have the following composition:

HEAD+ *gato* +SUBJ+ VERB+GAP+DET
OR
HEAD+ *gato* +SUBJ+ VERB+GAP+ADJUNCT/COMPLEMENT

The same situation is evident when a non-direct object is being relativised. In example 9.28 below, the preposition *su* 'with' indicates a prepositional phrase. The gap is indicated by the presence of the preposition without the noun which normally accompanies it. Although the gap here is clause-final it is part of the prepositional phrase. Part of the phrase is present, so it is not necessary to use *ne* since there is another means through which the location of the gap may be encoded.

9.28 ***Suk-i gato*** *an kamba su an ye teker ware.*
NOM-sick REL 3SG wear.out with 3SG difficult too.much FRUS
The sickness that she was worn out with, she suffered terribly (with it) (so that she could not do anything).

Example 9.29 is similar to example 9.28.

9.29 *Yen fro* ***nggumwak ga*** *men sem mo.*
people prepare room REL 1PL sleep LOC
The people prepared a room that we would sleep in.

The way that the determiner is used is shown in the following summary of restricting clause types:

HEAD = SUBJ	GAP + VERB ± OBJECT ± ADJUNCT/COMPLEMENT
HEAD = OBJ	SUBJ + VERB + GAP + DET
HEAD = OBJ	SUBJ + VERB + GAP + ADJUNCT/COMPLEMENT
HEAD = OTHER	SUBJ + VERB + PREP + GAP[14]

Therefore, it appears that the main function of the determiner is to locate the position of the gap within the relative clause when the gap occurs in a clause-final position. Usually it is by word order that the gap is located within the restricting clause. Since the determiner acts to close the clause like some kind of boundary marker then it is still possible to locate the gap in these situations. Givón (1990:659-660) stated that the gap strategy is most commonly found in languages with rigid word order, as is the case with Abun. However, he felt that "processing rate" would be longer in such languages as well as "increased error rate, and increased dependence on context" (Givón 1990:660ff). If there were no boundary marker, it would not be fully clear where the gap was and such 'increased errors' as Givón describes could arise. But the device of a boundary marker behaves as another means for hearers to correctly encode what they hear. Together with the relative conjunction *gato*, the determiner 'brackets' the relative clause.[15] There are some instances where some speakers will use *ne* to close the relative clause even though the gap is not clause-final. It may be that they want to add extra certainty that the relative clause is in fact closed and this is made more evident by the 'bracketing' nature of the determiner.

9.5.2 ABUN RELATIVE CLAUSES AND THE ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY

Keenan and Comrie (1977) in their work on relative clauses devised a hierarchy they called the Accessibility Hierarchy which summarised their findings across a wide sample of languages. They had investigated the types of constraints across languages on which grammatical relations could be relativised. Comrie (1989:156) later refined this hierarchy so that "The hierarchy subject > direct object > non-direct object > possessor defines ease of accessibility to relative clause formation". He stated that (1989:156): "if a language can form relative clauses on a given position on the hierarchy, it can also form relative clauses on all positions higher (to the left) on the hierarchy".

How do Abun relative clauses compare to this hierarchy? Does this hierarchy hold true for Abun? In §9.5.1 above, several examples were given which showed that various positions along the hierarchy could be relativised. In fact in Abun all positions on Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy can be relativised.

Keenan (1985:156), when referring to the different strategies that a language may use to form relative clauses, noted that "pronoun retaining strategies are (a) more effective means of forming RCS (restrictive relative clauses) than RPRO (relative pronoun) or gapping strategies",

---

14 Probably the formula should contain ± OBJECT, but no examples with an object occur in the corpus of data.

15 It is our experience in living among Abun speakers that such errors that Givón imagines rarely arise. Because word order is the main means of encoding grammatical relations, there are very strong internal expectations in the mind of the hearer. These expectations are not necessary for languages which use case marking or affixation for deriving meaning. The device of the boundary marker is strongly used throughout Abun grammar to assist hearers in encoding meaning. It is used in negative constructions and in interrogatives. Here, also, the dual particles involved could be considered as 'bracketing' devices. These are discussed more fully Chapters 6 and 8.

since he considered that more positions along the hierarchy could be relativised when the pronoun was retained. Although Abun does not use a pronoun-retaining strategy, but a gap strategy, this does not prevent a wide range of positions being relativised. There do not appear to be restrictions on relative clause formation in Abun. However the last level of the hierarchy, that of 'possessor', has limited formation possibilities in Abun. Examples 9.30 to 9.37 below illustrate the formation of relative clauses at different levels along the Accessibility Hierarchy.

9.5.2.1 RELATIVISATION OF SUBJECT

9.30 *Or-o yenggras ki* ***nggon*** ***gato*** *kem mo*
after-again elders speak woman REL live at

Syur Kwor Dora wa ji.
river Kwor Dora for 1SG
And again the elders asked about a woman who lived at Kwor River, Dora, for me (to marry).

9.31 *An si* ***yetu*** ***ka we*** ***gato*** *gum do Daudsi Harun.*
3SG be.with people CL two REL name COM Daud with Harun
She was with two people who were called Daud and Harun.

9.5.2.2 RELATIVISATION OF DIRECT OBJECT

9.32 *Ji nut-bot* ***suk-du*** ***gato*** *an ki ne.*
1SG think-about NOM-speak REL 3SG say DET
I thought about the things that he said.

9.33 *Nggwe ne,* ***nggwe*** ***gato*** *Adam si Hawa mewa ne or it.*
garden that garden REL Adam with Hawa look.after DET end CAM
That garden, the garden that Adam and Hawa looked after, is no more.

9.5.2.3 RELATIVISATION OF NON-DIRECT OBJECT

9.34 ***Suk-i*** ***gato*** *an kamba su an ye teker ware.*
NOM-sick REL 3SG wear.out with 3SG difficult too.much FRUS
The sickness that she was worn out with, she suffered terribly (with it), so that she could not do anything.

9.35 ***Ye*** ***gato*** *nan syo jok ror is ne gum do Simon.*
person REL 2SG give stone sharp IO DET name COM Simon
1. The man to whom you gave the sharpening stone is Simon.
2. The man you gave the sharpening stone to is named Simon.

9.36 *Ji mu kenyak* ***nu*** ***gato*** *Isak sem mo ne.*
1SG go locate house REL Isak sleep at DET
I went to find the house that Isak slept at.

9.5.2.4 RELATIVISATION OF POSSESSOR

In §5.3 it was explained that a possessive phrase had the structure

POSSESSOR + *bi* + POSSESSED

In a possessive phrase the possessor precedes the possessive linker *bi*, which in turn precedes that which is possessed. The following example shows that *gato* may follow the possessor of a possessive noun phrase, making it possible for the possessor to be relativised. In such structures the possessor of the possessive phrase has been omitted.

9.37 ***Yan gato*** *bi im mo Arlince ne an mu*
Yan REL POSS mother exist Arlince DET 3SG go
kagit kampung ré.
from village this
Yan, whose mother is Arlince, he went from this village.

This construction although possible is not common. It is most likely to be used in response to a question. If a question was asked, 'Which Yan are you talking about?' a reply such as *Yan gato bi im mo Arlince ne* 'Yan whose mother is Arlince' is common. However, this structure within a full sentence is not preferred. Example 9.38 below would not be acceptable.

9.38 ****Harun gato*** *bi ai mo Sorom kem su ji bi*
Harun REL POSS father exist Sorom live with 1SG POSS
im do-wok tepsu an bi pa kon.
mother class-small just.as 3SG POSS child cook
Harun, whose father is Sorom, lives with my aunt as their adopted child.

Instead this statement would be given as:

9.39 ***Harun gato*** *Sorom bi pa ne kem su...*
Harun REL Sorom POSS child DET live with
Harun, who is Sorom's child, lives with...

Therefore, within a full or complete sentence as in example 9.39, it is not acceptable to relativise the possessor. In an incomplete or partial sentence, such as an answer to a question or as a modification of a noun in apposition to a full clause (such as example 9.37) a relativisation of the possessor is possible. It is possible to relativise the possessor only in limited circumstances. It is not preferred as part of a complex sentence. This could be said to confirm that the possessor position is the lowest on the hierarchy.

9.6 'ADVERBIAL' RELATIVE CLAUSES

In Abun the relative clause may be used with a head which refers to the adverbial concepts of time, location and manner. In Abun a subordinate adverbial clause can be formed by means of the relative conjunction *gato*. Abun does not possess adverb forms such as the English 'when', 'where' or 'how', which may themselves act as conjunctions at the head of a subordinate adverbial clause. Instead a time word, another conjunction or a locative preposition together with *gato* serve as the conjunctions in these cases.

In example 9.40 below *sugato* 'with that' has come to mean 'the time that' or 'when'. This is an adaptation of *tepsu gato* where *tepsu* means 'like' or 'just as'. *Tepsu gato* is used as a general, non-specific time expression in the same way as the English 'when'.

9.40 ***Sugato*** *Fredik si Pontius mu watbot bus an-we*
with.that Fredik with Pontius go examine rope 3PL-two

ku nok dik yo di mo bus.
find wild.pig one DET.I struggle in rope
At the time that (when) Fredik and Pontius went to examine (their) rope (pig trap) they found a wild pig struggling in the rope.

Another expression used to denote 'when' is *tom gato* 'the time that'.

9.41 *Ji nuk-bot* ***tom gato*** *yen gu yu mo-re.*
1SG tell.story-about time REL people kill REFL at-here
I will tell about the time that there was fighting here.

In example 9.42 below, the general locative noun *nat* 'place' is modified or relativised in exactly the same way as the non-locative noun *nu* 'house' in example 9.43. In fact the English translation of 9.43 needs to omit any relative marker and replace it with 'where' to make good sense, but no such alternative construction is available in Abun.

9.42 *Men gwat mu-kom mo* ***nat gato*** *men gu nok mó.*
1PL bring go-reach to place REL 1PL kill wild.pig exist
We brought (it) up to the place that we had killed the wild pig.

9.43 *Men mu kagit* ***nu gato*** *men kra su mone.*
1PL go from house REL 1PL marry with there
We went from the house where we were married.

In examples 9.40 to 9.43 above the construction used to form these subordinate adverbial clauses is identical to that of the relative clause. A head (usually a noun) is followed by the relative conjunction *gato*, which is then followed by the subordinate restricting clause. However, there are other instances of adverbial clauses where there is no identifiable head to make the structure comparable to a relative clause. In these cases two clauses are joined by *gato* combined with some other form. In examples 9.44 and 9.45 below the conjunction *sa* 'like/as' precedes *gato* to create an adverbial clause of manner.

9.44 *An da ben mó sarewo an yo ben kete*
3SG actual do exist however 3SG NEG do too.much

bado yo teker ***sa gato*** *nyim ne nde re.*
maybe NEG too.much like REL earlier DET NEG PERF
Although she does (these things) she does not do (them) very much, I mean, not like (she did them) before.

9.45 *Nggon we but gre nak ge we* ***sa ga*** *ye we but o.*
woman two catch frog *nak* CL two like REL person two catch again
The two women caught two *nak* frogs in the same way that the two men (had) caught (two *nak* frogs earlier).

In examples 9.46 and 9.47 the locative *mo* 'at' precedes *gato* to create an adverbial clause of reason. Here the events expressed in the second clause are the reason for the events of the first.

9.46 *Ji sa ji mbrin ji waiyu* ***mo gato*** *wo-kwai*
1SG laugh 1SG faint 1SG turn.around at REL fish-kwai

tik Sepenyel gwes or ges ne.
pull Sepenyel leg then fall that
I laughed so much I rolled around at the eel pulling on Sepenyel's leg (so that he) fell over there. (The eel was tied onto the leg.)

9.47 *Ji maskwa Musa* ***mo gato*** *an gu Rahayu bi im.*
1SG angry Musa at REL 3SG hit Rahayu POSS mother
I was angry with Musa at him hitting Rahayu's mother.

These types of construction can only be translated in English, not as subordinate adverbial clauses, but as nominalised complements. Example 9.47 could also be expressed as example 9.48 below and both are equally acceptable.

9.48 *Ji maskwa Musa we an gu Rahayu bi im.*
1SG be.angry Musa because 3SG hit Rahayu POSS mother
I was angry with Musa because he hit Rahayu's mother.

Perhaps in these cases the clause that follows *mo gato* does not represent an adverbial clause of reason because no conjunction which indicates reason, such as *we* 'because', has been used. Rather, an additional clause has been joined to the sentence by means of the locative preposition *mo* in exactly the same way that a locative phrase would be joined to the clause. In Abun, with predicates such as *sa* 'laugh' and *maskwa* 'be angry', additional arguments may be required in the clause to indicate not the object of these predicates, but rather the reason behind the action. If this reason is expressed as a full clause, the clause is embedded in the main clause by the dual means of the locative preposition *mo* and the relative conjunction *gato*.[16]

In these types of example we find that *gato* is used in clauses that could not be described as restrictive relative clauses. Wherever *sa gato* and *mo gato* are used they appear to join clauses rather than modify a head. In these cases the clauses that follow *gato* are full clauses. There is no gap in these clauses because they are not relative clauses. It was discussed earlier that *gato* was a relative conjunction rather than a relative marker (§9.3.3). It seems then that in its function as a conjunction *gato* may join subordinate clauses to larger structures, even though these are not relative clauses and are adverbial in meaning.

9.7 INDEFINITE RELATIVE CLAUSES

In the previous section clauses that departed from the standard relative clause type were discussed. In this section another type of relative clause, the 'indefinite' relative clause, will be shown to differ from the 'standard' restrictive relative clause. These types of clause, due to the non-referential nature of the head, we have termed 'indefinite relative clauses' to distinguish them from relative clauses of the regular variety. Structurally they differ from regular relative clauses in that only the noun-modifying particle *to* is used, rather than the

16 The concept of prepositions which behave as conjunctions will be developed further in Chapter 12.

relative conjunction *gato*, and they do not require the use of the determiner, as in example 9.49.[17]

9.49 *Suk* ***to*** *a* *ku* *mone* *yo* *a* *gu* *wé.*
thing REL 2SG find there when.IRR 2SG kill away
1. Anything that you find there, kill it (dispose of it).
2. Whatever you find there, get rid of it.

Huddleston terms the English equivalent of this type of construction a 'fused relative' construction to distinguish it from other types of relative clause. In English, a non-specific referent is marked by some type of *wh* phrase, by means of *whoever, what* or *where* (Huddleston 1984:403). Givón (1990:646) also finds these types of relative problematic since they do not line up with his semantic definition of a restrictive relative clause, namely "A *relative clause* codes a proposition one of whose participants is coreferential with the head noun that is modified by that clause". If the head noun is non-referential there cannot be strict referential identity, since many of these relative constructions concern hypothetical or unknown situations.

In Abun the fact that these are a different type of relative construction is grammatically marked. Abun is a language in which it is important to mark the distinction between that which is real and known and that which is hypothetical and unknown. Normally within the noun phrase, if any information in a sentence is not given (that is already known), the determiner *yo* 'indefinite, a/an' is used in conjunction with the noun concerned. Therefore Abun grammar marks the fact that nouns may refer to either actual or hypothetical entities. When a noun represents the head of a relative clause, it is important in Abun to mark this noun so that it can be interpreted as referring to some specific known referent or to some hypothetical entity.

It was explained earlier that the relative conjunction was composed of two morphemes, the particles *ga* and *to*. In §9.3.1, the role of the particle *ga* was explained as serving to identify or mark the head of the relative clause as a specific referential identity. In the types of construction, described as 'indefinite relative clauses', the noun of the head has no real world semantic referent at the time of utterance. There may be a range of possible referents but none that is specific or known. Therefore this noun cannot be modified by *ga*. The simple solution in Abun is that these nouns are modified only by the general subordinating particle *to*. Since *ga* is absent it is obvious that these nouns have no specific referent and are therefore interpreted as non-referential. In English the same constructions need the addition of 'any' or 'ever' to make this clear, as examples 9.50 and 9.51 indicate.

---

17 This clause may appear problematic from an English speaker's perspective because it contains both a relative clause and an irrealis conjunction. The English translation that is given actually omits any reference to this. It could possibly be translated as: 'Anything that you find there, well then, kill it'. As is the case with the focus particle *anato* (§12.6) and the mood particle *ware* (§4.5.4), there are occasions when a single Abun word is best expressed in English as a single clause. In example 9.49 the conjunction *yo* here means 'assuming the condition of the preceding (relative) clause is met then carry out the action of clause two'. The full English translation reads as follows: 'Anything that you find there, given it is assumed that you will find something there, then kill it'. Further examples of this type are discussed in Chapter 11.

9.50 *Ré-yo nggon* ***to*** *nu ki yen dakai kra*
now-then woman REL 2PL say people.INDEF just marry

sor ji bari re.
only 1SG not.want PERF
1. Now then, any woman that you speak (about for me to marry), let other people marry her, I don't want to.
2. Now then, whichever woman...

9.51 *Kapten du mo coron do "ye* ***to*** *kem mo*
captain speak at speaker that people REL stay in

keras ekonomi sure it ma".
class economy now CAM come
1. The captain announced over the loud speaker, "Anyone who is in economy class come now".
2. The captain announced over the loud speaker, "Whoever is in economy class come now".

These indefinite relative clauses also differ from regular restrictive clauses in that no determiner is used. The determiner has been described as a device for assisting hearers in locating the gap within the restricting clause, thereby decreasing the likelihood of possible error (see §9.5.1). Since in these cases the head is non-referential with no specific referent intended, there is no possibility of error. If there is no specific referent intended then no mistake in encoding can be made. Hence the determiner is not needed in this relative clause type.

9.8 NON-RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES

Non-restrictive relative clauses are less common than restrictive relative clauses. They have two main structural differences compared with the restrictive clause type. Firstly, the relative conjunction is *to,* the general noun subordinating particle. Secondly, all non-restrictive relative clauses must be closed by the boundary marker, the determiner *ne*. There are several reasons for this. The non-restrictive relative clause is structurally different from the indefinite relative clause in that the determiner is used in the non-restrictive type. In a non-restrictive relative clause the semantic content 'is presented as a separate piece of information' (Huddleston 1984:401). It is a type of parenthetical insertion not essential to the speaker's main communication. It can be easily seen that in Abun the conjunction *to* and the determiner *ne* are the parentheses which bracket the additional information which has been included within the main clause. So the determiner is an essential element in this clause type because the hearer must know when the inserted or additional information ends. Hence the behaviour of the determiner in the non-restrictive relative clauses described here is consistent with its behaviour as a boundary marker in the restrictive relative clauses described earlier. Example 9.52, given earlier in this chapter as example 9.4, shows how both *to* and *ne* bracket additional information which has been included for the hearers' benefit.

9.52 *An ki nai Martinus to-re* ***to*** *kra Domingas*
3SG say IO Martinus DEIC-this REL marry Domingas

ne *bi ai gum do Simam Yorfen do...*
DET POSS father name COM Simam Yorfen COM
He said to Martinus' father (the Martinus (who lives) here who married Domingas) (whose) name was Simam Yorfen that...

Examples 9.53 and 9.54 also show the non-restrictive clause type as additional information.

9.53 *Nan me fen dik yo* ***to*** *nor* ***ne*** *bur.*
2SG see sea.turtle one DET.I REL float DET down
Look at that turtle which is floating (around) down there!

9.54 *An ndo-bot su-git dik yo* ***to*** *men ye bok*
3SG ask-about NOM-eat one DET.I REL 1PL people several

ne git su-git ne.
ANA eat NOM-eat DET
He asked about some (kind of) food, which all of us would eat.

In example 9.54 there is another structural difference which may occur with this type of clause. Because the clause is added or non-essential information, the head of the relative clause has actually been retained within the non-restricting clause so that there is no gap, as there would be in the restricting kind. In this example the non-reduction strategy is used rather than the gap strategy. It may be that since this particular relative clause represents additional, inserted information it shows the potential of inserting an entire rather than a reduced clause. However this kind of construction has been found only within the non-restrictive type and is not common.

There appear to be limitations also as to those positions which may be filled on the Accessibility Hierarchy by the non-restrictive relative clause. It appears that while both a subject and direct object can be relativised in this way, positions lower on the hierarchy cannot. The example below, given as example 9.28 in §9.5.1, is a relativisation of a non-direct object for a restrictive clause. When exactly the same information is presented in a non-restrictive form, as in example 9.56 below, it actually becomes a relativisation of a subject.[18] Since the non-restrictive relative clause is the less frequent type this restriction is not surprising.

9.55 ***Suk-i gato*** *an kamba su an ye teker ware.*
NOM-sick REL 3SG wear.out with 3SG difficult too.much FRUS
The sickness that she was worn out with, she suffered terribly (with it), so that she could not do anything.

9.56 *Suk-i* ***to*** *ben an* ***ne*** *ben an kamba teker.*
NOM-sick REL do 3SG DET make 3SG worn.out too.much
The sickness, which she had, made her really worn out.

---

18 The clause *suki ben an* 'lit. the sickness did her' is the Abun cultural way of expressing that she got or had a sickness. In Abun thinking, whatever is more powerful or stronger must be made the subject of the sentence.

In summary, non-restrictive relative clauses are used by speakers of Abun. There is not always a noticeable phonological pause as in English. But speakers must bracket or delineate the boundary of the clause by *to* and *ne*. The same information may sometimes be structurally quite different, when put into both a restrictive and non-restrictive form, since a non-restrictive clause may be removed from the main clause. The main clause will be able to stand on its own, structurally complete. This is not the case with a restrictive relative clause because it is subordinate to the main clause and its inclusion is necessary for the communication to be complete.

This concludes the discussion of Abun relative clause types.

CHAPTER 10

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

10.1 ABUN COMPLEMENT-CLAUSE TYPES

This chapter discusses the type of subordinate clause which has been described as sentential complementation. Sentential complementation has been defined (Noonan 1985:42) as "the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate". In this chapter this type of complementation will be referred to simply as a complement clause or as a complement, but with the meaning of sentential complementation. It can be difficult to distinguish complement clauses from adjunct clauses (see discussion in §10.2.4). Except where it is clear that we are dealing with an adjunct, we will use the term 'complement'.

In Abun there are only two types of complement clause:

1. those that are preceded by the complementiser *do*;
2. those that do not take the complementiser.

This chapter discusses both types of complement clause in detail and looks at further possibilities where some complement-taking predicates are capable of both complement types. The means of identifying complement-clause types will be shown to be found outside the complement clause, rather than inside it.

