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**A Grammar of Nungon:  
A Papuan Language of Morobe Province,  
Papua New Guinea**

by

Hannah Sacha Sarvasy

Thesis submitted to

The Language and Culture Research Centre

School of Arts and Social Sciences

James Cook University

in fulfilment of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the discipline of Linguistics

July 2014



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The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007. The research study proposal received human research ethics approval from the JCU Human Research Ethics Committee, Approval Number H4257.

Hannah Sacha Sarvasy

## Acknowledgments

The foresightedness of my adopted brother and sister-in-law, Dono and Annie Ögate, enabled my presence in Towet village. I am forever indebted to Dono and Annie for their facilitation of my Nungon grammatical research.

This grammar stems from the erudition, patience and forbearance of my Nungon teachers. These are: my adopted mothers, Irising and Oreng; my sisters Rosarin, Lynne, Reringgi, and Nathalyne Ögate and their families; my brothers David, Dono, Böifa, Öptosi, and Kim Ögate and their families; Towet elders Nongi, Hesienare, Fooyu, Gosing, Joshua (z'1), Waasiöng, Winuk, Egi, Lin, Misupmon, Jio, Soonggiring, Deringgi, Measi, and Girip; Worin elder Watno; Kotet elder Manggirai and his family; Yawan elder Yuppe and her family; Sagain speaker Ken; research assistants Joel and Babong; biological knowledge survey-takers Eunde, Judy, Max, and Stanley; and all my aunts, uncles, cross-cousins, and classificatory children, nieces and nephews of Towet village.

I am deeply grateful to my academic supervisors at the Language and Culture Research Centre, Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon. Throughout my studentship, they have modelled principled scholarship. Their intellectual and material generosity has shaped this grammar. Tucker Childs hired me back into linguistics and taught me much. Thanks to him for continued encouragement. Harvard Folklore and Mythology mentors Joseph Harris and Deborah Foster have also sent perpetual long-distance well-wishes. At UCLA, Bruce Hayes commented on a draft of the phonology chapter, and the department has been a congenial place to finish revisions.

Members of the JCU Language and Culture Research Centre and long-term visitors have helped through comments and questions on sections of this grammar. Thanks to all for fostering a constructive and supportive atmosphere: Elena Mihas, Valérie Guérin, Angeliki Alvanoudi, Simon Overall, Azeb Amha, Diana Forker, Nerida Jarkey, Anne Schwarz, Carol Genetti, Howard and Colleen Oates, Gwendolyn Hyslop, Ana Kondic, Chia-Jung Pan, Dineke Schokkin, Sihong Zhang, Mikko Salminen, Juliane Böttger, Grant Aiton, Kasia Wojtylak, and Nick Piper. Many thanks to Amanda Parsonage for unflinching administrative support, and to Elena Rhind for help with travel requisitions. Jo Champagne-Overall proofread the manuscript at an unwieldy stage.

Tree Kangaroo Conservation Program (TKCP) director Lisa Dabek supported my research in the crucial beginning stages and coordinated my research visa application. Throughout, Mikal Nolan of TKCP has cheerfully helped coordinate my long-distance Nungon language missives. Biologists Andrew Krockenberger, Mark Ziembicki and Gabriel Porolak—a fellow Nungon speaker—have advised and supported me. The generosity, wisdom and intellectual curiosity of George Appell of the Firebird Foundation have buoyed me along.

The international participants in the Workshop on Non-Spatial Setting in Finisterre-Huon Languages (October 2013) helped illuminate commonalities and differences between Nungon and other Finisterre-Huon Papuan languages: Katri Linnasalo, Ryan Pennington, Susan Quigley, and James Slotta. James Slotta also generously shared archival documents that enriched my first field trips. Matthew and Christy Taylor have been forthcoming with thoughts on the Nukna language, as well as great help in orchestrating the logistics of travel to the Nungon-speaking area. Many thanks to the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Papua New Guinea, for allowing me to explore the Ukarumpa Technical Library archives.

Fieldwork was supported by several grants from: The Language and Culture Research Centre, the Cairns Institute, James Cook University (JCU) Graduate Research Schemes, the JCU School of Arts and Social Sciences, a JCU Collaboration Across Boundaries initiative, the Foundation for Endangered Languages, and the Firebird Foundation.

The wartime New Guinea sojourns of my grandfather Harry Sarvasy (1917-2013) predated my own by nearly 70 years. Four other keen-witted friends and mentors also died during the Nungon grammar research: Towet elder Joshua Nimoniöng, a stalwart supporter who never suffered fools; my Radcliffe Externship hosts, radioactivity scholar Vilma Hunt and marine biologist Betty Twarog; and lifelong anarchist and Yiddish enthusiast Audrey Goodfriend. Their zest for learning is sorely missed.

As always, all of my family have staunchly supported this project. I am continually overwhelmed by appreciation for them.

## **Abstract**

This thesis is a reference grammar of Nungon, a Papuan (non-Austronesian) language spoken by about 1,000 people in the southern Uruwa River valley, Kabwum District, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. Nungon forms the southern, higher-elevation, end of an elliptical dialect continuum with the Uruwa River at its center. This grammar focuses on the dialect of Towet village.

Nungon is an agglutinating language with some fusion. Nouns, adjectives, and verbs are open classes. There are relatively few inflecting verbs, however; loans are incorporated with auxiliary verbs. Clauses are verb-final, and morphology is predominantly suffixing. Grammatical relations are marked with enclitics. Nungon is a clause-chaining language. Medial clauses have verbal predicates that are unmarked for tense or mood, while final clauses have verbal predicates that are fully-inflected for tense or mood. Medial clauses are marked for switch-reference.

Two different number systems operate in different areas of Nungon grammar. The maximal number system is a tripartite one, with singular, dual and plural number values distinguished. This system features in subject argument indexation on final and medial verbs, number marking on nouns with prototypically-human referents, and the emphatic (reflexive/contrastive) personal pronouns. The second number system is a bipartite one, with singular and non-singular (more than one) number values distinguished. This system features in object argument indexation on verbs and basic personal pronouns. Nungon has no grammatical gender. Animacy and humanness play roles in the grammar: only nouns with prototypically human referents may be marked for number, while some verbal categories, such as the Perfect aspect, only occur when the verb's subject argument has animate reference.

Nungon has 14 consonant phonemes in regular use, two additional rare consonants, and six vowels. It has more phonemic distinctions among back vowels than among front vowels. Phonological word boundaries may be distinguished on several grounds, including restrictions on phonological word-final consonant phonemes, spirantization of stops intervocalically within phonological words, and prohibition on prenasalization of phonological word-initial voiced obstruents.

Verbal morphology is complex. A closed subset of transitive verbs obligatorily bear prefixes indexing the verb's object argument. Five tenses are distinguished through verbal inflection; two of the distinctions among tenses are neutralized under negation. The Near Future tense also functions in conditionals and statements of general truths. Additional inflectional categories of final verbs are: Immediate and Delayed Imperatives, Probable, Irrealis, Counterfactual, and Inferred Imperfective aspect. Habitual, Continuous, and Continuous Habitual aspects are marked through auxiliary constructions. The Inferred Imperfective aspect combines non-direct evidentiality and imperfective aspect. Non-final verb forms mark additional aspectual distinctions.

The grammar contains 13 chapters. Chapter 1 gives the linguistic, cultural, and geographical context for the Nungon language. Chapter 2 presents phonology, including intonation. Chapter 3 describes word classes. Chapter 4 explains nominal morphology and characteristics of the Noun Phrase. Chapter 5 outlines final verbal morphology. Chapter 6 discusses non-final verbal morphology, including the Nungon switch-reference system, aspect marking, and Causative constructions. Chapter 7 introduces Nungon personal pronouns and demonstratives. Chapter 8 examines the five grammatical relation-marking enclitics and one related suffix. Chapter 9 reports on representation of possession in Nungon, with explanation of kin terminology as it pertains to possessive marking. Chapter 10 is an exposition of Nungon clause types, including both verbless clauses and clauses with verbal predicates. Chapter 11 analyzes two major types of complex predicates: light verb constructions, and tight multi-verb constructions. Chapter 12 is an account of clause combining in Nungon, including coordination of final clauses, relative constructions, complementation strategies, subordinate clauses, and speech reports. Finally, Chapter 13 includes descriptions of grammatical morphemes that function at the clause level, as well as documentation of Nungon narrative information structure, discourse organization, and the pragmatics of communication.

The appendix includes four texts: two dialogues and two monologal narratives.

# Contents

Disclaimer .....	ii
Acknowledgments.....	iii
Abstract .....	v
List of Tables .....	xix
List of Maps and Figures .....	xxiii
Conventions .....	xxiv
Abbreviations.....	xxv
1 Setting .....	1
1.1 Linguistic profile of Nungon.....	2
1.2 Linguistic kin: Finisterre-Huon Papuan languages .....	6
1.3 External linguistic influences on Nungon.....	11
1.3.1 Expressions of Kâte origin.....	14
1.4 Uruwa Geography .....	16
1.4.1 Geographical limits to human movement .....	18
1.5 Nungon dialects .....	21
1.5.1 Earlier classifications .....	21
1.5.2 Phonological differences between dialects .....	22
1.6 History.....	25
1.6.1 Origins and traditional life .....	25
1.6.2 Missionary activity.....	26
1.6.3 World War II.....	28
1.6.4 Post-World War II.....	31
1.6.5 Ingathering to Worin of all upper Uruwa valley villages.....	31
1.6.6 The Seventh-Day Adventist/Lutheran split.....	32
1.6.7 Summer Institute of Linguistics activity .....	33
1.6.8 The 1990s and beyond .....	34
1.6.9 Recent outside involvement .....	35
1.7 Village life in 2011-2013 .....	36
1.7.1 Settlements .....	36
1.7.2 Kinship.....	37
1.7.3 Economy .....	38
1.7.4 Foods.....	40
1.7.5 Daily routines.....	41

1.7.6	The yearly cycle .....	43
1.7.7	The weekly work schedule.....	44
1.7.8	Marriage .....	45
1.7.9	Religion.....	46
1.7.10	Hunting .....	47
1.7.11	Tracking .....	49
1.7.12	Schooling .....	49
1.7.13	Diaspora communities.....	50
1.7.14	Health.....	50
1.7.15	Corporal punishment.....	52
1.8	Special types of language.....	52
1.8.1	Terms of address .....	52
1.8.2	Birth order names.....	53
1.8.3	Names of people.....	53
1.8.4	Names of pets.....	54
1.8.5	Command language used with dogs.....	55
1.8.6	Names of spirits used as curse words.....	55
1.8.7	Baby talk .....	55
1.8.8	The language of songs.....	56
1.8.9	Traditional secret languages; language taboos.....	58
1.8.10	New, urban-influenced code language .....	58
1.8.11	Morphology of place names.....	59
1.9	Nonverbal communication.....	59
1.9.1	Signaling from afar .....	62
1.9.2	Greeting practices .....	62
2	Phonology .....	65
2.1	Consonants .....	66
2.1.1	Stops.....	67
2.1.2	Evidence for voicing contrast in stops .....	70
2.1.3	Fricatives.....	71
2.1.4	Rhotic /r/ and lateral /l/ .....	74
2.1.5	Nasals /m/, /n/, /ng/ .....	75
2.1.6	Glide /y/ .....	76
2.2	Vowels .....	76
2.2.1	Status of long vowels .....	78
2.2.2	Vowel length contrasts.....	80

2.2.3	Diphthongs.....	80
2.2.4	Vowel sequences.....	82
2.3	Non-phonemic sounds, and Nungon descriptions of them .....	83
2.4	Phonotactics .....	83
2.4.1	Syllable structure.....	83
2.4.2	Phonological word .....	84
2.4.3	Consonant distribution .....	85
2.4.4	Spirantization of stops intervocalically .....	86
2.4.5	Stop combinations across syllable boundaries.....	88
2.4.6	Prenasalization of stops.....	90
2.4.7	Special function of /ng/ .....	93
2.4.8	Vowel distribution.....	94
2.4.9	Euphonic pairs and other expressive forms .....	94
2.4.10	Loan word phonology .....	97
2.5	Phonetics and phonology of other Nungon dialects.....	97
2.6	Stress in non-verbs.....	98
2.6.1	Two-syllable words with open second syllables .....	99
2.6.2	Two-syllable words with closed second syllables .....	99
2.6.3	Three-syllable words.....	100
2.6.4	Four-syllable words.....	101
2.6.5	Stress-shifting suffixes .....	102
2.6.6	Stress with multiple suffixes .....	104
2.6.7	Stress in compounds.....	104
2.7	Stress in verbs .....	105
2.7.1	Stress in final verbs.....	105
2.7.2	Stress in Medial and Dependent verbs .....	106
2.7.3	Stress in Dependent verbs .....	107
2.7.4	Stress in Medial verbs .....	108
2.7.5	Reduced verbal roots used in the Causative and Iterative constructions .....	110
2.7.6	Verbal and non-verbal roots reduplicated .....	110
2.8	Phonological Processes .....	111
2.8.1	Vowel combinations .....	112
2.8.2	Reduplication .....	112
2.8.3	Suffixation and encliticization .....	113
2.8.4	Suffixation.....	115
2.8.5	Prefixation.....	117

2.8.6	Assimilation of first consonants of enclitics .....	118
2.8.7	Word-initial consonants preceded by vowels .....	120
2.8.8	Morpheme-initial stops following vowels .....	120
2.8.9	Calls at distance .....	122
2.9	Intonation .....	124
2.9.1	Mood and intonation .....	124
2.9.2	Clause chains and intonation.....	133
2.10	Intra-dialect phonological variation .....	135
2.11	Inter-generational phonological variation.....	137
3	Word Classes .....	138
3.1	Nouns .....	138
3.1.1	A) nouns with prototypically-human referents .....	140
3.1.2	A1) kin terms .....	141
3.1.3	A2) non-kinship terms with prototypically-human referents .....	143
3.1.4	B) general nouns .....	143
3.1.5	B1) body parts.....	144
3.1.6	B2) artifact component or descriptive nouns .....	145
3.1.7	B3) entire entity nouns.....	146
3.1.8	B3a) generic, higher taxa terms, and B3b) specific, lower taxa terms.....	146
3.1.9	B3c) locational nouns.....	146
3.1.10	B3d) temporal nouns.....	147
3.1.11	B4) non-specific nouns .....	148
3.1.12	B5) deverbal nominalizations .....	149
3.1.13	C) proper names .....	150
3.1.14	C1) personal names.....	150
3.1.15	C2) place names .....	152
3.1.16	C3) names of song corpora .....	153
3.1.17	count and mass nouns .....	154
3.2	Adjectives .....	157
3.2.1	Class 1 adjectives .....	158
3.2.2	Class 2 adjectives .....	160
3.2.3	Class 3 adjectives .....	163
3.2.4	Semantic differences between Class 2 and Class 3 adjectives.....	166
3.2.5	Class 1, Class 2 and Class 3 number words .....	167
3.2.6	Adjectives that can modify other adjectives .....	169
3.2.7	Polar adjective pairs .....	171

3.2.8	Summary: Differences between adjective classes.....	172
3.2.9	Differences between adjectives and nouns .....	173
3.2.10	‘Labile’ adjectives.....	174
3.3	Verbs.....	176
3.3.1	Verbs used as auxiliaries in complex predicates.....	176
3.3.2	The verb ‘hear/understand/know/feel’ .....	176
3.3.3	Meteorological verbs: <i>iso-</i> ‘dawn’ and <i>dook yo-</i> or <i>dowok si-</i> ‘get dark’ .....	177
3.4	Adverbs.....	178
3.4.1	Local adverbs .....	181
3.4.2	Manner adverbs.....	181
3.4.3	Autoreflexive manner terms.....	182
3.4.4	Temporal adverbs.....	183
3.4.5	Ideophonic and expressive adverbs.....	184
3.4.6	Phasal adverbs <i>awe, mee, urop, hara</i> .....	185
3.5	Closed Classes .....	186
3.5.1	Personal pronouns.....	186
3.5.2	Demonstratives.....	186
3.5.3	Interrogatives .....	187
3.5.4	Polar question marker and doubt marker .....	187
3.5.5	Conjunction <i>orin</i> ‘and’ .....	189
3.5.6	Negative word <i>muuno</i> .....	190
3.5.7	Interjections.....	191
3.5.8	Hunting-related calls and commands .....	191
4	Nominal morphology and Noun Phrase structure.....	194
4.1	Nominal morphology .....	194
4.1.1	Number marking .....	194
4.1.2	Number marking of unpossessed same-generation kin terms.....	199
4.1.3	Associative plural constructions .....	199
4.1.4	The ‘miscellanea’ construction .....	205
4.2	Deverbal nominalization.....	206
4.2.1	Nominalizing consonant and reduplication/repetition of verb root .....	208
4.2.2	Participle form <i>-gVng</i> .....	214
4.2.3	Uses of reduplicated verb root and participle form.....	216
4.2.4	Deverbal nominalization with the repeated Dependent verb form.....	219
4.3	Noun phrase structure I: minimal NPs, and nouns modifying nouns.....	222
4.3.1	Adjectives as NPs.....	223

4.3.2	The two-noun NP .....	223
4.3.3	Nouns modifying other nouns with= <i>ma</i> .....	227
4.3.4	Possessive NPs .....	230
4.3.5	Alienable and inalienable possession.....	235
4.3.6	Inalienable possession without the pertensive suffix .....	235
4.4	Noun phrase structure II: adjectives modifying nouns .....	236
4.4.1	Person terms as modifiers .....	237
4.4.2	Modifier ordering within NPs .....	240
4.4.3	Adjective repetition to intensify adjective and indicate plurality .....	244
4.4.4	Bare adjectival roots as modifiers .....	247
4.4.5	The case of <i>hinom-no</i> ‘old’ .....	252
4.5	Noun phrase structure III: complex NPs.....	256
4.5.1	Coordinated NPs .....	256
4.5.2	Collective, naturally-paired nouns .....	258
4.5.3	NPs in apposition .....	259
4.6	Noun phrase structure IV: negation with noun phrases .....	260
5	Final Verbs.....	262
5.1	Morpho-phonological verb classes .....	268
5.1.1	The H-class .....	269
5.1.2	The P-class .....	270
5.1.3	The T-class.....	272
5.1.4	The Ø-class .....	272
5.1.5	The NG-class .....	273
5.1.6	The consonant-final class.....	274
5.1.7	Consonant elision and curtailment of some verbs.....	275
5.1.8	Further notes on verb root morphology .....	278
5.2	Transitivity-related verb classes.....	279
5.3	Verbs with obligatory object prefixes .....	284
5.3.1	Verbs with obligatory object number prefixes.....	284
5.3.2	Verbs with obligatory object person/number prefixes .....	287
5.3.3	Non-inflecting homophones of object prefix-taking verbs .....	292
5.3.4	Additional expressions with object prefixes .....	294
5.4	Tense inflections .....	295
5.4.1	Remote Past tense .....	296
5.4.2	Near Past tense .....	297
5.4.3	Present tense.....	297

5.4.4	Near Future tense .....	299
5.4.5	Remote Future.....	305
5.4.6	Neutralization of tense distinctions under negation .....	308
5.5	Mood and reality status inflections .....	308
5.5.1	Immediate Imperative .....	310
5.5.2	Counterfactual.....	312
5.5.3	Delayed Imperative .....	318
5.5.4	Probable .....	324
5.5.5	Irrealis .....	326
5.5.6	Prohibitive.....	328
6	Non-Final Verbs.....	330
6.1	Non-final verb forms.....	331
6.2	Basic functions of Dependent and Medial verbs.....	336
6.3	Switch-reference .....	341
6.4	Non-canonical uses of Dependent and Medial verbs .....	347
6.4.1	Appended medial clauses.....	348
6.4.2	Clause chains ending in non-final verbs .....	354
6.4.3	Imperative strategies .....	356
6.4.4	Inflected Dependent 3sg verbs in reciprocal expressions .....	358
6.5	Aspect marking .....	360
6.5.1	Habitual aspect.....	360
6.5.2	Continuous aspect .....	364
6.5.3	Continuous Habitual aspect .....	369
6.5.4	Inferred Imperfective: aspect and evidentiality.....	371
6.5.5	Completive aspect.....	375
6.5.6	Imminent aspect .....	377
6.5.7	Negation of verbs marked for aspect .....	379
6.6	Aspect marking on non-final verbs and deverbal nominalizations .....	380
6.6.1	Perfect aspect with Medial verbs .....	380
6.6.2	Medial II suffix with Perfect aspect .....	385
6.6.3	Iterative aspect with Dependent verbs .....	386
6.7	Other ways of indicating aspectual notions .....	388
6.7.1	Durative with <i>ku-</i> ‘take away’ .....	388
6.7.2	Finality with <i>mö-</i> ‘fall’ .....	389
6.8	Causative constructions.....	390
6.8.1	S/O number suppletion with the Causative.....	393

7	Pronouns and Demonstratives.....	395
7.1	Pronouns .....	395
7.1.1	Basic personal pronouns .....	396
7.1.2	Emphatic personal pronouns.....	398
7.1.3	Genitive emphatic pronouns .....	402
7.1.4	Pronoun usage.....	403
7.2	Demonstratives .....	404
7.2.1	Demonstrative suffixes overview.....	405
7.2.2	Further applications of the topographic demonstratives .....	413
7.2.3	Describing unseen topography.....	414
7.2.4	Sides of a body of water.....	415
7.2.5	Archaic forms of the topographic demonstratives .....	417
7.2.6	Anaphoric and cataphoric demonstrative-derived forms .....	417
8	Grammatical Relation-Marking Postpositions.....	420
8.1	Overview of postposition occurrence .....	420
8.2	Focus postposition = <i>ho</i> .....	424
8.2.1	= <i>ho</i> with S and A arguments .....	426
8.2.2	= <i>ho</i> marking Instrument, and inanimate A arguments .....	431
8.2.3	= <i>ho</i> marking Possessor in possessive locational NPs.....	436
8.2.4	= <i>ho</i> marking Manner and the Iterative aspect.....	441
8.2.5	= <i>ho</i> marking topic.....	441
8.2.6	Summary: postposition = <i>ho</i> .....	442
8.3	Benefactive postposition = <i>ha</i> .....	443
8.3.1	= <i>ha</i> marking Addressee and topic of speech.....	443
8.3.2	= <i>ha</i> with shape-shifting .....	447
8.3.3	= <i>ha</i> with content questions and responses.....	448
8.3.4	= <i>ha</i> and the Counterfactual.....	449
8.4	Genitive postposition = <i>hon</i> .....	449
8.4.1	= <i>hon</i> in content questions .....	450
8.4.2	= <i>hon</i> combined with pertensive marking .....	451
8.4.3	= <i>hon</i> with topographic demonstratives.....	452
8.5	Locative postposition = <i>dek</i> .....	453
8.5.1	= <i>dek</i> for location in time .....	453
8.5.2	= <i>dek</i> for psychological and rhetorical location.....	454
8.5.3	= <i>dek</i> for personal responsibility .....	454
8.5.4	= <i>dek</i> with Instrument .....	455

8.5.5	= <i>dek</i> with complex NPs .....	455
8.6	Locative suffix <i>-(i)n</i> .....	457
8.7	Restrictive and durative postposition = <i>gon</i> .....	463
8.7.1	= <i>gon</i> with locational nouns and demonstratives .....	464
8.7.2	= <i>gon</i> with non-locational nouns and pronouns .....	465
8.7.3	= <i>gon</i> with Medial verbs .....	467
8.7.4	= <i>gon</i> with adverbs.....	468
8.7.5	= <i>gon</i> with adjectives .....	469
8.7.6	= <i>gon</i> with other postpositions .....	470
8.7.7	Summary of functions of = <i>gon</i> .....	473
8.8	Comitative postposition/suffix = <i>rot/-ot</i> .....	473
8.9	Summary of the characteristics of postpositions.....	475
9	Possession .....	476
9.1	Possession overview .....	476
9.2	Genitive constructions with = <i>hon</i> .....	478
9.2.1	Possibilities for Pr constituent in genitive construction .....	478
9.2.2	Possibilities for Pe constituent in genitive construction .....	479
9.2.3	Ellipsis of Pe .....	480
9.3	Contrastive and reflexive possession .....	481
9.4	Possession with pertensive markers .....	481
9.4.1	Grammatical restrictions on the Pe constituent with pertensive markers .....	483
9.4.2	Pertensive markers with naturally-paired and modified nouns.....	484
9.4.3	Origin of the non-singular pertensive markers.....	485
9.4.4	Alienable and inalienable pertensive marking .....	486
9.4.5	Alienable/inalienable possession contrast in neighbouring languages .....	490
9.4.6	Possession of labile adjectives and headless NPs .....	491
9.5	The puzzle of the homophones of the 3sg pertensive suffix .....	493
9.5.1	‘Miscellanea’ construction.....	493
9.5.2	Time- and place-related use of <i>-no</i> .....	494
9.6	Endearment with pertensive markers .....	495
9.7	Mismatches in agreement in possessive constructions .....	497
9.8	Summary of possession with the genitive, pertensive endings, and free pronouns .....	498
9.9	Predicative possession.....	498
9.10	Negation and possession .....	500
9.11	Mood and possession .....	501
9.12	Kinship and possession .....	502

9.12.1	Nungon kinship terminology system overview.....	502
9.12.2	Alienable and inalienable possession with kin terms.....	507
9.12.3	Kinship terms with and without pertensive markers.....	508
9.12.4	<i>Yomot</i> to create non-singular same-generation kin expressions.....	511
9.12.5	Kinship terms that may also function outside the kin system.....	511
10	Clause types .....	513
10.1	Introduction to grammatical mood in Nungon.....	513
10.2	Clause types in Nungon .....	514
10.3	Declarative clauses.....	514
10.4	Verbless Clauses .....	514
10.4.1	Verbless clause types .....	515
10.4.2	Topicalization with verbless clauses.....	519
10.4.3	NPs including verbless clauses .....	520
10.5	Constituent order in verbal clauses .....	521
10.6	Imperative clauses.....	525
10.6.1	Stative and other verbs inflected as imperatives .....	526
10.6.2	Imperative strategies .....	527
10.7	Interrogative clauses .....	531
10.7.1	Content questions overview .....	531
10.7.2	<i>nungon</i> ‘what’ and <i>numa</i> ‘who’ .....	532
10.7.3	<i>numa</i> with number marking.....	542
10.7.4	<i>naye/nain/naine</i> ‘where’ .....	547
10.7.5	<i>deo/deogo</i> ‘how’ .....	548
10.7.6	<i>dogong</i> ‘how many’ .....	550
10.7.7	<i>dogomin</i> ‘when’ .....	552
10.7.8	Combining content question words in a single clause .....	553
10.7.9	Polar I questions: rising intonation .....	553
10.7.10	Polar II questions: postposed <i>ha</i> .....	554
10.7.11	Polar questions with content question words.....	558
10.7.12	Imperatives as questions .....	559
11	Complex predicates.....	562
11.1	Light verb constructions.....	562
11.1.1	The components of light verb constructions: adjectival root and auxiliary verb .....	563
11.1.2	Distinguishing light verb constructions from verb-argument combinations.....	568
11.1.3	The Afflictive construction as light verb construction.....	570
11.1.4	Light verb constructions with <i>mo-</i> .....	576

11.1.5	Light verb constructions with other non-verbal elements.....	578
11.2	Tight multi-verb constructions.....	579
11.2.1	Comparison of Dependent and Medial verb forms .....	581
11.2.2	Adverbs and other modifiers intervening in tight multi-verb constructions .....	582
11.2.3	The verb <i>to-/yoo-</i> ‘take’ in tight multi-verb constructions.....	583
11.2.4	Light and regular verbs preceded by <i>to-ng</i> ‘SG.O.take-DEP’ or ‘do-DEP’ .....	584
11.2.5	The verb <i>i-mo-</i> ‘give’ with benefactive meaning in complex predicates .....	586
12	Clause combining.....	590
12.1	Final clause coordination .....	590
12.2	Verbal clause conjunction and disjunction .....	592
12.3	Relative constructions in Nungon.....	592
12.3.1	CA as Possessor in RC and S/A in MC: verbless relative clauses .....	593
12.3.2	CA in various syntactic roles .....	594
12.3.3	Relative clause chains and multi-verb constructions .....	598
12.4	Complementation strategies .....	599
12.4.1	Nominalization as complementation strategy .....	599
12.4.2	Clause chains as complementation strategies .....	600
12.5	Subordinate final clauses .....	601
12.5.1	Final clause as oblique argument of another clause, or Possessor in NP.....	601
12.5.2	Backgrounded subordinate clauses marked with <i>=ma</i> .....	603
12.6	Relativizer/specifier <i>=ma</i> .....	606
12.6.1	<i>=ma</i> marking source or origin.....	607
12.6.2	<i>=ma</i> marking actuality or reality .....	609
12.6.3	<i>=ma</i> linking sentences .....	610
12.7	Speech reports.....	613
12.7.1	Verbs of speech.....	613
12.7.2	Types of speech reports.....	616
12.7.3	<i>Yo</i> with direct speech reports .....	620
12.7.4	The Conative construction using speech reports.....	621
13	Discourse.....	624
13.1	Clause-level morphology .....	624
13.1.1	Attention-commanding suffix <i>-a</i> .....	624
13.1.2	Topicalizing suffix <i>-u</i> .....	627
13.1.3	Topicalizing and linking suffix <i>-i</i> .....	629
13.1.4	The suffix <i>-i</i> in the protasis of counterfactual and conditional constructions .....	633
13.1.5	Discourse-organizing suffix <i>-an</i> .....	636

13.1.6	Vocative elements =yo, =ye and =kú.....	637
13.2	Information structure .....	638
13.2.1	Focus .....	638
13.2.2	Topicalization.....	640
13.2.3	Participant tracking .....	640
13.2.4	Demonstrative-derived forms used in organizing discourse .....	641
13.3	Prosody of sentences.....	644
13.3.1	‘Afterthoughts’: information appended to final verbal clauses.....	644
13.4	Discourse structure.....	647
13.4.1	Tail-head linking in tense-iconically ordered discourse .....	649
13.4.2	Tail-head linking with non-verb-final sentences in tense-iconic ordering.....	649
13.4.3	Structure of speech units .....	651
13.4.4	Tail-head linking in thematically-ordered discourse.....	653
13.5	Pragmatics of communication.....	654
13.5.1	Putting words in others’ mouths .....	655
13.5.2	Exclamations .....	656
13.5.3	Forms of address .....	660
13.5.4	Presenting a kin relation as distant from speaker .....	663
13.5.5	The first person dual as generic person.....	664
13.5.6	Answers to questions .....	664
13.5.7	Calling at distances .....	669
	References.....	672
	Appendix: Nungon texts .....	687
A1.	Dialogues .....	687
	Dialogue I: Advice for a Son Leaving for Boarding School.....	687
	Dialogue II: Confrontation with a Surly Teenager .....	692
A2.	Narratives .....	697
	Narrative I: The Old Kâte Language School at Boksawin.....	697
	Narrative II: Recollection of Becoming Temporarily Insane .....	705

## List of Tables

Table 1.1. Kâte loans in Nungon	15
Table 1.2. Selected correspondences across Nungon dialects	24
Table 1.3. Towet Nungon baby talk correspondences	56
Table 2.1. Towet Nungon consonant phoneme inventory	67
Table 2.2. Voicing contrast in stops, word-initially	71
Table 2.3. Towet Nungon vowel phoneme inventory	77
Table 2.4. Towet Nungon long vowel correspondences	79
Table 2.5. Consonant phoneme distribution	86
Table 2.6. Examples of euphonic pairs	96
Table 2.7. Comparison of some phonetic features of Nungon dialects	98
Table 2.8. Stress in some two-syllable words with closed second syllables	100
Table 2.9. Initial consonant assimilation in enclitics	120
Table 3.1. Nominal sub-classes behaviour summary	140
Table 3.2. Personal names of Nungon speakers aged 40 and older	151
Table 3.3. Class 1 adjectives	159
Table 3.4. Some Class 2 adjectives	161
Table 3.5. Some Class 3 adjectives	164
Table 3.6. Adjectives that modify other adjectives	170
Table 3.7. Polar adjective pairs	172
Table 3.8. Labile adjectives	175
Table 3.9. Autoreflexive manner terms	182
Table 3.10. Temporal adverbs	183
Table 3.11. Relative time words: days	183
Table 3.12. Content question words	187
Table 4.1. Pertensive markers	195
Table 4.2. Number marking after singular pertensive suffixes	196

Table 4.3. <i>Morum</i> ‘owner’ with singular pertensive suffixes	197
Table 4.4. <i>Nuk</i> ‘friend’ with singular pertensive suffixes	197
Table 4.5. Examples of participles	215
Table 4.6. Examples of two-noun NPs	224
Table 4.7. Summary of ordering within the NP	236
Table 4.8. <i>Amna</i> ‘man’ as head and modifier in noun phrases	238
Table 4.9. Nouns that <i>oe</i> , <i>amna</i> and <i>ketket</i> may modify	239
Table 4.10. NPs with modifying elements that lack expected suffixes	248
Table 4.11. <i>Hinom</i> modifying nouns of various semantic groups, adjectives, and adverbs	255
Table 5.1. Times indicated by tenses	263
Table 5.2. Tense suffix forms by morpho-phonological verb class	266
Table 5.3. Subject agreement suffixes	267
Table 5.4. H-class verb inflectional paradigm	269
Table 5.5. P-class verb inflection	271
Table 5.6. T-class verb Present tense inflection	272
Table 5.7. Ø-class verb Near Past, Present, Remote Future tense inflection	273
Table 5.8. Ø-class verbs, <i>ongo-</i> sub-class: Present tense inflection	273
Table 5.9. NG-class verb inflection	274
Table 5.10. Consonant-final verb inflection	275
Table 5.11. Reduced forms of Near Future and Near Past singular inflections due to elision	276
Table 5.12. Transitivity-related verb classes	280
Table 5.13. Verbs that take number-indexing prefixes	285
Table 5.14. Object prefixes and basic personal pronouns	288
Table 5.15. Transitive verbs with person/number object prefixes	289
Table 5.16. Object prefixes with the verb <i>aa-</i> ‘see’	292
Table 5.17. Additional expressions with person/number object prefixes	294
Table 5.18. Neutralization under negation	308
Table 5.19. Morphological correspondences between paradigms	309

Table 5.20. Immediate Imperative suffixes	310
Table 5.21. Counterfactual	313
Table 5.22. Delayed Imperative	318
Table 5.23. Comparison of 2 <sup>nd</sup> person forms: Irrealis, and Immediate and Delayed Imperatives	319
Table 5.24. Probable	324
Table 5.25. Near Future as composite of Probable and <i>-ka</i>	325
Table 6.1. Same-subject non-final verb forms	330
Table 6.2. Non-final verb subject person-number suffixes	330
Table 6.3. Inflected Dependent compared with Immediate Imperative forms	331
Table 6.4. Inflected 3sg Dependent and Immediate Imperative forms compared	332
Table 6.5. Dependent and Causative forms compared	334
Table 6.6. Marked aspects in Nungon	359
Table 6.7. Comparison of Habitual, Continuous, and Continuous Habitual aspects	370
Table 6.8. Inferred Imperfective	371
Table 6.9. Perfect aspect marking	381
Table 6.10. Result verbs possible with Causative constructions	390
Table 7.1. Basic personal pronouns	396
Table 7.2. Basic personal pronouns combined with postpositions	397
Table 7.3. Nungon emphatic personal pronouns	398
Table 7.4. Nungon genitive emphatic personal pronouns	402
Table 7.5. Textual frequency of pronoun occurrence	404
Table 7.6. Comparison of demonstrative forms	406
Table 7.7. Comparison of demonstrative syntactic forms	412
Table 7.8. Time reference in Towet Nungon using topographic demonstratives (2013 scenario)	414
Table 7.9. Topographic demonstratives with distant places: Towet village reference	415
Table 8.1. Postposition forms in Towet Nungon	423
Table 8.2. Most common functions of <i>=ho</i>	426
Table 8.3. Forms of locative suffix <i>-(i)n</i>	457

Table 8.4. Nungon postposition behavior summarized	475
Table 9.1. <i>Obu</i> with pertensive marking	489
Table 9.2. Summary of possessive NP constructions	498
Table 9.3. Nungon consanguineal kin terms	505
Table 9.4. Nungon affinal kin terms	506
Table 9.5. Additional terms that describe relationships between people	506
Table 9.6. Kin terms with and without pertensive marking	510
Table 10.1. Imperative strategies	528
Table 10.2. Content question words	532
Table 10.3. <i>-ri(n)</i> compared with number marking on possessed prototypically-human nouns	543
Table 11.1. Auxiliary verbs with some adjectival roots as light verbs	564
Table 11.2. Word class membership for the ‘Afflictor’ role in the Afflictive construction	572
Table 11.3. Light verb constructions with <i>mo-</i>	577
Table 11.4. <i>Wep mo-</i> compared with other object prefix-pearing verbs	577
Table 11.5. Complex predicates compared	580
Table 11.6. Examples of tight multi-verb constructions with <i>i-mo-</i> as Benefactive	588
Table 12.1. Functions of CA in RC and MC	595
Table 12.2. Speech verbs and multi-verb constructions in Nungon	615
Table 13.1. Context in which <i>-i</i> occurs	635
Table 13.2. Demonstrative-derived discourse words	641
Table 13.3. Polar question short answer types	665
Table 13.4. Polar question long answer types	666

## List of Maps and Figures

Map 1.1. Languages spoken between the Finisterre and Saruwaged Ranges	7
Map 1.2. Dialect groupings within the Uruwa River valley	19
Figure 2.1. Spectrogram and waveform of <i>hönggot-du-ng</i>	89
Figure 2.2. Spectrogram and waveform of <i>wet-du-ng</i>	90
Figure 2.3. Declarative intonation	125
Figure 2.4. Content questions and an alternative polar question	126
Figure 2.5. Content question word alone	127
Figure 2.6. Echo question	128
Figure 2.7. Polar question without <i>ha</i>	129
Figure 2.8. Canonical 2sg Immediate Imperative intonation	130
Figure 2.9. Non-canonical 1sg Immediate Imperative inflection, imperative mood	130
Figure 2.10. 1sg Immediate Imperative form of <i>yo-</i> ‘say,’ imperative mood	131
Figure 2.11. 1sg Immediate Imperative form of <i>yo-</i> ‘say,’ interrogative and imperative moods	132
Figure 2.12. 1sg Immediate Imperative form of <i>honggit-</i> ‘grab,’ interrogative mood	133
Figure 2.13. Clause chain intonation	134
Figure 2.14. Medial verb in imperative mood	135

## Conventions

Following Comrie (1976), Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994), Dixon (2010a, 2010b, and 2012), and Croft (2001, 2012), labels of Nungon-specific categories, such as the ‘Habitual’ and ‘Irrealis’ inflections, are capitalized, while terms referring to cross-linguistic grammatical categories, such as ‘habitual’ and ‘irrealis,’ are not capitalized. Similarly, Nungon clauses with verbal predicates may be divided into ‘medial’ and ‘final’ clauses. The descriptor for the clause type, ‘medial,’ is not capitalized, in contrast with the label for the verb form that can serve as predicate in such a clause: ‘Medial.’ Grammatical relation-marking postpositions are not capitalized: ‘genitive,’ ‘locative.’

Nungon examples throughout have three lines of text: the Nungon text, with morpheme breaks marked by hyphens; a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss; and a free English translation. Examples taken from texts are cited with corpus text titles and time in the recording after the English free translation. Examples I overheard in the field, or which were dictated to me without recording them, are cited as ‘Field notes.’ Examples from letters written by literate Nungon speakers are cited with the title of the letter in my database. Very simple examples that are not found in the texts corpus, which I constructed based on my understanding of Nungon to illustrate grammatical concepts, are used sparingly. Examples comprising a single word are not cited: these are understood to illustrate commonly-occurring one-word utterances.

The boundaries of complex constituents are marked with square brackets, [X]. Where examples include more than one clause, medial clause boundaries are marked with single curly brackets, {X}, and final clause boundaries are marked with double curly brackets, {{X}}. Clause boundaries are also marked if an example comprises a clause followed by an appended NP or other element that is not itself a complete clause, and in other instances where marking of clause boundaries was deemed potentially useful. Verbless clause boundaries are not marked by brackets; instead, the verbless clause subject and complement are labelled. If an example consists of only one clause with no appended material, clause boundaries are not marked.

Constituents are labelled with syntactic roles in subscript immediately after the constituent. If a constituent bears a perturbative or locative suffix or a grammatical relation-marking enclitic, the subscript label follows the suffix or enclitic.

Reduplication is marked in the first line of examples with <~> between reduplicands. In the second line of examples, only the first reduplicand is glossed, with <:RED> after this gloss indicating reduplication.

## Abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
:	scope over entire word
+	fusion
~	reduplication boundary
1, 2, 3	first person, second person, third person
A	subject argument of transitive verb
ADEM	adverbial demonstrative
ADJ	adjectivizer
ADV	adverb
AFL	affliction
ALT	alternative (marker of disjunction)
ANAPH	anaphor
APPEN	appended argument (core or oblique)

APPOS	apposition
ASSOC	associative plural
AUTOREFL	auto-reflexive
BEN	benefactive
CAD	call-at-distance
COLL	collective
COMIT	comitative
CONJ	conjunction
CNTR	Counterfactual
CTRST	contrastive
DEICT	deictic
DEL.IMP	Delayed Imperative
DEM	demonstrative
DEP	Dependent verb
DU	dual
DUB	dubitative
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	interjection
EXT	second core argument of extended intransitive verb
FAR	far distance

FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
IMM.IMP	Immediate Imperative
IMNT	Imminent aspect
INF	Inferred Imperfective
IRR	Irrealis
LDEM	local nominal demonstrative
LINK	linker
LOC	locative
MANN	manner
MDEM	NP-modifying demonstrative
MID	middle distance
MV	Medial verb form
MVII	Medial verb suffix II
NEAR	near distance
NEG	negative
NF	Near Future
NMZ	nominalizer
NP	Near Past
NSG	non-singular

O	object argument of transitive verb
OBL	oblique (non-core) verbal argument
PE	possessed constituent
PERF	perfect
PL	plural: more than two
PR	possessor constituent
PRES	Present
PRO	personal pronoun
PROB	Probable
POSS	pertensive
QUES	question
QUOT	quotative
RED	reduplicated
REL	relativizer
REP	repeated
RF	Remote Future
RP	Remote Past
RSTR	restrictive, exclusive
S	subject argument of intransitive verb
SEMBL	semblance

SG	singular
SPEC	specifier
SR	speech report
TEMP	temporal oblique
TOP	topic
VAR	variant
VCC	verbless clause complement (predicate)
VCS	verbless clause subject
VOC	vocative

## 1 Setting

Nungon is a Papuan (non-Austronesian) language spoken by about 1,000 people in the highest inhabited reaches of the Uruwa River Valley, Kabwum District, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea.

This study draws on several field trips totaling 9 months of intensive, participant-observation-based monolingual fieldwork in Towet village in the Uruwa River valley, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. A Nungon lexicon (2100 entries, as of June 2014) was maintained in Toolbox while in the field, then added to a Fieldworks texts database back in the office. 221 texts covering a variety of speech genres were recorded and transcribed in the field with the help of native Nungon speakers. These transcribed audio and video recordings compose a searchable corpus of over eleven hours. My field notes have been added to this corpus, for a total seachable corpus of over 146,700 words.

The current work focuses on the Towet dialect. Most of my participant observation was done among Towet speakers of Nungon, and the majority of the 11 hours of recorded and transcribed texts on which this study is based are from Towet speakers. Where helpful, dialect differences are used to help explain synchronic idiosyncracies in Towet Nungon. All texts cited are from Towet speakers unless otherwise noted.

This grammar is written in the theoretical framework of Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2010a, 2010b, 2012; Dryer 2006). Research was conducted in the descriptive linguistic tradition of observation, free interaction in the target language, elicitation of paradigms, and text recording and transcription. Analysis followed tenets of Basic Linguistic Theory, in the mode described by Nichols and Woodbury as ‘an inductive, comparative, phenomenon-oriented approach’ (1985: 1). I strive here to convey the Nungon language as it was spoken around and to me between 2011 and 2013.

This chapter gives background on the Nungon language and its speakers. The Nungon linguistic profile and closest (presumed) linguistic kin are introduced in §1.1, §1.2, and §1.3; geography is in §1.4, and Nungon dialects, the relations between which have been shaped by geography, are in §1.5. Sections §1.6 and §1.7 present background on the people who speak Nungon:

their history, traditions, foods, economy, geography, religion, and lifecycle events. The final sections of the chapter, §1.8 and §1.9, cover special types of language used in certain contexts: these should be read against the cultural backdrop presented in the preceding two sections.

## 1.1 Linguistic profile of Nungon

Nungon is an agglutinating language with some fusion. Affixation is primarily through suffixes, and cliticization mostly through enclitics. S/A are co-referenced on fully-inflected verbs through suffixes; these are fused with mood in the Immediate Imperative paradigm. With certain transitive and ditransitive verbs, the person/number of O with human referents, and number of O with non-human referents, are referenced on the verb through prefixes. Functionally-unmarked constituent order is SV, or AOV. The negative proclitic *ma=* precedes the verbal or complex predicate, while the negative word *muuno* follows the complement of a verbless clause.

Towet Nungon has 14 phonemic consonants and six contrastive vowels. An additional two consonant phonemes have extremely limited distribution. That is, voiceless fricative [f] occurs in only three words, although there is some evidence that an original Nungon [f] has become [h] in the Towet dialect. The lateral [l] occurs only in loans. All surrounding Papuan Uruwa languages (other Nungon dialects and Yau) have a syllable- or word-final glottal stop, but the Towet and Yawan dialects do not. Vowel length is contrastive, although minimal phonological word constraints mean that independent words of form CV tend to receive a phonetically lengthened vowel. Syllable structure is (C)V(C), with syllable-initial consonant clusters possible only in some expressive or onomatopoeic expressions. Stress is not contrastive. Stress can move under affixation, and stress-based minimal pairs have not been found. Long vowels are usually stressed.

Nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are open word classes. The noun class comprises several sub-classes, which are differentiated by syntactic roles and by behavior under possession. Three numbers are marked on nouns with human referents when possessed; otherwise, nouns are unmarked for number, although certain adjectives may be reduplicated to express the plurality of the nouns (with human or non-human referents) they modify. Nungon has no grammatical gender

category. Grammatical relations are expressed through enclitics, postpositions and cross-referencing on the verb, as well as, to a much lesser extent, through constituent order. Of six main grammatical-relation-marking postpositions, three are highly polysemous.

Verbal morphology is based on a system of verbal roots to which derivational and inflectional affixes are added. As is common among Finisterre-Huon Papuan languages (McElhanon 1973: 15), verbal inflections distinguish seven person-number combinations, with 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person distinctions neutralized for nsg. numbers. Five main tenses are distinguished, in a fairly symmetrical pattern. Under negation, only three tense distinctions are made, with the distinctions between Present and Near Past tenses and between Near Future and Remote Future tenses neutralized under negation. Two imperative paradigms distinguish between Immediate Imperatives and Delayed Imperatives for seven person-number distinctions.

Verb forms are divided between independent verb forms and dependent verb forms. In the Papuanist tradition (on the history of these terms in Papuan linguistics, see Franklin 1983: 49, note 1, and Haspelmath 1995: 48, note 11), clauses with dependent verbal predicates are referred to as ‘medial’ clauses, while clauses with independent verbal predicates are referred to as ‘final’ clauses. Independent verb forms obligatorily co-reference tense or mood and person and number of the S/A argument, while dependent verb forms do not obligatorily co-reference any of these, although they may co-reference person and number of S/A for switch-reference marking, or in causative or other special constructions. Independent verb forms receive up to one prefix and two suffixes added to the verbal root in the order *O-root-TENSE-person+number*, *O-root-REALITY.STATUS+person+number-REMOTE.FUTURE.SUFFIX* for the Remote Future tense, or *O-root-MOOD+person+number-COUNTERFACTUAL* for the Counterfactual inflection. Dependent verb forms may receive up to one prefix and two suffixes, and also receive the Medial suffix *-a* to allow the form to stand on its own. Of six marked verbal aspects, four employ the Dependent verb form with an auxiliary ‘be.’ One aspectual distinction conflates imperfective aspect and indirect evidentiality. Verbal inflectional paradigms form three clusters of morphologically-

related paradigms, with each of the three non-future tense paradigms standing on its own, apart from these groupings.

A large adjective class contains both lexical adjectives (largely colour, value, age, and physical propensity terms, following Dixon 2010b: 73-74) and those derived from nouns and verbs through productive suffixation. Adjectives may be grouped into three morphological classes, which relate slightly to semantic fields. One adjectivizing suffix is homophonous with the 3sg pertensive suffix; historically, this adjectivizer may have originated as an extended use of the pertensive suffix to allow a semi-nominal to modify a noun through ‘association’ (see Aikhenvald 2013: 1-6). Certain adjectives may be possessed and then have nominal semantics; these are generally adjectives referring to value, age, and physical property. Adjectives are not marked for number to index the number of the nouns they modify, but a few adjectives, such as *opmou* ‘small’ may be reduplicated when modifying nouns with non-singular referents. Cardinal and ordinal numbers function as adjectives. As is now common throughout the Huon Peninsula (see, for instance, Taylor 2013), only the Nungon numbers from one to three are regularly used, with other numbers expressed in Tok Pisin. Two Nungon adjectives for ‘last’ exist, and there are also words for ‘first’ and ‘middle.’

Adverbs are a heterogeneous class that includes non-adjectival, non-nominal words indicating manner, time, and phasality.

Pronouns have two forms: neutral, and emphatic (the latter entails focusing and reflexive roles; ‘emphatic’ is generally used to describe this class of pronouns in the literature on Finisterre-Huon languages—see McElhanon 1973: 21). The unmarked pronoun forms distinguish five person-number combinations, while the emphatic pronouns distinguish a full nine person-number combinations. The emphatic pronouns are also the basis for the non-singular personal possessive suffixes.

A two-term spatial demonstrative system and three-term topographic demonstrative system co-exist in Nungon. The spatial demonstrative stems *ng-* ‘proximal’ and *w-* ‘distal’ combine with distance-marking suffixes to express distance-based location. These stems also combine with

derivational suffixes to form discourse-organizing words, or may be used cataphorically (proximal *ng-*) and anaphorically (both proximal *ng-* and distal *w-*). Paralleling this distance-based demonstrative system is the elevation-based system, common in languages spoken by small communities in mountainous settings (Dixon 2010a: 117; Sihong Zhang and Gwendolyn Hyslop, *personal communications* 2013). The topographic demonstratives may not be combined in a single noun phrase with the distance-referencing demonstratives. As with other Finisterre-Huon languages (Sarvasy 2014a: 276), three elevation levels are distinguished by the topographic demonstratives. In Nungon, the stem forms are: *og-* ‘level distance with speaker or hearer, or reference point,’ *on-* ‘higher elevation than speaker or hearer, or reference point,’ *om-* ‘lower elevation than speaker or hearer, or reference point.’ These stems combine with many of the same suffixes as the distance-referencing demonstratives. They may also combine with a few other suffixes not applicable to the distance-referencing demonstratives.

The Nungon verb class includes intransitive, S=A and S=O ambitransitive, transitive, and ditransitive members. Intransitive verbs include basic motion verbs, the verbs ‘rejoice,’ and ‘be idle,’ and ‘exist,’ among others. Ambitransitive verbs include both S=O ambitransitives (‘break,’ ‘split,’) and S=A ambitransitives (‘fall/drop/plant’). Since any core argument may be non-explicit (omitted) in a clause, it can be challenging in a given context to determine whether an S=A ambitransitive verb is serving as an intransitive verb, or whether it is serving as a transitive verb, with the O argument non-explicit. Strictly transitive verbs are those with requisite prefixes co-referencing O, such as ‘beat,’ ‘tell,’ ‘give,’ ‘show,’ and ‘pass.’ Of these transitive verbs, those with ‘show,’ ‘tell,’ or ‘give’ semantics may also occur in ditransitive, or ‘extended transitive’ clauses (Dixon 2010b: 116). With all ditransitive verbs, the second O argument, or E (extended transitive core argument)—that which is shown, the gift, or the news told—may be non-explicit.

Valency-changing constructions in Nungon include a causative and a benefactive. Both of these are multi-verb constructions. The causative construction utilizes a minimal transitive verbal root inflected to index person/number of A, combined with an intransitive verb referencing the underlying O. The person/number indexation in the causative construction is morphologically related to

switch-reference marking. The benefactive construction combines a lexical verb with the ditransitive verb ‘give.’ Transitive verbs may be derived from intransitive motion verbs ‘come,’ ‘ascend,’ and ‘descend’ by adding special non-human O-referencing prefixes that distinguish two numbers of O; a few other intransitive verbs, such as ‘fight,’ also have transitive forms when O-referencing prefixes are added, yielding new transitive forms such as ‘shoot arrow at.’

Clauses can include simple or complex verbal predicates, or they can be verbless, comprising two NPs or an NP and an adjective. These verbless clauses may have equational, negative existential, ‘circumstantial,’ or sequential meaning. The verb ‘be’ is only used as an existential copula or auxiliary verb in complex predicates, not in simple equational clauses. Complex clauses include relative clause constructions and speech reports, as well as counterfactual, hypothetical, and other constructions. As mentioned above, constituent order is generally verb-final.

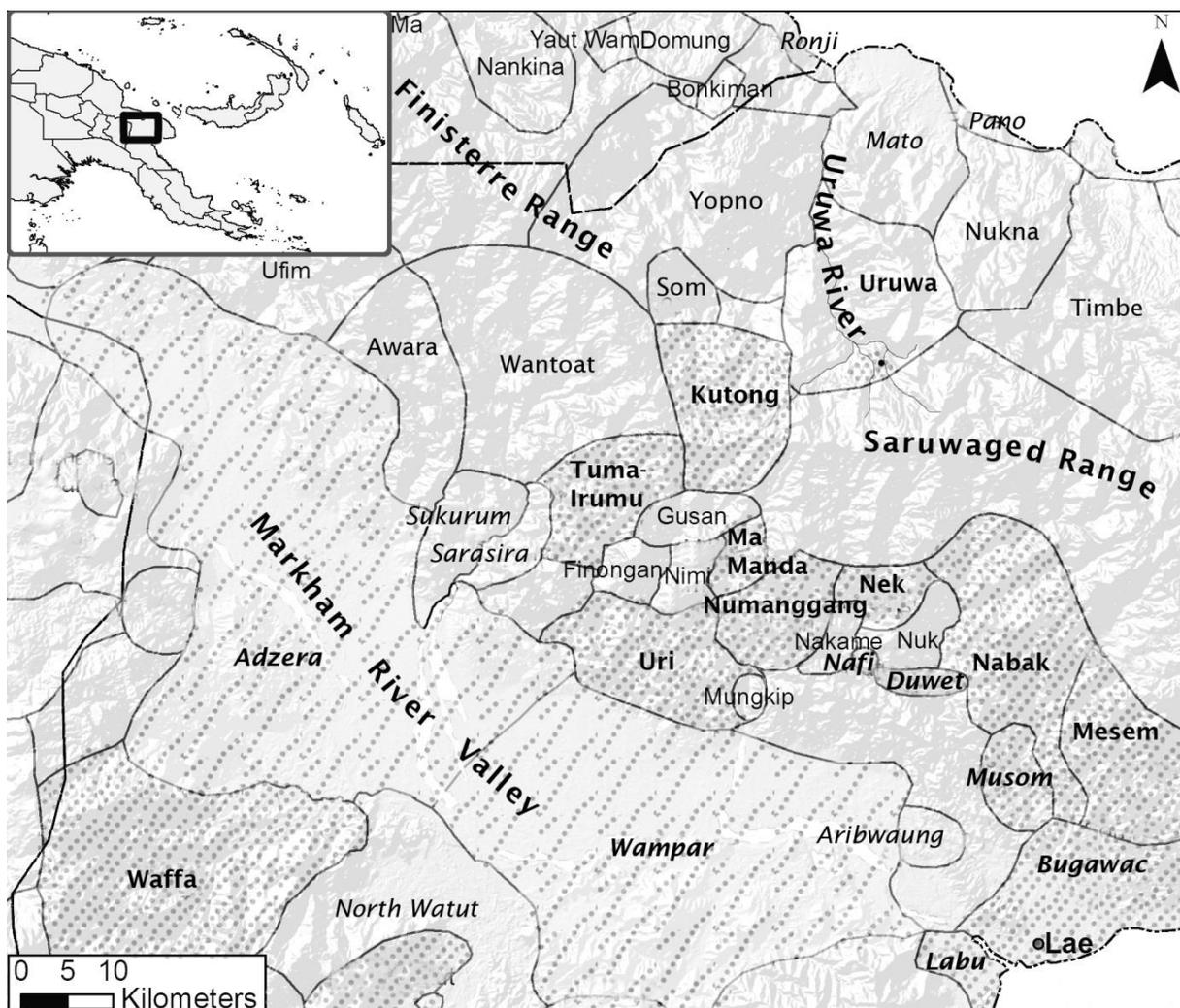
The Nungon lexicon is large and includes hundreds of names of flora found in human-inhabited areas and in the cloud rainforest land rising from the villages. Identifiable loan words are limited to a handful of church-related, 20<sup>th</sup>-century imported garden vegetable, and day-of-the-week names from Kâte, and names of various items that mostly post-date the use of Kâte, such as new-style clothing, in Tok Pisin. Increasingly, Tok Pisin curses and negative epithets are used by Nungon speakers. The large-scale advent of Tok Pisin into the upper Uruwa valley dates only to the 1990s, however, so that its incursion into Nungon-dominated speech domains is still incomplete.

## **1.2 Linguistic kin: Finisterre-Huon Papuan languages**

European exploration of the northeastern part of the island of New Guinea, headed largely by missionaries, began soon after the German New Guinea Company started operations at the Huon Peninsula port Finschhafen in October 1885. In the ensuing 60 years, apart from scattered vocabulary lists, linguistic descriptions of Papuan (non-Austronesian) languages of the region were limited to coastal languages such as Kâte (Pilhofer 1933) and Ono (Wacke 1931). It was not until the 1960s that Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)-affiliated linguists Donald Davis and Kenneth McElhanon began writing on the Papuan languages Wantoat (Davis 1961) and Selepet (McElhanon 1967b)

spoken farther inland. Other SIL teams undertook descriptive work in the area from the late 1960s on. The existence of a Finisterre-Huon language group comprising 60-80 Papuan languages spoken from the Finisterre Mountains to the Huon Peninsula was first posited by Hooley and McElhanon (1970). Three years earlier, McElhanon had hypothesized a Huon language grouping, including all of the Papuan languages of the Huon Peninsula (McElhanon 1967a). The Finisterre-Huon group combined the Huon languages to the east with what Hooley and McElhanon called the Finisterre group, forming the western end of the Finisterre-Huon grouping. In Map 1.1, all Papuan languages to the east and north of the Markham River valley, except Timbe (considered a Huon language), belong to McElhanon's Finisterre grouping.

**Map 1.1 Languages spoken between the Finisterre and Saruwaged Ranges**



On this map, Austronesian language names are in italics. Map adapted from Sarvasy 2013c.

The Finisterre-Huon (FH) family hypothesis was largely based on lexicostatistics (also presented in Claassen & McElhanon 1970), but McElhanon (1973) also presented an overview of commonalities in person-number distinctions, pronouns, demonstratives, verbal inflections, and person-number object prefixes on verbs among ten far-flung FH languages to add depth to the claim of a common genetic origin. Suter (2012) has since examined person-number object prefixes in FH languages in more detail, but the past three decades have seen little other comparative research on FH languages.

Over 40 years after McElhanon's pioneering work was published, little rigorous comparative work has been done to confirm linguistic relationships within and across the families posited in Claassen and McElhanon (1970), Hooley and McElhanon (1970), and McElhanon (1973). Some languages identified as such in Hooley & McElhanon (1970) were later reanalyzed as dialects within dialect continua (for instance, Wegmann 1994a), but as yet there have been no rigorous proofs of the familial affiliations of languages on the borders of two families or higher groupings, such as Nukna, which is the easternmost Finisterre language, or Som, which is spoken at the juncture of the purported Yupna, Wantoat, and Uruwa families.

Claassen & McElhanon's lexicostatistical analysis yielded 'shared vocabulary percentages' of 15-34% between Awara, Ma Manda (referred to as Sauk), Nek, and Nungon (1970: 48-49), with the highest shared percentage between Ma Manda and Nek. We may consider these estimates low, however; in-depth analysis of sound correspondences between these languages may yield much higher cognate counts. This has already been established for the cognate percentages between Nungon and its neighbouring FH language, Nukna. Claassen & McElhanon (1970: 48-49) gave a count of 34-35% shared vocabulary between one Nungon dialect and two dialects of Nukna. Taking into account regular sound correspondences between the two languages, Sarvasy (2013b) counted 262 nouns and 97 verbs and found 45.4% cognacy rates for both word classes between the Towet dialect of Nungon and the Hamerengan dialect of Nukna. There is, however, some evidence that adjectives may have much lower cognacy percentages between FH languages than either verbs or nouns (Katri Linnasalo, personal communication 2014).

The following notes summarizing typological features of the Finisterre-Huon languages has been published in Sarvasy (2014a: 275-77). The notion of the Finisterre-Huon language group comprising 60-80 Papuan languages spoken from the Finisterre Mountains east across the Huon Peninsula has been largely accepted since Hooley & McElhanon (1970) introduced the designation. Indeed, the typological profiles of these languages share many characteristics.

Most FH languages have medium-sized phonemic inventories. Some languages have labio-velar stops. Many have six phonemic vowels, with more back vowels than front vowels (McElhanon 1973: 5).

FH languages are predominantly suffixing, with agglutinating morphology and some fusion. Nominal morphology is largely limited to pertensive (possessive) suffixation, with non-human nouns generally unmarked for number, especially in the western FH languages. Across these languages, the third person singular pertensive suffix is homophonous with an adjectivizing suffix, making some adjectives similar in form to possessed nouns (McElhanon 1973: 11).

There is no grammatical gender and noun classification systems are rare (although see Quigley and Quigley 2011 for discussion of the classification system in Awara; the closely- language Wantoat also has such a system, described in Davis n.d.). The maximal number system used in pronouns and verbal inflections is a tripartite one distinguishing singular, dual, and plural, but in some parts of every language's grammar a bipartite number system, distinguishing singular and non-singular, also occurs.

Grammatical relations are marked through enclitics. These relations usually include: dative or benefactive, genitive, locative, comitative, instrumental, and focus or nominative, the marker of which is usually homophonous with the instrumental marker. Most languages have two overlapping sets of demonstratives: an oppositional pair 'here'/'there,' and a set of topographic demonstratives distinguishing three elevational tiers.

All FH languages are clause-chaining, meaning that a sentence may comprise numerous 'medial' clauses with minimally-inflected 'medial' verbal predicates, followed by a single 'final'

clause with a fully-inflected ‘final’ verb predicate. If uninflected for person and number, medial verbs are understood to be ‘same-subject’ marked; if the S/A argument of the next clause is anticipated to differ, a medial verb receives a ‘different-subject’ suffix indexing the person and number of its own S/A argument. In this regard, FH languages differ from other Papuan languages such as Kobon (described in Roberts 1990), in which both same-subject and different-subject marking index S/A person and number.

Final verbs are maximally-inflected, marking tense, aspect, mood, reality status, and S/A person/number. Medial verbs cannot take tense suffixes, but in some languages they may take reality status suffixes—these languages are similar in this respect to non-FH Papuan languages such as Amele (Roberts 1990). With indicative final verbs, the second and third persons share a form in the dual and plural numbers (McElhanon 1973: 14).

Verb roots are predominantly mono- or di-syllabic. In many FH languages, the forms of the suffixes that directly follow the verb roots vary depending on the form—usually the final phoneme—of the verb root itself. FH languages have been analysed as having between two and seven or more such verbal inflectional classes, unrelated to semantics or valency (see Sarvasy 2014b, Linnasalo 2014, Pennington 2014, Quigley 2014, Davis 1964, among others).

In many Papuan languages, certain verb roots are suppletive based on the number or person and number of a core argument—sometimes S, often O (Foley 1986: 128-142). This is evident in some verbs of FH languages. FH languages also feature a closed subset of transitive verbs—the membership of which varies from language to language—that take obligatory prefixes indexing the person and number of the O argument. These prefixes are formally related to personal pronouns, and may be further entwined with verb root suppletion based on O number. A primary piece of evidence for the genetic relatedness of FH languages is the apparent cognacy of O-argument person/number prefixes across FH languages (McElhanon 1973: 43-53, 1975; Suter 2012).

### 1.3 External linguistic influences on Nungon

To the east of the Uruwa valley, over the mountains, is the Nukna language area. Preliminary analysis of SIL linguist Matthew Taylor's Nukna lexicon with Nungon suggests that Nukna is much more closely related to the Uruwa valley languages than is Yopno or are the Papuan languages to the south of the Saruwaged range (Sarvasy 2013b). Indeed, Towet people trace their female lineage to the east: their female ancestors are reported to have come from the Timbe or Nukna area, while their male ancestors climbed up into the headwaters area of the Uruwa valley from the middle part of the valley, near Sukan, which they originally reached from the coast. I was told that Timbe and Nukna area people still acknowledge Towet people as their cross-cousins, since Towet's 'mothers' came from among them.

Nowadays, Nungon-speaking young people who pass the eighth-grade final examinations and whose families are able to pay their school fees and room and board study at Kabwum High School in Derim, in the Selepet area. A few such students study instead at Wasu High School in Wasu—also to the east of the Uruwa area, but on the coast. Towet people traditionally travelled through the Nukna and Timbe areas to trade barkcloth and other crafts for clay pottery made by the coastal Sio-speaking people, and there are a number of legends relating the fates of Towet individuals and groups who travelled east to trade. Towet grandmothers with only basic understanding of Tok Pisin surprised me by producing isolated expressions in Nukna, and by occasionally speaking Nukna to visiting men and women from the Nukna area. At least three Towet families have marriage ties to the Nukna region.

The Towet community's unilateral eastward orientation is striking. Historically, Nungon speakers on the eastern side of the Uruwa River seem to have had little to do with the Yopno area to the west of the Uruwa valley. Legends and personal accounts give no indication of a westerly trade orientation. This makes sense, since Towet's hunting lands rise unilaterally to the east of the village: although Towet's farming lands span both sides of the Uruwa River and continue some distance to the west, meeting those of Yawan, Sagain, and Kotet, large expanses of uncleared forest are found only to the east. It would have been natural for Towet people on trading expeditions to sleep for a night or

two in their own hunting grounds, then continue on into Nukna lands, instead of passing entirely through other people's lands in pursuit of trade.

Two modern institutions have attempted to unite the Uruwa, Som and Yupna (the geographical area is referred to as Yupna, while the language is indicated as Yopno) areas. The first grand attempt was called the Nayudos (an acronym using the first parts of the names of the valleys included) cultural organization, based in the Yopno village Teptep; Nayudos was created in the late 1980s and proclaimed a unified Nankina, Yupna, Uruwa, and Som area (Kocher Schmid 1993, 2007). This organization was little-remembered in the upper Uruwa valley in 2011-13; indeed, in the 1980s, Yawan had no government Councillor, so the upper Uruwa valley probably had little voice in such political maneuvering. Nayudos grouped the Uruwa and Som valleys together under the 'Osom' label (hence the final '-os' in the name: Kocher Schmid 1993: 782). The Nayudos scheme seems to have failed, and the name Nayudo (minus the final 's') may have shrunk into a present-day government designation for a political unit within the Yupna valley. A modern institution, the Yupna-Uruwa-Som (YUS) Conservation Area, designated in 2009 after organizing by the Seattle-based Tree Kangaroo Conservation Project (TKCP), has created new bureaucratic ties between the three valleys. A number of young men from the Yupna area have been sponsored through teacher training by the TKCP; as a condition of the sponsorship, they are required to return to teach in schools within the tri-valley area. Thus, at least two young Towet women have married Yopno-speaking teachers working at the Yawan primary school in the last three years. This is a new phenomenon.

It is unlikely that the Uruwa languages have been significantly influenced by the coastal Austronesian language Mato; in fact, the influence seems to have gone the other way. The SIL activity in the lower Uruwa valley, as well as the existence since the 1970s of an English-language Community School in Sapmanga serving Mato students as well as Uruwa-based ones, seems to have given the Yau dialect (lower Uruwa valley) a privileged status in the Mato-speaking region. In the late 1990s, SIL linguists Stober and Stober wrote: 'It was contact with Yau that sparked interest in Mato preschools and vernacular Scriptures. The Yau New Testament was dedicated in June of 1997. The Uruwa Community School in Sapmanga currently draws about 25 youths from the Mato language

group. Those Mato residents claiming to know Yau to some degree number 49 or 9%. Of these, 29 are fluent, 10 speak it to some degree, and 10 can only understand it. Two claim to be literate and have been observed reading the Yau Scriptures. Another 19 are semi-literate in Yau' (Stober and Stober 1998: 14).

As for the Som River language(s) to the southwest, little has yet been written. SIL apparently has been sponsoring a local group in the Som area to complete their own Bible translation, and the New Tribes Missions apparently also have a missionary family posted in the Som area. I was told that the language of Sindamon village—located outside the Uruwa valley, in the Som valley, but included in the Uruwa language area in the (scant) literature—was different from that of all other Uruwa villages, possibly due to 'mixing' with Som languages. Towet people told me that Sindamon people could still speak the archaic Towet dialect of Nungon, because there had previously been some sort of exchange relationship between the two villages. This is as yet unverified.

Historically, the evangelists and missionaries active in the Uruwa valley used the Eastern Huon Papuan language Kâte as the language of the church. Official Lutheran mission school instruction in Kâte continued only through the beginning of the 1960s or so (Foley 1986: 32), but Wegmann and Wegmann (1994: 88) write that Kâte was still used for reading the weekly Bible passage in the Boksawin church until 1989, when the couple began issuing Yau translations of Bible passages. Several Towet elders attended Kâte schools in Boksawin and Worin as children. Later, as adults, some of them traveled to other areas with church groups and communicated in Kâte with far-flung Lutheran communities. These people still remember Kâte and could translate short sentences when asked or sing Kâte children's songs, but they rarely do so and some openly expressed resentment at having studied Kâte. The resentment stems from two factors: first, Kâte was a foreign language, and second, that it, like Nungon itself, was a 'bush' language (this may have been meant to indicate that the word *kâte* actually means 'forest' in Kâte!), without extensive applications beyond the church, and useless in communicating with international outsiders. A further reason that Towet people do not speak Kâte today may have to do with differentiating themselves from their Lutheran neighbours in Worin, who still occasionally sing Kâte songs in church. Narrative I (Appendix) is a

description by the Towet elder Gosing of going to sleep hungry, being forced to carry stones on her shoulder as punishment for missing classes, and receiving little support from Boksawin people when she attended Kâte school at Boksawin, probably in the 1950s or 1960s.

### **1.3.1 Expressions of Kâte origin**

In addition to their proselytizing, the Kalasa missionaries introduced new varieties of farm crops that are now found in most Nungon speakers' farms, such as cabbage and peanuts. The forthrightness with which they introduced these farm crops is debatable; one version of the story holds that the evangelists planted cabbage and other new crops secretly, for their own use, and it was local people who worked for the missionaries who, seeing the interesting new plants, hid seedlings in their clothing and spirited them away to plant in their own farms.

Nungon has assimilated a few words from Kâte in the semantic areas related to the church, as well as names of the new crops. A selection follows, with indigenous Nungon counterparts, if extant; Kâte <q> and <ɟ> are written phonetically as <kp> and <ts> here; remember that Kâte <â> is [ɔ], and Kâte <o> is [o], while in Nungon orthography, <o> is [ɔ], and <ö> is [o].