10.2 COMPLEMENTISER *do*

The purpose of the complementiser is to identify the subordinate clause it precedes as a complement. Abun has only one complementiser, the free-form particle *do*. *Do* precedes the complement clause just as the relative clause conjunction *gato* precedes the relative clause. According to Noonan (1985:47) "complementisers typically derive historically from pronouns, conjunctions, adpositions or case markers..." In Abun the homophonous *do-* 'some of' has various functions such as *do-gato* 'the ones/those who', *do-yo* 'some of', *do-wok* 'the small one' and *(wam) do-gri* 'the third (time)'. While these could possibly be related to the complementiser *do,* another more likely origin is a verb *du* 'to speak'. In the Abun Ji dialect the complementiser is usually pronounced as *du* (a few speakers use *dudo*). *Du* appears to be a verb that is obsolete, meaning 'to say, to speak'. It is still evident in the noun *suk-du* (lit. NOM-speak) 'story, news' and the verbs *duwe* 'say, teach', *dumu* 'grumble' and *duwer* 'argue against'. In present-day Abun the verb 'to say' is *ki*, although *du* is occasionally used with the same meaning. *Du* 'to say' could have become a complementiser. This happens in some other languages. In Thai, for instance, *wâa* 'to speak' has become a complementiser introducing direct and indirect speech. As we see in the following section, *do* introduces complements of predicates expressing speech and thought.

10.2.1 THE USE OF THE COMPLEMENTISER *do*

The complementiser *do* may be used with a wide variety of predicates in Abun. *Do* is used after predicates which express utterance, attitude, pretence, knowledge and distribution. Any verb which expresses speaking, thinking or knowing is capable of taking a complement preceded by *do*. In fact *do* is phonetically part of the main clause which contains these predicates. When *do* precedes a complement clause, this clause is always a complete clause. Various examples of Abun complement-taking predicates are described below.

10.2.1.1 UTTERANCE PREDICATES

In Abun, predicates which express some type of verbal utterance or communication use the complementiser *do*. This is the most common form of complement. The following examples show predicates representing different types of communication.

10.1 *Ji* ***ki*** ***do*** *"sane-yo men mu sino".*
1SG say COM so-when.IRR 1PL go all
I said "So then, we will all go together".

10.2 *An* ***ki*** *nai ye gato wat sugit ne* ***do*** *"nan syo brek gri".*
3SG say IO person REL divide food DET COM 2SG give plate three
He said to the person serving the food (that) "Give (me) three plates".

10.3 *Yen* ***nuk*** ***do*** *kam nyim tu-ya ndaf wa*
people tell.story COM days earlier distant-very.distant easy for

yen it mu mo gu.
people climb DIR LOC sky
People tell stories that a very long time ago it was easy for people to climb up into the sky.

10.4 *Nggon tu brek ma* ***ndo*** *mo an* ***dudo*** *"ji bi suma*
Woman DET turn DIR ask at 3SG COM 1SG give what

is nan o?"
IO 2SG FQM
1. The woman turned around and asked him, "What shall I give you?"
2. The woman turned around and asked him, "What do you want from me?"

10.5 *An* ***tom*** *su men* ***do*** *"nin mukom mo-tu*
3SG prior.agree with 1PL COM 2PL reach there-distant

yo nin kemkret ji mone".
then.IRR 2PL wait.for 1SG there
He arranged with us that "When you get there, you wait for me there".

10.6 *An saiye* ***do*** *"Yorfen a nai ji et!"*
3SG shout COM Yorfen 2SG take 1SG SUBJ
He shouted, "Yorfen, please help me!"

In Abun the difference between direct and indirect quotation is not marked in the syntax. This difference is not achieved by a pause or absence of a complementiser, but rather a difference in the personal pronouns used. Example 10.7 below shows an indirect quotation.

The pronouns used in this example appear unusual from an English speaker's perspective, in that within the quotation the addressee is referred to as *a* 'you', but the speaker is referred to as *an* 'he'.

10.7 *An* ***tom*** *ji* ***do*** *"a mu nde yo a*
3SG arrange 1SG COM 2SG go NEG then.IRR 2SG
kem wade ber noru ré an ma watbot or et".
stay until later night this 3SG come examine thorough SUBJ
He arranged with me that, "Don't go, you stay until later tonight and he would come and examine (you) thoroughly".

The use of pronouns in this way indicates that this is an indirect quotation because the speaker is referred to in the third person. This 'unusual' mix of pronouns is common in Abun reported speech. Example 10.8 below is also an indirect quote. Again the only means of identifying it as such is by the pronouns used and not by some other syntactic device.

10.8 *Yen* ***kendo*** *men* ***do*** *men gwat men bi suk e men grem.*
people call 1PL COM 1PL bring 1PL POSS things and 1PL put
They called us to bring our things and leave (them there).

The pronouns of example 10.8 are in the first person rather than in the second person, which would be the normal situation if this were a direct quote of a request or command.

Predicates which express force or manipulation, if they are verbal in nature, take *do* in the same way as other utterance predicates. So the verbs *syaugat* 'command' and the weaker *syogat* 'order/tell' behave as other utterance predicates when taking a complement.

10.9 *An* ***syaugat*** *men-ka-we* ***do*** *men-ka-we ki suk-du*
3SG command 1PL-CL-two COM 1PL-CL-two say NOM-speak
ré o nde.
this again NEG
He commanded the two of us not to tell this story again.

10.10 *An* ***syogat*** *yenggon* ***do*** *"a mu ré yo*
3SG order male.not.shaman COM 2SG go this then.IRR
a gwat mbam su tak".
2SG carry axe with important
He ordered the man who was not a shaman, "If you are going now, it is of first importance that you take an axe".

10.2.1.2 ATTITUDE PREDICATES

These types of predicate refer to the state of mind of an actor in a narrative or story rather than what that person might say. These predicates refer to various mental states such as 'think', 'imagine' 'dream' and 'intend'.

10.11 *Ji* ***nut*** ***do*** *an* *bi* *obat* *ne* *nggi* *wa* *be*
1SG think COM 3SG POSS 'medicine' DET strong for later
an *gu* *ji* *ré.*
3SG kill 1SG this
I thought that his magic was strong (enough) for him to kill me.

10.12 *Pa* *we* *es* *ndam.* *Pa* *we* ***gen*** ***do*** *án* *we* *gu* *ndam.*
Child two wait.for bird child two intend COM 3PL two kill bird
The two children (sat crouching), waiting for the bird. The two children intended that they would kill the bird.

10.13 *Ji* ***semda*** ***do*** *men-ka-we* *ti* *mo* *nden.*
1SG dream COM 3SG-CL-two stand at outside
I dreamed that the two of us were standing outside.

10.14 *An* ***mit*** ***do*** *an* *kra* *Andar* *to* *bi* *im* *o.*
3SG plan COM 3SG marry Andar add POSS mother also
He planned to marry Andar, in addition to her mother (who he was already married to).

Various emotional states are also included in this type of predicate, such as the stative verb *maskwa* 'be angry'[19], seen in example 10.15 below.

10.15 *Supanyel* ***maskwa*** ***do*** *Regina* *ben* *siri* *su* *nje.*
Supanyel angry COM Regina do wrong with people
Supanyel was angry that Regina committed adultery a number of times.

Likewise *í* 'be happy' may take complementiser *do.*

10.16 *Yen* *sino* ***í*** ***do*** *an* *kra* *su* *ye-gwes-wai.*
people all be.happy COM 3SG marry with PERS-leg-pass
Everyone was happy that she was to marry a (man who was a) mediator.

However, the verbs *íwa* 'want' (lit. happy.TRS) and *bariwa* 'not want, not like' do not behave in the same way. These verbs do not appear to take the complementiser *do.* For instance, it is not possible to say the following:

10.17 **Ji* *í-wa* ***do*** *ji* *tu* *nau* *wa* *ji* *da.*
1SG happy-TRS COM 1SG bend nau.tree for 1SG drink
I wanted that I made palm wine for me to drink.

The correct form is example 10.18 below where no complementiser is used at all. This is actually a complement of a different type and will be described further in §10.3.

10.18 *Ji* *í-wa* *ji* *tu* *nau* *wa* *ji* *da.*
1SG happy-TRS 1SG bend nau.tree for 1SG drink
I wanted to make palm wine for me to drink.

---

19 Although the verbs *maskwa* 'be angry' and *nokwa* 'be worried about' appear similar phonetically, *maskwa* is actually a two-syllable morpheme containing no suffix. Unlike *nok-wa*, *maskwa* does not consist of a root verb and the transitive suffix *-wa*.

10.2.1.3 PRETENCE PREDICATES

There are not a large number of pretence predicates. The main verb used is *kidar* 'lie, trick, deceive'. These verbs also take the complementiser.

10.19 *An* ***kidar*** *nje* ***do*** *an* *yewon.*
3SG lie people COM 3SG shaman
He lied to people that he was a shaman.

10.20 *Ji* ***syeret*** ***os*** *wa* *an* ***do*** *Ji* *farkor* *tó.*
1SG look.for way for 3SG COM 1SG study still
1. I looked for a way (not to marry) her (and it was) that I was still at school.
2. I made an excuse to her that I was still at school.

10.2.1.4 KNOWLEDGE PREDICATES

Predicates which involve knowing certain information or passing on information also take the complementiser *do*. Verbs such as *jam* 'know', *duno* 'advise/teach' and *taru* 'send a message' come into this category and so these also take the complementiser *do*.

10.21 *An* ***jam*** ***do*** *an* *karowa* *ne* *nde.*
3SG know COM 3SG close.to there NEG
He knew not to (go) close to there.

10.22 *Yewon* ***duno*** *subot* *men* ***do*** *pa* *wokgan* *pa* *wok*
shaman teach regarding 3PL COM child young child small

sye *git* *wo-kwai* *nde.*
big eat fish-kwai NEG
The shamans teach in regard to us (males) that young children and larger children must not eat eels.

10.23 *An* ***taru*** ***do*** *rus* *ma* *sor* *we*
3SG send.message COM clan come just because

ye-su-go-far *yo* *maskwa* *o* *nde.*
PERS-head-hair-wavy NEG angry again NEG
He sent a message that the clan could come because the 'wavy-haired' tribe were not angry (with them) any more.

Verbs such as 'remember', either *napawa* or *napa-kom* 'remember back' may also take the complementiser.

10.24 *Ye-pa-sye* ***napa-kom*** *mo* *án* *we* *ré* ***do*** *án*
PERS-child-big remember-reach at 3PL two this COM 3PL

we *ma* *kagit* *bur* *yi.*
two come from country other
The important man remembered about these two that they had come from another country.

10.2.1.5 PREDICATES OF DIVISION

The last type of predicate which may take the complementiser *do* is somewhat different to the others. The other predicates include those of communication, mental activity, thoughts and some emotions all of which are associated with an experiencer. However, predicates of division require an agent. Whether the predicate expresses a division of goods or a division of labour, the account of how the division occurred is preceded by the complementiser. Example 10.25 describes a division of goods and example 10.26 a division of labour.

10.25 *Yen* ***syo*** ***do*** *Sara bi nji do-sye ku mbre musyu*
People give COM Sara POSS brother count-big get eastern.cloth ten

dik sop-mek yo, Sara ku mbre musyu dik sop-mek
one addition-five some Sara get eastern.cloth ten one addition-five

yo Sara bi nji do-wok ku mbre musyu dik
some Sara POSS brother count-small get eastern.cloth ten one

sop-mek yo.
addition-five some
They distributed the eastern cloth in that Sara's elder brother received fifteen pieces, Sara received fifteen pieces and Sara's younger brother received fifteen pieces.

10.26 *Án ka-gri ne* ***syo yu do,*** *de-ré ne ti mo ros,*
3PL CL-three DET divide RECIP COM count-this DET stand at fence

de-ré ne ti wa nggut es, de-ré ne eswa bot.
count-this DET stand for pull.up grass count-this DET guard fire
The three of them divided (up the work) in that, one worked on the fence, one pulled up the weeds and one watched over the fire.

In the above examples the complementiser actually precedes not one embedded clause but three. However, the complementiser is not repeated before each clause. The complementiser is used to identify the entire complement no matter how many clauses may be embedded in it. In the case of verbs expressing division, the extent of the division is perceived as an intellectual activity and so the description of this is preceded by *do*.

10.2.1.6 OTHER PREDICATES USING THE COMPLEMENTISER

It is unusual in Abun for a predicate which involves some kind of physical action with an agent to take the complementiser, except for predicates of division described above. There are some exceptions to this. Example 10.27 below involves the verb *sokbot* 'to look over'. Such a verb does not normally entail a complement. However in the example below, the action of 'looking over' resulted in a thought and it is actually the actor's thought which is preceded by *do*. The expression 'I thought that' has been omitted.

10.27 *Ji sok-bot* ***do*** *Moses syim ga bi nggon sap ana u ne?*
1SG look-along COM Moses arm REL POSS woman cut FOC which FQM
I looked all over (thinking) that, "Which one of Moses' arms did his wife cut/strike?"

In example 10.28 below the verb *kadum* 'show' means 'explain'. Since in this case it is acting as a verb of communication it also takes *do*.

10.28 *Bere ji dakai kadum an* ***do*** *an gwat ji bi*
soon 1SG myself show 3SG COM 3SG carry 1SG POSS

suk-duno mu ki nai ye mwa.
NOM-advice go say IO people many
Soon I myself will show/explain to him that he will take my message and go and say (it) to many people.

Likewise, there are some instances where a statement is made and then an explanation is made of this statement. In these instances, *do* precedes the explanation in the same way that *do* preceded a description of a division of labour or goods. In these cases *do* is equivalent to the English 'in that', as shown in the example below:

10.29 *Sane men kem mo nden ware* ***do*** *yenggras ne ba*
so 1PL stay at jungle in.vain COM older.man that go

re ge pe men bi suk ma ré.
PERF then.REAL carry 1PL POSS things DIR here
So we did not stay out in the bush for very long, in that the old man came out there and carried all our things back to here.

10.2.2 USE OF *do* PRECEDING LESS THAN A FULL CLAUSE

It was stated above that *do* identified a complement and that this was always a full clause. There are cases where *do* does not precede a full clause. Where this is the case, the complement consists of a single noun phrase only. One instance of this will be looked at under §10.2.3 'Noun complementation'. The following examples show cases where a phrase and not a clause follows the complementiser.

10.30 *An bi yenggras nut* ***do*** ***suk-i.***
3SG POSS older.people think COM NOM-sick
Her older relatives thought that (it was) a sickness.

10.31 *An gen* ***do*** ***ye-kampung*** *bado gane-yo.*
3SG assume COM PERS-village ALT there-INDEF
He assumed that perhaps (they were) villagers from some place.

In example 10.32 below the predicate *kendo* 'call' is used in the sense of giving a name. The complement, which is the name or title *bam* or 'master' shaman, consists only of this noun phrase.

10.32 *Án* ***kendo*** ***do*** *yewon bam. Án bi ye-guru ane.*
3PL call COM shaman bam 3PL POSS PERS-teacher that.is
They are called *bam* or 'master' shamans. That is (they are) their teachers.

Names are considered as complements and will be looked at in the next section.

10.2.3 NOUN COMPLEMENTATION

The previous discussion listed the various predicate types which may take complements in Abun. Some nouns may take complements also and where this is the case the complementiser *do* is used. Noun complementation is limited to two types: describing names and describing thoughts.

10.2.3.1 COMPLEMENT-TAKING NOUNS: NAMING

In order to give a name for a place or a person, the complementiser always precedes the name given. The noun head which takes the complement consists of an inalienable possessive phrase of which the noun *gum* 'name' is a part. In these cases the complement does not consist of a full clause but only the noun phrase describing the name.

10.33 *Nggon ne **gum** **do** Edia Yesia.*
woman DET name COM Edia Yesia
The woman's name was Edia Yesia.

Only when an actual name is given is the complementiser used. Titles or social position are not considered names and so, in these cases, the complementiser *do* is not used, as in example 10.34 below.

10.34 *Erensi bi ai gato kwop ne tom ne **gum** yesan tó.*
Erensi POSS father REL die DET time DET name chief still
1. Erensi's father who has since died was at that time still the village leader.
2. Erensi's father who has since died at that time had the name of village leader.

10.2.3.2 COMPLEMENT-TAKING NOUNS: THOUGHTS

Thoughts and plans may also take complements. The conceptual thought or plan may be expressed by means of a noun phrase, having the structure of a possessive phrase. The complements described here differ from naming complements in that the complement in these cases always consists of a full clause, not just a single noun phrase.

10.35 *An wa bi suk-jimnot i **do** an wa kra Andar kagit Lamber.*
3SG FOC POSS NOM-think own COM 3SG FOC marry Andar from Lamber
His particular plan (was) that he would marry Andar rather than Lamber.

Occasionally the stative particle/verb may follow the possessive phrase as in example 10.36 below; however, it is more usual for this to be omitted. *Sukjimnot* 'thought, plan, intention' appears to be the only Abun noun which may take complements in this way.

10.36 ***An bi suk-jimnot** mó **do** bere an ma gu Lamber.*
3SG POSS NOM-think exist COM later 3SG come kill Lamber
His thinking was that later he would come and kill Lamber.

10.2.4 COMPLEMENT CLAUSE STRUCTURE IN ABUN

When a subordinate clause is a complement, it is common for the complement to function as the subject or object of the larger clause into which it is embedded. In Abun, complements may function as objects of a clause and this type of complement will be described under §10.3. However, the type of subordinate clause that has been under discussion here, those that are identified by the complementiser *do,* do not function in this way.

At this stage it may be relevant to restate the criteria that determines which constituent is the object in an Abun clause. As stated in §4.1, "The direct object in an Abun transitive clause is also encoded by word order alone. Abun objects are *always* the constituent realised by a noun phrase that immediately follows the verb..." Since there is no case marking on nouns, this cannot be used to identify the object. The rigid word order of the Abun language does not allow passivisation and so this cannot serve to identify the object either. Unlike the dative relation the object is not identified by a particular preposition. The object is distinguished from the subject on the sole criteria of word order.

When the complementiser is used, the constituent that follows the complementiser does not function as the direct object of the main clause. Three arguments are put forward here to support this analysis:

(1) A do-clause can follow an intransitive verb.
(2) When the verb is transitive a do-clause can co-occur with the direct object.
(3) Abun word order indicates that a do-clause functions as an oblique.

These arguments will now be expanded further.

10.2.4.1 THE *do*-CLAUSE MAY FOLLOW AN INTRANSITIVE VERB

The following examples show two intransitive verbs, *saiye* 'shout' and *í* 'be happy'.

10.37 *An* ***saiye*** ***do***
3SG shout COM Yorfen 2SG take 1SG SUBJ
He shouted, "Yorfen, please help me!"

10.38 *Yen sino í "Yorfdo aan nkra ji swet"!ye-gwes-wai.*
people all be.happy COM 3SG marry with PERS-leg-pass
Everyone was happy that she was to marry a (man who was a) mediator.

In fact, as indicated earlier in §10.2.1.2, the transitive form of the verb *í* 'be happy' (*í-wa* 'want/be happy about') can never occur together with the complementiser *do.*

10.2.4.2 THE *do*-CLAUSE MAY FOLLOW A DIRECT OBJECT

In a simple clause, constituents that may follow the direct object are the indirect object and obliques. This structure is illustrated in the example below:

10.39

Ji	+	*ki*	+	*suk* *ré*	+	*nai* *yewon* *mwa* *ne* *sino.*
1SG		say		thing this		IO shaman many DET all
Subject		Verb		Object		Indirect Object

I said these things to all of the shamans.

Example 10.40 has exactly the same structure but differs in one aspect. Example 10.40 contains a clause following the indirect object.[20]

10.40

An	+	*ki*	+	*suk*	+	*is* *ji*	+
3SG		say		thing		IO 1SG	
Subject		Verb		Object		Indirect Object	

do	+	*Nan* *mu* *kagit* *pe* *ré* *kekro.*
		2SG go from place this quickly
Com		Clause

He said (something) to me that I should leave this place quickly.

The embedded clause of example 10.40 is in apposition to the object *suk* 'thing'. It is an expansion of the object or gives clear content to it. It is certainly not common to have a structure as full as this, but 10.40 shows that if there is a *do*-clause it occurs after the object and indirect object, if these constituents are present. In 10.40 the object, here *suk* 'thing', is a generic non-specific noun without any known or specific content until the *do*-clause is given. Because the *do*-clause is a more internally complex constituent than a single noun such as *suk,* the placing of the *do*-clause in sentence-final position, rather than immediately following the object, is an example of the heavy-to-the-right movement principle. This principle of word order, evident in many languages, shifts larger complex units to the right, that is towards the end of the sentence, to reduce burden on the short-term memory (Mallinson & Blake1981:151, 156ff).

Examples 10.41, 10.42 and 10.43 below are also typical of the types of sentence which contain *do*-clauses in addition to direct objects.

10.41

Isak	+	*ki*	+	*suk*	+	*do*	+	*A* *jim* *gon* *bado?*
Isak		say		thing				2SG think short AQM
Subject		Verb		Object		Com		Clause

Isak said something like "Are you stupid?" or what Isak said was "Are you stupid?"

---

20 For the purposes of identification, the clause which the complementiser precedes has been termed the *do*-clause. It needs to be noted however that the subordinating conjunction *do*, although identifying the following subordinating clause, is actually phonologically part of the preceding clause. These diagrams show the main clause divided into its constituent relations, therefore it is not immediately apparent that *do* is in fact phonologically part of the preceding main clause. These sentences have the structure [CLAUSE 1 + *do*] + COMPLEMENT CLAUSE.

Examples 10.43 and 10.44 differ from sentences like 10.42 above. In 10.42 the object is a non-specific noun *suk* 'thing'. However, in examples 10.43 and 10.44 the object, in these examples the pronouns *men* 'we/us' and *ji* 'I/me', is quite specific. In example 10.44, for instance, the absence of the indirect object preposition *is* indicates that the pronoun *ji* is actually the object.

10.42 *Yen kendo men* ***do*** *men gwat men bi suk e men grem.*
people call 1PL COM 1PL bring 1PL POSS things and 1PL put
They called us to bring our things and leave (them there).

10.43 *An syogat ji* ***do*** *ji so nyom wa an.*
3SG order 1SG COM 1SG buy machete for 3SG
He told me to buy a machete for him.

Both of these above examples are referred to later in this chapter under §10.4. The transitive verbs involved, *kendo* 'call' and *syogat* 'order', belong to a predicate type that is capable of taking complement clauses both with and without a complementiser.

10.2.4.3 THE *do*-CLAUSE MAY FOLLOW AN INDIRECT OBJECT OR A PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

Abun word order is such that if there is a prepositional phrase then this follows the indirect object and is the final constituent of the clause. If the clause contains no prepositional phrase then the indirect object is the final constituent. In example 10.44 below the *do*-clause occurs after an indirect object. Since in Abun a direct object never follows an indirect object, it is not possible that the *do*-clause of this example could be considered to function as the object of the main clause.

10.44

Yerom	*ki*	*nai yewon*	*do*	*Nan bi nyanggon ne i.*
Yerom	say	IO shaman		2SG POSS female relative that sick
Subject	+ Verb	+ Indirect Object	+ Com	+ Clause

Yerom (a spirit) said to the shaman that, "Your female relative is sick".

Likewise in example 10.45 below, given earlier as example 10.5, the *do*-clause follows a prepositional phrase.

10.45 *An tom su men* ***do*** *nin mukom mo-tu*
3SG prior.agree with 1PL COM 2PL reach there-distant

yo nin kemkret ji mone.
then.IRR 2PL wait.for 1SG there
He arranged with us that "When you get there, you wait for me there".

It is not possible to have the direct object following a prepositional phrase. Therefore the *do*-clause in examples like 10.45 cannot be considered to function as a direct object. The complement clause is an additional constituent within the clause linked to the main clause by

means of the complementiser *do*. It will be seen later that, in Abun, prepositions may also link embedded clauses to the main clause.[21]

10.2.5 NEGATIVE RAISING

When a complement clause contains a negative, it is possible in the great majority of the world's languages for the negative marker to be removed from the complement and 'raised' into the matrix clause (Noonan 1985:90). This has been termed 'negative raising' and is generally possible with a limited set of predicates such as 'think', 'believe' and 'want'. Negative raising does not occur in Abun. There are a number of reasons for this.

10.2.5.1 LEXICAL RESTRICTIONS

The limitation of the predicate types which allow negative raising involve further restrictions for Abun. Abun, in common with the languages of the Papuan region, does not have a wide range of single morpheme vocabulary to indicate states of mind. The verbs 'know', 'understand', 'hear' and 'believe' may all be expressed by the one verb *jam*. The verb 'believe', which may allow negative raising in some languages, does not exist as a separate lexicon entry in Abun. Another candidate for negative raising is the verb 'want'. The process of negative raising changes a matrix clause verb 'want' to the negative 'do not want'. Although it is possible to change the Abun verb *íwa* 'want' to *yo íwa nde* 'not want', the more usual practice is to use the inherently negative word *bari/bariwa* 'not want'. Because it is more common for Abun speakers to use *bari* rather than *yo íwa nde*, the possibility of negative raising does not arise due to the choice of negative strategy taken, namely a negative word rather than a negative particle.

10.2.5.2 SYNTACTIC RESTRICTIONS

Since the predicates 'want' and 'believe' cannot allow negative raising due to lexical restrictions, the only other predicate eligible for negative raising in Abun would be *nut* 'think'. Examples of negative raising with this predicate are not found in Abun. The following examples show a complement clause containing a negative as in example 10.46 and then an unacceptable sentence where this negative has been 'raised' in 10.47.

10.46 *Ji nut do ji* ***yo ku*** *nan gro o* ***nde.***
Is think COM 1SG NEG meet 2SG eye again NEG
I thought that I would not see you (ever) again.

10.47 ****Ji yo*** *nut do ji* ***ku*** *nan gro o* ***nde.***
1SG NEG think COM 1SG meet 2SG eye again NEG
I did not think that I would (ever) see you again.

Example 10.47 is unacceptable on syntactic grounds. Negative sentences in Abun are formed by two negative particles rather than only one. The dual negative particles that are

---

21 In §12.1 it is shown that Abun prepositions not only link phrases to clauses but also link embedded clauses.

used in Abun must bracket or enclose the entire verb phrase (in transformational grammar terms) or predicate (in traditional grammar terms, meaning all the constituents that follow the subject). Because of this, any subordinate clause that is under the matrix clause is always included within the grammatical scope of the negation. This means that although it is the verb of the matrix clause that is being negated, the final negative particle will not occur until after the subordinate clause. The following example illustrates this, where the subordinate clause is of the relative type, with the negative particle *nde* actually occurring after the relative clause without negating the relative clause itself.

10.48 *Án* ***yo*** *ki su-gato ibit subot nan mó* ***nde.***
3PL NEG say thing-REL bad about 2SG exist NEG
They did not say anything that was bad about you at all.

In order for negative raising to take place as has been attempted in example 10.47, only one negative particle, *-yo-*, will move in order to negate the matrix verb *nut* 'think'. Due to the structure and word order of complex negative constructions in Abun it is not possible to shift the second negative particle *nde* and retain a grammatical sentence. Abun rules of word order do not allow this. Normally in languages that allow negative raising the means of negation is syntactically removed from the subordinate clause and 'raised' into the main clause. Because Abun negation involves the use of two particles, both of these cannot be 'raised' from the complement clause. This structural limitation shows that negative raising is not possible in Abun.

10.3 EMBEDDED COMPLEMENTS

The second type of complement to be found in Abun does not make use of the complementiser. For want of a better label we have called these complements 'embedded'. There are mainly two types of predicate which do not need to have a complementiser: those which involve desiderative or attitudinal predicates and those which involve some type of force, that is a manipulative predicate. These semantic distinctions are illustrated by the type of verb suffix used. Attitudinal predicates make use of the suffix *-wa,* while those indicating some sort of force or pressure (manipulative) use *-gat.* Examples of these verb types which do not use a complementiser are *íwa* 'want', *bariwa* 'not.want/dislike', *nyuwa* 'fear' and *nokwa* 'worry about', all being attitudinal predicates, and *wergat* 'persuade/pressurise' and *krokgat* 'annoy/stir up' being manipulative predicates. Other manipulative predicates will be discussed later in the chapter.

The following examples illustrate these complement types:

10.49 *An* ***í-wa*** *ji jam mo an sor.*
3SG happy-TRS 1SG listen to 3SG only
She wanted me to listen only to her.

10.50 *An* ***bari-wa*** *an jam mo ji.*
3SG not.want-TRS 3SG listen to 3SG
She did not want to listen to me.

10.51 *Ji* ***nok-wa*** *an maskwa ji.*
1SG worry-TRS 3SG angry 1SG
I was worried she (would be) angry (with) me.

10.52 *An* ***krokgat*** *ye mwa maskwa yu.*
3SG stir.up people many angry REFL
He stirred up many people (making them) angry with each other.

10.53 *Men yo* ***wergat*** *ye-wis yi ben-bot suk ré nde.*
1PL NEG force PERS-kind other do-about thing this NEG
We do not force other tribes to do these things.

In other languages, besides Abun, a different predicate type can mean a different complement type. For instance Givón (1990:553) states that it is "more common to find subordinating morphemes in complements of cognition-utterance verbs, as compared with manipulative or modality verbs". Givón's categories roughly compare to the Abun categories described above. All Abun utterance predicates use the complementiser (his 'subordinating morpheme') when the complement is intended to refer to direct speech.[22] His 'modality' predicates include the verb 'want', which is under discussion here, and also other verbs which are not in the class of verbs for Abun.[23] In English, attitudinal and manipulative predicates are distinguished by having a complement of an infinitival structure. Utterance predicates have complements which use a subordinating conjunction 'that'. Givón further distinguished predicates (such as English 'want' and the manipulative predicate 'order') in that the infinitival complements of these verbs could not tolerate further embedded clauses such as relative clauses and clefts (1993:68). In Abun, these predicates likewise take complements that are structurally quite different from the 'utterance predicates' and others described in §10.2 above. The manipulative predicate *ben* 'make', discussed later, does not take a complementiser. A predicate such as let does not have a distinct lexical form in Abun and is always rendered as *íwa* 'happy to'. Likewise the predicate *oswa* 'help', although not a desiderative predicate, makes use of the suffix *-wa* to indicate an embedded complement clause. For example:

10.54 *Sane Markus* ***os-wa*** *duno an.*
so Markus help teach 3SG
So Markus helped to teach her.

Besides not taking the complementiser *do* these complement types are structurally different in another important way. These complement types function as the object of the main clause. On the other hand those which use a complementiser do not, as was shown in §10.2.4 earlier. The complement clauses of §10.2 were described as fitting into Abun sentence structure in the following way:

SUBJECT + VERB + (OBJECT) + (INDIRECT OBJECT) + (*do*) + (COMPLEMENT CLAUSE)

The complement clause types under discussion here are structurally quite different. These complement clauses function as the object and so the sentence has the following structure:

SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT

---

22 One predicate *kendo* 'call' does not use the complementiser if the complement does not represent direct speech. This distinction will be looked at further in §10.3.3

23 These include 'start', 'finish' and 'try' which are all adverbs in Abun, namely *sim* 'just started' *or* 'finished/completely' *bergan* 'almost'.

Earlier, example 10.40 above was shown in such a way that its constituent structure was fully described. If example 10.49 is repeated in the same way the structural difference between the complement types is clearer:

10.55

An	*ɨwa*	*ji*	*jam*	*mo*	*an*	*sor.*
3SG	want	1SG	listen	to	3SG	only
Subject	Verb	Object (Complement Clause)				

She wanted me to only listen to her.

What evidence is there to support this analysis that, when no complementiser is used the complement clause is actually the object of the main clause rather than an additional constituent within it? There are actually two points at issue here. Firstly, clauses like *ji jam mo an sor* from example 10.55 above are actually full clauses and as such they are complement clauses embedded in a larger structure, rather than being separate assertions. Secondly, these clauses represent the object of the main clause in which they are embedded. Each of these points will be looked at in turn.

10.3.1 MEANS OF IDENTIFYING THE COMPLEMENT CLAUSE IN ABUN

Since this particular clause type contains no complementiser, what is the basis for assuming that these are complement clauses? These clauses are without any type of marking and lack some means of syntactic identification which could identify them as complements. There is a type of complement termed 'paratactic' which does not use a complementiser. These clauses are not subordinate but rather are considered as independent clauses capable of standing on their own.[24] All of the constituents which follow the predicates in examples 10.55 to 10.53 above have the structure of a simple Abun clause. For instance *an jam mo ji* 'she listens to (or obeys) me' from 10.50 and *ye mwa maskwa yu* 'many people were angry with each other' from 10.52 are all good Abun clauses. It could be possible then to consider these clauses as paratactic complements since they are capable of standing on their own as independent clauses. Given that the complex sentences that contain these clauses are unmarked to indicate embedding or subordination, what means can be used to identify them as subordinate complement clauses, embedded within the larger sentence?

Givón has listed several means by which complement clauses can be syntactically encoded (1990:538ff). These various means show some type of syntactic variation by which it can be determined that the clause functions as an argument of a predicate. One such type of syntactic evidence he terms 'predicate raising' which results in forms like 'let go' or 'make eat'. Abun does not appear to have any of these forms. Another means is through case marking of the subject of the complement verb. Since Abun is a language which lacks any form of case marking, this is not a means through which a complement clause could be marked. Another means again is that of a subordinating morpheme or complementiser. Complement clause types with such a marker have been described earlier (in §10.2 above). He lists one other means of encoding a clause as a complement clause, that of verb morphology or finiteness. In these cases, the complement clause is usually reduced with the verb not taking a subject and the verb morphology being distinct from that found in

---

24 See Noonan (1985:59–60) for a discussion on this.

indicative clauses. Can this means of encoding a complement be used for Abun? Does Abun have an infinitive form of the verb?

10.3.1.1 ABUN VERB MORPHOLOGY

Applying traditional labels such as infinitive or participial to Abun is difficult. Since Abun lacks subject–verb agreement and various other means by which the verb may be marked, the structural definitions that are applied to complement types of other languages (synthetic rather than isolating languages) cannot be applied to Abun. In Abun the morphological shape of the verb never changes. It is invariant. There are no verb participles in Abun so it is not possible to have a participial complement. Neither is there an infinitive in Abun.

Determining what an infinitive is for Abun is somewhat difficult in that such definitions are usually based on variations of the basic verb, showing person-number marking of the subject. As has already been stated the Abun verb is invariant since changes to aspect and mood are carried by particles and subject-verb agreement is not marked in Abun. If an infinitive is said to be a verb that is 'not able to take a subject NP', this definition is also problematic because verbs in Abun normally take a subject NP. In Abun, verbs are never said in isolation. For example, if an enquiry is made as to the Abun terms for such words as 'come' and 'go' the reply is always given using a personal pronoun, usually second person singular. Therefore 'come' would be given as *nan ma* 'you come' and 'go' would be given as *na mu* 'you go'. An infinitive cannot be elicited because such a verbal form does not exist. On some occasions the overt subject of a clause may be omitted, but this is an option the speaker has and is not obligatory. Predicates which take the *-wa* suffix may allow the subject of the complement clause to be elided if it is co-referential with the subject of the main clause. For example:

10.56 *Ji* ***í-wa*** *da* *ron* *a-ré.*
1SG happy-TRS drink medicine FOC-this
I am happy to (or agree to) take some medicine now.

This type of ellipsis is not common, as it is more usual that the subject is repeated. In either case the form of the verb is the same whether there is a subject NP or not. Therefore it is not possible to determine what is an infinitive verb form in Abun. Since Abun verb morphology is always invariant it cannot be stated that Abun has a separate infinitive verb form. Neither does it have a participial form. It follows then that because Abun has no verbal infinitives, neither can it have infinitive complements. Therefore, this means of encoding a complement clause by means of distinctive verb morphology is not applicable for Abun. Because changes to verb morphology within the complement clause cannot identify complement types, other methods need to be used.

Givón did not list any other means of syntactically encoding a complement clause. The various means that he has described, with the exception of the "subordinating morpheme", are all means of identifying the complement clause as such by some type of syntactic marking within the complement clause itself. These means have proved unproductive for Abun. Noonan (1985:44), like Givón, lists various ways of identifying complement clauses one being "the external syntactic relations of the complement construction as a whole". It seems that for Abun the only way of identifying complement clauses is not from inside the embedded complement clause but from outside of it. One such means is the

complementiser. If there is no complementiser, as in the cases under discussion here, there is other evidence external to the complement clause which can indicate that it is embedded within the main clause. There are various structural indications of subordination in Abun. Two of them will be given here to provide evidence that these complement clauses are, in fact, subordinate to the main clause as embedded objects. The first deals with the structure of a negative sentence; the second concerns the transitive implications of the suffixes on the main clause verbs found in these types of construction.

10.3.1.2 NEGATION OF COMPLEX SENTENCES

It has already been shown in regard to negative raising (§10.2.5) that a clause can be shown to be subordinate by the placement of the negative particle *nde*. If a main clause is to be negated, the negative particle *nde* occurs only after any subordinate clause which may be embedded in that main clause. Example 10.57 (given earlier as 10.53) is an example of this and has a manipulative verb (verb with *-gat* suffix) in the main clause.

10.57 *Men* ***yo*** ***wergat*** *ye-wis* *yi* *ben-bot* *suk* *ré* ***nde.***
1PL NEG force PERS-kind other do-about thing this NEG
We do not force other tribes to do these things.

Example 10.58 below shows the other type of verb under consideration here, verbs which may take *-wa* suffix and where the pattern of negation is the same. The subordinate clause, in these cases complement clauses which do not have a complementiser, is within the grammatical scope of the main clause negation.

10.58 *Men* ***yo*** ***nyu-wa*** *men* *mu* *ki* *suk-du* *ré* ***nde.***
1PL NEG fear-TRS 1PL go say NOM-say this NEG
We are not afraid to go and tell this story.

The syntax of these examples indicates that these types of complement are in fact subordinate because the final negative particle *nde* occurs after the complement. In order to create two separate assertions in Abun, each clause would need to have both negative particles in the correct positions, using a total of four particles in all rather than the two only that are used in these examples. The presence and position of only two negative particles here indicates that only one verb in the sentence has been negated, the verb of the main clause. Therefore the second clause must be an embedded clause because the position of the second negative particle *nde* indicates that this clause is included within the scope of the main clause negation. Because there are only two negative particles there can be only one sentence here. Therefore on the basis of the structure of the indicative negative, these complement clauses are subordinate.[25]

---

25 The placement of the final negative particle is also significant in another way. In the simple Abun clause only aspect particles or interrogative particles may follow the final negative particle. Therefore a constituent such as 'adjunct' may not follow after the negative particle. Thus the constituent structure given for these sentences cannot include an adjunct and is limited to the pattern SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT.

10.3.1.3 TRANSITIVE NATURE OF THE *-wa* SUFFIX

The purpose of the *-wa* suffix is to indicate that a part of speech, usually a verb that is not normally transitive, is transitive in the utterance given. Therefore *-wa* changes the valency of the verb from having only one argument to two. Usually *-wa* changes stative verbs into transitive verbs and some of these, namely *íwa* 'want', *bariwa* 'do not want' and *nyuwa* 'be afraid of', are capable of taking the types of complements under discussion here. Any verb which has the *-wa* suffix is transitive even if the object is not overtly stated. The following examples indicate this:

10.59 *Nu nyu nde.*
2PL fear NEG
Don't fear.

10.60 *Nu nyu-wa men o nde.*
2PL fear-TRS 1PL again NEG
Don't be afraid of us any more.

10.61 **Nu nyu men o nde.*
2PL fear 1PL again NEG
*Don't fear us any more.

10.62 *Ji nut do an bi obat nggi wa be an gu*
1SG think COM 3SG POSS magic strong for later 3SG kill

ji ré. Sane ji nyu-wa sor.
1SG this So 1SG fear-TRS just
I thought that his magic was strong enough to kill me. So I was just afraid (of him).

The significance of example 10.61 is that a stative verb like *nyu* 'fear' cannot take an object unless the *-wa* has been added as in 10.60. Therefore example 10.61 is unacceptable since an object follows the stative verb *nyu*. Frequently Abun speakers use verbs which have had *-wa* added and omit the object which *-wa* implies. Normally the object is understood from the immediate context. This is the case in example 10.62 above. The sentence preceding the clause containing *nyuwa* 'be afraid of' has been given to show that the object is understood or omitted. The implications of this for complement structures are that *-wa* indicates that the verb must take an object and that, in these cases, the object is actually the entire clause, as indicated in the example below:

10.63 *An* ***í-wa*** *ji si an mu mo nggwe.*
3SG be.happy-TRS 1SG with 3SG go to garden
She wanted me to go with her to the garden.

The structure of example 10.63 differs from that of 10.38, here repeated as 10.64. In 10.64 the complementiser and the complement clause are not the object of the verb *í* 'be happy' because *í* is an intransitive verb. Therefore the *do-* clause does not have the grammatical relation of object (as shown in §10.2.4 above).

10.64 *Yen sino* ***í*** ***do*** *an kra su ye-gwes-wai.*
people all happy COM 3SG marry with PERS-leg-pass
Everyone was happy that she was to marry a (man who was a) mediator.

Because the clauses of the type similar to that of example 10.63 function as objects, they must be understood as complements even though no complementisers are used. These clauses are therefore embedded clauses.

The other types of verb under consideration here are those which take the manipulative suffix *-gat*. Besides *wergat* 'force/persuade' and *krokgat* 'stir.up', the verbs *syogat* 'order' and *syaugat* 'command strongly' may also take embedded complements. Of these verbs only *wer* 'seduce/persevere' exists as a separate verb form without the suffix. When *wer* has the meaning 'to persevere' or 'to try to work out' it is an intransitive verb. However, when a verb takes the *-gat* suffix it becomes transitive. Because the structure of the complement clauses involved here is identical to those where the matrix clause verb has the *-wa* suffix, it is reasonable to posit a similar analysis for these complement clauses. A verb which uses *-gat* must have an object and in these cases the complement clause is the object.

10.3.2 EMBEDDED COMPLEMENT CLAUSE AS OBJECT

Having shown that these complement clauses are subordinate, even though they possess no overt grammatical marking to indicate this status, the second claim is that these embedded clauses function as the object of the complement-taking predicate. In one sense this might seem obvious since a complement clause is by definition a notional object of some predicate; in the structures under discussion here it is hard to see how it might function as anything else. Nevertheless there could be differences of opinion over the types of constituent divisions being made for these sentences. Two examples will be shown again being representative of the two different predicate types.

10.65 *Men yo* ***wergat*** *ye-wis yi ben-bot suk ré nde.*
1PL NEG force PERS-kind other do-about thing this NEG
We do not force other tribes to do these things.

10.66 *Men yo* ***nyu-wa*** *men mu ki suk-du ré nde.*
1PL NEG fear-TRS 1PL go say NOM-say this NEG
We are not afraid to go and tell this story.

For these two examples, given originally as 10.53 and 10.58 respectively, the entire complement clause (underlined) is considered to be the object of the complement-taking predicates. Thus the object of *wergat* 'force' in 10.65 is *yewis yi ben suk ré* 'other tribes do these things' and in 10.66 the object of the verb *nyuwa* 'be afraid of' is *men mu ki sukdu ré* 'we go and tell this story'. This analysis is in keeping with the type of constituent division found in traditional transformational grammar and similar to that found in the more recent version of this theory known as 'Government and Binding'.[26]

However, it could be posited that the entire embedded clause is not the object of the complement-taking verbs but rather a single noun phrase only, namely *yewis yi* 'other tribes' in example 10.65 and *men* 'we' in 10.66. This type of constituent division poses a few problems. Because Abun has no case marking to put a noun like *men* into the accusative, it cannot be seen whether this noun has been marked to show it is in the object

---

26 See, for example, the tree diagrams for sentences where the main clause verb is 'wish' in Jacobsen (1986:40, 113, 118). The diagrams on pp.113 and 118 show the tree structure in the light of 'principles of Government and Binding' and so is a more recent analysis. The entire clause is handled as a single constituent S under a higher VP node.

relation. In fact there is no marking anywhere in the structure to show what is the object or where various constituent divisions can be made. The evidence previously given attempts to establish that these clauses function as a single unit. If this is not the case then what follows these verbs must be two divisions: one for the noun phrase which will function as the object and a second division for what is left, a truncated subjectless clause. This is the type of division that is made in Relational Grammar, where only part of the embedded clause assumes the function of direct object and the rest takes the relation of *chômeur* 'unemployed' (Blake:1990:93ff.). It is a 'raising analysis' where a constituent that belongs logically to the complement clause is said to be raised to the object of the matrix clause.

This is a possible analysis since Abun clauses are unmarked to show any type of constituent marking. However, on structural grounds, this analysis is not preferred.

Firstly, with both predicate types involved, the entire clause which functions as the object can be replaced by a single noun phrase which can operate as the object. For example:

10.67 *An ki do an kra su ji sare-wo ji*
3SG say COM 3SG marry with 1SG like.this-but 1SG

bari-wa *an re.*
not.want-TRS 3SG PERF
She said that she would marry me but I did not want her.

10.68 *Kapre an bari-wa Rahel bi ai* ***wergat*** *an.*
although 3SG not.want-TRS Rahel POSS father persuade 3SG
Although she did not want (to come) Rahel's father persuaded her.