<b>Table 1.1. Kâte loans in Nungon</b>				
<b>Nungon</b>	<b>Kâte</b>	<b>English gloss</b>	<b>Nungon equivalent</b>	<b>English gloss</b>
anian	aniang (Eng)	onion		
Anutu	Anutu	God		
aua	aua (Eng)	hour		
babiya	papia (Eng)	book		
bakbasu	kpakpazu	teacher	yandik yandik amna	teaching man
basa	basac	shell pea, bean		
daweng	taweng	Chinese taro	gowok horo	
diwo	wâfungte tiwâ	communion		
dökta	dokta (Eng)	doctor	guram amna	medicine man
dudumang	tutumang	meeting	höan	meeting
gasang	kasang (TP)	peanut		
gurere	kurere	ukelele		
Yesu	Jesu (Germ)	Jesus		
kapenda	kapenda (Eng)	carpenter		
kare	kare (Eng)	car	bot mak-no	literally, ‘large pig, mother of pig’
karaut	kerauti (Germ)	cabbage		
kömiti	komiti (Eng)	committee (of leaders)		
köpi	kâfi (Germ?)	coffee		
miti	miti	church		
Mitiwö	Mituâc (Germ)	Wednesday		
mokik	mâki	mat, raincoat	towok	woven raincoat
Mönda	Monda (Eng)	Monday		
möneng	moneng (Eng)	money	böörong	stone, money
Nenggo	Nenggoc	Friday		
nunumuk	nunumu	prayer	bunak	prayer
pasta	pasto (Eng)	pastor		
saare	tsare	arithmetic		
siaman	tsiamani (Eng)	German/Germany		
Sinda	Tsindac (Germ)	Tuesday		
songang	songang	church elder		
Sö(g)ikbono	Sekikpanâc	Thursday		
Sönda	Sonda (Germ)	Sunday		
Söndanggie	Sonda gie	Saturday		
waruk	wâru	pumpkin		
wase	wase	namesake	waöp	namesake

## 1.4 Uruwa Geography

In its violent northerly flow from the high alpine grasslands of the Saruwaged Mountains to the ocean, the Uruwa River has carved a steep valley into surrounding cloud rainforest. This is a classic V-shaped valley (geographical term *Kerbstal*), and defines Nungon-speakers' surroundings: there is very little level ground anywhere, and slopes that are cultivated can verge on vertical inclines. The Uruwa River, known as *Wep* in Nungon, is more of an obstacle than a source of sustenance: too turbulent to be navigated or fished, and location of many a drowning death. The *Wep* confines human movements between villages on the western and eastern sides of the valley to two main bridges, one on Towet lands, between Yawan and Towet, and the other in Yau-speaking country, between Sugan and Sapmanga (other, minor bridges exist within Yawan village's forest land, but these are upstream of all Uruwa villages and might be used for travel from village to village only if the main Yawan-Towet bridge were impassable).

Both the western and eastern sides of the valley are populated, with villages spaced fairly regularly along main footpaths: all a minimum of 100m or so uphill from the river. The land between the villages and the river is intensively farmed; most villagers also cultivate farmlands above the villages. Villagers' proprietary forestland for hunting, timber felling, and edible-plant foraging sweeps upward from the peripheries of the cultivated farmplots above the villages to the peaks and ridges visible from within the valley, continuing beyond to meet areas of forest owned by the peoples of the valleys to the south, west, and east of the Uruwa.

Major tributaries to the *Wep*, formidable rivers in their own rights, include: the *Yat*, which flows down a wide channel between Bonggorom and Benbe; the *Not*, also quite wide and a challenge to cross when swollen, which runs between Benbe and Mup; the *Yapem*, which pours in a spectacular several-hundred-meter waterfall from the ridgetop high above Towet into the *Wep*; the *Kotum*, which forms a similarly-magnificent waterfall into the *Wep* further southeast; and the *Bahat*, which has shaped a deep *Kerbstal* of its own that today divides Towet lands from those of Worin. Towet people speak gratefully of the numerous other streams with clean, potable water found on Towet lands: the *Möit*, *Inabö*, *Huang*, *Damurong*, and many others. Yawan lands also boast many water sources.

Worin villagers, in contrast, have few springs and streams on their lands, though they do possess a large lake, used for drinking water before the current pipe system was installed, bringing water from a source high above the village.

Landslides are common in the upper Uruwa valley, especially after heavy rain. The rumble of minor landslides lasts for several seconds, but I was staying in Towet when a major series of landslides destroyed many farmplots downhill from the hamlet Gapmambö; the rumble then continued for many minutes. The waters of the *Bahat* stream run an ominous red-brown if there have been landslides upstream; the *Bahat* hurls dislodged boulders down its channel in such times, when people hesitate to cross.

Nowadays, at least, rainfall is not markedly different throughout the year. Rain falls many afternoons; mornings are usually, though not always, free of rain. It rarely rains nonstop for extended periods.

Earthquakes do impact the Uruwa area, but the last earthquake to cause serious damage in Towet, at least, was in the 1970s. The lack of major earthquakes since that one is attributed by Seventh-Day Adventists to the remaking of Towet into a Seventh-Day Adventist village.

As the Uruwa River nears the sea, valley elevation and that of the surrounding mountains drops steadily from peaks of over 4,000 meters to sea level. Yawan village sits at about 1600m, while Sapmanga's airstrip in the Yau area is located at about 850m.

The grammar of Nungon has arguably been influenced by the topography of the Saruwaged Mountains. Although the Uruwa River forms the centre of the valley and thus Nungon speakers could be considered river-dwellers, the river is neither navigated nor utilized in other ways. There is no monomorphemic Nungon word for 'fish' known today; the Nungon expression for fish is the two-noun NP *top arap*, with *arap* 'game' as head and *top* 'sea' as modifier: 'sea-game.' Upper Uruwa topography and the inutility of the Uruwa River are arguably reflected in the Nungon demonstrative system, which distinguishes three elevational tiers but includes no upstream/downstream distinction. The lack of an upstream/downstream distinction within Nungon grammar may be further rationalized

by the fact that, since there is very little level ground within the area, ‘downstream’ is always synonymous with ‘downhill.’

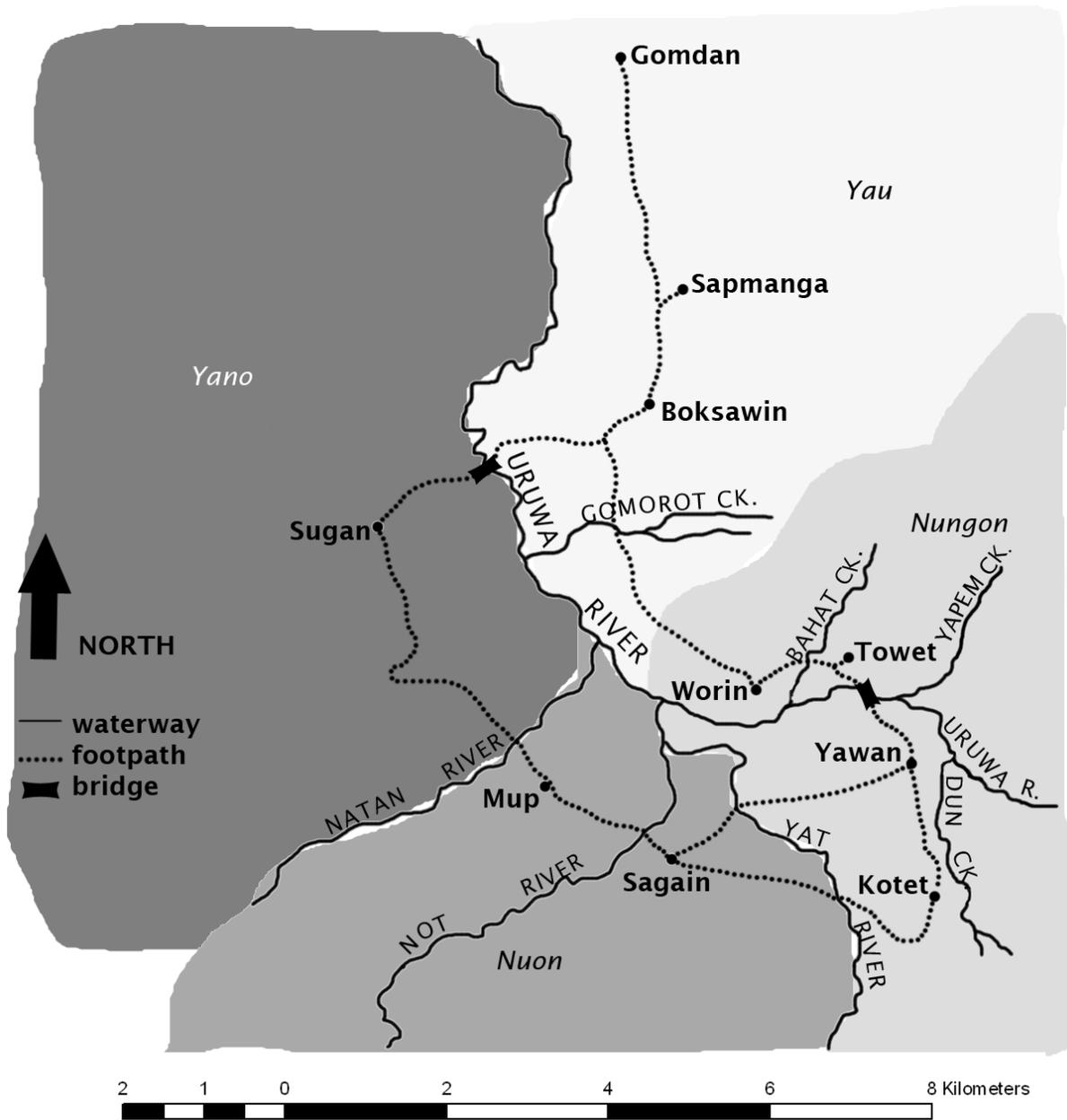
#### **1.4.1 Geographical limits to human movement**

Geographically, the villages of the upper Uruwa valley are arranged in an oval, with the Uruwa River running through the center of the oval, and effectively keeping the two long sides apart. The village points along the oval are connected by the main footpaths. The lower right curve of the oval is the bridge spanning the Uruwa River between Towet and Yawan, whereas the top of the oval is a bridge between Sugan and Sapmanga.

The oval may be divided into four sections, according to dialect label: Yano and Yau in the north, and Nuon and Nungon in the south. The Uruwa River splits Yano from Yau, and Nuon from Nungon; distance and minor waterways separate Yano from Nuon, and Yau from Nungon.

**Map 1.2. Dialect groupings within the Uruwa River valley**

*Note: Footpaths are schematic.*



GIS data from David Gillieson. Map published in Sarvasy 2013c.

These two bridges connect the main footpaths across the treacherous Uruwa River, thus linking the East and West sides of the river on the top and bottom of the oval. The bridge from Sugan to Sapmanga is fairly new and constructed of ‘wire,’ while that from Towet to Yawan is bamboo-and-twine. Although it is used frequently by Worin people as well, since most Worin young people attend

school in Yawan and Worin residents use the Yawan airstrip, the bridge is maintained solely by the Towet community. Other bridges over the Uruwa exist farther upstream in Yawan's territory, but these are off the main footpath and would represent a lengthy detour if used to travel from Towet to Yawan, for instance.

Note that because the villages marked as Yawan, Sagain and Kotet are all on the same side of the Uruwa River, there are more options within this part of the oval to travel from village to village. Towet people farm as far away as the Sagain area (where some Towet families have ancestral land).

But Mup people, in the center of the western side of the oval, cannot travel directly to Worin, which Mup essentially faces across the Uruwa River, without having to circumnavigate half of the oval, traveling through the Sagain and Yawan areas, then on to Towet and Worin. This is because there is simply no bridge across the Uruwa River that would enable crossing in the middle of the oval.

Inhabitants of Sagain historically had their own Nuon dialect, but now either speak the Mup Nuon dialect or the Kotet Nungon dialect. Kotet and Yawan dialects are distinct from each other and from Towet. In some ways, however, Kotet and Worin share a number of features, and both are closer to the Yau dialect of Boksawin and the Yano dialect of Sugan than Towet and Yawan are. The main reason I posit for Kotet and Worin being more similar to each other in some ways than they are to Towet is the oval structure of human movements in the upper Uruwa River area. Kotet is close to Benbe, which is close to Mup, which is close to Sugan. Worin, on the other hand, neighbours Boksawin. The old site of Yawan village is located off map 1.2, on the other side of the Uruwa River from present-day Yawan, which is today situated on Towet's traditional lands.

Beyond Gomdan, footpaths to the coast pass through rugged and leech-infested terrain; despite these discomforts, a traveller departing from Boksawin in the morning may reach the sea that same day. Forest divides the Uruwa Papuan language area (of which Gomdan is the northernmost village) from villages populated by speakers of the Austronesian language Mato along the coast. Today many Uruwa people travel to the coast at least every few years for coconuts—prized in cooking, but not grown at higher elevations. All Nungon speakers used to harvest salt at the coast, a

procedure still remembered in detail by Towet elders. Despite this, relations with Mato people are quite limited. Coastal people have no compelling reason to undertake the arduous hike up the Uruwa valley into Nungon speakers' lands, and intermarriage between Nungon speakers and the coastal Mato speakers is rare-to-nonexistent. Mato-speaking villages are located roughly 20 kilometers from Sapmanga, with a significant difference in elevation (Stober 2005: 2).

To the south, several footpaths exist to Lae: a journey of at least two days. There are well-established paths connecting the Nungon villages with the areas populated by speakers of other Papuan languages to the east (Nukna) and west (Yopno); Nungon speakers today and historically have oriented themselves much more to the east than to the west.

Two airstrips serve the Uruwa valley: one in Sapmanga and one in Yawan. Only recently have these become of any significance to local population movement; most people who want to go to Lae, for instance, walk there instead of paying 260 Kina (about 110 Australian dollars) for a one-way ticket with North Coast Aviation.

## **1.5 Nungon dialects**

Today, there are four main dialects known as Nungon, and two known as Nuon because of intervocalic consonant elision in those dialects. One of the Nuon dialects, that of Sagain, is nearly extinct. Descendants of Sagain dialect speakers now speak either the Kotet dialect of Nungon or the Mup dialect of Nuon.

### **1.5.1 Earlier classifications**

In 1970, Hooley and McElhanon reported five languages in the Uruwa valley, listing them as 'Sindamon, Mup, Mitmit, Worin, and Kumdaron' (1970: 1065). Previous surveys they cite had used roughly the same classification, but grouped Mup and Mitmit together under the label 'Bogorom' (Hooley and McElhanon 1970: 1065, chart); this corresponds to the dialect called 'Sagain' by speakers, and remembered only by three speakers in the hamlet site Bonggorom (near Sagain on map 1.2). This confirms speakers' assertions that Sagain speakers' conversion to the Kotet dialect is a very new phenomenon, facilitated by Sagain men marrying Kotet women, and then the men themselves

dying. The absence of listings for Towet, Kotet, and Worin are unsurprising, given the superficiality and brevity of Hooley and McElhanon's visit to the Uruwa valley. Hooley and McElhanon reported the Worin and Mitmit dialects to be 74% related. The dialect they called 'Kumdaron' is that of the village Gomdan, and they took this dialect to encompass Boksawin, Sapmanga, and other nearby villages. This was listed as only 65% 'related to Worin' (Hooley and McElhanon 1970: 1065). In their first survey of the area in the mid-1980s, Summer Institute of Linguistics workers Doug and Carol Lauver claimed that they found seven main dialects in the valley, though they omitted one village (Lauver and Wegmann 1994: 105). In his own survey, Wegmann lists the Towet, Yawan, Kotet and Mitmit dialects as being, respectively, 64%, 60%, 60%, and 63% related to that of Boksawin (Wegmann 1994a: 5).

### 1.5.2 Phonological differences between dialects

Although there is currently and has historically been plenty of intermarriage between the Uruwa communities of map 1.2, the groups maintain distinctly different dialects. As might be expected, villages that are geographically close seem to have had brisker intermarriage rates than those that are far from each other. Looking at existing marriages formed within the past fifty years, it seems that Towet people have married, in rough order of frequency: 1) Worin 2) Yawan 3) Towet 4) Kotet 5) non-Uruwa. The Sagain and Mup communities intermarry a lot, as do Yawan and Kotet.

All of the groups except Yawan and Towet have a glottal stop where Towet and Yawan have phonological word-final /-k/, and Towet has phonological word-initial /h/ where all other dialects have either /f/ or /s/.<sup>1</sup> (Some words that in Towet begin with /h/ do begin with /h/ in the other dialects as well, and words that begin with /s/ in Towet speech begin with /s/ in the other dialects as well, but

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<sup>1</sup> One peculiarity I observed in Towet village was some adult Towet dialect speakers occasionally addressing their own small children with glottal stops and [l] for [r], and the children themselves occasionally using glottal stops and [l] for [r]. There seemed to be two possible explanations. Either the adults were mimicking the Kotet dialect, which some acknowledged 'sounds childish,' or they were mimicking children's mispronunciation of the Towet dialect. Towet word-final [k] is often unreleased, but sometimes released. Marc Garellek (personal communication 2014) suggested that when Towet children hear the unreleased [k], they misinterpret it as a glottal stop. This could be related to frequency as well. Indeed, /k/ is by far the most common stop word-finally.

Towet has only two words with /f/. Although Kotet, Mitmit and Worin are consistent in whether a word that begins with /h/ in Towet begins with /h/ or /s/, in one instance Yawan, which normally has /h/, like Towet, has /s-/ where Towet has /h-/ and Worin, Kotet and Mitmit have /f-/. (See last item in table 1.2 below.) Towet and Worin have the flapped or trilled /r/ where other dialects have either /l/ or /d/. Selected lexical items and inflected verbal expressions are listed in table 1.2.

<b>Table 1.2. Selected correspondences across Nungon dialects</b>					
<b>English gloss</b>	<b>Towet</b>	<b>Yawan</b>	<b>Kotet</b>	<b>Worin</b>	<b>Sagain</b>
house	bök	yut	bö?	bö?	bö?
path	asap	asap	teelo	asap	teo
intestines/ excrement	omön	omön	kaya?	omön	kaa?
rain	bip	bip	komö?	bip	komö?
speech	maa	manggalu	manggalu	maa	
large	morö	morö	kori?	koti?	koti?
throat	inggun	uttek	utte?	inggun	utte?
knee	tuun	konduk	kondü?	kondü?	gotu?
elbow	konduk	mimbung	mimbung	mimbung	mindung
head	kaak	kaak	kubit	kuit	kuit
black, dark	dook	dook	kombut	kombut	kombut
chicken	hup	hup	fup	fup	fup
white	högök	högök	fö?fö?	fö?fö?	fö?fö?
many	koitno	onggomba	koitno	koitno	
kunai grass	gaam	manom	manom	gaam	gon
bamboo	katnang	katnang	kandang	katnang	kandang
food (general)	tanak	döbot	tana?	tana?	tana?
banana	döwot	oyuk	döbot	döwot	döwot
free	irom	ilom	ondi?	irom	ondi?
ant (general)	upok		korit	ibo?	
wing	hot	hot	fot	fot	fot
bowstring	hot	hot	sot	sot	sot
I am lost	gopbottat	gorombottat	gombottat	gobottat	
Chop it down! (2pl)	haiwarut	haibalut	faibalut	faiwarut	fonidait
You'll chop it down (2sg NF)	haiwangkarok	haiwantalok	faibangkalo?	faiwangkaro?	foniyangkao?
S/he is eating	nahak	nahak	naha?	naka?	naa?
Let me understand	orom hiwa	olom siwa	om fiya	om fiya	
I don't understand /know	marom hittat/hit	malom sit	mam fit	mam fit	

## **1.6 History**

The following sections introduce some aspects of the known history of Nungon speakers. §1.6.1 gives origins and traditional life; §1.6.2 is an overview of early missionary activity; §1.6.3 discusses impacts to the area of World War II; §1.6.4-§1.6.5 explain post-World War II history up to the coming of Seventh-Day Adventists, which is covered in §1.6.6. The last three sections, §1.6.7-9, describe recent outside involvement in the area since the 1980s.

### **1.6.1 Origins and traditional life**

Nungon speakers trace their origins to the Bismarck Sea coast, site of the stones that give the Uruwa River its name. Speakers can recount which areas were settled in which order. Towet people trace their maternal lineage eastward, however, over the mountains into the Nukna-speaking area. This is natural for them, since their forest holdings sweep eastward to meet those of Nukna speakers, high in the mountains. It is unclear where villages on the western side of the Uruwa River, such as Suga and Mup, trace their maternal lineages.

Men's houses existed well into the 1950s, at least, in Towet, Worin, and Kotet villages. (History of the other villages is unknown to me.) It is unclear whether grown men lived in these houses, or simply used them as meeting places. Young men, however, did stay in these houses, emerging from them to bless the first plantings in their parents' farm plots by treading on the earth there. Initiation involved diving deep into a pool of water, among other things. Yam and taro farm plots were planted in strict silence. As elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, a bullroarer would be sounded on the occasion of the eating of the first harvest; this was eaten by men and boys in the men's house. People preparing for group hunting expeditions were blessed by a designated person chewing ginger root, then spitting it into a mixture of aromatic leaves. Lightly tapping people with bundles of herbs also helped them succeed. In at least some areas, certain words or phrases were taboo in the forest (§1.8.9).

The Uruwa River valley was connected to the Vitiaz Strait trading circuit (Harding 1967, Sarvasy 2013a, 2013c). Many Nungon speakers maintained trade-friend relationships both at the

Bismarck Sea coast and among other mountain-dwellers. Towet villagers travelled to Hamerengan village in the Nukna-speaking area to trade dogs' teeth, pigs' teeth, and bark-cloth capes for clay pots originating on the Huon coast. Trade-friend relationships could be passed down from father to children, with the two families maintaining friendly relations for generations. Towet villagers travelled to the Bismarck Sea coast to harvest salt, which they carried back up into the mountains on salt-encrusted logs. Their trade-friends there would give them coconuts to take back; today Nungon-speaking women still journey barefoot through leech-infested forest to the coast, each hauling back dozens of fresh coconuts in a bulging string bag to share with family and neighbors.

### **1.6.2 Missionary activity**

Only nine months after the German New Guinea Company started operations at Finschafen in October 1885, the first missionary activities on the Huon Peninsula were already underway (McElhanon 1970: 1180). As elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, McElhanon writes that in this region 'the missionaries were consistently the first Europeans to make significant contact' with local people (McElhanon 1970: 1180). With the exceptions of government-enforced relocations into new 'station' towns, a Japanese incursion into the valley at the end of World War II (Hempenstall and Rutherford 1986: 140-141; Wegmann and Wegmann 1994: 85-86), and conservation and biological research activity since the 1990s, the history of outside activity in the Uruwa valley is very much one of church and missionary activity.

Wegmann and Wegmann (1994: 84) describe the history of missionary activities in the Uruwa valley in their as dating from 1925, when the first proselytizer arrived in the valley. This man, named Niniju, had been trained in the Kalasa area, farther east on the Huon Peninsula. Along with a teacher named Isai, he would be based at Boksawin for nearly 50 years. Most Nungon speakers over the age of 20 or so knew about Niniju and Isai at the time of my own fieldwork, and some showed emotion on seeing a photograph of the two together, taken from Wegmann and Wegmann 1994. Some Towet women of about fifty years and older in 2011-2012 recalled meeting Niniju or Isai. In 1928, the Swiss missionary Karl Saueracker came to the valley, and Wegmann and Wegmann posit that he was the first European to travel through the Uruwa area (1994: 85). Nongi, a Towet elder, says that it was his

father who escorted Saueracker down from the Nukna-speaking area to the East to Towet, where he stayed briefly. On seeing that Towet village was built on a small indentation in the mountain slope in an area that could not accommodate a large gathering of people, Saueracker reportedly moved on to Worin and founded a church there. It is a point of pride in Towet that Saueracker's first stop in the Uruwa valley was Towet.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the prevailing situation in the valley seems to have been one of intervillage warfare, or at least distrust, although the missionaries had already had some sort of impact in at least introducing Kâte as a lingua franca (Renck 1977, Taylor 1977). McElhanon writes that in 1938, it was noted 'in the report of the first government patrol through the Uruwa, Yupna and Ufim areas that a Kâte interpreter was essential' (1970: 1193). Wegmann and Wegmann quote a Rev. Munsel's reflections from 1952, on revisiting Sindamon after 15 years: 'At that time [1937] the Uruwa were still fighting each other and it was at this village where our way had been blocked to prevent us from going on. Arrow points, human bones and bamboo filled with blood had been planted into the ground across the road. What a change had taken place since then through the power of the gospel' (Wegmann and Wegmann 1994: 86).

Towet people confirmed that fighting within the Uruwa valley used to be common. Nongi, the oldest man in Towet, whose father led Saueracker into the Uruwa valley, recounted that originally, local peoples fighting among themselves, within a village—over possession of the formerly-eaten root vegetable *baap unom*, or because of disputes over women—would shoot arrows at each other until they decided they'd fought enough, and then re-establish 'brotherly' relations. But he related that fighting with outsiders—those of other villages, or other regions—formerly meant fighting to the death.

In an illustration of the Counterfactual, I was told:

1.1) Osuk=gon hut=ta-i {goks ngo-go e-i-ya},  
first=RSTR new=BEN-TOP 2SG.PRO here-ADV come-DS.2SG-MV  
{ger-arut}.  
2SG.O.kill-CNTR.2/3PL

‘If you had actually come here long ago, they would have killed you.’ (Field notes)

Wegmann and Wegmann write that the government uprooted and ingathered people into new non-clan-based villages, but do not describe the time frame for this transition (1994: 30). Today’s settlement known as ‘Yawan station’ is actually located in Apmín, land belonging to Towet villagers, for instance; more than a generation ago, Yawan villagers were moved by the government from their ancestral lands to this location when the government decided to create a ‘station’ at Apmín. I was not told when this occurred. Wegmann and Wegmann write that Boksawín, like Worín, was also an artificial, conglomerate village of this type. Since Wegmann and Wegmann describe Niníju as working out of Boksawín, it is unclear whether this was an original Boksawín, pre-ingathering, or whether the establishment of these new villages indeed dates back to the 1920s or 1930s.

### 1.6.3 World War II

Several living people in the upper Uruwa valley remember the effects of World War II on the valley.

The Worín matriarch Watno recalled the effects as follows:

When they made war, we were staying at Waminot when an airplane came along very close to the ground. Coming along truly right at the ground, then, it was a man named Bafic who said, “Oho!” he said. “A big war is going to emerge,” he said. Having said that, he himself, harvesting his taro and cooking it, going to Waminot at the base of the rocks, he held a meeting. There, saying “I am going to remain at the base of the rocks,” having established that, when we had all come home, women and men, the two of them said—it was Duruwai and Bafic—“A large war is going to emerge,” the two of them said. “Don’t stay here,” they said. “Going, let’s all go deep, deep inside (the forest).” (Watno emoc morō togung ma hon fatno, 0:00-0:43)

The entire Worín community hid; some in a shelter below a large rockface, others in another location.

Watno describes seeing one warplane shoot down another from her and her brother’s hiding place:

The two of us set down inside the rocks. Having set down, from there, the airplane that came for war, as we watched, it came. It having come, going on, in the meadow up there, shooting down one other airplane, they went away. They having gone, we went up and were at the base of the rocks. Inside the rocks is where we were staying, all the women and men. There we were having a meeting, “The airplane has finished,” he said; then, it was other men [she seems to refer to Japanese or German soldiers] who came. Those who came, that is, they did not come to our area, here.... Well, our area, the one who came here, he was a law-man. It was a law-man who came here, on the Dem path he went on to Hamerengan. I don’t know his name, “that law-man who came,” I’ll say it like that. When he came, having gone on to Hamerengan, well, that’s it, we came and made a meeting. When we were having a meeting, another white came. Having come and seen all the village area completely, all the village area, the forest, all of it, having circumnavigated it completely, having completely seen everything, he left. He having left, that is, your (people), two men, of Towet, that is, two men, a bomb killed them. From there, (one of their) sister took him and his brother by the hand, that being his fate, and left. As for that, they having done such, we having come (home), thus; here, that is, foreign men did not come here. They did not come to Worin land. The Iyuröng area, as for that, it’s true. Having eaten many things, they left. Eating many things, being unruly—here they didn’t do it. Here, they didn’t come. (Watno emoc morö togung ma hon fatno 1:20-3:06)

In the final lines of this passage, Watno refers to the looting supposedly committed by the retreating Japanese in Boksawin, and states that nothing of the sort happened in Worin. Nongi, the oldest living Towet man, recalled that he was staying far away in the Koyogon forest area with his father when the war action happened. Joshua, another Towet elder, related the story of his father’s cross-cousin’s experience in Hamerengan (center of the Nukna language area) during the war:

First, there was a missionary in our area here. That man, his name was Emesang. At first, he had been going to school in Hamerengan. 19- well, the year, I don’t know exactly, but the year in which the Japanese, the Germans came. When they came, from there, he being in Hamerengan, after the Germans came, all of Hamerengan, having chased away all the women and men, they left. His food, his pigs, his dogs, every type of creation, his chickens—(the Germans) having eaten them up completely, they went on and were in Guron. Guron, the name of a village, they were staying in Guron. So, from there, the (local) men went. They gathered all the (local) men: for the German men, that is, it was the local landowners who, wanting to kill them, set out to kill them. The man named Emesang, of our area, my uncle, my father’s cross-cousin, went up then, and gathered men, and they fought against the Germans. Fighting, with his bows, every type of creation, they picked up everything. They killed all the Germans. Killing them, dragging them, bringing them, they threw them from the banks of the Kiromi River; others, fearful, left, and they followed them, going all the way to the ocean down there, others were (still) killing them, bringing them, filling the Kotomi River up all the way (with bodies). These were the Hamerengan landowners, with the man, with my uncle, Emesang. Together with him, they went, having killed all (the Germans), taking his knives, his bows, every type of creation, bombs, everything; having taken everything, all the Germans being fearful, they went back to

their homes completely. (Some of them) grabbed a boat at Wasu to leave, (others) went by footpath up there to Lae and up there they grabbed a boat to go, well, (another) boat, over there at Madang, they grabbed that to leave. The Germans before did like that.

Okay, another (episode), the Germans, in the Second World War when they came, fighting up there, it was a bomb that, having hit an airplane, where did it shoot? At Kototowin Open-Space [a meadow area on Yawan land]. When it fell, from here my father *et al.*, taking up their clothes and tools, went (there). When it had fallen, another German woman, another woman having fallen, the German men went where she had gone, they hacked up the woman, and picked up all her bones: having gathered her bones, her legs, her arms, her body, all her bones; having loaded them into two bags, shouldering them, they took them and left. They brought them and put them in a house, then, setting them by the sea, it was a boat that took them, and she went to her home. That's what they did. (Joshua hat osukno 2, 0:00-1:57)

In contrast to the upper Uruwa Valley, Boksawin was reportedly hit hard in the war. In 1947, various records state that Boksawin was torched by the retreating Japanese. Two missionary annual reports provide some information. These are the 1947 report of the Ulap circuit, which included the Uruwa area at that time (Wegmann and Wegmann 1994: 86), and a 1946 report by Sattelberg of the Evangelical Lutheran Church-Papua New Guinea, also cited in Wegmann and Wegmann (1994: 86). Hempenstall and Rutherford (1986: 140-141) summarize both missionary reports: 'The people of Boksawin village in the Orowa [sic] valley took to the old ways after the war, declaring that they wanted no more missionaries. They blamed the church for bringing the Japanese who had burnt Boksawin and stolen all their food as they retreated; the whole of the Orowa area shared in their bitterness.'

As seen in Watno's account above, the upper Uruwa Valley did not experience as much devastation as did the Boksawin area. Wegmann and Wegmann quote missionary Hans Wagner as writing in the 1947 Ulap circuit report: 'Boksawin has severely suffered by a horde of retreating Japanese. They slaughtered the livestock and burned the village. Over that the heathen became very embittered. They were irritated at the helpers and accused them of betraying and deceiting: "On the 'miti' tracks which you urged us to prepare those strangers did come. Babtism [sic] you promised us, war came instead. Your Anutu did not help us"' (Wegmann and Wegmann 1994: 85-86).

#### **1.6.4 Post-World War II**

After the war, however, baptisms and proselytizing seem to have commenced again and continued apace. Kâte schools may have begun operations in both Boksawin and Worin in 1948 (Wegmann and Wegmann 1994: 86), and Wegmann and Wegmann cite the missionary Hans Wagner as writing in 1950 that young Christians from Boksawin had ‘succeeded in gathering the nomadic Sindamon people into a decent community’ (1994: 86). Yawan had ‘refused’ baptisms in 1952, but accepted them in 1957 (Wegmann and Wegmann 1994: 87). In that year, however, three other villages—Wegmann and Wegmann are vague as to their locations—still avoided conversion to Christianity by living ‘scattered in the bush’ (1994: 87).

#### **1.6.5 Ingathering to Worin of all upper Uruwa valley villages**

The first government patrol officer may have been stationed in the valley beginning in about 1963 (David Gillieson, personal communication 2011). In September 1975, the Sapmanga airstrip opened, and the Sapmanga Community School opened in 1976 (Wegmann and Wegmann 1994: 98). From the 1970s into the 1990s, Uruwa valley commercial and educational activity centered around Sapmanga and Boksawin, with Worin serving as a secondary center of activity for the upper Uruwa valley (Wegmann and Wegmann 1994: 39).

It is as yet unclear exactly in what year the government ordered all villages of the upper Uruwa area to disband their settlements and to relocate to Worin. At this order, all of Towet, most of Yawan, and at least a portion of the Kotet and Mitmit communities tore down their own houses and carried the cornerposts and perhaps other salvaged materials to Worin, where they rebuilt. Towet residents showed me where they had re-constructed their houses, near the present-day Worin elementary school, which I believe was at that time a Kâte-language school.

Worin does not have nearby sources of drinking water, however, and all of the outside communities still had to travel to their own farmlands to harvest food, fetch firewood, and draw water, then hike back up to Worin (which sits on a ridge at higher elevation than Towet) with all of this load—compounded by their small children, sometimes sitting atop the load! The communities who

had moved from farthest away—Kotet and Mitmit; it is unclear to me whether Mup relocated at first or not--seem to have been the first to get fed up and move back to their own lands. Towet grandfather Hesienare recounts the travails of the Worin period as follows:

Before, we were in Worin; (when) we were in Worin, thus, they used to only come here [meaning, Towet proper] for food. Up there, it's others' land. That's why. Coming, getting their food here, that is, their firewood they used to only get here, a food string bag strung around the forehead underneath down there; what-all, firewood strung around the forehead on top (of the food bag), their children placed on top, a bamboo water container balanced on their head, taking it all, they used to go (back to Worin).

Well, with their husbands, coming together, that is, children, women and men would carry them, as for women, mainly food, they would carry food and firewood, then they would go (back) up. Yesterday, today, [i.e., this was a daily endeavour] well, that's the way, if the food finished, well, they used to only come here, pick it up, and go (back) up.

That's just how they used to do, they used to do great arduousness; it's still fresh that we emerged, thus, saying "Let's go to our home," thus we're here (today). (Hesienare hon hat meepmo ha yungano 0:00-0:49)

In the official 1978 census, the ingathering is apparently reflected in population numbers (none available for Towet at the time, perhaps reflecting that Towet people were in fact resident in Worin): Worin 305; Boksawin 293; Sapmanga 141; Kotet 120; Yawan 119; Sugan 114; Kumdaurong 113; Mup 104; Mitmit 80; Sindamon 49 (Wegmann and Wegmann 1994: 10). Note how this compares with the most recent census figures (2000): Worin 292; Towet 121; Boksawin 437; Sapmanga 137; Kotet 217; Yawan 230; Sugan 163; Komdaron (2000 government spelling) 166; Mup 217; Sindamon 89; Boit (offshoot of Sugan) 53; Saburon 254; Mitmit not listed (Summer Institute of Linguistics 2012).

### **1.6.6 The Seventh-Day Adventist/Lutheran split**

The Lutheran church remained the only Christian denomination active in the valley until 1976, when Seventh-Day Adventist (SDA) missionaries arrived. Towet oral histories relate that Towet men who had travelled outside the Uruwa River valley discovered Seventh-Day Adventism in their sojourns and sought to bring SDA missionaries to proselytize in their area. This prompted inter-denominational fighting, and according to Wegmann, the SDA missionaries were almost driven out of the valley, but

took up residence in Yawan. In 1982, Summer Institute of Linguistics surveyor Neville Southwell wrote that Yawan and Kotet had turned to the SDA church ‘in discontent’ (1982: 5). The source of this malaise is not explained.

Today, the upper Uruwa valley is divided in allegiance between those adhering to Lutheran and SDA churches, while the lower valley is still completely Lutheran. As of May 2014, Towet has only an SDA church, or *miti bök*, while Worin, Yawan, and Kotet all have both an SDA church and a Lutheran church. Mitmit and Mup only have Lutheran churches. In the early 1990s, Wegmann and Wegmann wrote that the only SDA-adhering village in the entire Uruwa valley in the early 1990s was Yawan (1994: 39). They opined: ‘Worin is the focal village of the Headwaters area.... All villages except one relate to Sapmanga with its airstrip and community school. The one village who does hardly relate with any other village is an SDA (Seven Days [sic] Adventist) village. I’m concerned to see how little this church, at least in our valley, does to support community activities, and how they shot [sic] themselves off from the others’ (1994: 39). It is unclear whether Towet was also thoroughly SDA-adhering at this time, since Wegmann and Wegmann omit mention of Towet completely in their anthropological materials. Indeed, their maps of the Uruwa valley villages and of intervillage relations (1994: 6, 40) do not include Towet at all. Wegmann’s ‘Dialect Survey’ (1994a) does include Towet, but he still does not group Towet with the SDA villages, which in that document he describes as ‘Yawan and partly Kotet.... mainly one small village which is SDA’ (Wegmann 1994a: 2).

### **1.6.7 Summer Institute of Linguistics activity**

In August 1982, a Summer Institute of Linguistics survey team flew into Sapmanga and visited Boksawin, Sapurong, and Worin over three days to explore the possibility of placing an SIL team in one of these three villages (Southwell 1982: 3-4). Team lead Neville Southwell wrote in his report that locals complained that the Uruwa area ‘because of its sparse population and remoteness from centres in the Morobe and Madang Provinces gets very little attention, service and development. They feel largely ignored by the government, and even unwanted by the church as their Uruwa Sub-Circuit has been passed back and forth from the Tapen Circuit (Madang Province) to the Kabwum Circuit (Morobe Province)’ (1982: 4). Southwell added, however, that ‘the people are keen for development

education and advancement' (1982: 5), and recommended that an SIL field team start out based in Sapurong while they completed basic dialect surveys to find a more permanent village base. These surveys, Southwell noted, 'would take much strenuous hiking' (1982: 5). In 1984 or 1985, Summer Institute of Linguistics workers Doug and Carol Lauver came to the lower Uruwa valley, and were stationed there from 1985 to 1988, presumably in Boksawin. According to Wegmann and Wegmann, Doug Lauver created two books of traditional stories in Yau in 1988 and 75 copies of each book were sold in Sapmanga (1994: 104). In January 1989, Urs and Johanna Wegmann took over. They were active in Boksawin until at least mid-1997, when the Yau language New Testament was released (Stober and Stober 1998: 11).

### **1.6.8 The 1990s and beyond**

Wegmann and Wegmann mention mining companies scouting for gold and copper in the Uruwa River during their time in the valley (1994: 53). They write that these companies raised local hopes of a road being constructed to the valley (1994: 102). In 1994, Lutheran groups were still in the planning stages of a large-scale metal water pipe installation to replace the high-maintenance bamboo pipe system in operation at the time (Wegmann and Wegmann 1994: 99). From all appearances on my visit in June 2011, this project was successful.

Former Ward 1 Councillor Dono Ögate and his wife Annie, a native speaker of Nukna and later elementary teacher in Yawan, were married in 1982. Dono pursued a career as construction foreman, based in Lae. They returned from Lae in the early 1990s, and with their own capital began to change things in the upper Uruwa valley. Annie said that when they returned from Lae, people were still wearing grass skirts and loincloths; very few people understood Tok Pisin. Towet people agree that it was through Annie and her husband's concerted efforts that people began to wear Western clothes and to take an interest in Western-style education. Dono Ögate said that it was he who got a local workforce together to extend the ex-SDA airstrip at Yawan to over twice its original length.

### **1.6.9 Recent outside involvement**

The Uruwa valley made international headlines in 2009 when the YUS Conservation Area was officially established. Named for the Yupno, Uruwa and Som Rivers, the conservation area was initially meant to protect Matschie's tree kangaroos, resident in the cloud rainforest above the villages of the river valleys. The conservation area operates through village landholders' pledges not to hunt tree kangaroos on certain portions of the forest they own. Lisa Dabek of the Woodland Park Zoo in Seattle, USA, began as a researcher trying to understand Matschie's tree kangaroo behavior in the wild. She began her conservation-directed efforts in 1996 in the Yupno River area, and eventually extended the effort into the Som and Uruwa valleys. Dabek's Tree Kangaroo Conservation Program (TKCP) has brought a steady, annual stream of international visitors into the YUS region. Mostly, these visitors pass through Uruwa villages only en route to the forest canopy, another day-to-two-days' journey, but Dabek has striven to integrate local education and health development with the focus on biological research and forest conservation. The TKCP Annual Report outlines some of the ways TKCP has offered financial support to local schools and health aid posts, as well as its teacher training program, which pays promising young people to become trained as teachers if they commit to return to YUS to teach for at least six years. Former Ward 1 Councillor Dono Ögate is a paid Conservation Officer with TKCP.

In addition to Dabek's Tree Kangaroo Conservation Program, at least three other international conservation and biological research organizations have been active in the forests above the Uruwa valley in the last several years. Conservation International (CI) avian specialist Bruce Beehler was leading a CI team conducting bird studies related to climate change in the forest high above Worin on my first visit to the area, while James Cook University has established a transect running from the high alpine areas to the coast for biological study. From 2010 to 2012, the Madang-based New Guinea Binatang Research Center (BRC), headed by Vojtech Novotny, maintained an 'Ubii field camp' for research on the interaction between plants and insects in the forest about two hours walk from Kotet. One of the salient features of the BRC is that it strives to employ local people and Papua New Guineans, instead of bringing in outside researchers. At least three Kotet villagers and a succession of

villagers from other villages were employed from time to time by BRC, and one Kotet family reportedly lived nearly full-time at the camp, as camp managers.

With the exception of the BRC project and a few TKCP longer-term employees—Dono Ögate, for instance, as well as a Towet man who assists with GIS mapping of the land parcels that have been pledged to the conservation area—most of the outside researchers' impact on the local economy seems to be temporary hiring of porters. Both men and women act as porters for the vast amounts of equipment, personal gear, food, and other supplies that biological research teams by necessity carry with them. Sitting around the fireplace in the evenings, my Gapmambö host Oreng regaled us with (Nungon language) stories of her trips as porter into the forest, many dealing with how 'weak,' *siing-o*, 'white people' were. After all, they couldn't even carry their own bags up the mountain, and took two days or more to hike the same distance for which local people needed only one day. Once a huge, burly white man, *högök amna morö*, collapsed and Oreng, less than half his size, had to carry him. Another white man slipped and had to be rescued from a river. Another white woman—'very, very weak'—was evacuated by helicopter. At the same time that the porters frequently see the outsiders' physical weakness, they are confronted with baggage, cameras, sleeping bags, and high-tech equipment that are not shared with them or left for village use.

## **1.7 Village life in 2011-2013**

Although the flight to Yawan from Lae's Nazdab Airport takes less than 30 minutes, in many ways the Uruwa valley is still quite remote and isolated. Villagers have no mobile phone coverage; no electricity; and little gas-powered machinery. Two generators have entered the valley, purchased by the SDA mission and by Dono Ögate, but neither is in working condition. A CB radio in Yawan facilitates most communication with North Coast Aviation and the TKCP officers. This is powered by solar panel.

### **1.7.1 Settlements**

Towet people actually reside in four main hamlets, dispersed throughout Towet's traditional land around the *Wep* river. The area actually called *Towet* is a small landing at the far southeast end of the

main village; at least five other micro-neighbourhoods are distinguished within the village. Another settlement, Gapmambö, lies across the *Wep*, along the main footpath to Yawan. This area had been farmed for many years, but was established as the permanent residences of one extended Towet family in the 1990s, due to some disputes. Two other areas, very close to present-day Yawan village, are settled by Towet families: these are Tonawun, located just downhill of the Yawan primary school, and Orot, which is a group of houses close to the Yawan elementary school.

Within each of these settlements, relatives tend to live close to each other. Young men build their own ‘men’s houses’ on reaching puberty, or sometimes later or earlier; their male friends are allowed to sleep with them in these houses, but not women or girls. Although today young men tend to build their houses right next to their mothers’ or parents’ homes, the generation of Towet men who came of age in roughly the 1990s, for instance, built a series of houses on a ridge quite far out of the main village, separated from the main village by a corridor of coffee farms. When the young man marries, his wife will join him in the former ‘men’s house.’

### **1.7.2 Kinship**

Descent is patrilineal, and residence virilocal: women tend to move in with their husbands’ families. As noted in §1.5.2, marriage is largely exogamous, with most people marrying outside their clan, into either another clan of the same village community, a clan of another Uruwa village community, or, if sister exchange or other ties have been established, into another language community outside the Uruwa area. In the Nungon kinship system, ‘father,’ ‘mother’s brother,’ and ‘father’s brother’ are distinct. In its distinction between cross and parallel cousins, the system is of an Iroquoian/Dravidian type. That is, ‘father’s brother’s child’ and ‘mother’s sister’s child’ (parallel cousins) are called ‘siblings,’ using the same terms as ‘sister’ and ‘brother,’ while ‘father’s sister’s child’ and ‘mother’s brother’s child’ (cross cousins) are referred to as ‘cousins.’ In contrast to Nukna and other languages of the region, relative age is not distinguished, so that ‘older sibling’ is the same as ‘younger sibling,’ and ‘father’s older brother’ is the same as ‘father’s younger brother.’

Adoption is quite common. In one instance, a man's brother requested in advance that if his brother had another son, he 'give' this child to the brother to raise. The brother already had plenty of daughters, but wanted another son, while the father of the infant had many sons already. The parents of the male infant, for their part, having had only sons themselves, had already adopted a female infant from an unmarried mother with two other daughters. The situation of a woman giving birth out of wedlock, with the father not publicly acknowledged, is one impetus for adoption in some such cases. A married Towet woman who felt that her farms at the time were insufficient to sustain many children gave three of her children to Worin families to raise in the 1980s. She said that the children still called her 'mother,' but grew up with other families in Worin.

In-depth exploration of kinship terms is in §9.12.

### **1.7.3 Economy**

The southern Uruwa valley, encompassing the Nungon and Nuon dialect areas, has no weekly market, unlike the northern area. People told me that as Councillor, Dono Ögate refused to allow a market economy to be established in the area, because he felt that the sense of community would deteriorate. Indeed, people spoke with pity of travellers in the Timbe and Nukna areas, who could not expect to be given food freely by local people: they would be expected to buy everything.

This is not to say that upper Uruwa valley people do not buy anything with money. Small storehouses of imported goods such as salt, rice, Maggi flavouring, batteries, and other items exist in nearly every hamlet. These storehouses are stocked irregularly, however, since all goods are flown in by plane, and the planes themselves come sporadically. The fact that everything is flown in also means that prices are extremely inflated over the price of similar items in Lae, or even in larger regional centres such as Derim, where Kabwum High School is located. A one-kilo plastic bag of rice, for instance, costs 10 kina at any of the upper Uruwa valley stores, whereas in Lae it costs roughly 2 kina. Salt is the main commodity regularly purchased by those with the means to buy; hence, the term used for these commercial storehouses: *yüip bök*, 'salt houses.' Batteries for flashlights are perhaps the second-most-purchased commodity. Neither of these things, however, are essentials: if people have no

working flashlights, they simply light pieces of dried-out bamboo, which serve as flares, and carry them along their way. The term for dry bamboo that could be used as such a torch is *gop*, which is now also the Nungon term for imported flashlights and headlamps.

Income is largely from the major cash crop, coffee. Each household maintains its own coffee plantations among its other farm plots. Families skin, wash, and dry coffee beans in individual drying huts. Each family then receives income from their personal coffee crop. For households that are headed by women, either due to estrangement from a husband, or his absence, the woman's coffee is dried in her brother's drying hut, but the woman receives her pay directly, not through the brother. Coffee bags are airlifted out of the valley periodically. A deal with a Seattle coffee importer was facilitated by the Tree Kangaroo Conservation Program in 2011, through which growers now receive relatively high returns on coffee exported directly to the United States.

Other local delicacies, such as peanuts, are grown both for personal consumption and for selling. Both boys and girls are encouraged to plant their own farms early. This begins with the child planting a section of the mother's farm, and continues with the child taking charge of a small plot of ground. Many children plant peanuts. If children need cash to buy pens or other school supplies, they may harvest the peanuts, tie them into bunches, and sell the bunches to other children or neighbours. Older people may do the same to raise money for their children's school fees. This is called *magit to* 'make market.'

Houses are made primarily of local materials, except for nails, hinges, and locks. In Towet, only one man has a roof of corrugated iron; all other houses have thatched kunai grass roofs.

School-related expenses are the largest financial burdens of Nungon speakers. Although the government of PNG declared universal 'free education' at the end of 2011, former 'school fees' were then ably transformed into 'project fees.' Schoolfees for children in the upper grades at Yawan primary school are about 70 kina per year, while the lower grades at the elementary school cost about 30 kina per year.

The new conservation area rules and restrictions also levy fines on hunting tree kangaroos and other activities within the designated ‘conservation zone.’ Although land still belongs to the traditional landowners, when they pledge it for conservation, they agree not to cut lumber, hunt, and build houses on it. In June 2012, several Gapmambö people were fined for felling *sae*, a pandanus variety, on their own lands within the conservation zone.

#### 1.7.4 Foods

The main staple crop varies slightly from village to village. Towet is known for eating *daweng* ‘Chinese taro’ as its staple crop; Worin for bananas; Kotet for sweet potatoes. Note that both *daweng* and sweet potatoes are relatively-recent imports. It seems that in the not-too-distant past, people relied much more on wild forest products; wild greens harvested from the forest are still prized over cultivated ones. Although some types of yams and taro are acknowledged to be old cultivars, a main staple of the olden days was the nuts and leaves from the wild tree *usak*, *harang* bananas, and a wide variety of edible ferns and other forest greens. Today, most crops found throughout middle-elevation PNG villages are grown: *daweng*, taro, yams, sweet potatoes, cassava, bananas, corn, shell beans, squash, *pandanus conoideus*, peanuts, onions, cucumber, cabbage, papaya, avocado, tomato trees, ‘slippery greens,’ cabbage, and other greens and fruits.

Most people maintain numerous farmplots, in at least five or six different areas. These areas seem to be roughly related to family relationships, but not wholly.

Diet is almost entirely vegetarian. Towet people keep chickens, but eggs are not regularly eaten (the chickens sleep in the treetops, so the eggs are not laid in obvious places). Every two months or so, someone in Towet kills a chicken. In a spate of flu virus-type infections in June 2012, many more chickens than usual were killed within several weeks, since chicken meat is supposed to help cure such illness. Two sheep were bought in the Timbe area by one Towet man, supported in part by the regional *didiman*, or government development agent, in April 2012; he walked the sheep back to Towet, via the coastal route, and established them in their own hut and a fenced grazing area at Towet. This is the first experiment with sheep in the upper Uruwa valley area.

For major occasions, such as the blessing of the sheep's new dwelling place, SDA people do not slaughter pigs. On that occasion, a mature cassowary was bought from people of the village Boit. It was roasted in a preliminary way at Boit, then cut into pieces and carried to Towet in string bags by the wife of the Towet sheep owner and his two young nieces.

### **1.7.5 Daily routines**

Daily life for Towet people is a grind of hard labor. Nursing mothers and the very old seem to have a little more leeway to stay at home on a workday (all days except Saturday, the SDA Sabbath), but most other people head out early in the morning and do not return home until late afternoon. Day in, day out, both women and men work very hard, eating little food: a Towet person usually hikes out to her farm or up to his forest land early in the morning having eaten nothing, or only a single roasted *daweng* or a few roasted bananas; works all morning and into the afternoon without a meal; and then returns home by evening, often in heavy rain, either up or down a long, steep, slippery incline, loaded down with wet, heavy lumber or a near-comically bulging string bag of wet *daweng* tubers, greens, bananas, and firewood. After eating the evening meal, which the famished worker, male or female, sets about cooking right on arriving home—often as soon as he or she sets down the load!—there may be a little talk around the fire until it dies down, but people are so exhausted that conversation, jokes, play, are often limited. Quarrels often arise among family members over food, and hungry teenagers who arrive home after others have already eaten often travel from house to house seeking more food.

Tabitha, whose mother is from Towet and deceased father was from Worin, is a young Towet mother married to a man whose mother was originally from Worin and father is from Towet. The couple have three children; in 2012, the youngest girl was about 18 months, the middle boy was about six years old, and the eldest girl was about nine years old. Tabitha is among the more cosmopolitan of Towet women in that, although she did not attend school herself, she lived for six months in Lae before she married—being exposed to the ways of the city, learning Tok Pisin, and observing urban SDA practices—and had made a pilgrimage by foot with a group of Towet men and women to hear an SDA leader speak near Finschafen. Tabitha summarized her daily routine as follows:

I, in the house with my children, we're sleeping at night. When dawn breaks, in the morning we get up; I tell them: "Come! You-all come inside the house, and let's say a church service." When they've come inside the house, thus, we say a church service. First, we put God first, that is, by saying a church prayer. When Sulamait [her eldest daughter; about nine years old] is about to leave for school, I tell her; "As for you: going to school and coming, washing the pots and dishes, be at home!" As for Gebi, well, he's still small, for him in smallness to go up to school (wouldn't do), well, by my side, we'll go together. Another time, that is, he'll go up to school. Thus saying, going, cooking food and giving it to them, the other one [Sulamait] having gone to school, that is, enough, to the farm.

Going on, going to the farm, pulling up weeds, digging up *daweng* [Chinese taro]: we [Towet people] eat *daweng*. Digging up *daweng*, inserting it in the string bag, carrying firewood by cord around my forehead, enough, I tell them: "You, stay there; I will pull weeds." Pulling weeds, going on, planting another farm, going on to another farm, planting corn, going on and plucking greens, enough, on coming I tell them: "Let's go home." Well, enough, coming; coming home, going to the waterside, bathing in the water, enough, Mait [nickname of Sulamait] coming from school, washing the pots, dishes, whatnot, I coming and bathing in the water, coming (home), enough, then, the two of us peeling the *daweng*, cooking it in a pot, I cook it and we eat it. That's it. (Nusek kon hat irom 0:00-1:21)

Tabitha does not, of course, mention the sheer steepness and slipperiness of some of the paths to the farms that she, like other Towet people, skillfully climbs and descends every day, bearing wide, awkward loads of 30 kg or more. Rain turns paths to treacherous, slick mud and some paths are exceedingly narrow, established between a vertical mountainside and a sheer dropoff. A mother must traverse this terrain herself every day, fully loaded down, *and* oversee her children in it. The farms that lie closest to Towet are primarily coffee farms; some Towet people, however, Tabitha included, maintain coffee farms in the farthest grouping of Towet farms from Towet itself: close to Bonggorom.

Men do less regular farmwork than women. Yams are the only staple food nowadays the planting of which is done primarily by men. Formerly, planting of new yam and taro farms was done in strict silence. Young men from the men's house would bless the new farms by treading on them. First harvests were also eaten in a ritual way. These traditions are no longer practiced, although casual chatting or singing in farms is not encouraged, and a mother may invoke the old rule of silence to rebuke a noisy child on the farm.

If a man's wife is away visiting her family, or actually lives elsewhere, it is not considered a loss of face for the man to wash his own dishes and clothes, dig up his own *daweng*, and cook for

himself. If a man happens to be at home during the day and his wife is out doing farmwork, he may cook the afternoon meal to be ready when she returns. Men tend to be involved with cutting and milling wood high in the forest for various construction purposes; they build and maintain the houses, which are made of wood with woven bamboo floors and walls, and thatched roofs. At any given time in Towet during my months there, there always seemed to be at least two construction projects going on. It is men who fell large trees for lumber or firewood, but both men and women hike up to where the lumber is assembled and carry it down to the village.

Men are expected to install erosion-control fences, *dimbu*, dividing farms built on steep slopes into sections, though often the women owners of the farms cut and assemble all of the necessary wood for these fences. Men are also expected to do the first breaking-up of dirt before the finer cultivation done by teams of women: this first breaking-up may also be done by women, however. Men do major pruning of coffee trees, while mostly women but also occasionally men cut weeds within the coffee gardens; it is women who harvest the coffee fruits. Men make bows and arrows, and small boys are already practicing this by the age of six or seven. For SDA adherents, all forest mammals are now prohibited, so that hunted meat is limited to certain birds.

#### **1.7.6 The yearly cycle**

The location from which the sun rises along the ridge above Towet is still important in the yearly agricultural cycle. When the sun rises at the point known as Baaron, farmplots are prepared. When it rises from Bun Peak, fires are laid in the new farmplots. When it rises at Dangat, the soil is cultivated, and yams are planted. When it rises from Höngin Peak, melon, cucumber, and corn are ready to harvest. When it rises again from Baaron, the yams are ready to harvest.

The timing of certain harvests also has implications beyond farm crops. When cucumbers are ripe, the forest grouse *taga*—a name that applies to both the bush-turkey and orange-footed scrubfowl—has deposited its goose-like eggs at the base of its large nest-mounds (these eggs are prized as food).

The time of plenty, when food is plentiful, is called *biruk*, which is also the general term for ‘season,’ now applied in a kind of neologism used in the Worin elementary school for the Western notion of ‘year.’ The time between major harvests, when food is not as plentiful, is called *morom*.

### **1.7.7 The weekly work schedule**

Designated workdays punctuate every week. Sunday mornings in Towet, the mother’s group (based, it seems, in the SDA church, since the one fully Lutheran woman in Towet does not attend) meets. They usually carry out a short group work activity—most often, cutting weeds (by scythe and machete) en masse in a designated woman’s coffee plantation—and then, hands washed, assemble for prayer in the SDA church building. The women then disperse to their own work for the rest of the day.

Mondays are *kömyuniti* workdays, entailing obligatory communal work together with all communities served by the Yawan Station institutions of airstrip, primary and elementary schools, teachers’ residences, and TKCP houses. A series of Mondays in October 2011, for instance, saw all Towet residents scooping sandy gravel from a designated spot on the banks of the *Wep* river, loading it into bags and bamboo containers, and lugging it over one kilometer uphill to the Yawan primary school. Expectations were laid out as to how many runs people were expected to make (usually at least three each).

Wednesdays are coffee work days. There is much less communal pressure on individuals to actually do their own coffee work—picking, weeding, pruning, planting, in the farms; construction of and maintenance of coffee-drying buildings, in the village—on Wednesday than there is to participate in community work projects on Mondays, most people seem to comply with the schedule and work in their coffee farms on Wednesdays.

Fridays for women, especially, are often entirely consumed with food preparations for the SDA Sabbath. Towet people subsist on *daweng* and greens during the week, but eat sweet potatoes and other special foods every Sabbath. If there is plenty of firewood, a *kumo* stone-lined firepit may be constructed and filled with sweet potatoes, taro, perhaps chunks of purple yams, squash, or bananas; this roasts until Sabbath noon, when people return from church and feast on the fruits of

Friday's cooking. Other Sabbath treats include grated cassava or banana, stuffed into bamboo containers and cooked over the fire; mixed beans, also cooked in bamboo or saucepans; and various combinations of the above with *omop*, pandanus, when it is in season. All of this is prepared on Friday—tubers are uprooted and beans and squash harvested in the morning, and then the late-afternoon onward is a frenzy of grating, peeling, chopping, rinsing, and setting a succession of pots or bamboo containers on the fire.

In prohibiting work of any sort on Saturdays, SDA religion provides both a welcome rest from the unceasing hard labour of the rest of the week and another impediment to people's getting their own farmwork done. Towet elder Hesienare summed up the benefits of having a day of enforced rest with the following analogy: 'An airplane,' he said, 'can't fly around and around forever. It must periodically refuel to be able to keep going. The Sabbath, similarly, is our refueling.'

As the above list of workdays shows, Tuesday and Thursday are the only truly free days for Towet women to get their own work done. (Men are free on Sundays as well.) In comparison, Wegmann and Wegmann wrote that in Boksawin during their stay there, Monday was the community work day, while Friday was 'youth work day' (1994: 52) which modern-day Towet does not have. Much of evening conversation in Towet homes centers around work planning: who will go to which farm on which day. People seem to plan up to about two weeks in advance.

### **1.7.8 Marriage**

Brideprice, *oe min*, is observed. An SDA adherent who marries the daughter of Lutherans still buys a large pig or two and gathers the yam, taro, and bananas to amass on the lawn of a family member, for the bride's family to come and collect. This process may be delayed for years after the couple move in together, as the young husband and wife save up enough money for the pig; in one case, I observed the brideprice being paid after the birth of the couple's first child.

If relations are established in a more clandestine way, or the husband never pays the brideprice, he is said to have 'stolen' his wife, which is frowned upon.

Some men and women never marry. One Towet man in his thirties is unmarried, though this may be because he is slightly disabled. An elderly man who lives in Towet with his sister and her children never married, and has no children. A Yawan elderly man who drowned tragically in the *Wep* in May 2012 had never married and had no children. My adopted mother, Irising, was raised with her brother by her maternal uncle after her parents died. Her uncle never married, and never had children. Irising explained to me that in earlier times, quite a few men never married; they got sick of dealing with women—quarreling, etc.—and chose to remain on their own.

### **1.7.9 Religion**

Strict observance of the Sabbath and eschewing of pig's meat, tobacco, and betelnut, are the main ways SDA affiliation marks Towet people. Out of some thirteen nuclear families resident year-round in Towet proper, only three continue to smoke tobacco, chew betelnut, and keep pigs. Of these households, one is headed by the widow of a beloved Towet man; she has a pig and can be seen with reddened teeth and rolled tobacco tucked behind her ear, but also frequently attends SDA church services. Only one Towet household actively affiliates with the Lutheran church; this family attends Lutheran services in Worin. The third SDA-ambivalent household is headed by a Towet grandfather and his younger second wife; although the husband would never go to the SDA church, his wife occasionally attends. I was surprised when the husband expressed concern that we not carry out a traditional song recording—he was to play *uwing*, kundu drum, while his wife and a more-SDA observant woman sang—until after the Sabbath had finished.

This last represents the fair amount of respect that Lutherans seem to have for the stricter behavior of their SDA neighbours. In the afore-mentioned brideprice case when an SDA family of Towet bought a pig for their Lutheran Yawan affines, the Yawan people divided up the meat and then carried it with the yams, taro, and bananas, back to Yawan to cook themselves. On their way home, some of them would not allow Towet people they met along the way to shake their hands, proffering their upper arms instead. This was a way to protect SDA people from having to touch their hands, which were impure from handling pork.

Even among the SDA faithful, bogeymen of the night are feared. These are not spirits, *dogu*, but bogeymen, *unom*, who meet a person when he or she is alone and cut his or her throat.

### 1.7.10 Hunting

Narratives describing hunting practices in former times suggest that traditional hunting could be divided into at least four types:

- a) trap-laying
- b) camouflaged shooting of birds from elevated platform in trees
- c) *horut*, in which whooping or singing women drive animals toward waiting men
- d) *hap omot*, dog-hunting

Trapping, *oro-ng mö-k* ‘lay-DEP plant-NMZ’ (*gagac* in Worin, Kotet, and other parts of the Uruwa oval closer to Boksawin) was of several types, most of which are still in use today among non-SDA hunters in the upper Uruwa valley. The classic *oro-ng mö-k* trap was set up along an animal trail and had a trip-line triggered by the bird or animal walking into the trap: a loop then closed around the quarry’s neck.

The *ambam* type of trap had a very heavy log suspended in a precarious position between two trees; a trip-line sent the log crashing down on top of the animal that triggered it. This served to trap cassowaries and mammals of the forest.

The *eem bung* ‘hole spike’ trap was, as its name describes, a hole big enough to house a cassowary, with sharpened bamboo spikes lining its base. With the mouth of the hole camouflaged, animals would fall in and be impaled on the spikes. Spikes may also be embedded in the earth without the hole, as a hapless young Yawan woman, married to a Towet man, discovered in May 2012. A few Towet men had blocked off a much-used shortcut to Towet from the main Yawan-Worin path to allow their new fishpond to develop. They officially declared the path ‘closed,’ and built a flimsy barrier at its erstwhile crossroads with the main path. The Yawan woman reportedly decided to

disregard this barrier, and her bare foot was impaled by a hidden bamboo spike, enforcing the path closure, while, when she fell to the ground, another spike gored her in the thigh.

Formerly, quite a lot of effort seems to have been put into building camouflaged shooting platforms high up in trees, at times when forest trees were fruiting and birds gathered to feast on the fruits. Only a certain type of wood, conducive to successful shooting, was used in constructing these platforms, which were covered by arbors of tree boughs. Men then crouched on the platform and shot arrows at the birds from below.

The *horut* (*sorut* in Worin and Kotet) entailed the construction of a long blind, a temporary fence of branches and tree boughs, behind which a line of men were stationed, bows and arrows at the ready, all facing one direction. A group of women spread out in a line, parallel to the blind, some distance away, and when one man gave the signal, they would begin to whoop, beat the ground with heavy wooden clubs, and move rapidly toward the blind. This would flush many animals toward the men, who then shot them. A number of hunting songs sung by women celebrated their brothers' and cousins' hunting prowess.

Since most of Towet became Seventh-Day Adventists by approximately the 1980s-1990s, hunting with dogs has become obsolete in the community. The few remaining households with dogs keep them as pets. Both men and women over the age of twenty-five or so are very familiar with dog commands; both men and women seem to have been traditionally involved with dog care and to have used dogs in hunting expeditions. In contrast with the *horut*, which involved a large group of men and women, hunting with dogs, *hap omot*, seems to have been done in smaller, nuclear family-based groups. Husband and wife, sometimes accompanied by one or two other family members, tended to act cooperatively on these outings. Dogs were used to chase down and pacify game, while men used bows and arrows to kill game in cooperation with the dogs. Women would grab animals by the tail and hit them against a stone or tree trunk, or thump them with a club.

People described the existence of 'good' and 'bad' hunting dogs. The good ones would kill game and then wait for their masters to come; the bad ones would devour the game themselves before

the master arrived. Dogs were collared with a string collar called *dirang*, after the name of the large, hard tree seeds strung on tough vine loops around the string collar. When the dog was ready to chase the animal, the master would put the *dirang* around its neck and the sound of the hard, wood-like seeds knocking together would both startle the dog's prey and let the master know where the dog had gone.

A few Towet people still maintain forest homes, but it seems that this was much more prevalent in the pre-SDA days, when it would have been common to divide time between the forest home and the home in Towet village (Wegmann and Wegmann 1994: 87).

### **1.7.11 Tracking**

People of all ages monitor comings and goings in the near-perennial mud on footpaths. Almost everyone goes everywhere barefoot, and most individual's footprints are identifiably unique. There is no separate word for 'footprint'; instead, people say 'I saw his feet' when describing seeing someone's footprints on a path. Likewise, a girl of about eight once helped me track the movements of an elderly woman over the last three days through the woman's various farms, noting where the woman had dug up *daweng* and when, and drawing other conclusions through signs in vegetation pushed aside, etc.

This tracking failed my adopted sister Lynne Ögate and her husband Stanley on one excursion with me in the forest in the rain. I had gone ahead, expecting them to easily track my path and see where I had gone. But they failed, later saying that because I had relatively long legs, I moved *gaap mo-ng-a* 'skipping over' large spaces in the ground, and they could not find my trail.

### **1.7.12 Schooling**

The upper Uruwa Valley villages plus Mup have three primary schools teaching mostly in local vernacular for the first three years: one in Yawan, one in Worin, and one in Mup. After that, schooling is first in Tok Pisin and then in English. The area's only school beyond the first three grades is located in Yawan, and runs through grade 8. After grade 8, students must board at Kabwum High School, or

elsewhere, outside of the Uruwa valley. No one from the entire Uruwa valley has yet attended university.

### **1.7.13 Diaspora communities**

Many men of the upper Uruwa valley have gone away to work and never returned. The majority of these, perhaps, have gone to Kimbe, West New Britain Province, to work in the palm oil industry. The journey to Kimbe is expensive and requires taking a ship from Lae. Many of the men marry local women and settle there.

The brother of one Towet grandmother was taken away as a child by white colonial government officers, never to return. His sister heard through a Towet man living in Kimbe that her brother was a doctor living in Australia, married to an Australian woman, with grown children; this has not been confirmed. It is a matter of pride to some Towet elders that there are two Towet men working as truck drivers for companies in Lae. There are no upper Uruwa valley people in government or politics outside the valley. People watch candidates for regional seats walk through the area at election time with jadedness: these candidates are all from the Timbe area, and during the campaign in 2012, at least one reportedly refused to meet with Towet men about issues of local importance, telling them to just put up his poster on their house while he went on to Yawan.

### **1.7.14 Health**

It is remarkable that at least five women in the upper Uruwa valley are considered *bumbum-ni*, or mentally disabled/crazy. Most of these women were *orog-o* ‘good-ADJ’ into adulthood, then turned *moin-no* ‘bad-ADJ’ (local terminology). In Towet, one such woman has young adult children who attend boarding school at Kabwum High School. She lives by herself in a hut that is not elevated above the ground like everyone else’s. She keeps her hair in small, tight dreadlocks and is the only woman in Towet who still regularly wears a grass skirt. She carries a string bag filled with refuse. She does not maintain a farm and lives by cutting down other people’s bananas and digging up their tubers. Some local children are mortally afraid of her. Unlike some of the other disabled people in the

area, Yoiwet has no speech impediment. She curses excessively, however. She was the second wife of Nongi, who still lives in Towet with his first wife. Her 'going bad' is blamed on sorcery.

In Yawan, one grey-haired woman sometimes carries on lucid conversation in Nungon, but on seeing foreigners, tends to launch into fluent Tok Pisin. She may approach and berate foreign researchers, approaching them brazenly from among gathered onlookers, or in one case, she came and flamboyantly hugged Vojtech Novotny of the Binatang Research Centre. Before she went 'crazy,' this woman reportedly could not speak Tok Pisin at all. When her mother died, her mother's spirit inhabited her, and it is the spirit who is said to speak through her now, in fluent Tok Pisin.

The other three women I know exhibit more of a mix of physical and mental impediments; one of them in fact does not seem mentally disabled at all, but has what is called locally a 'heavy mouth,' so that it is hard for her to articulate speech.

I only know of one man in the upper Uruwa valley who is *bumbum-ni*, or 'crazy'; he is a Mup man who occasionally passes through Yawan on community work or assembly days. Three Towet men have slight disabilities: one is physically strong, a hard worker, and father of three, but he also has a 'heavy mouth.' When others, including his wife, are speaking to him they tend to over-articulate their speech, speak loudly, and gesticulate, as if they doubt his ability to understand. Another man walks with a limp, though is able to work and carry loads. The third seems to have undergone a muscular degeneration of some sort and stays in his own small hut—built directly on the ground, like Yoiwet's—all the time, eschewing human contact. His younger sister is also 'going bad' in the same way: she is able to wash dishes, but has trouble walking for long distances and balancing.

In June 2012, a group of Towet women visited Sapurong, in the Yau-speaking area, to donate clothing to and pray over a number of disabled people there. They said that at least seven or eight people in the single village have undergone wasting of the lower and upper limbs, so that they are completely housebound.

### 1.7.15 Corporal punishment

Children acting annoying, especially in church, are rapped on the forehead or back of the head by their parents. The threat ‘I’ll beat you!’ is uttered so frequently by old and young alike that it seems to have lost any deterrent power. Children are rarely beaten in earnest. Older children or wives—who are insolent more persistently, however, may have the top of their ear sliced off (two Towet women bear this scar, as does a thieving Towet boy), or their Achilles tendon chopped at (the same Towet boy, and another).

## 1.8 Special types of language

Special types of language are probably less widely known than they once were. Ritualized language relating to storytelling was not widely evident to me. David Ögate reported the formula previously used to conclude a story:

1.2)[Oyek            bangam            tumon]o            hi-ng    gee-ng            gee-ng,  
winged.bean    cucumber            melon            put-DEP dangle-DEP            dangle-DEP  
túng!  
New.Guinea.eagle

‘Winged beans, cucumbers, melon dangling: New Guinea eagle!’ (Field notes)

Other Towet speakers offered variants, always beginning with *oyek* ‘winged bean’ and *bangam* ‘cucumber,’ and ending with *tung* ‘New Guinea eagle.’ Since *bangam* ‘cucumber’ and *tumon* ‘melon’ were reportedly introduced post-missionization, this wording of the formula cannot be extremely old. It is unclear why the formula dropped out of use: possibly due to church influence.

### 1.8.1 Terms of address

Towet people do not pronounce the names of their affinal relatives, and some do not pronounce the names of the dead. Although people may refer to absent non-affinally-related adult men and women by their own names, their own names are rarely used to address them directly. Instead, an expression locating them within the kinship web is used. Those who have borne children are almost always referred to as ‘mother/father of so-and-so,’ with the name of one child; the child chosen may vary

depending on context. Husbands and wives tend to address each other in this way, using the name of one of their children as reference; I have never heard a wife refer to her husband by his own name, or vice versa. Some people refuse to pronounce the names of their parents, which they say would be disrespectful. Some also refrain from pronouncing the names of recent dead.

This means that the names of those who are not yet parents themselves (children through late-teens or early-twenties, usually) are often used as strategies for addressing and indicating their own parents, e.g. *Gorongon mak-no* ‘Gorongon mother-3SG.POSS: Gorungon’s mother.’ Once these young people do become parents, their own parents are often referred to using the names of the newest generation: *Stesi owi-go* ‘Stesi grandmother-3SG.POSS: Stesi’s grandmother.’

### **1.8.2 Birth order names**

Only the Kotet dialect of Nungon has a system of birth-order terms. This system, and its probable origins in other Finisterre-Huon languages to the south of the Uruwa River valley, is discussed in Sarvasy 2013a and Sarvasy 2013c.

### **1.8.3 Names of people**

People’s names are hard to parse and I was hesitant to press people on the meanings of traditional names, since they seemed similarly reluctant to offer translations. Sometimes it was suggested that names were proffered to parents of newborn children in dreams, *ittu*. Ancestors and even relatively young men share names with waterways in the area; *Wep* is both the name of the Uruwa River and the name of the father of Waum, patriarch-forebear of the Waum family of Towet, six generations from present-day Ward I Councillor Dono. A Kotet man who recently died was named *Dun*, after the *Dun* stream in the Kotet area. Another Waum family ancestor was named *Gorongon*, which is also the name of a tree species, and my five-year-old Towet ‘nephew’ is named after this ancestor/tree. Some young people preferred that I call them by their ‘new,’ Christian name, but all people over fifteen or so have a true Nungon name, even if they also go by a Westernized name of some sort.

### 1.8.4 Names of pets

Dogs are often named after attributes or other animals. One dog currently owned by a Towet family is named after an ancestor dog that features in one of that family’s ancestor stories, Kömbem. In the following sentence, the Towet matriarch Fooyu, herself raised in Yawan, the daughter of a Towet woman and Yawan man (she later married a Towet man and moved permanently to Towet), recounts the names of the hunting dogs she and her husband used to keep:

1.3)[Hap<sub>Pr</sub> maa-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub> wo-rok<sub>VCS</sub>, [Ambang Söngmiling  
 dog name-3SG.POSS THAT-SEMBL bee Söngmiling  
 Degöm Hööli Yipyip]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 possum owl grass.sp

‘The dog’s names were thus: Bee; Söngmiling, Possum, Owl, Weed.’ (Fooyu arap davik 1:06)

Fooyu explained to me that Bee was a fierce dog, like a stinging bee, and very effective hunter. As for the other names, she did not explain their origins.

Inewe, an elderly Kotet woman, also listed the names of her old hunting dogs in a story about going hunting with her husband (note that she uses both the Kotet and Towet/Yawan pronunciations for ‘dog’: *sap* is Kotet’s pronunciation; *hap* is Towet/Yawan):

1.4){ {Sap<sub>O</sub> y-oop-do-mo? } }. [[Hap nori]<sub>Pr</sub> maa-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub>  
 dog NSG.O-take-RP-1DU dog 1DU.POSS name-3SG.POSS  
 [Diun, Du? Kombut]<sub>VCC</sub>  
 Diun mouth black

‘We two took our dogs. The name(s) of our dogs were Diun, and Black Mouth.’ (Inewe arap dawic 0:14)

The name *Diun* may be related to the 3sg imperative form of the intransitive verb *di-* ‘burn,’ *di-hun* ‘burn-IMM.IMP.3SG,’ but this was not confirmed by Inewe.

### 1.8.5 Command language used with dogs

As in Western societies, when dogs are told to ‘sit,’ ‘stay,’ ‘sic,’ etc., Nungon has traditional commands for dogs. These are listed in §3.5.8.

I was told that dog training was informal; that the dogs picked up on the meaning of commands on their own without active training by the master. If the dog’s master called the command *wuru!* from a distance, the dog would respond with a bark to let the master know where it was.

### 1.8.6 Names of spirits used as curse words

These include: *sinduk*, *kohet*. The former seems to be used nowadays to describe a bad woman—a stubborn, ornery, or thievish woman. The latter is used in a similar way to ‘darn’ in English; it may follow a statement about something that the speaker had forgotten to do, or something that didn’t work out well. Both terms are generally muttered as after-comments after statements. I think that both of these were originally names of spirits: *sinduk* is probably akin to what Wegmann and Wegmann called the male spirit *sindu* in Yau (probably omitting a final glottal stop) and described as ‘a spirit that dwells at the lower altitudes of the valley, near the Uruwa River, where it is warm’ (1994: 77), and *kohet* being a male spirit associated with rituals of the men’s house. The term *sinduk* also refers to a bush-spirit in the neighboring language Nukna (Matthew Taylor, personal communication 2013). See §1.8.8 for occurrence in songs.

### 1.8.7 Baby talk

A number of basic nouns have baby talk counterparts: used by adults to address very small children, and used by those children when they first learn to call out names of things. These often involve reduplication of simple CV syllables, and are listed in table 1.3. Another feature of baby talk in the speech of some Towet people is the imitation of other Nungon dialects when speaking to small children. The Yawan and Kotet dialects, with their lateral [l] instead of rhotic [r], and word-final glottal stops, are said to sound childish by Towet speakers. It is unclear whether this also reflects any tendencies in Towet children to mis-hear Towet final unreleased [k] as a glottal stop, or to fail to produce rhotics.

<b>Table 1.3. Towet Nungon baby talk correspondences</b>		
<b>English gloss</b>	<b>adult word</b>	<b>baby talk form</b>
chicken	<i>hup</i>	<i>bui</i>
sibling (general)	<i>dat</i>	<i>dada</i>
genitals	<i>murong</i>	<i>dudu</i>
ghost, spirit	<i>dogu</i>	<i>ede</i>
mother	<i>mak</i>	<i>mama</i> (cf. Tok Pisin <i>mama</i> )
food (general)	<i>tanak</i>	<i>nana</i>
water	<i>yamuk</i>	<i>nauk</i>
bogyman	<i>unom=ma</i>	<i>nou=ma</i>
father	<i>nan</i>	<i>papa</i>
breast, breastmilk	<i>mum</i>	<i>tutu</i> (cf. Tok Pisin <i>susu</i> ‘breast’)
dear (endearment)	—	<i>nunu</i>

The final baby talk term in table 1.3, *nunu*, was explained to me as equivalent to, and sometimes accompanied by, a post-alveolar click [!] (see §2.3).

### 1.8.8 The language of songs

Songs in circulation in Towet today belong to various corpora of the genre *koreng*.<sup>2</sup> This genre includes songs sung at gatherings; it does not include songs sung on occasions such as the traditional blessing of the crops, conducted by young men of the men’s house, or on returning from a successful hunt, or on shooting a pig.

Major *koreng* corpora, with number of songs for which I have lyrics in parentheses, are: Tomep (29), Yapem (4), Öwok (54), Yuyungon (5), and Sia Sia (5). Each corpus is loosely associated

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<sup>2</sup> The noun *koreng* is also used for ‘game,’ as in those that children play.

with a well-liked man's death. The corpora differ in language used, and in accompanying instruments. Tomep and Yapem songs are largely played with guitar accompaniment, and these are predominantly in Nungon. In contrast, the songs of the other corpora are mostly meant for *uwing* 'hourglass drum' accompaniment, and they are mostly not in contemporary Nungon. A number of words in these songs are clearly Nukna; recurring expressions in Nukna include: *but boyöm*, from Nukna *put páyom* 'pig wild,' i.e. 'wild pig' (the Nungon equivalent is *bot koök*) and *sinduk boyöm*, from Nukna *sinduk páyom* 'bush-spirit wild,' i.e. 'wild bush-spirit' (Nungon also has a term *sinduk* for 'bush-spirit'). Occasional nouns in Nukna include names of birds and fish, as well as plant species; the word for 'water' and another word for 'bush-spirit'; a term for 'tilled earth' and for 'frost'; and names and epithets for villages and ruined, former villages in the Nukna area. Verbs, if they are from Nukna, include 'I cry,' 'go on and on,' and others (translations by Matthew Taylor, personal communication 2013).

The plethora of lexicon from Nukna in Towet songs may be further evidence of Towet people's maternal line originating in the Nukna-speaking area.

Place names often figure prominently in these songs, some of which are essentially lists of the names of places around Towet. Birds are often frequent themes; some of the songs actually address birds, such as the night-calling *suungi*. One of the song corpora is called *sia sia*; this may have originally been acquired through trade with Siasi Islanders, although there is no memory of this in Towet, where it is claimed to have originating in Towet. *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* notes that 'Siasi Islanders joined mainlanders with people of New Britain, trading many artifacts, including kundus, songs, dances, and masks. Their status popularized the *sia*, a dance ordinarily performed at night.' (Niles et al. 1998: 545).

Songs composed by women or about women can also gain popular circulation. My first adopted mother, Oreng, composed a mournful song addressed to her classificatory sister, who had married into the Worin community and moved there. When the sister's husband died, she was again the subject of a song, this time composed by a young Towet man, telling the story of her marriage and

return to Towet. These are widely known by both men and women. An elderly Kotet woman, Inewe, recorded a song that her deceased daughter had sung to her in a dream. This song was familiar to my Kotet dialect consultants.

### **1.8.9 Traditional secret languages; language taboos**

In Kotet, which seems to have the reputation locally for maintaining traditional practices more than neighbouring communities, certain words are taboo in the forest. Not so in Towet, and it is unclear how long ago such practices were observed among Towet people (if at all). In Kotet, the ancestors' names, one of which was told to me by the vibrant elderly man Manggirai, may be actually the same as a common word used to describe a landscape feature. This term can be safely spoken and used outside the forest area, but must never be spoken within the ancestor being's forest territory.

Descendants of the entity bearing this name must avoid using this word when going into their forest area. Thus, if they need to mention this name, they will use a standard avoidance phrase that hints at the name through metathesis. If they were to mention the name of the ancestor being, that being would come, summoned.

### **1.8.10 New, urban-influenced code language**

A strain of young people's code Tok Pisin known as 'long pidgin' seems to exist throughout, at least, the Highlands and Huon area (I was told the name of this language by missionaries working in the Highlands whose young sons had encountered long pidgin among local young people; I never heard it called by this name in Towet). This language game, known only to Nungon speakers under the age of thirty, was described to me by some speakers as *oesit ketket=ton maa* 'girls and boys' language'; older speakers avowed that they had never used such a code. The long pidgin formula—which here is applied to Nungon—is simple: insert [b] in the middle of every syllable of every word, doubling word length. This language game is an imposition game according to the scheme of Botne and Davis (2000). Below is an example of this transformation, which reminds this English speaker of the term 'babble':

1.5) Numa=h<sub>oA</sub> ga-mo-go-k?  
who=FOC 2SG.O-give-RP-3SG

‘Who gave it to you?’ (standard Nungon)

1.6) Nubumaba=hobo gaba-mobo-gobo-k? (Boys and girls’ secret language)

Stress becomes regular, with the new syllables beginning with [b] taking stress.

### 1.8.11 Morphology of place names

To an outsider arriving in the Uruwa River area, at first the number of place names is overwhelming. The land is like a patchwork quilt of place names: no piece of ground does not belong to one of the patches, with its discrete place name. Learning the names is like memorizing all the street names in a five-square-kilometer area of a metropolis.

Place names may be parsable into words or phrases used nowadays, or not. A place in the Yawan forest is called *Aap-noo Wet-do-k*, ‘song-3SG.POSS SG.O.beat-RP-3SG,’ ‘He beat (out) his song,’ because an ancestor story tells of a dance gathering that took place there: today the dance area and concave indentations where food for the dancers are said to have been placed may still be seen.

## 1.9 Nonverbal communication

A few standardized facial expressions and gestures are used. Of these, at least the lip-pointing and chin-stroking are used in other parts of Papua New Guinea as well.

The gesture used to express the opinion that someone is lying is as follows: one hand bent at a right angle from the wrist, held up with the elbow bent, and shaken limply, the fingertips sketching a vertical semicircle, as if brushing/shaking something off, usually with accompanying pulling downward of the corners of the mouth. The gesture is often paired with the word *imbogo*, ‘lie,’ spoken at a low pitch and with syllables drawn out, but without the spoken word, the meaning is still clear. I noticed this gesture used energetically by very small children, of about 3 years of age. It is also used for comic or ironic effect by speakers of all ages.

Lip-pointing, with nose wrinkled. This is used deictically, to point out anything, and does not imply a judgment about the quality of the thing pointed to. I also observed very small children of about 3 years pointing things out using lip-pointing.

People tend to cover their mouths when they yawn. Older women especially, though also older men, cover their mouths with their hands when laughing in public—this seems to be a gesture of politeness.

Both men and women express amazement, helplessness, uncertainty, and other similar responses to a statement or observed event by shrugging one shoulder. This is often accompanied by widened eyes, slightly raised eyebrows, and marked eye contact with the person to whom the gesture is addressed, and sometimes a slight tilt of the head toward the raised shoulder. People are aware of this gesture: someone commented when I made it once.

As elsewhere in the region, it is considered arrogant to walk around inside a house fully erect; exiting and entering, as well as walking past seated people, are done with the head and often the entire torso bent, apparently to express humility. When my adopted niece Naweng was 2 1/2 years, she once delivered to me a plate with a delicacy: sections of grated cassava cooked in bamboo. Taken with the importance of her responsibility, she made an exaggerated exit through the doorway, bent almost double in imitation of her elders.

One of the few places in daily life in which a Tok Pisin expression is exclusively used (see discussion of ‘handshake,’ below) is the phrase *eksekius*, to excuse oneself past seated people as one walks around inside a house. When one wishes to enter a seated gathering inside a house, or to rise from the gathering and leave, one must announce this intention, at which point those seated will readjust themselves, clearing a pathway and saying, *orog-o*, ‘good-ADJ,’ *ep-pi*, ‘come-IMM.IMP.2SG,’ at which point it is permitted to pass along the cleared pathway. As in other parts of PNG, stepping over other people or important objects such as food is frowned on. Children are scolded for violating these rules, especially if they violate them in the presence of an important visitor or outsider.

Affection is expressed by grasping another person's chin in the palm of the hand and brushing the fingers repeatedly toward the palm, as if pulling the other's chin toward one. This may also be performed in the air if the other person's chin is inaccessible. A short video of a horse dancing to mariachi music was greatly enjoyed by Towet villagers. I observed one couple, grandparents in their sixties, watching the video in a private showing. The wife was enchanted by the horse and spontaneously stroked her husband's chin while watching the horse, expressing perhaps both affection for the horse and for her husband! There are at least two expressions for this chin-stroking in Nungon: *matap matap*, literally 'chin chin,' and *giyeng giyeng*, an expression of endearment of which the source is unclear. The latter term was explained to me as a description of the relationship in which one would stroke another's chin, as with a beloved sibling.

The gesture used to beckon to a small child is similar to that used for chin-stroking, except that the hand is held out fairly flat and the fingers are closed and open in unison.

Although SDA faithful in Towet and the surrounding villages do not chew betelnut, people still frequently spit large quantities of spittle. This does not seem to correspond to themes in conversation—it does not indicate distaste or warding-off of evil spirits, for instance. People spit into the open cracks between bamboo floor slats when in a house, or on the ground when outside. Since everyone walks barefoot everywhere, if people see fresh spittle on the ground, they avoid stepping on it just as they would avoid stepping on excrement. There are several verbs for different types of spitting: the general *fuu to-* 'spit'; *orup tup to-* 'spit, e.g. down between bamboo slats'; *hii yoo-* 'spit energetically (over long distance) at a target; e.g. chewing up, then spitting out ginger in blessings or magic'; *gaa-* 'to spit straight down, e.g. between bamboo floor slats.'

It used to be the case that bamboo sections cooking on the fire were placed in certain ways, with other placements being rude and even harmful to hunters, but this seems to have been abandoned, at least in Towet.

### 1.9.1 Signaling from afar

People in the upper Uruwa valley use the verb *iwan-* ‘turn’ (ambitransitive S=O) to describe how they signal to each other from afar, often from opposite sides of the steep Uruwa River valley. This may be done in one of two ways. High above Towet, in the farm area known as Indama, I observed my adopted sister holding a knife in the sun and slowly, deliberately, rotating her wrist about 90 degrees back and forth so that the knife glinted in the sun off and on. This was a signal to her mother, far out of earshot, whom we saw as a tiny dot in her farmplot in the area called Kareng on the other side of the Uruwa River. Alternatively—and this must be the older way, dating to before the import of metal objects—a piece of cloth may be twirled in a circle or turned forward and back to catch the eye of someone far away. This is done to signal to passengers in the small planes or helicopters that journey to and from the Yawan airstrip.

### 1.9.2 Greeting practices

Nowadays, men, women and children all *sigan to-*, ‘handshake do’ (from English *shake hands* via Tok Pisin *sekan*) with each other on meeting along a path or arriving at a new place, especially if it is the first instance of seeing the others after some time. People who live together or see one another on a daily basis do not shake hands regularly. Although in Towet there are no handshake taboos, a Towet man married to a Kotet woman reported that when he goes to Kotet, he does not shake hands with his in-laws, following Kotet customs.

Sometimes, people will symbolically pass on a handshake to an intermediary: if Sirewen knows that her aunt is walking to Lae, where Sirewen’s cousins are, she may give her aunt’s hand a single vigorous shake for each cousin she wants to greet, naming the cousins in turn:

1.7)[Alfi=hon<sub>Pr</sub>    sigan<sub>Pe</sub>]VCS    ngo-rok<sub>VCC</sub>    [Lii=hon<sub>Pr</sub>    sigan<sub>Pe</sub>]VCS  
Alfi=GEN    handshake    this-SEMBL    Lii=GEN    handshake  
ngo-rok<sub>VCC</sub>...  
this-SEMBL  
‘Here’s Alfi’s handshake; here’s Lii’s handshake...’ (Field notes)



If it were considered appropriate to mention the time of day of the greeting within the greeting (as understood with ‘good morning,’ etc., above), the phrase would simply be adjusted to something like:

1.9){{Orök=ka                    dombisum            ep-ta-loc}}!

brother.ARCH=VOC            morning            come-PRES.SG-2SG

‘Brother, you’ve come (this) morning!’ (Field notes)

Relatives wouldn’t shake hands, but might hug (*bak i-mo-* ‘give s.o. one’s lap’: see §11.1.3).

When asked how one would greet unrelated strangers, however, Manggirai explained that if a Kotet man saw a strange man on a path in the olden days, he would keep silent, maintain his distance and train an arrow on the man. There was no need for a greeting of any sort! As for strange women, it would be highly improper for him to greet them.

## 2 Phonology

The phonology of Towet Nungon is neither exceptional among Papuan languages in general, nor among its relatives in the Finisterre-Huon Papuan language family, according to the overviews in Foley 1986: 48-64 and McElhanon 1973: 5-7. The consonant inventory is straightforward, with voicing contrast in three stop series and corresponding nasal phonemes for each of these series. 14 phonemic consonants are in regular use throughout the grammar and the lexicon, and two additional consonants occur contrastively only in loans.

Unlike some Finisterre-Huon Papuan languages such as Kâte (Pilhofer 1933: 14) and Ma Manda (Pennington 2013: 42), Nungon has a phonemic nasal consonant corresponding to each stop series. That is, bilabial, apico-alveolar, and dorso-velar nasals are phonemic. Spirantization of stops intervocalically is typical of Papuan languages (Foley 1986: 55-56), and Nungon features widespread intervocalic lenition of voiced and unvoiced stops, as well as of the dorso-velar nasal. In Nungon, as in the majority of Papuan languages that have been described to date, the voiced dorso-velar fricative that commonly results from this lenition is never contrastive and its occurrence is predictable, thus it is not analyzed here as a phoneme in its own right (see Quigley and Quigley 2011 for a phonemic analysis of [ɣ] in the related Papuan language Awara). Consonant phonemes are discussed in §2.1, and consonant distribution in §2.4.3.

McElhanon (1973: 5) writes that most Finisterre-Huon Papuan languages have six-member vowel inventories, although some also have five-vowel systems; Nungon has a six-vowel system. It is noteworthy that there are more back vowels than front vowels in this system. Vowel length is contrastive in the Towet, Yawan and Kotet dialects of Nungon. Phonemic vowels are discussed in §2.1.3.

Nungon basic syllable structure is (C)V(C). A second syllable structure, permitted only in the ideophonic class of expressives, is (C<sub>1</sub>)(C<sub>2</sub>)V(C<sub>3</sub>), with C<sub>1</sub> being the voiced bilabial stop /b/ or the unvoiced velar stop /k/, C<sub>2</sub> being the rhotic /r/, and C<sub>3</sub> being any consonant that is permitted syllable-finally in the basic syllable structure. Syllable structure is discussed in §2.4.1 below.

The minimal phonological word must have either (C)V: form or (C)VC form; that is, syllable weight is a factor in determining phonological word-hood. All criteria for distinguishing a phonological word, and instances in which its scope varies from that of the grammatical word, are in §2.4.2 below. Phonological word status is related to stress; stress assignment varies depending on word class. Stress assignment in verbs is predictable, while stress assignment in nouns is not entirely predictable. Syllable weight and, to a certain degree, syllabus nucleus quality, play roles in stress assignment. Some suffixes induce stress shift in nouns and adjectives. Stress is discussed in §2.6 and §2.7.

This chapter is an overview of the phonology of the Towet dialect of Nungon. Brief comparative notes on phonetics and phonology of other Nungon dialects are in §2.5. There are a few phonetic and phonological differences between Nungon dialects. All dialects of Nungon except those of Towet and Yawan have glottal stops as the realization of the phoneme /k/ word-finally, which is similar to some dialects of Kâte (McElhanon 1974). The two dialects referred to as *Nuon*, those of Mup and Sagain, appear to lack contrastive vowel length, which is present in the other four dialects.

Throughout the grammar, a practical orthography will be used, with phonetic elaboration in this chapter only. This practical orthography is based on the system used throughout the upper Uruwa River valley (from the Yau-speaking area to the Nungon region), which was created by Doug Lauver of SIL in the late 1980s for the Yau language and put into widespread circulation by Urs Wegmann of SIL in the early 1990s. The Lauver-Wegmann orthography uses /ng/ for /ŋ/ and /y/ for /j/, /ö/ for the higher vowel /o/, and /c/ for the glottal stop (not present in the Towet dialect of Nungon). The only addition to the system innovated here is the writing of long vowels with a repeated letter, e.g. [a:] as /aa/.

## 2.1 Consonants

Table 2.1 below lists the 14 consonant phonemes in Towet Nungon that occur in all types of words, with IPA symbols in parentheses where these differ from the symbols used in the practical

orthography. Notes on the consonants follow. The two additional consonants with very limited distributions are in bold; their roles are discussed in §2.1.3 and §2.1.4.

<b>Table 2.1. Towet Nungon consonant phoneme inventory</b>						
	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Apico-alveolar	Lamino-palatal	Dorso-velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p		t		k	
Voiced stops	b		d		g	
Voiced fricative	w (β)					
Voiceless fricative		<b>f</b>	s			h
Trilled or flapped rhotic			r			
Lateral approximant			<b>l</b>			
Nasals	m		n		ŋ (ŋ)	
Glide				y (j)		

### 2.1.1 Stops

Stop articulation depends on position in the phonological word (see §2.4.2 for definition of the phonological word). Stops are unreleased word-finally and as the codas of syllables within words.

Voiced stops /b/, /d/, and /g/ are never found word-finally. All voiced (/b/, /d/, /g/) and voiceless (/p/, /t/ and /k/) stops, however, occur word-initially. Voiced stops serving as the onsets of non-word-initial unstressed syllables are usually prenasalized, while voiced stops serving as onsets of non-initial stressed syllables in words lacking derivational suffixes are usually not prenasalized (see §2.4.6 below for discussion of prenasalization.) Voiceless stops serving as the onsets of non-word-initial syllables are generally either aspirated or lenited (discussed further below and in §2.4.3).

Although in Towet Nungon there are voicing contrasts in all three stop series, there is some question about the historical distribution of the voiceless bilabial stop /p/. In the Kotet Nungon dialect, the voiced and voiceless bilabial stops seem to be in complementary distribution (based on examination of limited data), with the voiced bilabial stop occurring in syllable onsets, and voiceless bilabial stop occurring in syllable codas. While in Kotet Nungon, the unvoiced bilabial stop [p] only exists syllable-finally, [p] begins 17 words in the Towet Nungon lexicon (i.e., very few, in a lexicon of 2100 entries); five of these are possibly of onomatopoeic origin. Some of these words, especially place names, may be pronounced with either voiced or unvoiced bilabial stop initially (individual speakers usually favor one pronunciation over the other). The syllable-onset [p] may be one area in which the Towet dialect is innovative.

Illustrations of stops in various positions follow, with notes on stop allophones. Further discussion of allophonic variation is in §2.4 below.

**Bilabial stops:**

/b/: [b] [ᵐb]. *bot* [bɔ̃t̃] ‘pig,’ *bumbum-ni* [bumˀbum.ni] ‘crazy-ADJ,’ *humbot-ti* [ˀhu.ᵐbɔ̃t̃.tʰi] ‘carry.on.shoulder-IMM.IMP.2SG,’ *ibaa* [iˀba:] ‘leech’

/p/: [p] [p̄] [ɸ] [β]. *pahuk* [pʰaˀhuk̄] ‘sweet potato,’ *apmano* [ap̄ˀma.nɔ̃] ‘afternoon,’ *eep* [ɛ:p̄] ‘tree’

**Apico-alveolar stops:**

/d/: [d] [ᵐd]. *daa* [da:] ‘sister (of f.),’ *ngondo* [ˀŋɔ̃.ᵐdɔ̃] ‘here,’ *indar-a* [ˀi.ᵐda.ra] ‘read-MV’

/t/: [t] [t̄] [ɾ] [r]. *tektek* [ˀtɛk̄.tɛk̄] ‘butterfly, moth,’ *katmang* [kat̄ˀnaŋ] ‘bamboo,’ *eto-ng-a* [ˀɛ.tʰɔ̃.ŋa] ‘forget-DEP-MV,’ *nunggait* [nuˀᵐgait̄] ‘hook for suspending cookpot above fire’

**Dorso-velar stops:**

/g/: [g] [ᵐg] [ɣ] [uɣ]. *gaam* [ga:m] ‘kunai grass,’ *biigo-ni* [ˀbi:ᵐgɔ̃.ni] ‘green-ADJ,’ *bunggo* [ˀbu.ᵐgɔ̃] ‘spinning top game played in the men’s house,’ *hagam* [haˀɣam] ‘bridge,’ *-go-* ‘REMOTE PAST suffix’

Intervocalic /g/ is realized as [ɣ] or [w] except when immediately following and/or preceding the high vowel /i/, in which case it is expressed as the voiced velar stop [g]. E.g. *hagam*, ‘bridge,’ [haˈɣam]; but *biigo-ni*, ‘green-ADJ,’ [ˈbi:ɡɔ.ni]. The voiced dorso-velar fricative lenites all the way to the approximant [w] in the speech of certain speakers, especially before the high vowel /u/. Thus, *ongo-gu-ng*, ‘go-RP-2/3PL,’ may be pronounced as [ˌɔŋ.ɔˈwuŋ].

/g/ → [ɣ] V\_\_V if neither V is the frontmost high vowel, /i/

/g/ → [g] V\_\_V if either V is the frontmost high vowel, /i/

There are several reasons for not including [ɣ] as a phoneme here. There are no known instances in which [ɣ] contrasts with another phoneme. The distribution of [ɣ] is complementary to that of [g] and of [k], so it may be considered an allophone of these consonants intervocalically. Further, all instances of [ɣ] may also be pronounced as [g] without change in meaning.

That is, Towet adults asked to pronounce words containing [ɣ] very slowly tend to reanalyze the [ɣ] as a syllable-initial voiced dorso-velar stop. Further, I have heard Towet children pronounce the sound adults pronounce as [ɣ] as [g]—this is to be expected, since ‘stopping’ of fricatives is a phenomenon of child speech acquisition across various languages (Locke 1983: 145). For instance, the usual Towet adult pronunciation of *dogu* ‘ghost,’ *nogon* ‘my, mine,’ and the reduplicated adjective *saksag-o* ‘clean,’ are [dɔˈɣu], [ˈnɔ.ɣɔŋ], and [sɑk̄ˈsa.ɣɔ], but I have heard children pronounce them as [dɔˈgu], [ˈnɔk̄.gɔŋ], and [sɑk̄ˈsa.gɔ]. In the case of *saksag-o*, the final /k/ of the second instance of the reduplicated *sak* has become [g] intervocalically. Literate Nungon speakers consistently write /g/ here, not /k/. Literate Nungon speakers also write *maga-a* [ˈma.ɣa] ‘mother-2SG.POSS’ as /maga/, without representing the underlying /k/ phoneme found in address form *mak* [mak̄] ‘mother,’ but at least three teenagers who worked with me consistently wrote *bög-in* [ˈbo.gin] ‘house-LOC’ as <bökgin>, keeping the pre-suffixation form *bök* ‘house’ intact. This seems to be due to the non-lenited adult pronunciation of /g/ in this word as [g]; the different pronunciation is reasoned to be motivated by a non-intervocalic occurrence of /g/. That is, these writers understand—probably subconsciously—that /g/ is usually lenited intervocalically, but may be pronounced as the voiced velar stop if it follows a

consonant. These writers did not write /kg/, however, in monomorphemic words in which /g/ is pronounced as [g] in the environment of the high front vowel /i/, such as *magim* [ma'gim] ‘tree sp. with hurtful hairs.’

/k/: [k<sup>h</sup>] [k] [k̄] [q] [q<sup>h</sup>] [ɣ] [ɰ]. *ketket* [k<sup>h</sup>ɛt̄ k<sup>h</sup>ɛt̄] ‘boy,’ *akka* [ak<sup>h</sup>:a] ‘streambank’ *kikorok* [‘k<sup>h</sup>i.k<sup>h</sup>ɔ̄.rɔk̄] ‘honeyeater,’ *heharök* [‘he.ha.rɔk̄] ‘flower,’ -k ‘3SG final verb suffix’

The phoneme /k/ may have uvular realization after the velar nasal /ng/. This combination occurs most frequently in the Near Future paradigm of the Towet dialect of Nungon. Thus, the following realizations are possible:

2.1)[‘ɔ̄.ŋɔ̄.βa,ᵐq<sup>h</sup>at]

Ongo-wang-ka-t.

go-PROB.SG-NF-1SG

‘I will go (soon).’

2.2)[‘nɔ̄.ᵐbɔ̄ŋ ‘nɔ̄.ᵐbɔ̄ŋ q<sup>h</sup>ɔ̄]

Nombong nombong=ko...

red-collared honeyeater=FOC

‘It was the red-collared honeyeater who...’

The uvular allophone of /k/ only occurs as a surface realization of the glottal fricative after the velar nasal. Uvular realization is only found in the speech of some speakers; all literate speakers write this sound as <k>.

### 2.1.2 Evidence for voicing contrast in stops

Minimal pairs illustrating the voicing contrast between homorganic stops word-initially follow. As mentioned above, the contrast between voiced and unvoiced bilabial stops is potentially an innovation of Towet Nungon, and only one minimal pair exists in the corpus contrasting the two. For the apico-alveolar and dorso-velar stops, however, a number of minimal and near-minimal pairs contrast voicing.

**Table 2.2. Voicing contrast in stops, word-initially**

bilabial stops		alveolar stops		velar stops	
unvoiced	voiced	unvoiced	voiced	unvoiced	voiced
<i>pin</i> 'honeyeater'	<i>bin</i> 'skirt'	<i>tarang</i> 'support pole for climbing vines'	<i>darang</i> 'face, front'	<i>kaag-o</i> 'head- 3SG.POSS'	<i>gaag-o</i> 'fat- 3SG.POSS'
		<i>tama-no</i> 'nose-3SG.POSS'	<i>dama-no</i> 'front.eaves- 3SG.POSS'	<i>ka-a-ng-a</i> '2NSG.O-see- DEP-MV'	<i>ga-a-ng-a</i> '2SG.O-see- DEP-MV'
		<i>tep</i> 'sister's child'	<i>dep dep</i> 'runny'	<i>kambang</i> 'meadow'	<i>gambang</i> 'fern sp.'
		<i>to-k to-k</i> 'do-NMZ:RED'	<i>dok dok</i> 'ready'	<i>kip-mo</i> 'selfish- ADJ'	<i>giip-mo</i> 'skin- 3SG.POSS'
		<i>towok</i> 'rain-cape'	<i>dowok</i> 'evening'	<i>komot</i> 'wife's maternal relatives'	<i>gomot</i> 'fruit dove'
		<i>togo</i> 'smell'	<i>dog-o</i> 'new growth- 3SG.POSS'	<i>kop</i> 'head (var.)'	<i>gop</i> 'torch'

### 2.1.3 Fricatives

Fricatives are never found in Nungon syllable-finally, although speakers who are more comfortable with Tok Pisin allow Tok Pisin loans with final /s/. That is, older speakers pronounce the Tok Pisin loan *balus* 'airplane' as *balusi* ['ba.lu.si], while younger speakers pronounce it as *balus* ['ba.lus]. In Towet Nungon, /f/ is nearly non-existent, with extremely limited distribution. Other dialects have widespread /f/ and /s/ and much more limited distribution of /h/ than the Towet dialect. Illustration of fricatives with discussion of allophones follows.

/w/: [β] [v] [w]. *Wep* [βɛp̄] ‘Uruwa River,’ *iwiw-o* [i'βi.βɔ] ‘tasty-ADJ,’ *wakwag-o* [βak̄'βa.ɣɔ] ‘tall-ADJ’

Above, the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] was argued not to be phonemic. In contrast, the voiced bilabial fricative /w/ is analyzed as phonemic here even though it is homophonous with the intervocalic realization of /p/. The voiced bilabial fricative occurs word-initially in many lexemes, spanning verbs, demonstratives, nouns, and adjectives. Unlike the voiced velar fricative, the voiced bilabial fricative contrasts with other phonemes in various positions, as in the verb stems illustrated below:

<i>woo-ha-k</i>	<i>boo-ha-k</i>	<i>poto-ha-k</i>
[ 'βɔ:hak̄ ]	[ 'bɔ:hak̄ ]	[ 'pʰɔ.tʰɔ.hak̄ ]
leaf.out-PRES.SG-3SG	sew-PRES.SG-3SG	refuse-PRES.SG-3SG
‘(the tree) leafs out’	‘s/he sews’	‘s/he refuses’

Intervocalic realization of a voiced bilabial fricative is due to underlying presence of a phonemic /w/ intra-morphemically. At morpheme boundaries, realization of [β] is usually due to lenition of a morpheme-final bilabial voiceless stop /p/.

Pronunciation of the bilabial voiced fricative varies speaker to speaker, and especially dialect to dialect within the Nungon-speaking area. Allophonic variation ranges from [v] to [w]. In Kotet, word-initially /w/ is pronounced [v] or [w], but intervocalically it is pronounced as the voiced stop [b]. In Towet, these contrasts do not exist; it tends to be pronounced as [β], but sometimes is expressed as [w] word-initially, before the vowel [ɔ]. Thus we have *weyo*, ‘there (faraway)’ [ 'βe.jɔ] and *woi* ‘that is’ [wɔɪ] ~ [βɔɪ] ~ [vɔɪ]. No one ever pronounces the name of the Uruwa River, *Wep*, as \*[wɛp̄]; it is always called [βɛp̄].

/s/: [s] [ʰs]. *saksag-o* [sak̄'sa.ɣɔ] ‘clean-ADJ,’ *usum usum* [u'sum u'sum] ‘bunch grass sp.,’ *oesit* [ɔɪ'siɪ̄] ‘girl,’ *sisiyö* [.si.si'jo] ‘exclamation at welcome warmth’

As mentioned above, /s/ is never found word-finally in native Nungon words of any dialect. Word-medial /s/ is common and found in a variety of word classes. The majority of Towet Nungon words with initial /s/ are nouns, especially names of plants and animals. Five adjectives begin with /s/: *saksag-o* ‘clean-ADJ,’ *sinsir-o* ‘thin-ADJ,’ *songgorong* ‘yellow,’ *siing-o* ‘weak-ADJ,’ and *seengge seengge* ‘ridged.’ Another expression beginning with /s/ that is not the name of flora or fauna is *sere nonge-no* ‘vertical.minor.support.beam.for.roof.thatch-3SG.POSS.’ The exclamation *öö sisiyö* [o: ,si.si’jo], which expresses the pleasure of feeling warm in the sun, seems to be archaic because it is primarily used by the elderly. The only verb in contemporary Towet Nungon that begins with /s/ is *so-* ‘come to fruition,’ which only occurs negated in the frustrative construction ‘do X to no avail,’ [X to-DS.Y *ma=so-*], where X is another verb in medial form, Y is the person/number of the actor who was attempting to do X, and *ma=* is the verbal negator proclitic.

Some older speakers of Nungon add a nasal segment before /s/ or pre-nasalize the sibilant /s/ itself in certain words—not necessarily those containing nasal segments, such as *bising ~ binsing* ‘grass, general term,’ *asi-hi ~ ansi-hi* ‘untie-2SG.IMM.IMP,’ *wisar-a ~ winsar-a* ‘break.down-MV,’ and *asap ~ ansap* ‘path.’

**/h/:** [h]. *hap* [hap̚] ‘dog,’ *yaanhi* [ˈja:n.hi] ‘three,’ *-ha-* ‘PRESENT tense suffix’

I observed some Towet speakers pronouncing loaned names such as *Helen* without the initial /h/. Although some Tok Pisin speakers in Lae have also dropped the initial /h/ of my own name, no Towet speakers ever called me *Ana*. Some Nungon personal names begin with /h/, such as *Hesienare*; many place names begin with /h/, such as *Huangin*, *Haanggo Bö*, etc.

**/f/:** [f]. *fit* [fit̚] ‘bat,’ *fuu ta-a-t* [fu: t̚a:t̚] ‘spit do-PRES.SG-1SG,’ *fongo fongo* [ˈfɔ.ŋɔ ˈfɔ.ŋɔ] ‘Papuan mountain pigeon’

/f/ in Towet Nungon only occurs word-initially, and only in a handful of names of plants and animals, and one onomatopoeic expression. Towet Nungon has phonological word-initial /h/ where other dialects have either /f/ or /s/. Some words that in Towet begin with /h/ do begin with /h/ in the other dialects as well, and all words that begin with /s/ in Towet speech begin with /s/ in the other

dialects as well, but Towet has only six modern words that include /f/ (always word-initially). These are: the apparently onomatopoeic *fiu to-* ‘spit do’; names of a bat, birds, and insect—*fit* ‘bat,’ *fit kumbrit* ‘chestnut-breasted cuckoo,’ *fongo fongo* ‘Papuan mountain pigeon,’ and *fia* ‘cicada species found in lower elevations, near Sapmanga (where phonemic /f/ is widespread)’; and the name of a type of herb: *fit fit*. Especially since the *fia* cicadas are found in the area of the Uruwa valley where Yau, which has retained the /f/ phoneme, is spoken, it may be postulated that *fia* and possibly other names of animals from this list have been borrowed into Towet speech from /f/-inclusive dialects. Another possibility is that they are retentions from an earlier form of the Towet dialect. Older Towet speakers recall their own elders as having told them that Towet people used to say *fei-hi!* ‘cut-IMM.IMP.2SG!’ instead of *hai-hi!* ‘cut-IMM.IMP.2SG,’ so the decline of /f/ may be a relatively recent innovation in the Towet dialect.

#### 2.1.4 Rhotic /r/ and lateral /l/

/r/: [r] ~ [r̥]. *Reringgi* [ˈre.rɪŋ.gi] ‘woman’s name,’ *Irising* [ˈi.ri.siŋ] ‘woman’s name,’ *römbö* [ˈro.m̩bo] ‘pepper (from Kâte),’ =*rot* ‘COMITATIVE enclitic,’ *karup* [kaˈruᵑ] ‘quickly,’ *iröm* [iˈröm] ‘free,’ *-rok* ‘2SG final verbal suffix’

The phoneme /r/ does not occur in non-loan words or personal names word-initially, and never occurs word-finally. Its counterpart /l/, with which it is in free variation in the speech of some speakers and especially small children, has the same distribution.

It seems that the Towet dialect of Nungon dialect historically had no lateral phoneme /l/; the rhotic is far more common, but the lateral is an alternative, acceptable pronunciation of the rhotic in most contexts. That is, the rhotic [r] and lateral [l] are largely in free variation. Young children may be addressed in a patronizing ‘baby talk’ that substitutes the lateral [l] for the apparently more sophisticated-sounding rhotic [r] of adult Towet speech. (This baby talk also sounds very much like the Nungon dialects spoken in Yawan and Kotet villages, where a lateral [l] corresponds to Towet adult [r].) A few personal names in Nungon, including both obvious loans such as *Rosarin* but also potentially-indigenous names such as *Reringgi* begin with the rhotic; I have only heard these

pronounced with initial lateral [l] when an adult was speaking baby talk. In contrast, the non-initial rhotics of both *Rosarin* and *Reringgi* are in free variation with the lateral realization; probably the second rhotic of *Reringgi* less so, because of its proximity to the initial rhotic. Pronunciation of a word-initial lateral is obligatory only with a few plant names that have been very recently adopted—either from other Nungon dialects, or from other languages. Thus, the flower called *lōngö lōngö* by Worin people—which features in a song sung by young Towet men in the Worin dialect—is never called *rōngö rōngö*. In contrast, the lateral and rhotic realizations are in free variation in the initial consonant of the earlier loan word *rōmbö* ‘pepper,’ from Kâte *romboc* (Flierl and Strauss 1977: 461); Towet speakers may also refer to the plant or its fruits as *lōmbö*. I have not heard the most-commonly heard loans from Tok Pisin with /l/, such as *balus* ‘airplane,’ pronounced with [r]. On the other hand, I have observed free variation between [r] and [l] in pronunciation of non-word-initial /l/ in new personal names taken from non-Nungon sources, such as the child’s name *Melidikta* (from the avian genus name *Melidectes*), in which the lateral is pronounced as either [l] or [r].

### 2.1.5 Nasals /m/, /n/, /ng/

The nasals /m/, /n/, and /ng/ ([ŋ]) may all occur word- and syllable-finally, but /ng/ is infrequent word- and syllable-initially.

/m/: [m]. *mam* [mam] ‘aunt,’ *om-ese* [ɔˈmɛ.se] ‘over there (downhill),’ *-morok* ‘2/3du suffix for inflected final verbs’

/n/: [n]. *na-ng na-ng* [naŋ naŋ] ‘edible,’ *tom-no* [ˈtʰɔm.nɔ] ‘cover,’ *ino* [ˈi.nɔ] ‘3sg pronoun, emphatic form,’ *Böö-no-n* [ˈboːnɔn] ‘peak-3SG.POSS-LOC’ (place name, ‘On The Peak’), *-na* ‘1SG.POSS suffix’

/ng/: [ŋ]. *ng-engo* [ˈŋe.ŋɔ] ‘hereabouts,’ *ngirop-mo* [ŋiˈrɔp̄.mɔ] ‘antlers/horns,’ *bongon* [ˈbɔ.ŋɔn] ‘day, time,’ *möng-ka-k* [mɔŋˈkʰak̄] ‘fall-PRES-3sg,’ *katnang* [kʰat̄ˈnaŋ] ‘bamboo.’

In the lexicon, /ng/ is found beginning *ngirop-mo*, ‘antler-3SG.POSS,’ *ngikngik* ‘brain,’ *ngoruk ngorug-o* ‘soft-ADJ,’ *nginik nganik* ‘cacophonous (of speech),’ the second element of the bird name *bot ngeknegek* ‘stout-billed cuckoo-shrike,’ and the demonstrative root *ng(o)*- ‘here, this,’ and its derivatives. In speech directed at animals, *ngoh! ngoh! ngoh!* is called in a gruff, low-pitched voice to

summon a mature dog (puppies are summoned using high-pitched *tut! tut! tut!*). The bird named *songök*, which was identified by speakers consulting the text and images in a field guide as the rufous woodcock, is said to call: *biuin ngok ngok ngok ngok*. The *uwing* ‘hourglass drum’ was said in one text to make the sound: *nguk nguk nguk nguk*. No verbal roots begin with /ng/. See 2.4.7 below for discussion of the special role /ng/ plays word-finally in dependent verbs.

### 2.1.6 Glide /y/

/y/: [j] [z]. *yaarop* [ˈja:rɔ̃p̄] ‘moon, month,’ *yama* [ˈja.ma] ‘door,’ *uyego* [uˈje.ɣɔ̃] ‘new,’ *ye~yo-* ‘3nsg.O prefix,’ *yiit* [zi:t̄] ‘sugar cane,’ *yiip* [zi:p̄] ‘salt.’

The glide /y/ is fricativized word-initially before the high vowel /i/; in all other environments, it is pronounced as [j].

In the analysis presented here, there is no need for a second glide phoneme /w/. A distinction must be made between the bilabial semi-voiced fricative /w/, that is, [β], and the transitional glide that occurs between two back vowels, as in the verbal roots *duo-* ‘to sleep’ and *guo-* ‘to bathe.’ In general, the Kotet dialect may be consulted for help on determining whether a given phonetic instance of [w] is underlyingly the phoneme /w/ or only represents a phonetic transitional glide. This is because the Kotet dialect seems to rigorously distinguish the two: word-initial /w/ is expressed as [w], while intervocalic phonemic /w/ is always expressed as [b]. Thus, in the Kotet dialect, an intervocalic instance of phonetic [w] is clearly only a transitional glide, not phonemic /w/.

## 2.2 Vowels

Nungon has six contrasting vowel phonemes. Note that there are fewer front vowels than back vowels. This system is similar to those that have been analyzed for some other Finisterre-Huon languages, such as Kâte (Pilhofer 1933: 14) and Selepet (McElhanon 1970: 18).

**Table 2.3. Towet Nungon vowel phoneme inventory**

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid-high			o
mid-low	e		ɔ
low		a	

Following the system currently used in the Yawan early grade classrooms (Wegmann and Lauver's system for Yau), I write these vowels here as: i, e, a, o, ö, u, with /o/ representing [ɔ] and /ö/ representing the higher, extremely rounded [o].

/a/: IPA [a] [æ]. *amap* [a'map̄] 'pandanus variety,' *hagim-o*, [ˈha.gi.mɔ] 'leaf-3SG.POSS,' -*na* '1SG.POSS suffix'

/e/: IPA [ɛ] [e]. *ewek* [ˈɛ.βɛk̄] 'snake,' *ure ure* [u're u're] 'type of flower,' *yuwe* [ˈju.βɛ] 'type of arrowhead with four tips'

/i/: IPA [i] [ɪ]. *iyep* [i.jɛp̄] 'sun,' *hit-ti!* [ˈhit.tʰi] 'put-IMP.2sg' *idit* [ɪ'dit̄] 'exist-REDUP': 'life'

/o/: IPA [ɔ] [ɑ]. *ombom* [ˈɔm.bɔm] 'platform of dirt in crook of tree in which orchids and other plants grow and animals make their nests,' -*no* '3SG.POSS suffix'

In the speech of some speakers, the vowel phoneme /o/ occasionally approximates the higher /ö/ before the velar nasal /ng/. I have found this in the dependent form of the verb *ho-* 'cook,' *ho-ng* [hɔŋ]~[hɔŋ], and in the final verbal suffix indexing 1<sup>st</sup> person plural in reference to the verb's S/A argument, -*mong*: that is, *ong-u-mong* [ˈɔ.ŋu.mɔŋ]~[ˈɔ.ŋu.mɔŋ] 'go-PRES.nsg-1pl.'

/ö/: More prominently rounded than IPA [o]. *ömben* [ˈo.m̄bɛn] 'weed, general,' *bök* [bɔk̄] 'house,' *yöröm* [ˈyo.rom] 'stone ax'

/u/: IPA [u]. *uwin* [u.βin] 'far,' *suksug-o* [suk̄ˈsu.ɣɔ] 'smooth-ADJ,' *dimbu* [ˈdi.m̄bu] 'erosion control fence'

Minimal and near-minimal pairs contrasting similar back vowels follow:

- /ö/ and /o/:     *hombong* [ˈhɔ.ᵐbɔŋ] ‘grass species,’ *homböng* [ˈhɔ.ᵐboŋ] ‘tree species’
- oon* [ɔ:n] ‘fig species,’ *öön* [o:n] ‘garden, farm plot’
- oo-hi* [ˈɔ:hi] ‘descend-IMM.IMP.2SG,’ *öö-hi* [ˈo:hi] ‘ascend-IMM.IMP.2SG’
- bok* [bɔk̄] ‘tree species,’ *bök* [bɔk̄] ‘house’
- bot* [bɔt̄] ‘pig,’ *bööt* [bo:t̄] ‘husband of sister (of female); wife’s sister’
- /ö/ and /u/:     *uup* [u:p] ‘hardwood tree species,’ *ööp* [o:p] ‘quiet’
- ur-in* [ˈu.rin] ‘cry-LOC,’ *öör-in* [ˈo.rin] ‘garden-LOC’
- moru* [ˈmɔ.ru] ‘string from bamboo fiber,’ *morö* [ˈmɔ.ro] ‘large’

### 2.2.1 Status of long vowels

Vowel length distinctions are rare in Finisterre-Huon languages (McElhanon 1973: 5). Although the Towet, Kotet, Yawan, and Worin dialects distinguish long and short vowels, the Mitmit variety and probably the Mup variety, as well as apparently the Yau dialects, may not. In Towet Nungon, some instances of long vowels have resulted diachronically from complete elision of consonants, especially /t/, /h/, /r/, and /k/, between identical vowels. This may be seen when comparing Towet Nungon with other dialects of Nungon, with Yau, and with Nukna, the Papuan language to the northeast. In table 2.3, Nukna data comes from Taylor 2013, Yau data is from Wegmann 1994b, and Awara data is from Quigley and Quigley 2011.

<b>Towet Nungon word</b>	<b>English gloss</b>	<b>Cognate form</b>
<i>maa</i>	speech, name	<i>mata</i> (Worin, Yau)
<i>oo-ng-a</i>	descend-DEP-MV	<i>oho-ng-ga</i> (Yau)
<i>aa-ng-a</i>	see-DEP-MV	<i>aha-ng-ga</i> (Yau)
<i>mee</i>	back	<i>mehe</i> (Awara)
<i>eem</i>	hole	<i>árám</i> (Nukna)
<i>daan</i>	eye	<i>rahán</i> (Nukna)
<i>meep-mo</i>	heavy-ADJ	<i>márápmá</i> (Nukna)
<i>heep-mo</i>	steep-ADJ	<i>hákápmá</i> (Nukna)

Within the Towet dialect, there are synchronic instances of such elision. In fast speech, Towet speakers say *bööp* [bo:p̄] for ‘woven bamboo house walls,’ but in slow speech, Towet speakers can say *böwöp* [bo'βöp̄], with the voiced bilabial fricative separating the two vowels. Similarly, when the word *yangam-o* [ˈja.ŋa.mə] ‘its face’ is combined with the verb *to-* ‘do’ to create an expression usually used to refer to the moon being full, the velar nasal is often elided completely, leaving a long vowel /aa/, as *yaam-o* [ˈja:mə]. Intervocalic consonant elision may also lead to diphthong creation (see §2.2.3 below): some elderly Towet speakers say *pahuk* [p<sup>h</sup>a'huk̄] for ‘sweet potato,’ while the majority of younger speakers say *pauk* [paūk̄].

Despite these clear instances of recently-originating long vowels, most phonemic long vowels cannot be traced to consonant elision between identical vowels. Synchronically, there are no vowel sequences of identical vowels: where the practical orthography indicates two identical vowels, as <oo>, this is always a long vowel. Examples of each long vowel in Nungon follow:

/aa/: *yaarop* ‘month, moon,’ *maa* ‘language, speech,’ *n-aa-ng-a* ‘1SG.O-see-DEP-MV,’ *Haanggo Bö* ‘place name’

/ee/: *eep* ‘tree,’ *eet* ‘foot’

/ii/: *biigo-ni* ‘green-ADJ,’ *yii* ‘vine, twine,’ *wii-ng-a* ‘comb-DEP-MV’

/oo/: *oo-hi* ‘descend!’ *yoo-ng-a* ‘NSG.O.take-DEP-MV’

/öö/: *Böönon* ‘place name,’ *öö-go-morok* ‘ascend-RP-2/3DU’

/uu/: *muuno* ‘not,’ *uung-o* ‘taboo, dangerous’

### 2.2.2 Vowel length contrasts

The following are minimal and near-minimal pairs representing vowel length contrasts:

*maa* ‘speech, language’; *ma=* ‘negation proclitic’

*daa-no* ‘sister-3SG.POSS’; *dan-no* ‘sole-3SG.POSS’

*n-aa-ha-k* [ˈna:hak̄] ‘1SG.O-see-PRES.SG-3SG’: ‘s/he sees me’; *na-ha-k* ‘eat-PRES.SG-3SG’: ‘s/he eats’

*taap-pa-k* ‘fasten-PRES.SG-3SG’: ‘s/he fastens (a skirt)’; *tap-pa-k* ‘split-PRES.SG-3SG’: ‘it splits’

*eepi* ‘fire’; *ep-pi!* ‘come-IMM.IMP.2SG’

*biip* ‘father’s brother’; *bip* ‘rain’

*hoo-ng-a* ‘close-DEP-MV’; *ho-ng-a* ‘cook-DEP-MV’

*yoo-ng-a* ‘NSG.O.take-DEP-MV’: ‘taking them’; *yo-ng-a* ‘say-DEP-MV’: ‘saying’

*h-öö-ng* ‘NSG.O.ascend-DEP’: ‘bringing them up’; *höng* ‘sound of a barking dog’

*huup* ‘new, exotic’; *hup* ‘chicken’

*möö-ng-a* ‘vomit-DEP-MV’: ‘vomiting’; *mö-ng-a* ‘fall-DEP-MV’: ‘falling, planting’

### 2.2.3 Diphthongs

I define diphthongs as complex vowel phonemes comprising two phonetic components that are spoken in the space of a single syllable, with no epenthetic glides between phonetic components.

Diphthongs may be formed when any other vowel is followed by the front-most high vowel /i/, and

when the low vowels /a/ and /o/ are followed by the high vowel /u/ or the mid-back vowel /ö/. In a very slow register (when asked to pronounce a word very slowly), speakers are able to separate diphthongs into their two vowel components, so there is no reason to analyse these as comprising one vowel and one glide.

/ai/: *hai-* ‘to chop down,’ *ai* ‘bamboo sp.’

/aö/: *daöng* ‘men’s armlet’

/au/: *au* ‘other,’ *Ombuhaung* ‘name of Towet stream’

/ei/: *e-i-t-ma* ‘come-IRR.SG-1SG-RF’: ‘I will come’

/oi/: *moin-no* ‘bad-ADJ’

/oö/: *koök* ‘wild (of animals)’

/ou/: *youp* ‘work,’ *opmou* ‘small’

/öi/: *möit* ‘taro’

/ui/: *bui* ‘sound for calling chickens,’ *muing muing* ‘flower sp.’

When suffixes beginning with high vowels are added to words ending in a vowel, the following changes occur:

**/a(a)-/ + /-i/:** *haa* ‘area’ with locative suffix *-in* yields *hain* (i.e., /a/ and /i/ join to become the diphthong /ai/. Since there are no extra-long diphthongs, we don’t get *haain*.)

*uwa* ‘cookpot’ with locative suffix *-in* yields *uwain*

*ma* ‘relativizer’ with discourse particle *-i* yields *mai*

**/o(o)-/ + /-i/:** *oo-* ‘descend’ with Remote Future+3sg person/number fused suffix *-ik* yields *oik*

*ongo-* ‘go’ with Immediate Imperative+2sg person/number fused suffix *-i* yields *ongoi*

In only one instance in the texts corpus—in an old song—are the two phonetic vowel components of a diphthong separated into two separate syllables. The noun *kaip* ‘lime sp. used with betelnut,’ is ordinarily pronounced as a diphthong, comprising a single syllable in everyday speech. In this song, however, the metre of the song demands two syllables. Thus, *kaip* is made into two syllables by splitting the diphthong into its components /a/ and /i/, with an intervening epenthetic glide [j]. The song is an old traditional song in the Kotet dialect of Nungon; data is still not extant as to whether the performer of the song ordinarily pronounced the word as [k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>ˈ</sup>iɪ̯p̚], as in the song, or as [k<sup>h</sup>aɪ̯p̚], with the diphthong.

#### 2.2.4 Vowel sequences

While diphthongs result when any other vowel is followed by /i/, and when /a/ and /o/ are followed by /u/ or /ö/, vowel sequences result from every other combination of different vowels. That is, vowel sequences result when /e/ is followed by /ö/ or /u/, and when /i/, /u/, or /ö/ precedes a different vowel other than /i/. There are no vowel sequences of identical vowels. Two main criteria distinguish between vowel sequences and diphthongs: first, vowel sequences have an epenthetic glide between vowels, separating the two vowels into distinct syllables; second, in vowel sequences the two vowel segments bear stress independently of each other. The epenthetic glide takes the form [j] after front vowels /e/ and /i/, and [w] after mid vowel /a/ and back vowels /o/ and /ö/. Below are some examples:

/ea/: *Measi* [ˈme.ʲa.si] ‘man’s name (loan)’

/eo/: *deogo* [ˈde.ʲo.ɣo] ‘how’

/ia/: *wiang-o* [βi<sup>ˈ</sup>ʲa.ŋo] ‘tail-3SG.POSS’

/ie/: *Söndanggie* [sonˈdaŋ.gi.ʲe] ‘Saturday (loan),’ *wie-na* [βi<sup>ˈ</sup>ʲe.na] ‘daughter-1SG.POSS,’ *hiet* [hi<sup>ˈ</sup>ʲeɪ̯] ‘urine’

/io/: *Jio* [ˈzi.ʲo] ‘man’s name’

/iö/: *kousiöng* [ˈkəu.si.ʲoŋ] ‘female monster’

/oa/: *moano* [mɔ<sup>w</sup>a.nɔ] ‘taro sp.’

/oe/: *oe* [‘ɔ.<sup>w</sup>e] ‘woman’ Note that some other dialects have bilabial fricative /w/ [β] between the two vowels, as *owe* (e.g., the Yawan dialect). This seems to be retained in Towet’s word for ‘grandmother,’ *owi* (a reciprocal term of address used by grandmother to grandchild and grandchild to grandmother; also used to describe the relationship between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law).

/öa/: *höan* [ho<sup>w</sup>an] ‘meeting’

/öo/: *göot* [go<sup>w</sup>ɔ̃] ‘frog’

/ua/: *Huang* [hu<sup>w</sup>aŋ] ‘name of one of Towet’s main water sources’

/uo/: *duo-k* [‘du.<sup>w</sup>ɔ̃k] ‘sleep-NMZ,’ *guo-hi!* [‘gu.<sup>w</sup>ɔ̃.hi] ‘bathe-IMM.IMP.2SG’

## 2.3 Non-phonemic sounds, and Nungon descriptions of them

The glottal stop heard in all Uruwa area dialects except those of Towet and Yawan is called *houk* ‘hiccup’ by Nungon speakers. It is unclear whether this term was used for the glottal stop in speech before the establishment of a Nungon orthography in the late 1980s. Distaste or disgust is commonly expressed by sucking and noisily releasing the molars. This is called *misi-k* ‘suck-NMZ.’ Chickens may be summoned by a repeated bilabial trill, as well as by a repeated call at high pitch: *bui bui bui bui bui!* Finally, endearment may be indicated with a post-alveolar click [!]; this is described by speakers as *nunu yo-* ‘say *nunu*,’ where *nunu* is a baby talk term of endearment (§1.8.7). The click sound may be accompanied by the word *nunu*, or either may be used alone.

## 2.4 Phonotactics

Discussion of consonant distribution and phonotactics are in §2.4.3. Discussion of vowel phonotactics is in §8.

### 2.4.1 Syllable structure

There are two templates for the Nungon syllable: a default form, called ‘basic’ here; and a special form used only in expressives.

## Basic syllable structure

### (C)V(C)

The basic syllable comprises minimally a single vowel nucleus (made up of a short vowel, a long vowel, or diphthong), and maximally a consonant onset, long vowel or diphthong nucleus, and consonant coda. All consonant phonemes can serve as syllable onsets, but only the unvoiced stops /p/, /t/, and /k/ and the nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ can serve as syllable codas. Long vowels and diphthongs attract stress (see §2.6 below). Consonant clusters are disallowed as syllable onsets or codas in the basic syllable structure. Syllable-initial or syllable-final consonant clusters in loan words are broken up with a non-phonemic epenthetic vowel [ə]. The loan *brum* ‘broom,’ for instance, is pronounced [bə'rum].

## Expressive syllable structure

### $C_1C_2V(C_3)$ , $C_1 = /k/, (/b/)$ , $C_2 = /r/$ , $C_3 = \text{as in basic structure}$

In the class of expressive words describing sounds or actions in an animated way, complex onsets comprising syllable-initial consonant clusters in which the first consonant is a stop and the second is the rhotic /r/ are permitted. The only stops observed in the 2,100-word lexicon as of June 2014 in  $C_1$  position in expressive syllables are the voiceless velar stop /k/ and the voiced bilabial stop /b/. The voiced bilabial stop is found in the description of a cuckoo call which also serves as the name of the chestnut-breasted cuckoo, *fit kumbrit*. The final syllable of this expressive is, however, realized as [brit'] by some speakers and [bərit'] by others. The addition of more expressives to the standing lexicon may establish that /k/ is the only stop that may serve as initial component of a complex onset in expressives in the speech of all Towet Nungon speakers. The same consonant set that may serve as coda in a basic syllable may serve as optional coda of an expressive syllable.

### 2.4.2 Phonological word

The minimal phonological word contains one stressed syllable of form (C)V, where V is a long vowel or diphthong, or (C)VC, where V is a short vowel. A phonological word contains only one syllable bearing primary stress. Grammatical elements with structure CV in which the V is a short vowel are

marginal. Such forms generally do not bear stress on their own. If such elements are stranded on their own, away from words to which to cliticize, they are phonetically lengthened in order to bear stress. (Such semi-words are the special clitics *hu* and *ha*, described in §3.5.4 and §10.7.11, the demonstratives *ngo* ‘this’ and *wo* ‘that’ (§7.2.1) and the stand-alone use of the clitic =*ma* (§12.6.3). These may stand alone, in which case they are phonetically lengthened, but phonemically CV with a short V, and still independent words.)

Phonological word criteria are here defined as follows:

- i. A phonological word must comprise at minimum either one syllable with a long vowel or a diphthong nucleus, or one syllable with a consonant coda.
- ii. A phonological word contains one primary stressed syllable (see §2.6).
- iii. A phonological word contains maximally one syllable with long vowel nucleus.
- iv. A phonological word may only end in either: a vowel, an unvoiced stop /p/, /t/, or /k/, or a nasal /m/, /n/, or /ng/ (see §2.2.1).
- v. The unvoiced stops /p/, /t/, and /k/ must be unreleased phonological word-finally (see §2.1.1).
- vi. Prenasalization never occurs phonological word-initially, or phonological word-finally (see §2.4.6).
- vii. The rare consonant phoneme /f/ only occurs phonological word-initially (see §2.1.3).
- viii. The rhotic phoneme /r/ never occurs phonological word-finally, and only occurs phonological word-initially in personal names and loans (see §2.1.4).
- ix. Consonant clusters with form *Ch*, comprising a stop followed by the glottal fricative, are not permitted within a phonological word; such clusters must be realized as fricatives within the phonological word (see §2.8.2).

### **2.4.3 Consonant distribution**

Voiced stops /b/, /d/ and /g/ are never syllable- or word-final. At syllable boundaries, disregarding the homorganic nasals which result from prenasalization, these stops are almost never preceded by any other consonants within a single morpheme.

<b>Phoneme</b>	<b>Word-initial?</b>	<b>Word-final?</b>	<b>Inter-vocalic?</b>	<b>Phonemes that can precede it at syllable boundary within morpheme</b>
<b>b</b>	YES	NO	yes, limited	p, m (prenasalization)
<b>d</b>	YES	NO	yes, limited	n (prenasalization)
<b>g</b>	YES	NO	yes (as [g], [ɣ])	ng (prenasal. or separate segment)
<b>p</b>	YES	YES	yes (rare)	p
<b>t</b>	YES	YES	yes (rare)	n, p
<b>k</b>	YES	YES	yes (rare)	k, ng (prenasal. or separate segment)
<b>m</b>	YES	YES	yes	ng, p
<b>n</b>	YES	YES	yes	m
<b>ng</b>	YES	YES	yes	NONE
<b>h</b>	YES	NO	yes	n
<b>f</b>	YES	NO	no (only in loans)	NONE
<b>r</b>	YES	NO	yes	k
<b>s</b>	YES	NO	yes	m, n, p
<b>w</b>	YES	NO	yes	NONE
<b>y</b>	YES	NO	yes	m, n

/y/ is preceded by /m/ in one word, a loan: *humyut*, ‘trumpetvine.’

/y/ is preceded by /n/ in *hönyöm*, ‘fern sp.’

#### **2.4.4 Spirantization of stops intervocalically**

Intervocalically, Nungon voiced stops are either prenasalized or weakened to fricatives, with a few exceptions. Intervocalic voiceless stops are rare intra-morphemically, and when they occur they are

always aspirated. They are frequently realized as geminates, with long closure duration. That is, speakers may understand non-lenited intervocalic voiceless stops to comprise an (unreleased) stop forming the coda of the preceding syllable and a second identical (but aspirated) stop forming the onset of the following syllable.

**a. Syllable-final unreleased /k/ and syllable-initial /g/ are realized by the same form**

**intervocally: either the voiced velar fricative or the voiced velar stop.** Syllable-final /k/ lenites to the voiced velar stop [g] intervocally in the environment of the front high vowel /i/, but lenites to the voiced velar fricative intervocally in all other environments. For instance, suffixation of the 3sg pertensive suffix *-o* (see §4.1.1) to the inherently-reduplicated *ngikngik* [ˈŋik̄.ŋik̄] ‘brain’ yields *ngikngig-o* [ŋik̄ˀ.ŋi.gɔ] ‘brain-3SG.POSS,’ while suffixation of the homophonous adjectivizing suffix *-o* to the adjectival root *wakwak* [ˈβak̄.βak̄] ‘long’ yields *wakwag-o* [βak̄ˀ.βa.ɣɔ] ‘long-ADJ.’ This corresponds to the general conditions on intervocalic allophones of /g/ outlined in §2.1.1.

**b. Syllable-final unreleased /p/ lenites intervocally to the voiced bilabial fricative.** This may be seen in reduplication, as of the adverb *ip* [iᵑ] ‘novel, interesting’ becoming the adjectival root *iwip* ‘delicious’ [iβˀiᵑ]. This may undergo further suffixation with the adjectivizing suffix *-o* to be able to modify a noun in an NP, as *iwiw-o* ‘delicious-ADJ’ [iβˀi.βɔ].

**c. Syllable-final unreleased /t/ lenites intervocally to the rhotic [r], which may be either flapped or trilled in this context in Towet Nungon.** For instance, when the 2sg pertensive suffix *-a* is attached to the noun *eet* [ɛ:t̄] ‘foot, leg,’ the /t/ undergoes lenition, yielding *eer-a* [ˈɛ:ra] ‘foot-2SG.POSS.’ In Towet Nungon, /t/ and /r/ are in near-complementary distribution. If the Towet dialect is examined on its own, it is only the presence of a few words with intervocalic, aspirated /t/ that motivate analysis of /r/ as a phoneme in its own right, rather than [r] being only an intervocalic allophone of /t/. That is, within the Towet dialect, there are a few monomorphemic words with intervocalic /t/, such as the verb roots *poto-* ‘refuse’ and *eto-* ‘forget,’ and the noun *butibuti* ‘solar plexus.’ None of these can be pronounced with [r] in place of [tʰ]. These serve as one indication that a monomorphemic word such as *irəm* [iˈrəm] ‘free’ is not just a surface realization of what is

underlyingly /itom/. Still, there is no phonetic difference in Towet Nungon between the [r] realization of /t/ intervocalically as in *eer-a*, and the [r] realization of /t/ in *irrom*; it could be argued that cases like *irrom* contain instances of lenited syllable-final unreleased /t/, which could be considered separately from syllable-initial aspirated /t/.

Examination of other Nungon dialects supports the notion of a separate proto-Uruwa phoneme—/r/ in some dialects and /l/ in others—from /t/. In all Nungon dialects, word-final /t/ undergoes lenition when followed by a vowel-initial suffix. In the Towet dialect, intervocalic lenited /t/ is realized as [r]~[r̥], so that it has identical form to the intervocalic realization of the phoneme /r/. But in the Kotet and Yawan dialects, which have no rhotic, word-final /t/ lenites to [d] intervocalically, as in *ee* ‘foot’ and *eed-a* [ˈɛ:da], ‘foot-2SG.POSS.’ In these dialects, lenited /t/ is thus still distinct from the lateral /l/, which is the counterpart in these dialects to Towet /r/, as in Towet *irrom* / Kotet, Yawan *ilom* [iˈlɔm], ‘free.’ Towet mono-morphemic words with intervocalic /r/ are cognate with Kotet and Yawan mono-morphemic words with intervocalic /l/. So one clue to whether a phonetic [r] in Towet is an instance of lenited /t/, or whether it is the separate phoneme /r/, is whether the cognate form in the Kotet and Yawan dialects is realized with the lateral [l] (corresponding to the rhotic /r/ in Towet Nungon) or the voiced alveolar stop [d] (corresponding to the lenited stop /t/ in Towet Nungon).

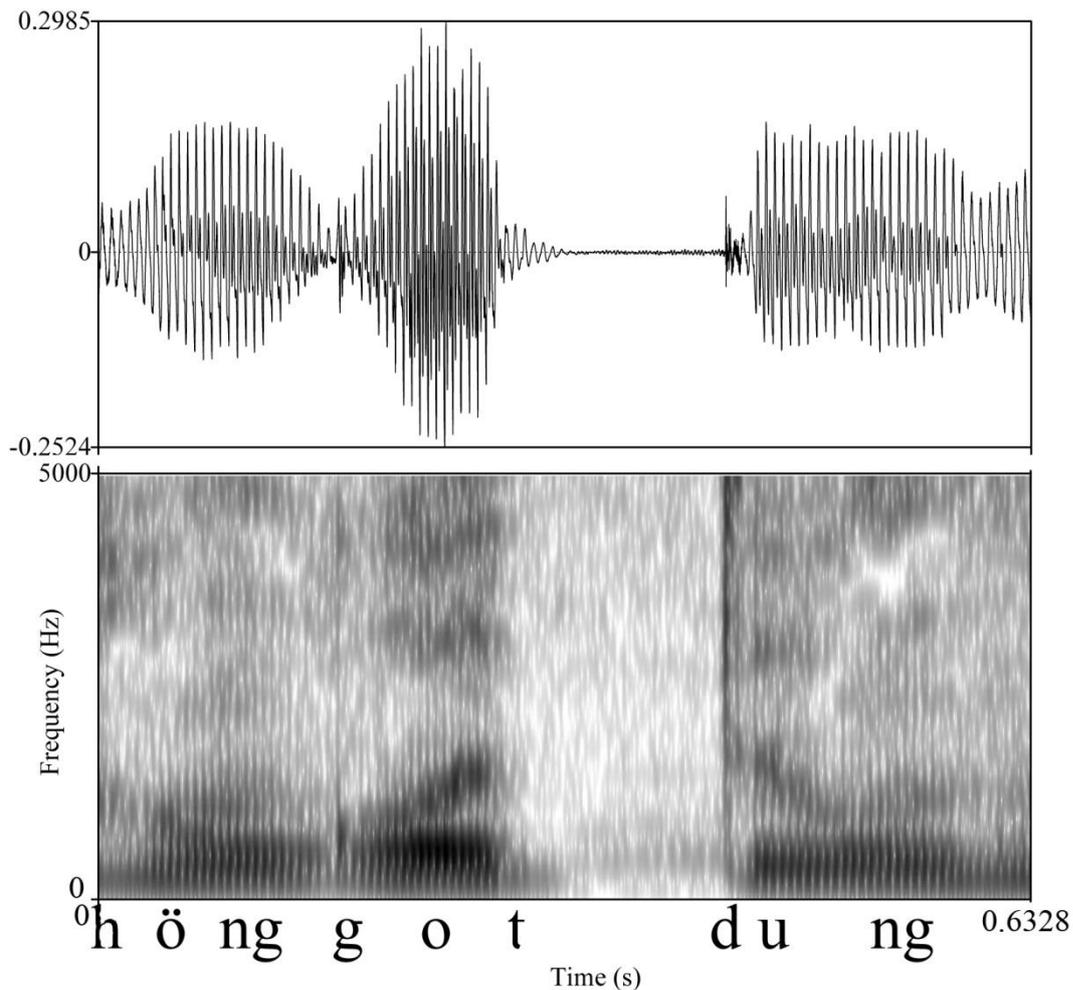
Note that the nasal /n/ also lenites to /r/ intervocalically at morpheme boundaries: this is discussed in §2.8.4.