It could be said that if only a single noun phrase can constitute the direct object, as in the above examples, this would confirm the analysis that only a part of the embedded clause functions as the direct object. However these sentences show that for Abun sentence structure only a single constituent division follows the predicate. This single division consists of the direct object. There is a single division only, rather than two constituent divisions following the predicate as is posited by the alternative analysis. If it is assumed that there are two constituents which follow the predicate in these cases—one a direct object and the other a truncated clause—we are left with determining the constituent status of these truncated clauses. In some languages like English, it is possible to have reduced subordinate clauses which have no overt subject as in the following: 'Having eaten the hamburger, he got on with the rest of his work'. However Abun does not appear to have subjectless subordinate clauses. If example 10.66 is considered again,

Men yo ***nyu-wa*** *men mu ki suk-du ré nde.*
1PL NEG fear-TRS 1PL go say NOM-say this NEG
We are not afraid to go and tell this story.

what is the status of *mu ki sukdu ré*? Subjectless constituents like this do not exist elsewhere in the language. There are occasions when a subject may be omitted. Sometimes in narratives where the subject is the same or a number of events is given in quick succession, the subject may be omitted.

10.69 *Ye gato jam nde Yefun gum tó men ki subot bere*
people REL know NEG Yefun name still 1PL say about later

jam napa-wa nyu-wa.
know remember-TRS fear-TRS
People that do not yet know God's name, we talk about (it to them), later (they) will know, remember (and) be afraid of (him).

10.70 *Pa sap su mbam yo titi ndo nde. Syur sa rek e,*
child strike with axe NEG get.away good NEG water dry open and

yo titi ndo nde, dipa, dipa mo pe dik ne sor.
NEG get.away good NEG struggle struggle LOC place one DET just
The young man struck (it) with the axe, (it) could not get away at all. The stream was dry, and (it was) shallow, (and it) could not get away at all, (it) was just struggling, struggling in one place.

In both these examples there are several clauses where the subject was omitted. In both cases the omitted subject was not in the immediate context of the clauses concerned. The omitted subject was given several clauses earlier. In example 10.69 the omitted subject 'people' was given only two clauses preceding. However, in example 10.70 the omitted subject is 'eel' and is given four clauses prior to the first which takes 'eel' as its subject. It can be seen that in Abun omitted subjects occur only in certain types of narrative, particularly where these subjects have several actions attributed to them. In these instances the subjects are omitted from either simple clauses or coordinate clauses. These clauses are not subjectless embedded clauses.[27]

On this basis it is concluded that a subjectless subordinate clause is not a valid clause type in Abun. A sentence having the constituent division SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT is quite common in Abun. However, a sentence which has the constituent division

SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT + (VERB + OBJECT)

is not.[28] In the above the embedded clause is subjectless.

There are languages such as English which allow fronting of subordinate clauses. Frequently, when a subordinate clause is fronted it consists of verb and object only. However, in Abun it is not possible to front any subordinate or embedded clause. Since fronting is not possible this cannot be used as a test of subordination.

---

27 An alternative analysis is that these are treated as serial verbs.

28 It could be stated that the fact that subjectless constituents do not exist elsewhere in the language does not in itself represent an argument that they do not exist in the constructions shown here. It needs to be pointed out that in Abun there is not sufficient syntactic evidence to posit that a subjectless subordinate clause exists as a real constituent in the language, either in these cases or anywhere else. The only reason for positing that such a constituent may exist here is not due to syntactic evidence but rather to accommodate a certain theoretical position. In order to master a second language properly the language learner must not only master vocabulary but also master the syntactic patterns that are found in the language. In order to speak Abun effectively it is not necessary to include in one's inventory of syntactic patterns a reduced clause of this kind. It seems strange to add to the list of Abun clause types a reduced clause which does not have any specific syntactic marking to indicate its separate existence. This raises the question of whether certain clause types should be added to the language's inventory when the only basis for doing so is theoretical rather than observed syntactic evidence.

There is one other means of syntactic evidence to indicate that only one constituent, a complement clause which functions as object, follows these predicate types. It is possible to restructure some of these sentences so they can be stated as cleft sentences. For example 10.63 repeated here as 10.71 can be restructured to approximate a cleft sentence.

10.71 *An* ***í-wa*** *ji si an mu mo nggwe.*
3SG be.happy-TRS 1SG with 3SG go to garden
She wanted me to go with her to the garden.

10.72 *Su-ga an í-wa anato ji si an mu mo nggwe.*
thing-SPEC 3SG be.happy-TRS FOC 1SG with 3SG go to garden
What she wanted was that I go with her to the garden.

Later in §12.6 these types of constructions will be discussed further. However it is clear from example 10.72 that, while Abun does not have a passive construction through which the object can be identified, the means of focus that is possible by the noun modifier *anato* serves the same function. If the question 'What was it that she wanted?' was asked the answer would be as in 10.72. The object of the predicate *í-wa* is clearly located after the focus particle *anato* and it is obviously the entire clause. Therefore it is preferable to analyse these complement clauses as the object of the main clause rather than positing the alternative structure discussed here.

Noonan (1985:133) makes the claim that "All languages have an s-like indicative complement type, and all languages have some sort of reduced complement type in opposition to the indicative". In comparing languages he posits a minimum of these two complement types which constitute the smallest kind of complement system that is found in the world's languages. According to his definition, Abun has only one complement type, not two, since all Abun complement clauses are indicative clauses. However, we would like to suggest that Abun does have two complement types—those with complementisers and those without (in this work termed 'embedded'). The basis for these distinctions is not found within the complement clause itself. This has been the basis on which Noonan and others have made their division of complement types. This basis has come from the alteration in structure of the complex sentence of which the complement is a part. External rather than internal considerations have been the basis for the division of Abun complement types. In this way Abun is different in its complement structure to other languages that have been described.

10.4 ADDITIONAL POSSIBILITIES

So far two types of complement have been described, those that use the complementiser and those that do not. There are certain predicates which, when they take a complement, do so only by using the complementiser. We would like to call this type of predicate Type 1. Then there are a small number of predicates where no complementiser is used and the complement clause is an embedded object. We would like to call this type of predicate Type 2. Then there is another type of predicate (Type 3), which is able to take complement clauses of both types that is with and without the complementiser. Table 10.1 below lists these three predicate types:

TABLE 10.1: PREDICATE TYPES

	TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3
	with COM	without COM	with and without COM
utterance predicates	*ki* 'say' *ndo* 'ask' *tom* 'promise/arrange' *saiye* 'shout' etc.		*kendo* 'call'
attitude predicates	*nut* 'think' *gen* 'intend' *mit* 'plan to/desire to' *í* 'be happy to'	*íwa* 'want' *bariwa* 'not want' *nyuwa* 'fear' *nokwa* 'worry about'	
knowledge predicates	*duno* 'teach/advise' *taru* 'send a message'		*jam* 'know/hear'
manipulative predicates		*wergat* 'persuade/force' *krokgat* 'stir up/annoy'	*syogat* 'order' *syaugat* 'strongly command'
pretence predicates			*kidar* 'lie/trick'

Sentences which take predicates termed Type 1 have been previously analysed to have the following structure:

SUBJECT + PREDICATE 1 + (OBJECT) + (INDIRECT OBJECT) + (*do*) + (COMPLEMENT CLAUSE)

This type of predicate can have a maximum valency of three, if the complement clause is considered in apposition to the direct object.

Sentences which take predicates termed Type 2 have been analysed as follows:

SUBJECT + PREDICATE 2 + COMPLEMENT CLAUSE AS OBJECT

This type of predicate has a valency of only two.

Sentences which take predicates termed Type 3 have two possible representations:

SUBJECT + PREDICATE 3 + OBJECT + (*do*) + (COMPLEMENT CLAUSE)

OR

SUBJECT + PREDICATE 3 + COMPLEMENT CLAUSE AS OBJECT

Again if the complement clause is considered to be in apposition to the direct object like those of Type 2, these predicates have a valency of only two but the sentence contains an additional constituent. In the alternative structure the sentence is identical to that for predicate Type 2.

Examples of predicates of this third type are given below showing both possibilities, with and without the complementiser *do*.

10.4.1 MANIPULATIVE PREDICATES

There are two manipulative predicates which when they take a complement clause may be with or without the complementiser. These are *syogat* 'order' and *syaugat* 'command strongly'.

10.73 *An* ***syogat*** *ji* ***do*** *ji so nyom wa an.*
3SG order 1SG COM 1SG buy machete for 3SG
He told me to buy a machete for him.

10.74 *An* ***syogat*** *pa jogru san.*
3SG order child take.off clothes
He ordered the girl to take off (her) clothes.

Example 10.73 shows *syogat* 'order/tell' with the complement clause as an appositional constituent within the sentence in addition to the direct object, the pronoun *ji* '1SG'. In 10.74, however, the entire embedded complement clause is the object. In this case no complementiser is used since a complementiser is used only when the complement clause is in apposition to the direct object. The English translation of both 10.73 and 10.74 does not show these structural differences, as both complement clauses have been translated using infinitive verb forms. A more structurally correct translation of 10.73 would be something like 'He ordered me to do this: 'Buy a machete for me'.

Similar examples are given below for *syaugat* 'command'. Example 10.75 appeared earlier as example 10.9.

10.75 *An* ***syaugat*** *men-ka-we* ***do*** *men-ka-we ki suk-du*
3SG command 1PL-CL-two COM 1PL-CL-two say NOM-speak
ré o nde.
this again NEG
He commanded the two of us not to tell this story again.

10.76 *Ji* ***syaugat*** *yen ma but nin.*
1SG command people come capture 2PL
I commanded you to be captured.

10.4.2 UTTERANCE PREDICATES

There is only one utterance predicate, *kendo* 'call' which exhibits these two structural possibilities. Example 10.77 below earlier appeared as example 10.8.

10.77 *Yen* ***kendo*** *men* ***do*** *men gwat men bi suk e men grem.*
people call 1PL COM 1PL bring 1PL POSS things and 1PL put
They called us to bring our things and leave (them there).

10.78 *An* ***kendo*** *Erensi ma dom.*
3SG call Erensi come too
He called Erensi to come too.

10.4.3 PRETENCE PREDICATES

Another predicate that is similar is the pretence predicate *kidar* 'lie/trick/deceive'. Example 10.79 appeared earlier as example 10.19.

10.79 *An* ***kidar*** *nje* ***do*** *an* *yewon.*
3SG lie people COM 3SG shaman
He lied to people that he was a shaman.

10.80 *Erensi* ***kidar*** *pa* *ne* *mu.*
Erensi deceive child DET go
Erensi deceived the child into going (away).

It appears that only a small number of predicates may behave this way, exhibiting two distinct structural possibilities. As the above examples illustrate, there appear to be certain restrictions which limit the number of predicates capable of doing this. One restriction limits predicates to those that are transitive. Any intransitive verb can occur only with the complementiser present. The second restriction appears to be one of co-referentiality. Givón (1993:15) describes the sharing of referents across contiguous clauses and terms this 'referential continuity'. In describing co-reference limitations for English complement clauses he notes (1993:16) that "The subject of the complement of a modality verb must be co-referential with the *subject* of the main verb and the subject of the complement of a manipulative verb must be co-referential with the *object* of the main verb" [italics his]. In Abun, co-reference restrictions also apply but are somewhat different to those which Givón has described for English. In Abun, if these predicates can take both an object and complement constituent then there needs to be agreement between the object and the complement constituent. In three of the above examples, 10.73, 10.75 and 10.77, the object of the predicate is co-referential with the subject of the complement clause. In all of these cases the subject of the complement clause is replaced by a pronoun which agrees in number and person with the object of the matrix clause. However, example 10.79 shows a pretence predicate which varies in that the subject of the complement clause agrees with the subject of the main clause predicate. Here again a pronoun is used to indicate agreement. The means of pronominal reference to the subject of the complement clause is typical of all cases where these two constituents are co-referential. Unlike English, where only in manipulative predicates does the object of the predicate agree with the subject of the complement, as shown in Table 10.1, this restriction is shared by other predicate types.[29] Therefore it appears that if a particular predicate can take complements both with and without a complementiser then co-reference restrictions operate.

10.4.4 KNOWLEDGE PREDICATES

The predicate *jam* 'know/hear/understand' also may be considered a Type 3 predicate in that it may occur with or without a complementiser. However, this verb is structurally different in that it does not have an object immediately preceding the complement clause constituent, as is the case with the other Type 3 predicates. If *jam* has the meaning 'know' it is more likely to use the complementiser in conjunction with the complement clause. If *jam*

---

[29] In particular predicates such as 'know', 'lie' and 'call' which Givón terms 'Perception-Cognition-Utterance' predicates 'no co-reference with any argument in the main clause' is required in English (Givón 1993:16).

has the meaning 'hear' it appears not to use the complementiser. The following examples illustrate these possibilities:

10.81 *Ji* ***jam*** *kwe mbrur kwe-nat kra kagit os ma it.*
1SG hear wood snap tree-leaves crackle from path DIR CAM
I heard wood snapping and leaves crackling coming from the path.

10.82 *An* ***jam*** *an baca huruf dik huruf dik.*
3SG know 3SG read letter one letter one
She knew (how) to read one letter at a time.

10.83 *Ji* ***jam*** ***do*** *sangge nau ré dom suk-ibit.*
1SG know COM true palm.wine this also NOM-bad
I know that it is true, this palm wine is also a bad thing.

The following example is interesting in that it contains both types of complement clause within the one sentence. There is an embedded complement clause which is the object of the predicate *jam* 'hear'. This embedded clause contains yet another complement which, in this case, consists of the complementiser in conjunction with a complement clause.

10.84 *Ji* ***jam*** *an* ***ke*** *it* ***do*** *"yesyim yesyim nan kas kekro".*
1SG hear 3SG call.out CAM COM friend friend 2SG run quickly
I heard him calling out, "Friend! Friend! Run quickly!"

10.5 MORE ON MANIPULATIVE PREDICATES

Earlier in §10.3 manipulative predicates which made use of the suffix *-gat* were discussed. These predicates did not make use of the complementiser and the complements were analysed as embedded objects. However, the manipulative verb *ben* 'do/make' was not discussed because it is considered to be a predicate or a different type. Frequently *ben* has the meaning of 'do' and so cannot be considered manipulative. But when *ben* has the meaning of 'make' it can be used as a manipulative predicate. With this verb, as with other manipulative predicates, the complementiser is never used. The following examples are typical:

10.85 *Nan me su-ga* ***ben*** *an bi pa i ne.*
2SG see thing-REL make 3SG POSS child sick DET
You see the thing that has made (his) child sick.

10.86 *An* ***ben*** *motor ne kru re.*
3SG make motor that sink PERF
He made that motor sink.

These complements have a similar structure to those that were termed predicate Type 2. In keeping with the structural analysis discussed earlier, here also the entire complement clause is considered to be the object of the main clause.

Since examples from all of the predicate types have been discussed fully, this concludes the discussion of Abun complement clauses.

CHAPTER 11

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Various terms are used to describe how, within a single sentence, clauses interact to form a meaningful unit. Terms such as 'interclausal coherence' (Givón 1990), 'relationships within the clause complex' (Halliday 1985) and even 'clause combining' (Matthiessen & Thompson 1988) are among recent descriptions of what has been traditionally termed subordination. Traditionally, as Thompson and Longacre (1985:172) state, three types of subordinate clause have been distinguished:

> those which function as noun phrases (called complements) [=noun clauses], those which function as modifiers of nouns (relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions (called adverbial clauses).

Relative clauses and noun clauses have been described in the earlier Chapters 9 and 10. In this chapter we will begin a discussion of the third kind of subordinate clause, 'adverbial clauses', as they are found in Abun.

Adverbial subordinate clauses are said to modify a sentence in the same way that an adverb modifies a verb. Since the sentences that contain these subordinate clauses consist minimally of two clauses, one clause could be termed the Head and the other the Modifier (Halliday 1985:192). Usually one clause, often termed the main clause, is said to be grammatically 'free' or independent. As such it can stand on its own as a single clause. The subordinate clause is marked in some way, such as by means of verbal inflection, to indicate that it is 'bound' or dependent and thus cannot stand alone as a single clause. Languages that permit clauses to be joined in this way normally permit an alternative, termed coordination. In these cases the clauses, although joined together in some way, may stand on their own as independent clauses. However, there is another quite different type of "interclausal grammatical organization" (to use Givón's terminology 1990:864). This type is known as 'clause chaining' (Longacre 1985). Longacre states that languages of the clause-chaining variety do not offer the grammatical options of subordinate-independent and coordinate constructions. "The subordinate/coordinate distinction is irrelevant [in that there is no choice between the two] and both are absorbed into the medial/final distinction." (Longacre 1985:239). To demonstrate this Longacre gives two English sentences which illustrate the subordinate/coordinate options of a language such as English. These sentences, given below as 11.1a and 11.1b, would not be syntactically distinct in a language of the clause-chaining type.

11.1 a. *After chopping the wood, John carried it to his house.*

b. *John chopped the wood and carried it to his house.*[30]

Example 11.1a above consists of a subordinate temporal clause and an independent clause. The first clause is marked as subordinate in English by means of the participial verb form, the use of the conjunction 'after' and the absence of the subject. Example 11.1b is given as an example of a 'coordinate construction' (Longacre 1985:239). Longacre's comment on these sentences, quoted above, is to the effect that a clause-chaining language does not permit two different syntactic variants, as is possible in English. Only one is possible. Abun is not a clause-chaining language. However, the influence of Papuan clause-chaining languages can be seen when Longacre's examples are translated into Abun. The translations are given below as 11.2a and 11.2b respectively. There is little syntactic difference between these two examples.

11.2 a. *Yohanes pet kwe-gu or-ete an gwat mu mo an bi nu.*
John split tree-dry after-then 3SG carry DIR to 3SG POSS house
After John chopped the wood he carried it to his house.

b. *Yohanes pet kwe-gu ete an gwat mu mo an bi nu.*
John split tree-dry and.then 3SG bring DIR to 3SG POSS house
John chopped the fire wood and then carried it to his house.

It can be seen by comparing these Abun sentences that there is no distinct subordinate marking on the verb of the first clause in example 11.2a, which might distinguish this clause as a subordinate clause; neither is there a subordinate conjunction equivalent to 'after'. Abun *or* 'after' is an adverb which, in 11.2a, compounds with the sequential conjunction *ete* 'and then'. Abun does not have an exact meaning equivalent for the English coordinate conjunction 'and'. In fact the only difference between these two examples regarding constituent structure is the addition of *or* 'after' to the conjunction *ete* in example 11.2a. If the conjunctions *orete* and *ete* were removed from these examples, all four remaining clauses would be good, freestanding independent clauses in Abun.

Therefore it appears that in common with languages of the clause-chaining type, Abun lacks an obvious subordinate/coordinate distinction as found in Indo-European languages. Many of the clause-chaining languages of the world are found on the island of New Guinea. In a clause-chaining language (Longacre 1985:264)

> There is a clause (characteristically final in a chain of clauses) that has a verb of distinctive structure that occurs but once in the entire chain while other (typically non-final) clauses have verbs of different structure...Each non-final clause is marked so as to indicate whether the following clause has same subject or different subject from itself.

An example from a clause-chaining language, Kanite of Papua New Guinea, is given below. Because of its length, it has been abbreviated from the original example given in Longacre (1985:266).

(1) *his-u'a-ke-'ka*
do-we-DS-you

---

30 It could be argued that strictly speaking the second clause of Longacre's example here cannot stand on its own because the pronoun has been omitted. In the Abun translation given later, this is certainly not the case as it is necessary to repeat the pronoun.

(2) *naki a'nemo-ka hoya ali-'ka...*
so women-you garden work-you

(7)
so finish do-CAM-DS-we

(8) *naki viemoka-ta'a keki'yamo'ma ha'noma nehis-i-ana*
naki hamo-ke-talete-ke-ta'a
so men-we fence finish do-it-CONJ
If we do this, you women work the garden, when that is finished we men will finish making the fence.

In this example, abbreviated from eight clauses to the four given here, a transition marker, *ke* 'DS different subject', indicates a change of subject in the clause which is to follow. The final verb of this sentence *nehis-* has a distinctive form that is different from when it is non-final, as in the initial clause where it occurs as *his-*.

These languages usually mark, within the clause chain, the notions of temporal overlap (or simultaneity) and temporal succession (or sequence) as well as marking change of subject (switch reference) (Longacre 1985:267). Abun, a West Papuan language, does not have the verb morphology typical of a clause-chaining language. Nevertheless the notions of simultaneity and sequence are strongly marked on Abun complex sentences.[31] These features of the neighbouring Papuan languages have had some influence on Abun sentence structure. It is the author's opinion that just as clause-chaining languages do not have a clear-cut subordinate/coordinate distinction which is syntactically marked in complex sentences, neither does the Abun language. This also is a Papuan areal feature still evident in Abun, even though Abun verb morphology has more in common with Austronesian languages. Therefore the adverbial clauses discussed in this and the following chapter can only be considered as 'adverbial' subordinate clauses by semantic means; there is scarce syntactic marking to indicate subordinate status.

Traditionally, a discussion of the 'adverbial' subordinate clauses of a language would subdivide clauses on the basis of the semantic relationships expressed between the clauses such as time, location, reason, condition. In this discussion we prefer to group clause types according to common syntactic properties, as well as considering semantic similarities. In this and the following chapter adverbial clauses are not grouped together as subordinate clauses which contrast syntactically with coordinate clauses. Rather, these clauses are differentiated according to the type of conjunction that is used to link them. In Abun, conjunctions divide into three main types—postpositional, prepositional and compounding.

TABLE 11.1: ABUN CONJUNCTION TYPES

Postpositional Conjunctions	'tensed' conjunctions
Prepositional Conjunctions	preposition conjunctions
Compounding Conjunctions	compounding conjunctions 'negative conjunctions

[31] Besides these temporal notions there is a particle in Abun which can behave similarly to a switch reference particle. The particle *ga* is used to identify the second actor or participant in a narrative. Since Abun is not a clause-chaining language it is not absolutely necessary to overtly mark the 'second actor'. It is the authors' opinion that this is a Papuan language feature which has influenced Abun grammar. The particle *ga* is discussed earlier in Chapter 5 (§5.2.2).

There are a few other conjunctions which are used to link adverbial clauses which do not fit neatly into the four groups listed above. Two of these are adverbials which show some influence of the national language, Bahasa Indonesia, upon their usage. The other is a noun modifier which has come to be used as a conjunction. This chapter will look only at postpositional conjunctions, described as 'tensed' conjunctions. The following chapter will discuss prepositional conjunctions and compounding conjunctions.