#### **2.4.5 Stop combinations across syllable boundaries**

Within verbal morpho-phonology, the voiced bilabial and alveolar stops may follow homorganic unvoiced stops /p/ and /t/ when the unvoiced stop is the coda of the final syllable of a verbal root; then the voiced stop is the beginning of the Remote Past suffix. Note that this is the phonemic analysis; surface realizations of such a /pb/ or /td/ sequence are always much longer than a single stop normally is, but phonetic realization varies from [p:] and [t:] to [p:b] and [t:d] to [b:] and [d:].

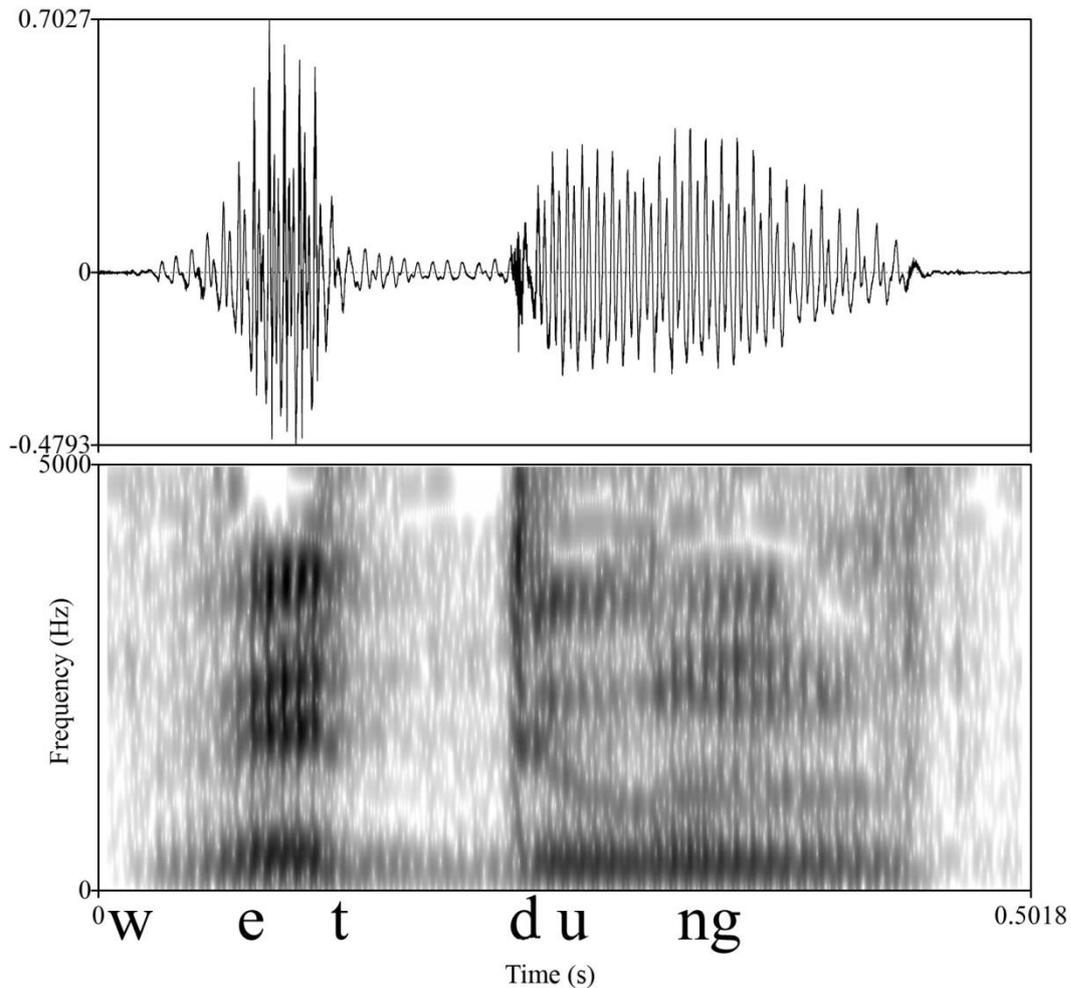
Figures 2.1 and 2.2 show spectrograms and waveforms, created using Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2013), illustrating inter-speaker variation in degree of voicing in phonemic /td/ sequences. The /td/ sequence in both figures occurs at the boundary of a /t/-final verb root and the /d/-initial allophone of the Remote Past suffix.

**Figure 2.1 Spectrogram and waveform of *hönggot-du-ng***



In figure 2.1, a female speaker in her early twenties produced the /t/-final verb *hönggot-* ‘emerge’ inflected for Remote Past and 2/3pl S argument, *hönggot-du-ng* ‘emerge-RP-2/3PL.’ Note that there is no voicing evident during the long stop [t:] here. In contrast, figure 2.2 shows the spectrogram and waveform of the /t/-final verb *wet-* ‘3SG.O.beat’ inflected for Remote Past and 2/3pl, *wet-du-ng* ‘3SG.O.beat-RP-2/3PL,’ spoken by a male speaker in his mid-thirties. In figure 2.2, voicing continues throughout the closure.

**Figure 2.2 Spectrogram and waveform of *wet-du-ng***



Sequences of /pb/ and /td/ occur almost exclusively at morpheme boundaries. One exception is in the Towet Nungon verbal root *gopbot-* ‘disappear’: here, /b/ follows /p/ within what is apparently a single morpheme. The medial verb form, for instance, is *gopbor-a* [ˈgɔ̃p̃.bɔ̃.ra] ‘disappear-MV.’ In the Kotet dialect of Nungon, the cognate form is *gombot-*, with the voiced bilabial stop prenasalized, and no unvoiced bilabial stop preceding it. The Kâte loan *Sögipböno* [ˈso.gĩp̃.bo.no] ‘Thursday’ is the only other apparently mono-morphemic word with such a sequence in the Towet Nungon lexicon.

#### **2.4.6 Prenasalization of stops**

Stops forming the onset of a word’s initial syllable and the coda of a word’s final syllable are never prenasalized. That is, prenasalization occurs within the confines of the word. When voiced bilabial and alveolar stops serve as the onset of unstressed, non-word-initial syllables following a vowel, they

are usually prenasalized. Thus we have non-prenasalized /b/ in *bot* [bɔt] ‘pig,’ but prenasalized /b/ in *humbot-ti* [ˈhu.m̥bɔt.tʰi] ‘carry.on.shoulder-IMM.IMP.2SG.’ The verb root *humbot-* ‘carry.on.shoulder’ has requisite prenasalization before the initial /b/ of the second syllable. The alveolar voiced stop /d/ is not prenasalized in *daa-na* [ˈdaːna] ‘sister.of.fem-1SG.POSS’ but is prenasalized in *ondu* [ˈɔ.n̥du] ‘vine sp.’

When asked to pronounce words with prenasalized stops in a very slow register, older speakers pronounced prenasalized voiced stops [m̥b], [n̥d], [ŋ̥g] as single syllable onset segments, not dividing each into two segments with the nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋg/ as codas of the preceding syllables and the voiced stops /b/, /d/, /g/ as onsets of the next syllables. In the orthography, prenasalization is not distinguished from the two-segment representation. Prenasalization is lacking in inherently or derivationally reduplicated words, such as in *benben-no* [bɛnˈbɛnːɔ] ‘knee-3SG.POSS.’

If the voiced bilabial or voiced alveolar stop serves as the onset for a stressed, non-word-initial syllable in a word without stress-moving derivational suffixes, it is generally not prenasalized. The following lists illustrate this:

<b>/b/-onset non-word-initial stressed syllables</b>	<b>/d/-onset non-word-initial stressed syllables</b>
<i>ibaa</i> [iˈbaː] ‘leech’	<i>dudok</i> [duˈdɔk] ‘tree species’
<i>ubok</i> [uˈbɔk] ‘ant’	<i>gadat</i> [gaˈdat] ‘betelnut species’
<i>obut-no</i> [ɔˈbuʔ.nɔ] ‘coal-3SG.POSS’ (unclear where stress falls on unattested independent word ? <i>obut</i> )	<i>gidong</i> [giˈdɔŋ] ‘bamboo species’
	<i>hodik</i> [hɔˈdik] ‘bamboo supports for roof thatch’
	<i>hodom</i> [hɔˈdɔm] ‘tree species’
	<i>mudan</i> [muˈdan] ‘marsupial species’
	<i>udan</i> [uˈdan] ‘tree species’
	<i>udoni</i> [uˈdɔ.ni] ‘marsupial species’

With the bilabial voiced stop /b/, the generalization may be made that a prenasalized stop in a native Nungon word may only serve as the onset of a stressed syllable when that syllable has acquired

stress because of a derivational suffix (see §**Error! Reference source not found.**). Both members of the following pairs of words are attested in the lexicon:

**Without derivational suffix**

*gömbok* [ˈgo.ᵐbək] ‘fresh growth’;

*kombut* [ˈkɔ.ᵐbut] ‘anger’;

**With derivational suffix**

*gömbok-no* [go.ᵐbək.nɔ] ‘fresh growth’

*kombut-ni* [kɔ.ᵐbut.ni] ‘black’

There are a few other non-loan words in the lexicon with stressed non-initial syllables that begin with prenasalized bilabial voiced stops but do not transparently derive from other words in contemporary Nungon parlance. One example is *hambambi* [ha.ᵐba.ᵐbi] ‘decaying matter.’ If the third syllable were not extant, stress would most likely fall on the first syllable, as in *hombom* [ˈhɔ.ᵐbɔm] ‘banana sp.’ Additional words with stressed non-initial syllables that begin with prenasalized stops include the purported loans *imbange* [i.ᵐba.ŋe] ‘wonderful,’ which speakers understand to come from Kâte—probably *biang* ‘beauty, goodness, righteousness’ (Flierl and Strauss 1977:46)—and *imbogo* [i.ᵐbɔ.ɣɔ] ‘mistake, lie’ possibly from Kâte *bâgoic* ‘mistake, fraud’ (Flierl and Strauss 1977:32). If these are indeed borrowings from Kâte, the source of the initial *i-* of the Nungon forms is unclear. (The Timbe or Selepet languages are other possible sources for *imbange*, since the Timbe/Selepet counterpart to Nungon adjectivizer *-no* is *-nge*; cf. Timbe ‘good’: *olep-nge* (my field notes from an interview in Lae, March 2012).)

There are also a few words in which the prenasalized alveolar voiced stop begins a stressed syllable. An exhaustive list from the standing lexicon (June 2014) follows: *kondong* [kɔ.ᵐdɔŋ] ‘together,’ *indin* [i.ᵐdin] ‘as well,’ *kondok* [kɔ.ᵐdɔk̄] ‘pandanus sauce,’ *undip* [u.ᵐdip̄] ‘sky,’ and *onding* [ɔ.ᵐdin] ‘strong.’

A few words in the lexicon contain a non-prenasalized intervocalic voiced bilabial stop that begins a non-stressed syllable. These include: *obu* [ɔ.bu] ‘hand, arm’; *ibason* [i.ba.ᵐsɔn] ‘centipede,’ *ubit* [u.bit] ‘tree species,’ and the loans *babiya* [ˈba.bi.ja] ‘paper’ and *kabasi* [ˈkʰa.ba.si] ‘Chinese cabbage.’ Some of these words may have originated as compounds: the word for ‘centipede’ may be related to the word for ‘leech,’ *ibaa*, since this word is also used to describe tadpoles and other

animals with leech-like form. It is noteworthy that the expression used for ‘fish’ today, *top arap* ‘sea game,’ may be pronounced in fast speech as *tobarap* [‘tɔ.ba,rap̄]. It is quite possible that *ubit* was originally derived from *uup* ‘tree species,’ since the ending *-it* is also found in another plant name, *dirongit* ‘fern species characterized by hairy stems,’ which is transparently related to the word *dirong* ‘hair.’ The reason that the two loan words do not contain prenasalized /b/ may have to do with the possible perception by speakers that the first syllables of both words end in unreleased /p/, i.e. [‘baḗ.bi.ja], [‘kʰaḗ.ba.si].

It is the absence of a nasal in the noun *obu* ‘hand’ that differentiates it from the different noun *ombu* [‘ɔ.ᵐbu] ‘great-grandparent.’ This is the only instance of apparently contrastive prenasalization. This contrast serves as potential grounds for an alternative analysis of at least some purported instances of prenasalization as actually underlyingly a nasal segment followed by a stop. So far, this is the only such example of such contrast found.

As for the unvoiced stops, the lexicon has no instances of the sequence /mp/, compared with five of the sequence /nt/. The sequence /ngk/ occurs at least six times morpheme-internally in the lexicon, as well as occurring at morpheme boundaries within the Near Future paradigm suffix, *-ang-ka-*, and within the inflectional paradigm for the NG verb class (§5.1.5): these last two instances, however, seem to have underlying nasal segments followed by the unvoiced velar stop, not prenasalized velar stops.

Some speakers, especially of the older generations, prenasalize the intervocalic voiced stops in loans, yielding *sambat* [‘sa.ᵐbat̄] ‘the Sabbath’ and *Manggi* [‘ma.ᵑgi] ‘Maggi,’ for instance. Optional prenasalization of the sibilant /s/, as in the word *bising* [‘bi.siŋ] ~ [‘bm.siŋ] ‘grass,’ was introduced in §2.1.3.

#### **2.4.7 Special function of /ng/**

The velar nasal /ng/ serves a special role in verbal morphology. That is, the Dependent form of a verb (discussed in §5.3.1) comprises the root, for consonant-final verb roots, or the root plus a final velar nasal, for vowel-final roots. In some Finisterre-Huon languages (for instance, Nék and Ma Manda -

Linnasalo 2014 and Pennington 2014), vowel-final verb roots may serve on their own in multi-verb constructions; this is not the case for Nungon. Nungon consonant-final verb roots such as *mon-* ‘throw,’ *wet-* ‘3SG.O.kill,’ or *men-* ‘fold’ occur as bare roots *mon*, *wet*, and *men* in tight multi-verb constructions (see §5.3.1). In contrast, vowel-final verb roots such as *ongo-* ‘go,’ *hi-* ‘put,’ *doo-* ‘3NSG.O.kill,’ or *waga-* ‘rub’ never occur in bare root form. These roots must receive the Dependent (§6.1) verb suffix *-ng*, yielding *ongo-ng*, *hi-ng*, *doo-ng*, and *waga-ng*, in order to serve in tight multi-verb constructions. This ending is obligatory on all vowel-final verb root and does not vary based on phonological word-hood as it applies to other word classes. That is, while nouns such as *maa* ‘speech’ are sufficiently heavy to satisfy minimal phonological word requirements, equally-heavy verb roots such as *doo-* or *ongo-* may not also stand alone, without a final velar nasal.

#### 2.4.8 Vowel distribution

All vowels can occur in all positions in a word. The vowel /*ö*/ is the rarest of the vowels, with limited occurrence word-finally (although the common adjective *morö* [‘m<sub>0</sub>.r<sub>0</sub>] ends in this vowel). (This is a boon for the orthography. Many teenagers who were taught the Nungon orthography as children still leave out the diacritic when writing, so that /*o*/ appears the same as /*ö*/. But since /*o*/ is more than three times as frequent as /*ö*/, most often their writing is in line with the orthographic system.)

#### 2.4.9 Euphonic pairs and other expressive forms

Three expressive forms are mentioned here because of their marked patterns of phonemes. These are: onomatopoeic or ideophonic expressive forms, euphonic pairs, and onomatopoeic words. The few standard interjections in Nungon, including *öö* ‘assent,’ *ayi!* ‘shock, fear,’ and *yu!* ‘surprise at involuntary sudden motion’ are not phonologically aberrant.

**A. Expressives.** Nungon does not have ideophones in precisely the same way as many West African languages (or Southeast Asian languages) have them, as word-like elements that often do not quite fit into the phonological rules or syntactic structures of the rest of the grammar (Childs 1995: 247). I refer to the Nungon equivalent of the West African ideophones as ‘expressives.’ Nungon expressives allow complex syllable onsets, namely, syllable-initial consonant clusters where the second consonant

is the rhotic /r/, while all other Nungon word classes disallow such complex onsets. A difference between the West African-type ideophones and Nungon expressives is that every Nungon expressive X may serve as a light verb construction with the auxiliary *to-* ‘do,’ with meaning ‘do like X.’

Some expressives may be repeated for intensive, durative, or repetitive meaning. Although most expressives conform to Nungon basic syllable structure, a few expressives include complex syllable onsets conforming to the expressive syllable structure (see §2.4.1). These are all /kr/ clusters, such as *kruk kruk* [kruk̄ kruk̄] ‘rustling,’ except a single expressive *fit kumbrit* [fɪt̄ kʰuˈmbɾit̄], said to approximate the call of the chestnut-breasted cuckoo.

Some expressives may be described as onomatopoeic, while others are less clearly onomatopoeic. For instance, the expressive *pop* describes an unexpected break in rhythm of sawing or other continuous volitional physical motion using an implement (such as stirring a thick liquid back and forth). This is arguably onomatopoeic. The expressives *hottam* ‘release of the arrow from the bowstring’ and *hundum* ‘falling smack on the ground’ are probably also onomatopoeic. Some bodily function-related expressives are clearly onomatopoeic. There are, for instance, two ways to describe coughing; one is to use the non-expressive noun *toron* ‘cold virus,’ which may also describe symptoms of this virus: ‘snot/runny nose,’ ‘cough,’ ‘raspy throat.’ But another word for ‘cough’ is clearly onomatopoeic: *kouk*. This occurs singly or repeated, as:

2.3)[Kouk kouk]<sub>o</sub> ta-a-t.

cough cough do-PRES.SG-1SG

‘I do coughing.’

The word for ‘hiccup’ is *houk*. As mentioned in §2.3 above, this word is used to describe the glottal stop of those dialects in which it occurs phonetically; in those dialects, the word itself ends in a glottal stop: [hɔʊʔ]. The word for ‘sneeze’ is *akti*, with variant *aksi*, reminiscent of English *achoo*.

**B. Euphonic pairs.** A striking pattern in Nungon concerns pairs of words with identical consonant patterns, and the first word having the vowel /i/ in all syllables, and the second having a low or back vowel: usually, /a/ or /o/, but also /u/. This pattern, as in English *mish mash*, is familiar from many

other languages.<sup>3</sup> I call these pairs of words ‘euphonic pairs’ here. For instance, Nungon has the phrase *ginding gondong* ‘crooked,’ which seems to condense into the adjective *gindong-ni* ‘crooked-ADJ’, as well as *ginsik gansik* ‘crossed, e.g. legs’; *kip kup* and *misik musuk*, which belong to the subclass of words used in magic spells—note that /u/ in the second word is only found in this subclass; and *dindin dandan*, which describes water splashing. A secondary pattern is that the first word of the pair has the form  $C_1iC_2iC_3$  and the second word has the form  $C_1aC_2iC_3$ . A non-exhaustive list of exemplary euphonic pairs is in table 2.6.

<b>Table 2.6. Examples of euphonic pairs</b>	
<b>Nungon</b>	<b>English gloss</b>
Busop Dirin Doron	place name ( <i>busop</i> is a tree species)
dim dum	describes knocking/rapping; also used in magic spells
dindin dandan	describes water splashing
ginding gondong	crooked, as something that is prototypically straight
gindingding gondongdong	pitter-patter noise, such as that made by rats at night
ginsik gansik	crossed, as legs
giring gorong	chaos; too much talking; confusion
irik arak	spread-eagled (on back) on ground
kinding kondong	crossed
kinik konok	eerily quiet
kip kup	magic spell term; also used to describe rapping
kiririk kororok	crumbling in the sun because dried-out
misik musuk	magic spell term (possibly related to <i>misik</i> ‘suck’)
tigit tagat	describes the intricate lacing of vines across an old-style bamboo door to lock the door
nginik nganik	describes chaotic, loud speech
ning nong	grassbird; with wings outstretched, swaying from side to side, calls: “ <i>sik sok sik sok sik sok</i> ”
sirin soron	scrub-wren
Siring Sorong	name of waterway near Boksawin (Yau-speaking area)
tip tup	magic spell term

<sup>3</sup> To take just one example, characters in a Figuig Berber folktale are named *Qefqaf*, *Zefzaf*, and *Hefhaf* (Benamara 2011: 110).

#### 2.4.10 Loan word phonology

The Nungon mid-back vowel /*ö*/ [o] serves as the counterpart to Tok Pisin and English [o] [ɔ] in recent loans. That is, the Tok Pisin number *fo* ‘four’ is expressed in Nungon as *fö* [fo:]. Loans with intervocalic stops that would normally be either prenasalized or lenited in native Nungon words generally feature doubling or prenasalization of the stop to block lenition. The English (via Tok Pisin) loan *eitti* ‘80’ is pronounced [‘ɛit<sup>h</sup>:i], with a marked delay in release of the alveolar stop.

Prenasalization in loans such as the company name *Maggi* was discussed in §2.4.6.

As mentioned in §2.1.3, loans ending in consonants that may not serve as syllable codas in Nungon are given a final vowel, always /i/, in the speech of older speakers who are less familiar with Tok Pisin. Since the 1970s or so, children have been given /s/-final names related to the Bible, such as *Liwens*, *Jöel*, and *Meas*. Older speakers always pronounce these with a final /i/—as *Liwensi*, *Söli*, and *Measi*—while younger speakers pronounce them with the final fricative. Tok Pisin has similar word-final consonant restrictions to Nungon, so that English-originating words loaned into Nungon from Tok Pisin have likely already undergone the changes necessary to fit them to Nungon syllable structures; an example is *bilip* ‘belief.’

### 2.5 Phonetics and phonology of other Nungon dialects

Table 2.7 gives a brief overview of some phonetic (for instance, realization of word-final /k/ as the glottal stop) and phonological (for instance, elision of intervocalic nasals) differences between the Nungon dialects Towet, Yawan, Worin, Kotet, and Sagain.

	<b>Towet</b>	<b>Yawan</b>	<b>Worin</b>	<b>Kotet</b>	<b>Sagain</b>
word-final /k/	[k]		[ʔ]		
Present tense sg. suffix	[ha]	[ha]	[ka]	[ha]	[a]
word-initial fricatives	(f) (s) [h]		[f] [s] [h]		
	[hət] ‘wing’; [hət] ‘bowstring’		[fət] ‘wing’; [sət] ‘bowstring’		
expression of /t/ intervocally	[r]	[d]	[r]	[d]	[d]
rhotic or lateral realization of phoneme /r/	[r]	[l]	[r]	[l]	[l]
intervocalic consonant elision	[ma:] ‘speech’	[‘maŋ.ga.lu] ‘speech’	[‘ma.ta] ‘speech’	[‘maŋ.ga.lu] ‘speech’	[ma:] ‘speech’
	[‘nu.ŋɔŋ] ‘what’	[‘nu.ŋɔŋ] ‘what’	[‘nu.ŋɔŋ] ‘what’	[‘nu.ŋɔŋ] ‘what’	[‘nu.ʷɔŋ] ‘what’

## 2.6 Stress in non-verbs

Stress in Nungon is not contrastive. That is, there is only one minimal pair in the extant corpus that possibly exemplifies an instance in which stress could distinguish between two otherwise-identical words (this example, *iw’ip* ‘delicious’ and *iwip* ‘caterpillar type’ also differs in that one word is derived from a reduplicated adverb and the other is a mono-morphemic noun). Stress seems to be related to both quantity and quality: closed syllables, long vowels, and diphthongs attract stress, as does, to a lesser extent, the vowel /u/ (see §2.6.1, §2.7.1, and §2.7.4 below on the vowel /u/). Stress in nouns, adjectives and adverbs follows a different system than stress in verbs. Stress in non-verbs is described first, in this section; stress in verbs is described below, in §2.7.

### 2.6.1 Two-syllable words with open second syllables

Two-syllable words with open second syllables are almost always stressed on the first syllable. The only exceptions in the lexicon as of June 2014 are:

*akka* [a'k<sup>h</sup>:a] 'stream-/riverbank' (possibly from Kâte *aka* 'wall, barrier' (Flierl and Strauss 1977:3))

*dogu* [dɔ'ɣu] 'spirit, picture'

*imu* [i'mu] 'food prepared to eat away from home'

*ittu* [i't<sup>h</sup>:u] 'dream' (possibly derived from compounding the Dependent form, *it*, of the verb *it-* 'be' with the Dubitative word *hu*)

*muyu* [mu'ju] 'sheer willpower'

Note that all of these end in a CV syllable with /u/ as the nucleus except *akka*. Its anomalous stress might have to do with its underlying foreignness, since it may be a loan from Kâte. One Towet speaker pronounced Nungon *akka* in isolation with initial [h], as [hak<sup>h</sup>:a].

Although all of the examples above involve an open second syllable ending in /u/, there are numerous examples of two-syllable words with /u/ as the nucleus of the second, open syllable and stress on the first syllable. These include: *obu* ['ɔ.bu] 'hand'; *homu* ['hɔ.mu] 'sister-in-law'; *moru* ['mɔ.ru] 'string'; and *uru* ['u.ru] 'banana variety,' as well as the baby talk words *dudu* ['du.du] 'genitals' and *tutu* ['t<sup>h</sup>u.t<sup>h</sup>u] 'breast; tip of banana flower stalk.'

### 2.6.2 Two-syllable words with closed second syllables

Two-syllable words with closed second syllables vary in stress assignment. Most two-syllable words with a closed second syllable and an open first syllable have stress on the second syllable, but there are quite a few exceptions, as shown in table 2.8, below:

**Table 2.8. Stress in some two-syllable words with closed second syllables**

<b>First syllable V, unstressed</b>	<b>First syllable V, stressed</b>	<b>First syllable CV, unstressed</b>	<b>First syllable CV, stressed</b>
<i>agep</i> [a'gɛp] 'closed'	<i>ewek</i> ['ɛ.βɛk] 'snake'	<i>dirong</i> [di'rɔŋ] 'hair'	<i>Worin</i> ['βɔ.rin] 'Worin'
<i>ingguk</i> [iŋ'guk̄] 'one'	<i>emok</i> ['e.mək] 'fighting'	<i>höan</i> [ho'wan] 'meeting'	<i>Towet</i> ['tɔ.βɛt̄] 'Towet'
<i>irot</i> [i'rɔt] 'insides'	<i>omok</i> ['ɔ.mək] 'sitting'	<i>ganang</i> [ga'nan] 'inside'	<i>nungon</i> [ 'nu.ŋɔn] 'what, what-not'
<i>omop</i> [ɔ'mɔp] 'pandanus'	<i>inggun</i> ['i.ŋgun] 'throat, accent'	<i>hipat</i> [hi'pʰat̄] 'coconut'	<i>gamop</i> [ 'ga.mɔp̄] 'yawn (n.)'
<i>oruk</i> [ɔ'ruk] 'brother'		<i>gungak</i> [gu'ŋak̄] 'child'	<i>Yawan</i> ['ja.βan] 'Yawan'
<i>ötek</i> [o'tʰɛk] 'throat'			<i>hinom</i> ['hi.nɔm] 'intensifier'
<i>usak</i> [u'sak] 'tree species'			<i>yangam</i> [ 'ja.ŋam] 'face'

### 2.6.3 Three-syllable words

Three-syllable single-morpheme words are usually stressed on the first syllable (the antepenult).

Examples are:

*ambarak* ['am.ba.rak̄] 'all'

*ambesek* ['am.be.sɛk̄] 'close by'

*kamindek* ['kʰa.min.dɛk̄] 'fern tree sp.'

*kanarom* ['kʰa.na.rɔm] 'bird sp.'

*bosogot* ['bɔ.sɔ.ɣɔt̄] 'banana var.'

*songgorong* ['sɔŋ.gɔ.rɔŋ] 'yellow'

Exceptions with penultimate stress do exist, however, including:

*imöndim* [i'mo.˦dim] ‘tree sp.’

*hanggamba* [haŋ'gam.ba] ‘flying fox’

*isuna* [i'su.na] ‘day after tomorrow’ and its derivative *isunon* [i.su'nɔn] ‘day after the day after tomorrow’

*orongmök* [ɔ'rɔŋ.mök̚] ‘trap’ (from the Dependent verbal form *oro-ng* ‘lay.down-DEP and the nominalized form *mö-k* of the verb *mö-* ‘plant’)

*Pahamit* [pʰa'ha.mit] ‘name of one area above Towet’

#### 2.6.4 Four-syllable words

Four- and five-syllable monomorphemic words are rare in Nungon. Among the longer monomorphemic words that do exist, stress is unpredictable. A nearly-exhaustive list of four-syllable and five-syllable monomorphemic words in the extant lexicon (a few more long personal names are in §3.1.14) follows:

*Hesienare* [,hɛ.si.ɰɛ'na.rɛ] ‘Towet man’s name’

*Dirienare* [,di.ri.ɰɛ'na.rɛ] ‘Towet man’s name’

*Kurawiöng* [,ku.ra.βi'jɔŋ] ‘place name in Towet forest’

*Sogipböno* [ˈsɔ.gip˦.bo.no] ‘Thursday, from Kâte’; usually pronounced as the three-syllable [ˈsɔip˦.bo.no], except in a very slow register by certain people.

*somokoyo* [sɔ.mɔ'kʰɔ.jɔ] ‘forest plant sp. with seeds eaten by birds’

*sowewerang* [,sɔ.βɛ.βɛ'raŋ] ‘plant sp. eaten raw by humans with ginger’

*Söndanggie* [so˦ˈda.ɰgi.ɰɛ] ‘Saturday,’ from Kâte; originally multimorphemic in Kâte, comprising *Sönda*, ‘Sunday,’ and *gie* ‘work’ (Flierl and Strauss 1977:105,339)

*yembönggire* [jɛ<sup>m</sup>bo.ŋgi.rɛ] ‘large star’

### 2.6.5 Stress-shifting suffixes

Some suffixes attract stress to the final syllable of the word before the suffix. This was noted in §2.4.6 above, since prenasalized bilabial stops usually can only serve as the onset of stressed syllables after stress has moved through suffixation.

The suffixes that induce stress movement are the singular pertensive suffixes *-na* ‘1SG.POSS,’ *-a* ‘2SG.POSS,’ and *-no/-o* ‘3SG.POSS,’ and the adjectivizing suffixes *-no/-o* and *-ni*. In some two-syllable words, stress remains on the first syllable of the word even after suffixation; these words (listed below) all have the syllable pattern *CaCa(C)*.

Words that are already stressed on the final syllable maintain that stress under suffixation, as in the following examples:

*dirong* [di'rɔŋ] ‘hair’      *dirong-ni* [di'rɔŋ.ni] ‘hairy’

*wonom* [wɔ'nɔm] ‘facial hair’      *wonom-ni* [wɔ'nɔm.ni] ‘having a beard/moustache’

Examples of behavior under suffixation for all non-verb syllable structures with stress on the first or second syllable follow.

### Vowel-final two-syllable words

*obu* [ɔ'bu] ‘hand’

*obu-na* [ɔ'bu.na] ‘my hand’

*homu* [hɔ'mu] ‘in-law’

*homu-na* [hɔ'mu.na] ‘my in-law’

*owi* [ɔ'βi] ‘grandmother’

*owi-ya* [ɔ'βi.ja] ‘your grandmother’

*ura* [u'ra] ‘grandfather’

*ura-ya* [u'ra.ja] ‘your grandfather’

*awang* [a'βaŋ] ‘flesh above hips’

*awang-o* [a'βa.ŋɔ] ‘his/her side flesh’

### Consonant-final two-syllable words

*inggun* [i.ŋun] ‘accent, throat’;

*inggur-o* [i.ŋu.rɔ]

‘throat-3SG.POSS’: ‘her/his throat, accent’

*nimbuharak* [ni.mbu.ha.rak] ‘sweat’;

*nimbuharak-ni* [ni.mbu.ha.rak.ni]

‘sweat-ADJ’: ‘sweaty’

*hinom* [hi.nɔm] ‘true, old’;

*hinom-no* [hi.nɔm.nɔ]

‘old-ADJ’: ‘aged’

### Three-syllable words

*dombisum* [dɔ.mbi.sum] ‘morning’;

*dombisum-no* [dɔ.mbi.sum.nɔ] ‘that  
morning’

*kororok* [kʰɔ.rɔ.rɔk] ‘brittleness’;

*kororok-ni* [kʰɔ.rɔ.rɔk.ni] ‘brittle’

*bosagot* [bɔ.sa.ɣɔt] ‘banana variety’;

*bosagot-na* [bɔ.sa.ɣɔt.na] ‘my *bosagot*  
bananas’

### Non-moving stress with CaCa(C) syllable structure

*dada* [da.da] ‘older sibling (baby talk)’

*dada-na* [da.da.na] ‘my older sibling’

*mama* [ma.ma] ‘mother (baby talk)’

*mama-ya* [ma.ma.ja] ‘your mother’

*waga* [βa.ɣa] ‘dish’

*waga-no* [βa.ɣa.nɔ] ‘his/her dish’

*yama* [ja.ma] ‘door’

*yama-no* [ja.ma.nɔ] ‘its door’

*yangam* [ja.ŋam] ‘face’

*yangam-o* [ja.ŋa.mɔ] ‘his/her face’

*bangan* [ba.ŋan] ‘neck’

*bangan-o* [ba.ŋa.nɔ] ‘his/her neck’

*taman~tanman* ['tʰa.man]~['tʰan.man] ‘nose’      *taman-o~tanman-o* ['tʰa.ma.nɔ]~['tʰan.ma.nɔ]  
‘his/her nose’

My name, *Hana*, fits this pattern: there is no stress change when the 1sg pertensive suffix is affixed for endearment, as *Hana-na* ['ha.na.na] ‘my dear Hannah.’

### 2.6.6 Stress with multiple suffixes

When two suffixes are stacked together, as when a word-class-changing suffix is added after a non-word-class-changing suffix, or two word-class-changing suffixes are adjacent, stress does not change further. That is, a suffix is never stressed, even when it is the first syllable before another stress-shifting suffix:

*daan* [da:n]              *daar-o* ['da:rɔ] ‘eye-3SG.POSS’              *daar-o-ni* ['da:rɔ.ni] ‘eye-3SG.POSS-ADJ’  
‘eye’                      ‘his/her eye’                      ‘clairvoyant’

### 2.6.7 Stress in compounds

Compound nouns may be distinguished from coordination by juxtaposition through their phonological word status (see §2.4.2); the phonological word criterion most easily applicable to compounds is that there be only one primary stressed syllable per phonological word.

The Nungon word for ‘couple,’ *oemma~oemna* ['ɔɪm:a][ 'ɔɪm.na] is clearly related to the words *oe* ‘woman’ and *amna* ‘man.’ The word for ‘people,’ *oemna* [ɔɪ'am.na] even more transparently combines the words *oe* ‘woman’ and *amna* ‘man.’ This is a compound noun, with a single primary stress on the first syllable of the erstwhile independent word *amna* ‘man.’ If a speaker wishes to coordinate the independent word *oe* ‘women’ (Nungon nouns are unmarked for number in most contexts; see §4.1) with the independent word *amna* ‘men’ by juxtaposition, the speaker must pronounce each word with its own stress, that is, *oe amna* ['ɔɪ 'am.na] ‘women and men.’

## 2.7 Stress in verbs

Most verbal roots are one or two syllables, though derived roots may be up to three syllables. One to three suffixes of one syllable each are suffixed after the verb root, and for certain verbs an O-referencing prefix is added to the verb root as well (§2.8.5). Verbal roots must end in a vowel or in /t/ or /n/; a sub-class of verbal roots (discussed in §5.1.2) end in a vowel for purposes of creation of dependent forms, but the root alternates between vowel-final and /p/-final forms under final verb inflection. I discuss stress in inflected final verbs in §2.7.1, with attention to non-final verb forms in §2.7.2, §2.7.3, §2.7.4, and §2.7.5, and stress in deverbal nominalizations is discussed in §2.7.6.

### 2.7.1 Stress in final verbs

Final verbs are usually stressed on the first syllable of the word, unless inflectional suffixation creates diphthongs in other syllables—then these diphthongs tend to be stressed.

<i>ongo-go-morok</i> [ˈɔ.ŋɔ.ɣɔ.mɔ.rɔkʰ]	‘go-RP-2/3DU’	‘the two of you/them went’
<i>ep-pa-t</i> [ˈɛpʰ.at]	‘come-PRES.SG-1SG’	‘I come/am coming’
<i>aa-ni-ng-ma</i> [ˈaːniŋ.ma]	‘3SG.O.see-IRR.PL-2/3PL-RF’	‘you/they will see’
<i>duo-hi!</i> [ˈdu.wɔ.hi]	‘sleep-IMM.IMP.2SG’	‘sleep!’
<i>ka-mo-na</i> [ˈkʰa.mɔ.na]	‘2NSG.O.give-IMM.IMP.1PL’	‘let us give to you!’

The exception to the first-syllable stress rule for inflected final verbs occurs in disyllabic words comprising a monosyllabic vowel-final verb root followed by a monosyllabic suffix (or combination of suffixes totaling a single syllable), in which the nucleus of the suffix is the vowel /u/. In these instances, stress falls on the second syllable, not the first syllable. The two suffixes or combinations of suffixes that lead to this pattern are: the Delayed Imperative 2/3pl suffix *-nung*, and the Remote Past suffix with 2/3pl S/A suffix combination, *-gu-ng*. That is, verbs such as *hi-gu-ng* ‘put-RP-2/3PL’ and *na-gu-ng* ‘eat-RP-2/3PL’ tend to be stressed on the second, final syllable. In contrast, the Present tense forms *hi-wa-ng* ‘put-PRES.NSG-2/3PL’ and *na-wa-ng* ‘eat-PRES.NSG-2/3PL’ are normally stressed on the first syllable.

When the verb root is consonant-final, however, as in *wet-du-ng* ‘3SG.O.beat-RP-2/3PL’ (illustrated in the waveform and spectrogram in Figure 2.2), or di- or tri-syllabic, as in *ongo-gu-ng* ‘go-RP-2/3PL,’ stress is on the first syllable of the word. This seems to be further evidence that the quality of syllable nuclei is a factor in stress assignment: the high back vowel /u/ seems to attract stress, but to a lesser degree than does vowel weight.

The Near Future inflections have a secondary stress on the first element of what is analyzed as a historical auxiliary verb (see §5.4.4):

<i>dawi-wang-ka-t</i> [ˈda.βi.waŋ,kʰat˥]	‘search-PROB.SG-NF-1SG’ ‘I will search’
<i>honggit-dang-ka-morok</i> [ˈhɔ.ŋɡit.dɑŋ,kʰa.mɔ.rɔk˥]	‘grab-PROB.DU-NF-2/3DU’ ‘you will grab’
<i>ep-nang-ka-mong</i> [ˈɛp.nɑŋ,kʰa.mɔŋ]	‘come-PROB.PL-NF-1PL’ ‘we will come’

In verbs of the morpho-phonological ‘Ø-class’ (see §5.1.4) in which the *-i* of the 2sg imperative suffix joins with the final *-o* of the verbal root to create a diphthong, this means that stress moves to the diphthong if the verbal root is two syllables or more. Thus, here the first syllable of the inflected verb is not stressed:

<i>ongo-i</i> [ɔ˥˩ŋɔ]	‘go-IMM.IMP.2SG’	‘go!’
<i>indongo-i</i> [ɪ.ɪ˥˩dɔ˥˩ŋɔ]	‘stand.up-IMM.IMP.2SG’	‘stand up!’

### 2.7.2 Stress in Medial and Dependent verbs

Medial verbs take three main forms (§6.1). The Dependent form takes the form of the bare verbal root, if the root ends with a consonant, or the verbal root plus suffix *-ng* if the root ends with a vowel; the Dependent verb form must combine with other verbs or auxiliaries; it may not stand alone. The Medial form, however, may stand on its own within a clause chain without partnering with other verbs or auxiliaries, and in some cases may in fact end a clause or serve as a command in its own right; this takes the form of the Dependent verbal form plus the suffix *-a*. Finally, a reduced form of

the verbal root occurs only in Causative and other idiomatic constructions (see §6.8). We first discuss stress in the uninflected Dependent form.

### 2.7.3 Stress in Dependent verbs

Dependent verbs often combine with independent forms to create one phonological word (see §2.4.2 for all phonological word criteria). Phonological word status is here analyzed according to two criteria: whether the word bears stress independently of other words in the utterance, and whether the final segment of the word is allowed as a word-final segment in Nungon. The two examples below illustrate the verbs *ongo-* ‘go’ and *tombot-* ‘wrap’ in past Habitual aspect, which is expressed with the lexical verb in Dependent form, followed by the verb *it-* ‘be’ as auxiliary.

2.4)[<sup>1</sup>ɔŋ.ɔŋ.it:duŋ]

Ongo-ng=it-du-ng.

go-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL

‘They used to go.’

2.5)[<sup>1</sup>tʰɔ.m̩bɔ.rit:do̩.rɔk̩]

Tombot=it-do-rok.

wrap.DEP=be-RP-2SG

‘You used to wrap (it).’

The inflected final verb *it-* ‘be’ in these examples bears only secondary stress, with primary stress on the initial syllable of the lexical verb root *it-* follows. When the verb root is consonant-final, its Dependent form simply comprises the verb root itself. The final consonant of these forms lenites to [r] in Towet Nungon before the auxiliary *it-* ‘be,’ as in (2.5). Towet Nungon does not permit [r] phonological word-finally, so this is a clue that *tombor=it-do-rok* serves as a single phonological word. The single phonological word status of *ongo-ng=it-du-ng* above is less clear, since [ŋ] is permitted at the end of a phonological word. Speakers dislike separating the two components *ongo-ng* and *it-du-ng* in the past Habitual construction with a pause, but the Dependent form *ongo-ng* is found elsewhere as a phonological word in its own right, bearing stress and serving before a pause.

The following examples are multi-verb constructions with two verbal roots in Dependent form, followed by the auxiliary ‘be’ in final verb form. In these cases, the Dependent verb that is closest to the final verb ‘be’ is incorporated into one phonological word with inflected ‘be,’ while the other Dependent verb stands alone, bearing stress. In the second sentence, the Dependent verb closest to the final verb ‘be’ is actually another instance of ‘be.’

2.6)[ 'həŋ 'na.ŋi.ra.mə,rək̃]

Ho-ng            na-ng=ir-a-morok.

cook-DEP        eat-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3DU

‘The two of you are (always) cooking and eating (it).’

The first Dependent verb in (2.6) has a vowel-final root, *ho-*. The question arises whether, if this were replaced by a consonant-final verb root—like *tombot-* ‘wrap’ from (2.5)—and this preceded a vowel-initial verb instead of the consonant-initial *na-* ‘eat’ of (2.6), the final /t/ or /n/ of the consonant-final root/Dependent form would lenite to /r/. That is, could a construction like that of (2.6) ever comprise a single phonological word. In fact, there are no examples in the corpus of consonant-final verb roots like *tombot-* ‘wrap’ preceding vowel-initial verbs in multi-verb constructions like (2.6). But the probable answer, judging from the pause possible between *ho-ng* and *na-ng=ir-a-morok* in (2.6), is no: most likely, there would still be a pause even if *ho-ng* were replaced by a /t/-final form, and *na-ng* were replaced by a vowel-initial form.

#### 2.7.4 Stress in Medial verbs

In Medial verbs, which always end in *-a*, the first syllable is usually stressed when there is no Different Subject marked on the verb, as in the following examples:

<i>ongo-ng-a</i> [ 'ɔ.ŋɔ.ŋa]	‘go-DEP-MV’	‘going’
<i>na-ng-a</i> [ 'na.ŋa]	‘eat-DEP-MV’	‘eating’
<i>ir-a</i> [ 'i.ra]	‘be-MV’	‘being’
<i>bangar-a</i> [ 'ba.ŋa.ra]	‘wear.at.neck-MV’	‘wearing around the neck’

Different Subject suffixes for 2sg, 3sg, 2/3du, and 2/3pl (see §6.3) begin with the diphthong-creating vowels /i/ and /u/. If these suffixes are added to verbal roots that end in vowels, a diphthong is created, and stress shifts to the diphthong, as in the following pairs:

*iso-ha-k*      [i̯.ɬ.hak]      ‘dawn-PRES.SG-3SG’      ‘it dawns’

*iso-un-a*      [i̯.ɬu.na]      ‘dawn-DS.3SG-MV’      ‘it having dawned’

*poto-go-k*      [pɔ̯.tɔ̯.ɣɔk]      ‘refuse-RP-3SG’      ‘s/he/it refused’

*poto-un-a*      [pɔ̯.tɔ̯.na]      ‘refuse-DS.3SG-MV’      ‘s/he/it having refused’

*poto-go-morok* [pɔ̯.tɔ̯.ɣɔ.mɔ̯.rɔk]      ‘refuse-RP-2/3DU’      ‘the two of them refused’

*poto-uny-a*      [pɔ̯.tɔ̯n.ja]      ‘refuse-DS.2/3DU-MV’      ‘the two of them having refused’

*poto-ha-rok*      [pɔ̯.tɔ̯.ha.rɔk]      ‘refuse-PRES.SG-2SG’      ‘you refuse’

*poto-i-ya*      [pɔ̯.tɔ̯.ja]      ‘refuse-DS.2SG-MV’      ‘you having refused’

Consonant-final verbal roots maintain stress on the initial syllable of the root under the Different Subject paradigm, since no diphthongs are then created, as in the following example:

*humbor-a*      [hu̯.m̯bɔ̯.ra]      ‘carry.on.shoulder-MV’      ‘carrying on the shoulder’

*humbor-un-a*      [hu̯.m̯bɔ̯.ru.na]      ‘carry.on.shoulder-DS.3SG-MV’      ‘s/he having carried on the  
shoulder’

### 2.7.5 Reduced verbal roots used in the Causative and Iterative constructions

The Dependent verb forms inflect for S/A only in the Causative constructions (§6.8) and in the Iterative construction (§6.6.3). Here, the phonological word status of the inflected Dependent verb depends on which person-number suffix it takes, and the number of syllables in the verb root.

With monosyllabic verb roots, the inflected Dependent 2sg and 2/3pl forms are monosyllabic with form (C)V, where V may be either a short vowel or a diphthong. When V is a short vowel, as in *t-i* ‘SG.O.take-CAUS.2SG’ and *t-u* ‘SG.O.take-CAUS.2/3PL,’ the inflected Dependent form tends to cliticize to the preceding word. This is the case in the following example:

2.7)[‘*haŋ.mi moŋ’kun*]

Hai-ng=m-i	möng-kun.
cut-DEP=give-CAUS.2SG	fall-IMM.IMP.2SG

‘Cut it down.’ (Literally: ‘By your cutting it, let it fall.’)

Whenever the inflected Dependent form is not (C)V, with V being a short vowel, the form is an independent phonological word, as in the next example:

2.8)[‘*haŋ ‘mɔ.ra moŋ’gɔk̄*]

Hai-ng	mo-ra	möng-go-k.
cut-DEP	give-CAUS.1SG	fall-RP-3SG

‘I cut it down.’ (Literally: ‘By my cutting it, it fell.’)

### 2.7.6 Verbal and non-verbal roots reduplicated

Both verbal roots and non-verbs may be reduplicated to create single phonological words. These display different stress patterns. When verbal roots are reduplicated, it is usually the second instance of the reduplicand that bears primary stress (in the case of di- or tri-syllabic verb roots, it is always the first syllable of the second instance of the root that is stressed). In contrast, when non-verbs are reduplicated, it is usually the first instance of the reduplicand that bears primary stress—and this stressed syllable commonly retains stress even after suffixation to the entire word of a stress-shifting suffix.

### Verbal roots reduplicated:

*ew'ep* 'coming'      *ep* 'come' + *ep* 'come'

*id'it* 'life'      *it* 'exist' + *it* 'exist'

### A noun reduplicated:

*'mön.mön* 'warm'      *mön* 'steam' + *mön* 'steam'

With other words that have reduplicated form, it may be difficult to tell synchronically whether the word originated in a verbal root or non-verbal root—or whether it is inherently reduplicated in form.

Such a word is the following:

*'man.man* 'dry'

In general, reduplicated non-verbal forms seem to maintain the stress pattern of the bare form even when a suffix is added. That is, *manman-o* 'dry-ADJ' and *mönmör-o* 'warm-ADJ' are both stressed on the first syllable, despite the presence here of a stress-shifting suffix *-o*. This contrasts with reduplicated verbal forms, in which the second instance of the reduplicand is always stressed.

## 2.8 Phonological Processes

Prefixing, reduplication of verbal roots, suffixation, and other processes that create single phonological words lead to change in regular, predictable ways. In general, when a suffix beginning with the high front vowel /i/ is attached to a word or root ending in the lowest of the three back vowels, /o/, the /o/ is elided and the /i/ remains. There are exceptions to this general rule in some inflectional paradigms, and in some cases this elision does not occur in the speech of more conservative speakers. Only with /o/-initial verb roots does the initial vowel of the root elide after the negative proclitic *ma=*. Thus, /o/ can be considered a weak vowel with the tendency to elide when combined with other vowels through morphological processes.

### 2.8.1 Vowel combinations

- A. When the proclitic *ma=* is added to a verb or deverbal nominalization beginning with the short vowel /o/, the /o/ is elided and the /a/ of *ma=* remains.

ongo-go-t	‘go-RP-1SG’	‘I went’
ma=ngo-go-t	‘NEG=go-RP-1SG’	‘I did not go’
oro hi-wa-t	‘understand put-NP-1SG’	‘I understood’
ma=ro hi-wa-t	‘NEG=understand put-NP-1SG’	‘I didn’t understand’

- B. When the proclitic *ma=* is added to a verb beginning with a diphthong that begins with /o/, however, the diphthong remains as it is, and there is an epenthetic glottal stop between the /a/ of *ma=* and the diphthong.

2.9) {Gaams orog-o i-in-a}, {{bips ma=o-i-k}}.

kunai.thatch good-ADJ be-DS.3SG-MV rain NEG=descend-IRR.SG-3SG

‘If the thatch is good, rain won’t descend (inside).’ (Note that the verb used to describe rain falling in general is *mö-*, ‘fall,’ not *oo-* ‘descend’)

- C. Long vowels are reduced to short vowels when followed by a suffix beginning with one of the diphthong-creating vowels /i/, /ö/, or /u/. For instance, if the high vowel /i/ is suffixed to a word ending in a long vowel such as /oo/, the diphthong /oi/ results; there are no extra-long diphthongs such as \*/ooi/.

*haa* ‘land area; weather’ with Locative suffix *-in* yields *hain*, with a diphthong nucleus.

*oo-* ‘descend’ with Remote Future and 3sg person/number fused suffix *-ik* yields *oik*, with a diphthong nucleus.

*aa-* ‘see’ with 3sg Different Subject suffix *-un* yields *aun*, with a diphthong nucleus.

### 2.8.2 Reduplication

- A. When a root beginning in a vowel and ending in /p/ is reduplicated, the first /p/ lenites to /w/. E.g.: *ep + ep = ewep* ‘to come’

- B. **When a root beginning in /h/ and ending in /k/ is reduplicated, the /kh/ combination at the reduplication boundary becomes /g/, expressed as the velar fricative [ɣ] unless in the environment of the front high vowel /i/. E.g.: *hök + hök = högök* ‘white’; *ho-k + ho-k = hogok* ‘cooking’; *hi-k + hi-k = higik* ‘putting’**
- C. **When a root beginning in /h/ and ending in /p/ is reduplicated, the /ph/ combination at the reduplication boundary becomes [β]. This may be seen in: *hip + hip = hiwip*, in *yama hiwip* ‘old-style door with bamboo latch.’**

Reduplication rules B and C above relate to realization of underlying sequences /kh/ and /ph/.

These generalizations may be contrasted with the result of encliticization of /h/-initial grammatical relation markers to /k/- and /p/-final words, where there is no fricativization (see following section).

### 2.8.3 Suffixation and encliticization

Nungon has two major types of bound morphemes, referred to here as affixes and clitics. These two groups are determined based on a combination of phonological and syntactic properties (in accordance with cross-linguistic norms for clitic- and affix-hood set out in Zwicky 1985, Zwicky and Pullum 1983, and Aikhenvald 2002).

Neither affixes nor clitics ordinarily bear stress or form independent phonological words (according to criteria in §2.4.2). Here, speakers’ behaviour in groping speech is telling (see Heath 1985: 91 on ‘hesitation forms’ in Moroccan Arabic). While affixes are never separable from their host words, speakers groping for the right term may separate a grammatical relation-marking enclitic from the constituent it marks.<sup>4</sup> Further, some clitics (see §3.5.4) have extended uses as independent words. For instance, the enclitic =*ma*, which marks relative and subordinate final clauses (§12.3, §12.5, §12.6), has an extended function as linker between stretches of discourse (§12.6.3). In this function, it

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<sup>4</sup> There is as yet no data on whether this is possible for the negating proclitic *ma=*. This is termed a proclitic and not a prefix because it usually does not prompt vowel change in vowel-initial verb roots; instead, it is followed by an epenthetic glottal stop before the verb root.

is phonetically lengthened and stands alone as an independent phonological and grammatical word. Such flexibility is not found with affixes.

Further, clitics do not induce sound change in their hosts. For instance, object person/number-referencing prefixes (§5.3.2) induce vowel change in vowel-initial roots, described in §2.8.5. The negating proclitic *ma=*, in contrast, is followed by an epenthetic glottal stop before all vowel-initial verb roots except those beginning in short /o/: in most instances, there is no change to the initial vowel of the verb root. Some suffixes attract stress to the syllable before the suffix (§2.6.5); no clitics induce stress shifts within the host word. While the adjectivizing suffix *-ni* (§3.2.3) is sometimes preceded by an epenthetic alveolar stop /t/ after vowel-final words (§3.2.5), enclitics never prompt sound change in their hosts. Instead, the initial consonant of the enclitic assimilates to the place of articulation of the final consonant of the preceding word.

Syntactically, affixes are more selective than clitics in the type of host to which they attach, and only have scope over their immediate host. For instance, pertensive suffixes on nouns have scope only over their host noun, while grammatical relation-marking enclitics have scope over an entire noun phrase. Further, pertensive suffixes are limited in attaching only to nouns, and only to certain possessable types of nouns (§3.1); in contrast, grammatical relation-marking enclitics may occur with a range of types of noun phrases and deverbal nominalizations (see §8.6 for the possibilities with one grammatical relation-marking suffix). While the negating proclitic *ma=* may only occur with verbs, it has scope over an entire predicate, while object person-number-indexing verbal prefixes have scope only over the verb root to which they are prefixed. This is clear from multi-verb predicates (‘tight multi-verb constructions’: see §11.2); these can only be negated with *ma=* in one place—on the first verb of the predicate—but the same object argument may be referenced multiple times, through a prefix on each verb of the predicate.

The Nungon pertensive marking paradigm (§4.1) and the Nungon comitative marker (§8.8) comprise split systems, combining suffixation with free elements or clitics. Nungon pertensive markers for singular Possessors are monosyllabic suffixes. In contrast, Nungon pertensive markers for

non-singular Possessors are disyllabic independent words, homophonous with the non-singular emphatic personal pronouns (§7.1.2). Although these are grammatically bound in that they are dependent on the head noun of an NP, and cannot occur independently with the same pertensive meaning, they are phonologically independent words. Nungon's neighboring language, Nukna, shows the same split in pertensive marking (Matthew Taylor, personal communication, 2012; and Taylor 2013: 25). Similarly, after consonant-final nouns, the comitative marker is phonologically a suffix, *-ot*, inducing change in preceding consonants according to usual rules of suffixation (§2.8.4). It still may have scope over an entire possessive NP even as it is phonologically un-detachable, even in hesitant speech, from its host. After vowels, comitative marking is through an enclitic, *=rot*, which may be detached in hesitating speech from its host, and follows a range of complex NPs, including relative clauses, that are never marked with *-ot*.

All types of affixation in Nungon are considered here; that is, the following summaries apply to all of: the system of verbal inflectional affixes (person-number-indexing, switch-reference marking, and tense, mood and modality-marking), affixes that attach to nouns and NPs, affixes that can affix to members of many word classes, and suffixes with clausal scope that may be attached after the final inflectional suffix of inflected final verbs.

#### **2.8.4 Suffixation**

Word-final consonants lenite or change form before vowel-initial suffixes, but they do not change before consonant-initial suffixes—when a consonant-initial suffix is attached to a consonant-final word, it is the initial consonant of the suffix that is likely to undergo assimilation to the place of articulation of the final consonant of the word to which it is suffixed. Word-final vowels are not altered significantly before consonant- or vowel-initial suffixes; nor do word-final vowels prompt change in the initial segments of suffixes that follow them.

The patterns of lenition and alternation for word-final consonants before vowel-initial suffixes are outlined below. As expected from the rules underlying consonant allophony (§2.4.4), the word-final unreleased voiceless stops all fricativize before vowel-initial suffixes. Also as expected (§2.4.4),

word-final bilabial and velar nasals /m/ and /ng/ undergo no change before vowel-initial suffixes. But most instances of the word-final alveolar nasal are realized as tapped or trilled [r] before vowel-initial suffixes—in verbal inflections, as well as in nouns and adjectives.

**Word-final /p/:** Before vowel-initial suffixes, word-final /p/ is realized as the bilabial voiced fricative [β]. E.g.: reduplicated root *narup narup* ‘soft’ becomes *narup naruw-o* when changed into the attribute of something with the suffix *-o*. Other examples: *omop* ‘pandanus nut (TP)’; *omow-ot* ‘beside pandanus nut (i.e., cooked alongside/with p. n.)’; *Bap* ‘mother’s brother’; *baw-a* ‘your (sg.) mother’s brother,’ *baw-a-in* ‘your (sg.) mother’s two brothers.’ *Hap* ‘dog,’ *haw-a* ‘your dog(s).’

**Word-final /t/:** Before vowel-initial suffixes, such as *-a*, *-o*, and *-ot*, word-final /t/ is realized as [r], which may be either flapped or trilled. E.g.: *ketket* ‘boy’; *ketker-a* ‘your boy,’ *ketker-ot* ‘with the boy(s).’ In one expression, the first /t/ of the reduplicated root of *it-* ‘be,’ *it-it* becomes voiced, yielding *idit* ‘life.’

**Word-final /k/:** When followed by a vowel-initial suffix, the final /k/ of words ending in that consonant lenites to [g], realized as the voiced fricative [ɣ] except when preceded or followed by /i/, when it is realized as [g]. E.g.: *daik* ‘eyebrow,’ *daig-a* ‘your (sg.) eyebrow,’ *daig-o* ‘his/her eyebrow.’ *Gungak* ‘child’; *gungag-ot* ‘with the child(ren)’; *saksak* ‘clean’ becomes *saksag-o* with the attribute suffix *-o*.

**Word-final /m/:** Words ending in /m/ maintain this consonant before vowel-initial suffixes. E.g.: *hum* ‘cold(ness)’ becomes the adjective *hum-o*, ‘cold.’ *Umum* ‘warmness, comfortable warm feeling’ becomes *umum-o*, ‘warm.’ When accompanied, *mam* ‘aunt’ becomes *mam-ot* ‘with Aunt.’

**Word-final /n/:** Words ending in /n/ behave in one of two ways before vowel-initial suffixes. Some words maintain /n/ with no changes. Most words I’ve collected that end in /n/ change the /n/ to [r] before vowel-initial suffixes and enclitics, e.g.: *kombön* ‘stomach’; *kombör-a* ‘your (sg.) stomach,’ *kombör-o* ‘her/his stomach,’ *kombör-ot* ‘beside the stomach.’ Also, *mönmön*, ‘heat’ becomes *mönmör-o* with the adjectivizing suffix *-o*. But *nan* ‘father’ and *gomon* ‘red’ maintain the final /n/ when suffixes are added: *nan-a* ‘your (sg.) father,’ and *gomon-o* ‘red.’ There may be dialectal

differences at work here, as well; in Towet I recorded instances of both *bunbur-o* and *bunbun-o* for ‘coffee, flower bud’; while in Worin and Yawan I was told that *bunbur-o* was not used, only *bunbun-o*. For all /n/-final verb roots, when the verb root is followed by a vowel-initial suffix, the /n/ is realized as [r].

Lenition of /n/ to /ɾ/ may be due to /n/ becoming a nasal tap, then the tap denasalizing (suggested by Bruce Hayes, personal communication 2014). When /n/ becomes intervocalic through suffixation of *-o* to an unchanging /n/-final form, or *-no* to a vowel-final form, there is a tendency for the /n/ to be phonetically lengthened. This is the case with the nouns *gin-o* ‘lip-3SG.POSS’ and *bunbun-o* ‘bud-3SG.POSS,’ and with the adjective *moi-no*, which is always expressed as [ˈmɔːn:ɔ], with a long /n/. In all known instances of such phonetic lengthening, the vowel preceding /n/ is high, either front /i/ or back/ u/. With *bangan-o* ‘neck-3sg.poss,’ for instance, there is no such phonetic lengthening of /n/. There is likewise no tendency for /n/ to be phonetically lengthened before the suffix *-a*.

**Word-final /ng/:** Before vowel-initial suffixes, words ending in /ng/ maintain this consonant, as: *dirong* ‘hair’; *dirong-a* ‘your (sg.) hair,’ *dirong-o* ‘(its) hair,’ *dirong-ot* ‘beside the hair.’

### 2.8.5 Prefixation

Nungon is primarily a suffixing language. The only inflectional prefixes in the language are the bound pronominal verbal prefixes that index the person and number of the verb’s O argument. These are used only with a closed class of 13 transitive verbs, on which the prefixes are obligatory. These prefixes are of form CV, with V either /i/ or /a/ in all prefixes (see table 5.15 in §5.3.2 for all prefix forms). The prefix vowels combine in fairly predictable ways with the vowel of verb roots that are analyzed as vowel-initial. Some of the 13 verbs have suppletive root forms when their O argument is non-singular, but of the non-suppletive vowel-initial verb roots, the following patterns can be discerned:

- A. If the initial vowel of the verb root is a long vowel /aa/, /oo/, /öö/ or /uu/ (/ee/ and /ii/ not being represented among the 13 transitive verbs here), the vowel of the prefix is dropped and the long vowel remains unchanged.

*na-* ‘1SG.O’ + *aambit-ta-k* ‘tread.on-PRES.SG-3SG’ = *n-aambit-ta-k* ‘s/he treads on me’

*ni-* ‘1NSG.O’ + *aambit-ta-k* ‘tread.on-PRES.SG-3SG’ = *n-aambit-ta-k* ‘s/he treads on us’

- B. If the initial vowel of the verb root is /e/, the vowel of the prefix is dropped and the /e/ remains unchanged.

*na-* ‘1SG.O’ + *et-ta-k* ‘beat-PRES.SG-3SG’ = *n-et-ta-k* ‘s/he beats me’

*ni-* ‘1NSG.O’ + *et-ta-k* ‘beat-PRES.SG-3SG’ = *n-et-ta-k* ‘s/he beats us’

- C. If the initial vowel of the verb root is /ö/, the vowel of the prefix is dropped and the /ö/ remains unchanged.

*na-* ‘1SG.O’ + *öng-ka-k* ‘put.down-PRES.SG-3SG’ = *n-öng-kak* ‘s/he puts me down’

*ni-* ‘1NSG.O’ + *öng-ka-k* ‘put.down-PRES.SG-3SG’ = *n-öng-kak* ‘s/he puts us down’

- D. If the initial vowel of the verb root is /i/, the vowel of the prefix diphthongizes with the vowel of the verb root, or becomes /ii/ if the vowels are the same.

*na-* ‘1SG.O’ + *i-ha-k* ‘bite-PRES.SG-3SG’ = *nei-ha-k* ‘s/he/it bites me’

*ni-* ‘1NSG.O’ + *i-ha-k* ‘bite-PRES.SG-3SG’ = *nii-ha-k* ‘s/he/it bites us’

- E. If the initial vowel of the verb root is /a/, the verb root vowel is elided and the vowel of the prefix becomes long. When the prefix vowel is also /a/, the lengthening could be described as combination of the two short /a/ vowels.

*na-* ‘1SG.O’ + *a-ha-k* ‘see-PRES.SG-3SG’ = *naa-ha-k* ‘s/he sees me’

*ni-* ‘1NSG.O’ + *a-ha-k* ‘see-PRES.SG-3SG’ = *nii-ha-k* ‘s/he sees us’

### 2.8.6 Assimilation of first consonants of enclitics

In the Towet dialect of Nungon, the first consonants of the restrictive/durative postposition =*gon*, the genitive postposition =*hon*, the focus postposition =*ho*, and the benefactive postposition =*ha* all assimilate to the place of articulation of the coda of the word to which they cliticize. The /h/ of the fricative-initial postpositions becomes an aspirated voiceless stop, homorganic with the coda of the

preceding word, while the /g/ of =*gon* becomes a voiced stop, homorganic with the coda of the preceding word. Thus, the difference between *iyep=pon* ‘of the sun’ and *iyep=bon* ‘only the sun/as the sun shines’ is the voicing and aspiration of the first consonant of the postposition. Table 2.9 shows the patterns:

**Table 2.9. Initial consonant assimilation in enclitics**

After:	=ho, focus	=ha, benefactive	=hon, genitive	=gon, restrictive
k	=ko	=ka	=kon	=gon
m	=po	=pa	=pon	=bon
n	=to	=ta	=ton	=don
ng	=ko	=ka	=kon	=gon
p	=po	=pa	=pon	=bon
t	=to	=ta	=ton	=don
VOWEL	=ho	=ha	=hon	=gon
<b>Examples</b>				
k	<i>govik=ko</i> with the knife	<i>tanak=ka</i> for food	<i>Nusek=kon</i> of Nusek	<i>osuk=gon</i> at first
m	<i>tum=po</i> it was an insect	<i>mum=pa</i> for the breast	<i>hum=pon</i> of the cold	<i>unga em=bon</i> right now
n	<i>nan=to</i> it was Father	<i>maknan=ta</i> for the burrow	<i>simbun=ton</i> of the bird	<i>ur-in=don</i> while crying
ng	<i>aa-ng-gang=ko</i> by looking	<i>sing=ka</i> for the goshawk	<i>tikeng=kon</i> of g.g.gparent	<i>kondong=gon</i> while together
p	<i>yup=po</i> it was the bird	<i>yaarop=pa</i> for the moon	<i>asap=pon</i> of the path	<i>asap=bon</i> along the path
t	<i>fit=to</i> it was the bat	<i>wetwet=ta</i> for beating	<i>Mitmit=ton</i> of Mitmit	<i>bagat=don</i> while prone
VOWEL	<i>owi=ho</i> it was Grandmother	<i>mag-a=ha</i> for your mother	<i>nanno=hon</i> of her father	<i>boni=gon</i> in the middle

### 2.8.7 Word-initial consonants preceded by vowels

When word-initial and preceded in fast continuous speech by vowels in preceding words, /k/, /t/, and /p/ do not change. This is because the word-initial allophones of these stops usually have aspirated release, in contrast to the unreleased word-final allophones. Word-initial /b/ does not lenite after vowels, nor does word-initial /g/; it is only the /g/-initial restrictive/durative enclitic =gon, which cannot bear stress, that undergoes such change. Word-initial /d/ does not lenite after vowels even in the instance of the /d/-initial locative enclitic =dek.

### 2.8.8 Morpheme-initial stops following vowels

Consonant-initial morphemes are only preceded by vowel-final morphemes within a single phonological word in Nungon within the verbal inflectional process: consonant-initial suffixes mark

the Remote Past tense and denote number in the Immediate Imperative, Counterfactual, Probable, and Irrealis paradigms.

Within the verbal inflection system, morphemes that mark dual S/A number begin with the voiced alveolar stop /d/ after consonants and with the rhotic /r/ intervocalically in the Towet dialect of Nungon. The hortative 1du inflectional suffix takes the form *-da* after consonant-final verbal roots and verbs with ‘ghost’ consonants (see 3.3.1):

*ep-da!* ‘come-IMM.IMP.1DU’

*mon-da!* ‘throw-IMM.IMP.1DU’

*humbot-da!* ‘carry.on.shoulder-IMM.IMP.1DU’

But after vowel-final verbal roots, it takes the form /ra/:

*na-ra!* ‘eat-IMM.IMP.1DU’

*obö-ra!* ‘break-IMM.IMP.1DU’

*towi-ra!* ‘arrange-IMM.IMP.1DU’

In the verbal inflectional paradigms in which dual number of S/A argument is marked, dual S/A number is always marked with a /d/~r/-initial morpheme with this alternation. The different allophones of /r/ and /t/ across Nungon dialects were mentioned in §2.1.4 and §2.4.4. While Towet Nungon shows an alternation between [d] and [r] in the 1du verbal suffixes here, the Yawan and Kotet Nungon corresponding suffix *-da* begins with [d] after both vowels and consonants. In contrast, another Towet verbal suffix *-rok* ‘2sg’ corresponds to *-lok* in the Yawan and Kotet dialects.

The Remote Past morpheme begins with a voiced stop with the same place of articulation as the preceding consonant, or /g/ if it follows a vowel. That is, after consonants, the Remote Past morpheme begins with /b/, /d/, or /g/, but after vowels, it always begins with /g/. As in other cases of intervocalic /g/ (see §2.1.1 above), this may be pronounced [g] when spoken in an extremely slow

register, but is normally pronounced as a velar fricative or approximant, [ɣ] or [ʉ], except where it follows or precedes the high vowel /i/, in which case it is pronounced as the stop [g].

### 2.8.9 Calls at distance

In keeping with the general idea (Dixon 2010a: 69, and Sapir 1929) that the sound [ɔ] has an intrinsic sense of largeness, people calling to each other from relatively far away may use a ‘call at distance’ form that changes the vowel of the final syllable of the utterance from /a/ [a] to /o/ [ɔ].

Calls at distance are a special subtype of speech acts. A command, question, or declarative statement may be phrased as a call at distance by changing the vowel of the final syllable of the utterance to /o/. Thus, the Present tense-inflected verb *ep-pa-t* ‘come-PRES.SG-1SG’ becomes *ep-po-t* when framed as a call at distance, distinguishable from Remote Past tense *ep-bo-t* ‘come-RP-1SG’ only through the lack of voicing in the onset of the second syllable. An utterance comprising a single word of any word class may have its final syllable altered in this way to mark it as a call at distance.

Although my name is normally pronounced as *Hana*, for instance, it may form a call at distance on its own as *Hano!* In the sentence *Hana<sub>S</sub> ng-ondo<sub>OBL</sub> it-ta-k*, ‘Hannah here-LDEM.NEAR be-PRES.SG-3SG’ (‘Hannah is here’), however, *Hana* is not the final element; the call at distance form of the utterance would be *Hana<sub>S</sub> ng-ondo<sub>OBL</sub> it-to-k*, with the usual Present tense singular vowel /a/ of the verb’s final syllable altered.

Although a call at distance is canonically shouted out, the form may be used in non-shouted direct speech reports, or in a quietly spoken utterance that pretends to communicate with someone who is not in hearing range, as in example (2.10), below. A Towet woman came to her sister’s home when only her sister’s 12-year-old daughter was home and took some of the other woman’s pitpit. The niece, watching, jokingly castigated her aunt, saying softly:

2.10) Mak! Daa-ya<sub>TOP</sub> {[dee hawek]<sub>O</sub> to-ng-a}  
 Mother.VOC sister.of.female-2SG.POSS pitpit theft do-DEP-MV  
 {{ongo-yo-k}}!  
 go-PRES.SG.CAD-3SG

‘Mother, your sister is going off having committed pitpit theft!’ (Non-Call-At-Distance form would be *ongo-ya-k*) (Field notes)

Although the speaker in (2.10) speaks softly, her use of the Call-At-Distance form marks the utterance as such. The next two examples are from an exchange between an elderly woman and her grown daughter, who live in separate houses roughly fifteen meters apart. In (2.11), the mother (within her house) calls for a particular saucepan to her daughter, who is inside her own house:

2.11) [Söpan<sub>HEAD</sub> opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> k-e-ng no-m!  
 saucepan small SG.O-come-DEP 1SG.O-give.IMM.IMP.2SG

‘Bring the small saucepan and give it to me!’ (*no-m* is changed from *na-m*)

In response, the daughter calls back that the saucepan is indisposed:

2.12) Tanak<sub>S</sub> irot-no-n it-to-k!  
 food inside-3SG.POSS-LOC be-PRES.SG.CAD-3SG

‘Food is inside it!’ (*it-to-k* is changed from *it-ta-k*)

This vowel change from /a/ to /o/ is also found occasionally in narratives to indicate that an action went on for a long time, as in:

2.13) {Hori-ng-a ir-o:.....} {[amnao na-ng na-ng]<sub>S</sub>  
 wait-DEP-MV be-MV man eat-DEP eat-DEP  
 urop ep-bo-k}}.  
 enough come-RP-3SG

‘As she was waiting (for a long time), then a cannibal came.’ (Normal form would be *ir-a*)

Such sound symbolism is also found within the Nungon lexicon. In the Towet, Yawan, and Kotet dialects, ‘the day after tomorrow’ is *isuna*, while ‘the second day after tomorrow’ is *isunon*. At present, I do not know any derivational path to explain the difference between these two terms; it seems that here again, the change from /a/ to /o/ indicates an increase in temporal, in this case, distance from the reference point—which here is presumably *unga* ‘now, today.’

The Call at Distance phenomenon, with [a] changed to [ɔ], is also found in the Awara language (Quigley 2014).

## 2.9 Intonation

Nungon has falling intonation at the end of a declarative, imperative, or sometimes interrogative sentence, which may comprise many medial clauses and a final clause (clause chains are discussed in §6.2. Story-telling intonation often involves rising intonation on the medial verb at the end of each medial clause within a sentence, then falling intonation on the inflected final verb at the end of the sentence. Content questions (§10.7.1-8) also usually have falling intonation; in content questions, the highest pitch of the utterance is usually the first syllable of the content question word, which occurs *in situ* in these questions. Polar questions (§10.7.9-12) are also spoken with falling intonation when the polar question marker *ha* is present. Polar questions without the polar question marker *ha* use rising pitch on the penultimate syllable and falling pitch on the final syllable. Content echo questions that emphatically re-request information, as ‘*where* did you say you were going?’ feature higher pitch than usual throughout and end in a rise. Like content questions, imperatives tend to feature especially high pitch on the stressed syllable of the imperative, then a greater fall than at the end of declarative sentences.

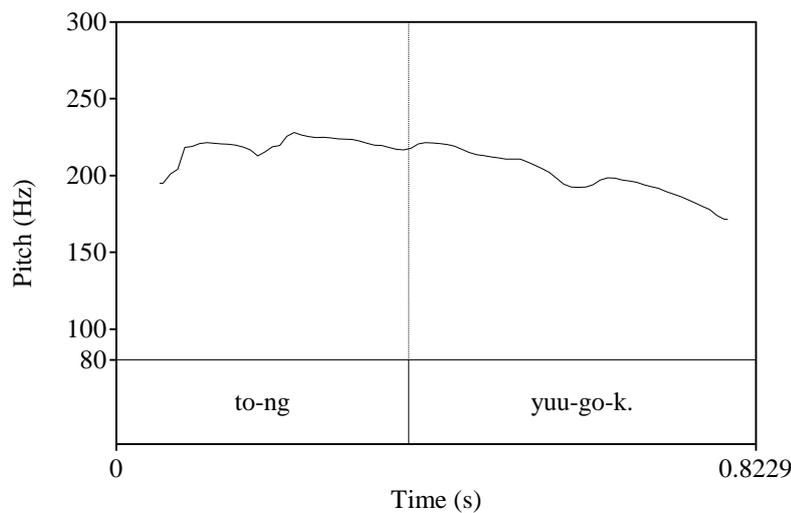
### 2.9.1 Mood and intonation

Mood interacts to a large degree with intonation. Content questions, and polar questions marked with *ha* (§10.7.11), are spoken with falling intonation. Although they feature declarative-type falling intonation throughout, content questions are characterized by especially high pitch on the stressed syllable of the content question word. Echo questions and polar questions that are morphologically

unmarked feature final rising pitch. Like content questions, imperatives feature especially high pitch on the stressed syllable of the imperative, followed by a fall. Sentences with verbal predicates inflected as imperatives may still be framed in interrogative mood if pronounced with final rising pitch. This section shows pitch contours for examples of declarative sentences, content questions, polar questions marked by *ha* or *ha muuno* ‘or not,’ imperative sentences, and imperative verbal forms framed in interrogative mood. All figures were created with Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2013).

Figure 2.3 shows a typical declarative sentence with final verb inflected for the Remote Past tense. Here, the sentence features falling intonation on the final verb, *yuu-go-k*. Parsing of the Nungon sentence shown in figure 2.3 is in example (2.14).

Figure 2.3. Declarative intonation

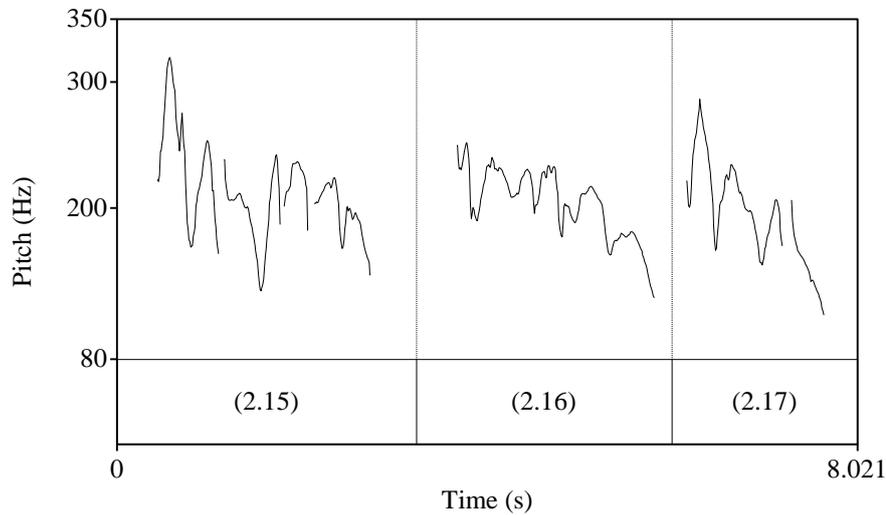


- 2.14)    {{To-ng        yuu-go-k}}.  
           SG.O.take-DEP 3.O.flap-RP-3SG  
           ‘It took it and flapped it.’ (Stewen opmou ma söm 0:30)

Figure 2.4 shows the pitch contours for a series of aggressively-spoken questions directed at a thief. The first intonation unit, parsed as example (2.15), includes both a content question and a declarative statement. The second intonation unit, shown as example (2.16), is what I term an

‘alternative polar’ question (§10.7.11), where the alternative offered is the negator *muuno* ‘not.’ The third intonation unit, in example (2.17), is another content question.

Figure 2.4. Content questions and an alternative polar question



The first intonation unit of figure 2.4 is parsed as example (2.15). Here, a content question is followed immediately by a declarative statement. The intonational contour of both sentences is generally falling, but the highest pitch of the entire sequence of three intonational units comes at the beginning of the content question, on the first syllable of the content question word *nungon* ‘what.’ The second-highest pitch in figure 2.4 falls on the other content question word in sentence (2.17), *numa* ‘who.’ Although the polar question with *ha* marking in (2.16) has similarly-falling intonation, its highest pitch is comparable to the initial pitch of the declarative statement in the second half of (2.15).

- 2.15)      {{Nungon=ta<sub>OBL</sub>      hawek<sub>O</sub>      to-go-rok}}?    {{Nok<sub>S</sub>      maak<sub>O</sub>  
what=BEN                  theft                  do-RP-2SG      1SG.PRO      mark  
ngo-go                  hi-go-t}}.  
this-ADV                  put-RP-1SG  
‘Why did you commit theft? I placed a boundary-marker like this.’ [*maak* is a  
borrowing from English *mark* via Tok Pisin]

2.16) {{Eep<sub>o</sub> [{hai-ng-a} {{ngo-go hi-go-t}}=ma]<sub>REL</sub>]<sub>o</sub>  
 tree cut-DEP-MV this-ADV put-RP-1SG=REL  
 aa-go-rok}} ha muuno?  
 3SG.O.see-RP-2SG ALT not

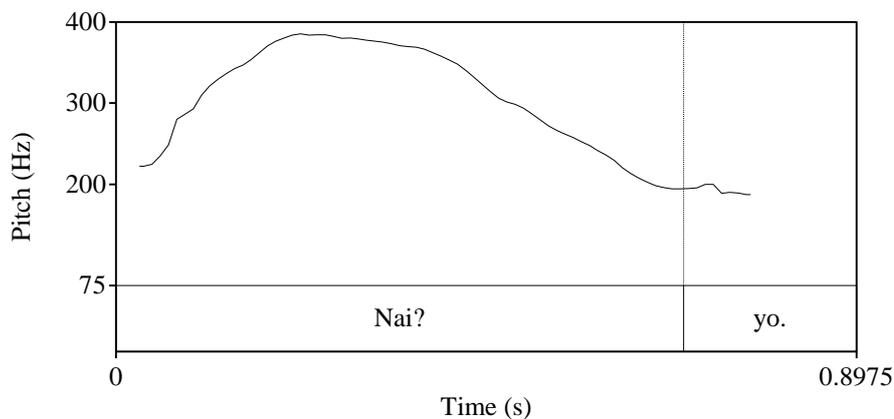
‘The tree that I cut and set like this, did you see it or not?’

2.17) {Numa=ho<sub>A</sub> ga-n-un-a}, wo=ma-i, {{hawek<sub>o</sub>  
 who=FOC 2SG.O-tell-DS.3SG-MV that=SPEC-TOP theft  
 to-go-rok}}}?  
 do-RP-2SG

‘Who told you to commit theft?’ [Literally: ‘Who having told you, thus, did you commit theft?’] (J orin W hawek maa, 0:05-0:12)

Content question words spoken alone as a complete question, such as *numa?* ‘who (is it)?’ or *nungon?* ‘what (do you want)?’ also feature falling intonation. It is when these are spoken as echo questions that they feature a final rise. Figure 2.5 shows the usual contour of a content question word spoken as a question alone, with no echo implied. This is a reported question *nai?* ‘where (is it)?’ followed by the abbreviated form of the verb *yo-* ‘say’ used to introduce reported speech.

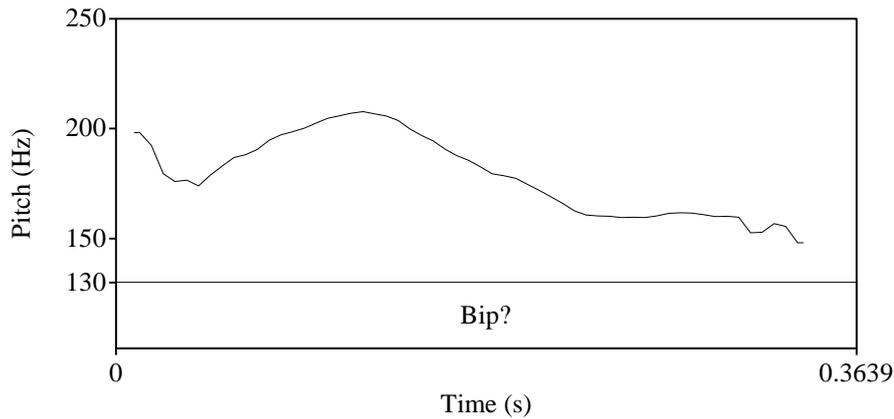
Figure 2.5. Content question word alone



Here, the question word *nai* ‘where’ is spoken with high pitch on the first part of the diphthong, then falling pitch.

Echo questions show a small rise after a fall. Figure 2.6 shows a single-word echo question. An onlooker told Towet elder Nongi to talk for the recorder about where people slept in the forest in times of rain. Nongi echoed this, saying *bip?* ‘rain?’ to seek confirmation that this was indeed the requested topic.

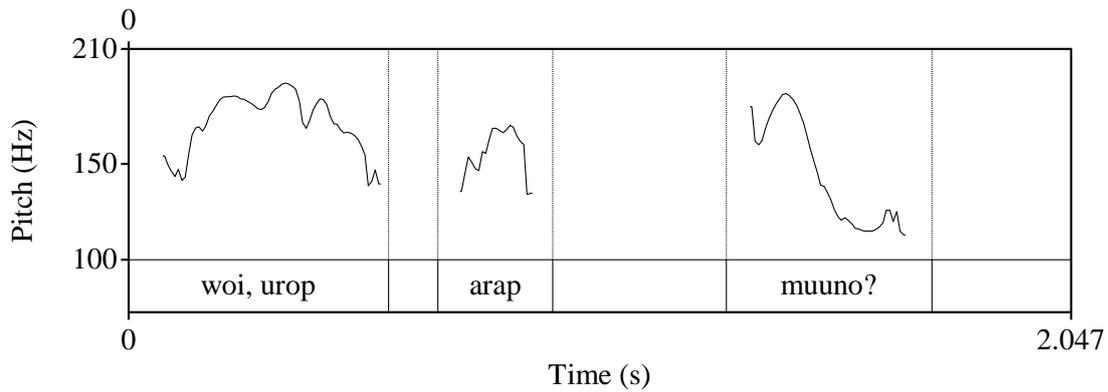
Figure 2.6. Echo question



Polar questions that lack morphological marking by *ha* are marked only by a final rise in pitch. As will be shown in figure 2.10, even clauses with verbs inflected as imperatives may be framed as polar questions with such rising polar question intonation.

Figure 2.7 shows polar question intonation when *ha* is absent. Here, the speaker, Nongi, has just been asked by a younger Towet man, Babong, to speak about traditional bark-cloth painting. Nongi began speaking, but about traditional methods of hunting, instead. On non-verbal cues from Babong and perhaps others gathered in the recording room, Nongi stopped himself, asking *muuno?* ‘no?’ This in itself is a polar question. The negative word *muuno* has a noticeable rise and subsequent fall at the end.

Figure 2.7. Polar question without *ha*

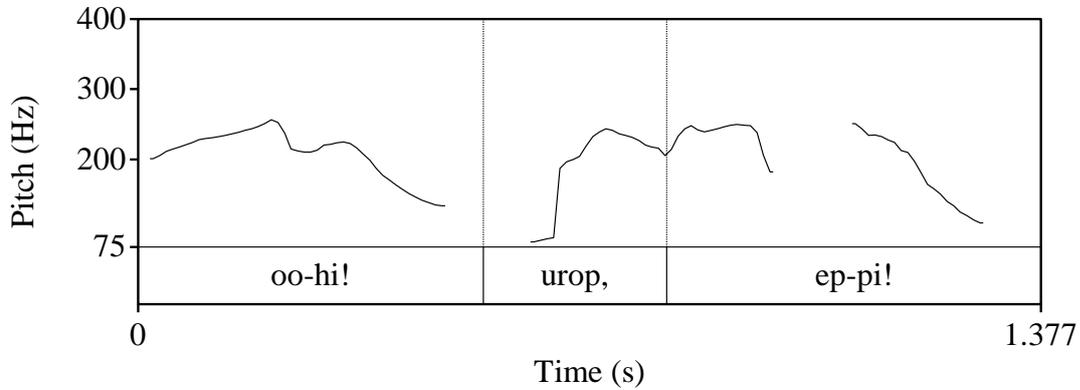


2.18)      Wo-i,                  urop,    arap    muuno?  
                  that-TOP                  enough game    no  
                  ‘That is, thus, game... no?’ (Nongi tik orip 0:12)

Commands in general—that is, utterances with imperative mood; see §10.6—have falling pitch on the final syllable, even though the stressed syllable may have higher pitch than other words in the intonation unit. This is true for both second person, ‘canonical’ (Aikhenvald 2010: 3), imperative inflections, and for first and third person, ‘non-canonical,’ imperative inflections—when these operate within the imperative mood. Examples are shown in figures 2.8, 2.9, and 2.10. Intonation alone may signal that a non-canonical imperative form operates with interrogative mood, instead of imperative mood. This may be seen in figures 2.11 and 2.12, where the 1sg imperative form has final rising intonation, as with echo and polar questions in figures 2.6 and 2.7 above. The rising intonation signals that although the verb is inflected for an imperative form, the mood of the utterance is interrogative.

Figure 2.8 shows intonation of canonical 2sg Immediate Imperatives. Although the utterance here comprises reported speech in the context of a narrative, thus is a reported command, the speaker mimics calling out to someone as if commanding. The falling intonation here is typical of commands issued with Immediate Imperative (§5.5.1) and Delayed Imperative (§5.5.3) verb forms in all person/number combinations, as well as commands indicated by various imperative strategies (§10.6.2).

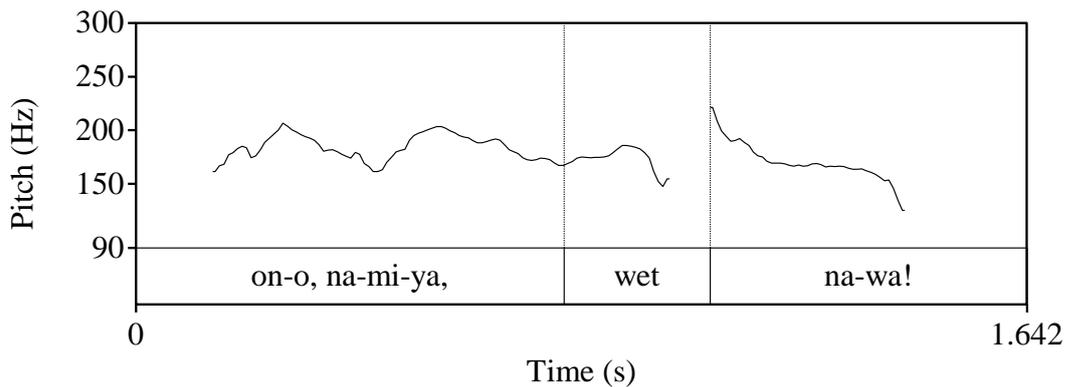
Figure 2.8. Canonical 2sg Immediate Imperative intonation



2.19)    {{Oo-hi}}!            Urop,            {{ep-pi}}!  
 descend=IMM.IMP.2SG    enough            come=IMM.IMP.2SG  
 ‘Descend! Enough, come here!’ (Ges bem hat 5:35)

Similar intonation is found with non-canonical imperatives, as seen in figure 2.9, also an instance of a reported command within a narrative.

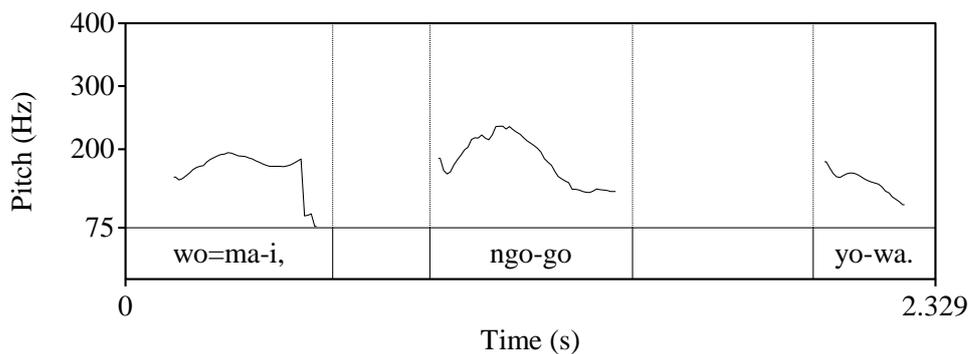
Figure 2.9. Non-canonical 1sg Immediate Imperative inflection, imperative mood



2.20)    {On-o<sub>o</sub>            na-m-i-ya},            {{wet            na-wa}}!  
 uphill-MDEM.NEAR    1SG.O-give-DS.2SG-MV    3SG.O.beat            eat=IMM.IMP.1SG  
 ‘Give me that up there, that I may kill and eat it!’ [Literally: ‘You giving me that up there, let me kill and eat it!’] (Fooyu bem hat 4:07)

In figure 2.9, the non-canonical imperative *na-wa* ‘eat-IMM.IMP.1SG’ has definite falling intonation. Similarly, figure 2.10 shows imperative intonation with the 1sg Immediate Imperative form of the verb *yo-* ‘say’: *yo-wa*. Here, the form serves as a command, ‘let me speak like this,’ but it is spoken in the course of storytelling: there is no urgency to impress the command upon an addressee, and thus there is not very high pitch on the stressed syllable of *yo-wa*.

Figure 2.10. 1sg Immediate Imperative form of *yo-* ‘say,’ imperative mood

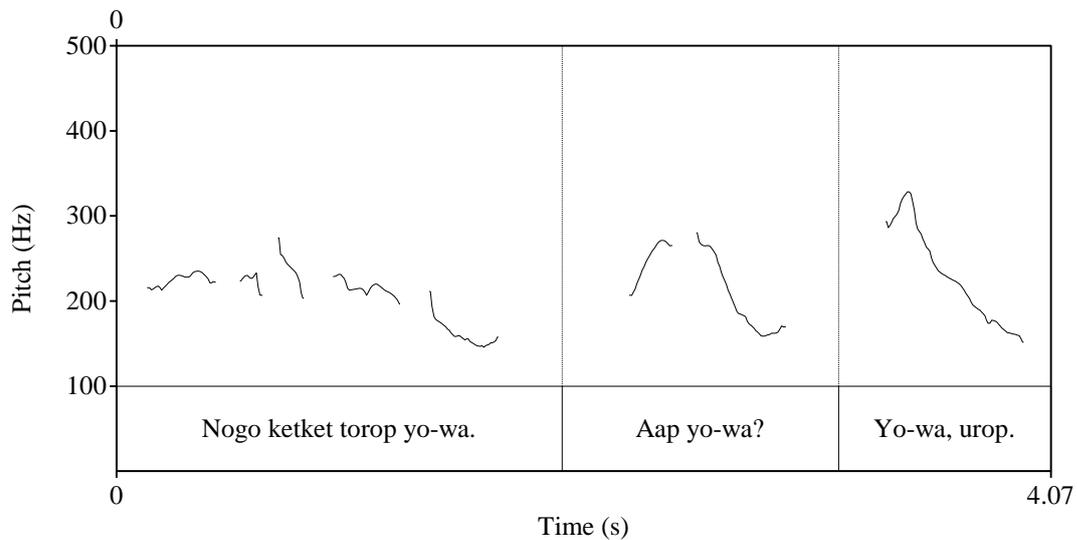


2.21) Wo=ma-i,      {{ngo-go      yo-wa}}.  
that=SPEC-TOP    this-ADV            say-IMM.IMP.1SG

‘As for that, let me say it like this.’ (Waasiöng inoin hat 0:20)

In contrast, figure 2.11 shows the same word, *yo-wa* ‘say-IMM.IMP.1SG,’ spoken as questions and as an imperative. Here, the speaker, Helen, is about to sing a song of the Tomep corpus (§3.1.15), ‘Youth group,’ for recording. She begins the recording with a sentence in imperative mood that still features a very slight rise at the end: an introductory sentence, ‘let me say,’ that is similar in pitch range to (2.21) above. Then, Helen directly asks me whether she should sing—that is, whether the recorder is ready—using the same form, *yo-wa*, but with interrogative intonation. On my nod, she again commands herself to sing with *yo-wa*, this time with commanding intonation: ‘Now, let me sing!’

Figure 2.11. 1sg Immediate Imperative form of *yo-* ‘say,’ interrogative and imperative moods



2.22) {{Nogo<sub>A</sub> [ketket<sub>MOD</sub> torop<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> yo-wa}}.  
 1SG.PRO+FOC youth group say-IMM.IMP.1SG  
 ‘Let me sing (the song) “youth group.”’

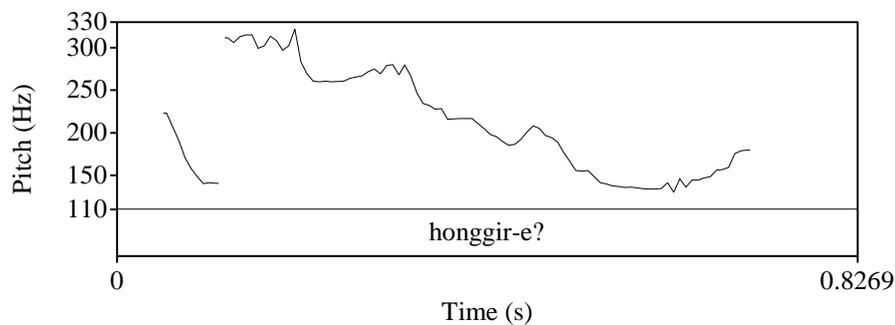
2.23) {{Aap<sub>O</sub> yo-wa}}?  
 song say-IMM.IMP.1SG  
 ‘Shall I sing the song?’

2.24) {{Yo-wa}}, urop.  
 say-IMM.IMP.1SG enough  
 ‘Let me sing it now.’ (Helen ketket torop 0:01-0:05)

Since (2.22) does have a slight final rise, it is possible that this was also intended as a question. But the overall range of pitch in (2.22) is much less than in the questioning (2.23), and the commanding (2.24). That is, the highest pitch in (2.22) is lower than the highest pitches in the question and command. Sentence (2.22) is similar in contour to sentence (2.21): these are mild commands, ‘let me say X,’ spoken to introduce subsequent speech. In contrast, the question in (2.23) and the command in (2.24) show much greater pitch ranges than (2.22). The difference between the question in (2.23) and the command in (2.24) is the final rise in (2.23).

Similarly, figure 2.12 shows a question directed at me by the Towet elder Winuk during a recording session. She had just finished giving an introductory explanation of her background, as I had requested, and had launched into the story she had planned to record. But after uttering the first word, she paused, then asked me *honggir-e?* ‘grab-IMM.IMP.1SG,’ literally ‘let me grab it?’ to confirm that she could now tell the main story. This is another example of an imperative form, spoken with interrogative intonation.

Figure 2.12. 1sg Immediate Imperative form of *honggit-* ‘grab,’ interrogative mood



### 2.9.2 Clause chains and intonation

As noted above, declarative sentences usually end with falling intonation. With canonical clause chains (§6.2), this means that medial clauses do not end with falling intonation, but the final clause at the end of the clause chain does. The initial and middle medial clauses may be pronounced with rising intonation, or they may be pronounced in the middle pitch range of the speaker, with no drop to lower pitch levels at the end of the medial clause. Figure 2.13 shows a short clause chain with intonation typical of clause chains.

Figure 2.13. Clause chain intonation

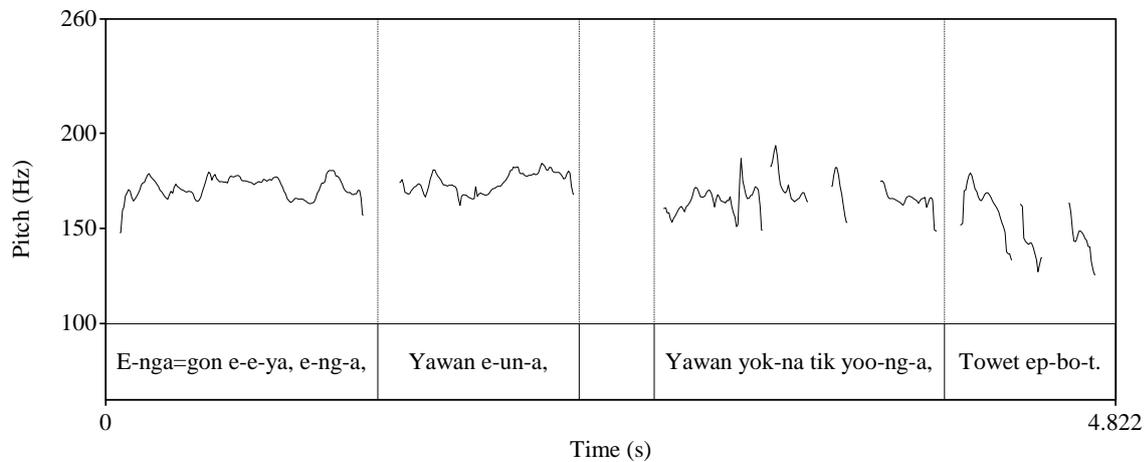
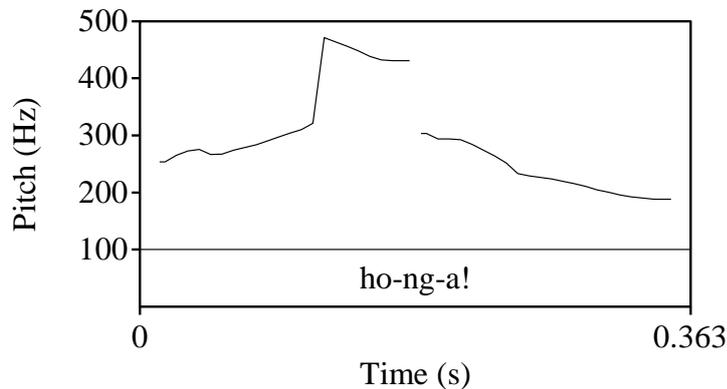


Figure 2.13 is parsed as example (2.25):

- 2.25) {E-nga=gon e-e-ya}, {e-ng-a}, {Yawan<sub>OBL</sub>  
 come-DEP-MV=RSTR come-DS.1SG-MV come-DEP-MV Yawan  
 e-un-a}, {Yawan<sub>OBL</sub> [yok-na tik]<sub>O</sub> yoo-ng-a},  
 come-DS.3SG-MV Yawan bag-1SG.POSS cloth NSG.O.take-DEP-MV  
 {{Towet<sub>OBL</sub> ep-bo-t}}.  
 Towet come-RP-1SG  
 ‘Just being coming, (the plane) coming, coming to Yawan, I taking my belongings at  
 Yawan, I came to Towet.’ (Anita inoin hat 3:09)

Medial verbs may also function independently of clause chains, as imperative strategies (§10.6.2). When a Medial verb—or any other word, such as a demonstrative—functions as a command, it usually features imperative intonation. This entails especially-high pitch on the stressed syllable, followed by a fall. The overall pitch range of the utterance is thus greater than in a declarative utterance. Figure 2.14 shows the Medial verb *ho-ng-a* ‘cook-DEP-MV’ framed as an imperative, ‘cook!’

Figure 2.14. Medial verb in imperative mood



Here, the pitch range is much greater than for the same speaker in normal declarative statements. As noted above, such pitch range also characterizes other words used as imperative strategies; the proximal demonstrative *ng-ondo* ‘here-LDEM.NEAR’ produced with such pitch range could serve as a command: ‘(put it/come) here!’

## 2.10 Intra-dialect phonological variation

Several expressions vary in form between Towet speakers. Each individual always pronounces a given expression a certain way; there may be family-lects at play here. These differences are often due to vowel assimilation, where the vowel of one of the syllables of a disyllabic word with two different vowels is changed so that the two vowels are identical. Speakers agree that the two forms of each of the following words are variants:

1. *inmu, unmu* ‘hooded manikin, *lonchura spectabilis*.’
2. *oset-, osot-* ‘sharpen.’
3. *okya, akya* ‘abrasive horsetail-like plant.’
4. *ye-mo-, yo-mo-* ‘3NSG.O-give.’ (Also homophonous with the verbs ‘3NSG.O-shoot,’ ‘weave’ and ‘ford water’: see §5.3.3.)

There are not yet enough examples of this assimilation to make generalizations about directions of assimilation, but the examples above show front vowels /i/ and /e/ assimilating to back vowels /u/ and /o/, as well as the mid-low back vowel /o/ assimilating to the low central vowel /a/.

Other variation shows consonant deletion and elision:

5. ‘run, rush’: *horo-ng wer-a, horo-ng wor-a, hoyo-ng wor-a, hoyo-ng wer-a*. The variant *hoyo-ng wer-a* may be parsed as comprising two parts: *hoyo-ng* ‘breathe-DEP’ and *wer-a* ‘3SG.O.beat-MV.’ This can be understood as a tight multi-verb construction, meaning ‘breathe (hard) and beat.’ The putative verb *horo-* is less clear; *horo-k* ‘?surprise-NMZ’ is a noun meaning ‘surprise,’ while *horo-ng-o*, var. *horo-ng-no*, is an adjective meaning ‘loose.’ The putative verb *wot-* is also unclear. It occurs, mostly in Dependent form, in contexts that relate to ‘beating’ in scattered texts in the Towet Nungon corpus. In the Sagain (Mitmit) dialect of Nungon (texts in which dialect are not present in the corpus), *wot-* is the usual form of the verb root ‘beat,’ so most likely that is the source of this variant. That is, in Towet Nungon, *wet-ta-t* ‘3SG.O.beat-PRES.SG-1SG’ is ‘I have beaten/am beating him/her/it,’ and the /e/ root vowel is consistent with other O argument inflections, i.e. *get-ta-t* ‘2SG.O.beat-PRES.SG-1SG,’ *net-ta-k* ‘1SG.O.beat-PRES.SG-3SG.’ In Sagain/Mup Nungon, the verb’s root vowel is /o/, so that the Sagain equivalents of the Towet forms are: *wot-ta-t, got-ta-t, and not-ta-c*.

6. ‘understand, know, hear, heed.’ Inter-dialectal variation in the full expression is covered in table 1.2. Within each dialect, however, it seems that the first element of this expression may either end in the consonant /m/ or in the vowel /o/. Towet speakers say either *oro hi-* or *orom hi-*, while Worin speakers say either *ofi-* or *omfi-*.

7. Perfect aspect forms. Some speakers pronounce the 1sg Perfect marker *maina*, while others pronounce it *moraina*. I have *maina* recorded for speakers Manggirai (Kotet), Nongi (Towet), Soonggiring (Towet), Waasiöng (Towet/Worin), Watno (Worin), and Wosiri (Kotet). All of these speakers are elderly. Otherwise, I have *moraina* recorded for three late-middle-aged-to-elderly female speakers and one late-middle-aged male speaker of Towet, as well as five young-to-early-middle-aged Towet speakers and one similarly-aged speaker from Worin.

8. ‘pass by.’ This action is sometimes expressed with a tight multi-verb construction (§11.2) in which the first element, a Dependent verb (§6.1) *ye-ng* (gloss unknown), begins with a person/number object-referencing prefix (§5.3.2). The second element is the verb *hot-* (meaning unknown); neither of these occur independently in synchronic Nungon. Alternatively, the tight multi-verb construction is expressed as a single phonological word, with the initial /h/ of *hot-* elided: *ye-ngot-*.

## 2.11 Inter-generational phonological variation

There are several phonological differences between the Nungon spoken by the oldest Towet speakers and the Nungon spoken by the youngest. The variety spoken by the younger speakers tends to elide consonants, as in the case of *tama-no* ‘nose-3SG.POSS,’ and to eliminate differences between different suffixes, as in the neutralization of the difference between the Medial suffixes *-a* and *-o* (§6.6.2).

1. ‘nose.’ In the speech of the three eldest speakers I recorded: a man and a woman from Towet (Nongi and Winuk), and a woman from Worin (Watno), ‘nose-3SG.POSS’ is *tanman-o* [‘tan,ma.nɔ], with stress on the first syllable and second syllable nearly equivalent, although primary stress on the first syllable. This was also the form used by one middle-aged Yawan woman. In the speech of most other Towet speakers, however, the word is *taman-o* [‘ta,ma.nɔ], also with stress on the first and second syllables nearly equivalent.

2. Medial suffix II. This suffix, *-o*, is present in the speech of older speakers and a handful of younger speakers as the correct suffix for Medial verbs before the Perfect marker (see §6.6.2). The majority of younger speakers and some speakers in their fifties and sixties, however, use the usual Medial suffix *-a* on all Medial verbs, even those before the Perfect auxiliary.

3. Assimilation of /n/ in suffix *-no* to /m/ after bilabial unvoiced stop. This assimilation is not present with some words in the speech of Nongi, eldest Towet speaker. That is, the crescent moon is referred to as *goyap-mo* ‘crescent-3SG.POSS’ in the speech of other speakers, but Nongi speaks of it as *goyap-no*. Other speakers described this as an archaism. Nongi pronounces most other words that end in /p/ followed by the suffix *-no/-mo* with /m/, like other speakers. For instance, *meep-mo* ‘heavy-ADJ’ and *giip-mo* ‘skin-3SG.POSS’ are pronounced this way by Nongi and all others.

### 3 Word Classes

Nungon open word classes are nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. Overviews of open and closed classes and their sub-classes are presented in this chapter. Distinctive phonological characteristics, if any, are presented for each word class in the appropriate section.

#### 3.1 Nouns

The minimum criteria for inclusion in the noun class are that a word may serve as head of an NP, as subject and complement of a verbless clause, and as S/A argument of a verb. Three Nungon nouns—*oe* ‘woman,’ *amna* ‘man,’ and *ketket* ‘boy, youth’—may also function as modifiers in a similar way to adjectives. These are discussed in §4.3.1.

Nungon nouns form a diverse open word class. The 2100-entry Nungon lexicon includes over 600 names of plants, and over 150 names of birds (as of June 2014). Expanded nominal vocabulary exists in realms of traditional handicrafts, including parts of the string bag and of the bow, types of arrows, and types and components of game traps. Distinctive and important cultivated plants, such as bamboo, banana and pandanus, evince more terminology for specific parts. There are over 30 kin terms for classificatory family relations. In addition to place names, locational nouns form a distinct nominal sub-class. Deverbal nominalizations satisfy some but not all syntactic criteria for noun-hood, while maintaining verb-like negation marking. Finally, birth-order terms are a special nominal sub-class found in just one Nungon dialect.

Phonologically, nouns may be long words, containing multiple reduplicated components. Nouns with general scope or that serve as the labels for umbrella categories rarely have more than two syllables. For instance: *bök* ‘house,’ *omop* ‘pandanus,’ *katnang* ‘bamboo,’ *oe* ‘woman,’ *amna* ‘man,’ *yok* ‘string bag,’ *tawa* ‘bow,’ *gun* ‘arrow,’ *bot* ‘pig,’ *hap* ‘dog,’ *hup* ‘chicken,’ *eep* ‘tree,’ *tum* ‘insect,’ *yamuk* ‘water,’ *gurok* ‘earth,’ etc. Species and animal and plant variety names may have up to six syllables, as may the names of individual people and places. Polysyllabic place names and species names are often parsable into meaningful components. Proper names of people mentioned in the

corpus tend not to contain such meaningful elements, however: personal names are generally monomorphemic.

The 39 nouns with prototypically-human referents form a closed sub-class of nouns defined by bearing obligatory number marking when also bearing singular pertensive suffixes. ('Human' must be understood as a whole person: of course, many members of the noun class 'body parts,' in §3.1.5, refer to human body parts. Body parts of people and of animals, however, behave in the same way.) This conforms to the NP or 'animacy' hierarchy proposed by Smith-Stark (1974) and modified by Corbett (2000). These nouns are always marked for number when possessed by singular possessors, even when their referents are actually not human. All other nouns may not be marked for number, although the rare suffix *-ri(-n)* (§10.7.3) does allow some nouns and complex NPs to be marked for number: if marked for number with *-ri(-n)*, these other nouns must be interpreted to have human referents.

All nominal sub-classes except deverbal nominalizations are negated—if negatable—with the negative word *muuno*. Nominal sub-classes are described in the following sections. A summary of noun classes and noun class behavior is in table 3.1.

<b>Table 3.1 Nominal sub-classes behavior summary</b>					
	marked for number	usually occurs with pertensive suffixes	used as term of address	may head two-noun NP	may take locative suffix <i>-in</i>
A1. kin terms	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
A2. non-kin human	yes	yes	no	yes	no
B1. body parts	no	yes	no	yes	some
B2. artifact component/descriptive	no	yes	no	yes	some
B3. entire entity	no	no	yes	yes	some
B3a. generic, higher taxa	no	no	poetically	yes	no
B3b. specific, lower taxa	no	no	poetically	no	no
B3c. locational	no	no	no	yes	yes
B3d. temporal	no	no	no	yes	some
B4. non-specific	only 'who'	no	not alone	no	some
C1. personal names	no	no	yes	no	no
C2. place names	no	no	no	no	some
C3. song corpora names	no	no	no	no	no

### 3.1.1 A) nouns with prototypically-human referents

Nouns with prototypically-human referents are a closed class including 32 kin terms as well as five non-kin terms. This class is principally defined by the ability of its members to bear number marking when possessed. Kin terms (§3.1.2) may function as terms of address without pertensive suffixes, while non-kin terms (§3.1.3) are not used to address (although see below on *amna* 'man'). Although

they have prototypically-human reference, personal names and birth-order terms are never marked for number. Here, birth-order terms are considered a deficient sub-group of kinship-related terms, while personal names (§3.1.14) are considered a sub-group of proper names (§3.1.13). The content question word *numa* ‘who’ and other expressions may be marked as non-singular and bearing human reference with the suffix *-ri(n)*: see §10.7.3.

All nouns with human referents, both kinship and non-kinship, are marked for three numbers when singular pertensive suffixes are present. Number marking is obligatory on all of these nouns if the singular pertensive suffixes are present, even if the actual referent of the noun in a given context is non-human (§4.1.1). If pertensive suffixes are not present, these nouns may not be marked for number.

Nouns with human referents are much less likely than nouns with non-human referents to be subject to number agreement mismatching, in which number indexation in a pertensive suffix (§9.4) or an inflected verb marks singular number, while the actual number of the noun’s referent is non-singular.

The only prototypically-human noun that never bears pertensive suffixes, and hence is never marked for number, is *amna* ‘man (human male).’ Its semantics (it never means ‘husband’) and the fact that it cannot be directly possessed mean that *amna* is not inherently relational in the same way that kin terms (§3.1.2) and other prototypically-human nouns (§3.1.3) are. Despite this, *amna* still aligns with other prototypically-human nouns in that verbs always index the actual number of its referent.

### **3.1.2 A1) kin terms**

There are 22 consanguineal and 10 affinal Nungon kinship terms (see §9.12). In addition to these, *wase* ‘namesake’ functions as a kin term, as does the term *torop* ‘clan.’ Kin terms usually occur with pertensive suffixes, but all have a vocative form lacking pertensive suffix that is used as a term of address.

A closed class of birth-order terms, mentioned in §1.7.2 (see Sarvasy 2013a, 2013c, 2014a), are limited to the Kotet dialect of Nungon. Limited data on these terms does not include instances of use with pertensive suffixes for endearment or for discussion of birth order within a family, i.e. ‘my second-born daughter.’ Since number marking on nouns with prototypically-human referents is dependent on the terms bearing singular pertensive suffixes, birth-order terms have not been found as marked for number. In contrast with Nungon, birth-order terms may be possessed in some other Finisterre-Huon languages such as Ma Manda (Ryan Pennington, personal communication 2012).

The kin term *mak* ‘mother’ has further augmentative extensions. Adult headlice, for instance, are referred to as *imun mak-no* ‘louse mother-3SG.POSS,’ which contrasts with tiny baby lice, called *imun gungak-no* ‘louse child-3SG.POSS.’ Here, the mother-child kin relation primarily denotes size/age, not sex. This extension of *mak* ‘mother’ is taken a step further with the expression for ‘car, truck,’ *bot mak-no* ‘pig mother-3SG.POSS,’ literally, ‘pig’s mother.’ Here, the sex and age relation denoted by the kin term *mak* are both lost, with only the extended use to denote relative size preserved. The kin term *nan* ‘father’ has no such extensions: no kin terms other than *mak* are ever used as augmentatives.

In the Worin dialect, younger speakers claim that it is also the kin term *mac* ‘mother’ that combines with the auxiliary verb *si-* ‘put’ as *mac si-* ‘become big, grow up.’ But with limited data from Worin, it is unclear whether this is a reliable interpretation. In fact, as it occurs in the speech of an elderly Worin speaker on my recordings, the vowel of the first element of this construction is significantly longer than the vowel in the word *mac-na* ‘mother-1SG.POSS’ pronounced by the same speaker. That is, it may be that the expression is actually *maac si-* ‘become big,’ with an element *maac* that is distinct from *mac* ‘mother.’ Otherwise, it may be that in this speaker’s dialect the vowel is elongated if there is no suffix (this is not the case in Kotet Nungon, which also has a glottal stop /c/).

### 3.1.3 A2) non-kinship terms with prototypically-human referents

The five nouns with human referents that are not kinship terms are *amna* ‘man,’ *morum* ‘owner,’ *nuk* ‘friend, neighbour,’ *oruk oruk* ‘friend, classmate,’ and *nip oruk* ‘trade-friend.’ The noun *amna* ‘man’ was mentioned in §3.1.1 above as not being possessable at all. The nouns *oruk oruk* and *nip oruk* are composed of the kinship terms *oruk* ‘brother (of male)’ and *nip* ‘cross-cousin.’ The noun *oruk oruk* ‘(unrelated) friend’ may be a calque of Tok Pisin *brata brata* ‘buddy,’ since I recorded it only from younger speakers who are familiar with Tok Pisin, while *nip oruk* ‘trade-friend’ seems to be an older, established Nungon term for long-term trading partner. *Morum* ‘owner’ is inalienably possessed (§4.3.5) and functions both outside and within the kinship system: knives, string bags, farm plots all have ‘owners,’ and an unmarried woman’s paternal uncles are her ‘owners.’ *Nuk* ‘friend’ and *oruk oruk* ‘friend, classmate’ are alienably possessed, while *nip oruk* ‘trade-friend’ is inalienably possessed.

Unlike kin terms, and with the exception of *amna* ‘man,’ the other four terms here may not function *sans* perturbative suffixes as terms of address. This would be ungrammatical with an unmodified *morum* ‘owner’: it is nonsensical for a person to address someone as \**Morum!* ‘(My) owner!’ If the term were modified by another noun, in a two-noun NP, this would be grammatical: *Bök morum!* ‘House-owner!’ The terms *nuk*, *oruk oruk* and *nip oruk* are probably not used as address terms for social reasons. That is, by addressing someone using one of these terms, a speaker emphasizes that there is no kin relation—either consanguineal or affinal—between the two. This could be highly insulting. As noted in §1.9.2, in the olden days, if one could not address someone using a kin term, the only way to address him would be by silently fitting arrow to bowstring.

### 3.1.4 B) general nouns

This is a negatively-defined class encompassing all nouns that do not belong to the closed class of nouns with prototypically non-human referents. General nouns are not marked for number under possession. General nouns may be divided into sub-groups based on whether they usually occur with perturbative suffixes, whether they can head two-noun NPs, whether they can be used as terms of address, and whether they can take the locative suffix *-(i)n*.

Body parts and parts of plants (§3.1.5) and components of artifacts and descriptive nouns (§3.1.6) usually occur with pertensive suffixes. Body parts and parts of plants are inalienably possessed, however, while most artifact components and descriptive nouns are alienably possessed. These all occur with pertensive suffixes everywhere except when serving as head of a two-noun NP (§4.3.2) or in a light verb construction (§11.1).

In contrast, nouns that describe whole entities or ideas are either not possessible or only possessed when appropriate to a given context. These whole entity nouns (§3.1.7) include animal and plant names, among which terms for higher and lower taxa (§3.1.8) behave differently in two-noun NPs. Among whole entity nouns, only locational (§3.1.9) and temporal nouns (§3.1.10) can take the locative suffix *-(i)n* directly. Some of these cannot be possessed.

Non-specific nouns (§3.1.11) form a closed sub-class of general nouns. The final sub-class of general nouns presented here contains deverbal nominalizations (§3.1.12).

### **3.1.5 B1) body parts**

This sub-class includes two types of body parts: those of humans and animals, and those of plants. All body parts, regardless of whether they belong to animate or non-animate living things, are obligatorily possessed except in attributive constructions (see §4.3.6). They are always marked as inalienably possessed. Human body parts receive pertensive suffixes based on the person and number of the human Possessor, meaning that they may occur with all nine pertensive suffixes. Animals are most often spoken about in the third person, so that animal body parts usually occur with the third person pertensive suffixes (marking singular, dual, or plural number). But people may speak directly to their pets and husbanded animals, so second person pertensive suffixes also occur with animal body parts. Birds are addressed in songs. Some traditional stories feature animals as main characters: a frog might speak about its legs using the first person pertensive suffix (this is unattested in the transcribed corpus because I do not have any recordings of these stories, which were told to me informally).

In contrast, plant parts generally do not occur with pertensive suffixes other than the 3sg. Although trees may be addressed (§3.1.14), I have no examples of plant parts such as *hagim* ‘leaf’

bearing a 2sg pertensive suffix in such a context. Similarly, even when multiple trees are discussed, 3du and 3pl pertensive suffixes are unattested.

Body parts are applied to geographical and other phenomena in certain expressions, as with English ‘eye of the storm.’ Nungon uses *daan* ‘eye’ for the nucleus of the sun, called *iyep daar-o* ‘sun eye-3SG.POSS,’ literally ‘the sun’s eye,’ but refers to the moon’s ‘face’: *yaarop yangam-o* ‘moon face-3SG.POSS.’

Every waterway and spring on Nungon speakers’ land—small or large, intermittent or permanent—has a name. Many parts of a waterway are labelled using body part and plant terms. As in Tok Pisin (and some Semitic languages) a waterway’s source is its ‘eye’: *yamuk daar-o* ‘water eye-3SG.POSS’: ‘spring/source.’ Here, and in all the other water-related expressions, the word *yamuk* ‘water’ may be replaced by the name of the specific waterway, as in *Yapem daar-o* ‘the source of the Yapem waterway.’ A pool or lake is *yamuk dan-no*, ‘water sole-3SG.POSS,’ literally ‘the water’s sole.’ The drainage from a lake is *yamuk hiyet-no* ‘water urine-3SG.POSS.’ The plant part noun *buu* describes the fruit-bearing, downward-extending part of some plants, i.e. the descending seed spray of betelnut and related palm trees, the banana plant stem culminating in the flower, and the *pandanus conoideus* fruit-bearing stem. A waterfall is *yamuk buu-no* ‘water descending.fruit.stem-3SG.POSS.’ Not all parts of a waterway are labelled using body part terms; the steps of a multi-level waterfall are labelled like steps along a ridge, *ding*, and a long stretch of river or creek without waterfall or pool is called *timbe* ‘line.’

### **3.1.6 B2) artifact component or descriptive nouns**

Like parts of plants, members of this nominal sub-class usually occur with the 3sg pertensive suffix. In contrast with the body parts class, however, artifact component and descriptive nouns are usually alienably possessed. This sub-class includes most components of artifacts made by people, such as clay pots, string bags, houses, dams and bridges, farming tools, and bows and arrows. Examples are: *hogop* ‘support for bean plants,’ *hok* ‘lid,’ *tom* ‘cover,’ *dama* ‘veranda overhang,’ *miri miri* ‘string bag bolster,’ and *sere nonge* ‘minor vertical roof supports.’

This class also includes the ordinarily-possessed descriptive nouns, such as *uhok* ‘colour’ and *orip* ‘design.’ Like artifact components, these nouns usually occur with the 3sg pertensive suffix marking alienable possession, as *uhok-no* ‘colour-3SG.POSS’: ‘its colour.’ The inalienably possessed *osuk* ‘sound’ and *tööng* ‘smell’ are exceptions.

### 3.1.7 B3) entire entity nouns

This class includes all common nouns that refer to whole entities, either concrete or abstract, that are not intrinsic components or parts of other entities. It includes names of entire artifacts or concoctions, such as *uwa* ‘pot,’ *gombo* ‘fence,’ and *guram* ‘medicine,’ words for abstract or time-related concepts, such as *mööp* ‘lack, want,’ *turong* ‘sin,’ and *bongon* ‘day, time,’ and names of types of living things, among other categories.

### 3.1.8 B3a) generic, higher taxa terms, and B3b) specific, lower taxa terms

Types of living things include generic, higher taxa terms, such as *eep* ‘wood, tree,’ *arap* ‘game, meat,’ and *yup* ‘bird,’ as well as specific, lower taxa terms, such as *dinggo menmen* ‘tree species,’ *kanom* ‘tree kangaroo,’ and *seek seek* ‘hooded butcherbird.’ The grammatical difference between the generic terms and the specific terms is that only the generic terms can serve as head of a two-noun NP (see §4.3.2).

Some specific species names are also used as personal names. A boy—and an ancestor figure—share a name with the medicinal tree species *gorung gorung* (§3.1.14). Beyond the Nungon language (as noted in §2.1.4), a Towet father working with geographer Jared Diamond on a bird-watching expedition named his newborn daughter *Melidikta*, after the bird called *digok* in Nungon: *Melidectes torquatus*.

### 3.1.9 B3c) locational nouns

Locational nouns are those designating a type of geographical location, such as *öön* ‘farmplot,’ *haa* ‘area/weather,’ *bök* ‘house/village,’ *kowira* ‘outside (house),’ *guok* ‘lair in tree,’ *amba* ‘traditional men’s house,’ *yamuk* ‘water,’ *gurok* ‘land,’ *asap* ‘path,’ *eem* ‘hole,’ or a vessel in which other items are placed, such as *yok* ‘string bag,’ *katnang* ‘bamboo,’ *uwa* ‘clay cookpot.’ This sub-class of nouns is

defined both through semantics and by the fact that all of its members may take the locative suffix *-(i)n* ‘inside’ (§8.7), which other nouns may not.

Most locational nouns can occur with either *-(i)n* ‘inside’ or *=dek* ‘at’ (§8.6) but nouns of other sub-classes can only occur with *=dek*. Locational nouns that never occur with *=dek* are *koma* ‘cave,’ and the two locational nouns that relate to houses: *kowira* ‘outside the house,’ and *gugura* ‘underneath the house.’ These three nouns are also unable to bear pertensive suffixes. Places named for the bodies of water that flow through them, such as Huang, Koyom, and Yapem, take *-(i)n* (§3.1.15).

The noun *boop* ‘forest’ might be expected to fall into this class based on its semantics, but it does not occur with either locative marker: neither the suffix *-(i)n* nor the enclitic *=dek*. Thus, *boop* is considered here as a general, entire entity noun.

Like some prototypically human nouns and like body parts, the locational noun *öön* ‘farmplot’ is inalienably possessed. Farms differ in this respect from all other human creations, such as houses, string bags, and arrows. Even the possessed land on which a farm is carved out, *gurok* ‘ground, land,’ is alienably possessed. Despite the fact that *öön* is inalienably possessed when it bears pertensive suffixes, it may occur without pertensive suffixes even when it is possessed in a genitive possessive construction (§9.2). Thus, it differs from the usually-possessed kin terms and body parts, which obligatorily bear pertensive suffixes in such contexts.

### 3.1.10 B3d) temporal nouns

Temporal nouns include *bongon* ‘day,’ *duok* ‘day-night unit,’ *biruk* ‘harvest season,’ and *morom* ‘season between harvests.’ Additionally, the nouns *iyep* ‘sun’ and *yaarop* ‘moon’ may be used to mean ‘day’ and ‘month,’ respectively. The loans *sönda* ‘week’ (literally, ‘Sunday’) and *yara* ‘year’ stand in for concepts that apparently did not exist in Nungon before missionization. Throughout Nungon grammar, location and distance in time and space are grammatically related. Spatial deictic terms also serve to indicate past and future (see §7.2.2).

Names of days of the week and months of the year are temporal nouns. These words are loans from Kâte (which got many of the days of the week and apparently all of the months of the year directly from German) and Tok Pisin (which received the word for ‘sabbath’ from English). All names of months take the locative postposition =*dek*, not *-in*, as in *öktoba=dek* ‘in October,’ \**öktoba-in* ‘in October.’ The days of the week are divided in which locative marker they take: four out of seven take *-in*, while the other three take =*dek*.

### 3.1.11 B4) non-specific nouns

This sub-class comprises four members: two content question words which fit the noun class criteria outlined above and two non-specific non-question words. The two question words that can head NPs and serve as verbal core arguments are *nungon* ‘what’ and *numa* ‘who.’ The two non-specific words are *nandu* ‘something’ and *usandu* ‘somewhere.’ These have slightly different syntactic and morphological possibilities.

The non-specific local noun *usandu* does not occur in the corpus modified by an adjective. It usually occurs without the locative suffix *-in* or the locative enclitic =*dek*. In only a single instance in the corpus—a text in the Yawan dialect—does *usandu* occur with locative suffix *-in*. Even when it lacks this suffix, *usandu* is always understood to refer to a location. In contrast, the reference of *nandu* ‘something’ varies depending on its marking.

When *nandu* bears the locative suffix *-in*, it refers to time (not place!), as in the next example:

3.1) *Nandu-in*<sub>OBL</sub> aa-wa.  
 some-LOC 3SG.O.see-IMM.IMP.1SG  
 ‘Let me see it sometime.’ (Field notes)

*Nandu* also has derived forms *nandu=ma*, ‘something=SPEC,’ and *nandu-gu* ‘something-?.’ Of these, *nandu=ma* often occurs modified by the adjective *au* ‘other.’ *Nandu=ma* can refer to humans, non-humans, or actions. It frequently occurs as first (modifying) noun in two-noun NPs, and it may bear pertensive suffixes and be modified by adjectives. In the next example, a man calls for help as he is being pursued by a ghost:

3.2)[Nandu=ma<sub>HEAD</sub>      au<sub>MOD</sub>]=ho<sub>A</sub>      net      na-wang-na  
 some=SPEC      other=FOC      1SG.O.kill      eat-PROB.PL-IMNT  
 ta-a-k!  
 do-PRES.SG-3SG

‘Something is about to kill and eat me!’ (Fooyu bem Towet 3:56)

The form *nandu-gu* is rare, occurring only twice in the corpus, both times as O argument of the verb *to-* ‘do,’ with reference to an action (‘do something’). In one of these instances, example (6.49) in Chapter 6, *nandu-gu* bears a pertensive suffix. The more-frequent *nandu=ma* also occurs as O argument of the verb *to-* ‘do’ with reference to an action.

Like *nandu*, no non-specific noun may serve as head of a two-noun NP. Non-specific nouns are thus similar to ultra-specific lower taxa terms (§3.1.8). Ultra-specific species and variety names are already too specific to be further specified by another noun, so that *\*boop dinggo menmen* ‘forest *dinggo menmen*,’ i.e. ‘a *dinggo menmen* tree of the forest,’ is ungrammatical (this would have to be expressed *dinggo menmen boop=ma*; see §4.3.3). But non-specifics present the opposite problem for service as head noun of a two-noun NP: they are too general to allow for specification. The question ‘What type of “something” is it?’ is just as nonsensical as ‘What type of *dinggo menmen* tree is it?’

Finally, in contrast with all other nouns listed above, non-specifics cannot be negated.

### 3.1.12 B5) deverbal nominalizations

There are three types of deverbal nominalization, discussed further in §4.2.

Deverbal nominalizations may be used as the modifying term in two-noun NPs, such as *orom hik orom hik youp* ‘understand-NMZ understand-NMZ work: mental work (as opposed to physical labour),’ *yandik yandik amna* ‘show-NMZ show-NMZ man: teacher.’ Usually, when a deverbal nominalization is the second term in a complex NP, however, it is an Agentive nominalization such as *bot<sub>O</sub> na-ng-na-ng* ‘pig-eater,’ in which the first term is the underlying O of the second term, not a modifier in the sense seen with *maa<sub>MOD</sub> youp<sub>HEAD</sub>* ‘speech work’ above.

In contrast with all other negatable nouns, adverbs, and adjectives, deverbal nominalizations are negated with the verbal negative proclitic *ma=*, not with *muuno* ‘not/no.’

### **3.1.13 C) proper names**

Proper names are those that apply to a specific place, person, deity/spirit, or pet. Personal names and place names are also used as labels for song corpora. Proper names have similar distribution to specific, lower taxa names (§3.1.8) in that they may not serve as head of a two-noun NP because they are already maximally-specified for type.

### **3.1.14 C1) personal names**

This sub-class, like kinship terms, is most noteworthy in discourse for its members’ use as terms of address. Personal names are not usually modified or marked for number; a personal name is only applied to more than one living person if a namesake relationship is established between the elder bearer of the name (living or deceased) and a newborn baby. Use of pertensive suffixes is possible but usually restricted to endearment (§9.6). Use of adults’ given names is limited both in address and in discussing an absent third person (§13.5.3).

Nungon personal names are usually two-to-five syllables. Single-syllable names are generally only reduced forms of the actual names. Such nicknames are more commonly used among small children, i.e. the elder sister of the child *Yukyuk* calls him *Yuk*. A sample of 56 personal names of Nungon speakers (from Towet, Kotet, Worin, and Yawan) above the age of forty and their deceased parents, as well as a few ancestor figures who now have children as namesakes, is in table 3.2. This sample shows that although personal names may end in the same phonemes as other Nungon words, there are preferences for names to end in nasals or vowels.

<b>Syllables</b>	<b>Women's names</b>	<b>Men's names</b>
<b>1</b>	Num	Bem
<b>2</b>	Fooyu, Fua, Wosi, Watno, Gosing, Yuppe, Hambang, Winuk	Nongi, Girip, Jio, Benu, Budö, Yukyuk, Marik, Dömak, Waisi
<b>3</b>	Irising, Misupmon, Soonggiring, Moripmon, Dinatinggi, Reringgi, Nipsiöng, Inewe, Yingyingon, Yinyiwen, Wosiri, Yongwenwen, Rondingo, Munyuring, Siriwen	Waringon, Yörömbing, Gorungon, Döfane, Ninippe, Dipewe, Manggirai, Rosiöng, Waasiöng, Hesieppe, Winggiöng, Ögate, Awurik
<b>4</b>	Koanggiri, Mökniangon, Yuuwivitnon	Nimöniöng, Botienuk, Manngutsiöng
<b>5</b>		Hesienare, Dirienare, Borisionang

In the sample above, 13 names, or 23%, end in the velar nasal /ng/. After this, 10 names, or 18%, end in the alveolar nasal /n/, and 9 names, or 16%, end in the vowel /e/. 7 names end in a monophthong /i/, and 6 names end in /k/. The segments /ö/, /a/, and /p/ each conclude only one name.

There are no phonological forms that distinguish female names from male names, although there are a few patterns in the data above, especially in the shape of the final syllable of the name. Patterns include: a) four women's names end in *-ing*, while only one man's name does; b) five men's names end in *-iöng*, while only one woman's name does; c) three women's names end in *-wen*, while no men's names do; d) five women's names end in *-on*, while two men's names do; e) seven men's names end in *-e*, while only two women's names do; f) five men's names end in *-k*, while only one woman's name does.

Personal names have various sources. Namesake relationships between people may be a new, post-missionization phenomenon. It is perhaps an older tradition for a man to bear the name of a waterway that flows through his clan's land. There is only one person so-named in a family per generation: in general, besides formal namesake relationships that are mutually-agreed upon, personal names are unique, with no people in the same generation sharing a name.

It is unclear sometimes whether an ancestor figure who shared a name with a waterway was named after the waterway, or the waterway was named after him, or whether the waterway itself was the ancestor. The same goes for plants. The man's name *Gorungon* in table 3.2 is the name of a Towet boy born in about 2009. He was named after a male ancestor. The boy is called *Gorong* for short, and this is considered the same name as that of a medicinal tree species, *gorung gorung*. When the boy sees a *gorung gorung* tree, he addresses it as *wase*, 'namesake.' (The ancestor, carrying a heavy string bag of taro under his arm, plunged many meters down a steep slope, and this slope now bears the name *Gorungons mö-ng mö-ng* 'Gorungon Falling.')

It is suspected that some of these names were Kâte in origin. At least one name from table 3.2, *Yörömbing*, is also used by speakers of other Morobe Province Papuan languages as far-flung as Awara (Quigley 2002: 11) and Ampeeli (West 1993, in title). In the region where Ampeeli is spoken, Yabem, not Kâte, was used as a church lingua franca. The provenance of the name is thus unclear.

Personal names, more than other nouns with human referents, are used in the 'et alia' and 'accompaniment' constructions to express plural (§4.1.4).

### 3.1.15 C2) place names

This sub-class comprises names of geographical locations, both names of land areas and names of waterways. As noted in §1.8.11, every patch of ground in the upper Uruwa River valley belongs to a named place; I am aware of no unnamed locations, even in the high forest owned and managed by Nungon speakers. These named areas range in size from approximately one acre to about three-to-four acres. This means that the land is a patchwork of named plots (with no artificial boundary-marking). Some place names reference the type of landforms found on the plots (*Kungin Bö* 'Kungin Peak,' *Kungin Arang* 'Base of Kungin,' *Kungin Bai* 'Kungin Area,' *Kungin<sub>Pr</sub> Daar-o-n<sub>Pe</sub>* 'At Kungin's eye' are all adjacent to each other; Kungin is the general area name), while others reference historical and mythical occurrences, such as *Boik=dek* 'At the Landslide,' and *Aap-no<sub>O</sub> Wet-do-k* 'He Beat Out His Song.' Note that when a place name is more than one word, as in the examples with *Kungin* above, this is most often either: 1) a two-noun NP (§4.3.2), with the specific place name as the first,

modifying, noun, and the generic term referring to a type of landscape feature (‘peak,’ ‘area,’ ‘base’) as the second, head term; or 2) a possessive NP (§4.3.4), with the specific place name as Possessor, and the generic landscape feature term as Possessed, heading the NP.

Every Nungon speaker, even schoolchildren, knows the names of land areas, and these feature prominently in traditional songs, many of which are superficially recitations of place names, and in narratives of journeys within the upper Uruwa area. Place names are often deeply evocative because they trigger nostalgia or other emotions. Thus, modern Nungon funerary songs often list places that were once traversed by the deceased to represent the vacuum left in his absence, as in (3.3):

3.3)	{[Bun Heep] <sub>OBL</sub>	öö-ng-a},	hori-ng=m-i
	Bun	steep	ascend-DEP-MV stare-DEP=CAUS-2SG
	Num	Uwa-in,	Sensayö.
	Num	pot-LOC	Sensayö

‘Ascending Bun Steepness, you behold Num In The Pot, (then) Sensayö.’ (Tomep song)

As noted in §3.1.14, personal names and place names may overlap; waterways in particular may also be names of people. Place names are not ordinarily possessed, though in theory could possibly host possessive suffixes with overtones of endearment: ? *Towet noni* ‘Towet 1PL.POSS,’ i.e. ‘our dear Towet.’ Like personal names and species names (§3.1.8), place names may not modify another noun in a two-noun NP. That is, *Towet amna* ‘Towet man,’ i.e. ‘a man of Towet’ is acceptable, but \**amna Towet* is not, unless the relativizer/specifier =*ma* follows *Towet*, yielding *amna Towet=ma*, ‘the (specific) man of Towet.’

### 3.1.16 C3) names of song corpora

Each Uruwa village has its own song corpora of the *koreng* ‘game, performance’ genre, which are meant for accompaniment by *uwing* hourglass drums or guitars. In Towet, each song of the *koreng* genre is identified as belonging to a major song corpus. These include: *Sia Sia*, *Tomep*, *Yapem*, *Öwok*, and *Yuyungon*. A song, *aap*, is described as an *Öwok aap*, *Yapem aap*, *Tomep aap*, etc., that is, belonging to the *Öwok*, *Yapem*, or *Tomep* corpus. The *Sia Sia*, *Yuyungon*, and *Öwok* corpora seem to

be older than the other corpora (because their songs are meant for *uwing*, not guitar, accompaniment); these contain songs with mostly foreign words. Song in the newer corpora, *Tomep* and *Yapem*, are largely in Nungon. Some of the corpus names are personal and/or place names—*Tomep* and *Yapem*—while others only exist nowadays as song corpus names.

This nominal sub-class has nearly the same distribution as that of personal names, but is not used to address.

### 3.1.17 Count and mass nouns

Nungon has several types of mass nouns. Liquids (*yamuk* ‘water,’ *nogot* ‘blood,’ *hiyet* ‘urine,’ *orup* ‘spittle,’ *mum* ‘milk’), earth (*gurok* ‘earth’), fire (*eepi* ‘fire’), wind (*hum* ‘wind’), cloth or barkcloth (*tik* ‘cloth’), general food terms (*tanak* ‘food,’ and *iyak* ‘greens’) and grasses (*gaam* ‘kunai grass,’ *hombong* ‘cane species’) may all serve as either mass or count nouns. Compound nouns based on these, such as *yok tik* ‘belongings,’ may also act as mass nouns.

When referring to the general substance or a single mass of it, these terms act as mass nouns, triggering singular agreement on the verb. But when referring to either: a) multiple groupings of the substances, or b) different types of the substance, they act as count nouns, triggering verbal agreement based on the number of groupings.

#### a) Multiple groupings of the substance

Liquids such as *yamuk* ‘water’ and *nogot* ‘blood,’ may be grouped into separate waterways (or bodies containing blood) or separate droplets. The following example was offered as a description of the expressive adverb *pinggap panggap*, which describes the dripping of fluid from the eyes of a cooked bird skull when a person bites down on it:

3.4)[Daar-<sub>OPe/Pr</sub>    yamug-<sub>OPe</sub>]s            hönggot-nang-ka-ng.  
           eye-3SG.POSS    water-3SG.POSS            emerge-PROB.PL-NF-2/3PL  
           ‘Its eye’s water (droplets) will emerge.’ (Field notes)

Here, *yamug-o* ‘its water’ triggers plural agreement on the verb because the substance is envisioned as multiple individual droplets. In the next example, ‘water’ also triggers plural agreement on the verb because it refers to multiple waterways:

3.5) *Wo-ndo*<sub>TOP.OBL</sub>      *yamuk*<sub>S</sub>      *aambek=gono*<sub>OBL</sub>      *ma=Ø-i-ng*.  
 that-LDEM.NEAR      water      close=RSTR      NEG=be-NP-2/3PL  
 ‘There, there aren’t any waterways close by.’ (Hesienare *yamuk* 0:03)

Similarly, when *gaam* ‘kunai grass’ refers to a broad category, or when it refers to a mass of kunai grass sheaves in a pile, it triggers singular agreement on the verb. But when it refers to individual sheaves, it may trigger dual or plural agreement on the verb depending on the number of sheaves. In the next example, the singular agreement on the verb references a mass of kunai grass sheaves in a single pile. This is the usual way to direct someone to aerate the pile by tossing the top pieces into the air. The singular subject of the verb here could be understood as the substance *gaam* ‘kunai grass’:

3.6) *T-i*      *horok*      *yo-un!*  
 SG.O.take-CAUS.2SG      surprise      say-IMM.IMP.3SG  
 ‘Stir it up!’ (Literally, by your doing, let it be surprised!) (Field notes)

Here, the Causative construction *t-i* is marked for singular O argument and the verb *yo-un* has 3sg inflection.

The noun *gurok* ‘earth’ functions as a mass noun when referring to the substance ‘dirt,’ and as a count noun when referring to plots of land, i.e. landholdings.

3.7) {[Gurok<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]s ir-a-ng}}, {[morum yoni]s  
earth other be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL owner 3PL.POSS  
[yoni-win<sub>Pr</sub> gurok-no<sub>Pe</sub>] =dek<sub>LOC</sub> ma=Ø-i-ng}}.  
3PL.PRO.EMPH-GEN earth-3SG.POSS=LOC NEG=be-NP.NSG-2/3PL

‘There are other pieces of land, their owners don’t stay on their own piece of land.’ (Field notes)

### b) Different types of the substance

This second type is rare, because most of the substances listed above are not considered to have multiple sub-types. There are, however, different types of *gurok* ‘earth (soil)’: these have traditional uses in barkcloth and body painting. In the example above, *gurok* ‘earth’ referred to groupings of earth—plots of land. But in the imagined example below, it refers to the substance itself, divided into sub-types:

3.8)[Gurok<sub>HEAD</sub> koit-no<sub>MOD</sub>]s ir-a-ng.  
earth many-ADJ be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL

‘Many (types of) soil/earth exist.’

Choice between the adjectives *morö* ‘big’ and *koit-no* ‘many’ can help distinguish between mass and count uses of these nouns. When a verb is present, *koit-no* ‘many’ as modifier of the S/A argument always triggers plural agreement in the verb. This could correspond to either type a) or b) of count noun behavior. Even when there is no verb present, as in verbless clauses, elliptical speech, or appended afterthoughts, the presence of *koit-no* as a modifier indicates that the noun it modifies is a count noun.

Descriptions of specific types of fauna and flora may be expressed with singular or plural number agreement on the verb—as in English. That is, a speaker may describe a bird’s behavior either with singular number, as ‘the rufous woodcock eats beetles,’ or with plural number: ‘rufous woodcocks eat beetles.’