11.2 'TENSED' CONJUNCTIONS

The Abun language does not distinguish a separate category of 'tense' for simple clauses. Simple clauses are marked by means of particles for mood, that is for sentences which are interrogative and imperative, for aspect, and for modality. None of these particles is obligatory and when used is always found in the clause-final position (see §4.5 for a fuller description of this). However, there are two conjunctions frequently used in Abun which mark the clauses concerned in time frames in a less defined way than is normally the case for tense marking. Foley (1986:159ff.), in his comparison of Papuan languages, uses a term 'status' to describe time settings which are less precisely defined than the traditional term 'tense'. His term STATUS can be loosely divided two ways, into 'real' time and 'unreal' time. 'Real' status refers to events occurring both in the past and present up to the moment of speaking. 'Unreal' status is for events that are yet to occur, including not only those that are considered certain but also only those in the scope of the possible or hypothetical. In Abun this distinction is marked by two temporal conjunctions: *sa*, which is considered 'REALIS', and *yo* 'IRREALIS'. For Abun usage the term REALIS is used to refer to events which are already past or are continuing up to the present time. The term IRREALIS is used to refer to events that are yet to happen, are likely to happen or are completely hypothetical.[32]

Interestingly in his comparison of Papuan languages. Foley distinguishes aspect and modality (his 'inner operators') from tense, status and mood ('outer operators'). Foley does not use the term 'mood' but instead describes it as 'illocutionary force' (see Foley 1986:143ff.). In Papuan languages aspect and modality are usually indicated in some way on the verb stem and are part of the predicate. But tense and the other 'outer operators' tend to be realised grammatically in different ways, on the sentence level. While Abun has not been classified as a Papuan language but is rather a West Papuan language, nevertheless this generalisation made for Papuan languages appears to have some significance. In Abun, aspect and modality particles are always part of a single clause. Status, that is the difference between realis and irrealis time, occurs only at the complex sentence level. In this way there appears to be a distinction in that the concepts of REALIS and IRREALIS are not marked on the individual clause in Abun, as is commonly the case in many languages, but are marked on the sentence by means of a conjunction.

The usage of these two 'tensed' or temporal conjunctions in Abun sentences is compared below.

---

32 It may appear confusing to use Foley's definition of the terms REALIS and IRREALIS since these terms are often used to describe not tense, but mood (for example see Givón 1984:255). However, Foley's term 'status' which he divides further into 'realis' and 'irrealis' closely approximates the semantic distinction between the two postpositional conjunctions *sa* and *yo*.

11.2.1 THE REALIS CONJUNCTION *sa*

When a language indicates the temporal setting of events expressed within clauses it may do so by a formal grammatical category tense, by time words or a combination of both strategies. In regard to complex sentences, tense as a category may be marked within the component clauses and particular conjunctions may convey particular 'marked' time meanings, such as 'before', 'after', 'as', and 'while'. The Abun conjunction *sa* carries the grammatical information of 'realis', but in relation to specific time concepts is unmarked. Thus it could be considered a general time subordinator and translated into English as 'when.REALIS'. *Sa* indicates that the clauses it joins are in realis time setting. By usage of *sa* hearers know that the connected events expressed by the clauses are in the past, that they have already occurred. When clauses are joined by *sa*, speakers usually pause after *sa,* indicating that *sa* is considered to be part of the preceding clause. Nevertheless *sa* is still a conjunction or means of joining two clauses in Abun. It is not possible to end a sentence with *sa*. Therefore clauses marked by *sa* are dependent temporal clauses in the same way as the English 'when' clause. *Sa* is a sentence-medial subordinating conjunction and is a constituent of the first clause of a complex sentence which has the following structure:

[CLAUSE 1 + *sa*] + CLAUSE 2

The following examples are typical of the way *sa* is used in Abun:

11.3 *Men kem mo kampung* ***sa*** *Rahel bi ai farkor an.*
1PL stay in village when.REAL Rachel POSS father teach 3SG
When we stayed in the village, Rachel's father taught her.

11.4 *Mensem monekret Marten* ***sa*** *Marten ma kam Selasa.*
1PL sleep there wait.for Marten when.REAL Marten come day Tuesday
We slept there, waiting for Marten and he came on Tuesday.

As a general time subordinator the range of meanings conveyed by *sa* is wide. *Sa* is a temporal link between clauses and as such can be used to indicate the following range of meanings:

(1) precedence	when/before
(2) subsequence	when/after
(3) simultaneity	when/while
(4) point coincidence	when/as/, just then

Givón describes a general subordinator such as *sa* as being semantically 'less marked'. Conjunctions such as 'before', 'after', 'while' and the like are considered to indicate 'specific temporal relations'. Therefore Givón (1990:828) considers that "Such less-marked coding strategy is successful when the semantic specificity of the temporal relation can be *inferred* from other features of the two clauses – most commonly from the verb and its tense-aspect." Since in Abun the conjunction itself indicates the 'tense' or time setting, it is not necessary to use other means in order to indicate the specific temporal relation concerned. In the examples below the extent of temporal relations that *sa* can convey is shown together with more specific means of indicating these.

11.2.1.1 PRECEDENCE 'WHEN/BEFORE'

11.5 *Me-ka-we gwat ma-kom mo nu sa ge*
1PL-CL-two bring come-reach to house when.REAL body
gri kwop re.
three die PERF
1. When we carried (them) up to the house, three (fish) had already died.
2. By the time we reached the house three had already died.

11.6 *Ji ma sa an yo ma nde tó.*
1SG come when.REAL 3SG NEG come NEG INCAM
1. When I came he had not yet arrived.
2. By the time I came he had not yet arrived.

The above examples indicate temporal precedence, which in many languages is indicated by a specific time word meaning 'before'. Abun has no single word which can be translated as 'before'. Instead the negative particle *nde* combined with the incompletive aspect particle *tó* are used to indicate 'not yet'. In the above examples there are two further means of inferring the time relation in addition to the conjunction itself. Example 11.5 has the second clause marked by the perfect aspect particle.[33] In example 11.6 the temporal precedence relation is more explicitly marked by *nde tó* 'not yet/before' again on the second clause. These particles may behave as a conjunction without the need for the general subordinator *sa*. If used in a clause within a complex sentence *nde tó* has the specific meaning of 'before'. For example:

11.7 *Tepsu gane ji yo fai Apner* ***nde tó,*** *Apner dom*
just.like then 1SG NEG know Apner NEG INCAM Apner also
yo fai ji nde.
NEG know 1SG NEG
1. At that time before I knew Apner, he did not know me either.
2. At that time I did not yet know Apner, he did not know me either.

11.2.1.2 SUBSEQUENCE 'WHEN/AFTER'

11.8 *Men ma mo kampung sa men nai yor.*
1PL come to village when.REAL 1PL take spears
When we came to the village, we took the spears.

11.9 *Men wat-bot or sa an ki do...*
1PL separate-along finish when.REAL 3SG say COM
1. When we had finished examining (her), he said...
2. After we had examined (her) he said...

In the above examples only one has any specific indications of the temporal relations involved. The word *or* has several meanings including 'finished', 'completely' and 'empty'. In example 11.9 *or* has the meaning that the action is finished and within a complex sentence

---

33 There is no need to mark the first clause for aspect since the meaning of *sa* is similar to that of the perfect aspect particle *re*.

or can have the connective meaning of 'after' (as in example 11.2a at the beginning of this chapter). It is not necessary to use the general subordinator *sa* when the temporal relation of subsequence is intended. For example:

11.10 *Yewon ne ben suk ne **or** yen ma.*
shamans DET do things DET after people come
After the shamans did those things, the people came.

11.2.1.3 SIMULTANEITY 'WHEN/WHILE'

11.11 *An kra Lamber **sa** an-we ku pa dik sor re.*
3SG marry Lamber when.REAL 3PL-two get child one only PERF
1. When she was married to Lamber, they only had one child.
2. While she was married to Lamber, they only had one child.

11.12 *Men gwa bei mó **sa** yen ki kabar ma do...*
1PL pound sago exist when.REAL people say news come COM
1. When we were pounding sago, people brought some news that...
2. As/while we were pounding sago people brought some news that...

11.13 *Ye we ma **sa** ye we but gre nak we.*
person two come when.REAL person two catch frog nak two
1. When the two were coming, they caught two *nak* frogs.
2. As the two were coming (along) they caught two *nak* frogs.

The three examples above all show temporal simultaneity. As noted previously, in common with other Papuan languages, temporal simultaneity is strongly marked in Abun grammar. Besides the usage of the conjunction *sa* to indicate simultaneity, a compound form, *sare-sa,* is used to emphasise a simultaneous relationship between clauses. The compound is created by the addition of the adverb *sare* 'like this'. The adverb *sare* is itself a compound consisting of the adverb *sa* 'like'[34] and the determiner *ré* 'this'. When *sare* is used immediately after a verb it can convey a continuous or repetitive meaning to the action of the verb. For example:

11.14 *Wermus titi sare ma ket yamo kampung tore.*
Wermus run.away kept.on DIR west LOC village here
Wermus kept on running away (or making his escape) westward, towards the village here.

Therefore on some occasions *sare* is joined to the conjunction *sa* to form *saresa* 'as, while', a conjunction which more specifically indicates the simultaneous relationship between the clauses joined.

11.15 *Ji kani ret nden **saresa** ji sokme Isak ram.*
1SG look.around random land while 1SG see Isak move
As I was looking about everywhere, I saw Isak (moving) in the distance.

---

34 The adverb *sa* is homophonous with the conjunction *sa.* As an adverb it rarely appears as a free form. It is normally part of a compound such as *sare* 'like.this', *sato* 'for example', and *sagana* 'usually' However it does appear as a free form in the interrogative *sa u?* 'like how?/how?'

For more exact simultaneity of the time relationship between two clauses Abun has another way of expressing this, which is not by means of a conjunction. When the speaker intends to convey that the events of both clauses occurred at the same time then the clitic *-i* is added to both clauses. For precise simultaneity *sa* is not used, being too general in meaning.[35]

11.16 *Suk-bo ba-i an sap yu-i.*
thing-fruit make.noise-SIM 3PL strike REFL-SIM
At the time the bell was ringing they were cutting into each other.

11.2.1.4 POINT COINCIDENCE 'WHEN/JUST AS'

11.17 *Ji ma* ***sa*** *nu or yen mu re.*
1SG come when.REAL house empty people go PERF
1. When I came, the house was empty, everyone had gone.
2. By the time I came, the house was empty, everyone had gone.

11.18 *An ndo mo pilot* ***sa*** *yesan desa su-gane ma.*
3SG ask at pilot when.REAL chief area with-that come
He was asking the pilot, just when the local area chief came.

Apart from the conjunction *sa*, this temporal relationship can be indicated by the time word *sugane* 'at that time/then' which occurs in 11.18.

11.2.1.5 *sa-* REALIS 'CONDITIONAL'

The conjunction *sa* is most commonly used as a general temporal subordinator as described above and as such would best be translated into English as 'when'. However, *sa* can also be extended in its meaning to include the semantic concept of condition and also to include subjunctive modality. Longacre (1985:265), in describing clause-chaining languages, states that "Temporal relations appear to be central in these languages and are extended metaphorically in other directions." Certainly in regard to the conjunction *sa*, which normally functions as a temporal subordinating conjunction, its usage can be extended to include the notion of condition. Abun has no single lexical item that could be translated as 'if'. There are a number of ways that the semantic concept of 'condition' is conveyed in Abun. One of them is by means of the conjunction *sa* used together with the time words *be/bere* 'later/will/future'. When the second clause of the complex sentence containing *sa* is marked by *be/bere*, the sentence has the same meaning as a conditional sentence and can be translated as 'if...then'. Also in some cases these sentences could be translated in a way that could be considered as 'subjunctive'.[36] Because *sa* is a conjunction which conveys time setting or 'tense', these sentences, although referring to hypothetical events, must be marked as being in the past. It could be stated that a past tense or realis 'conditional' conjunction is a

---

35 The fact that Abun grammar can mark the temporal notion of simultaneity in three overt ways, by the conjunctions *sa* and *saresa* and by the clitic *-i*, indicates the grammatical importance of this notion.

36 The notions often termed 'subjunctive' are more emphatically conveyed by the compound conjunction *sane-sa* 'had that been the case'. This conjunction is discussed in the following chapter, §12.5.

contradiction in terms. However, because Abun does not overtly mark the notion of conditional by means of a morpheme, other strategies are used to convey this notion. One means is by the combination *sa* + *be* which results in a conditional sentence in a past or realis time setting.

11.19 *Ji me su ji gro dom* ***sa be*** *ji jam.*
1SG see with 1SG eye also when.REAL FUT 1SG believe
1. If I had also seen with my eyes then I would have believed.
2. Had I seen with my eyes also I would have believed.

11.20 *Wo yen yo but nu-won ne nde*
but people NEG capture house-shaman that NEG
sa, bere *yen gu yu tó bado?*
when.REAL FUT people kill REFL INCAM AQM
But if they had not set up the shaman training school they would be still killing each other, don't you think?

11.2.2 THE IRREALIS CONJUNCTION *yo*

In the previous section the conjunction *sa* was described as a temporal subordinating conjunction which could be rendered as 'when' in English. *Sa* was described as a 'realis' conjunction because its usage indicates a past time setting for the clauses that it links. In the same way the conjunction *yo* is also a temporal conjunction. It also may be rendered in English as 'when'. However, *yo* differs from *sa* in that it is an irrealis conjunction. Any sentence marked by *yo* has an implied futurity. The meaning of *yo* contrasts with that of *sa* in that the events of clauses joined by *yo* have the meaning of future time, are possible events in the future or are completely hypothetical events, that is 'when.IRREALIS'. In Abun *yo* is used in basically four ways:

1. To express intent or plans 'when(future)...(then)'
2. To describe procedures in hypothetical situations 'when(hypothetical)...(then)'
3. To describe conditions in general hypothetical situations 'if/whenever...(then)'
4. To describe a compulsory consequence following a condition 'if...then(must)'

The following examples illustrate the way *yo* is used in Abun.

11.2.2.1 TO EXPRESS INTENT, DESIRE OR FUTURE PLANS 'WHEN(FUTURE)...(THEN)'

11.21 *A so a bi suk it* ***yo,*** *a gwat more kret ji.*
2SG buy 2SG POSS things CAM when.IRR 2SG bring here wait.for me
When you (will) have bought (all) your things, then bring them here and wait for me.

11.22 *Me-ka-we mu-kom mo u* ***yo*** *ji mori*
1PL-CL-two go-reach to where.INDEF when.IRR 1SG behind
a wadikgan mu nyim.
2SG alone go ahead
When we two get there, I will stay behind, you go ahead by yourself.

Sentences of the above type where the speaker indicates future movements, plans, intentions and so on, are always marked by the irrealis conjunction *yo*. It is not necessary to mark any of the clauses within the sentence with the time words *be/bere* 'later/future'. For a single clause only these words would be necessary to mark this clause for future time. In the example below, which consists of two independent clauses, it is necessary to mark the second clause with the temporal word *be* 'future/will'.

11.23 *Ji ben ji bi suk i. **Be** a ma kon ji e?*
1SG do 1SG POSS thing own FUT 2SG come look.after 1SG FQM
I do my own thing. Will you later come and look after me?

For a complex sentence, however, the conjunction *yo* indicates the same meaning. It is not possible for a single clause to be marked by *yo*, because *yo* is a conjunction. Like *sa, yo* goes with the first clause of the complex sentence and not the second.

11.24 *A jam suk ba it **yo** men mu it ane.*
2SG hear thing make.noise CAM when.IRR 1PL go CAM then
When you hear the bell ring, we will go then.

11.2.2.2 PROCEDURAL SITUATIONS 'WHEN (HYPOTHETICAL)...(THEN)'

11.25 *Ye syesyar pa mo nu **yo**, ye mwa ma.*
people go.out youths LOC house when.IRR people many come
When they take the young men out of the house (then) many people come.

11.26 *A go ndam-som **yo** a gwim i-da wé kadit.*
2SG cut.up bird-som when.IRR 2SG peel POSS-skin away from
When(ever) you cut up a bat, (then) you peel its skin away from (its body).

Descriptions of procedures are hypothetical in nature and not fixed in any particular time setting. Therefore, as in the above examples, clauses are linked by the irrealis conjunction *yo* to indicate that the events expressed within complex sentences are not actual events but possible ones.

11.2.2.3 HYPOTHETICAL/CONDITIONAL SITUATIONS 'WHENEVER/IF...(THEN)'

11.27 *Pa ben suk rere nggi nde yo kamo nde **yo***
child do things weak strong NEG NEG play NEG when.IRR

pa ga i ane.
child that sick that.is
When a child does things weakly, is not strong, does not play, then that child is a sick child.

11.28 *Nggon git nok it **yo** be ben nggon i.*
women eat wild.pig CAM when.IRR FUT make women sick
1. Whenever women eat wild pig (this) causes them to become sick.
2. If a woman eats wild pig (this) will make her get sick.

11.29 *An we bi nyanggon-i sem yo an we sem.*
3PL two POSS female.relative-POSS sleep when.IRR 3PL two sleep

An we bi nyanggon-i mu yo an we mu.
3PL two POSS female.relative-POSS go when.IRR 3PL two go
When their female cousin slept then those two slept. When their female cousin went then those two went.

Examples 11.27 and 11.28 above show hypothetical situations which could happen at any future undisclosed time. These hypothetical situations could aptly be translated by 'whenever'. Thus *yo,* here translated as 'when' in English, could also be translated as 'if' for these irrealis sentences. Givón (1990:830) notes that, "In many languages, irrealis conditionals are marked identically as irrealis *when*-clauses, so that the slight difference between them is inferred from the context." This is the case for Abun. Examples 11.30 and 11.31 below are irrealis conditional sentences and are marked by *yo* to express the conditional relationship between the clauses.

11.30 *Nan í yo men to Barbarina si nan kem.*
2SG happy when.IRR 1PL add Barbarina with 2SG live
If you are happy (about it) we will send Barbarina to live with you.

11.31 *Wo pa yo me suk nde tó yo, bere syogat...*
but young.men NEG see things NEG INCAM when.IRR FUT order
But if the young men haven't seen anything, (then) they order...

It was stated earlier that Abun has no single lexical item to represent a conditional relationship between clauses. The tensed conjunctions *sa* and *yo* can be used to express this relationship but often no conjunction will be used at all. In the following example the first clause expresses a current state so that the time setting is neither past nor future. Here neither *sa* nor *yo* have been used to link the two clauses. There is no linker at all. The two clauses are juxtaposed and the conditional relationship that is expressed is inferred by the hearer from the known context.

11.32 *Nan bambri ji be ji ben obat mo a kwop go!*
2SG not.care 1PL FUT 1PL do black.magic on 2SG die ASS
(If) you are not going to marry me, (then) I will kill you with sorcery, so there!

The conjunction *yo* is also used to link other clauses that could be described as 'hypothetical alternatives'. Abun has no single lexical item that represents alternation such as the English 'or'. In questions often *bado* 'ALTERNATIVE QUESTION MARKER' is used. In a complex sentence involving several alternatives *yo* may be used where the situation is not fully known and therefore hypothetical in some way. In such instances *yo* is best translated as 'whether'.

11.33 *An mewa an bi nggon ndo yo ibit*
3SG look.after 3SG POSS woman good when.IRR bad

yo men jam nde.
when.IRR 1PL know NEG
Whether he looks after his wife well or badly, we do not know.

11.2.2.4 COMPULSORY CONSEQUENCE 'IF...THEN (MUST)'

It has been shown that *yo* is used within sentences to express the future time setting of those sentences, to express possible events or hypothetical ones and also to express a conditional relationship between two clauses. It can also be used to link clauses where the event expressed by the second clause is a compulsory consequence of the event expressed by the first. These types of sentences are always hypothetical in nature, yet the additional link of consequence is contained within the meaning of the complex sentence. For example:

11.34 *Ye-to gwa yewon dabe* ***yo,*** *ye ne*
person-REL hit shaman ear when.IRR person that

bi denda su mbre.
pay fine with eastern.cloth
Whenever someone hits a shaman on the ear, that person must pay a fine with antique cloth.

11.35 *Suk-to a ku mone* ***yo*** *a jam a gu wé sor.*
thing-REL 2SG find there when.IRR 2PL know 2SG kill off just
Whatever you find there, you know you must just kill (it).

11.2.3 CONSTITUENT STATUS OF *sa* AND *yo*

When both of these 'tensed' conjunctions mark a sentence they modify the first clause of the sentence only. Thus these sentences have the following structure:

[CLAUSE 1 + *sa* / *yo*] + CLAUSE 2

Because a single clause cannot be modified by a grammatical category 'tense', *sa* and *yo* are considered subordinating conjunctions. These 'tensed' conjunctions behave differently to other Abun conjunctions in that they are postpositional. Prepositional and compounding conjunctions such as *we* 'because' and *wo* 'but' do not behave this way. This is to be expected since Abun is a language with SVO word order and has prepositions. The 'tensed' or temporal conjunctions *sa* and *yo* depart from this. In fact in VO word-order languages generally "the connecting morpheme appears *clause-initially* — in the *following* clause" (Givón 1990:889). These conjunctions being postpositional illustrate characteristics often found in OV languages. Because these two conjunctions show a difference in syntactic behaviour to other Abun conjunctions they are considered to be in a separate subclass to the others.

The two final examples show clearly that while both conjunctions have several meanings in Abun, the predominant meaning is to give a time setting to the sentences concerned. The first clause of each sentence is almost identical to the other except for the choice of conjunction. The meaning difference is that the events expressed by example 11.36 had at that stage not yet taken place (being in the middle of a narrative); whereas sentence 11.37 (given earlier as example 11.20) expresses events already concluded and is in fact a summary statement at the end of the same narrative. Therefore it is by the means of two subordinating conjunctions that hearers can identify the time settings of Abun sentences.

11.36 *Wo yen but nu-won nde* ***yo,*** *be yen yo*
but 3PL capture house-shaman NEG when.IRR FUT people NEG

ki suk ndo nde tó, be yen gu yu tó.
say thing good NEG INCAM FUT people kill REFL INCAM
But if they do not set up a 'shaman training school', then the people will not yet (get around to) talking about (the problem) properly, they will still kill each other.

11.37 *Wo yen yo but nu-won ne nde*
but people NEG capture house-shaman that NEG

sa *bere yen gu yu tó bado?*
when.REAL FUT people kill REFL INCAM AQM
But if they had not set up the shaman training school they would be still killing each other, don't you think?

CHAPTER 12

PREPOSITIONAL AND COMPOUNDING CONJUNCTIONS

12.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter adverbial subordinate clauses, which were linked to the larger sentence by means of postpositional conjunctions, were described. In Abun, clauses are linked to form complex sentences in one of three ways—by means of postpositional conjunctions, by means of prepositional conjunctions or by means of compounding conjunctions. Clause types in Abun can be classified according to which type of conjunction is used, rather than a subordinate/coordinate distinction which depends upon clause-internal syntactic differences. In this chapter, the usage of prepositional conjunctions and compounding conjunctions within sentences will be described. These types are grouped together according to their common syntactic properties. Table 12.1 below outlines these groups and lists the common syntactic features that distinguish them from each other. There are a small number of conjunctions which do not fit neatly into these three groups. These 'exceptions' have not been included in Table 12.1 but are also discussed in this chapter.