## 3.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are a medium-sized open class. Adjectives modify nouns and serve as verbless clause complements. They cover a range of semantic types, including core and peripheral types identified by Dixon (2004: 4-5). They can also modify verbs, as adverbs. A few adjectives may modify other adjectives, as intensifiers or qualifiers (§3.2.6). Adjectives cannot modify nominal demonstratives or personal pronouns. Intensification of adjectives through reduplication and repetition is discussed in §4.4.3.

Morphologically, adjectives may be grouped into three classes. Class 1, with 21 members, contains monomorphemic adjectives. Class 2 adjectives form a large class, each member of which comprises one or more morphemes plus the adjectivizing suffix *-o/-no*. Class 3 adjectives are also a large class, and each comprises one or more morphemes plus the adjectivizing suffix *-ni*. Adjectives of all classes may be modified by the intensifier *hinom*, itself a Class 1 adjective meaning ‘true, very.’

Some Class 2 and Class 3 adjectives are derived from adjectival roots. Adjectival roots lacking derivational adjectivizing suffixes and usually do not modify nouns, although they may in certain circumstances (§4.3.3). They cannot occur alone in headless NPs. They may not be directly modified by the intensifier *hinom*. Adjectival roots, as well as some Class 1 monomorphemic adjectives, may serve in light verb constructions with the auxiliary verbs *to-* ‘do’ and *yo-* ‘say.’ These auxiliaries then mean ‘become’ and ‘be,’ respectively.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Adjectival roots may be divided on a morphological basis between those that are reduplicated and either derive from verbs or are expressive/onomatopoeic, and those that are not reduplicated and for which a derivational path is unclear. Examples of the former are *osuk osuk* ‘slippery,’ which serves as an adjective in the form *osuk-osug-o* ‘slippery’ and probably derives from the verb *osu-* ‘to miss (a target),’ and *poto-k-poto-k* ‘afraid/fear,’ which is made into an adjective *poto-k-poto-g-o* ‘fear-inducing,’ and which is derived from the verb *poto-* ‘fear, refuse.’ Examples of adjectival roots that are either not reduplicated or that are reduplicated but for which no derivational path is clear are *gomon* ‘red, ripe,’ the basis for Class 2

### 3.2.1 Class 1 adjectives

These adjectives are monomorphemic. They cover a range of semantic types, excluding HUMAN PROPENSITY, and also include the basic CARDINAL NUMBERS (see §3.2.3 for derivation of Class 3 cardinal numbers from Class 1 cardinal numbers).

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adjective *gomon-o*, and *manman* ‘dry,’ the basis for Class 2 adjective *manman-o*. There is no verb *man-* in present-day Nungon.

Table 3.3. Class 1 adjectives		
semantic type	adjective	meaning
DIMENSION	<i>morö</i>	‘big’
	<i>opmou</i>	‘small’
COLOUR	<i>songgorong</i>	‘yellow’
	<i>dook</i>	‘dark’
	<i>geseng</i>	‘brown,’ ‘grey’
	<i>högök</i>	‘white’
CARDINAL NUMBERS	<i>inggouk</i>	‘single,’ ‘one’
	<i>yoi</i>	‘pair,’ ‘two’
	<i>yaanhi</i>	‘threesome,’ ‘three’
POSITION	<i>uwin</i>	‘far’
	<i>ambek</i>	‘near’
	<i>ganang</i>	‘inside’
SIMILARITY/DISAMBIGUATION	<i>au</i>	‘other’
DOMESTICATION	<i>koök</i>	‘wild’
DIRECTIONALS	<i>kandok</i>	‘left, wrong’
	<i>bunggem</i>	‘right (side)’
QUANTIFICATION	<i>hatdek</i>	‘many’
	<i>toup</i>	‘too much’
AGE	<i>manahit</i>	‘youthful’
QUALIFICATION/AGE	<i>hinom</i>	‘old’ < ‘true’
VALUE (only one word, said by speakers to be a loan)	<i>imbange</i>	‘wonderful’ < Kâte <i>biang</i> ‘beauty, goodness, righteousness’ (Flierl and Strauss 1977: 46) or < Selepet/Timbe languages, which have <i>-nge</i> adjectivizer

Examples of Class 1 adjectives:

<i>oe</i>	<i>morö</i>	<i>haa</i>	<i>uwün</i>	<i>hap</i>	<i>koök</i>	<i>amna</i>	<i>kandok</i>
woman	big	area	far	dog	wild	man	left
‘large-bodied/important woman’		‘distant land’		‘wild dog’		‘left-handed man’	

The two DIMENSION Class 1 adjectives, *morö* ‘large’ and *opmou* ‘small,’ have the highest frequency in the texts collection of any adjectives: *morö* occurs 418 times in a corpus of roughly 15,000 words, while *opmou* occurs 421 times. In contrast, *hinom* ‘true’ occurs only 169 times, even though it may also function as an intensifier, modifying other adjectives. Class 2 adjectives meaning ‘good’ and ‘bad’ are the next-most-frequent adjectives, but still less frequent than *morö* and *opmou*.

The question word *dogong* ‘how many’ (§10.7.6) may be considered a Class 1 adjective; it modifies nouns and bears no adjectivizing suffix from Class 2 or 3.

### 3.2.2 Class 2 adjectives

These adjectives are formed by an adjectivizing suffix homophonous with the 3sg pertensive suffix used on nouns. In most cases, the source word—the word formed by removing the adjectivizing suffix—exists in its own right, either as an ‘adjectival root’ or as a noun or adverb.

Adjectival roots look at first glance like Class 2 or Class 3 adjectives with the adjectivizing suffix removed. Most may serve as the lexical element in a light verb construction (§11.1). As noted above, they may not be directly modified, unlike nouns. Sometimes they occur as nominal modifiers (§4.3.3).

Only nouns denoting abstract concepts, not those denoting concrete entities or body parts, may become Class 2 adjectives; this is a point of semantic difference between Class 2 and Class 3. In general, Class 2 adjectives describe relatively intrinsic properties. Class 2 is a large class; only a sampling of members is listed in table 3.4. This class lacks CARDINAL NUMBERS, but otherwise includes a wide range of semantic types.

<b>semantic type</b>	<b>adjective</b>	<b>meaning</b>	<b>source</b>	<b>source word class</b>
DIMENSION	<i>wakwag-o</i>	‘long’	<i>wakwak</i> ‘long’	adjectival root
	<i>hom-no</i>	‘short’	<i>hom</i> ‘short’	adjectival root
AGE	<i>osuk-no</i>	‘old’	<i>osuk</i> ‘first’	adverb
	<i>uyeg-o</i>	‘new’	<i>uyek</i> ‘raw, sleepless’	adverb
	<i>taambong-o</i>	‘aged, worn out’	<i>taambong</i> ‘old’	adjectival root
COLOUR	<i>gomon-o</i>	‘red’	<i>gomon</i> ‘red, ripe’	adjectival root
QUANTIFICATION	<i>koit-no</i>	‘many’	<i>koit</i> ‘many’	adjectival root
PHYSICAL PROPERTY/ SENSATION	<i>umum-o</i>	‘warm, cozy’	<i>umum</i> ‘warmth, coziness’	concept noun
	<i>saksag-o</i>	‘clean’	* <i>saksak</i> ‘clean’	*deverbal noun
	<i>tuktug-o</i>	‘clear’	<i>tuktuk</i> ‘clear’	adjectival root
	<i>haha-no</i>	‘blurry’	<i>haha</i> ‘lightweightness’	adjectival root?
	<i>inging-o</i>	‘fierce, hurtful’	<i>inging</i> ‘hurt’	concept noun
	<i>iwiw-o</i>	‘tasty’	<i>iwip</i> ‘interest’	concept noun
	<i>meep-mo</i>	‘heavy’	<i>meep</i> ‘weightiness’	concept noun
	<i>yungan-o</i>	‘lightweight’	<i>yungan</i> ‘lightweight’	adjectival root
	<i>matang-no</i>	‘small’	?	?
	<i>horong-no</i>	‘loose-fitting’	<i>horong</i> ‘loose’	adverb
	<i>gorig-o</i>	‘tight-fitting’	<i>gorik</i> ‘tight’	deverbal noun
<i>uung-o</i>	‘taboo, fierce’	?	?	
VALUE	<i>orog-o</i>	‘good’	<i>orok</i> ‘goodness’	concept noun
	<i>moin-no</i>	‘bad’	<i>moi</i> ‘bad’	adjectival root
	<i>taktag-o</i>	‘boring’	<i>taktak</i> ‘boredom’	concept noun
	<i>potok potog-o</i>	‘fearsome’	<i>potok potok</i> ‘fear’	deverbal noun
	<i>hut-no</i>	‘actual’	<i>hut</i> ‘news’	concept noun
HUMAN PROPENSITY	<i>kiip-mo</i>	‘stingy’	?	?
	<i>iron-mo</i>	‘idle’	<i>iron</i> ‘free’	adverb
SIMILARITY	<i>bom-mo</i>	‘similar to’	?	?
	<i>wo-go-no</i>	‘like that’	<i>wo-go</i> ‘that-RSTR’	demonstrative
QUALIFICATION	<i>bon-no</i>	‘true’	?	?
ORDINAL NUMBERS	<i>yoi-no</i>	‘second’	<i>yoi</i> ‘two’	Class 1 adjective

With these adjectives, there does not seem to be any pattern to whether the suffix takes the form *-o* or *-no*. I have observed some adjectives with both forms; this was explained to me as dialect-mixing. I suspect that originally there was a phonological explanation; the neatness of this might have become clouded through dialect-mixing.

In only one instance, two different Class 2 adjectives seem to be derived from a single lexeme. The usual way to describe ‘new’ things is with Class 2 adjective *uyeg-o* ‘new.’ This derives from adverb *uyek* ‘raw.’ In one text, an old man also uses the alternative form of the Class 2 derivational suffix, *-no*, to derive *uyek-no* ‘raw’:

3.9) {[Tanak<sub>HEAD</sub> uyek-no<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> hi-ng-a}... [di-k~di-k-ni]<sub>TOP</sub> {wo-rok<sub>O</sub>  
 food raw-ADJ put-DEP-MV burn-NMZ:RED-ADJ that-SEMBL  
 ger-a} {{ga-mo-nang-ka-ng}}.

ladle.out-MV 2SG.O-give-PL.PROB-NF-2/3PL

‘Having put down the raw food... the cooked: that’s what they would ladle out and give you.’ (Nongi oe min 4:08-4:11)

In another text, however, the same speaker contrasts the Class 3 adjective *di-k-di-k-ni* ‘cooked’ with *uyeg-o*:

3.10) {[Di-k~di-k-ni]<sub>O</sub>, [uyeg-o]<sub>O</sub>, [dirong<sub>HEAD</sub> dongdong<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub>  
 burn-NMZ:RED-ADJ new-ADJ hair replete  
 yoo-ng-a}, {{e-ng=it-do-mong}}.

NSG.O.pick-DEP-MV come-DEP=be-RP-1PL

‘Cooked, raw, un-skinned, picking them up, we used to come.’ (Nongi hap tanmano 1:53)

Class 2 adjectives can be derived from complex deverbal nominalizations, as in the following example, in which the usual verbal negator *ma=* remains in the derived adjective:

- 3.11) [Korowasi=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ma=huk to-k~to-k]-no<sub>TOP</sub>,  
 axe=INSTR NEG=slice do-NMZ:RED-ADJ  
 {wo=ma-i<sub>ANAPH.O</sub>, gowik=dek<sub>OBL</sub> hai-ng-a}, {{waga-wang-ka-rok}}.  
 that=SPEC-TOP knife=INSTR cut-DEP-MV pound-PROB.SG-NF-2SG  
 ‘(It being) not sliced with an axe, as for that, having cut it with a knife, you will  
 pound it.’ (Field notes)

Here is another example:

- 3.12) [Eep<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]. [Ma=to-k~to-k]-no.  
 tree large NEG=do-NMZ:RED-ADJ  
 ‘A large tree. A not-done (one).’ (Narrative II, Appendix, 0:36)

### 3.2.3 Class 3 adjectives

Class 3 adjectives are formed by adding the adjectivizing suffix *-ni* to a word or phrase. This is the most productive adjective-deriving process in the Nungon grammar. Most nouns—conceptual and concrete—may be adjectivized with addition of *-ni*. Certain forms of verbs that cannot be adjectivized with the Class 2 suffix *-o/-no* may be adjectivized with the Class 3 suffix *-ni*. These are then negated with the usual verbal negator, *ma=*. The suffix *-ni* can even create an adjective from an entire verbless clause.

Loan words are incorporated into this class. For instance, Tok Pisin *big het* < English *big head* is *pikhet* or *piket* in Nungon. It may not modify without the Class 3 adjectivizing suffix: *piket-ni* ‘annoying.’

Table 3.5 shows selected Class 3 adjectives that each comprise a single phonological word.

<b>semantic type</b>	<b>adjective</b>	<b>meaning</b>	<b>source</b>	<b>source word class</b>
COLOUR	<i>biigo-ni</i>	‘green/blue’	<i>biigo</i> ‘verdant’	adjectival root
	<i>kombut-ni</i>	‘black’	<i>kombut</i> ‘black’	adjectival root
PHYSICAL PROPERTY/ SENSATION	<i>bogot-ni</i>	‘dirty’	<i>bogot</i> ‘dirty’	adjectival root
	<i>dirong-ni</i>	‘hairy’	<i>dirong</i> ‘hair’	concrete noun
	<i>gaungo-ni</i>	‘sticky’	<i>gaung-o</i> ‘its stickiness’	possessed concrete noun
	<i>him-ni</i>	‘sickly’	<i>him</i> ‘sick, sickness’	concept noun
	<i>mundeng-ni</i>	‘having light breast colouring (of bird)’	?	?
	<i>murong-ni</i>	‘naked’	<i>murong</i> ‘genitals’	concrete noun
	<i>sugik-ni</i>	‘ashy’ (of skin)	<i>sugik</i> ‘skin disease’	concrete noun
HUMAN PROPENSITY	<i>bumbum-ni</i>	‘stupid’	<i>bumbum</i> ‘stupid’	adjectival root
	<i>imbogo-ni</i>	‘lying’	<i>imbogo</i> ‘lie’	concept noun
	<i>mayak-ni</i>	‘lazy’	<i>maya-k</i> ‘idleness’	deverbal concept noun
	<i>iik-ni</i>	‘annoying’	<i>iik</i> ‘anger’	concept noun
	<i>öönggöng-ni</i>	‘insubordinate’	<i>öö-ng-göng</i> ‘rising’	verb participle
CARDINAL NUMBERS	<i>yoit-ni</i>	‘two’	<i>yoi</i> ‘two’	cardinal number
	<i>yaanhit-ni</i>	‘three’	<i>yaanhi</i> ‘three’	cardinal number
SIMILARITY	<i>wo-go-ni</i>	‘predisposed to that’	<i>wo-go</i> ‘that-ADV’	demonstrative
OTHER: MARITAL STATUS	<i>oe-no-ni</i>	‘with wife’	<i>oe-no</i> ‘woman-3SG.POSS’	possessed kin term
	<i>op-no-ni</i>	‘with husband’	<i>op-no</i> ‘husband-3SG.POSS’	possessed kin term

The suffix *-ni* may be translated into English as *-ish*. Class 3 adjectives generally describe more transient or less intrinsic properties than the Class 2 suffix *-o/-no*. Although there are no tokens of the age, value, dimension, or quantification semantic types here, these could be improvised, since suffixation of *-ni* is a highly productive process.

This is the class into which concrete nouns such as *nunggait* ‘fireplace hook’ can be adjectivized: *nunggait-ni* refers to tree branches that form natural hooks—which are very useful in forest crafts. The Class 3 adjective *gurok-ni*, from the concrete noun *gurok* ‘earth,’ means ‘full of earth,’ of a harvested root vegetable, for instance, that still has earth attached. This is not the usual term for ‘dirty’: another Class 3 adjective, *bogot-ni* ‘dirty,’ formed from the adjectival root *bogot*, serves that purpose.

If the concrete noun being adjectivized ordinarily occurs with a pertensive suffix, the Class 3 adjectivizing suffix *-ni* follows the pertensive suffix—always in the 3sg form here. Thus, *gaung-o* ‘its stickiness’ becomes *gaung-o-ni*, while *oe-no* ‘his wife’ and *op-no* ‘her husband’ maintain these forms before the suffix *-ni*. Note that the pertensive suffix embedded in these derived adjectives no longer indexes person/number of the Possessor, as below:

- 3.13)      Nok<sub>VCS</sub>            [amna<sub>HEAD</sub>      oe-no-ni<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
                  1SG.PRO            man                    woman-3SG.POSS-ADJ  
                  ‘I am a married man.’ [\**oe-na-ni* ‘woman-1SG.POSS-ADJ’]

Alternatively, a concrete noun that usually occurs with a pertensive suffix may lose this suffix before *-ni*, as with *dirong* ‘hair’: this becomes *dirong-ni* ‘hairy,’ not \**dirong-o-ni*.

Like the Class 2 suffix, the Class 3 suffix *-ni* may derive an adjective comprising more than one phonological word, as in the following example:

- 3.14)      {[Yii<sub>HEAD</sub>      [mumbot      hi-k~hi-k-ni]<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub>      gurok=dek<sub>OBL</sub>      hi-ng-a}...  
                  vine                    gather.up            put-NMZ:RED~ADJ      earth=LOC            put-DEP-MV  
                  ‘Placing the gathered-up-and-set-aside vines on the ground...’ (Geisch nanno 6:28)

Here *-ni* follows a tight multi-verb construction combining *mumbot-* ‘gather up’ and *hi-* ‘place down’; the final element of the multi-verb construction, *hi-*, is nominalized, and *-ni* attaches to this. It is common for *-ni* to follow such nominalized verbs.

In one corpus example, *-ni* makes an entire verbless clause into an adjective. The verbless clause is:

- 3.15)     Maa-no<sub>VCS</sub>     muuno<sub>VCC</sub>.  
           name-3SG.POSS not  
           ‘Its name (is) not.’

This becomes:

- 3.16)     Eep<sub>VCS</sub>            wo,     [[maa-no<sub>VCS</sub>            muuno<sub>VCC</sub>]-ni]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
           tree                that     name-3SG.POSS            not-ADJ  
           ‘The tree (there), as for it, it’s nameless.’

### 3.2.4 Semantic differences between Class 2 and Class 3 adjectives

As seen in §3.2.2 and §3.2.3, Class 2 and Class 3 overlap in terms of the semantic types covered. Both Class 2 and Class 3 contain anaphoric adjectives derived from the distal demonstrative *wo* and suffix *-go* (see §13.2.4). The difference in meaning between *wo-go-no* ‘like that’ and *wo-go-ni* ‘predisposed to that’ can be subtle.

The form derived by the Class 2 suffix *-no*, *wo-go-no* ‘like that,’ represents a dispassionate, objective observation. It often refers to non-human antecedents. When it refers to human antecedents, it most commonly references the size/age of children:

- 3.17)     [Au=ma]<sub>VCS</sub>,     [gungak<sub>HEAD</sub>     opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>, wo-go-no<sub>VCC</sub>.  
           other=SPEC     child            small            that-ADV-ADJ  
           ‘The other one, a small child, like that one.’ [Accompanied by a gesture toward boy  
           in room]

In contrast, *wo-go-ni* refers to typically human propensities or fickle or mutable behaviors, as seen in the next example:

- 3.18) Gagav<sub>VCS</sub>      indin<sub>VCC</sub>,      wo-go-ni=gon<sub>VCC</sub>,      maya-k-ni<sub>VCC</sub>,  
 2SG.PRO.EMPH same      that-ADV-ADJ=RSTR      idle-NMZ-ADJ  
 gari-k-ni<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 roam-NMZ-ADJ  
 ‘You yourself as well, (are) just like that, lazy, aimless.’

The next example refers to a waterway in full flood: if not in flood, it would have been safe to cross.

- 3.19) [Yamuk<sub>HEAD</sub>      wo-go-ni<sub>MOD</sub>]o      ma=yemo-ng=ir-a-ng.  
 water      that-ADV-ADJ      NEG=cross-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 ‘They don’t cross that-ish water.’

The temporary flooded state subsided overnight.

### 3.2.5 Class 1, Class 2 and Class 3 number words

Like many other Finisterre-Huon languages, Nungon seems to have historically had three number words, possibly meaning more ‘single,’ ‘pair,’ and ‘threesome’ than ‘one,’ ‘two,’ and ‘three.’ (Claims of a more intricate system for Yopno are in Wassmann and Dasen 1994b.) As noted in §1.1, nowadays these words are in everyday use for counting, but Tok Pisin words are used by all for counting above three. The Yawan and Worin elementary schools teach what seem to be neologisms, based on hands and feet, for the numbers up to twenty, but these are only used when speakers are trying to speak ‘pure’ Nungon.

As seen in §3.2.1, §3.2.2, and §3.2.3 above, there are Class 1, Class 2, and Class 3 forms of these number words. The Class 1 forms are the normal cardinal numbers *inggouk* ‘one’ (an alternative monophthongal pronunciation is *ingguk*), *yoi* ‘two,’ and *yaanhi* ‘three.’ Suffixation of the Class 2 derivational suffix *-no* to these and to other number words, both Nungon neologisms and Tok Pisin loans, creates ordinal numbers, such as *yoi-no* ‘the second,’ *yaanhi-no* ‘the third.’ An exception is that the cardinal number *inggouk* ‘one’ does not take this suffix to become an ordinal number; instead, the adverb *osuk* ‘first’ is used.

The Class 3 derivational suffix *-ni* may affix to all Class 1 cardinal numbers to derive cardinal numbers with slightly different distribution than the Class 1 cardinal numbers. All of *inggouk-ni* ‘single,’ *yoit-ni* ‘in group of two,’ and *yaanhit-ni* ‘in group of three’ are attested, although there is only one instance each of *inggouk-ni* ‘single’ and *yaanhit-ni* ‘in group of three’ in the corpus. In contrast, *yoit-ni* ‘in group of two’ is widely used, with 37 instances in the corpus. The Class 1 *yoi* ‘two’ and Class 3 *yoit-ni* ‘in group of two’ are nearly interchangeable when referring to inanimates such as twine or trees. In the following consecutive sentences from a single text on tree house construction, the speaker first quotes one man as telling the other to bring two (*yoi*) rolls of prepared vines up to the house platform:

- 3.20)    {{        [[[Yii<sub>Pr</sub>        mum-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> yoi<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub>        yoo-ng-a}
- vine               roll-3SG.POSS   two       NSG.O.take-DEP-MV
- {{öo-hi}}]<sub>SR:O</sub>,        i-no-go-k}}.
- ascend-IMM.IMP.2SG   3SG.O-tell-RP-3SG

‘Taking two rolls of vines, go up,’ he told him. (Geisch nanno yup bök 6:25)

Immediately following this sentence, the speaker describes the addressee as placing all the rest of the rolls of vines on the ground, and taking two (*yoit-ni*) up the tree with him, as instructed. The following sentence is the source of example (3.14) above:

- 3.21)    {T-un-a},        {{yii<sub>HEAD</sub>        [mumbot        hi-k~hi-k-ni]<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub>
- do-DS.3SG-MV   vine               gathered.in       place-NMZ:RED-ADJ]
- gurok=dek<sub>OBL</sub>   hi-ng-a},        {{wo-rok,        yoit-ni<sub>O</sub>        yoo-ng
- earth=LOC       place-DEP-MV   that-SEMBL       two-ADJ       NSG.O.take-DEP
- öö-go-k}}.
- ascend-RP-3SG

‘He having done that, (the other,) placing the gathered-in and set-down vines on the ground, then, took two and ascended.’ (Geisch nanno yup bök 6:28)

Here, the difference between *yoi* and *yoit-ni* is subtle. With people, the Class 3 form *yoit-ni* is largely found in the context of pairs of siblings or children. Otherwise, pairings of people are usually indicated using the Class 1 form *yoi*. Of 37 instances of *yoit-ni* in the corpus, 20 refer to inanimate objects—living and non-living—such as vines, trees, and iron posts; another four refer to wild animals. In all but one of the 13 instances in which *yoit-ni* indicates a pairing of people, the pairing is one of siblings or of offspring, when a person has exactly two children. The single exception is from a Nungon sentence written by a Grade 8 student literate in English; in describing a picture in a book, he began a sentence with *oamna yoit-ni* ‘people two-ADJ,’ which is not standard Nungon usage.

The mammal *gorombök* (long-fingered triok) is said to call in Nungon based on the size of the grouping it happens to be in. This call always uses the Class 1 forms of the cardinal numbers. If the mammal is by itself, it calls: *nok inggouk, gok inggouk* ‘1SG.PRO<sub>VCS</sub> one<sub>VCC</sub> 2SG.PRO<sub>VCS</sub> one<sub>VCC</sub>,’ literally, ‘I’m one, you’re one.’ If it is in a group of two, it calls: *nok yoi, gok yoi*, ‘I’m two, you’re two,’ and if it is in a group of three, it calls: *nok yaanhi, gok yaanhi*. The forms of the pronouns do not change with the number adjectives: *nok* ‘1SG.PRO’ and *gok* ‘2SG.PRO’ are used regardless of the adjective’s number.

Repetition of the Class 1 forms of the first two cardinal numbers yields the expressions *inggouk inggouk* ‘a few (here and there),’ and *yoit yoit* ‘both.’ These expressions generally occur as the response to a question—‘Do a lot of people in the Uruwa valley understand Nukna?’—‘A few (here and there); a smattering’; ‘Should we take this path, or the other path?’—‘Both (are fine).’

### 3.2.6 Adjectives that can modify other adjectives

The four adjectives that can modify other adjectives are in table 3.6. All follow the modified adjective, except *opmou* ‘small,’ which precedes it. All four also function to modify nouns. They belong to Classes 1 and 2 only.

**Table 3.6. Adjectives that modify other adjectives**

adjective	gloss as adjective	position as modifier	example with <i>orog-o</i> ‘good’
<i>opmou</i> (Class 1)	small	before adjective	<i>opmou orog-o</i> ‘a little good’
<i>hinom</i> (Class 1)	true	after adjective	<i>orog-o hinom</i> ‘very good’
<i>uung-o</i> (Class 2)	taboo, fierce	after adjective	<i>orog-o uung-o</i> ‘very good’
<i>hut-no</i> (Class 2)	actual	after adjective	<i>orog-o hut-no</i> ‘good indeed’

3.22) { [[ [Giip<sub>HEAD</sub> inging<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> [toup hinom]<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub>

skin hurt too.much INTENS

ma=i-mo-gu-ng } }.

NEG=3SG.O-give-RP-2/3PL

‘They did not give him extremely much pain.’ (David Ögate 12:09)

The adjective *opmou* ‘small’ does not always modify a succeeding adjective:

3.23) [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> opmou<sub>MOD</sub> hom-nomod moin-nomod]<sub>S</sub>, bög-inobl

[man small short-adj ugly-adj] house-loc

ir=it-do-k.

be=be-RP-3SG

‘A small, short, ugly man, he used to stay at home.’ (Ges hat 2 2:16)

One noun, *amba* ‘men’s house,’ may serve as intensifying modifier only of the adjective *morö* ‘large,’ and only in the speech of those under 40 or so. In the next example, the head of the NP that contains only explicit modifiers is recoverable from context: a large piece of taro has just been given to the speaker.

3.24) [[Morö<sub>MOD</sub> amba<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> hut-nomod]<sub>O</sub> na-mo-ha-rok.

[large INTENS true-adj] 1SG.O-give-pres.sg-2sg

‘You are giving me a truly extremely large (one).’ (Field notes)

The development trajectory of this sense of *amba* is not clear, but it may be similar to the trajectory of *uung-o* ‘taboo,’ since the men’s houses were also referred to as *uung-o* ‘taboo.’ Something that is taboo is extreme, hence intensified meaning of the preceding adjective. Traditional men’s houses were larger than women and children’s houses, though—they housed more people!—and the fact that *amba* may only modify *morö* ‘large’ may relate to the physical size of men’s houses.

### 3.2.7 Polar adjective pairs

There are twelve core pairs of polar adjectives. The two members of each pair are natural opposites. Most of these pairs occur within the same adjective class. It is noteworthy, however, that of Class 2 polar adjective pairs, the more-desirable of the two members often receives the suffix form *-o*, while the less-desirable often receives the suffix form *-no*. (It could be argued that *inging-o* ‘hot, hurtful’ and *hum-o* ‘cold, dull, soothing’ are equally desirable in a *yin/yang*-type system, as outlined in Wassmann and Dasen 1994a. Similarly, *onding-o* ‘strong’ does not always have positive connotations as in English, and *siing-o* ‘weak’ describes pliant materials and desirable, delicate foods.)

<b>Table 3.7. Polar adjective pairs</b>			
<b>Class 1</b>			
<i>morö</i>	large	<i>opmou</i>	small
<i>uwin</i>	far	<i>ambek</i>	near
<b>Class 2 (both -o)</b>			
<i>inging-o</i>	hurtful, hot	<i>hum-o</i>	soothing, cold
<i>onding-o</i>	hard, strong	<i>siing-o</i>	soft, weak
<b>Class 2 (one -o, one -no)</b>			
<i>orog-o</i>	good	<i>moin-no</i>	bad
<i>wakwag-o</i>	long	<i>hom-no</i>	short
<i>gorig-o</i>	tight	<i>horong-no</i>	loose
<i>tuktug-o</i>	clear	<i>haha-no</i>	blurry
<i>yungan-o</i>	light	<i>meep-mo</i>	heavy
<i>uyeg-o</i>	new	<i>osuk-no</i>	old
<i>manman-o</i>	dry	<i>bom-no</i>	wet
<b>Mixed: Class 2 and Class 3</b>			
<i>saksag-o</i>	clean	<i>bogot-ni</i>	dirty

### 3.2.8 Summary: Differences between adjective classes

The adjective classes differ in morphology, and further in the following areas:

**Derivational source:** Class 1 adjectives are monomorphemic. Class 2 adjectives derive from adjectival roots, deverbal nouns, adverbs, and other concept nouns. Class 3 adjectives derive from all these sources, but also may derive from possessed and free concrete nouns and verbless clauses.

**Pertensive suffixes:** Class 1 and Class 3 adjectives cannot host pertensive suffixes directly. Although theoretically they could if serving in a headless NP with =*ma* (see §4.3.1), this actually only occurs with the adjective *morö* ‘large.’ In contrast, Class 2 adjectives may host pertensive suffixes directly—then they function as possessed nouns.

**Meaning:** The difference in meaning between Class 2 adjectives and Class 3 adjectives may be represented by the difference in meaning between Class 2 demonstrative-derived adjective *wo-go-no* ‘like that’ and its Class 3 counterpart, *wo-go-ni* ‘predisposed to that.’ Like *wo-go-no*, most Class 2 adjectives are more likely to describe qualities of nonhumans than of humans: often, general or inherent qualities. In contrast, Class 3 adjectives include a range of—predominantly negative—HUMAN PROPENSITY adjectives, and unlimited specific physical qualities, such as *nunggait-ni* ‘hook-shaped.’

The three Nungon adjective classes behave the same syntactically but differ morphologically, in terms of overall semantic composition, and in the possibility of hosting pertensive suffixes.

### 3.2.9 Differences between adjectives and nouns

Class 2 adjectives are formally similar to possessed nouns; like nouns, adjectives may serve as the only explicit element in an NP (§4.3.1). But there are several criteria for distinguishing between adjectives and nouns, listed below:

**1. Ability to serve as S/A argument of a verb.** Adjectives lacking additional grammatical suffixes or modifiers—such as the possessive suffixes that can occur with Class 2 adjectives, or the specifier *ma*—can never serve as S/A argument of a verb.

**2. Ability to serve as head of verbless clause subject.** Adjectives lack this ability. In Nungon, a statement such as ‘large is good’ would be expressed using a deverbal nominalization: ‘being large is good.’

**3. Ability to modify nouns as the first member in noun-modifying-noun constructions.** Although nouns may modify other nouns in these constructions, adjectives may not. That is, the two-noun NP

(§4.3.2) *hawek amna* ‘theft man’ = ‘man of theft’ is acceptable, where the noun *hawek* ‘theft’ modifies *amna* ‘man,’ but \**onding-o amna* ‘strong-ADJ man’ does not mean ‘man of strength’; it is ungrammatical.

**4. Meaning when modified by intensifier *hinom* ‘very, true’ and adjectives *opmou* ‘small,’ *uung-o* ‘taboo,’ or *hut-no* ‘true.’** Adjectives modified by *hinom* indicate intensification of the value expressed by the adjective, e.g. *onding-o hinom* ‘strong-ADJ INTENS’ = ‘very strong.’ Nouns modified by *hinom*, in contrast, gain the meaning ‘original, true,’ e.g. *bising hinom* ‘grass INTENS’ = ‘original (type of) grass.’

**5. Ability to modify verbs as an adverb.** Possible for adjectives, but never for nouns.

**6. Ability to form a light verb construction with auxiliary *to-* ‘do’ or *yo-* ‘say.’** While this is possible with most adjectival roots, even a deverbal noun preceding *to-* or *yo-* can only be interpreted as an object argument or oblique of the verb. More on light verb constructions is at §11.1.

**7. Meaning when repeated.** Repetition of an adjective both intensifies the meaning of the adjective and indicates plurality of its NP. In contrast, repetition of a noun leads to unpredictable changes in meaning. For instance, *siget* is the name of an edible fern variety. An inedible fern variety with smaller leaflets and more stem divisions than *siget* is called *siget siget*. A tree variety is called *udan*, while *udan udan* are the throat lymph nodes on mammals.

### 3.2.10 ‘Labile’ adjectives

A few adjectives may also function as nouns, fulfilling all the criteria for noun-hood listed in §3.1: serving as head of an NP, subject of a verbless clause, and/or as S/A argument of a verb. Their primary and most frequent function is as adjective, with nounhood a secondary, infrequent use. When functioning as nouns, ‘labile’ adjectives must occur with the adjectivizing suffix: the bare adjectival root can never function as a noun.

All adjectives may take the locative enclitic =*dek* when modifying a noun in an NP. But only labile adjectives may take the locative enclitic =*dek* when not modifying a noun—this occurs when

the adjective is functioning as head of an NP. Only labile adjectives may bear pertensive suffixes, which are attached after the adjectivizing suffix.

The Tok Pisin counterparts of some of the labile adjectives in Nungon, such as Tok Pisin *hevi* ‘heavy/problem’ for Nungon *meep-mo* ‘heavy,’ may also function as nouns in Tok Pisin. It is as yet unclear whether the Nungon phenomenon is due to influence from Tok Pisin. The known Nungon labile adjectives are in table 3.8:

<b>Table 3.8. Labile adjectives</b>		
<b>adjective</b>	<b>gloss as adjective</b>	<b>gloss as noun</b>
<i>meep-mo</i>	heavy	weight, problem
<i>onding-o</i>	strong	strength, toughness
<i>moin-no</i>	bad	badness
<i>orog-o</i>	good	goodness
<i>osuk-no</i>	old	olden days
<i>uyeg-o</i>	new	modern times
<i>iwiw-o</i>	delicious	deliciousness
<i>uung-o</i>	taboo	taboo relative (calque from Tok Pisin)?
<i>kombut-ni</i>	black	Papua New Guinean, dark-skinned person
<i>högök</i>	white	Person of European origin

- 3.25) {Ongo-ng-a}, {{meep-mo=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ong-i-rok}}.  
 go-DEP-MV heavy-ADJ=LOC go-IRR.SG-2SG  
 ‘Going on, you may go into a problem.’ (Field notes)

Labile adjectives may be used as in (3.25), with the locative postposition =*dek*. But they cannot take the locative suffix *-(i)n*.

The last two labile adjectives of table 3.8, *kombut-ni* ‘black’ and *högök* ‘white,’ may be more recent additions to the group of labile adjectives through the influence of Tok Pisin. Unlike all the other labile adjectives, these primarily refer to humans when serving as nouns.

### 3.3 Verbs

Nungon verbs may be divided into classes based on verb root morpho-phonology and inflectional behavior, and based on transitivity. The transitivity-related classes do not coincide with the morpho-phonological classes. Morpho-phonological verb classes are introduced in §5.1. Transitivity-related verb classes are introduced in §5.2. Verbs bearing object argument-referencing prefixes form a closed sub-class of Nungon verbs that spans morpho-phonological classes. These are discussed in §5.3.

#### 3.3.1 Verbs used as auxiliaries in complex predicates

Certain verbs may also serve as auxiliaries in complex predicates (§11.1). Complex predicates are the main vehicle for loan incorporation as verbs. That is, a Tok Pisin word may be accompanied by the inflected Nungon verb *to-* ‘do’ and thus used as a verbal expression in Nungon speech, but a foreign word cannot be inflected on its own, perhaps partly because of the stringent Nungon restrictions on forms of verbal roots. The usual auxiliary verbs used in complex predicates are *to-* ‘do,’ *yo-* ‘say,’ and *it-* ‘be,’ with ‘do’ often bearing the meaning ‘become,’ *yo-* bearing the meaning ‘be,’ and *it-* indicating imperfective aspect. Less common is *ongo-* ‘go,’ which tends to mean ‘become’ or ‘be on the way to becoming.’ Other verbs do also occur as the inflecting members of complex predicates; these other verbs include *hi-* ‘put’ and *mut-* ‘point.’

The verb *it-* ‘be’ is used as an existential copula and as auxiliary in the Habitual and progressive aspects. Its inflectional paradigm is irregular. Thus, this verb is anomalous in both the morpho-phonological and syntactic verb classification schemes.

#### 3.3.2 The verb ‘hear/understand/know/feel’

The verb *orom hi-* comprises a nonverbal component, *orom*, which does not occur alone in the present-day Nungon lexicon, plus the verb *hi-* ‘put.’ (As seen in table 1.2 in §1.5.2, forms of this verb vary across Nungon dialects.) *Orom hi-* is apparently the only verb in Towet Nungon which may be

negated using the Present tense form of the verb. When I first heard this negation with Present tense form and asked about it, I was told that it was done so in the Yawan dialect.

### 3.3.3 Meteorological verbs: *iso-* ‘dawn’ and *dook yo-* or *dowok si-* ‘get dark’

There are three Nungon meteorological verbal expressions, which usually occur without explicit or recoverable-from-context S arguments. For all three, the only possible NP that can serve as S argument is *haa* ‘weather/place/area/ambience.’ The verb *iso-* ‘dawn’ is the only simple meteorological verb; the other two expressions, *dowok si-* ‘get dark’ and *dook yo-* ‘get dark’ are light verb constructions (§11.1). Below, *iso-* ‘dawn’ is shown without explicit S argument in (3.26), and with *haa* ‘weather’ as S argument in (3.27):

- 3.26)      {Duo-un-a},                      {{iso-go-k}}.    {Iso-un-a},  
                  sleep-DS.3SG-MV              dawn-RP-3SG    dawn-DS.3SG-MV  
                  {{amnas              indongo-go-k}}.  
                  man                      stand.up-RP-3SG  
                  ‘He having slept, it dawned. It having dawned, the man rose.’ (Ges story 1 3:40)

- 3.27)      {{Yangam-oo    to-ng=it-ta-k}},                      {haas    iso-un-a}.  
                  face-3SG.POSS    do-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG              area    dawn-DS.3SG-MV  
                  ‘The moon’s face is visible, dawn breaking.’ [Literally: ‘(The moon) makes its face,  
                  as the environs dawn.’] (Field notes)

Although the nominalized form *dowoksi* ‘evening’ is far more common in present-day Nungon than the verbal form from which it seems to be derived, *dowok si-* ‘get dark’ is akin to *iso-* in taking no explicit subject. This light verb construction has *hi-* ‘put’ in the Worin/Kotet pronunciation *si-*, combined with *dowok*, which seems to be the diachronic source for present-day Towet *dook* ‘black, dark blue’ (other dialects use *kombut* for ‘black’).

Although *dowok si-* is rarely used in discourse nowadays, it is most likely the source of *dowoksi* ‘evening.’

3.28) {W-ondo<sub>OBL</sub> it-na-ya}, {dowok<sub>S</sub> si-un si-un<sub>MANN=to</sub>,  
 that-LDEM.NEAR be-DS.1PL-MV dark put-3SG put-3SG=FOC  
 dowok<sub>S</sub> si-un-a} {{urop öö-ng ongo-go-mong}}.  
 dark put-DS.3SG-MV enough ascend-DEP go-RP-1PL

‘We staying there, dark falling, dark having fell, that’s it, we went off ascending.’

(Geisch nanno orin orugo 0:43)

The light verb construction *dook yo-* ‘dark say’ also refers to ‘darkness falling,’ i.e., nightfall: this is the usual way to speak of dusk nowadays.

### 3.4 Adverbs

Adverbs in Nungon are a heterogenous group of verbal modifiers. Most delimit manner, location, or time. Three phasal adverbs relate to verbal aspect. Like pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, and some nouns, many adverbs may also combine with the restrictive/durative postposition =*gon* (§8.8). As seen in §3.2, some adjectives are derived from adverbs. Like adjectives and nouns, many adverbs may be modified by the intensifier *hinom* (§3.2.6).

Since adjectives may also modify verbs, as noted in §3.2, adverbs are here defined as words that modify verbs but cannot modify nouns (without being followed by the specifier =*ma*—see §4.3.3 and §12.6). Unlike ‘labile’ adjectives (§3.2.10), adverbs can never bear pertensive suffixes or the locative enclitic =*dek*. Although adverbs may serve as complements—or, rarely, subjects—of verbless clauses, such utterances sound elliptical and may always be expanded through addition of a verb for the adverb to modify.

In a clause with verbal predicate, the adverb usually precedes the object argument, if it is explicit in the clause. The adverb may be fronted if topicalized, or appended as an afterthought. The first example below shows the manner adverb *karup* ‘quick’ in neutral position:



- 3.34) [Amna Towet=ma]<sub>s</sub> ongo-ya-k.  
 man Towet=SPEC go-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘A man of Towet is going (away).’

In contrast to the place name *Towet*, however, *karup* ‘quick’ can directly modify the verb:

- 3.35) [Amna morö]<sub>s</sub> karup ongo-ya-k.  
 man big quick go-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘The big man is going away quickly.’

Thus, adverbs are words that: a) modify verbs—which adjectives may also do, but proper nouns may not—and b) cannot directly modify nouns—unlike adjectives, but like proper nouns.

In Nungon, manner and location (elements of verbal spatial and non-spatial setting (Dixon 2012: 1-44)) may be coded in various ways. For instance, location may be indicated either through a locational adverb or through a place name, locational noun, or other noun bearing the locative enclitic =*dek*. Similarly, manner (non-spatial setting) may be indicated either by a manner adverb, by an adjective, or through a verbal oblique argument. Such a verbal oblique argument may be a noun, adjective, verb, or pronoun combined with the restrictive/durative postposition =*gon*, or a deverbal nominal with instrument enclitic =*ho* (§8.3).

Manner may also be indicated through clause-chaining, as in the following example:

- 3.36) {Woro-ng yoo-ng-a} {{e-wa-mong}}.  
 drag-DEP NSG.O.take-DEP-MV come-PRES.NSG-1PL  
 ‘Dragging and taking them, we are coming.’ (David Ögate 11:01)

Here, a medial clause composed of the multi-verb construction *woro-ng yoo-ng-a* ‘dragging and taking them’ functions to specify the manner of the final verb *e-wa-mong* ‘we are coming’ in the next clause. More on clause combining is in Chapter 12.

Sub-groups of adverbs are summarized in the following sections.

### 3.4.1 Local adverbs

A small class of four adverbs is characterized by the suffix *-ne* or *-e*. These all designate locations: *mee-ne* ‘on the back, afterward,’ *koma-ne* ‘below,’ *ganang-e* ‘inside (the forest),’ and *arang-ne* ‘below.’ They are relatively rare in the corpus. The source words are three nouns: *mee* ‘back, later,’ *koma* ‘cave,’ and *arang* ‘base (of mountain),’ and one Class 1 adjective, *ganang* ‘inside.’ The content question word *nai* (§10.7.4) may also occur with the suffix *-e*, apparently paralleling the other adverbs here. Demonstrative roots (§7.2) may occur with the suffix *-e* as local adverbs, or with *-se* as contrastive local adverbs.

### 3.4.2 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs include *karup* ‘quick,’ *iron* ‘free,’ *otomo otomo* ‘slow,’ *doun* ‘forever,’ *imun* ‘returning on the same day,’ *ööp* ‘hidden, quietly,’ *agep* ‘firmly,’ *ban* ‘together,’ and *kondong* ‘together.’ Note that some of these adverbs may also be followed by the restrictive/durative postposition =*gon* for very slight semantic difference. In the following example, the manner adverb *iron* ‘free’ occurs both in a verbless clause and as verbal modifier:

3.37) [Tanak=ka]<sub>VCS</sub>, iron<sub>VCC</sub>!      { {Iron<sub>ADV</sub> ep-bo-mong} }.  
          food=BEN      free                    free      come-RP-1PL

‘As for food, (we were) free (of it)! Free (of food), we came.’ (Fooyu Deedim  
ongonggong kon hat 1:26)

The adverb *karup* ‘quick’ may be repeated twice for distributive effect, if there are more than one actor, or for intensification, i.e. ‘very quickly.’ (The Tok Pisin loan *wan wan* ‘quickly’ is used by many Nungon speakers; this may be abbreviated to *wan* with no apparent difference in meaning.) Other manner adverbs cannot be repeated in this way; intensification is accomplished by using *hinom* as modifier.

Nungon manner adverbs are negated in two ways. When the adverb modifies a verb, the verb itself must be negated with the negative proclitic *ma=* to indicate that the action does not occur in the manner indicated by the adverb. When not modifying a verb, the manner adverb may be negated as the subject of a verbless clause, with the negative word *muuno* as verbless clause complement.

The next example comes from a text explaining the sun’s trajectory over the Uruwa River valley. Each morning, the sun’s rays hit certain parts of the valley first—such as Worin village, located high on a ridge, and the villages on the valley’s western slopes—while the low-lying, eastern village of Towet languishes in shadows until relatively late in the morning. In (3.38), describing the morning light in Towet, *hori-* ‘shine’ is negated, but of course it is understood that the sun does shine—the negation targets the manner adverb used, *karup* ‘quick’:

3.38) Iyep<sub>S</sub> karup ma=huri-ng=it-ta-k.  
 sun quick NEG=shine-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG

‘The sun does not shine quickly.’ (Nongi iyep pon hat 0:30)

In the next example, the manner adverb *iron* ‘freely’ is negated with the non-verbal negator *muuno*, since *iron* does not modify a verb here:

3.39) [Tik<sub>MOD</sub> orip<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub> wo-i, {{to-ng=ir-a-mong}}=mav<sub>CS</sub>,  
 bark.cloth design that-TOP do-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-1PL=REL  
 [iron muuno]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 free not

‘Bark-cloth painting, as for that, that which we do, (is) not (done) freely.’ (Nongi tik orip 2:44)

### 3.4.3 Autoreflexive manner terms

The personal pronouns combine with postposition =*gon* and the two enclitics =*nang* ‘alone’ and =*wuk* ‘by strength of’ in autoreflexive adverbial expressions (more at §7.1.2). These are presented briefly here in table 3.9 (the 1sg pronominal forms are used for illustration in the first two rows):

	with = <i>gon</i>	with = <i>nang</i>	with = <i>wut</i>
Simple personal pronouns	<i>nok=gon</i> ‘just me’	—	—
Emphatic personal pronouns	<i>naga=gon</i> ‘just myself’	<i>naga=nang</i> ‘me alone (physically isolated from others, on my own)’	<i>naga=wut</i> ‘by my own power (i.e., not assisted by others)’
Nouns	<i>amna=gon</i> ‘just men (i.e., no women)’	—	—

### 3.4.4 Temporal adverbs

Time-related words that do not act as nouns form a closed class, comprising the times of day and the terms for days ('tomorrow,' 'yesterday,' etc.) relative to 'today.' Table 3.10 illustrates the Nungon words for times of the day. The concepts 'middle of the night' and 'very early morning' may be expressed by higher tone on the first syllable of *dombi* 'night' and by higher tone on and drawing out of the last syllable of *dombisum* 'morning':

<b>Table 3.10 Temporal adverbs</b>	
Early morning - still dark	<i>dombi</i>
Early morning - sun has just risen	<i>dombisu:::m</i> or <i>dombisum=bon</i>
Later morning - all villagers are awake and active; gradually, other parts of Uruwa valley are lit by sun; sun continues toward overhead position	<i>dombisum</i>
Midday to mid-afternoon - sun still overhead	<i>apmano</i>
Afternoon - sun heading down, post-3:00 or so, to evening - sun has set, but still ambient light	<i>dowoksi</i>
Night - sun has set completely, total darkness except for stars and moon	<i>dombi</i>

Terms for the days after 'tomorrow' are expressed differently in Towet and in Worin. The two systems are laid out in table 3.11:

<b>Table 3.11 Relative time words: days</b>									
	- (>1)	- 1	today/now	+ 1	+ 2	+ 3	+ 4	+ 5	+ 6
<b>Towet</b>	<i>oipmon</i>	<i>oip</i>	<i>unga</i>	<i>keembok</i>	<i>isuna</i>	<i>isunon</i>	<i>(wo=ho mee-no-n</i> 'after that')		
<b>Worin</b>	<i>oipmon</i>	<i>oip</i>	<i>unga</i>	<i>keemboc</i>	<i>iyen</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>nagan</i>	<i>konsoc</i>	<i>tonggap</i>

It is unclear whether the Worin terms through 6 days after 'today' are much used nowadays.

Relative day designations function similarly to manner adverbs, except that they may serve as verbless clause subject and complement in clauses like the example below:

- 3.40) Keembok<sub>VCS</sub>, Sönda<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 tomorrow Sunday  
 ‘Tomorrow will be Sunday.’

In (3.40), there is no sense that a verb modified by *keembok* ‘tomorrow’ has been ellipsed. Thus the temporal adverbs denoting days differ slightly from other temporal and manner adverbs.

### 3.4.5 Ideophonic and expressive adverbs

As mentioned in §2.4.9, some expressive words in Nungon take the form of ‘euphonic pairs,’

$C_1(R)iC_2(i)(C_3)$   $C_1(R)oC_2(o)(C_3)$ . These can be adjectivized by adding the productive suffix *-ni*.

Without *-ni*, it might be argued that they are actually adjectival roots, since they usually occur with the verb *to-* ‘do’ or *yo-* ‘say.’

These expressives may be differentiated from adjectival roots (§3.2) because of the meaning they engender in the verb *to-*. When it occurs with Class 1 adjectives and with adjectival roots, the verb *to-* ‘do’ means ‘become,’ as in the following example:

- 3.41) [Eep<sub>MOD</sub> horo<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> morö to-go-k.  
 tree trunk large do-RP-3SG  
 ‘The tree trunk became large.’ (Ges bem hat 1 5:28)

The verb *to-* may have the same sense of ‘becoming’ even when there are two full NPs in the clause:

- 3.42) [Gungak<sub>HEAD</sub> opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> urop [amna<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> to-go-k.  
 child small enough man large do-RP-3SG  
 ‘Then the small child became a big man.’ (Joshua bem hat 1:43)

Here and in other such expressions, the subject of the verb is the same entity that undergoes the change specified by *morö* ‘large.’ The clause permits no second actor who makes the tree big. But with adverbs, the verb *to-* always maintains its full meaning, ‘do,’ as in example (3.43):

- 3.43) {Obö-ng o-un-a}, {kinding kondong  
break-DEP descend-DS.3SG-MV criss-cross  
to-ng hi-ng-a}...  
do-DEP place-DEP-MV  
‘... (the tree) having broken and fallen, (we) placing it in a criss-cross (manner)...’  
(Stanli bök 3:50)

The subject of *to-ng hi-ng-a* ‘do and place’ is different from the subject of *obö-ng o-un-a* (understood to refer back to a previously-mentioned tree). It is men who lay the tree pieces down in a *kinding kondong* ‘criss-cross’ manner—the next subject agreement marker indexes 1pl, for the text narrator and his companions. The verb *to-* here clearly does not mean ‘become’: the subject agreement in the clause does not allow for this.

Beyond the ‘euphonic pairs,’ other expressive terms specify manner of doing something. Onomatopoeic descriptive words such as *hottam* ‘arrow release from bowstring’ and *hundum* ‘fall firmly onto ground’ function as adverbs in that they occur before a verb but do not serve as core verbal arguments, and cannot modify nouns.

### 3.4.6 Phasal adverbs *awe, mee, urop, hara*

These four adverbs specify verbal aspect: whether an action has been completed. The adverbs *awe* ‘not yet,’ *urop* ‘enough, already,’ and *hara* ‘almost’ only occur as phasal adverbs, while *mee* ‘later’ represents extended usage of the body part term *mee* ‘back.’ All phasal adverbs except *hara* are often used alone as one-word responses to questions or stimuli, as in the following examples:

- 3.44) Urop!  
enough  
‘That’s enough!/It’s finished!’

3.45) Mee.

back

‘Later.’

3.46) Awe.

not yet

‘Not yet.’

The word *urop* ‘enough’ also has a discourse-organizing function. Reminiscent of *safi* in Moroccan Arabic, its meanings range from ‘that’s it’ to ‘finished.’

The adverb *hara* is homophonous with the Medial form of the verb *hat-* ‘change state,’ and it may represent an extended use of this verb. Since *hat-* is highly polysemous, however, it is hard to tell whether *hara* is truly related to it. Various uses of *hat-* are mentioned in §11.2.4.

3.47) Noni<sub>s</sub> hara di-go-mong.

1PL.PRO.EMPH almost burn.up-RP-1PL

‘We ourselves were almost burned.’ (Watno inoin maa hat 1:47)

### 3.5 Closed Classes

Nungon closed word classes are: personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, and interjections.

Hunting-related calls and dog commands may be considered a closed class of specialized language.

#### 3.5.1 Personal pronouns

See §7.1 for in-depth discussion of personal pronouns.

#### 3.5.2 Demonstratives

Nungon has two systems of demonstratives (§7.2-§7.5). One system is elevation-based, while the other is based on distance from deictic centre. The two systems overlap in that many of the derivational suffixes denoting distance are used in both systems.

Other location-related terms fall into either noun or adjective sub-classes. Farm plots, for instance, are never on level ground, because of the topography of the Uruwa River valley. The names

for the sides of a square farmplot are *tuung-o* ‘top-3SG.POSS,’ *otig-o* ‘bottom-3SG.POSS,’ and *ter-o* ‘side-3SG.POSS’; these are possessed nouns, taking =*dek* to denote location. Some location-related terms are constructed from nouns plus the locative suffix *-(i)n*, such as *gugura-in* ‘underneath (house),’ *kowira-in* ‘outside (house),’ and *horon* ‘at the base of.’ Other location-related terms are adjectives, such as *ganang* ‘inside,’ while others combine a noun with the postposition =*gon* to denote location (see §8.8).

### 3.5.3 Interrogatives

Content question words form a closed class that spans other classes as well. Interrogative clauses are discussed in §10.7.

<b>question word</b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>word class membership</b>
<i>nungon</i>	what, which	nouns: B) terms with non-human referents, not including B3c) locational nouns
<i>numa</i>	who	nouns: A) prototypically human nouns
<i>nai(-n)</i>	where	nouns: B3c) locational nouns
<i>deo(-go)</i>	how	manner adverbs
<i>dogong</i>	how many	Class 1 adjectives
<i>dogomin</i>	when	nouns: B3d) temporal nouns

### 3.5.4 Polar question marker and doubt marker

The special enclitics *ha* ‘question marker’ and *hu* ‘doubt marker’ are phonologically unusual in Nungon in that they may serve either as clitics or as words, in which case they receive phonetic lengthening. They are thus among the very few phonological words in Nungon that have phonemic form CV (see §2.4.2), along with demonstratives *ngo* and *wo* (§7.2.1). The two markers perform similar functions, with different distribution. That is, *ha* only operates within the interrogative mood, and *hu* only operates within the declarative mood. The question marker *ha* serves in two roles: a) as a conjunction ‘or’ between nouns, NPs, or clauses in interrogative sentences; and b) as polar question

marker, occurring at the end of declarative sentences to change the mood to interrogative. The dubitative marker *hu* does not serve as a conjunction, nor does it primarily function in interrogative clauses; instead, it follows nouns, NPs, or entire declarative or imperative clauses which are doubted. The following examples contrast *ha* and *hu* in similar contexts:

- 3.48) [Amna ha oe]<sub>s</sub> youp<sub>o</sub> ta-a-ng?  
 man QUEST woman work do-PRES-2/3PL  
 ‘Are men or women doing work?’
- 3.49) Amna<sub>s</sub> hu, oes hu, youp<sub>o</sub> ta-a-ng.  
 man DUB woman DUB work do-PRES-2/3PL  
 ‘Men, perhaps, women, perhaps, are doing work.’
- 3.50) Oes youp<sub>o</sub> ta-a-ng ha?  
 woman work do-PRES-2/3PL QUEST  
 ‘Are women doing work?’
- 3.51) Oes youp<sub>o</sub> ta-a-ng hu.  
 woman work do-PRES-2/3PL DUB  
 ‘The women are doing work, perhaps.’

Note that the first sentence above must be understood as a question because of the presence of *ha*; there is no counterpart conjunction ‘or’ that functions in declarative sentences. The role of a conjunction ‘or’ in declarative sentences is played by *hu*, albeit slightly differently than *ha* in questions. It seems that *hu* used to be more closely aligned with *ha*; a frozen expression using the indefinite word *nandu* ‘something,’ *hu nandu* ‘or something,’ does not utilize a second *hu* after *nandu* as in the above *amna hu, oe hu*, thus acting similarly to *ha* used as a conjunction, which occurs between two constituents as opposed to being repeated after each.

Here is *hu nandu* in use by the oldest man in Towet in retelling an ancestor story; the expression shows that he is not sure how exactly a man from the Worin neighborhood Öpmat was able to freely enter the house of a Towet man:

3.52) {I-in-a}, {aa-ng-a}, {urop yamao hendir-a},  
 be-DS.3SG-MV 3SG.O.see-DEP-MV enough door open-MV  
 {[yama<sub>HEAD</sub> wo<sub>MOD</sub>]s orung ir=it-do-k}. Hu nandu.  
 door that ajar be=be-RP-3SG DUB something

‘(That) being (as it was), he seeing it, opening the door—that door was ajar. Or something.’

(Nongi Towet amna 0:57)

### 3.5.5 Conjunction *orin* ‘and’

This conjunction is optional for coordination of two NPs. It most often occurs with personal names or personal epithets, but also occurs in the corpus coordinating two mammals’ names and two olden-days implements (the hook-axe and the clay pot). It may be used to coordinate a personal pronoun with a personal name. In the speech of children, a list of numerous personal names may include *orin* between each name, but in adult speech such a list may maximally include *orin* only once, usually between the last two names.

NP coordination in general—including coordination of personal names—need not be marked by *orin*; simple juxtaposition in list form is sufficient to indicate coordination.

The following example, from the text on World War II presented in translation in §1.6.2, illustrates *orin* used to coordinate two personal names:

3.53) {{Yo-go-moroc}}, [Duruwai orin Bafic]=ko<sub>A</sub>,  
 say-RP-2/3DU Duruwai CONJ Bafic=FOC  
 {{{[Emo-<sub>HEAD</sub> mo<sub>MOD</sub>]s öngko-wang-na ta-a-c}}}<sub>SR:O</sub>,  
 fight-NMZ large emerge-PROB.SG-IMNT do-PRES-3SG  
 yo-go-moroc}}.  
 say-RP-2/3DU

‘The two of them said, it was Duruwai and Bafic (who said), “Big fighting is about to emerge,” the two of them said.’ (Watno emoc morö kon fat 0:36)

This conjunction is homophonous with the noun *orin*, which describes calling out loudly to communicate across a distance.

### 3.5.6 Negative word *muuno*

The negative word *muuno* is used to negate any non-verbal word, to negate verbless clauses, and as a negative answer, ‘no,’ to polar questions. *Muuno* follows the word it negates, though a pause may intervene between the negated word and *muuno*. In all cases, *muuno* may be modified by the intensifier *hinom* to mean ‘truly not.’ The negative word *muuno* thus differs from *öö*, the positive answer ‘yes’ to polar questions, which has no further grammatical functions and is here considered as an interjection.

- 3.54)      { {Nok<sub>S</sub>            opmu-in<sub>OBL</sub>,      ngo-nd<sub>OBL</sub>            ma=eng=it-do-t} }.  
                  1SG.PRO            small-LOC            here-LDEM.NEAR            NEG=come-DEP=be-RP-1SG  
                  Muuno hinom.  
                  no            INTENS  
                  ‘When I was small, I didn’t use to come here. Not at all.’ (Fooyu amna tong 0:01)

*Muuno* also combines with the verb *yo-* ‘to say’ and (seemingly almost interchangeably, but with subtle difference in meaning) the verb *to-* ‘to do,’ to mean ‘to not function,’ as in the following line about my walking to Sapmanga to try to use the telephone there, but the telephone not working:

- 3.55)      {Unga dombisum      Sapmanga<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a},      {gok<sub>TOP</sub>  
                  today morning      Sapmanga      put-DEP-MV      2SG.PRO  
                  telefön=dek<sub>OBL</sub>      maas      muuno t-un-a},      { {e-wa-mok} }.  
                  telephone=INSTR      speech no      do-DS.3SG-MV      come-PRES.NSG-1DU  
                  ‘Today in the morning, being in Sapmanga, you on the phone, speech not functioning,  
                  we have come.’ (Field notes)

This is literally, ‘speech doing “no”’; *muuno* could be understood as the O argument of the verb *to-* ‘do,’ or as a Manner oblique: ‘speech doing it in a not-(working) manner.’

Use of the negative word *muuno* in reported speech as a negative imperative strategy is addressed in §10.6.2.

### 3.5.7 Interjections

Both of the two most frequent exclamatory interjections are more common among women and children than among men. They are: *yu!* which expresses mild surprise, and *ayi!* which expresses surprise and frustration, or just frustration. The positive response word used in answer to polar questions, *öö* ‘yes,’ may also be considered an interjection. It is also used in back-channeling and expressing agreement with a statement. Although it contrasts with the negative word *muuno* in polar question responses, *muuno* has a range of grammatical functions, while *öö* does not (see §10.6.2 for one use in an imperative strategy).

There are a few different acceptable responses to hearing one’s name called. A neutral response is *huu!*; another, more vehement response (used if someone calls the name several times, for instance) is *woi!* These are produced with relatively high pitch. Other interjections are meaningful expressions, such as *amna na-ng na-ng!* ‘monster/cannibal!’ (See §13.5.2).

### 3.5.8 Hunting-related calls and commands

As mentioned in §1.7.10, one form of traditional hunting was the *horut* (*sorut* in Worin, Kotet and Sagain dialects), in which women drove animals toward a long blind, behind which men waited to shoot the animals (with bow and arrow). There were standard whoops and shouted commands that went along with the *horut*; these seem to have varied slightly from village to village. Towet women recall simply whooping as they beat clubs on the ground, while Worin women would call: *fi fo, fi fo, fi fo*. When the animals neared the blind, the lead man would shout: *sigup!* signalling for all men to begin to shoot.

I do not know the origin of the word *sigup*; nowadays, it is not used frequently and I have not yet been able to parse it. If its main function was indeed simply to serve as signal to shoot in the

*horut*, it is interesting that the Worin women’s joyful song celebrating the bounty of animals killed in the *horut*, addresses *sigup-na-e*, ‘*sigup*-1SG.POSS-VOC,’ ‘my dear *sigup*’:

3.56)	Dat-na		oruc-na-o	
	older.sibl-1SG.POSS		brother-1SG.POSS-VOC	
	nip-na		nembong	giyöng-na
	cross-cous-1SG.POSS		cross-cousin.var	betelnut-1SG.POSS
	temo-ng	k-öö-ng		marang-na
	shoot-DEP	SG.O-ascend-DEP		arrow.type-1SG.POSS
	temo-ng	k-öö-ng		sigup-na=e
	shoot-DEP	SG.O-ascend-DEP		<i>sigup</i> -1SG.POSS=VOC

‘My older sibling, my brother, my cousin, cousin, my betelnut: Shooting and raising, my *marang* arrow, shooting and raising, my *sigup*.’ (Watno sorut ton fatno 0:34)

A standard corpus of dog commands related to hunting exists throughout the Uruwa valley. Since large-scale conversion to Seventh-Day Adventism and the resulting decline in hunting in Towet, these commands have fallen out of use. Some commands are standard Nungon, such as *horo-n!* ‘root/base-LOC!’ ‘follow along the ground!’ Others, however, are only used in the context of dogs, such as *wuro!* which was used both to command a dog to chase down an animal, and, once the dog had disappeared into the forest, to elicit a single reply bark from the dog telling its master where it was.

*wuro!* follow the game and bite it

*ori wuro!* follow the tree kangaroo and bite it

*dumang!* look for the *degom* (Mountain cuscus) and bite it: *dumang* is the term in Worin, while *degom* is used in Towet

*horo-n!* check along the ground for traces of the burrowing spiny echidna

*gak kan toromon!*      It's fallen (from the tree), look for it! (reported in Worin speech; parsing unknown)

*gabu!*              look for the *töm* (type of ground animal)

*wuru!*              where are you? (dog expected to bark once in reply, reported in Worin)

I cannot parse *gak kan toromon*, though this may be due to my own reduced ability to speak and understand Worin Nungon. The command may also reflect archaic language, or a specialized way to speak to dogs.

## 4 Nominal morphology and Noun Phrase structure

This chapter covers nominal morphology and the structure of noun phrases (NPs) in Nungon.

Nominal morphology is limited, with most nouns always unmarked for number. This marking, and associative plural constructions, are introduced in §4.1. Nominalizations formed from adjectives are marginal; ‘labile’ adjectives, which are primarily adjectives but can also be possessed and head NPs, were covered in §3.2.10. Deverbal nominalization is explained in §4.2, while sections §4.3-6 explore the Nungon NP.

### 4.1 Nominal morphology

Nungon nouns take few affixes. The locative suffix *-in*, the comitative suffix *-ot*, and the pertensive suffixes are the only affixes that may affix directly to nouns (other grammatical relation markers are considered enclitics—see Chapter 8). Nouns with prototypically-human referents (§3.1.1) may receive number-marking suffixes after the singular pertensive (marking possession—see Dixon 2010b: 268) suffixes.

Number is usually unmarked, except in the following ways. Nouns with prototypically-human referents receive obligatory dual and plural number marking after the pertensive suffix (§4.1.1). This is the basis for the morphologically-indicated associative plural construction (§4.1.3). Number may also be indicated on same-generation consanguineal kin terms through collective expressions employing the element *yomot* (§4.1.2).

Non-singular number may also be indicated through two additional strategies: repetition of a modifier (§4.4.3), and the ‘miscellanea’ construction (§4.1.4).

Natural sex is never morphologically marked. The nouns *amna* ‘man’ and *oe* ‘woman’ are unusual among nouns in that they can serve as adjectives, marking sex of animates (§4.4.1).

#### 4.1.1 Number marking

All nouns of the nominal sub-class with prototypically-human referents receive dual and plural number marking after the singular pertensive suffix. That is, these nouns are marked for number only when possessed by a singular Possessor. Even when a noun of this sub-class does not refer to a human





The prototypically-human noun *morum* ‘owner, master’ is always inalienably possessed, so that it takes the first of the two forms of the 3sg pertensive suffix, *-o*. Table 4.3 shows *morum* in all three numbers with singular pertensive suffixes.

person/number of Possessor	number of marked (prototypically-human) noun		
	Singular	dual	plural
1sg	<i>morum-na</i> ‘my master’	<i>morum-na-in</i> ‘my two masters’	<i>morum-na-i</i> ‘my masters’
2sg	<i>morum-a</i> ‘your master’	<i>morum-a-in</i> ‘your two masters’	<i>morum-a-i</i> ‘your masters’
3sg	<i>morum-o</i> ‘his/her master’	<i>morum-in</i> ‘his/her two masters’	<i>morum-i</i> ‘his/her masters’

For comparison, table 4.4 shows the prototypically-human noun *nuk* ‘friend, neighbour’ with singular pertensive suffixes. *Nuk* is alienably possessed, so that it takes the second form of the 3sg pertensive suffix, *-no*.

person/number of Possessor	number of marked (prototypically-human) noun		
	Singular	dual	plural
1sg	<i>nuk-na</i> ‘my friend’	<i>nuk-na-in</i> ‘my two friends’	<i>nuk-na-i</i> ‘my friends’
2sg	<i>nug-a</i> ‘your friend’	<i>nug-a-in</i> ‘your two friends’	<i>nug-a-i</i> ‘your friends’
3sg	<i>nuk-no</i> ‘her/his friend’	<i>nuk-n-in</i> ‘his/her two friends’	<i>nuk-n-i</i> ‘her/his friends’

As noted in §3.1.1, prototypically-human nouns are marked for number even when the actual referent in a given context is non-human. In Nungon ethno-taxonomy, plant and animal species fall into groups, *torop* ‘group, clan,’ the members of which are described as bearing a *nuk* ‘friend, mate’

relationship to each other. Even in this context, where the referents of *nuk* are clearly non-human, *nuk* is marked for number, as in the label *giyöng nuk-n-i* ‘betelnut mate-3SG.POSS-PL’. Example (4.7) describes the carnivorous mammal *yagon* ‘New Guinea quoll’ as eating other *arap* ‘mammals,’ its ‘mates’:

4.7) In<sub>VOCS</sub>            arap<sub>VCC</sub>,            wo-rok=ko-i,            {[arap  
                                  3SG.PRO.REFL game            that-SEMBL=FOC-TOP game  
                                  [nuk-n-i<sub>HEAD</sub>            au<sub>MOD</sub>]APPOS]O doo-ng            na-ng=it-ta-k } }.  
                                  mate-3SG.POSS-PL            other            3NSG.O.kill-DEP            eat-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG  
                                  ‘It itself is a mammal, but it kills and eats other mammals, its mates.’ (Field notes)

Another part of the description of *yagon* from which (4.7) was excerpted is in (4.8):

4.8) Gungak-n-i<sub>VOCS</sub>,            [torop<sub>HEAD</sub>            morö<sub>MOD</sub>]VCC.  
                                  child-3SG.POSS-PL            group            large  
                                  ‘Its children are a large group.’ (Field notes)

Here, the prototypically-human noun *gungak* ‘child’ is used to refer to the offspring of the New Guinea quoll—but is still marked for number.

Use of prototypically-human nouns such as *nuk* ‘friend’ and *gungak* ‘child’ to refer to non-humans carries a sense of personification. The usual word used for offspring of non-human animals is *mana* ‘offspring,’ and this is never marked for number after the singular pertensive suffix. In the next example, a speaker describes how she carried two dead *hewam* ‘tree kangaroo’ offspring her hunting party had killed:

4.9) [Mana-n<sub>OHEAD</sub>            yoi<sub>MOD</sub>]TOP:O            {nogo<sub>A</sub>            ini-ng-a }  
                                  offspring-3SG.POSS            two            1SG.PRO+FOC wrap.up.in.twine-DEP-MV  
                                  { {mit-do-t} }.  
                                  bear.from.forehead-RP-1SG  
                                  ‘(As for) its two offspring, it was I who, wrapping them up in twine, carried them from my forehead.’ (Ruth boop hat 1:28)

If *mana* ‘offspring’ could be marked for number, the form in (4.9) would be *\*mana-n-in*, reflecting the dual number of the offspring.

#### 4.1.2 Number marking of unpossessed same-generation kin terms

Reciprocal consanguineal kin terms describing two or more people of the same generation may be collectivized with the term *yomot* preceding the kin term (see example (4.33) in this chapter, and §9.12.4). That is, if two or more people are in a *daa* ‘sister (of female)’ relationship with each other, they are called *yomot daa* ‘sisters.’ The same goes for *oruk* ‘brother (of male),’ *naat* ‘different-sex sibling,’ and *nip* ‘cross-cousin (of either sex).’ No different-generation or affinal kin terms have been observed with *yomot*. The word class membership of *yomot* is unclear. *Yomot* could be a noun that exists as modifier in a two-noun NP (§4.3.2) with the following kin term noun, which heads the NP. But *yomot* never occurs independently, nor may be modified by an adjective. It could also have originated as the Dependent form (§6.1) of a verb *\*yomot-*.

#### 4.1.3 Associative plural constructions

Nungon has three associative plural constructions (following Moravcsik 2003). The first two are based on kin or other possessive relationships, while the third refers to any grouping of people. I call them here: 1) the pertensive associative plural, 2) the couple associative plural, and 3) the general associative plural. All three use the name or epithet of a particular person or people as the label for a group associated with that person or people. Although only the pertensive associative plural is expressed through nominal morphology, all three are described here for semantic cohesion.