TABLE 12.1: PREPOSITIONAL AND COMPOUNDING CONJUNCTIONS

Group	Features
1. Preposition conjunctions *wa* 'for' *tepsu* 'like' etc.	• are also members of the class of prepositions • can embed single clauses within larger sentences • do not compound with other conjunctions
2. Compounding conjunctions *we* 'because' *wo* 'but' *te* 'then'	• cannot be used to embed clauses but link two or more independent clauses • may compound with other conjunctions to extend their range of meaning
3. 'Negative' conjunctions *onde-sa* 'otherwise (would)' etc.	• consist of the clause negator *onde* • are always in compound form together with other conjunctions or time words

12.2 THE PREPOSITION AS CONJUNCTION

Traditionally prepositions and conjunctions have been considered as two separate word classes within a language. Recently Huddleston (1984:338) has proposed, at least for English, that prepositions and subordinating conjunctions be conflated into a single class (1984:338). Some of the reasoning behind this (1984:339) that is applicable to Abun as well

as English is that a number of these words "enter into construction with either an NP or a clause". Abun prepositions behave like conjunctions in that a large number of the class of prepositions have the ability to link a clause to a larger construction. Where they differ from the other conjunction groups listed in Table 12.1 is in their ability to embed clauses within larger units. It will be shown later that other conjunctions in Abun link independent clauses. These conjunctions have been described as compounding conjunctions because of their ability to create new forms and extend their range of meaning.

The following Table 12.2 lists those Abun prepositions that behave also as conjunctions. For some, when they are used to link a clause rather than an NP, their original meaning is extended.

TABLE 12.2: PREPOSITION CONJUNCTIONS

	as PREPOSITION	as CONJUNCTION
wa	for BENEFACTIVE	for/in order to PURPOSE
tepsu	like/same as	like/same as
wade	until	until
kadit	from/rather than	from/rather than
karowa	close to/near	close to
subot	about/along	about
su	with INSTRUMENT	with

The majority of Abun prepositions may act as conjunctions. However, the general locative *mo* 'at/in' can be used only in association with the relative clause marker *gato*.[37] Some of the prepositions such as *subot* 'along' *karowa* 'close to/near' and *su* 'with' are not commonly used as conjunctions. Examples of those that are more commonly used, both as prepositions and as conjunctions, are given below:

(i) **'*wa*' 'for/in order to'**

12.1 *An fro nu yo* ***wa*** *men.*
3SG prepare house DET(I) for 1PL
She prepared a house for us.

12.2 *Marta tot su-gato gum do brer gwat ma* ***wa*** *mengit sugit mo.*
Marta cut thing-REL name COM brer bring DIR for 1PL eat food on
Marta cut some *brer* (leaves) and brought them back for us to eat our food on.

The clause that follows the preposition *wa* in example 12.2 above is considered as a single constituent. As discussed in Chapter 10 earlier, there is no non-finite form of the verb in Abun, thus *men git sugit mo* represents a single clause.

37 Examples of these are in §9.3.

12.3 *Yenggras Cosmus brek kwem su mu nden mo tanjung*
mister Cosmus turn canoe head DIR land to point

Kasuwari ***wa*** *men sem mone.*
Cassowary for 1PL sleep there
Mister Cosmus turned the head of the canoe towards the shore at Cassowary Point in order for us to sleep there.

Since *wa* is a preposition, if a clause containing *wa* is negated the prepositional phrase is included within the negation. For example:

12.4 *Yenggras yo ki nggon yo* ***wa*** *ji nde.*
elders NEG say women DET.(I) for 1SG NEG
The elders did not speak to any women for me (to marry).

Likewise if *wa* links a constituent that is as large as a clause, this clause is also included within the scope of the negation of the main clause verb. Example 12.5 below illustrates this:

12.5 *Men yo ku oto* ***wa*** *men bes men bi suk yo mo nde.*
1PL NEG find car for 1PL lift 1PL POSS thing NEG exist NEG
We did not find any cars to carry our load (for us) at all.

In §10.2.5 earlier it was shown how a clause can be considered as subordinate by the placement of the final negative particle *nde*. If a main clause is to be negated, the negative particle *nde* only occurs after any subordinate clause which may be embedded within the larger sentence. Thus clauses joined by *wa* are embedded clauses within a larger sentence. So in example 12.5 above the preposition *wa* is used to link the clause *men bes men bi suk* 'we load our things' to a larger sentence. The placement of the negative particle *nde* as sentence-final indicates that this clause is in fact embedded.

The following example is even more complex. The verb of the main clause is negative and, as is the case with main clause verbs in Abun, the second negative particle cannot occur until after any embedded clauses which are governed by the main clause. In this example there are three embedded clauses, one a relative clause and two that are embedded by means of *wa*, showing that *wa* is also recursive in nature. To add to the complexity the main clause is also an interrogative. Again, like the final negative particle, the interrogative marker *e* occurs after the embedded clauses.

12.6 *A jam bisor gato ki mo ye yi* ***wa*** *ye*
2SG know bisor REL say to person other for person

yi waii gwat ri e suk sane ma ***wa*** *yen*
other also bring ginger and things like.that DIR for people

gu su re nde e?
kill with PERF NEG QM
Don't you know (the meaning of) *bisor* whereby (someone) asks someone else to get ginger and other sorts of things so that they (can use them to) kill with (by means of sorcery)?

(ii) ***tepsu* 'just like/equivalence'**

12.7 *Ji kem* ***tepsu*** *ari dik.*
1SG stay like.equiv week one
I stayed for about a week.

12.8 *A napawa pé* ***tepsu*** *jam-biro kom mo kwe-guk.*
2SG remember firmly just.like vine-biro grow on tree-branch
You remember (this) closely just like the *biro* vine clings closely to the branch that it grows on.

(iii) ***kadit* 'from/rather than'**

12.9 *Nggon syeysar* ***kadit*** *nu-gan.*
woman come.out from house-small
The woman came out from the women's house.

12.10 *Ye we git* ***kadit*** *nggon Dembok re.*
person two eat rather.than woman Dembok PERF
1. The two men ate rather than Miss Dembok.
2. The two men ate not leaving any food for Miss Dembok.

12.11 *Me-ka-we git more subere sugum wok sor,* ***kadit***
1PL-CL-two eat here so.that money small just rather.than

men git sugit mo nu sane sugum sye ndo nde.
1PL eat food at house like.that money big good NEG
The two of us will eat here so that (we don't) pay much, rather than we eat at that house (restaurant) (where) it is really expensive.

(iv) ***wade* 'until'**

12.12 *Men kem mone* ***wade*** *kam we rek.*
1PL stay there until day two entire
We stayed there for all of two days.

12.13 *Men mu* ***wade*** *men satu ma kadit Jayapura.*
1PL go until 1PL return DIR from Jayapura
We are going until we return here from Jayapura.

(v) ***sude/su-bere* 'so that'**

This conjunction is made up of the preposition *su* 'with' and the time word *bere* 'FUTURE/later'. As regards the dialect variant *sude*, no meaning component has been elicited for *-de*. Speakers that use *sude* often add *bere* indicating that this conjunction is used with events not yet realised. *Sude* is not used to link a noun phrase to a clause, so in this way it could not be described as a preposition. However, it is the authors' opinion that the form *sude* is derived from the preposition *su* 'with' and so it has been included here with other prepositions.

12.14 *Ji mu nyim kekro* ***sude*** ***bere*** *ji nai sugit*
1SG go ahead quickly so.that later 1SG take food

kekro kagit ye mwa.
quickly from people many
I will go ahead quickly so that I can get the food quickly because there are many people.

12.15 *A me ri yo a grem* ***subere*** *ji*
2SG see ginger.root when.IRR 2SG put so.that 1SG

mu kar Sem et.
go go.get Sem SUBJ
If you find some ginger root then keep it (here) so that I can go and get Sem soon (so that he can use the ginger root).

In a language like English, adverbial subordinate clauses can be distinguished from coordinate clauses in that the subordinate clause is not fixed in its position within the sentence. The subordinate clause may be either *pre-posed*, that is sentence-initial, or *post-posed,* that is sentence-final. Such flexibility of sentence position is not possible in Abun. Therefore in Abun, the ability to pre-pose or post-pose an adverbial clause is not an indicator of subordination. As has already been discussed earlier (§10.3.1.1), there is no non-finite verb form that can be used to signify that a clause is subordinate. However, the placement of the final negative particle is an indicator in Abun that a clause is embedded within a larger sentence. By this means clauses that are linked to larger clauses by prepositions can be shown to be subordinate, as in examples 12.5 and 12.6 above. However, prepositions and all conjunctions in Abun are sentence-medial. A clause together with its linking conjunction cannot be fronted or pre-posed as is possible in a language like English. It has been claimed (Givón 1990:844) that "All languages seem to allow the pre-posing of ADV-clauses". This is not the case for Abun and therefore this cannot be used as an indicator of subordination.

12.3 COMPOUNDING CONJUNCTIONS

The most striking feature of this second group of conjunctions is indicated by their name—'compounding' conjunctions. From three 'base' forms—*we* 'because', *wo* 'but' and *te* 'then'—a total of eight other compound conjunctions are created. This feature, the ability to act as a base form within a compound, is a significant syntactic feature which can be used to identify these three conjunctions as a distinct group or subclass in Abun. Before the extent of these compounding possibilities is discussed, another syntactic feature common to these compounding conjunctions will be discussed first.

Unlike prepositional conjunctions, the conjunctions termed 'compounding conjunctions' do not have the ability to embed a clause within a larger unit. These conjunctions link two independent clauses together to form sentences which cannot be easily described by the traditional labels of subordinate or coordinate. In Chapter 11 it was explained that Abun has little syntactic evidence to support a subordinate/coordinate division of complex sentences. This is most likely due to the influence of Papuan clause-chaining languages which also do not have this division. In fact many languages, not only Abun, (Givón 1990:848) "do not make a clear morpho-syntactic distinction between coordinate and subordinate clauses". At

first glance, sentences which contain these conjunctions appear no different to those where a preposition is used as the means of clause linkage. To show this several sentences are given below. The first two, given earlier as examples 12.3 and 12.8, use the prepositions *wa* 'for' and *tepsu* 'like/same as'. Examples 12.18, 12.19 and 12.20 show *we* 'because', *wo* 'but' and *te* 'then' respectively.

12.16 *Yenggras Cosmus brek kwem su mu nden mo tanjung*
mister Cosmus turn canoe head DIR land to point

Kasuwari ***wa*** *men sem mone.*
Cassowary for 1PL sleep there
Mister Cosmus turned the head of the canoe towards the shore at Cassowary Point in order for us to sleep there.

12.17 *A napawa pé* ***tepsu*** *jam-biro kom mo kwe-guk.*
2SG remember firmly just.like vine-biro grow on tree-branch
You remember (this) closely just like the *biro* vine clings closely to the branch that it grows on.

12.18 *Nan ben suk ré kekro* ***we*** *men mu mo Jayapura.*
2SG do thing this quickly because 1PL go to Jayapura
You do this thing quickly because we are going to Jayapura.

12.19 *Yan Sundoi ne kwop re* ***wo*** *Edia Yesa ne kem tó.*
Yan Sundoi DET die PERF but Edia Yesa DET live still
Yan Sundoi has already died but Edia Yesa is still living.

12.20 *Ji ma it san* ***te*** *ji mu.*
1SG come put.on clothes then 1SG go
I came and put on clothes then I went.

In all of the above cases none of the clauses preceded by prepositional or compounding conjunctions can be pre-posed, as this is not possible in Abun. In all of the sentences above there are no special verb forms used, as the form of the verb in Abun is invariant. Therefore it could be said that the constituent structure of these sentences is identical. However, this is not the case.

In the previous section it was shown that the placement of the final negative particle *nde* could indicate that clauses which were linked by means of prepositions such as *wa* were subordinate. In example 12.6 earlier, the final interrogative particle *e* also indicated that several clauses linked to the main clause by the preposition *wa* were subordinate. In Abun the mood particle is always the final constituent of the clause.[38] If this same indicator of subordination is applied to clauses that are linked by 'compounding' conjunctions what is the outcome? Can clauses linked by compounding conjunctions be shown to be embedded just as those linked by prepositions are? When this test of subordination is applied it can be seen that sentences which use compounding conjunctions are in fact different to those which make use of prepositions. Example 12.5 is repeated below as example 12.21 to show this contrast.

38 This is discussed more fully in Chapter 6.

12.21 *Men yo ku oto wa men bes men bi suk yo mo nde.*
1PL NEG find car for 1PL lift 1PL POSS thing NEG exist NEG
We did not find any cars to carry our load (for us) at all.

In example 12.21 above, the main clause verb *ku* 'get' is negated and the final negative particle *nde* occurs after the embedded clause which is linked by the preposition *wa* 'for'. In example 12.22 below, the means of clause linkage is the compounding conjunction *we* 'because'. The negative particles have been placed in exactly the same way as in 12.21 above, yet this is an unacceptable sentence.

12.22 **Ji yo ma we ji bi nggon i nde.*
1SG NEG come because 1SG POSS woman sick NEG
I did not come because my wife was sick.

Example 12.22 above is structurally incorrect because, when clauses are linked by a compounding conjunction such as *we* 'because', each clause must be individually marked for negation if negation is relevant. In example 12.23 below only the verb of the first clause, *ma* 'come', is negated. The second negative particle *nde* occurs before the conjunction *we* indicating that the second clause is not a subordinate clause.

12.23 *Ji yo ma nde we ji bi nggon i.*
1SG NEG come NEG because 1SG POSS woman sick
I did not come because my wife was sick.

When clauses are linked by compounding conjunctions they cannot be embedded, as is the case when clauses are linked by prepositions. In these cases each clause must be marked for negation and for mood, if this is applicable. Each clause could stand as an independent clause. Therefore the sentence which uses a compounding conjunction as the means of clause linkage is structurally different to those which use prepositions. The following examples indicate the mood and negative marking of clauses linked by these conjunctions.[39]

12.24 *A sun tom we boge jon it.*
2SG get.up IMP because fish be.cook CAM
Get up, because the fish is cooked!

12.25 *Ji titi satu mo kampung sor we ji yo*
1SG flee return to village just because 1SG NEG
bi os wa ji kem mo Dom nde.
POSS way for 1SG stay at Dom NEG
I just fled back to the village because I did not have any way to stay (on) in Dom.

---

39 It could be said that on this basis Abun does possess a subordinate/coordinate distinction of clause types. We have preferred not to incorporate this distinction within our analysis because as pointed out at the beginning of Chapter 11 there is little syntactic marking to distinguish the two types. Rather we have preferred to distinguish the other syntactic feature that these conjunctions possess, namely the ability to compound and create new forms.

12.26 *Nggon syim karowa án nde* **we** *nggon ben*
women arm near 3PL NEG because women make

suk-ye wa án.
NOM-difficulty for them
Women must not physically touch them because this would make them ritually unclean (lit. women make difficulties for them).

12.27 *An yo nut-bot an bi siri nde,* **wo** *an mu*
3SG NEG think-about 3SG POSS wrong NEG but 3SG go

ki-bot ye yi bi siri.
talk-about people other POSS wrong
He does not think about (the things) he (does) wrong but he goes (and) talks about (the things) other people (do) wrong.

The third conjunction that is included in the group of compounding conjunctions is the sequential conjunction *te* 'then'. Abun has no single conjunction which in meaning is precisely equivalent to a coordinate conjunction such as the English 'and'. However, *te* and its dialect variant *ge* in compound form produce a number of varying sequential conjunctions. It has been observed (Longacre 1985:267) that the notions of temporal simultaneity and sequence "are elaborated with considerable range and variety in Papua New Guinea". The number of sequential variants found in Abun is typical of a Papuan language and shows something of the influence of these languages on Abun syntax. It may be uncommon to group sequential conjunctions together with those conjunctions meaning 'because' and 'but'. However, there are no syntactic distinctions found in Abun complex sentences which correlate with the semantic differences of these conjunctions and which would justify a further subdivision. Another type of conjunction, (that which means 'alternation', such as the English 'or') is also normally considered together with a conjunction of contrast such as *wo* 'but'. Abun has no single morpheme which is used to indicate alternation.[40] Therefore for Abun, on the basis of common syntactic behaviour, sequential conjunctions are included within the second group of prepositional conjunctions—the 'compounding' conjunctions. Examples of sentences containing *te* and its variant *ge* are given below:

12.28 *Men kem sane wade jam dik bayok,* **te** *men*
1PL stay like.that until hour one perhaps then 1PL

jam kapar-ok uk.
hear ship-fly make.noise
We stayed there for about an hour, then we heard the noise of the plane.

12.29 *An maskwa* **ge** *an gu an bi nggon kam-dik kam-dik.*
3SG angry then 3SG beat 3SG POSS woman day-one day-one
He was angry then he beat his wife every day.

Given that these examples differ significantly from those normally described as 'subordinate' or 'coordinate', is a third option available? For example, is it possible to

---

40 This is a feature marked on each clause which may represent a choice to the hearer. In interrogatives *bado* is used. Otherwise the temporal subordinate conjunction *yo* is used, or the particle *ka*, a borrowed term from the unrelated Biak language.

consider these sentences as 'cosubordinate' in the same way that Foley and Van Valin apply this term to various clause types that are found in the clause-chaining languages of Papua New Guinea and elsewhere? They describe their usage of the term 'cosubordinate' in the following way (Foley & Van Valin 1984:257): "a dependency relation exists between the juncts in that they must have the same illocutionary force and share the same absolute tense". This is not the case for Abun where, as illustrated in example 12.24 above, the imperative mood is marked only on the first clause and the second clause is marked by an aspect marker.[41] In fact the Abun sentences described here fit more closely Foley and Van Valin's definition of coordination, although they (Foley & Van Valin 1984:243) admit that they do not use this term in the 'traditional' sense:

> Coordinate nexus applies to any construction in which the juncts are not in a part-whole relationship i.e. one junct is not embedded in the other and both juncts may be independently specified for the operators at the given level of juncture.

Whether Foley and Van Valin's terminology is used or not it can be seen that these Abun clauses do not neatly fit the usual labels.

12.4 COMPOUND CONJUNCTIONS

As stated earlier the most obvious way that this second group of conjunctions differ from prepositions is in their ability to compound with other conjunctions. By doing so the range of semantic possibilities is greatly extended. Prepositions generally do not compound in Abun.[42] The following Table 12.3 lists the three 'base' conjunctions and the compound forms that are derived from them. Examples of each compound follow the table.

TABLE 12.3: COMPOUND CONJUNCTIONS

CONJUNCTION		COMPOUND	
we	'because'	*sa-we*	'in case, lest'
wo	'but'	*sare-wo*	'however'
		onde-wo	'but really'
te/ge	'then'	*e-te*	'and then'
		or-ete/or-ge	'after that then'
		ete-yo/or-ete-yo	'and next, and so'
		onde-ge	'otherwise-then'

41 Sentences of the type that Foley and Van Valin describe can in fact be found for Abun but in these cases they do not make use of any conjunction. The two clauses are juxtaposed and a mood particle after the final clause is understood to apply to both clauses.

42 One exception is *su-bere* 'so that'. In this word the preposition *su* 'with' compounds with the time word *bere* 'later' to form a conjunction. Most conjunctions do not compound with time words as is the case here, the only exception being *onde-ber* 'otherwise.will' which will be discussed later.

(i) ***sawe* 'in case'**

The compound *sa-we* is derived from *sa* 'like' and *we* 'because'. The second clause of the sentence expresses some undesirable aim or purpose which should be avoided.

12.30 *An jam do an karowa ne nde* ***sawe*** *an*
3SG know COM 3SG go.near there NEG in.case 3SG

syim-tok wo-kwai re basmi dom.
hand-touch fish-eel this smell also
He knew that he could not go near there in case he touched the eel (and its) smell (would be on him) too.

12.31 *An i dek sane* ***sawe*** *ji mu meret*
3SG sick constant like.that in.case 1SG go look.for

nggon be yo.
woman new DET.(I)
She was always sick like that in case I went and looked for a new wife.

(ii) ***sarewo* 'however'**

The compound *sarewo* is made up of *sare* 'like.this' and *wo* 'but'. In many instances its meaning is interchangeable with *wo* 'but'. Often it is best translated as 'however'. While *wo* is used to express a semantic relationship of contrast between clauses, *sarewo* is more likely to express the semantic relationship of contra-expectation.

12.32 *Án ki-bot* ***sarewo*** *yen mit-wa be yen gu*
3PL talk-about however people intend-TRS later people kill

Nikodemus tó.
Nikodemus still
They discussed (it); however, people still wanted to kill Nikodemus.

12.33 *Yen kwa an mone* ***sarewo*** *an yo ge*
people do.healing.magic 3SG there however 3SG NEG heal

ri kadit an bi suk-i ne nde.
straight from 3SG POSS NOM-sick DET NEG
They performed healing rituals on her there; however, she did not get properly healed from her sickness.

The conjunction *wo* is a constituent of another compound, *onde-wo* 'but really'. Since *onde* is a negative particle this conjunction will be discussed in the final section of this chapter on negative conjunctions.

12.4.1 SEQUENTIAL CLAUSES

The compound sequential conjunctions are not only made up of the conjunction *te* 'then' but are also made up of other morphemes. One of these is the adverb *or* 'after/finished'. The other morpheme, the additive conjunction *e* 'and', is the closest to truly being a coordinate conjunction of any that are found in Abun. Before giving examples of the compound conjunctions derived from *te*, a brief sample of Abun sequential clauses is given below showing the use of these constituent morphemes which frequently feature in Abun sequential clauses.

Like Papuan languages, Abun has a number of ways to mark temporal simultaneity and also temporal sequence. In regard to sequence especially, there are quite a variety of options to express the relationship of temporal succession between clauses. Often clauses that are sequential in nature do not use any conjunctions at all. They are simply juxtaposed. For example:

12.34 *Men gwa bei mone, men git, men ror, men si ndar.*
1PL pound sago there 1PL eat 1PL scrape 1PL with dogs
We pounded sago there, we ate, we scraped (the sago palms), we (hunted) with dogs.

On some occasions sequential clauses are joined by *e*, which could be said to mean 'and'. However, it often acts more like a pause word and is never used to join nouns in a coordinate phrase. In these phrases *si* 'with' is used so that a coordinate phrase such as 'women and children' in Abun is *nggon si pa*. The conjunction *e* is used when the speaker is listing items, or closely related activities, hence it is described as an additive conjunction. In a longer group of sequential clauses other sequential conjunctions may be used or, conversely, no conjunctions are used at all.

12.35 *Men gu boge* ***e,*** *men gu wo-nggwan* ***e,*** *wo-kwai* ***e***...
1PL kill fish.generic and 1PL kill fish-nggwan and fish-eel and
We killed fish of various sorts, we killed *nggwan* fish, eels...

12.36 *Men titi. Men sem* ***e*** *men mu sem kagit suk-sara ne.*
1PL run.away 1PL sleep and 1PL go sleep from NOM-dance that
We ran off. We slept and we went and slept rather than (continuing on with) the dance.