No instances of any of the associative plural constructions have been found in which the first or second person pronouns may serve as the label for a group of associates, as ‘you and yours,’ ‘I and mine,’ or ‘we and ours.’ That is, associative plurals are essentially complex epithets or labels for groups of people. They may not function as or incorporate shifters.

**1) Pertensive associative plural.** The pertensive associative plural suffix *-nit* is not segmentable, but it is formally similar to the marking of plural number after the 3sg pertensive suffix. With this construction, there is always a possessive relationship between the head of the group and his or her associates. The pertensive associative plural is formed from a personal name or epithet A followed by

a kin term X bearing the suffix *-nit*, meaning ‘A with his/her X(es).’ The personal name or epithet that serves to label the group is always that of an individual. The pertensive associative plural is exemplified in (4.10):

- 4.10) [Gorungon nip-nit]<sub>s</sub> e-wa-ng.  
 Gorungon cross.cousin-ASSOC come-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 ‘Gorungon with his cousins are coming.’ (Field notes)

The first two segments of the pertensive associative plural suffix *-nit* may stem from the 3sg pertensive suffix followed by plural (> 2) suffix, *-n-i*. Despite this possible historical origin of *-nit*, the pertensive associative plural suffix takes the same form even when the kin term has singular reference, as in (4.11):

- 4.11) [Kaila mak-nit]<sub>s</sub> e-wa-morok.  
 Kaila mother-ASSOC come-PRES.NSG-2/3DU  
 ‘Kaila with her mother are coming.’ (Field notes)

Here, *mak* ‘mother’ has singular reference, so that this would be rephrased as *Kaila mak-no=rot*, not *Kaila mak-n-i=rot*, with the comitative marker. But the form of the pertensive associative plural suffix remains the same. This indicates that the pertensive associative plural suffix is now frozen in form as *-nit*.

The pertensive associative plural suffix *-nit* probably originated as a contraction of the plural marking with 3sg pertensive suffix, *-n-i*, and the comitative marker *-ot/=rot*. To show the similarity in meaning between the pertensive associative plural and expressions with the comitative marker, (4.10) may be restated using the comitative:

- 4.12) [Gorungon nip-n-i=rot]<sub>s</sub> e-wa-ng.  
 Gorungon cross.cousin-3SG.POSS-PL=COMIT come-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 ‘Gorungon alongside his cousins are coming.’ (Field notes)

The difference in meaning between (4.10) and (4.12) is slight, but the difference may be made clearer if (4.12) is rephrased with the verb *e-* ‘come’ inflected for singular agreement, which is possible as in (4.13):

- 4.13) Gorungons      nip-n-i=rOtOBL      ep-pa-k.  
 Gorungon      cross.cousin-3SG.POSS-PL=COMIT      come-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘Gorungon is coming alongside his cousins.’ (Field notes)

Verbal agreement with comitative expressions such as that in (4.12) and (4.13) varies based on whether the accompanier—here, *Gorungon*—is in focus. Most frequently, the verb indexes the combined number of the accompanier and accompanied, as in (4.12), but speakers also produce and accept singular agreement on the verb, as in (4.13). This is impossible with the pertensive associative plural construction: *Gorungon* is inseparable from the group *Gorungon nip-nit* ‘Gorungon with his cousins,’ and the verb always indexes the combined number (dual or plural) of the associative group.

Support for the pertensive associative plural *-nit* originating in a contraction including the comitative marker comes from its syntactic possibilities. Everywhere, the pertensive associative plural behaves as if it already bore the comitative marker.

First, the pertensive associative plural cannot co-occur with (further) comitative marking. That is, although a pertensive associative plural construction may serve as O argument of a transitive verb such as *aa-* ‘see,’ as ‘I saw [Gorungon with his cousins],’ it would be ungrammatical to say \*[*Gorungon nip-nit*]-ot *e-wa-t* ‘I came alongside [Gorungon with his cousins].’ This contrasts with the other two associative plural constructions, which do co-occur with comitative marking. Probably because of its origins, the pertensive associative plural maintains an intrinsic sense of comitative accompaniment, not just general association. This sense is lacking from the other two associative plural constructions.

Further, the pertensive associative plural cannot host grammatical relation-marking enclitics, while the other associative plural constructions (like other nouns) can. Among these is the genitive enclitic =*hon*: \**Gorungon nip-nit=hon bök* ‘[Gorungon with his cousins]’ house’ is ungrammatical.

Again, the pertensive associative plural behaves here like any other noun that bears comitative marking: no further grammatical relation marking is permitted after the comitative marker.

The initial element of the pertensive associative plural construction that labels the group of associates may not be a personal pronoun. Further, like all Nungon associative plurals, the pertensive associative plural does not function as or incorporate shifters. These expressions are always framed in the third person. That is, even if it were addressed to me, a clause containing *Hana mak-nit* ‘Hannah with her mother’ could never be rephrased as *Hana \*mag-ait* ‘Hannah [addressing me] with your mother.’

The pertensive associative plural has not been found with nouns that take the inalienable form of the 3sg pertensive suffix. It is unknown whether the suffix *-nit* could have an alternative form *-it* after such nouns, paralleling the distinction between alienably possessed *nuk-n-i* ‘his/her friends’ and inalienably possessed *morum-i* ‘his/her masters’ (§4.1.1).

**2) Couple associative plural.** This associative plural construction, formed at the NP level, uses an individual personal name or epithet A followed by the noun *oemma* ‘married couple’ with meaning ‘the A couple,’ or ‘A and spouse.’ The name of either female or male spouse may be used, depending on context. For instance, a woman whose daughter was newly-married referred to the new couple using the couple associative plural and the name of her daughter. When people used to refer to the Ward 1 Councillor and his wife using the couple associative plural construction, it was most often through the husband’s title, *kaunsöli* ‘Councillor,’ or personal name, never his wife’s name. Example (4.14) shows a typical couple associative plural construction:

- 4.14) [Wana oemma]<sub>S</sub>, urop, wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> öö-go-morok.  
 Wana couple enough that-LDEM.NEAR ascend-RP-2/3DU  
 ‘Wana and (his) wife, then, ascended there.’ (Watno yamuc kon hat 1:05)

Although the couple associative plural is usually labelled by an individual name (*Wana*) or epithet (for instance, *kaunsöli* ‘Councillor,’ and *misin* ‘Missionary’), in one instance the epithet used could be understood to apply to both members of the couple. The man mentioned in (4.14), *Wana*, was an early

European missionary who came with his wife to carry out some of the first baptisms at the Uruwa River delta in the 1950s; a party of people from Worin and Boksawin were among those who escorted Wana and his wife to the coast. In (4.15), he and his wife are referred to with the couple associative plural and the labile adjective *föcföc* ‘white (Worin dialect)’ which functions as a noun here (see §3.2.10):

4.15)	{[Föcföc	oemma]o	wo-ndo <sub>OBL</sub>	yoo-na-ya},	
	white.person	couple	that-LDEM.NEAR	NSG.O.take-DS.1PL-MV	
	{ {yamuc <sub>OBL</sub>	guo-ng	ye-mo-go-c} }.	Numa=ko?	Wana.
	water	bathe-DEP	3NSG.O.give-RP-3SG	who=FOC	Wana

‘We having taken the white person and spouse there, (he) bathed them in water (baptized them). Who did? Wana.’ (Watno yamuc kon hat 2:47)

The couple associative plural expression here, ‘white person and spouse,’ is ambiguous: it is unclear whether the wife or husband is serving as the white person in question. This may be why the speaker follows this sentence with an elaboration, specifying who it was who did the baptizing—not Wana’s wife, but Wana.

**3) General associative plural.** The general associative plural is composed of a personal name or epithet A followed by the word *gomong*. The meaning is ‘A and associates,’ with the degree of association left to context—it may be temporary or permanent, kinship-related or not. Unlike the other two associative plural constructions, here more than one personal name may be used to label the group, as ‘A (and B) (and C) and associates.’ Like *yomot* (§4.1.2), *gomong* is unattested elsewhere in Nungon grammar or as a lexical item in its own right.

The general associative plural in the next example refers to the Ward 1 Councillor mentioned above and his siblings. The associative plural construction further hosts the genitive enclitic =*hon* here.

- 4.16) [[Orug-<sub>OHEAD</sub> au=ma<sub>MOD</sub>], [[Kaunsöli gomong]=kon<sub>Pt</sub>  
 brother-3SG.POSS other=SPEC Councillor et.alia=GEN  
 [nan yoni]<sub>Pe</sub>]=ho, wo-rok...  
 father 3PL.POSS=FOC that-SEMBL  
 ‘The other brother, Councillor and company’s father it was, thus...’ (Geisch yup bök  
 2:28)

Unlike the pertensive associative plural, the first term of the general associative plural may itself bear a pertensive suffix:

- 4.17) {{Öön=dek<sub>OBL</sub> to-ng=it-do-mong}}, [mak-na gomong].  
 farm=LOC do-DEP=be-RP-1PL mother-1SG.POSS et.alia  
 ‘We used to do (work) in the farm, my mother and company.’ (Helen inoin hat 2:15)

Example (4.17) also shows that the speaker includes herself in the associates of her mother.

The associations referred to in (4.16) and (4.17) were largely familial. In the next example, a speaker explains the nature of the association as being employment-based:

- 4.18) Metyu<sub>TOP1</sub> wo=ma-i, [Seims gomong]<sub>TOP2</sub> [youp yoni]<sub>VCS</sub>  
 Metyu that-SPEC-TOP James et.alia work 3PL.POSS  
 inggouk<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 one  
 ‘As for Matthew<sub>i</sub>, (like) James and company<sub>j</sub>, their<sub>i/j</sub> work is one (and the same).’  
 (Rosarin Yupna hain 12:22)

Finally, the pertensive associative plural was seen above not to be able to bear comitative marking. In contrast, the general associative plural can be marked for comitative:

- 4.19)      {[Butaweng    Yoruwec      gomong]-ot      wo-nd<sub>OBL</sub>              ir-a  
             Butaweng      Yoruwec      et.alia-COMIT    there-LDEM.NEAR      be-MV  
             motnaina}...  
             PERF.1PL  
             ‘We being there with Butaweng, Yoruwec and company...’ (Waasiöng inoin 13:16)

Example (4.19) also shows two personal names functioning to label the associated group.

#### 4.1.4 The ‘miscellanea’ construction

This strategy for indicating number expresses multiplicity, not only in terms of number, but also often in terms of type. In the miscellanea construction, a noun X bearing 3sg pertensive suffix is repeated. The meaning is ‘X by X,’ or ‘various types of X.’ The construction is named here for one of its exemplars, the expression *maa-no maa-no* ‘various things,’ from *maa* ‘name.’ This is literally ‘its name, its name.’ An expression also glossed as ‘various things, miscellanea’ in Nukna is formed in the same way (Matthew Taylor, personal communication 2012): this may be an areal or genetic feature. Similarly, the Tok Pisin counterpart to Nungon *maa-no maa-no* is *kain kain* ‘various kinds,’ from *kain* ‘kind, type.’

In Nungon, *maa-no maa-no* usually takes plural agreement on verbs, as in the sentence:

- 4.20)      {{Wo-rok,      yo-no-go-k}}.              [{{[[Maa-no      maa-no]<sub>O</sub>  
             that-SEMBL      3NSG.O-tell-RP-3SG      name-3SG.POSS name-3SG.POSS  
             yoo-warut}}]<sub>SR</sub>.  
             NSG.O.take-IMM.IMP.2/3PL  
             ‘Thus, he told them, “Take up various things!”’ (Yosua hat 1 7:20)

Here, *maa-no maa-no* is the O argument of the verb *yoo-* ‘take up (non-singular object).’ The alternate form of the verb ‘take up’ is *to-*, for singular objects.

*Maa-no maa-no* is usually understood as ‘various things,’ not ‘thing by thing.’ But other constructions of the miscellanea type may take singular agreement on the verb if they are intended to

mean ‘X by X,’ not ‘various Xes.’ In the next example, the expression *höan-no höan-no* ‘group by group’ takes singular agreement in both the Causative construction inflector *m-* (§6.8) and the verb *ongo-* ‘go’:

- 4.21)        {[Höan-no     höan-no]                    to-ng=m-u  
                   group-3SG.POSS group-3SG.POSS            do-DEP=SG.O.give-CAUS.2/3PL  
                   ong-un-a} ...  
                   go-DS.3SG-MV  
                   ‘Cluster by cluster, they made (each) go...’ (David Ögate 5:34)

Other common expressions using the miscellanea construction include: *bongon-no bongon-no* ‘day-3SG.POSS day-3SG.POSS,’ ‘day after day, every day’; *bök-no bök-no* ‘house-3SG.POSS house-3SG.POSS,’ ‘village by village (each village doing things differently)’; *duok-no duok-no* ‘night (counting)-3SG.POSS night-3SG.POSS,’ ‘night after night, every night’; *yara-no yara-no* ‘year after year’; *mum-no mum-no* ‘coil by coil’ (note that *mum* ‘breast’ is homophonous with *mum* ‘roll, coil (of rope)’).

Further discussion of the 3sg pertensive suffix *-no* and its role in the miscellanea construction is in §9.5.1.

## 4.2 Deverbal nominalization

Deverbal nominalization in Nungon involves three forms, which relate in varied ways to Comrie and Thompson’s categories of deverbal nominalizations (2007). In some instances, a single nominalized form may serve as either an ‘action/state noun’ or an ‘instrumental noun’ (categories 1 and 3 of Comrie and Thompson 2007). Deverbal nominalizations also perform further grammatical functions: they are the basis for purposive constructions, as in example (4.22) below; they function as complementation strategies, as in (4.23); and, especially when negated, they serve as alternatives to Medial verbs, as in (4.24). Across forms, reduplication and repetition indicate multiple instances of

the action or extended duration of the state. With many verbs, the nominalized form usually occurs reduplicated or repeated.<sup>6</sup>

The possible nominalized forms of each verb depend on the form of the verb root: verbs with vowel-final roots may take three different nominalized forms, while verbs with consonant-final roots may only take one form. The three forms available for verbs with vowel-final roots are: a) suffixation of a nominalizing consonant *-k* or *-p*, and often reduplication or repetition of the result; b) the Dependent form of the verb plus *-gVng*, where *V* is the last vowel of the verb root; and c) repetition of the Dependent form of the verb. In contrast, consonant-final verbs can only be nominalized through reduplication or repetition of the verb root, which may be considered the equivalent to form (a) with vowel-final roots. The H-class (vowel-final) verb *obö-* ‘break,’ for instance, may be nominalized as *obö-k obö-k*, *obö-ng-göng*, or *obö-ng obö-ng*, all translatable as ‘breaking.’ In contrast, the verb *men-* ‘fold’ can only be nominalized as *men-men* ‘folding,’ and *honggit-* ‘grab, hold’ may only be nominalized as *honggit honggit* ‘grabbing.’

All deverbal nominalizations retain certain verb-like features even as they may take postpositions and host pertensive endings. They may take two types of negation, relating to two different scopes of negation: constituent-level negation, in which they are negated like verbs, with preposed *ma=*, and phrasal negation, where they are negated like other word classes, with the negative word *muuno* after the deverbal nominalization.

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<sup>6</sup> The difference between reduplication (which occurs only with monosyllabic verb roots) and repetition (which occurs with di- and trisyllabic verb roots) is seen in the behavior of consonants at the reduplication or repetition juncture. With reduplicated vowel-initial forms, the final consonant of the first reduplicand is weakened in its new intervocalic position. This means that the final nominalizing *-k* on vowel-final roots becomes [g] or [ɣ], nominalizing *-p* becomes [β], and the final *t* of consonant-final roots becomes [d]. (Final *n* of consonant-final roots does not tend to weaken intervocalically through reduplication.) With repetition, on the other hand, there is no weakening of these consonants intervocalically, and the two repeated units are stressed individually, even though they are not normally separated by a pause.

These nominalizations may be modified by adjectives (see example (4.30) below) and, especially when hosting pertensive suffixes, serve as subject of a verbless clause. They do not ordinarily occur as A arguments of verbs, but may occur as S arguments or as O arguments, as well as obliques. Deverbal nominalizations may serve as Possessor in a possessive NP (shown in example (9.7) in Chapter 9). With all deverbal nominalizations, any verbal argument except the subject (S or A) may occur explicitly with the nominalized verb, retaining its relationship with the underlying verb. The purposive construction in Nungon involves a nominalized verb with benefactive postposition =*ha*. This construction is possible for the first two types of nominalization only.

Deverbal nominalizations may occur as the modifying term in two-noun NPs (§4.3.2), such as *orom hi-k orom hi-k youp* ‘understand-NMZ understand-NMZ work: mental work (as opposed to physical labour),’ *y-andi-k y-andi-k amna* ‘3.O-show-NMZ 3.O-show-NMZ man: teacher.’ When a deverbal nominalization is the second term in a complex NP, however, the first noun is usually the underlying O of the verb.

#### **4.2.1 Nominalizing consonant and reduplication/repetition of verb root**

With this first type of deverbal nominalization, a final consonant *-k* or *-p* is added to vowel-final verb roots and the resulting form is either reduplicated (monosyllabic verb roots) or repeated (di- and trisyllabic verb roots). Consonant-final verb roots are simply reduplicated (monosyllabic roots) or repeated (di- or trisyllabic roots). Monosyllabic roots most often occur reduplicated, although they do sometimes occur non-reduplicated, while disyllabic verb roots and tight multi-verb constructions commonly occur both repeated and non-repeated. When a verb root is nominalized but not reduplicated or repeated, the bare root (consonant-final roots) or root with *-k* or *-p* (vowel-final roots) stands alone. Whether reduplicated/repeated or not, such nominalized forms may bear pertensive endings, and may form Class 2 and Class 3 adjectives.

The semantics of this first type of deverbal nominalization vary across the categories outlined in Comrie and Thompson (2007). Most commonly, such a nominalization is a noun denoting an action or state (2007: 335-336). But it may also serve as an ‘instrumental nominalization’ (2007: 338-339),

denoting the instrument with which the action denoted by the verb is performed. Three such instrumental nominalizations are listed here:

eep <sub>O</sub>	mit~mit	anna <sub>O</sub>	wet~wet	obu <sub>OBL</sub>	honggit	honggit
wood	bear.from.forehead.NMZ:RED	man	3SG.O.beat.NMZ:RED	hand	grab:NMZ	grab:NMZ
'rope for tying up faggot (for carrying)'		'club or other implement for beating a man (intruder)'		'horizontal cross-piece on roof, hand-hold'		

If any of the nominalizations above were marked by the benefactive postposition =*ha*, the nominalization would refer to an action or state and not to the instrument with which the action is carried out: *eep mit-mit=ta* 'for carrying by the forehead,' *anna wet-wet=ta* 'for beating men,' *obu honggit honggit=ta* 'for grabbing with the hands.'

The purposive construction with a reduplicated vowel-final verb with *-k* suffix is seen in the next example. Here, the H-class S=A ambitransitive verb *na-* 'eat' is nominalized as *na-k-na-k*. The nominalized verb keeps its erstwhile O argument, *bori-no* 'fruit-3SG.POSS.'

- 4.22) [Bori-no<sub>O</sub> na-k~na-k]=ka<sub>OBL</sub>, urop, e-ng=ir-a-ng.  
fruit-3SG.POSS eat-NMZ:RED=BEN enough come-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
'That's it, they come to eat the fruits.' (Field notes)

The non-reduplicated nominalized form of consonant-final verbs is formally identical to the Dependent form, which functions as a (verbal) member of tight multi-verb constructions. It is syntactic context that distinguishes the nominalization from the Dependent form. In the next example, the form *ut* of the verb *ut-* 'cry' serves as S argument of the intransitive verb *hat-* 'change state.' This shows that *ut* here is the non-reduplicated nominalized form. Here, the nominalized form may be understood to function as a complementation strategy.

- 4.23) {Wo-rog-in<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a}, {uts:O omot-na  
that-SEMBL-LOC put-DEP-MV cry.NMZ hunt-CAUS.1PL  
har-un-a}, {[Göt noni]=ho<sub>A</sub> ni-un-a}...  
change-DS.3SG-MV God 1PL.POSS=FOC 1PL.O.see-DS.3SG-MV  
‘From there, crying having been left behind by us<sup>7</sup>, our God having seen us...’ (Boas  
babiya bök 3:37)

When tight multi-verb constructions such as *ho-ng na-* ‘cook and eat’ (see §6.2) are nominalized as reduplicated verb roots, only the last verb of the construction takes nominalized form. The verbal negator *ma=* cliticizes to the first verb of a nominalized tight multi-verb construction. This is shown in the next example:

- 4.24) [Tanak<sub>O</sub> ma=ho-ng na-k~na-k]<sub>OBL</sub>, gaam=pa ongo-Ø-t.  
food NEG=cook-DEP eat-NMZ:RED kunai=BEN go-NP-1SG  
‘Not having cooked and eaten food, I went for kunai grass.’ (Field notes)

The syntactic role of the deverbal nominalization in (4.24) is unclear. This sentence could have been expressed as a clause chain, with *na-* in Medial form instead of nominalized form. It seems that the nominalized tight multi-verb construction serves as an oblique, manner argument of the verb *ongo-* ‘go.’

This type of nominalization, when negated, may function as a negative imperative strategy (§10.6.3), as in the following reprimand:

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<sup>7</sup> ‘Leaving behind’ is expressed in Nungon by two different causative constructions (see §6.8). The more idiomatic uses the causative form of the verb *omot-* ‘hunt with dogs’ to express the action of the Inducer or Causer, and the polysemous intransitive verb *hat-* ‘change state’ to express the resulting state of the Causee.

- 4.25) Wo-go-rok<sub>OBL</sub> ma=to-k~to-k!  
 that-ADV-SEMBL NEG=do-NMZ:RED  
 ‘Not doing like that!’ (Field notes)

When verbs comprise two distinct words, usually an auxiliary verb with fairly generic meaning and another word that contributes most of the lexical meaning to the verb, reduplication is variable. Sometimes the nominalized complex predicate is repeated, while other times only the verbal auxiliary is reduplicated.

The complex verb *gaap mo-* ‘step over, skip over’ is unanalysable in synchronic Towet speech. The intransitive verb *gaa-* (H-class ~ P-class) in Towet Nungon means ‘spit,’ so this may have been the original source. Stepping over things is a culturally important concept, with revulsion at stepping over food and other important items. This complex predicate is either nominalized as *gaap mo-k* or as the repeated *gaap mo-k gaap mo-k*.

- 4.26) {Babiyao indar-a}, {[gaap mo-k gaap mo-k]<sub>o</sub>  
 book read-MV skip.over-NMZ skip.over-NMZ  
 ta-a-k }  
 do-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘Reading the book, she does skipping over (sections).’ (Field notes)

On the other hand, the tight multi-verb construction *to-ng hat y-ii-* ‘help s.o.,’ literally ‘do change bite s.o.,’ is often nominalized with no reduplication of the final element, *y-ii-* ‘bite.’

- 4.27) [Maa<sub>HEAD</sub> wo<sub>MOD</sub>]=hon [to-ng hat yii-k]-no  
 speech that=GEN make-DEP change 3.O.bite-NMZ-3SG.POSS  
 wo=ma-i...  
 that=SPEC-TOP  
 ‘That speech’s assistance, that is...’ [Speaking of a supporting chapter in the Bible]  
 (Dilingi sabat hat 1:04)

The complex predicate *orom hi-* ‘hear, understand, heed’ occurs nominalized in all three possible variations of reduplication and repetition: no reduplication or repetition at all, reduplication of the auxiliary verb only, and repetition of the entire nominalized predicate: *orom hi-k*, *orom hi-g-ik*, and *orom hi-k orom hi-k*. The first of the variations, *orom hi-k* ‘understand put-NMZ,’ usually occurs only in the expression *to-ng orom hi-k to-*, ‘make-DEP think-NMZ do,’ which refers to pondering, thinking hard about something. In the second variation, *orom hi-g-ik*, only the auxiliary verb part of the light verb construction, *hi-*, is reduplicated, as *orom hi-k-hi-k* (the second *h* is elided and the first *k* is weakened intervocalically to [g]). This generally refers to the mind, personal point of view, or intelligence. Finally, in the third variation, the auxiliary is nominalized and then both components are repeated: *orom hi-k orom hi-k*. This seems to refer only to knowledge. An example is given for each form:

4.28) [To-ng orom hi-k]<sub>O</sub> wo-go-rok<sub>OBL</sub> to-go-k.  
 make-DEP understand put-NMZ that-ADV-SEMBL do-RP-3SG  
 ‘He thought like that.’ (Boas *babiya* bök 2:28)

4.29) [Bot<sub>HEAD</sub> koök<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub> onding-<sub>O</sub>VCC, [orom  
 pig wild strong-ADJ understand  
 hi-g-ik]-no<sub>VCS</sub>, muuno<sub>VCC</sub>, moin-no<sub>VCC</sub>!  
 put-NMZ:RED-3SG.POSS not bad-ADJ  
 ‘A wild pig is strong, without a mind, bad!’ (Gaus *inoin hat* 7:10)

4.30) {Ir-a}, {{{[orom hi-k orom hi-k]<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub>  
 be-MV understand put-NMZ understand put-NMZ other  
 ma=honggit-do-mong}}.  
 NEG=grab-RP-1PL  
 ‘Staying (like that), we did not obtain other knowledge.’ (Boas *babiya* bök 1:34)

A few nouns used in school nowadays may be neologisms but are now accepted and understood by speakers of all ages and educational backgrounds. These combine the nominalized form of the verb *aa-* ‘see’ with a verb of speaking. Thus, *yo-ng aa-k* ‘say-DEP 3SG.O.see-NMZ’ is the



It is rare for the erstwhile subject argument of a verb to be present, complete with focus postposition, when the verb is nominalized and then adjectivized, but a few examples of this exist in the corpus. One is in (4.33), which also illustrates the same-generation kin term collective marker *yomot* (§4.1.2, §9.12.4):

- 4.33) [Nok                    [Keisa<sub>Pr</sub>mak-n<sub>Pe</sub>]]<sub>VCS</sub>                    [[yomot                    nip]=po  
 1SG.PRO                    Keisa    mother-3SG.POSS                    COLL                    cross-cousin=FOC  
 ba-k~ba-k-ni]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 beget-NMZ:RED-ADJ  
 ‘Keisa’s mother and I were begotten by cross-cousins.’ [This explains our kin  
 relationship] (Field notes)

Finally, certain deverbal nominalizations of this type may serve in the afflictive construction (covered in more detail in §11.1.3), which uses both nouns and adjectival roots with the verb ‘give to s.o.’ to express effect on. In the next example, the nominalized form of the verb *duo-* ‘sleep’ serves as Affliction in the afflictive construction:

- 4.34) Duo-k~duo-k                    na-mo-hak.  
 sleep-NMZ:RED                    1SG.O-give-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘I am sleepy.’ (Field notes)

Nominalizations of the participle type (described in the next section) cannot serve as Afflictions in the afflictive construction.

#### 4.2.2 Participle form *-gVng*

Participle formation involves the addition of a suffix *-gVng* to the Dependent form of the verb, where *V* is the same vowel as that of the final syllable of the Dependent form—or, if the final syllable of the verbal root contains a diphthong, the second vowel component of the diphthong. I have no examples of possessed participle forms, but participles may form Class 3 adjectives.

The participle forms only serve as Comrie and Thompson’s ‘action/state nouns’ (2007: 334). That is, this type of nominalization names the action or state denoted by the original verb. The

participle form cannot serve as a core verbal argument, but it is acceptable as an oblique verbal argument if marked by a postposition, and it may serve as Possessor (but not Possessed) in a possessive NP, in which instance it is marked with the genitive postposition (see example (12.24) in §12.5.2).

With vowel-final verb roots, there is little difference in meaning between the participle form and the nominalized form using a final nominalizing consonant (§4.2.1). Some verbs occur more frequently in one form or the other (see §4.2.3).

<b>verb</b>	<b>participle form</b>	<b>gloss</b>
<i>omo-</i> ‘die’ (H-class)	<i>omo-ng-gong</i>	dying
<i>umo-</i> ‘buy’ (H-class)	<i>umo-ng-gong</i>	buying
<i>hago-</i> ‘grate’ (H-class)	<i>hago-ng-gong</i>	grating
<i>guo-</i> ‘bathe’ (H-class)	<i>guo-ng-gong</i>	bathing
<i>aa-</i> ‘see’ (H-class)	<i>aa-ng-gang</i>	seeing
<i>öö-</i> ‘ascend’ (H-class)	<i>öö-ng-göng</i>	ascending
<i>temo-</i> ‘shoot’ (H-class)	<i>temo-ng-gong</i>	shooting
<i>maa-</i> ‘chop’ (H-class)	<i>maa-ng-gang</i>	chopping
<i>hai-</i> ‘fell’ (H-class)	<i>hai-ng-ging</i>	felling
<i>hoo-</i> ‘close’ (P-class)	<i>hoo-ng-gong</i>	closing
<i>böwo-</i> ‘wrap’ (P-class)	<i>böwo-ng-gong</i>	wrapping
<i>hi-</i> ‘put, place’ (T-class)	<i>hi-ng-ging</i>	putting
<i>ongo-</i> ‘go’ (Ø-class)	<i>ongo-ng-gong</i>	going
<i>yö-</i> ‘place down’ (NG-class)	<i>yö-ng-göng</i>	placing

Participles may be adjectivized with the Class 3 adjectivizing suffix (§3.2.3), as *omo-ng-gong-ni* ‘dying.’ When the participle nominalized form of a verb is adjectivized with *-ni*, the

action described by the adjectivized participle may be understood to bear habitual or perfect aspect. In example (4.35), the form is understood as having perfect aspect, as if the action were already completed:

- 4.35) [Oe<sub>Pr</sub> [bangan-OPe:HEAD:VCS maa-ng-gang-ni<sub>VCC</sub>]], wo.  
 woman neck-3SG.POSS cut.horiz-DEP-PART-ADJ that  
 ‘The chopped-off-neck woman, that one.’ (Fooyu bem hat Yawan boop 4:01)

At this point in the story from which the excerpt comes, the woman mentioned has already had her head chopped off at the neck, so there is no sense of imminent or ongoing chopping.

The adjectivized participle *öö-ng-göng-ni*, literally ‘ascending,’ may be both used in that sense and to mean ‘stubborn, obstinate’: the participle here is understood to have habitual aspect. This is shown in the next example, which also serves to illustrate negation of the participle with the verbal negating proclitic *ma=*:

- 4.36) Ketket<sub>HEAD</sub> [[[babiya<sub>MOD</sub> bög-in<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> öö-ng-göng-ni]  
 boy paper house-LOC ascend-DEP-PART-ADJ  
 ha ma=öö-ng-göng-ni]<sub>MOD</sub>  
 QUES NEG=ascend-DEP-PART-ADJ  
 ‘Boys going to school or not going (to school)...’ (Field notes)

### 4.2.3 Uses of reduplicated verb root and participle form

Although each vowel-final verb root has both a form based on suffixation of a nominalizing consonant and reduplication or repetition (§4.2.1) and a participle form (§4.2.2), with most verbs, one of these forms is more frequently used. In the corpus, there is only one instance of *ongo-k ongo-k*, from the verb root *ongo-* ‘go’; it is much more common for speakers to say *ongo-ng-gong*, using the participle form.

The two are compared in the following two examples, both from the same speaker.

4.37) Urop, [oe<sub>Pr</sub> [ongo-k ongo-k]-no<sub>Pe</sub>]vcs muunovcc.  
 enough woman go-NMZ go-NMZ-3SG.POSS not  
 ‘That’s it, the woman’s going on was not (possible).’ (Rosarin högök boop 2:47)

4.38) {Wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a}, asap=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ng-gong=ka,  
 that-LDEM.NEAR put-DEP-MV path=LOC go-DEP-PART=BEN  
 [kaunsöli yoni].  
 councillor 3PL.POSS  
 ‘Coming from there, to go on the path, (toward) their councillor.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain 9:36)

It makes sense to interpret the suffix *-no* on the reduplicated deverbal nominal form in (4.37) as possessive, and there are clear other instances in which reduplicated deverbal nominals bear 1sg and other person/number-referencing possessive suffixes. But in the next example, the *-no* suffix on a reduplicated deverbal nominal, *e-w~e-p* ‘coming,’ from the P-class verbal root *e-* ‘come,’ cannot be interpreted as the 3sg possessive suffix: it must be understood as either the specifier *-no* (§9.5) or the Class 2 adjectivizer *-no* (§3.2.2):

4.39) [Hons [amna=roto<sub>OBL</sub> e-w~e-p]-no]=ho<sub>OBL</sub>, {{oe=ho=gons  
 2NSG.PRO man=COMIT come-NMZ:RED-3SG.POSS=FOC woman=FOC=RSTR  
 ew-a-morok}}=ma<sub>vcs</sub>, [orog-o muuno]vcc,  
 come-PRES.NSG-2/3DU=REL good-ADJ not  
 [otok-ni hinom]vcc.  
 pity-ADJ INTENS

‘Had you come alongside men (it would have been better); that you two came as women alone is not good, very pitiful.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain 9:28)

The final consonant/reduplicated form and participle form may be interchangeable. In (4.40), the final consonant/reduplicated nominalized form of *g-aa-* ‘2SG.O-see’ is used, while in (4.41) the participle form (with 2nsg object prefix *k-*) occurs.

4.40) [Noks ma=g-aa-k~g-aa-k g-aambit-ta-t.  
1SG.PRO NEG=2SG.O-see-NMZ:RED 2SG.O-tread.on-PRES.SG-1SG

‘Not seeing you, I have trod on you.’ (Field notes)

4.41) Ma=k-aa-ng-gang<sub>TOP</sub> wo-rok=ka  
NEG=2NSG.O-see-DEP-PART that-SEMBL=BEN

k-aambit-ta-t.

2NSG.O-tread.on-PRES.SG-1SG

‘Not seeing you (nsg.), for that reason I have trod on you.’ (Field notes)

Indeed, in (4.42), a speaker speaking of multiple negated events produced a series of three deverbal nominalizations, two in participle form, one nominalized through the final consonant/reduplication:

4.42) {[Yawan<sub>OBL</sub> ma=ngo-ng-gong], [[miti<sub>MOD</sub> hat<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> ma=rom  
Yawan NEG=go-DEP-PART church story NEG=understand  
hi-g~i-k], [[Gapmambö<sub>MOD</sub> [oe amna]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> indin  
put-NMZ:RED Gapmambö woman man as.well  
ma=y-aa-ng-gang], ep-pa-t }.  
NEG=3NSG.O-see-DEP-PART come-PRES.SG-1SG

‘Not going to Yawan, not hearing the sermon, also not seeing the Gapmambö people,  
I have come.’ (Field notes)

The verbs *ongo-* ‘go’ and *aa-* ‘see’ occur more frequently nominalized in the participle form than in the final consonant/reduplicated form, while the opposite is true for the verb *hi-* ‘put.’ Since they all occur in the same context, there seems to be little difference between the forms here except for the preference of individual verb roots for one or the other.

Example (4.42) also shows that deverbal nominalizations, especially when negated, serve as a clause chaining strategy—also seen in example (4.24). If each of the deverbal nominalizations in (4.42) had positive polarity, the sentence would be more felicitous as a clause chain, with Medial verbs instead of deverbal nominalizations. But under negation, the series of deverbal nominalizations is preferred over a clause chain with each medial clause negated individually.

#### 4.2.4 Deverbal nominalization with the repeated Dependent verb form

The repeated Dependent form of vowel-final verbs could be analysed as fully verbal, not nominalized, but for its function in forming epithets for erstwhile subject arguments of verbs: Comrie and Thompson’s category 2, ‘agentive nouns’ (2007: 336-338). Like nominalizations formed through the addition of a nominalizing consonant (for vowel-final roots) and reduplication or repetition, nominalization formed through repetition of the Dependent verb form may cover two categories from Comrie and Thompson (2007): either action/state or agentive nouns. (A further use that could be an ‘objective noun’—Comrie and Thompson’s category 6 (2007: 340-341)—may also be analysed as an agentive noun.) As with other nominalizations, the repetition here indicates repeated (iterative), habitual, or durative action.

As an action/state noun, this type of nominalization may serve as O argument of the verb *to-* ‘do’: ‘do X-ing.’ In fact, if this were the only way in which the repeated Dependent form of the verb occurred, it would be very hard to prove that it is not a special type of tight multi-verb construction (§11.2). For instance, the form *obö-ng obö-ng* mentioned in the introduction to §4.2 is a repetition of the Dependent form (§6.1) of the verb *obö-* ‘break.’ In the next example, dancers are described as bending repeatedly at the knees using the repeated Dependent form of the verb, followed by *to-* ‘do’:

- 4.43) [Tun yori]=dek<sub>OBL</sub> obö-ng obö-ng to-go-morok.  
 knee 3DU.POSS=LOC break-DEP break-DEP do-RP-2/3DU  
 ‘They did (repeated) bending at their knees.’ (Field notes)

Another example of this construction is (5.68) in §5.5.3.

It is debatable whether the repeated Dependent form of the verb, *obö-ng obö-ng*, is a nominalization or whether its two components form a tight multi-verb construction with the following verb, *to-* ‘do.’ The repeated Dependent verb is rarely modified by an adjective such as *morö* ‘large.’ Further, placement of the negator in negating a sentence like that in (4.43) determines the boundary of the predicate. When negating tight multi-verb constructions (§11.2), the negating proclitic *ma=* precedes the first element in the predicate. And indeed, in the one instance in the corpus in which the repeated Dependent form of the verb followed by *to-* is negated, the negating proclitic precedes the repeated Dependent forms:

- 4.44)      Tanak<sub>O</sub>            ma=na-ng        na-ng    t-i-rok.  
                   food                NEG=eat-DEP    eat-DEP do-IRR.SG-2SG  
                   ‘You won’t do (repeated) eating.’ (Dialogue II, Appendix, 0:48)

But deverbal nominalizations are negated with *ma=*, as seen in examples (4.24-5), (4.31-2), and (4.40-1). This means that *ma=* in (4.44) could be understood as negating only the deverbal nominalization, not an entire complex predicate: ‘you will do non-eating,’ rather than ‘you won’t do eating.’ Thus, the negation test is inconclusive here.

It is the use of the repeated Dependent verb to form an epithet for the erstwhile subject of the verb that makes this form clearly a nominalization, not a tight multi-verb construction with the initial Dependent verb repeated. This occurs primarily with the verb *na-* ‘eat.’ If an erstwhile O argument of *na-* ‘eat’ such as *bot* ‘pig’ is included in the NP, the result is an epithet, in this case, *bot<sub>O</sub> na-ng na-ng* ‘pig-eater: non-Seventh-Day Adventist.’ Such epithets found in the corpus also include those based on *amna* ‘man’ and *him* ‘sickness’: *amna<sub>O</sub> na-ng na-ng* ‘man-eater,’ and *him<sub>O</sub> na-ng na-ng* ‘sickness-eater: doctor.’ If an oblique argument indicating manner is included in the nominalization, this also serves as an epithet. The term for ‘theft’ in Towet Nungon is *hawek*. Someone who steals food from others’ farms—or a hawk that preys on domestic chickens—may be called *hawek<sub>OBL</sub> na-ng na-ng*, ‘one who eats by theft.’

These epithets may be expressed in the negative to mean ‘one who does not eat men,’ or ‘one who does not eat by theft,’ by adding the verbal negator *ma=* before the first instance of *na-ng*.

- 4.45)      [[Amna<sub>O</sub>      na-ng    na-ng]<sub>HEAD</sub>      yoi<sub>MOD</sub>]:      [[amna<sub>O</sub> na-ng  
man                    eat-DEP eat-DEP                    two                    man                    eat-DEP  
na-ng]<sub>HEAD</sub>      inggouk=ma<sub>MOD</sub>],      [[amna<sub>O</sub>      ma=na-ng      na-ng]<sub>HEAD</sub>  
eat-DEP                    one=SPEC                    man                    NEG=eat-DEP      eat-DEP  
inggouk=ma<sub>MOD</sub>].  
one=SPEC

‘(There were) two man-eaters: one man-eater, and one man-non-eater.’ (David Ögate 0:02)

If there is no erstwhile O or oblique argument present with *na-ng na-ng*, the nominalization may be interpreted either as an objective or agentive noun, although for consistency with its agentive use above, the agentive interpretation is preferred here. In the objective interpretation, *na-ng na-ng* would serve as a verbless clause complement in equational verbless clauses (§10.4.1) meaning ‘(habitually) eaten; edible’ (‘X (is) edible/not edible’). With the agentive interpretation, the NP that is considered to be the verbless clause subject in the objective interpretation would be considered simply a topic, with *na-ng na-ng* referring to the eaters, not to the eaten. This may be seen in another version of the legend in (4.45). Here, the man-eater invites his brother to dine on human flesh with him. The brother berates him, in (4.46):

- 4.46)      Wo-i<sub>TOP/VCS</sub>,      [ma=na-ng      na-ng]<sub>NP/VCC</sub>.      {Nungon=ta<sub>OBL</sub> to-ng-a}  
that-TOP                    NEG=eat-DEP      eat-DEP                    what=BEN                    SG.O.take-DEP-MV  
{{ep-pa-rok}}?  
come-PRES.SG-2SG

‘That, it’s not edible/they don’t eat it. Why have you taken it and come?’ (Joshua bem hat 1:00)

Here, while the underlying O argument of *ma=na-ng na-ng* is clearly ‘human flesh,’ the underlying A argument is less obvious. Who is doing the eating? Instead of the specific person referred to in the epithet *amna na-ng na-ng* ‘man-eater,’ *ma=na-ng na-ng* ‘not eaten/edible’ seems to draw on general social practice. Under the agentive noun interpretation, *ma=na-ng na-ng* refers to people, in general. The brother’s next words support this:

- 4.47)      {{Amnao      ma=na-ng=ir-a-ng}}.                      {{Nungon=taOBL  
man                      NEG=eat-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL                      what=BEN  
wet-ta-rok}}?  
3SG.O.beat-PRES.SG-2SG  
‘They [reasonable people] don’t eat men. Why have you killed him?’ (Joshua bem hat  
1:02)

In some instances, however, who the eaters are is not at issue. A Kotet man’s vision of Eden included a tree with edible and non-edible fruits:

- 4.48)      [Eep<sub>Pr</sub> kobur-Op<sub>e</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>      wo-i<sub>VCS</sub>,                      [[na-ng na-ng], [ma=na-ng      na-ng]]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
tree      fruit-3SG.POSS      that-TOP                      eat-DEP eat-DEP NEG=eat-DEP      eat-DEP  
‘The tree fruits, as for them, were edible, and non-edible.’ (Manggirai hundip 2:34)

### 4.3 Noun phrase structure I: minimal NPs, and nouns modifying nouns

The Nungon noun phrase (NP) may be defined narrowly as a grammatical constituent that may serve as a verbal argument, of which the head is a noun or a pronoun. At the minimum, the NP in Nungon comprises a single noun, pronoun, or adjective. Longer and more complex NPs include relative clauses, possessive constructions, and/or nouns with multiple modifiers. The head of the NP usually precedes all modifiers, unless the modifier is also a noun (§4.3.2).

Nouns may modify other nouns in three types of constructions: a ‘two-noun NP’ (§4.3.2), a relative clause or specific expression using the relativizer =*ma* (§4.3.3), or a possessive NP (§4.3.4). A summary of NP structure is in table 4.7, section §4.4.

### 4.3.1 Adjectives as NPs

An NP may lack a nominal or pronominal head. (Although pronouns cannot be modified, they serve as NPs on their own.) An adjective heading an NP may be a labile adjective, which may also function as a noun (§3.2.10), or it may simply be acting as modifier in a headless NP, where the head noun is omitted. When labile adjectives serve as nouns, their meaning generally refers to the quality to which the adjective refers, not any one token of that quality: the labile adjective *onding-o* ‘strong’ means ‘strength’ as a noun, not ‘a strong one’ (the exceptions are the two racial descriptors, *kombut-ni* ‘black’ and *högök* ‘white,’ which probably have more recent provenance). In contrast, when any adjective (labile or non-labile) X serves as modifier in a headless NP, the NP is understood as ‘an X one.’ In example (4.49), from a demonstration of manipulation of a traditional door, a headless NP includes two adjectival modifiers, but no nominal head:

- 4.49) Ben-no-n, [wakwag-<sub>O</sub>MOD au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>. {[Wakwag-<sub>O</sub>MOD  
 after-3SG.POSS-LOC long-ADJ other long-ADJ  
 au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>, [[katnang<sub>HEAD</sub> wakwag-<sub>O</sub>MOD] au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> maa-ng-a-i} ...  
 other bamboo long-ADJ other cut-DEP-MV-LINK  
 ‘Then, another long one. Another long one, cutting another long bamboo...’ (Nongi  
 old house demonstration vid. 0:40)

Here, the first two NPs, *wakwag-o au* ‘another long one,’ are headless. This text accompanied a video-recorded demonstration, with the speaker picking up pieces of bamboo as he spoke. Bystanders could clearly see that the noun *katnang* ‘bamboo’ could serve as the missing head noun in both headless NPs. But the speaker himself supplied the missing noun in the final NP of the example, the full *katnang wakwag-o au* ‘another long bamboo.’

Like nouns, adjectives may also form headless NPs through use of the specifier =*ma* (§4.3.3).

### 4.3.2 The two-noun NP

As noted above, Nungon nouns may modify other nouns in three types of constructions.

The first way a noun may modify another noun is by preceding it in a two-noun NP. That is, when two nouns occur together as a single NP, with no other modifying or grammatical elements in the NP, the second noun serves as head of the NP. These two nouns form a ‘tight’ unit, and other elements generally do not intervene between them. Rarely, the first noun may itself be a complex NP: either a two-noun NP or a possessive NP (§4.3.3). Some examples are in table 4.6.

<b>Table 4.6. Examples of two-noun NPs</b>		
<b>first noun (modifier)</b>	<b>second noun (head)</b>	<b>resulting expression</b>
<i>top</i> ‘sea’	<i>arap</i> ‘game’	<i>top arap</i> ‘fish’
<i>maa</i> ‘speech’	<i>youp</i> ‘work’	<i>maa youp</i> ‘negotiation, persuasion’
<i>öön</i> ‘farmplot’	<i>youp</i> ‘work’	<i>öön youp</i> ‘farm work’
<i>youp</i> ‘work’	<i>ketket</i> ‘boy’	<i>youp ketket</i> ‘work-boy’
<i>pauk</i> ‘sweet potato’	<i>öön</i> ‘farm plot’	<i>pauk öön</i> ‘sweet potato farm plot’
<i>bot</i> ‘pig’	<i>omop</i> ‘pandanus conoideus’	<i>bot omop</i> ‘pandanus conoideus variety’
<i>gurok</i> ‘earth’	<i>asap</i> ‘path’	<i>gurok asap</i> ‘earth-path’ (as opposed to air-path, of airplanes, or paved road)
<i>Tomep</i> ‘song corpus name’	<i>aap</i> ‘song’	<i>Tomep aap</i> ‘song of the Tomep corpus’
<i>yup</i> ‘bird’	<i>dirong</i> ‘hair’	<i>yup dirong</i> ‘feather’

The modifier in two-noun NPs serves to narrow the scope of reference available to the head noun. For instance, with *maa youp* ‘talking-work,’ *maa* ‘speech’ defines a type of *youp* ‘work.’ This is why, as noted in §3.1, a noun which is already maximally-specific, such as the name of a specific tree variety or person, may not serve as head of a two-noun NP. As seen in the table, however, an ultra-specific noun may serve as the modifier in a two-noun NP, as in *Tomep aap* ‘a song of the Tomep corpus,’ where *Tomep* ‘name of song corpus’ is maximally-specific. Explication of non-specific nouns in §3.1.11 noted that non-specifics are like ultra-specific nouns in not being able to serve as head of two-noun NPs (see table 3.1). Non-specifics are too general to be specified. On the other hand, non-

specific nouns may serve as the first, modifying, noun of two-noun NPs, as in examples (4.50) and (4.51):

4.50) [Nungon<sub>MOD</sub> asap<sub>HEAD</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub> bög-in<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ni-n-ma?  
 what path=LOC house-LOC go-IRR.PL-1NSG-RF  
 ‘By what path will we go home?’ (Nusek kon hat 4:37)

4.51) {[[Nandu=ma<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>] *trening*<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>SR:O</sub> yo-ng-a},  
 something=SPEC other training say-DEP-MV  
 {{öö-ng-göng=ka<sub>OBL</sub> ya-a-ng}}.  
 ascend-DEP-PART=BEN say-PRES-2/3PL  
 ‘Talking of some kind of training, they talked of going up.’ (Gaus inoin hat 16:20)

If the order of the two nouns were switched in the examples in table 4.6, some of the resulting NPs would be rendered ridiculous and others would change meaning: *?arap top* would imply ‘sea of animals’; *youp maa* is ‘language of/used in work’; *?youp öön* would be a farm done as work (not play); *?ketket youp* would be work on boys, *?öön pauk* would be ‘sweet potato from a farmplot,’ as opposed to, perhaps, that grown in a petri dish; *\*omop bot* would be a pig that is made of *pandanus conoideus*; *?asap gurok* would be ‘earth from a path.’ Reversing the nouns to yield *\*aap Tomep* would imply a type of Tomep (a corpus of funerary songs) comprising songs, as opposed to stories. Finally, *\*dirong yup* ‘hair bird’ would refer to a bird of the type called ‘hair.’

Further proof that the second term heads this type of construction is in verbal agreement. We assume that the term which sets the parameters for verbal co-referencing is the head term. Since natural sex plays no role in Nungon grammar, we can look at number to clarify this relationship. The first term in the NP *Towet amna* ‘Towet man: man of Towet’ is clearly singular: there is only one place called ‘Towet.’ But if we take *amna* ‘man/men’ as dual or plural, this is reflected in the verbal agreement, as in the following example:

4.52) [Towet<sub>MOD</sub> amna<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> Yawan<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ng=ir-a-ng.

Towet            man            Yawan            go-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 ‘Towet men habitually go to Yawan.’

It is the number of *amna* ‘man’, not that of *Towet*, that is co-referenced on the verb. This can be systematically confirmed with the other examples above.

In all of the examples above, the first, modifying, expressions are single nouns, but complex NPs may also serve in the first position in these constructions. Examples are few, but [*pauk öön*] *asap* ‘[sweet.potato farmplot] path,’ i.e., ‘path to the sweet potato farmplot’ is possible. Here, the first component in the two-noun NP headed by *asap* is actually itself a two-noun NP, *pauk öön*. The length of such expressions is limited, however; the longer the utterance, the more likely speakers will use the ‘genitive’ postposition *hon* or the pertensive suffixes to relate terms to each other, as *pauk öön ton asap* or *pauk öön asap-no*, both meaning ‘the sweet potato farmplot’s path.’

Two-noun NPs may be further modified by adjectives and other modifiers, as in:

4.53)        [[Gombo<sub>MOD</sub>    amna<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> inggouk<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub>    e-ng-a            it-ta-k.  
               fence            man            one            come-DEP-MV    be-PRES-3SG  
               ‘One guard is coming.’ [fence-man = ‘guard’]

4.54)        {Nok<sub>S/A</sub>            ongo-ng-a},        {{{[maa<sub>MOD</sub>    youp<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub>    hatdek    hatdek<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub>  
               1SG.PRO            go-DEP-MV        speech    work            much    much  
               to-go-t}}}.  
               do-RP-1SG  
               ‘I, going on, did very much negotiations.’ (Nusek kon hat 4:38)

The repetition of the adjective *hatdek* ‘much’ in (4.54) may be understood to both intensify the meaning of *hatdek*, as ‘very much,’ and to indicate that there were multiple instances of *maa youp* ‘negotiation.’

### 4.3.3 Nouns modifying other nouns with=*ma*

Any noun may modify any other noun if the modifier is followed by the specifier =*ma*, which also functions as a relativizer and subordinate clause marker (see Chapter 12). The specifier =*ma* may occur minimally in a headless NP construction in an elliptical reply to a question, such as:

- 4.55) Soonggorong=*ma*.  
yellow=*SPEC*  
'The yellow one.' [reply to 'Which bag shall I bring you?']

This elliptical answer could also include a noun, as in (4.56):

- 4.56) Youp=*ma*.  
work=*SPEC*  
'The one (related to) work.'

The constituent marked by =*ma* may be complex. In (4.57), =*ma* marks an NP bearing both 3sg pertensive suffix and locative postposition:

- 4.57) Awang-o=*dek=ma*.  
ribs-3SG.POSS=*LOC=SPEC*  
'The one around his ribs.' (Geisch yup bök 5:50)

All three of these examples are elliptical, with the omitted head noun of each understood from context. Out of context, these are deficient: the head needs to be explicit or recoverable from context.

As is discussed in more depth in Chapter 12, =*ma* may also follow entire final verbal clauses, serving as relativizer or subordinator. The next example is an actual response from a Towet speaker following the question 'Which bag shall I bring you?' Here, again, the fact that 'the one' being referred to is a bag is understood from the question; the response itself is elliptical:

- 4.58)      {{Gaga<sub>A</sub>                    na-mo-go-rok]=ma<sub>o</sub>                    honggir-a}  
           [2SG.PRO.EMPH            1SG.O-give-RP-2SG]=SPEC            grab-MV  
           {to-ng-a}                    {{ep-pi}}!  
           SG.O.take-DEP-MV            come-IMM.IMP.2SG  
           ‘Grabbing the one you yourself gave me, taking it, come!’ (Field notes)

In two-noun NPs (§4.3.2), the modifying noun precedes the head noun. With =*ma*, however, the head noun precedes the modifying noun, which is followed by =*ma*. There is also a difference in meaning between the construction with =*ma* in (4.59) and the two-noun NP in (4.60):

- 4.59)      ketket<sub>HEAD</sub>            [youp=*ma*]<sub>MOD</sub>  
           boy                    [work=*SPEC*]  
           ‘a boy who works (hard)’ [more literally: ‘a boy of work’]
- 4.60)      youp<sub>MOD</sub>            ketket<sub>HEAD</sub>  
           work                    boy  
           ‘a work-boy’ [employee, servant]

The two-noun NP is a general designation for a type of something, understood to extend beyond a particular moment and token of the type, while the =*ma* construction describes a specific instance of something, with no pretensions to describing an overarching type.

With =*ma*, all types of nouns are permitted to serve as modifiers and heads. In §4.3.2, ultra-specific nouns were shown to be unable to serve as head of two-noun NPs. That is, *Tomep aap* ‘song of the Tomep song corpus’ is possible, but a two-noun NP \**aap Tomep* ‘Tomep song corpus composed of songs’ is not. Adding =*ma* to the problematic second noun here yields the acceptable NP *aap Tomep=ma* ‘song of the Tomep song corpus,’ which is nearly synonymous with the first two-noun NP *Tomep aap*. Taken alone, *Tomep=ma* ‘of the Tomep song corpus’ is essentially a modifying expression. It only makes sense as a headless NP ‘one of the Tomep song corpus’ in a context where ‘one’ is understood to be a song.

Nouns, adjectives, verbs, and even adverbs, although not personal pronouns, may form modifiers with *=ma*. These usually serve to specify or disambiguate. The distribution of *=ma* after adjectives demonstrates the specifying or disambiguating function of *=ma*. Nouns such as *Tomep* cannot modify other nouns by following them, except with *=ma*. But adjectives always follow the noun they modify (§4.4). What role does *=ma* play after adjectives?

The following two examples show the noun *amna* ‘man’ modified by the adjective *onding-o* ‘strong’ first without *=ma*, then with *=ma*.

4.61) Yu<sub>VCS</sub> [amna<sub>HEAD</sub> onding-o<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>, { {yu<sub>A</sub>=ho=gon<sub>A</sub>  
 3SG.PRO man strong-ADJ 3SG.PRO=FOC=RSTR  
 ge-eng-ka-c } }.  
 2SG.O.beat-PROB.SG-NF-3SG

‘He is a strong man, he alone could beat you.’ (Mangirai inoin hat 1:55)

4.62) [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> onding-o=*ma*<sub>MOD</sub>]=gon<sub>O</sub> yoo-ng  
 man strong-ADJ=SPEC=RSTR NSG.O.pick-DEP  
 ku-gu-ng.  
 SG.O.take.away-RP-2/3PL

‘They kept taking just the strong men.’ (David Ögate 5:55)

The difference here between *onding-o* and *onding-o=ma* is fairly subtle. In fact, Lauver and Wegmann (1994: 11) wrote of similar adjectives with the corresponding morpheme, /ma/, in Yau that the /ma/ occurred optionally and without purpose with a sub-class of adjectives. All the adjectives Lauver and Wegmann grouped in this sub-class happen to have contrastive meaning. But there is indeed a difference in meaning, in Nungon at least, between the adjective without *=ma* and that with *=ma*, and this concerns specificity. In (4.61), *amna onding-o* refers to a general type of man, while in (4.62) it refers to a specific subset of men including both strong and weak men. That is, with *=ma* the reference is narrowed, and there is now a sense of contrast with those who are excluded from the NP’s scope of reference.

#### 4.3.4 Possessive NPs

The third way that nouns modify other nouns is through possessive NPs. Nungon has no predicative possession—there is no verb ‘have.’ Possession is expressed through a genitive enclitic =*hon* that follows the Possessor, and/or through pertensive suffixes that attach to the Possessed noun and index the person and number of the Possessor (table 4.1, above). Possession is explored in more depth in Chapter 9.

In possessive NPs using only the genitive enclitic =*hon*, the dependent noun (Possessor) precedes the head noun (Possessed), and it is the dependent noun that is marked with =*hon*. Because it is marked, the dependent noun is obligatorily explicit in the NP. Only nouns that are non-relational, i.e. do not ordinarily occur with pertensive suffixes, may head a genitive-marked possessive NP without pertensive suffixes (the genitive enclitic and pertensive suffixes may be used in the same possessive NP—see below). In the following example, the head of the possessive NP is itself a two-noun NP (§4.3.2):

- 4.63)      Wo-rok,            [Mosasi<sub>Pr</sub>=hon [maa<sub>MOD</sub>            hat<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>Pe</sub>]o      yo-wang-na  
               that-SEMBL      Moses=GEN      speech            story            say-PROB.SG-IMNT  
               ta-a-t.  
               do-PRES-1SG

‘Thus, I’m going to tell Moses’s story.’ (Gosing Mosasi hon hat 0:02)

Here, *Mosasi* ‘Moses’ is the dependent (Possessor) noun in the NP *Mosasi=hon maa hat*; the head (Possessed) noun *maa hat*—a two-noun NP composed of *maa* ‘speech’ and *hat* ‘story’—is unmarked (see more on the two-noun NP *maa hat* after examples (4.70) and (9.8)). Personal pronouns may be marked with the genitive enclitic; there is also a special emphatic/reflexive form of genitive personal pronouns (§7.1.3).

Alternatively, possessive NPs may employ only pertensive suffixes, without the genitive enclitic. Pertensive suffixes affix to the head (Possessed) noun, not to the dependent noun. Nouns that are inherently relational, i.e. those that usually bear pertensive suffixes (members of nominal sub-

classes kin terms, body parts, artifact components, and descriptive nouns) must bear pertensive suffixes when head of a possessive NP. In a possessive NP marked only through pertensive suffixes, a dependent (Possessor) noun may or may not be present. In (4.64), a Possessor is explicit, while (4.65) lacks a Possessor noun:

- 4.64) [Keisa<sub>Pr</sub> mak-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>S</sub> ep-pa-k.  
 Keisa mother-3SG.POSS come-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘Keisa’s mother is coming.’
- 4.65) Mak-nos ep-pa-k.  
 mother-3SG.POSS come-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘His/her/its mother is coming.’

Example (4.65) is slightly elliptical, with anaphoric reference to a Possessor noun that has been previously referred to or is obvious from context. If the pertensive suffix were first or second person—referencing a speech act participant—there would be no sense of ellipsis.

The possessive NP in (4.64), *Keisa mak-no* ‘Keisa mother-3SG.POSS,’ shows the preferred address and reference epithet form used with most adults (see §1.8.1 and §13.5.3). Since personal names are used sparingly, adults are typically addressed and referred to through the names of their children. A Towet woman overheard her daughter-in-law in another building call out to another woman: *Gilbert mak-no!* ‘Gilbert’s mother!’ The older woman did not hear the name *Gilbert* clearly, and repeated quietly to herself:

- 4.66) [[Nandu=ma<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>Pr</sub> mak-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>SR:O</sub> ya-a-k.  
 something=SPEC other mother-3SG.POSS say-PRES-3SG  
 ‘“Someone or other’s mother,” she says.’ (Field notes)

With a pause between *Keisa* and *mak-no* in example (4.64), *Keisa* would become the topic, outside of the possessive NP; the sentence could then be translated as ‘Keisa, his mother is coming.’ But with no pause between the Possessor and Possessed nouns, there is no topicalization. This is clear from the use of possessive NPs such as *Gilbert mak-no* to address. When someone yells out to

Gilbert's mother using a possessive NP including Gilbert's name, there is no sense that 'Gilbert' is the topic of the clause: 'Gilbert's mother' is the accepted epithet used for a particular woman, to avoid using her own personal name.

Here is a difference between nouns of nominal sub-classes that usually bear pertensive suffixes—kin terms, body parts, and artifact components (see §3.1)—versus other possessable nouns. In (4.64), *mak* 'mother' is a kin term. If it were a noun that is not ordinarily possessed, such as *gowik* 'knife,' the two nouns comprising *Keisa gowik-no* 'Keisa's knife' form less of a natural unit together. Here, a topicalization interpretation as 'Keisa, his knife.' is possible, although not obligatory, even without a significant pause between *Keisa* and *gowik-no*. To avoid this interpretation, either the genitive construction *Keisa=hon gowik* 'Keisa's knife' or a combination of the two, *Keisa=hon gowik-no* 'Keisa's knife,' could be used.

The genitive enclitic *=hon* often co-occurs in a possessive NP with the pertensive suffixes. With all nouns besides kin terms, body parts, and artifact components, the difference in meaning between constructions such as *Keisa=hon gowik* and *Keisa=hon gowik-no* is slight. Here, the combination of *=hon* and the pertensive suffix, in which both dependent (Possessor) and head (Possessed) noun are marked, emphasizes the possessive relationship more than the neutral *Keisa=hon gowik* does.

Since non-relational nouns may head genitive-marked possessive NPs without pertensive suffixes, doubly-marked possessive NPs such as *Keisa=hon gowik-no* may be understood to emphasize the possessed nature of the NP head. This is done through affixation of a pertensive suffix *-no* to the neutral possessive NP *Keisa=hon gowik* 'Keisa's knife.' In contrast, inherently-relational, ordinarily-possessed nouns cannot head genitive-marked possessive NPs without pertensive suffixation: *\*Keisa=hon mak* for 'Keisa's mother' is ungrammatical, since the kin term *mak* 'mother' must bear a pertensive suffix when heading a possessive NP. With inherently-relational nouns, the combination of genitive marking and pertensive suffixation, *Keisa=hon mak-no*, entails the addition

of genitive marking to the neutral possessive NP *Keisa mak-no* ‘Keisa’s mother.’ Thus, the added emphasis here comes through the genitive marker, not the pertensive suffix.

It was noted above that the neutral way for an ordinarily un-possessed noun to head a possessive NP is through the genitive-marked construction, as in *Keisa=hon gowik* ‘Keisa=GEN knife,’ ‘Keisa’s knife.’ Conversely, the neutral way for an ordinarily-possessed noun to head a possessive NP is through the pertensive-marked construction, as in *Kaila mak-no* ‘Kaila mother-3SG.POSS,’ ‘Kaila’s mother.’ Here, if the genitive enclitic were added, yielding *Kaila=hon mak-no* ‘Kaila=GEN mother-3SG.POSS,’ it would imply focus on *Kaila*: ‘Kaila’s (as opposed to someone else’s) mother.’

The more complex a possessive NPs, the more likely it will include the genitive enclitic *=hon*, which still may be understood as putting the possessor in focus. Long nested sequences of genitive- and pertensive-marked possessive NPs may be formed, especially when people are discussing or explaining kin relationships; the final noun or NP of the sequence is head. This is the case in (4.67), where *gungak-n-i* ‘child-3SG.POSS-PL’ is head of a long complex NP:

- 4.67)      [[[[Mak-na=hon<sub>Pr</sub>      daa-no<sub>Pe</sub>]=hon<sub>Pr</sub>      wie-no<sub>Pe</sub>]=hon<sub>Pr</sub>  
                  mother-1SG.POSS=GEN    sister-3SG.POSS=GEN    daughter-3SG.POSS=GEN  
                  gungak-n-i<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>      wo=ma-i<sub>VCS</sub>      [nogon<sub>Pr</sub>      gungak-na-i<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
                  child-3SG.POSS-PL      that=SPEC-TOP 1SG.PRO+GEN    child-1SG.POSS-PL  
                  ‘My mother’s sister’s daughter’s children are (called) my children.’

In (4.68), there is no need for the genitive enclitic in addition to the 3sg pertensive suffix *-no*:

- 4.68)      Mak=kO<sub>A</sub>      [eet-na<sub>Pr/Pe</sub>      tom-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>O</sub>      boo-ha-k.  
                  mother=FOC      [foot-1SG.POSS cover-3SG.POSS]      sew-PRES.SG-3SG  
                  ‘Mother is sewing up my shoe.’ (Field notes)

In (4.68), the artifact component noun *tom* ‘cover’ is an inherently-relational noun, which ordinarily occurs with a pertensive suffix. This means that there is no need for the genitive enclitic *=hon* within

the NP *eet-na tom-no* ‘my foot’s cover,’ although =*hon* could be added if the speaker wanted to focus the element *eet-na* ‘my foot,’ for contrast. In the next sentence, a sequence of nested genitive- and pertensive-marked possessive NPs is used to represent a kin relationship:

- 4.69) [Nan-na=hon<sub>Pr</sub> nan-no<sub>Pe</sub>]=hon<sub>Pr</sub> nan-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>,  
 [father-1SG.POSS=GEN father-3SG.POSS=GEN father-3SG.POSS]  
 {wo-rok<sub>A</sub> y-angat yoo-ng-a} {{ep-bu-ng}}.  
 that-SEMBL 3.O-escort NSG.O.pick.up-DEP-MV come-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘My father’s father’s father, that’s who (with his family) they escorted and brought,  
 coming (here).’ (Joshua toropni hon hat 0:42).

Here, the kin term *ombu* ‘great-grandparent’ could have been substituted for the two nested possessive NPs, but its reference would have been vaguer: *ombu* is not specified for sex, nor does it demarcate whether the lineage is maternal or paternal. In contrast to *eet-na* ‘my foot’ in (4.68), which does not need to be marked by the genitive enclitic =*hon*, the two instances of *nan* ‘father’ as Possessor in possessive NPs in (4.69) would be infelicitous without =*hon*. That is, although *Keisa nan-no* ‘Keisa’s father’ is acceptable as a term of address and of reference, ?*nan-na nan-no* would never occur in this way. This may be because any imaginable kin relationship in Nungon may be pithily described by a single kin term. If a speaker wants to elaborate on sex or lineage beyond the specifications inherent in the kin term, such elaboration is done using =*hon*, as in (4.69).

Head (Possessed) NPs within possessive NPs may be complex, including modifiers (see §4.4.2). An example of this comes from the conclusion of a religious homily:

- 4.70) {{{Gööt<sub>Pe1</sub> noni<sub>Pr1</sub>}=hon<sub>Pr2</sub> [[maa<sub>MOD</sub> hat<sub>HEAD</sub>] morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>Pe2</sub>]<sub>S</sub> wo-rok  
 God 1PL.POSS=GEN speech story large that-SEMBL  
 i-in-a}, {{Gööt=to<sub>A</sub> to-ng guram<sub>O</sub> to-un}}.  
 be-DS.3SG-MV God=FOC SG.O.take-DEP medicine do-IMM.IMP.3SG  
 ‘Our God’s great story thus remaining, may God take it and do blessing.’ (Dilingi  
 Sabat hat 1:48)

There are two possessive NPs here: in the first, *Gööit* ‘God’ is the head, marked by the 1pl pertensive marker *noni*. The Possessed NP of the second possessive NP is a two-noun NP, *maa hat* ‘speech story,’ that is modified by the adjective *morö* ‘large.’ The question of whether *morö* ‘large’ modifies only *maa hat* ‘story’ or the entire possessive NP ‘our God’s story’ is moot here, since the semantics are the same in both cases.

#### 4.3.5 Alienable and inalienable possession

As noted in §4.1.1 (and discussed in more detail in §9.4), the difference between alienable and inalienable possession is only marked when the Possessor is 3sg, and then only if the Possessed noun ends in a segment other than /t/ or a vowel. The 3sg pertensive suffix takes the form *-o* in inalienable possession when this phonological requirement is fulfilled, and *-no* everywhere else. An illustrative contrast is between *mum* ‘milk/breast’ and *mum* ‘powdered milk’: *mum-o* is ‘her breast’ or ‘her milk,’ while *mum-no* is ‘his/her powdered milk.’

Human and animal body parts, and parts of plants, are always marked as inalienably possessed unless they end in /t/ or a vowel. *Morum* ‘owner’ is inalienably possessed. Kin terms are less predictable; *mak* ‘mother’ is alienably possessed, as *mak-no* ‘his/her mother,’ for instance, while *oruk* ‘brother (of male)’ is alienably possessed, as *orug-o* ‘his brother.’ One term for ‘school-friend,’ *oruk oruk* (possibly a calque from Tok Pisin *brata brata*), is alienably possessed: *oruk oruk-no* ‘his school-friend.’

#### 4.3.6 Inalienable possession without the pertensive suffix

To say ‘tree leaf,’ *hagim* ‘leaf’ must normally bear the inalienable 3sg pertensive suffix *-o*:

- 4.71)      Osuk, [eep<sub>Pr</sub> hagim-o<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>O</sub>      yoo-ng=it-do-mong.  
             first    [tree    leaf-3SG.POSS    NSG.O.take-DEP=be-RP-1PL  
             ‘First, we used to pick tree’s leaves.’ (Nongi top yamuk 1:44)

But occasionally *hagim* in this construction lacks the pertensive suffix, as in (4.72):

- 4.72) {Taambit e-un-a}, {[eep<sub>MOD</sub> hagim<sub>HEAD</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub>  
 3SG.O.tread come-DS.3SG-MV tree leaf=LOC  
 maa-noo yo-go-k}}.  
 sound-3SG.POSS say-RP-3SG

‘It having tread on (the leaves) and come, a sound resounded on the tree leaves.’

(Fooyu boop 0:43)

Without the suffix, we get a two-noun NP. This is only possible when the missing pertensive suffix would have been 3sg—no other pertensive suffixes can be omitted in this way.

The slight difference in meaning between phrases such as *eep hagim-o* and *eep hagim* seems to be that with the pertensive suffix, there is more specification of a particular token of the NP type, while without the pertensive suffix, the resulting two-noun NP construction has more general scope: ‘tree’s leaves’ versus ‘tree-leaves.’

Possessive NPs with 3sg pertensive suffix *-o/-no* missing most often occur when the NP is serving as a verbless clause predicate or descriptor. These are often pre-pausal, like Class 2 adjectives that lack the Class 2 suffix *-o/-no* (see §4.4.4 below).

#### 4.4 Noun phrase structure II: adjectives modifying nouns

A noun may be followed by several adjectives and other modifiers. An adjective modifying a noun always follows the noun. The noun heads the NP. The following two examples contrast a possessive NP with an adjective-modifying noun NP, which are similar on the surface:

- 4.73) [Oesit<sub>Pr</sub> dirong-<sub>O<sub>Pe</sub></sub>]<sub>S</sub> mö-wa-k.  
 [girl hair-3SG.POSS] fall-NP.SG-3SG

‘A girl’s hair fell.’

- 4.74) [Oesit<sub>HEAD</sub> onding-<sub>O<sub>MOD</sub></sub>]<sub>S</sub> mö-wa-k.  
 [girl strong-ADJ] fall-NP.SG-3SG

‘The strong girl fell.’

Adjectives receive no agreement morphology referencing the number, sex, or possessed status of the referent of the modified noun:

- 4.75) [Oesit-na<sub>HEAD</sub> onding-o<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> mö-wa-k.  
 [girl-1SG.POSS strong-ADJ] fall-NP.SG-3SG  
 ‘My strong daughter fell.’