12.37 *Ji sam mu ji grem kop e nggwe ne er.*
1SG carry DIR 1SG put fixed and garden DET clear
I carried (the wood) away, I left it somewhere and the garden was cleared.

Also frequently used to join sequential clauses is *or-e* 'after-and' or more simply translated as 'and'. The addition of *or* 'finish/after' indicates that the action expressed by the previous clause is finished and so this adds to the sequential nature of the sentence.

12.38 *Nggon we si Abaidim kwas* ***ore*** *go* ***ore*** *tik on ne.*
women two with Abaidim burn and cut.up and pull intestines DET
The two women and Abaidim burned off (the hairs of the skin) and they cut (the meat) up and they pulled out the intestines.

Thus the morphemes *e* and *or* are joined with *te/ge* to create other sequential conjunctions.

(i) ***ete* 'and then'**

By far the most commonly used sequential conjunction in any narrative or dialogue is *ete* 'and then'. It is more frequently used than both of its constituents, *e* and *te*.

12.39 *An taru wa men* ***ete*** *men ma.*
3SG send.message for 1PL and.then 1PL came
He sent a message for us and then we came.

12.40 *A ben sare ete be rus sa u ne?*
2SG do like.this and.then later family how which QM
1. You do (things) like this and then how will it be for the family?
2. If you keep doing things like this then what will the outcome be for the family?

(ii) ***orete/orge* 'after that then'**

Yet another sequential conjunction is created by the addition of the adverb *or* 'after/finish' to the conjunction *ete* 'and then'. *Orete* and its dialect variant *orge* differ little in meaning to *ete*. The addition of *or* emphasises that the action expressed by the first clause of the sentence is finished before proceeding to the action of the second clause. The notion of immediate chronological sequence is made more evident by usage of *orete* rather than *ete*. Like *ete*, *orete* is frequently used.

12.41 *An kon su-git men git mone* ***or-ete*** *men mu mo Syurur.*
3SG cook NOM-food 1PL eat there after-then 1PL go to Syurur
He cooked food, we ate there and then we went to Syurur.

12.42 *Abaidim sem wade kam* ***or-ete*** *Abaidim sun.*
Abaidim sleep until day after-then Abaidim get.up
Abaidim slept until it was day and then Abaidim got up.

12.43 *Ji ma or-e ji grem suk* ***or-ge*** *ji mu o re.*
1SG come after-and 1SG put things after-and 1SG go again PERF
I came and I stored the things and then I went off again.

By the illustration of the above examples it can be seen that the Abun speaker has a wide variety of options when wishing to link clauses that are sequential in nature. As well as not using any conjunction at all, the speaker may choose from five different conjunctions in order to express the notion of temporal sequence. Therefore in any sentence of a sequential nature it is possible to find more than one sequential conjunction used.

12.44 *An gwa drom det pu* ***or-ete*** *yenggras Erensi*
3SG beat drum piece loud.noise after-then elder Erensi

gen ***ete*** *Erensi sun.*
startle and.then Erensi get.up
She beat on the drum loudly and then old Erensi was startled and Erensi got up.

(iii) ***eteyo/oreteyo* 'and next/and so'**

There are two more sequential conjunctions in Abun, but these two have the component of meaning of result or outcome added to that of temporal sequence. The conjunctions *ete* and *orete*, when expanded by the tensed conjunction *yo*, result in two new conjunctions meaning 'and so', where both the concepts of sequence and logical result are combined in one form. In this case the addition of *yo* does not indicate an irrealis or non-past time setting for the sentence as when *yo* is normally used. The addition of *yo* creates a new conjunction which differs in its range of meaning and usage from other sequential conjunctions. The uses of *oreteyo* compared to *orete* and other sequential conjunctions is shown by the examples below. Example 12.45 was earlier given as example 12.41.

12.45 *An kon su-git, men git mone* ***or-ete*** *men mu mo Syurur.*
3SG cook NOM-food 1PL eat there after-then 1PL go to Syurur
He cooked food, we ate there and then we went to Syurur.

12.46 *An ben suk-ye* ***oreteyo*** *an bi pa kwop.*
3SG do NOM-difficulty and.so 3SG POSS child die
He stirred up problems and then as a result his child died.

Example 12.45 describes a series of events which presumably were accomplished in close chronological sequence. This is normally the case when the conjunctions *ete* and *orete* are used. However, example 12.46 does not describe events that occur in close chronological sequence. The time sequence between the two clauses concerned is more indefinite. Rather, it seems that the second clause does not merely follow on chronologically after the first clause, but follows as a *result* of the first one. The event expressed by the second clause arises from, or is due to the events of the first. Other examples below illustrate this:

12.47 *Men is-bot jip mu nim mu bur ware, Isak*
1PL descend-along ladder go up go down FRUS Isak

narar os, ***eteyo*** *men muri kom mo bur.*
confused path and.so 1PL lost reach to ground
We went down along the stairs, we went up and down, but to no avail, Isak was confused as to where to go, and then as a result at the bottom of the stairwell we were lost.

12.48 *Nan bi mben gato kra nan bi nyanggon e ba*
2SG POSS in.law REL marry 2SG POSS sister and come

sakanwa nan ga-re, ***eteyo*** *suk-yo gat bado?*
agree.meet 2SG ANA-DET and.next thing-INDEF stab perhaps
Your in-law who married your sister went out to meet you and (what happened) next, did something spear him perhaps? [The in-law had died.]
['What happened next?' could also be read as 'What was the outcome?']

Examples 12.47 and 12.48 above show that something more than sequence is involved. In both of these examples there is some cause–effect relationship involving the two events that are linked by *ete-yo/or-ete-yo*. The second event is regarded as being the result or outcome of the first. Thus *eteyo/oreteyo* has been translated as 'and so' or 'and then as a result' to indicate its difference to other sequential conjunctions.

Oreteyo can also be used to link a series of clauses which represent a list of steps or actions in a common process. In these cases, there is a common semantic thread expressed by the sequence of clauses, which concerns the completion of the process being described. To understand this better, it can be seen in example 12.45 given earlier that while there is a semantic thread between the first two clauses, 'He cooked food, we ate there...', there is none between these first two and the final clause, 'and then *(orete)* we went to Syurur'. The event expressed by this final clause did not follow as a direct result of the events of the other two clauses. A conjunction like *orete* does not create any logical expectations. A clause such as 'and then we went to sleep' could also have followed the first two. This is not the case when *oreteyo* is used, as example 12.49 shows below:

12.49 *Pa go pa krop pa bok jamtu*
young.man cut.up young.man make.hole young.man insert vine

mo ***oreteyo*** *pa far jamtu nggwa.*
in and.next young.man tie vine loop
The young men cut (it) up, they put holes (in it), they put vine through the holes and then they tied the vine into loops.

Oreteyo is used to link the final clause in these sequences indicating that the outcome of the process has been reached. *Oreteyo* precedes the clause that expresses the end of a semantically related chain of events. In this way the behaviour of the conjunction *oreteyo* is not unlike that of the final verb of a chain in clause-chaining languages. In such languages the distinct markings that the verb takes for tense and person indicate that the end of the chain has been reached. Likewise by the choice of the conjunction *oreteyo* speakers can indicate that the end of certain sequences has been reached. Again there is something more than chronological sequence involved. Examples 12.50 and 12.51 below show *oreteyo* used in this way. Here it has been translated 'and.next' to distinguish this usage from that in the earlier examples.

12.50 *Yen kwa semda e, yen kwa suk ne mo*
people do.magic semda and people do.magic thing DET at

worendam, ***oreteyo*** *yen gwat ma.*
worendam and.next people bring DIR
The people did the ritual for the *semda* spirit and they did rituals for those things at the *worendam* tree and next they brought (the things) back.

12.51 *Men grem mo sun, orete men sis mu wai nggon*
1PL put on mat and.then 1PL push DIR pass women

bi det-i ne-ya, ***oreteyo*** *yen nai.*
POSS group-own there-distant and.next people took
We put (the things) on the mat and then we pushed (it) past the woman's group of relatives over there and then they took (it all).

12.4.2 CONSTITUENT STATUS OF COMPOUNDING CONJUNCTIONS

So far it has been shown that Abun has postpositional conjunctions and prepositions which function as conjunctions. In regard to the conjunctions under discussion here, however, it is not always easy to determine which clause they are considered to be a constituent of. The situation is further complicated when a postpositional conjunction such as *yo* is part of the compound conjunction. In regard to two of the compounding conjunctions, *we* 'because' and *wo* 'but', there is plenty of variation by speakers as to whether they pause before or after the conjunction. The larger or more complex the conjunction is, the more difficult it is to determine whether speakers pause before or after the conjunction. Indeed it seems that there is no obvious or identifiable pattern by which one can place these conjunctions as being a part of a particular clause. Therefore sentences which contain compounding conjunctions have the following structure:

CLAUSE 1 + CONJUNCTION + CLAUSE 2

All conjunctions in Abun are typically sentence-medial. While many of the clauses discussed here could be described as neither subordinate nor coordinate, the role of the conjunction in Abun is to delineate the semantic relationship that exists between the linked clauses. Therefore if any constituent of these clauses is absent, including the conjunction, it is no longer possible to have a complex sentence expressing such semantic relationships as reason or contrast. In this way then the conjoined clauses become interdependent.

12.5 INFLUENCE OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE ON ABUN COMPLEX SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Over recent years a growing number of Abun speakers have become bilingual and speak the national language, Bahasa Indonesia. However, the number of those who are reasonably fluent is still small. This means that the influence of Bahasa Indonesia on Abun complex sentence structure is not yet great. Abun complex sentences differ quite markedly from Indonesian complex sentences. There are also several conjunctions in Indonesian which have no Abun counterpart. The most common of these are *kalau* 'if', *sebelum* 'before' and *atau* 'or'. Some Abun speakers add these Indonesian words alongside the existing Abun form. As yet these are not used to replace the Abun forms which represent these concepts.

The Indonesian language has, in a small way, influenced the structure of the Abun complex sentence. All Abun conjunctions are sentence-medial so that sentence structure is as follows (constituency aside):

CLAUSE 1 + CONJUNCTION + CLAUSE 2

However, there are Indonesian conjunctions which are sentence-initial. These sentences have the following structure:

CONJUNCTION + CLAUSE 1 + CLAUSE 2

This pattern has influenced Abun sentence structure in two cases. The first is with the concessive conjunction *kap-re* 'although'. The second is with the logical conjunction *sane* 'so'.

(i) *kap-re* 'although'

Kap-re is actually a noun phrase meaning 'this (period of) time'. *Kap* 'time (unspecified)' is an older word which is infrequently used. It survives as a variant of 'when (INTERROGATIVE)', *kap u?* 'when?'. The other variant is *kam u?* 'day which/when?'. *Kapre* has come to be used as a conjunction meaning 'although/even though'. Of the existing Abun conjunctions there is none that has the equivalent meaning of 'although'.[43] Indonesian, however, is a language which strongly marks the semantic notion of concession. There are a number of forms which can be used including *meskipun* 'although', *walaupun* 'although' and also *sungguhpun* and *sekalipun*. Therefore it appears that the Abun temporal phrase *kap-re* has undergone a category change. In doing so, it fills a semantic concept which is strongly marked in the national language, but was not explicitly marked in Abun.

---

[43] The semantic notion of concession can be created in Abun by marking the first clause with the factitive predicate marker *da* and linking the two clauses by means of *sarewo* 'however'. This gives rise to a sentence with the meaning 'He actually *da* did X however *sarewo* Y'.

Not only has the influence of Indonesian created a conjunction out of a temporal phrase, but also its use in Abun follows the Indonesian sentence pattern. *Kapre* is a sentence-initial rather than a sentence-medial conjunction. As such it is the only sentence-initial conjunction in Abun. It has been suggested (Thompson & Longacre 1985:205) that bilinguals "create patterns in one of their languages which are structurally parallel to those found in the other". This appears to be confirmed by the usage of *kapre,* which is most common with bilingual speakers who have been educated in Indonesian. The following examples show the influence of the Indonesian sentence structure. The first is in Bahasa Indonesia, the others are Abun examples.

12.52 ***Walaupun*** *ia sakit ia pergi ke kelas.*
although 3SG ill 3SG go to class
Although he was ill he went to class.[44]

12.53 ***Kapre****an ben sane men jimnotku an tó.*
although 3SG do like.that 3SG love 3SG still
Although he does (things) like that we still love him.

12.54 ***Kapre****an bari-wa Rahel bi ai wergat an.*
although 3SG not.want-TRS Rahel POSS father persuade 3SG
Even though she did not want (to do it), Rahel's father persuaded her.

(ii) ***sane* 'so'**

The conjunction *sane* 'so' has also been influenced by the sentence structure of the national language. *Sa-ne* is actually an adverbial meaning 'like-that' or 'in that way'. It is used as an adverbial in example 12.50 above in the first clause—***an ben sane*** 'he did (things) like that'. Like *kapre, sane* has come to be used as a conjunction. On many occasions *sane* may precede a single clause only. In these cases as in example 12.55 below, it acts as an adverb.

12.55 *Sane an i dom.*
so 3SG sick also
1. So she was sick also.
2. It was like this, she was sick as well.

Frequently with this type of sentence *sane* does not have the connective meaning of 'so', but rather *sane* is equivalent to a descriptive sentence such as 'It was like this...' or 'It was this way...' Abun has neither a lexical equivalent to 'it' nor to the copula 'be', therefore *sane* in clause-initial position can be adequately translated in this manner. The meaning of the adverbial *sane* has been extended to include that of a logical link between clauses and even between larger units such as paragraphs. The influence of Indonesian is such that *sane* may be either a sentence-initial or a sentence-medial conjunction. Examples 12.56 and 12.57 below are from illiterate speakers. Here *sane* is a sentence-medial conjunction following the usual Abun pattern.

12.56 *Nin mu sino* ***sane*** *nin mewa yu.*
2PL go all so 2PL look.after REFL
You all go together so you can look after each other.

---

44 This example is taken from Echols and Shadily (1975:25).

12.57 *A kaim yenggras it,* ***sane*** *a yo da nau o* ***nde.***
2SG body elder CAM so 2SG NEG drink palm.wine again NEG
You are an old man now, so you don't drink palm wine any more.

Examples 12.58 and 12.59 below are from speakers who have been educated in Indonesian. In these examples *sane* is a sentence-initial conjunction.

12.58 ***Sane*** *men ben kwat pé sa, men siker*
so 1PL make platform secure when.REAL 1PL tease

nok bot kwa yo kwa yo.
wild.pig about several DET.(I) several DET.(I)
So when we had secured (the pig) to the platform, we teased it about all kinds of things.

12.59 ***Sane*** *men sam kwem mu ti kwop karowa sem nap.*
so 1PL carry canoe DIR seaward leave near sea waves
So we carried the canoe towards the sea (and) left it near the water's edge.

Unlike with *kapre* the influence of Indonesian is not so strong as to totally change *sane* from a sentence-medial to sentence-initial conjunction. Nevertheless it can be seen that *sane* does not behave like other prepositional conjunctions.

The conjunction *sane* has several variants all of which illustrate that the influence of the Indonesian language is still only partial. *Sane*, in common with the compounding conjunctions, also has the ability to compound with other conjunctions, creating new forms. *Sane-yo* and *sane-ge/te* are two variants which could both be translated as 'so then' or 'therefore'. Just as the distinction between *yo* and *sa* was primarily one of tense or time setting, this distinction is carried over to the conjunction *sane* by means of the compound forms. Thus *sane-ge* is 'therefore-REAL' and *sane-yo* 'therefore-IRR'.

(iii) ***sane-ge* 'therefore-REAL'**

The compound *sane-ge* uses the conjunction *ge* 'then' to indicate realis or past time rather than the subordinating conjunction *sa*. There are dialect variants *sane-te* and *sane-gede*. *Sane-ge* differs from *sane-yo* only in the sense that *sane-ge* links two clauses that express events that have already occurred or are already past.

12.60 *An mu mo nggwe* ***sane-ge*** *men eswa an sor ndendu.*
3SG go to garden therefore-REAL 1PL wait.for 3SG only evening
She had gone to the garden therefore we waited for her until evening.

12.61 *Ji tete ji kokro mó* ***sane-ge*** *ji jam nde*
1SG shake 1SG terrify exist therefore-REAL 1SG know NEG

su-ga ji ki ne.
thing-REL 1SG say DET
I was shaking, I was terrified therefore I did not know what I was saying.

12.62 *Be yerom ki do, ana si nje gu an bi*
later yerom say COM FOC with people kill 3SG POSS

*yegon yerom ré e, **sane-ge** an mu re.*
male.relative yerom this and therefore-REAL 3SG go PERF
Later the yerom spirit would say that (the shaman) was the one who together with others killed his relative this (other) yerom, so the shaman went away (to avoid suspicion).

In the above example the first clause represents not an actual event but only a possibility. However this possibility, what the yerom spirit might say, occurred in the past according to the time setting of the narrative from which this sentence was taken. The last clause of the sentence is marked with the perfect aspect *re.* By this it is known that the events described have already taken place. Therefore these clauses are linked by *sane-ge* rather than *sane-yo* to indicate a past time setting.

(iv) ***sane-yo* 'therefore-IRR'**

When the temporal conjunction *yo* is joined to *sane,* creating *sane-yo,* then the various ranges of meaning attributable to *yo* can be added as well. In Chapter 11 it was stated that *yo* is used to indicate future events or plans. It can also be used to describe hypothetical events and procedural, hypothetical events. *Sane-yo* is also used to link clauses of this nature. Examples 12.63 and 12.64 describe future intent and non-past time respectively.

12.63 *Set bi ai mo ket tu re **sane-yo***
Set POSS father at west distant PERF therefore-IRR

me-ka-we mu kekro.
1PL-CL-two go quickly
Set's father is already over there so we should go quickly.

12.64 *Nan bi nyanggon ne i kam-dik kam-dik*
2SG POSS female.relative DET sick day-one day-one

***sane-yo** yo syesyar nde.*
therefore.IRR NEG come.out NEG
Your female relative is sick every day therefore she does not come out.

Example 12.65 below describes a hypothetical situation. Hence *sane-yo* rather than *sane-ge* is used.

12.65 *Sato pa ne bi yenggras ben suk*
for.example young.man DET POSS elders do thing

*yo siri **sane-yo** yen gu pa ne.*
DET.(I) wrong therefore-IRR people hit young.man that
For example if the young man's elders do something wrong then they will beat the young man.

The following examples express events that are considered likely to happen, best expressed in English by 'whenever'. Here again *sane-yo* is the conjunction used.

12.66 *Pa ki do, án me it,* ***sane-yo*** *án nut*
young.men say COM 3PL see CAM therefore-IRR 3PL think

do, pa me suk ana-ne.
COM young.men see things FOC-DET
If/when the young men say they have seen (something) therefore they (the shamans) think that the young men have really seen those (spirits).

12.67 *Nggon ku pa yo* ***sane-yo*** *nggon rot an nde.*
women get child DET.(I) therefore-IRR women touch 3SG NEG
1. Whenever women give birth (other) women must not touch her.
2. When a woman gives birth, if this is the case then (other) women must not touch her.

(v) ***sane-sa* 'had that been the case'**

These two variants of the conjunction *sane*, described above, overtly mark the time setting of the complex sentence by means of the additions of *ge* or *yo*. Normally the conjunction *ge* does not indicate time setting but rather indicates temporal sequence. It is used in this way because when the conjunction *sa* combines with *sane* the meaning of the compound form is not that of time setting. *Sa* has been described as a realis conjunction. This definition has been taken to mean primarily that *sa* can be used to indicate events occurring in the past. If events are marked for past time setting this is an indicator that these events are factual. In Abun the conjunction *sa* has a secondary usage that is derived from this 'factual' component of its meaning. This secondary usage can best be described as 'subjunctive'. The following examples illustrate this secondary usage which is evident in the compound form *sane-sa*.

12.68 *A napawa amam bi suk-du kamekre,*
2SG remember daddy POSS NOM-speak yesterday

sanesa *kwis yo gu a nde.*
had.that.been.the.case snake NEG bite 2SG NEG
1. Had you remembered what Daddy said to you yesterday, the snake wouldn't have bitten you.
2. If you had remembered what Daddy said to you yesterday, the snake would not have bitten you.

The context for example 12.68 above is that a father has warned his son not to play in long grass, because often snakes are found there. The son ignores the warning and is bitten by the snake. The semantic thrust of *sane-sa* is to indicate that had the events of clause one been factual then the events of clause two would not have happened. Example 12.69 is similar:

12.69 *A jam mo ji bi suk-du,* ***sanesa***
2SG hear to 1SG POSS NOM-speak had.that.been.the.case

a yo ku suk-ye sare nde.
2SG NEG get NOM-difficult like.this NEG
1. Had you listened to me, you would not have got into this trouble.
2. If you had listened to me you would not have got into this trouble.

By comparing the usage of *sane-sa* with *sane-yo* it can be seen that *sa* and *yo* demonstrate a perfective/imperfective contrast. *Sane-sa* has the meaning 'had that been the case', which is perfective or realis. On the other hand *sane-yo* can mean 'that being the case' which is imperfective or irrealis. Example 12.70 below shows *sane-yo* used in this way.

12.70 *Men i, **sane-yo** men mu nai pel mo mantri.*
1PL sick that.being.the.case 1PL go take pills at health.worker
1. If it is the case that we are sick, we go and get pills from the health worker.
2. Whenever we are sick, we go and get pills from the health worker.

The last variant of *sane* is *sane anato.* This will be discussed in the following section.

12.6 *anato* 'CAUSATIVE' CONJUNCTION

In the previous section two conjunctions were described which primarily filled another category in Abun grammar besides that of 'conjunction'. *Kap-re* is a temporal phrase meaning 'this time'. *Sane* is an adverbial meaning 'like that' or 'in that way'. For both these forms the influence of the national language has affected the sentence structures in which they are used as conjunctions. There is one other Abun word *-anato-* which is used as a conjunction, but this word is primarily used as another part of speech. Unlike *kapre* and *sane*, this word, *anato* shows no influence from Indonesian in the way that it is used. *Anato* is primarily a noun modifier with the meaning of 'focus'. It is also used as a conjunction to link clauses together. Therefore this word fills two categories in Abun grammar. *Anato* does not fit into any other type of conjunction described so far, so it is discussed separately to other conjunctions.

The word *ana-to* consists of two morphemes *ana* 'FOCUS' and *to* 'NMP'.[45] *Anato* frequently modifies a noun phrase to bring this noun phrase into focus, just like a cleft construction does in languages that are capable of cleft constructions. Since Abun does not possess a copula the type of cleft constructions found in English are not possible. Neither are passive constructions possible in Abun. However, the semantic possibilities engendered by both the passive and cleft constructions are handled in Abun by means of de-focus and focus respectively. A noun phrase may be brought into focus by means of *anato.* In this way *anato* functions as a noun modifier, as shown in the examples below.

12.71 *Yewon **anato** gu suk ne mori.*
shamans FOC kill thing that afterwards
1. The shamans were the ones who killed the things afterwards.
2. It was the shamans who killed the things afterwards.

12.72 *Siri ne **anato** ben suk-ye wa ji tó.*
wrong DET FOC make NOM-difficult for 1SG still
1. Those sins are still making life hard for me.
2. It is those sins that are still causing difficulties for me.

The above examples are grammatically a single clause. In these cases *anato* always brings into focus or topicalises the noun that it follows. However, *anato* plays another role in Abun grammar. *Anato* may act as a conjunction to link two clauses together.

---

45 The Noun Modifying Particle or NMP *to* was discussed earlier in Chapter 9 under Relative Clauses.

12.73 *Ji ben siri ne* ***anato*** *ben ji ku suk-i.*
1SG do wrong DET FOC make 1SG get NOM-sick
1. I did wrong, that is why I get sicknesses.
2. It is because I did wrong that I get sick.

Example 12.73 and 12.72 are structurally very similar. In example 12.72 a noun phrase is modified by *anato* followed by the verb *ben* 'make'. In example 12.73 a whole clause is 'modified' by *anato* which is again followed by the verb *ben.* It is possible in Abun thinking that just as a noun phrase may be brought into focus by means of *anato* a whole clause may also be brought into focus in the same way. In complex sentences *anato* together with the causative verb *ben* 'make' is often used to express a causative relationship between the two clauses, resulting in an English rendering such as 'that is why' or 'that is the reason'. The English 'that' refers to the entire clause which *anato* follows.

In examples such as 12.73 above where the second clause predicate is *ben* 'make' it is easy to see that the type of focus brought about by the addition of *anato* is causative. However, in some complex sentences speakers omit the causative predicate *ben.* In these cases *anato* alone is used to express a causative relationship between the clauses concerned. For example:

12.74 *Ye mo nden maskwa ye mo sem* ***anato***
people at interior angry people at sea CAUSE
be men ki-bot yawa or wé.
later 1PL talk-about appease finish thorough
The people in the jungle are angry with the people on the coast that is why we are going to talk this matter over thoroughly to bring it to an acceptable outcome.

12.75 *An ki do, an bi nggon bisor wa an*
3SG say COM 3SG POSS woman request.sorcery for 3SG
anato *kam-dik kam-dik an gu an bi nggon bu.*
CAUSE day-one day-one 3SG beat 3SG POSS woman always
He said that his wife had asked people to kill him (by means of sorcery) that is why everyday he is always beating his wife.

It appears that 'In most languages, the morpho-syntax does not distinguish between 'cause' and 'reason' adverbial clauses.' (Givón 1990:834) Yet this distinction is evident in Abun, *anato* being 'cause' and *we* indicating 'reason (because)'. Generally when *anato* alone links two sentences its meaning is that the first clause 'is the reason for' the second.

All sentences described above have the structure:

CLAUSE 1 + *anato* + CLAUSE 2

Structurally, then, these sentences are similar to those which use compounding conjunctions.

(vi) ***sane anato* 'so that is the reason'**

Abun speakers frequently use *anato* together with *sane.* These two conjunctions in combination result in a greater emphasis of the causative relationship that exists between the

two linked clauses. By using *sane anato* speakers are strongly emphasising that the event expressed in the first clause is the reason for the event expressed in the second clause.

12.76 *Regina ben siri su nje* ***sane anato*** *ndamso gu*
Regina do wrong with people so CAUSE ghost harm
an bi pa kwop.
3SG POSS child die
Regina committed adultery with various people so that is why the ghost (of her husband) killed his child.

12.7 NEGATIVE CONJUNCTIONS

The final group of Abun conjunctions all contain the negative particle *onde*. When a single clause is negated in Abun it is negated by means of two particles which bracket the verb phrase. So clause negation has the structure:

SUBJECT + *yo* + VERB PHRASE + *nde*

But there is another type of negation in Abun which occurs on the level of the complex sentence. Within a complex sentence whatever is expressed by the first clause can be negated by means of *onde*. *Onde* always occurs together with some other conjunction. These create a group of conjunctions which are termed 'negative' conjunctions. Sentences that use these negative conjunctions have the following structure:

CLAUSE 1 + *onde*-CONJUNCTION + CLAUSE 2

Semantically this is most basically expressed as 'not clause one, clause two'. It has been claimed earlier in this chapter that Abun complex sentences show much influence from Papuan languages. It is interesting to note that Barai, an unrelated Papuan language, also has two distinct means of negation. In the words of Foley and Van Valin (1984:192), one of these "*ba*...negates the entire clause and roughly means 'it is not the case that'...it is the only element that ever follows the verb in heavily verb-final Barai". The fact that this form has an equivalent meaning to the Abun *onde* is another factor which confirms the influence of Papuan languages on Abun syntax.

Table 12.4 below lists all the negative conjunctions. Fuller explanations and examples of each are given afterwards.

TABLE 12.4: NEGATIVE CONJUNCTIONS

CONJUNCTION	MEANING
onde-wo	but really
onde-sa	otherwise.REAL (would)
onde-yo	otherwise.IRR (will)
onde-bere	otherwise.CERT
onde-ge	otherwise-then

(i) ***onde-wo* 'but really'**

The negative meaning of *onde* can be clearly understood when it is part of the contrastive conjunction *onde-wo*. Any clauses linked by *onde* need to be understood semantically in the following way:

CLAUSE 1	*onde-*	CLAUSE 2
event asserted	not the case, instead	real/alternative event

The event expressed by clause one is stated positively; it is not marked as negative within the clause by means of the negative particles *yo* and *nde*. However, whatever was asserted by clause one is not the case, and so this clause is negated by means of *onde*. Therefore the event expressed by clause two is, in the speaker's opinion, the real situation. If the clause is linked by a negative conjunction other than *ondewo*, the event expressed by clause two indicates an alternative situation to that expressed in clause one. Thus *ondewo* links clauses expressing a false and true contrast. For example:

12.77 *Yenggras njim do ré ndar syut nok* ***ondewo***
elders think COM here dogs bark.at wild.pig but.really

ndar syut pa kaiyi.
dogs bark.at child actual
The old men thought that the dogs were barking at a wild pig but actually the dogs were barking at a child.

12.78 *An ki do Sem ana ben brek ne ges* ***ondewo***
3SG say COM Sem FOC make plate DET fall but.really

an dakai ben ges.
3SG self make fall
He said that Sem was the one who made the plate fall but really he himself caused (it) to fall.

(ii) ***onde-sa* 'otherwise (would)'**

Onde-sa is made up of the sentence negator *onde* and the realis or past time conjunction *sa*. The combined meaning of the two creates a conjunction that is counterfactual. Again the structure of the sentence using *onde-sa* is broken down semantically below to explain clearly the meaning of these types of sentences.

CLAUSE 1	*onde-sa*	CLAUSE 2
event asserted	(if) not so, instead	different outcome, past

The event expressed by clause one is given in the indicative. These events may or may not be true. The second clause describes a situation that would arise in the event that clause one was negated. *Onde* represents the negation. *Sa* indicates a past time setting to both the event and the outcome described. In this type of sentence both the event and the outcome may refer to hypothetical situations. Even so, *sa* indicates that whether hypothetical or not the events in question would have occurred at some time in the past, rather than in the future. In these sentences *onde* links clauses in a counterfactual manner giving the meaning: 'If the events expressed by clause one had not happened then the events expressed by clause two would have'. Since Abun has no English equivalent to the conditional 'if', this meaning is merely for the purposes of good translation. However "Counter-fact propositions need not be

associated with conditional ADV clauses." (Givón 1990:831), as is the case here. That is to say, a counterfactual proposition does not need to be marked by overt conditional means only. A language may use other means to indicate this. For example:

12.79 *Su-gane men ku Ron* ***onde-sa,*** *men yo ku sugum*
with-that 1PL meet Ron otherwise-REAL 1PL NEG get money

wa men ma nde.
for 1PL come NEG

1. At that time we met Ron, otherwise we would not have had money to come (here).
2. If, at that time, we hadn't met Ron we would not have had money to come here.

In the sentence above clause one expresses a factual situation which did actually occur—the participants met a man who gave them money. Clause two expresses a hypothetical situation which would have arisen if they had not received the money—they would not have been able to pay for fares to return to their village. The usage of *sa* indicates to hearers that this speculation is about past events. Example 12.80 below is similar. It contains the variant *onde-sor-sa.* This adds a component of meaning similar to 'it was just as well that...'

12.80 *Nu-won ga mo Aiwom ndo, ndo sato yewon yo gu*
house-shaman REL at Aiwom good good for.example shamans NEG kill

yu o nde, wo ***onde-sor-sa*** *be yen gu yu tó.*
REFL again NEG but otherwise-just-REAL later people kill REFL still

1. It was good that they set up a shaman training school at Aiwom. It was good in that the shamans didn't kill each other any more. But otherwise they would still be killing each other.
2. It was good that they set up a shaman training school at Aiwom. It was good in that the shamans didn't kill each other any more. But if not they would still be killing each other.

In the preceding two examples the meaning component that *sa* adds to these clauses is that of its primary meaning—it is functioning as a tensed conjunction indicating past time. The following example differs from 12.79 and 12.80 above in that here *sa* is functioning according to its secondary usage—it adds the notion of 'subjunctive' to the first clause. Abun has no lexical equivalent to the subjunctive 'should'. Therefore the translation of 12.81 below indicates this.

12.81 *Nin mbros kwem ne sino,* ***onde-sa*** *pa*
2PL row canoe DET all otherwise-REAL young.man

de-yo wadigan mbros kwem sane ete be
some.of-INDEF alone row canoe like.that and.then later

nobu sye, an ben sa u ne?
strong.wind big 3SG do how which QM

You should have all rowed that canoe, otherwise if one of you rowed alone and then there was a really violent wind, then what would he have done?

Example 12.81 above is a reprimand by an older woman to certain young people. As such it could also be translated as 'Would that you had all rowed that canoe'. This also is

subjunctive. It expresses a wish or desire that past events could have occurred in a better way.[46] As such this clause refers to a hypothetical past event. What actually happened in this case was that one young man was left to row the canoe alone against a strong wind.'

Because Abun has no morpheme to represent a hypothetical situation such as the English 'if', it is only by context and knowledge of the events described that hearers encode what is hypothetical and what is fact. The function of *onde* is to negate the contents of the preceding clause. On its own it does not attach truth value to these clauses. Therefore when *onde* is part of the conjunction *onde-wo*, it is used to express the semantic notion of 'contrary to expectation'. When part of the conjunctions *onde-sa* and *onde-yo*, *onde* is used to express the notion of 'contrary to fact'.

(iii) ***onde-yo* 'otherwise (will)'**

Onde-yo differs in meaning from *onde-sa* in the matter of time setting only. In clauses linked by *onde-sa*, the 'tensed' conjunction *sa* indicates to hearers that the time setting of the sentence and its contents are in the past, events described therein have already occurred. However, when the conjunction changes to *yo*, hearers understand that the event expressed by the second clause is non-past. These events have not actually occurred and may be hypothetical in nature also.

12.82

Nan	*fre*	*su-kwik*	*to-ne*	*bur*	***onde-yo***	*nan*
2SG	sweep	NOM-rotten	DEIC-DET	ground	otherwise-IRR	2SG

yo	*git*	*kukis*	*o*	*nde.*
NEG	eat	biscuits	again	NEG

1. You sweep up that mess down there, otherwise you will not get any more biscuits!
2. If you do not sweep up that mess down there, you will not get any more biscuits!

Givón (1990:831) makes the following comments about counterfactual conditionals which are relevant to this discussion of negative conjunctions.

> In addition to the subordinators that (may) mark them, counterfact clauses tend to be marked, cross-linguistically, by a combination of two *semantically conflicting* verbal inflections:
>
> (a) A prototypical **realis** operator, such as *past, perfective* or *perfect*: and,
>
> (b) A prototypical **irrealis** operator, such as: *future, subjunctive, conditional* or a *modal.*

According to Givón this 'semantic conflict' arises if a clause is marked with both a realis and irrealis 'operator' or one clause may be marked realis and the other irrealis. This situation may arise as given in example 12.83 below. The first clause is marked by the perfect aspect marker *re.* However, the usage of *onde-yo* in sentences is very similar to the usage of the

---

46 Just as Abun has no word for the modal 'should' neither does it have an equivalent to the subjunctive verb 'wish'. The subjunctive usage of *sa* is the nearest Abun equivalent for expressing this notion.

conjunction *yo* on its own. If a sentence describes a predictive or procedural situation, then *onde-yo* is used.

12.83 *Yen gu or re, **onde-yo** ye si ma*
people kill completely PERF otherwise-IRR people go.with come

mo nu de, yen bi ri nai.
to house side people give ginger.root IO
They would kill off (all those people). If this is not possible the (young) people with them (the older shamans) will come to the side of the house (and) give ginger root to (the people they want to kill).

Onde should not be understood as a negative conditional such as the English 'unless'. It is possible to give an alternative translation for example 12.83 above as 'Unless you sweep up that mess down there, you won't get any biscuits!' However, as seen in examples 12.77 and 12.78 above, which use *onde-wo, onde* does not always have the meaning of a negative conditional. When used as part of *onde-wo* it has the meaning of negative contrast. Usage of *onde* indicates some kind of semantic contrast between the propositions involved. This is achieved by negation of the content of the first clause.

(iv) ***onde-bere* 'otherwise.CERT'**

This conjunction differs by the addition of the time word *bere* 'FUTURE/later'. There are several variants of *bere* which need to be explained. These three variants concern the differences in the way Abun speakers view future time. These variants are:

ber	soon, shortly
bere	later, definitely→will
be	later, likely/probably→ could

All these variants could be translated as 'later' or 'will' in regards to future time. *Ber* is used to indicate that the future time specified is in the **near** future. However, with *bere* and *be* the matter of future time proximity is unspecified. What is specified is **the degree of certainty** that the speaker attaches to the future event described. Hence, if the speaker feels that the event is a **certainty** then *bere* is used, meaning 'definitely will'. If the speaker attaches **less certainty** to the future event taking place then *be* is used, meaning 'probably will' or 'could'. Both these time words can be joined to *onde* to create counterfactual conjunctions. These conjunctions link events that are non-past or future time in the same way as the conjunction *onde-yo*. By choosing *onde-bere* or *onde-be* rather than *onde-yo* the speaker adds the semantic element of 'degree of certainty' which is not present in the case of *onde-yo*. In regard to counterfactuals Givón (1990:832) notes that "many languages allow further gradation, most particularly of events/states that are judged to be **unlikely but not altogether impossible**". The gradations referred to here are from possibly true to not true. The gradation expressed in Abun is in the other direction, from probable to certain. Abun has no adverb or modal form which means 'definitely' or 'certainly'. Thus these concepts have been incorporated into these future time words. Examples showing the use of *onde-bere* and *onde-be* are given below:

12.84 *Nan ma kem su ji more,* ***onde-bere*** *suk-onde ré*
2SG come live with 1SG here otherwise-CERT NOM-hungry this
ben nan.
do 2SG
You come and live with me, otherwise you will certainly suffer from this famine.

12.85 *A mu nai,* ***onde-bere*** *ji gu a wo.*
2SG go take otherwise-CERT 1SG hit 2SG cry
1. You go and get (it) otherwise I will certainly hit you hard!
2. If you don't go and get it I am going to hit you hard!

12.86 *A mu nai,* ***onde-be*** *ji kwam a.*
2SG go take otherwise-could 1SG beat 2SG
1. You go and get it otherwise I could beat you!
2. If you don't go and get it I could beat you!

(v) ***onde-ge*** **'otherwise-then'**

This final counterfactual conjunction does not indicate time setting of the clauses involved. The conjunction *ge* 'then' is joined to *onde* to indicate sequence of events. It is not as frequently used as the other counterfactuals. The example below has several variant translations since the negative contrast indicated by *onde* can be rendered in several ways in English.

12.87 *Nggon ne, an ben siri su sane bere yen gu an*
woman DET 3SG do wrong with like.that later people kill 3SG
su ri, ***onde-ge*** *yen gwat an mo nu-won,*
with ginger.root otherwise-then people bring 3SG to house-shaman
ge yen ndan yor mo.
then people thrust.into spear at
1. That woman, (that) he had committed adultery with, like that, they will kill her with sorcery (lit. ginger root), otherwise then they will bring her to the shaman-house and then spear her (to death).
2. That woman, (that) he had committed adultery with, like that, they will kill her with sorcery (lit. ginger root), failing that then they will bring her to the shaman-house.
3. That woman, (that) he had committed adultery with, like that, they will kill her with sorcery (lit. ginger root), if this is not possible then they will bring her to the shaman-house.

This concludes the discussion of negative conjunctions and it concludes the discussion of Abun conjunctions covered in this work.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Stephen R., 1985, Typological distinctions in word formation. In Shopen, ed. 1985, 3:1–56.

Andrews, Avery, 1985, The major functions of the noun phrase. In Shopen, ed. 1985, 1:62–154.

Berry, Keith and Christine Berry, 1987, A survey of some West Papuan Phylum languages. In Peter Silzer and Joyce Sterner, eds *Workpapers in Indonesian languages and cultures,* vol. 4, 25–80. Irian Jaya, Indonesia: Percetakan Universitas Cenderawasih.

Blake, Barry J., 1990, *Relational grammar*. London/New York: Routledge.

1994, *Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, William U., 1990, Mai Brat nominal phrases. In Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, ed. *NUSA. Miscellaneous studies of Indonesian and other languages in Indonesia*, Part 10 vol. 32. Jakarta: Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya.

Clark, John and Colin Yallop, 1990, *An introduction to phonetics & phonology*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Comrie, Bernard, 1976, *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1989, *Language universals and typology*. (2nd ed). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Croft, William, 1990, *Typology and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, David, 1985, *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Echols, John M. and Shadily Hassan, 1975, *Kamus Inggris-Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, & Jakarta: P.T.Gramedia.

Foley, William A., 1986, *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge Language Surveys. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foley, William A. and Robert D. Van Valin, Jr., 1984, *Functional syntax and universal grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1985, Information packaging in the clause. In Shopen, ed. 1985, 1:282–364.

Givón, T., 1984, *Syntax: a functional-typological introduction*, vol. 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

1990, *Syntax: A functional-typological introduction*, vol. 2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

1993, *English grammar: a function-based introduction*, vol. 2. *Complex constructions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Grimes, Barbara, 1992, *Ethnologue*. (12th ed). Dallas: SIL.

Halliday, M.A.K., 1985, *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Herbert, Robert K., 1986, *Language universals, markedness theory, and natural phonetic processes*. Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 25. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

Honey, P.J., 1972, Word classes in Vietnamese. In Fred W. Householder, ed. *Syntactic theory* 1. Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd.

Hopper, Paul J., 1991, On some principles of grammaticization. In Elizabet Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine, eds *Approaches to grammaticalization*. Typologicial Studies in Language 19/1:17–36. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Huddleston, Rodney, 1984, *Introduction to the grammar of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jacobsen, Bent, 1986, *Modern transformational grammar*. North-Holland Linguistic Series 53. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Kamma, Ds. F.C., 1934, Verslag van een bezoek aan de Karoners en de beklimming van het Tamrau-Gebergte (Vogel-kop N.-Nieuw-Guinea) van 23 Juli – 7 Augustus 1934.

Keenan, Edward L. and Bernard Comrie, 1977, Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 8:63–99.

Keenan, Edward L., 1985, Relative clauses. In Shopen, ed. 1985, 2:141–170.

Klima, E., 1964, Negation in English. In J.A. Fodor and J.J. Katz, eds *The structure of languages,* 246–323. Engelwood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Ladefoged, Peter, 1993, *A course in phonetics.* (3rd ed). New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc.

Longacre, Robert E., 1983, *The grammar of discourse.* New York: Plenum.

1985, Sentences as combinations of clauses. In Shopen, ed. 1985, 2:235–286.

Lyons, John, 1968, *Introduction to theoretical linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1977, *Semantics.* vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mallinson, Graham and Barry J. Blake, 1981, *Language typology.* North-Holland Linguistic Series 46. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Matthiessen, Christian and Sandra A. Thompson, 1988, The structure of discourse and 'subordination'. In John Haiman and Sandra A. Thompson, eds *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*, 276–379. Typological Studies in Language 18. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Noonan, Michael, 1985, Complementation. In Shopen, ed. 1985, 2:42–140.

Payne, John R., 1985a, Complex phrases and complex sentences. In Shopen, ed. 1985, 2:3–41.

1985b, Negation. In Shopen, ed. 1985, 1:197–242.

Pike, Kenneth L., 1947, *Phonemics: a technique for reducing language to writing.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Reesink, Ger P., 1986, Being negative can be positive. In George Huttar and Kenneth Gregerson, eds *Pragmatics in non-Western perspective*, 115–141. University of Texas: SIL.

Ruhlen, Merritt, 1976, The geographical and genetic distribution of linguistic features. In Juilland Alphonse, ed. *Linguistic studies offered to Joseph Greenberg*, 1:137–160. Saratoga: Anma Libri.

Sadock, Jerrold M. and Arnold M. Zwicky, 1985, Speech act distinction in syntax. In Shopen, ed. 1985, 1:155–196.

Schachter, Paul, 1985, Parts-of-speech systems. In Shopen, ed. 1985, 1:3–61.

Shopen, Timothy, ed., 1985, *Language typology and syntactic description.* vol. 1: *Clause structure.* vol. 2: *Complex constructions.* vol. 3: *Grammatical categories and the lexicon.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Silzer, Peter J. and Helja Heikkinen-Clouse, 1991, *Index of Irian Jaya languages.* Jayapura: SIL.

Thompson, Sandra A. and Robert E. Longacre, 1985, Adverbial clauses. In Shopen, ed. 1985, 2:171–234.

Ultan, Russell, 1978, Some general characteristics of interrogative systems. In Joseph H. Greenberg, ed. *Universals of human language*, vol. 4, 211–248. *Syntax.* California: Stanford University Press.

Voorhoeve, C.L., 1975a, *Languages of Irian Jaya: checklist preliminary classification, language maps, wordlists. PL*, B–31. Canberra: Australian National University.

1975b, Vogelkop: West Papuan Phylum. In S. A. Wurm, ed. 1975, 717–728. Canberra: Australian National University.

Wurm, S. A. ed., 1975, *Papuan languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene. PL*, C–38. Canberra: Australian National University.

1982, *Papuan languages of Oceania.* Ars Linguistica 7. Tubingen: Gunter Narr.

INDEX

Berry, K. and Berry, C. *A Description of Abun: A West Papuan Language of Irian Jaya.*
B-115, xii + 236 pages. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1999. DOI:*10.15144/PL-B115.1*