Table 4.7. Summary of ordering within the NP		
	head precedes mod	mod precedes head
modifier	adjective	bare noun (two-noun NP)
	noun with = <i>ma</i>	bare or possessed noun (possession)

#### 4.4.1 Person terms as modifiers

If necessary, female or male sex may be specified for terms with human referents by the addition of the modifier *oe* ‘female’ or *amna* ‘male’ after the term. For instance, the word most commonly used for ‘teacher’ is a Kâte loan, *bakbasu* (see table 1.1 in §1.3.1). All teachers at the upper-grades Yawan primary school had always been male from the school’s founding in 2007 until 2013, when a female teacher began work there. Nungon speakers wanting to specify which teacher they were talking about referred to her as *bakbasu oe* ‘the female teacher.’ Nungon compounds such as *gombo amna*, literally ‘man of the fence’ but used to mean ‘security guard,’ may be rephrased as appropriate to reflect the sex of the referent, as *gombo oe* ‘female security guard.’

In Nungon, when one noun modifies another in an NP without the specifier =*ma*, the head noun follows the modifying noun. When the tree species *busop*, seeds of which used to be worn on headbands by young boys, precedes *ketket* ‘boy,’ the resulting noun phrase is an archaic epithet for boys used by girls: *busop ketket* ‘boy of *busop*.’ When the village name *Towet* precedes the word *amna* ‘man,’ the result is *Towet amna* ‘man of *Towet*.’ And when the concept *hawek* ‘theft’ precedes *oe* ‘woman,’ the result is *hawek oe* ‘woman of theft.’

But when three nouns—*amna*, *oe*, and *ketket*—follow other nouns, these may sometimes act, not as heads, but as modifiers. I have found no other nouns that can act as modifiers in this way.

<b>Table 4.8. <i>Amna</i> ‘man’ as head and modifier in noun phrases</b>				
	noun phrase	morpheme-by-morpheme gloss	translation	translation of incorrect analysis
<b>after specific place name: head</b>	<i>Towet amna</i>	Towet man	‘man of Towet’	*‘male Towet’
<b>after abstract concept noun: head</b>	<i>hawek amna</i>	theft man	‘man of theft’: thief	*‘male theft’
<b>after complex deverbal nominalization: head</b>	<i>to-ng yandi-k yandi-k amna</i>	SG.O.take-DEP show-NMZ show-NMZ man	‘man of teaching’: man who teaches	*‘male teachings’
<b>after <i>högök</i> ‘white’ used as noun: head?</b>	<i>högök amna</i>	white(ness) man	‘non-Papua New Guinean or African man’	? ‘man of whiteness’
<b>after higher animate noun: modifier</b>	<i>hup amna</i>	chicken male	‘male chicken’: rooster	*‘man of chickens’
<b>after <i>gungak</i> ‘child’: modifier</b>	<i>gungak amna</i>	child male	‘male child’: baby boy	*‘man of children’
<b>before <i>ketket</i>: head</b>	<i>amna ketket</i>	man boy	‘still-youthful man’	*‘boy of men’
<b>before adjectival modifier: head</b>	<i>amna onding-o</i>	man strong-ADJ	‘strong man’	*‘strength of men’

Note that *\*amna Towet*, *\*amna gungak*, *\*amna hup*, *\*ketket amna*, and *\*onding-o amna* are ungrammatical as noun phrases. Further, *amna hawek*, the metathesized version of *hawek amna* above, means ‘theft of men,’ which could refer to women taking other women’s partners, or to raiders taking prisoners.

Other nouns and adjectives are unequivocally nominal or adjectival and cannot cross over in the same ways as *amna*, *oe* and *ketket*. That is, even though the adjective *onding-o* ‘strong-ADJ’ may be possessed like a noun, then referring to one’s internal ‘strength,’ it cannot precede a noun in a two-

noun NP as above. That is, while *amna onding-o* ‘strong man’ in table 4.8 is grammatical, *\*onding-o amna* ‘man of strength,’ formed by analogy with *hawek amna* ‘man of theft’ in the second column, is ungrammatical.

The adjective *högök* has become a substantive in modern usage, referring to ‘whites,’ as seen in the following sentence, where it serves as A argument of *to-* ‘take (sg. object)’:

- 4.76)      {Högök=ko<sub>A</sub>    to-ng-a}                      {{ongo-gu-ng}}=ma...  
               white=FOC      SG.O.take-DEP-MV      go-RP-2/3PL=REL  
               ‘The one whom the whites took and went away...’ (Fooyu inoin hat 0:27)

The traditional way to speak about people with light skin is to call them *gomon-o*, ‘red-ADJ,’ not *högök* ‘white.’ In its probably-older, and still productive, function as color adjective, *högök* always follows the noun it modifies, as in *bin högök* ‘skirt white,’ ‘white skirt,’ the name of a modern variety of banana.

The three basic terms for types of people *oe*, *amna* and *ketket* can serve as adjective-like modifiers, meaning ‘female,’ ‘male,’ and ‘unmarried’ when following certain nouns. These nouns are listed in table 4.9:

<b>Table 4.9. Nouns that <i>oe</i>, <i>amna</i> and <i>ketket</i> may modify</b>	
<i>oe</i> ‘female’ or <i>amna</i> ‘male’ may modify:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• domesticated animals such as dogs, chickens, pigs, and now sheep</li> <li>• <i>gungak</i> ‘child’</li> </ul>
<i>ketket</i> ‘unmarried’ may modify:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>amna</i> ‘man’ and <i>oe</i> ‘woman’</li> </ul>

These person terms-cum-modifiers differ from adjectives, however, in that they cannot be further modified by modifiers of adjectives, such as the intensifiers *hinom* or *uung-o*.

The only instances in which the ordering of the two nouns is apparently reversed involve the nouns *amna* ‘man’ and *oe* ‘woman,’ but this seems to indicate that these nouns may also serve as

adjectives. The noun phrase *Towet amna* ‘Towet man: man of Towet’ fits the description of two-noun NPs above; ‘man’ heads the NP, while ‘Towet’ serves to specify the type of man (one from Towet). We then have *högök amna* ‘white man: white man’ which at first seems to contradict the rule that adjectives follow the nouns they modify, possibly in a calque from Tok Pisin. But we also have the adjective *högök* ‘white’ serving as an NP in possessive constructions such as the term for ‘English’: *högök kon maa* ‘white=GEN speech: whites’ speech’; it seems to be an acceptable noun referring to ‘whites,’ and making the expression *högök amna* parallel to *Towet amna*: ‘a man of Towet’; ‘a man of the whites.’ While the two examples above may be analysed as fitting the NP-modifying-noun mould, *amna* and *oe* also sometimes follow other nouns in expressions specifying sex, such as: *hup amna* ‘chicken man: rooster’; *hap amna* ‘dog man: male dog.’ We assume that in both of these, *amna* ‘man’ is the modifier, not the head: each expression refers to a type of chicken or dog, not to a man who sells, cares for or is otherwise associated with chickens or dogs. In these instances, there are two alternative analyses: one is that this type of construction is an abbreviated form of the expression *hup amna=ma*, also acceptable, in which the specifier/relativizer *=ma* cements the modifying relationship between *amna* and *hup*. Note that while *\*amna Towet* is not acceptable as an alternative phrasing of *Towet amna* ‘man of Towet,’ *amna Towet=ma* ‘man of Towet’ is acceptable as a rephrasing of *Towet amna*. The other way to explain *hap amna* or *hup amna* is that *amna* is also applicable as a modifier, ‘male.’

#### 4.4.2 Modifier ordering within NPs

Nungon noun phrases rarely have more than one adjective. When they do, however, these generally follow a certain order, with human referent nouns-cum-modifiers like *amna* ‘man/male,’ *oe* ‘woman/female,’ and *gungak* ‘child/young’ immediately following the noun, then AGE, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, DIMENSION, then VALUE adjectives. Non-descriptive adjectives such as the CARDINAL NUMBER and ORDINAL NUMBER adjectives and *au* ‘other’ follow the descriptive adjectives. Where it occurs, *au* ‘other’ is generally the final adjectival element in an NP. Adjectives that can modify other adjectives, which were discussed in §3.2.6, generally follow the descriptive adjective that they intensify (the exception noted earlier was *opmou* ‘a little,’ which precedes the adjective it modifies.

Demonstratives are usually the final modifying element in an NP. There are relatively few instances in the corpus where an NP headed by a noun includes both an adjective and a demonstrative (§7.2.1) as modifiers. Most often, the adjective is a CARDINAL NUMBER adjective. Where a demonstrative such as *ngo* ‘this’ does follow non-number adjectival modifier(s), it can often be analysed as functioning as an adverb outside the NP instead of a modifier inside the NP: this is because adjectives in Nungon, and also NP-modifying demonstratives, can also function as adverbs—and because the demonstrative in all such instances immediately precedes the verb. Finally, if the NP is negated (‘not X’), the non-verbal negator *muuno* follows all modifiers, with scope over the entire NP. The general order of modifiers in an NP is below.

Modifier ordering within NPs:

1. noun or NP head
2. (AGE adjective)
3. (PROPERTY adjective)
4. (DIMENSION adjective)
5. (VALUE adjective)
6. (CARDINAL NUMBER or ORDINAL NUMBER adjective)
7. (other adjective(s), concluding with *au* ‘other’)
8. (demonstrative)
9. (negator *muuno*, with scope over entire NP)

If a single noun is modified by more than one adjective, these adjectives often are those that commonly co-occur in pat two-adjective phrases. The co-occurring adjectives are usually synonymous or bear related meanings. Such combinations include *morö* ‘large’ and *potok potog-o* ‘fearsome’ (*potok potog-o* may imply ‘big’ even when it occurs without *morö*: that is, ‘so big as to induce fear’); *opmou* ‘small’ and *hom-no* ‘short’; *morö* ‘large’ and *imbange* ‘wonderful, beautiful.’ This list shows that commonly co-occurring adjectives generally belong to the semantic types of DIMENSION and VALUE, although not all adjectives of these semantic types do commonly pair with

other adjectives. The ordering of the two words may vary, although in general either of the DIMENSION adjectives *morö* ‘large’ and *opmou* ‘small’ is the first of any pair.

The next two example sentences come from the same text, recorded by a Worin speaker:

- 4.77) {[Bot-na<sub>HEAD</sub> amna<sub>MOD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub> [focfoc-o=*ma*  
 pig-1SG.POSS man big fearsome-ADJ=SPEC  
 hinom]<sub>MOD</sub>]o wer-a}, {[Duruwai orin Mineppe]<sub>O</sub> ho-ng  
 INTENS 3SG.O.beat-MV Duruwai CONJ Mineppe cook-DEP  
 ye-mo-go-t}}.  
 3NSG.O-give-RP-1SG

‘Having killed my large, very fearsome male pig; I cooked it for Duruwai and Mineppe.’ (Watno bot yamang itdung ma 0:05)

In this sentence, *bot* ‘pig’ takes the 1sg pertensive suffix *-na*; then *bot-na* ‘my pig’ is followed by the noun-cum-adjective *amna* and then adjectives *morö* ‘large’ and *focfoc-o* ‘fearsome’ with specifier =*ma*, then the intensifier *hinom*. It is unusual for =*ma* to intercede between an adjective and the intensifier *hinom* as it does above.

- 4.78) {Naat-na<sub>S</sub> e-un-a}, {[[bot-na<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>  
 opp.sex.sibl-1SG.POSS come-DS.3SG-MV pig-1SG.POSS large  
 focfoc-o<sub>MOD</sub>] au<sub>MOD</sub>]o wet-a}, {[Yarang orin Maric]<sub>OBL</sub>=ka  
 fearsome-ADJ other 3SG.O.beat-MV Yarang CONJ Maric=BEN  
 ho-ng ye-mo-go-t}}.  
 cook-DEP 3NSG.O-give-RP-1SG

‘My brother having come, I having killed my other large fearsome pig, I cooked and gave it to Yarang and Maric.’ (Watno bot yamang itdung ma 0:21)

In this later sentence from the same text, there is no specifier =*ma*; it may be argued that the specifying work performed by =*ma* in the previous sentence is performed by *au*, ‘other,’ in this

sentence. Note that *au* also falls in the same position in this sentence as =*ma* in the previous sentence: after descriptive adjectives.

Another example comes from a text recorded by a Towet speaker. Here, the NP comprises a modifying noun (Possessor), head noun plus pertensive suffix (Possessed), then two adjectives: first, *morö* ‘large,’ then *imbange* ‘beautiful’:

- 4.79) [[Naak<sub>Pr</sub> doog-Op<sub>e</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub> imbange<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub>  
yam tendril-3SG.POSS big beautiful  
öö-ng-a it-do-k.  
ascend-DEP-MV be-RP-3SG  
‘A big, beautiful fresh growth of a yam was rising up.’ (Ges story 1 1:05)

As in the earlier examples, the adjective *morö* precedes *imbange* here.

In the next example from the same speaker (but a different text), a string of three adjectives modifies the noun *amna* ‘man.’ Part of this example appeared as (3.23) in Chapter 3. Three adjectives seems to be about the limit for a single NP: no examples with four adjectives are found in the corpus.

- 4.80) [[Oruk yoni]<sub>HEAD</sub> kotik=ma<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub> wo=ma-iv<sub>CS</sub>  
brother 3PL.POSS old=SPEC that=SPEC-TOP  
[amna<sub>HEAD</sub> opmou<sub>MOD</sub> hom-no<sub>MOD</sub> moin-no<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub> {{bö<sub>g</sub>-in<sub>OBL</sub>  
[man small short-ADJ bad-ADJ] house-LOC  
wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> ir=it-do-k}}.  
that-LDEM.NEAR be=be-RP-3SG  
‘Their old brother, as for him, (he was) a small, short, ugly man; (he) used to stay  
there at home.’ (Ges story 2 2:16)

Here, the commonly co-occurring DIMENSION adjectives *opmou* ‘small’ and *hom-no* ‘short’ all have to do with the man’s unbeautiful appearance: *opmou* ‘small,’ *hom-no* ‘short,’ *moin-no* ‘ugly.’

This section included four examples of NPs with multiple modifiers, two each from two speakers. The corpus suggests, in fact, that certain speakers—like the two quoted here—tend to produce extra-long NPs, while other speakers shy from stacking adjectives after a single noun.

#### 4.4.3 Adjective repetition to intensify adjective and indicate plurality

For both nouns with human referents and those with non-human referents, non-singular number may also be marked on the NP through repetition of the adjective *opmou* ‘small’ or *morö* ‘large,’ and certain other adjectives. Adjectives used in this way are repeated twice. It is not yet clear whether this process is productive and open to all adjectives, or whether it is limited to *opmou*, *morö* and a few others. This repetition contributes both intensification of the adjective and non-singular marking of the NP. ‘Sand,’ *okson*, for instance, may be described as *böörong opmou opmou* ‘rock small small,’ i.e. ‘very small rocks.’ This label could also be applied to gravel, but a group of medium-sized rocks could not be called *böörong opmou opmou*; nor could a group of rocks that are moderately small, but not extremely small (like gravel or sand). This is because the repetition of the adjective intensifies the meaning, ‘small,’ of *opmou*, so that it means ‘very small.’ Likewise, a single tiny rock could not be called *böörong opmou opmou* because the repetition of the adjective also lends non-singularity to the NP.

As mentioned in §3.2.9, nouns cannot be repeated for manipulation of meaning in the same way as adjectives can be. That is, repetition of a noun may or may not be meaningful, but such a repetition often represents the name of another thing entirely—related, as with *siget* ‘edible fern species (among many)’ and *siget siget* ‘inedible fern species,’ or unrelated, as with *udan* ‘tree species,’ and *udan udan* ‘lymph node.’

The next pair of sentences illustrates the difference between non-repeated (singular and non-intensified) *opmou* ‘small’ and repeated (pluralized and intensified) *opmou*:

- 4.81)      Gok<sub>VCS</sub>            [gungak<sub>HEAD</sub>    opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>    ha?  
                  2SG.PRO            child                small                QUES  
                  ‘Are you a small child?’

4.82) [Gungak<sub>HEAD</sub> [opmou opmou]<sub>MOD</sub>]=hos yo-gu-ng.  
 child small small=FOC say-RP-2/3PL

‘The (very) small children spoke.’ (Towet oe hat 2:17)

4.83) \*Gok<sub>VCS</sub> [gungak<sub>HEAD</sub> [opmou opmou]<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub> ha?  
 2SG.PRO child small small QUES

\*‘Are you (sg.) a very small child? (Here, *hinom* ‘intensifier’ would be an acceptable modifier for *opmou*, but the repetition is unacceptable, since the pronoun *gok* ‘you’ is singular.)

The last sentence above shows that although repetition of these adjectives seems to yield both pluralization and intensification of adjectival meaning, the adjectives that are used in this way cannot be repeated when used with singular nouns in order to express only intensification, not plurality. Similarly, when intensification is not intended, adjectives modifying a noun with non-singular referents need not be repeated, as in the following example:

4.84) {Handar-un-a} {[amna<sub>HEAD</sub> opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>A</sub> öö<sub>SR:O</sub> yo-ng-a}  
 NSG.O.follow-DS.3SG-MV man small EXCL say-DEP-MV  
 {[orin<sub>MOD</sub> koreng<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>MANN</sub> öö<sub>SR:O</sub> yo-ng-a}  
 yell game EXCL say-DEP-MV  
 {horo-ng wor-a} {{oo-ng ep-bu-ng}}.  
 surprise-DEP beat-MV descend-DEP come-RP-2/3PL

‘It following them, the small men saying “Oh!” yelling out “Oh,” running, they came down.’ (Limson ketket torop 1:34-1:37)

Here, it is clear that *amna opmou* ‘man small’ has a non-singular referent from both the 2/3pl inflection of the final verb *ep-bu-ng* ‘come-RP-2/3PL’ and from the suppletive non-singular O form of *handar-un-a* ‘NSG.O.follow-DS.3SG-MV.’ The story from which this sentence comes is about a group of Towet boys who went around hunting together. The storyteller, himself in his mid-to-late teens and thus perhaps of similar age to the boys in the story, refers to the group of boys alternately as *ketket*

‘boys’ (4 times), *amna opmou* ‘small men’ (2 times), *amna opmou opmou* ‘small small men’ (6 times), *amna ketket* ‘boy-men (i.e. unmarried young man)’ (2 times), and simply *amna* ‘men’ (3 times). *Amna opmou* ‘little man’ and *oe opmou* ‘little woman,’ as well as *amna/oe hom-no* ‘short man/woman’ are used in Nungon to refer to children in a kind of jokingly deferential, endearing register. For instance, when visiting relatives asked Kaila’s mother about three-year-old Kaila, they referred to her as *oe hom-no gomon-o* ‘woman short-ADJ red-ADJ,’ i.e. ‘the short light-skinned woman.’ This has a comical tinge to it.

The adjective may occur in repeated form without the non-singular noun it modifies being explicitly stated if recoverable from context. This is the case in the following sentence:

4.85)      {Hundengo    huk    to-ng-a}            {[opmou        opmou]o  
              tree.sp        slice   do-DEP-MV    small        small  
              to-ng-o        m-uya}...        {eepi=dek<sub>OBL</sub>    hi-u-ya}  
              do-DEP-MVII    perf-2/3PL      fire=LOC        put-DS.2/3PL-MV  
              {{ di-ng=it-du-ng }}.  
              burn-DEP=be-RP-3PL

‘Slicing *hundeng* wood in half, making small (pieces)... (people) putting them into the fire, (the pieces) would burn.’ (Hesienare hon hat yiip 0:07-0:12)

Here, *hundeng*, a tree species used in harvesting salt from the ocean, is mentioned once. When the harvesters make very small woodchips or strips from the halved *hundeng* wood, the expression the speaker uses is *opmou opmou to-* ‘small small do,’ which seems to have an inherent plurality about it, since the final verb *di-* ‘burn’ has 3pl agreement, referencing the small pieces of *hundeng*. Note, incidentally, that the non-repeated *opmou to-* ‘small do’ can mean either ‘become small’ or ‘make small.’

Other adjectives that have been observed marking number and intensification through repetition are *orog-o* ‘good-ADJ,’ *imbange* ‘beautiful, excellent’ and *moin-no* ‘bad-ADJ.’ That is, some adjectives of the SIZE and VALUE semantic types allow for this marking. One example, in which

*babiya bök* ‘school’ is modified by repeated *orog-o* ‘good-ADJ’ for both intensification and plurality is at 1:31 in Narrative I, Appendix.

#### 4.4.4 Bare adjectival roots as modifiers

Just as inalienably possessed nouns may sometimes occur without the possessive ending *-o*, adjectival roots may sometimes occur as modifiers without a derivational suffix. Thus, *yamuk onding-o* ‘water strong-ADJ’ (‘alcohol’) also occurs as *yamuk onding*. A strong life-force (‘life’ or ‘life-force’ is the nominalized form of *it-* ‘be’: *id~it*) is called *id~it onding* ‘life strong,’ never *id~it onding-o*.

The nuance in difference here seems to relate to whether there is a single token of the NP or whether it refers in general terms to the NP as a type. That is, *yamuk onding* is the general term for ‘alcohol.’ *Yamuk onding-o* is a more-specific token of the *yamuk onding* type.

Similarly, with *id~it onding*: if *onding* takes the Class 2 suffix *-o*, *id~it* must take the 3sg possessive suffix *-no*, because now a particular person’s life is being discussed: *id~it-no onding-o*.

This is because adjectival roots bearing derivational suffixes cannot modify ordinarily-possessed (and/or inalienably-possessed) nouns if the nouns lack possessive suffixes. For the Class 3 adjective *kombut-ni* ‘black’ and the Class 2 adjective *gomon-o* ‘red’ to modify the body parts *duk* ‘mouth’ and *daan* ‘eye,’ each body part must itself also bear a possessive suffix:

<i>dug-o</i>	<i>kombut-ni</i>	<i>daar-o</i>	<i>gomon-o</i>
mouth-3SG.POSS	black-ADJ	eye-3SG.POSS	red-ADJ
<i>*duk kombut-ni</i>		<i>*daan gomon-o</i>	

If the body part lacks the possessive suffix, the adjectival root must also lack the derivational suffix. Thus, *duk kombut* ‘black-mouth’ and *daan gomon* ‘red-eye’ are general terms that can function as epithets: in this case, the respective names of a hunting dog and ancestral figure.

Adjectival roots as modifiers either occur in: a) general, non-specific contexts, or b) personal names, epithets, and names of species of plants and animals.

A list of examples from the corpus of NPs in which the modifier lacks the expected adjectivizing suffix is in Table 4.10.

**Table 4.10. NPs with modifying elements that lack expected suffixes**

without suffix	gloss	with suffix	gloss	word class of modifier
idit onding	strong life force	idit-na onding-o	my life force is strong	adjectival root
yamuk onding	strong water = alcohol	yamuk onding-o	strong water = alcohol	adjectival root
Duk Kombut	Black Mouth (name of dog)	dug-o kombut-ni	its mouth is black	adjectival root
yup bumbum	regent whistler (bird species that exhibits 'crazy' behavior)	yup bumbum-ni	crazy bird	adjectival root
daan sisit	eyelash ('small eye')	daar-o sisit-no	thin, small eye	adjectival root
Kaak Dan	Flat-head (epithet)	kaag-o dan-no	his/her head is flat	adjectival root
Daan Gomon	Red Eye (name of ancestor)	daar-o gomon-o	his/her eye is red	adjectival root
dirong gomon	Tolai people (red haired ones)	dirong-o gomon-o	his/her hair is red	adjectival root
yii gomon	red vine species	yii gomon-o	red vine	adjectival root
ami gomon	red fern species	ami gomon-o	red fern	adjectival root
birang gomon	red variety of <i>birang</i> , an herb	birang gomon-o	red <i>birang</i>	adjectival root
miyak gomon	red variety of <i>miyak</i> , an herb	miyak gomon-o	red <i>miyak</i>	adjectival root
ming gomon	red variety of <i>ming</i> , an herb	ming gomon-o	red <i>ming</i>	adjectival root

Some of the expressions in the first column above seem interchangeable with their counterparts in the third column. That is, *yamuk onding-o* ‘water strong-ADJ’ is the usual way to refer to alcohol; occasionally a speaker may leave off the suffix, yielding *yamuk onding*. The fern variety *ami* has a variant known either as *ami gomon* or *ami gomon-o*. The latter seems to be more of a descriptive phrase, with the former bearing a more name-like ring. Others have different meanings: *yup bumbum* ‘bird crazy’ is the name of a specific species of bird, the regent whistler, which is known to stare at an approaching person without flying away: ‘crazy’ behavior in a bird. While *yup bumbum* is a species name, *yup bumbum-ni* would be a descriptive phrase describing any bird that is crazy. This is exemplified in the following description:

- 4.86) [Yup<sub>HEAD</sub> bumbum<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub> wo-ivcs bumbum-ni<sub>VCC</sub>,  
 bird crazy that-TOP crazy-ADJ  
 ma=ngo-ng=ir-a-ng.  
 NEG=go-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 ‘The regent whistler, as for them, are crazy, they don’t go away.’ (Field notes)

As noted above, the expression *id~it onding* ‘strong life-force’ cannot be expressed as *\*id~it onding-o*.

- 4.87) [Nungon<sub>MOD</sub> maa<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub> wo=ma-is [id~it<sub>HEAD</sub> onding<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub>  
 what speech that=SPEC-TOP [be.NMZ:RED strong]  
 i-i-k-ma.  
 be-IRR.SG-3SG-RF  
 ‘As for the Nungon language, it will remain in a strong manner.’ (Gaus Nungon maa hon hat 0:38)

In the following example, *tuktug-o* ‘clear-ADJ’ modifies the verb *yo-* ‘say,’ serving thus as an adverb, not an adjective:

- 4.88)      { [Maa<sub>o</sub> hi-go-rok]<sub>TOP</sub>    wo-rok=gono                    tuktug-o            yo-ng-a }  
             speech put-RP-2SG        that-SEMBL=RSTR        clear-ADJ        say-DEP-MV  
             { Orengo            i-n-i-ya } ...  
             Oreng                    3SG.O-tell-DS.2SG-MV  
             ‘The speech that you put down, saying just that clearly, telling it to Oreng...’ (Irising  
             letter 1)

In contrast to this, a young woman advised me that I was clearly visible to the video camera with the following words:

- 4.89)      Hana,                    gok<sub>vcs</sub>                    tuktuk<sub>vcc</sub>!  
             Hannah                2sg.pro                    clear  
             ‘Hannah, you’re clear(ly visible)!’ (Field notes)

The contrast between *tuktug-o* and *tuktug-o* may be compared with apparently possessive expressions in which the Possessed noun lacks a pertensive suffix—the noun-noun NPs listed in the last rows of table 4.10. These are not grammatically aberrant, as the adjectives-*sans*-suffixes seem to be: a noun modifying a second, non-specific, noun is one of the four ways that nouns can modify other nouns (§4.3). But the surprising thing about these constructions is that the second noun is normally possessed; it rarely occurs unpossessed. The citation form of nouns such as *hagim* ‘leaf’ is *hagim-o*, with possessive suffix. The difference here may be that in a noun-noun modifying construction with no possessive suffix present, such as *eep hagim* ‘tree leaf,’ *hagim* is general enough or central enough that it is freed from its usual requisite possessed status. In the usual *eep hagim-o*, although *hagim-o* is head of the construction, it is still associated with *eep* ‘tree’ as belonging to *eep*.

In coinages to describe new objects and technologies, the pertensive suffix may be omitted. This is true of all of the noun-noun phrases in table 4.10. But for most of these terms, with the possible exception of *bot giip* ‘belt,’ the term with suffix also describes the new technology. That is, I have heard both *eep hagim* and *eep hagim-o* also used to refer to paper and books; both *eet tom* and *eet tom-no* describe only shoes, nothing else, and the same goes for *daan tom* and *daan tom-no*. When

the pertensive suffix is omitted, such expressions look like two-noun NPs (§4.3.2) instead of possessive NPs (§4.3.4):

- 4.90) ... gouwak-no<sub>O</sub> [[eep<sub>MOD</sub> hagim<sub>HEAD</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub> hi-go-k]]=ma...  
 soot-3SG.POSS tree leaf=LOC put-RP-3SG=REL  
 ‘...his ink that he put on paper...’ (Boas *babiya bök* 3:52)

In other contexts, it is hard to determine why speakers decide to keep or omit the *-o* suffix on *hagim* ‘leaf.’ Compare the following two examples:

- 4.91) {[Ömben<sub>MOD</sub> hagim<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> maa-ng, h-e-ng, maa-ng-a  
 weed leaf chop-DEP NSG.O-come-DEP chop-DEP-MV  
 mo-raina}... {tung<sub>O</sub> tombor-a mo-raina},  
 PERF-1SG New.Guinea.eagle wrap-MV PERF-1SG  
 {{to-ng mö-ng ep-bo-t}}.  
 SG.O.take-DEP fall-DEP come-RP-1SG

‘Chopping up and bringing weed leaves, having chopped them up... having wrapped up the New Guinea eagle (in them), taking it, I came.’ (Stanli tung temogok 2:45)

- 4.92) {[Kupmo<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub>yoo-ng-a}, {{{[[Ömben<sub>Pr</sub> hagim-<sub>O<sub>P<sub>e</sub></sub>]]<sub>HEAD</sub>  
 ginger other NSG.O.take-DEP-MV weed leaf-3SG.POSS  
 au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> ir-a-ng}} wo-rok<sub>O</sub> yoo-ng-a}...  
 other be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL that-SEMBL NSG.O.take-DEP-MV  
 {{ongo-ng=it-do-t}}.  
 go-DEP=be-RP-1SG</sub>

‘Also taking ginger, another (type of) weed leaves exists, taking that... I used to go.’

(Nongi hap tanmano hak toktok 0:07)

Here, the difference is subtle, but the speaker of the (4.91) speaks of ‘weed leaves’ in general, while the speaker of (4.92) speaks of a particular type of plant that was required for cleaning dogs’ nostrils before hunting. The suffix *-o* occurs when the plant is in some way specific, non-general.

One explanation for the omission of adjectivizing suffixes and, indeed, of possessive suffixes, on the second element of these two-element NPs is that the lack of suffix indicates general, non-specific, reference. Another piece of a multifaceted explanation could follow Classical Arabic, in which the case-marking vowel of a pre-pausal utterance is dropped. Not all instances of suffix omission in Nungon are unequivocally pre-pausal, so this explanation alone does not suffice. But it does point to the possibility that in these expressions, there is an underlying suffix that has been omitted, with the semantics of the suffix-containing expression remaining after the omission of the suffix.

#### 4.4.5 The case of *hinom-no* ‘old’

The respectful expressions *oe hinom* ‘woman INTENS’ and *amna hinom* ‘man INTENS’ are the usual ways of referring to the elderly in the Towet and Yawan dialects of Nungon. The intensifier *hinom* here has a different semantic effect than in all other contexts: it usually means either ‘true, original’ or ‘very,’ depending on the word class of the word it modifies. Because *hinom* has different meaning here—although *oe hinom* literally seems to mean ‘true woman,’ it actually means ‘old woman’—speakers often add the Class 1 adjectivizing suffix *-no* to it. It may also be that the *-no* being added here is not the adjectivizing *-no*, but the specifying *-no* discussed in §9.5.

It seems in some cases that when the identity of a specific old woman or man is known to the speaker and hearer, *-no* is left off the *hinom* of these expressions. But this cannot be postulated as a general rule because of some exceptions. In some texts, it seems that *-no* is included the first time a general or unknown old person is introduced, then left off later. But in others, describing an unnamed old man or woman from ancestral times, for instance, the speaker carries the *-no* throughout the text, even after the actor has been introduced.

In the following example, the elderly male speaker Nongi uses *-no* the first time he mentions old men, in general, whom boys such as Nongi used to accompany to the woods at the time Nongi was growing up:

- 4.93) Au wo=ma-i, [amna<sub>HEAD</sub> hinom-no<sub>MOD</sub>]=rot  
 other that=SPEC-TOP man INTENS-ADJ=COMIT  
 hinggar=it-do-mong.  
 go.around=be-RP-1PL  
 ‘Otherwise, that is, we used to go around alongside old men.’ (Nongi arap 1:13)

After another four final verbal clauses, in the same text, Nongi uses *amna hinom* without the suffix *-no*:

- 4.94) Au, [amna<sub>HEAD</sub> hinom<sub>MOD</sub>]-ot wo=ma-i orongmök<sub>O</sub>  
 other man INTENS-COMIT that=SPEC-TOP trap  
 to-ng=it-do-mong.  
 do-DEP=be-RP-1PL  
 ‘Otherwise, alongside old men, that is, we used to make traps.’ (Nongi arap 1:32)

The opposite sequencing is used by a female speaker in her early forties. When she first introduces her paternal uncle, she calls him *amna hinom*. Later in the same text, she calls him *amna hinom-no*:

- 4.95) [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> hinom<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub> nan-na<sub>APPOS</sub>, yu<sub>A</sub>,  
 man INTENS father-1SG.POSS 3SG.PRO  
 höm<sub>O</sub> hai-go-k.  
 cornerpost cut-RP-3SG  
 ‘The old man, my father, (it was) he (who) cut the cornerposts.’ (Rosarin boop 2:20)

- 4.96) {[Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> hinom-no<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>, nan-na<sub>APPOS</sub>, wo-ia,  
 man INTENS-ADJ father-1SG.POSS that-TOP  
 [gun<sub>HEAD</sub> inggouk<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> honggir-a}...  
 arrow one grab-MV  
 ‘The old man, my father, as for him, having grabbed an arrow...’ (Rosarin boop 3:00)

One speaker referred to his female elders as *oe hinom hinom-no* at one point in a long text, and one minute later referred to them as *oe hinom hinom*, without the suffix *-no*. Another speaker

spoke of *amna hinom-no hinom-no* and *oe hinom-no hinom-no*, adding the suffix to both instances of the intensifier *hinom*, which is repeated in these four instances to indicate the plurality of ‘old women’ and ‘old men.’

The optional use of *-no* with *hinom* in the expressions *oe hinom* and *amna hinom* does not apply to any other uses of *hinom*. That is, *-no* never occurs with *hinom* when *hinom* modifies adjectives, adverbs, or nouns other than *oe* and *amna*. This correlates with the special meaning that *hinom* has with *oe* and *amna*: not ‘very,’ as with adjectives and adverbs, nor ‘original, true,’ as with all other nouns, but ‘old.’

<b>Table 4.11. <i>Hinom</i> modifying nouns of various semantic groups, adjectives, and adverbs</b>			
<b>word</b>	<b>with <i>hinom</i></b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>with <i>-no</i></b>
noun: <i>oe</i> ‘woman’ and <i>amna</i> ‘man’; also compound <i>oe amna</i> ‘women and men’	<i>oe hinom</i> <i>amna hinom</i> <i>oe amna hinom</i>	‘old woman’ ‘old man’ ‘old women and men’	<i>oe hinom-no</i> <i>amna hinom-no</i> <i>oe amna hinom-no</i>
noun: <i>bot</i> ‘pig’	<i>bot hinom</i>	‘true pig, original meaning of the word “pig”’	? <i>bot hinom-no</i> (this is unattested, but I would interpret it as ‘aged pig’ if I heard it)
noun: <i>bök</i> ‘house’	<i>bök hinom</i>	‘true house, original type of house’	* <i>bök hinom-no</i> (much less plausible than the dubious ‘aged pig’ above; my sense is that this would imply anthropomorphizing the house; it would then mean ‘ancient house’)
adjective: <i>huup-mo</i> ‘strange, new’	<i>huup-mo hinom</i>	‘highly strange’	* <i>huup-mo hinom-no</i>
adjective: <i>songgorong</i> ‘yellow’	<i>songgorong hinom</i>	‘very yellow’	* <i>songgorong hinom-no</i>
adverb: <i>karup</i> ‘quickly’	<i>karup hinom</i>	‘very quickly’	* <i>karup hinom-no</i>
adverb: <i>osuk</i> ‘first, before’	<i>osuk hinom</i>	‘very much in the beginning’	* <i>osuk hinom-no</i>

There are two possible explanations for this seemingly optional *-no* after *hinom*. The first is that the *-no* is an adjectivizer, marking the semantic difference between the usual intensifying meaning of *hinom* and its meaning in *oe hinom(-no)* and *amna hinom(-no)*. This is why my intuition on the questionably grammatical expression *?bot hinom-no* is that this expression cannot mean ‘original, true pig,’ as does *bot hinom*, but must mean ‘aged pig,’ in analogy with *oe/amna hinom-no*. Although the meaning of *hinom* without the additional suffix depends on the type of word it modifies,

*hinom-no* with the suffix can have only one meaning, with anthropomorphic overtones: ‘aged, old.’ This explanation seems highly plausible, but still does not explain why *oe/amna hinom* sometimes occurs with *-no* and sometimes without it.

The second possible explanation for this optional *-no* is that *-no* is not an adjectivizer, but the homophonous specifier *-no* (§9.5). According to this argument, the impossibility of adding *-no* to *hinom* when it modifies adverbs and adjectives stems from the non-nominal status of adjective+*hinom* and adverb+*hinom* phrases. Speakers may decide whether or not to attach *-no* to *oe hinom* or *amna hinom* based on their judgment of the specificity of the referent in context. The reason that *?bot hinom-no* is questionable and *\*böc hinom-no* is most likely ungrammatical then has to do more with the applicability of specificity to non-human entities than with the semantic difference between *hinom* and *hinom-no*. The problem with this part of the argument is that *-no* as specifier does occur with *bök* ‘house’ and other concrete and abstract nouns without human referents, as explained in Chapter 9. Thus, although this second explanation allows for the variation in *-no* suffixation to *oe/amna hinom*, it does not adequately explain the incompatibility of *hinom-no* with *bot* ‘pig’ and *bök* ‘house.’

## 4.5 Noun phrase structure III: complex NPs

### 4.5.1 Coordinated NPs

NPs may be coordinated with the coordinating conjunction *orin* ‘and,’ introduced in §3.5.5. As noted there, this is most commonly used to coordinate two personal names or epithets, but does occur with non-human nouns.

If not overly complex, NPs may also be coordinated list-style, simply by stating them together. If one of the coordinated NPs is complex and its head is far from its final modifying element, it is less likely that simple list-style juxtaposition of the complex NP with other NPs will be quickly understood as coordination by listeners. The usual strategy for coordinating such complex NPs is to front the complex NP, then use the short demonstrative *wo* ‘that’ to refer anaphorically to the fronted NP. The shorter *wo* can then be coordinated with other NPs as part of a list or with *orin*.

Example (3.53) in Chapter 3 illustrated use of the conjunction *orin*. There, the enclitic *=ho* (= *ko* in the Worin dialect), which here indicates A of the verb ‘say,’ follows *Bafic* but clearly has scope over the entire NP *Duruwai orin Bafic* ‘Duruwai and Bafic,’ since the verbal number agreement is dual.

List-style coordination entails simply juxtaposed listing of coordinated NPs. This list may include personal pronouns, as in the following introduction to a text:

- 4.97) [Hondong-O<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]O<sub>BL</sub>, wo-rok, [nok,  
 day-3SG.POSS other that-SEMBL 1SG.PRO  
 Niksön, Seksön]s, ongo-go-mong.  
 Niksön Seksön go-RP-1PL  
 ‘Another time, thus, I, Niksön and Seksön went along.’ (Stanli yamuk hoong 0:01)

Although in (4.97) the speaker included the first person singular pronoun in the list, a speaker may also omit such a pronoun, using only first person inflection on the final verb of the clause to indicate that the group included the speaker:

- 4.98) {Ngo-ndO<sub>OBL</sub> ir-a}, {[homu-na,  
 here-LDEM.NEAR be-MV same.generation.female.in-law.of.female-1SG.POSS  
 op-na, domi-na]s, ...  
 husband-1SG.POSS same.generation.different.sex.in-law-1SG.POSS  
 ongo-go-mong}}.  
 go-RP-1PL  
 ‘Being here, my sister-in-law, my husband, my brother-in-law (and I)... went along.’  
 (Fooyu arap dawik 0:01)

Various types of NPs may be coordinated. We saw the Class 1 adjective and cardinal number *inggouk* ‘one’ repeated to yield *inggouk inggouk* ‘(a) few’ in §3.2.5; this may be understood as coordination of two headless NPs: ‘one (here) and one (there).’ Even content question words may be coordinated, as in (4.99):

- 4.99) [Numa-ri numa-ri ]s ongo-ni-ng-ma?  
 who-PL who-PL go-IRR.PL-2/3PL-RF  
 ‘Who-all and who-all will go?’ (Field notes)

Here *numa-ri* ‘who-PL’ is already plural because of the suffix *-ri* (see §10.7.3). The coordination of two instances of *numa-ri* implies that there are at least two unknown groups of people who will travel. Repetition of *numa-ri* seems to be sufficient to encompass both two potential groups and more than two groups: the thrice-repeated *?numa-ri numa-ri numa-ri* is not found in the corpus. Note that one criterion distinguishing nouns from adjectives (§3.2.9) is the ability of adjectives to mark plurality through repetition; this is not a feature of nouns, so *numa-ri numa-ri* could not be interpreted as indicating plurality.

#### 4.5.2 Collective, naturally-paired nouns

Certain nouns in Nungon form natural pairings with collective meaning. In these pairs, each noun retains stress individually, but the two are pronounced without a significant pause between them. Some pairings could almost be considered compounds, since their meaning is broader than the combined meanings of the two noun components. But since the two parts are formally separable under possession, with pertensive suffixes intervening or affixed to the two components separately, they do not seem to be true compounds. Natural pairs include: *mak nan* ‘mother father,’ meaning ‘parents’; *oe op* ‘wife/woman husband,’ meaning ‘newlyweds’; *giyöng biyöm* ‘betelnut tobacco,’ meaning ‘betelnut and tobacco’; *gun tawa* ‘arrow bow,’ meaning ‘bow and arrows’; and *yok tik* ‘string bag bark-cloth,’ meaning ‘baggage, belongings.’ Most of these pairings are always found in the orders listed here. The exception is apparently *mak nan* ‘parents’: a single instance of *nan mak* ‘father mother’ exists in the corpus.

Collective pairings are possessed by adding the pertensive suffix to the first member of the compound. In the next sentence, *yok-no tik* ‘bag-3SG.POSS bark-cloth’ refers to assorted possessions/baggage of a traveler.

4.100) [Ding Mauron<sub>MOD</sub> heep<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> [yok-no tik]<sub>TOP</sub>  
 Ding Mauron steep bag-3SG.POSS bark-cloth  
 imu<sub>O</sub> to-ng tuo-go-k.  
 equipment.for.journey do-DEP hang-RP-3SG

‘On the Ding Mauron incline, his bag and clothing, he made a travel pack and hung them up.’ (Yosua hat 25 June 2011 1:17)

The major difference between these collective pairs and two-noun NPs is that collective pairs are coordinated; neither is head or dependent in a single NP. Collective pairs are not appositional, either (see next section), since the two components bear different reference: *tawa* ‘bow’ is different from *gun* ‘arrow,’ but each needs the other to perform its primary function.

### 4.5.3 NPs in apposition

Juxtaposed NPs that are not coordinated may be in apposition to each other, meaning that they share a referent. In the next sentence, *daa-na* ‘sister-1SG.POSS’ and *oe gomom-o* ‘woman red-ADJ’ are in apposition to each other:

4.101) [Daa-na<sub>i</sub> [oe<sub>HEAD</sub> gomom-o<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>i</sub>]=rot.  
 sister-1SG.POSS woman red-ADJ=COMIT

‘Along with my sister, the light-skinned woman.’ (Lin ton hat hawek amna 0:46)

The next example may be analysed as involving three NPs in apposition:

4.102) [Oe [bö<sub>MOD</sub> morum<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>APPOS</sub> [Towet=ma]<sub>APPOS</sub>]<sub>O</sub>  
 woman village owner Towet=SPEC  
 to-ng hi-go-t.  
 SG.O.take-DEP put-RP-1SG

‘I married a landowning woman of Towet.’ (Dikson yong tuktuk maa 0:34)

Here, all three NPs—the single noun *oe* ‘woman,’ the two-noun NP *bök morum* ‘land-owner’ (which is also a possessive NP with the 3sg pertensive suffix omitted; see §4.3.6), and the headless NP *Towet=ma* ‘(one) of Towet’—share a referent: this referent gets singular number indexation on the

dependent verb *to-ng* ‘SG.O.take-DEP,’ part of a tight multi-verb construction (§11.2) meaning ‘marry.’ Note that *Towet=ma* could either be interpreted as a headless NP here, or as a nominal modifier (§4.3.3).

#### 4.6 Noun phrase structure IV: negation with noun phrases

NPs may be negated with the negative word *muuno* ‘not,’ which follows all modifiers in the NP.

Such an NP rarely if ever serves as a verbal argument, however (?‘the not-large woman went home’).

Most often, such a negated NP occurs as the complement of a verbless clause (§10.4). A speaker who wants to state that a man is not small-bodied will usually negate the entire NP ‘small man.’ In the next example, the previously-mentioned subject of the verbless clause has been ellipsed:

- 4.103)      [[Amna<sub>HEAD</sub>    opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]      muun<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>. [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub>    morö<sub>MOD</sub>  
                  man                    small                    not                    man                    large  
                  potok potog-o<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
                  fearsome  
                  ‘(Andrew is) not a small man. (He is) a large, fearsome man.’ (Rosarin högök 3:48)

Each of the two utterances in (4.103) is elliptical, supplying what could be the complement of a verbless clause, with the subject (which is the same for both utterances) understood from context.

Adjectives serving as verbless clause complements, or in headless NPs, may be directly negated:

- 4.104)      [Non=ton<sub>Pr</sub>                    [maa<sub>MOD</sub>            hat<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub>, [wakwag-o      muuno]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
                  1NSG.PRO=GEN                    speech                    story                    long-ADJ                    not  
                  ‘Our story, it’s not long.’ (Joshua toropni hat 1:57)

Most Class 2 adjectives are all negated like nouns, with the negative word *muuno* ‘not’ after the adjective. This is the case in the last portion of example (4.39), excerpted here as (4.105):

- 4.105) [Oe=ho=gons e-wa-morok=ma]<sub>VCS</sub>, [orog-o muuno]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 woman=FOC=RSTR come-NP.NSG-2/3DU=REL good-ADJ not  
 ‘That you two came as women alone is not good.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain 9:28)

Even most Class 2 adjectives that derive from verbs, such as *poto-k poto-g-o* ‘fearsome’ (from *poto-* ‘desist’), may not be negated with the verbal negator, proclitic *ma=*.

- 4.106) [Bot<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub> poto-k poto-g-O<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub>, muuno<sub>VCC</sub>;  
 pig large desist-NMZ desist-NMZ-ADJ not  
 [bot<sub>HEAD</sub> opmou<sub>MOD</sub> hom-no<sub>MOD</sub>] aa-wa-t.  
 pig small short-ADJ 3SG.O.see-NP.SG-1SG  
 ‘Not a big, fearsome beast; I saw a small, short beast.’ [\**ma=poto-k poto-g-o*]

As noted in §4.2, deverbal nominalizations and their derived adjectival forms may be negated either with the verbal negator *ma=* or with *muuno*, the negator of non-verbs, depending on whether negation applies at the constituent level or the phrase level.

## 5 Final Verbs

Like other Finisterre-Huon Papuan languages (McElhanon 1973), Nungon is a clause-chaining language. A clause chain is a single prosodic ‘sentence’ (see §2.9) that comprises: a) one or more verbal clauses with partially-inflected verbal predicates, followed by b) a verbal clause with fully-inflected verbal predicate. In the Papuanist tradition, fully-inflected verbs are called ‘final verbs,’ and the clauses of which they serve as predicates are called ‘final clauses.’ Partially-inflected verbs are called ‘medial verbs,’ or ‘non-final verbs,’ and the clauses in which they serve as predicates are called ‘medial clauses,’ or ‘non-final clauses.’ Although a well-formed canonical clause chain should end in a final clause, in practice this is not always the case. People speak elliptically, change their minds, and forget what they were planning to say: all of these may lead to cut-off clause chains that lack a final clause. Further, medial verbs have functions outside the clause chain construction, marking aspect (§6.5), expressing commands (§6.4.3), and designating order of occurrences (§6.4.1).

In Nungon, every verb can occur in either final or non-final form. Final verbs are inflected for tense, mood or reality status and subject argument person and number. There are two categories of non-final verbs. Verbs in non-final ‘Dependent’ form may serve as initial or medial members of tight multi-verb constructions (§11.2) but may not conclude a medial clause predicate. Dependent verbs may be inflected for subject argument person and number in the Causative constructions (§6.8): this inflection differs formally from the subject agreement inflection of final verbs. The non-final ‘Medial’ form of verbs is formed by the addition of the medial suffix *-a* to the Dependent form; this specific morphological term in Nungon is differentiated from the general use ‘medial,’ meaning ‘non-final,’ through capitalization. Nungon Medial verbs are acceptable as medial clause predicates. Medial verbs are inflected for subject argument agreement in the Nungon switch-reference system: when the subject argument of the next clause will differ from that of a given medial verb, the medial clause inflects to index its own subject argument. The inflection is formally similar to subject indexation inflection on Dependent verbs, with no resemblance to the subject agreement paradigm of final verbs. Neither Dependent nor Medial verbs in Nungon may inflect for tense, mood, or reality status. A

closed sub-set of verbs also obligatorily indexes the person and number, or just number, of the Object argument (§5.3): this indexation occurs regardless of whether the verb is in final form or non-final form.

In both final and non-final verb forms, subject-indexing inflectional paradigms distinguish seven person-number combinations, with second and third person suffixes sharing a form in dual and plural numbers. This is widely attested in other Finisterre-Huon languages (McElhanon 1973: 14). This system is not uniform within Nungon grammar; the Nungon reflexive pronouns distinguish a full nine person-number combinations (§7.1.2), while the Nungon basic personal pronouns (§7.1.1) and object agreement bound pronouns both distinguish six person-number combinations.

Nungon distinguishes five tenses in the declarative and interrogative moods, in roughly symmetrical fashion:

**Table 5.1. Times indicated by tenses**

before yesterday	yesterday	earlier today	right now	later today	tomorrow & beyond	
<b>Remote Past</b>			<b>Present</b> (some verbs)	<b>Present</b>	<b>Near Future</b>	<b>Remote Future</b>
	<b>Near Past</b>					

As is common cross-linguistically (Dixon 2010a: 153-154; 2012: 6-8), the two future tenses have other reality status-related functions in Nungon. Further, the morphology of the future tense inflections differs in several ways from the morphology of the non-future tenses. The Near Future inflection combines a Probable stem marking likelihood of future occurrence with a suffix that may be related to the Present tense suffix, while the Remote Future is formed from the Irrealis inflection plus a realis-marking suffix *-ma*. It is highly unusual across languages for irrealis to be formally unmarked,

and realis formally marked (Elliott 2000: 57; descriptions of such formal marking of realis are in Klamer 2012 and Wester 2014). Three other Finisterre-Huon Papuan languages have Remote Future paradigms that, like Nungon's, show an unchanging final suffix with form CV after the subject person/number suffix. The Remote Future in these other languages—Kâte, Uri, and Kewieng—may also be formed from an irrealis, plus a Remote Future suffix (Pilhofer 1933, and McElhanon 1973: 63-64).

In the imperative mood, two inflectional paradigms exist; the Immediate Imperative is used for commands with current and proximal urgency/relevance, while the Delayed Imperative is used for commands that anticipate delayed and/or distal action. Like other verbal inflection paradigms, the Immediate Imperative features inflections for seven person-number combinations. In the inflections for non-canonical imperatives (i.e., those addressed to first and third persons), the Immediate Imperative has jussive/hortative meaning. The Delayed Imperative only has distinct forms for canonical (Aikhenvald 2010: 3), i.e. second-person addressee, imperatives. Since dual and plural second and third persons share forms throughout the Nungon verbal paradigm, these distinct forms also apply to third person dual and plural Delayed Imperatives. All other—first person and 3sg—inflections of the Delayed Imperative use the irrealis form.

Six aspects are marked in Nungon: Habitual, Continuous, Continuous habitual, Inferred Imperfective, completive, and imminent. These aspects employ non-final forms of the lexical verb and auxiliary verbs *it* 'be' or *to-* 'do.' The Inferred Imperfective aspect combines aspect with non-firsthand evidentiality. The predictive modality is indistinguishable from the future tenses under negation, while the Counterfactual maintains a unique form under negation. The imminent and several forms of purposive modalities are formed using bare or modified verbal roots in nominalized or adjectivalized forms.

The valency-altering construction is the Causative (discussed in §6.8). This involves a partially-inflected verb form combined with a fully-inflected intransitive final verb. There is no passive inflection.

All verbal prefixes and suffixes are attached to a verbal root. With most intransitive and transitive verbs, the verbal root is parsable from the O-referencing prefixes, but since some verbs have obligatory O-referencing prefixes, determining what the actual ‘root’ is may be difficult with these verbs, which never occur without a prefix.

The order of morphemes in the final verb is as follows:

1. O-referencing prefix - only on verbs that require it
2. verb root
3. tense suffix or reality status suffix, in all inflections but Immediate Imperative and Counterfactual; or mood suffix fused with person and number, if Immediate Imperative or Counterfactual
4. fused S/A person-number suffixes, except in Immediate Imperative or Counterfactual
5. suffix *-ma*, only in the Remote Future

Tense suffix forms, which fill the third slot in the schema above, take varying forms depending on the morpho-phonological verb class membership of the verb and the number of its subject argument. Morpho-phonological classes are discussed individually in §5.1; table 5.2 summarizes tense suffix forms across these classes.

Table 5.2. Tense suffix forms by morpho-phonological verb class							
	Vowel-final roots						Consonant-final roots
	H-class	P-class	T-class	NG-class	Ø-class		
					'go' and derivatives	other Ø-class verbs	
<b>Remote Future/irrealis sg., du., pl.</b>	<i>-i, -ri, -ni</i>						
<b>Near Future sg., du., pl.</b>	<i>-wang-ka/yang-ka-, -rang-ka, -nang-ka</i>						<i>-eng-ka, -reng-ka, -neng-ka</i>
<b>Present singular</b>	<i>-ha</i>	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ta</i>
<b>Present non-singular</b>	<i>-wa</i>			<i>-u</i>			<i>-a</i>
<b>Near Past singular</b>	<i>-wa</i>				<i>-∅</i>		<i>-e</i>
<b>Near Past non-singular</b>	<i>-∅</i>						
<b>Remote Past (all numbers)</b>	<i>-go</i>	<i>-bo</i>	<i>-go</i>	<i>-go</i>	<i>-go</i>	<i>-go</i>	<i>-do</i>

As seen in table 5.2, different tense suffixes distinguish different number values. The Near Past and Present suffixes distinguish two number values: singular and non-singular (more than one), while the Near Future and Remote Future distinguish three number values: singular, dual, and plural (more than two). The dual is marked generally in several Nungon inflectional paradigms with the consonant /r/, and the plural with the consonant /n/. The singular bears no initial consonant, but an epenthetic bilabial fricative or palatal glide serve as transition consonants between root-final vowels and the first vowel of the Near Future tense suffix. Forms of the Remote Past suffix do not change based on subject number.

The fused person-number suffixes that fill the fourth slot in the schema are in table 5.3. The Remote Future differs from the other tenses in the form of the first person dual and plural suffixes. Although the actual 1du and 1pl person-number suffixes are identical, the preceding suffix takes a

different form depending on number (*-ri-* for dual and *-ni-* for plural), so that the inflected verb forms are not identical.

<b>Table 5.3. Subject agreement suffixes</b>			
	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>-t</i>	<i>-mok, -n</i> (RF)	<i>-mong, -n</i> (RF)
2	<i>-rok</i>	<i>-morok</i>	<i>-ng</i>
3	<i>-k</i>		

Before the 2/3pl suffix *-ng*, the Remote Past suffix vowel /o/ becomes /u/, and some verbal inflections show *-i* before this suffix in the Near Past.

All verbs are negated using the proclitic *ma=*. In Towet Nungon, two tense distinctions are neutralized under negation (see §5.4.6). The Near Future tense and Present tense forms cannot be directly negated with *ma=*. That is, when a positive verbal predicate in the Present tense is negated, the verb is inflected for Near Past; when a positive verbal predicate in the Near Future tense is negated, the verb is inflected for Remote Future. This applies whether the mood of the sentence is declarative or interrogative. The only exception to this seems to be the cognition/perception verb *orom hi-* ‘hear/listen/know/understand/feel,’ which I have observed taking the Present tense form even under negation. Under negation, the formal distinctions between Near and Remote Future tenses and between Near Past and Present tenses are neutralized. This conforms to cross-linguistic tendencies toward grammatical system dependencies (Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998): here, tense is dependent on polarity: the number of tense inflections available to a speaker depends on the polarity of the clause.

Final verbal categories are discussed in this chapter, while medial and dependent verbal categories are discussed in Chapter 6.

## 5.1 Morpho-phonological verb classes

Like other Finisterre-Huon languages (Sarvasy 2014a), Nungon verbs inflect differently based on morpho-phonological class membership.

In Nungon, the phonological structure of verb roots is more constrained than that of nouns. Verb roots are rarely longer than two syllables (in fact, the only example of a simple predicate verbal root with more than two syllables is *indongo-* ‘stand up,’ which most likely historically comprised a separate word *\*in* and the verb ‘go,’ *ongo-*). The following section uses the term ‘verb root’ to describe the minimal meaning-bearing verbal morpheme to which inflectional suffixes may be attached, and ‘verb stem’ to describe the verbal root + reality status suffix or object prefix, without person/number inflectional suffix. Verbs are cited using the root form, as *ansi-* ‘untie,’ and *mut-* ‘point.’ Verb roots must end in either: a vowel, the consonant /n/, or the consonant /t/. There seems to be no semantic or transitivity-related basis for the different endings.

Nungon verbs with roots that end in vowels and those with roots that end in consonants constitute two overarching morpho-phonological classes. The two groups receive different forms of many inflectional suffixes. Verbs with vowel-final roots add a final velar nasal /ng/ to the root to allow it to function in dependent forms, while the bare root of consonant-final verbs stands alone in these contexts. Consonant-final roots lack the ability to form ‘participles,’ a type of deverbal nominalization that reduplicates the final vowel of a vowel-final root.

Within the vowel-final verb class, several sub-classes can be analysed. These sub-classes vary in whether a ‘phantom’ consonant occurs in some forms of the verb root, as well as in the forms of the tense suffixes that follow the verb root. Within the vowel-final verb class, there are five main subdivisions, called here H-class, P-class, T-class, NG-class, and Ø-class.

The consonant-final class includes one verb, *it-* ‘be,’ which features irregular root vowel alternations under inflection. Otherwise, all consonant-final verb roots—both those ending in /n/ and those ending in /t/—take the same forms of the succeeding tense suffixes.

### 5.1.1 The H-class

This class, named for the /h/ that occurs in the Present singular and Immediate Imperative inflections, contains by far the most members of all morpho-phonological verb classes, covering many semantic domains. About half of all verbs in the lexicon—77 of 148—belong to the H-class.

Sample members are:

- oo-* ‘descend’ (intransitive)
- öö-* ‘ascend’ (intransitive)
- di-* ‘burn’ (S=O ambitransitive)
- y-andi-* ‘show to s.o.’ (ditransitive)

Table 5.4 shows the H-class verb *na-* ‘eat’ inflected for all tenses:

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1du	2/3du	1pl	2/3pl
Remote Past	<i>na-go-t</i>	<i>na-go-rok</i>	<i>na-go-k</i>	<i>na-go-mok</i>	<i>na-go-morok</i>	<i>na-go-mong</i>	<i>na-gu-ng</i>
Near Past	<i>na-wa-t</i>	<i>na-wa-rok</i>	<i>na-wa-k</i>	<i>na-∅-mok</i>	<i>na-∅-morok</i>	<i>na-∅-mong</i>	<i>na-i-ng</i>
Present	<i>na-ha-t</i>	<i>na-ha-rok</i>	<i>na-ha-k</i>	<i>na-wa-mok</i>	<i>na-wa-morok</i>	<i>na-wa-mong</i>	<i>na-wa-ng</i>
Near Future	<i>na-wang-ka-t</i>	<i>na-wang-ka-rok</i>	<i>na-wang-ka-k</i>	<i>na-rang-ka-mok</i>	<i>na-rang-ka-morok</i>	<i>na-nang-ka-mong</i>	<i>na-nang-ka-ng</i>
Remote Future	<i>na-i-t-ma</i>	<i>na-i-rok-ma</i>	<i>na-i-k-ma</i>	<i>na-ri-n-ma</i>	<i>na-ri-morok-ma</i>	<i>na-ni-n-ma</i>	<i>na-ni-ng-ma</i>

Some H-class verbs with roots ending in /o/ either behave differently in some paradigms or have fast-speech variants marked by reduction. A single H-class verb, *omo-* ‘die,’ has /e/ in the Near Past and Near Future paradigms, where it behaves like root-reducing consonant-final verbs (§5.1.7). The cognate verb in the related language Nukna has a consonant-final root (Taylor n.d.), so diachrony may be part of the reason that Nungon *omo-* behaves like an H-class verb in the Remote Past, Present, and Remote Future, but like a consonant-final verb in the Near Past and Near Future. Several other H-class verbs with roots ending in /o/, including *i-no-* ‘tell,’ *i-mo-* ‘give to,’ *duo-* ‘sleep,’ and *guo-* ‘bathe,’ may behave either like H-class verbs or like ∅-class verbs in the Near Past singular (§5.1.4).

These verbs also optionally feature consonant elision in the Near Future (§5.1.7). Other H-class verbs with roots ending in /o/, including *poto-* ‘refuse, desist,’ *hago-* ‘scrape,’ and *eto-* ‘forget’ follow the general H-class verb paradigm in table 5.4, so verb root-final /o/ in H-class verbs does not necessarily lead to aberrant behavior.

When nominalized, all H-class verbs take a suffix *-k*. This form is usually reduplicated, so that ‘eating’ is *na-k~na-k*. A second nominalized ‘participle’ form (§4.2.2) occurs for many H-class verbs: this involves the verb root with *-ng* (making the Dependent form), followed by *-gVng*, where *V* is the same vowel as the final vowel of the verb root. This form is not used for *na-* ‘eat,’ but occurs with *oo-* ‘descend’ and *öö-* ‘ascend,’ among others: *oo-ng-gong* ‘descending,’ *öö-ng-göng* ‘ascending.’

### 5.1.2 The P-class

This class has only six full members in the variety of Nungon spoken in Towet village. P-class vowel-final verb roots behave like H-class verb roots in the Near Past, Present non-singular, and Near and Remote Future singular. These are the inflections in which the tense suffix is either null or begins with the voiced bilabial fricative or a vowel.

Everywhere else in the final verb inflection paradigms—i.e. before stop-initial tense suffixes—these verbs gain a consonant /p/ after the verb root, which induces additional changes in the forms of the following tense suffixes. Table 5.5 shows the P-class verb *e-* ‘come’ inflected for all tenses:

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1du	2/3du	1pl	2/3pl
Remote Past	<i>ep-bo-t</i>	<i>ep-bo-rok</i>	<i>ep-bo-k</i>	<i>ep-bo-mok</i>	<i>ep-bo-morok</i>	<i>ep-bo-mong</i>	<i>ep-bu-ng</i>
Near Past	<i>e-wa-t</i>	<i>e-wa-rok</i>	<i>e-wa-k</i>	<i>e-∅-mok</i>	<i>e-∅-morok</i>	<i>e-∅-mong</i>	<i>e-i-ng</i>
Present	<i>ep-pa-t</i>	<i>ep-pa-rok</i>	<i>ep-pa-k</i>	<i>e-wa-mok</i>	<i>e-wa-morok</i>	<i>e-wa-mong</i>	<i>e-wa-ng</i>
Near Future	<i>e-wang-ka-t</i>	<i>e-wang-ka-rok</i>	<i>e-wang-ka-k</i>	<i>ep-dang-ka-mok</i>	<i>ep-dang-ka-morok</i>	<i>ep-nang-ka-mong</i>	<i>ep-nang-ka-ng</i>
Remote Future	<i>e-i-t-ma</i>	<i>e-i-rok-ma</i>	<i>e-i-k-ma</i>	<i>ep-di-n-ma</i>	<i>ep-di-morok-ma</i>	<i>ep-ni-n-ma</i>	<i>ep-ni-ng-ma</i>

Beyond the six core P-class verbs, there is some spillage between this class and other morpho-phonological classes. In Towet Nungon, certain H-class verbs can be inflected as either a P-class verb or an H-class verb, with no apparent difference in meaning. One example is the H-class verb *tuo-* ‘anchor by tying.’ I was told by one speaker that the H-class-like inflections of *tuo-* represented the true Towet dialect, and the P-class-like inflections were originally from the Worin pronunciation of *tuo-*. Indeed, village-lects differ in whether a given cognate verb is P-class or H-class.

	‘bathe’	‘happen, emerge’
Towet village dialect	<i>guo-</i> (H-class)	<i>öngkot-</i> (consonant-final)
Worin village dialect	<i>guo-</i> (P-class)	<i>hönggo-</i> (P-class)

One verb, *wet-* ‘beat,’ which has root forms that are suppletive for object person/number (§5.3), behaves as a consonant-final verb when its O argument is singular, but as a P-class verb when its O argument is non-singular. Compare *net-ta-k* ‘s/he/it beats me’ with *nisop-pa-k* ‘s/he/it beats us’ and *get-ta-t* ‘I beat you (sg.)’ with *kaap-pa-t* ‘I beat you (nsg.)’ This is similar to the verb ‘hit’ in related languages, such as Awara, Ma Manda, and Nukna (Quigley 2014, Pennington 2014, Taylor 2013). To complicate the matter, speakers told me in elicitation that H-class-type inflection would also be acceptable: *niso-ha-k* for *nisop-pa-k*, *kaa-ha-k* for *kaap-pa-k*, and *doo-ha-k* for *doop-pa-k*. I have not observed or recorded these forms in natural speech, however.

Similarly, the verb *to-/yoo-* ‘pick up, take’ has root forms that are suppletive for object number. The form used with singular objects, *to-*, is homophonous with the verb *to-* ‘do’ and inflects as an Ø-class verb (§5.1.4). But the stem used with non-singular objects, *yoo-*, inflects like a P-class verb.

All P-class verbs take a suffix *-p* when nominalized. Thus, ‘coming’ is *e-p~e-p*. ‘Beating you (nsg.)’ is *kaa-p~kaa-p*. These verbs have not been observed in participle form (§4.2.2).

### 5.1.3 The T-class

This class has only two members in the existing Nungon lexicon: *hi-* ‘put’ and *ku-/hu-* ‘take away’ (the two forms *ku-* and *hu-* index object argument number: see §5.3). These verbs behave like H-class verbs everywhere except in the Present singular and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person Immediate Imperative, in which a /t/ occurs after the verb root. Table 5.6 shows the T-class verb *hi-* ‘put’ Present tense paradigm.

Table 5.6. T-class verb Present tense inflection							
	1sg	2sg	3sg	1du	2/3du	1pl	2/3pl
Present	<i>hit-ta-t</i>	<i>hit-ta-rok</i>	<i>hit-ta-k</i>	<i>hi-wa-mok</i>	<i>hi-wa-morok</i>	<i>hi-wa-mong</i>	<i>hi-wa-ng</i>

When nominalized, T-class verbs behave like H-class verbs. Thus, ‘putting’ is *hi-g~i-k*, from *hi-k~hi-k* (following phonological rules for /kh/ combinations at reduplication boundaries, §2.8.2).

The participle form is also possible: *hi-ng-ging* ‘putting.’

### 5.1.4 The Ø-class

All six members of this sub-class have verbal roots that end in /o/, although not all verbs with roots ending in /o/ belong to this class. The six members are: *yo-* ‘speak,’ *to-* ‘do,’ *ho-* ‘cook,’ *ongo-* ‘go,’ and *indongo-* ‘stand up.’

These verb roots differ from the H-class in the Near Past, Present, and Remote Future inflections. Deletion of the final /o/ of the verb root before the tense suffix *-i* in the Remote Future singular and Near Past 2/3pl is due to phonological processes (§2.8.3). Table 5.7 shows the inflection

of Ø-class verb *yo-* ‘say’ in those tenses in which the Ø-class paradigm diverges from the H-class paradigm:

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1du	2/3du	1pl	2/3pl
Near Past	<i>yo-Ø-t</i>	<i>yo-Ø-rok</i>	<i>yo-Ø-k</i>	<i>yo-Ø-mok</i>	<i>yo-Ø-morok</i>	<i>yo-Ø-mong</i>	<i>y-i-ng</i>
Present	<i>ya-a-t</i>	<i>ya-a-rok</i>	<i>ya-a-k</i>	<i>ya-a-mok</i>	<i>ya-a-morok</i>	<i>ya-a-mong</i>	<i>ya-a-ng</i>
Remote Future	<i>y-i-t-ma</i>	<i>y-i-rok-ma</i>	<i>y-i-k-ma</i>	<i>yo-ri-n-ma</i>	<i>yo-ri-morok-ma</i>	<i>yo-ni-n-ma</i>	<i>yo-ni-ng-ma</i>

The verb *ongo-* ‘go’ and its derivative *indongo-* ‘stand up’ form a sub-class within the Ø-class because the final /o/ of the verb root does not delete in the Present tense singular, and the Present non-singular tense suffix has the form *-u*. This is shown in table 5.8.

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1du	2/3du	1pl	2/3pl
Present	<i>ongo-ya-t</i>	<i>ongo-ya-rok</i>	<i>ongo-ya-k</i>	<i>ong-u-mok</i>	<i>ong-u-morok</i>	<i>ong-u-mong</i>	<i>ong-u-ng</i>

Ø-class verbs behave like H-class verbs when nominalized, adding *-k* to the verb root. ‘Speaking’ is *yo-k~yo-k*, and ‘going’ is *ongo-k ongo-k*. The participle form of *yo-* ‘say’ is rare, but is very common for *ongo-* ‘go’: *ongo-ng-gong* ‘going.’

### 5.1.5 The NG-class

The two verbs that comprise this class, *mö-* ‘fall, plant’ and *yö-* ‘place s.o. down,’ are semantically related; they may be derivationally related as well. Like P-class verbs, these verbs behave like H-class verbs in the Near Past, but a velar nasal /ng/ occurs between the verb root and the initial consonant of

the tense suffix when that consonant is a stop. Table 5.9 shows the inflectional paradigm for *yö-* ‘place s.o. down’:

<b>Table 5.9. NG-class verb inflection</b>							
	1sg	2sg	3sg	1du	2/3du	1pl	2/3pl
Remote Past	<i>yöng-go-t</i>	<i>yöng-go-rok</i>	<i>yöng-go-k</i>	<i>yöng-go-mok</i>	<i>yöng-go-morok</i>	<i>yöng-go-mong</i>	<i>yöng-gu-ng</i>
Near Past	<i>yö-wa-t</i>	<i>yö-wa-rok</i>	<i>yo-wa-k</i>	<i>yö-Ø-mok</i>	<i>yö-Ø-morok</i>	<i>yö-Ø-mong</i>	<i>yö-i-ng</i>
Present	<i>yöng-ka-t</i>	<i>yöng-ka-rok</i>	<i>yöng-ka-k</i>	<i>yö-wa-mok</i>	<i>yö-wa-morok</i>	<i>yö-wa-mong</i>	<i>yö-wa-ng</i>
Near Future	<i>yö-wang-ka-t</i>	<i>yö-wang-ka-rok</i>	<i>yö-wang-ka-k</i>	<i>yöng-dang-ka-mok</i>	<i>yöng-dang-ka-morok</i>	<i>yöng-nang-ka-mong</i>	<i>yöng-nang-ka-ng</i>
Remote Future	<i>yö-i-t-ma</i>	<i>yö-i-rok-ma</i>	<i>yö-i-k-ma</i>	<i>yöng-di-n-ma</i>	<i>yöng-di-morok-ma</i>	<i>yöng-ni-n-ma</i>	<i>yöng-ni-ng-ma</i>

Like H-class verbs, the nominalized form of NG-class verbs adds the suffix *-k* to the verb root; ‘placing him/her down’ is *yö-k~yö-k*. The participle form is not common for NG-class verbs.

### 5.1.6 The consonant-final class

Of consonant-final verb roots, /t/-final roots are about twice as common as /n/-final roots, at 37 vs. 17. Members of this class comprise over a third of all verbs in the lexicon. The Near Future singular tense suffixes and Near Past tense suffixes (for all numbers) have initial vowel /e/ after consonant-final verb roots, not /a/ as with vowel-final roots. When followed by a vowel-initial tense suffix, the final /n/ or /t/ of the verb root becomes the rhotic /r/, due to regular phonological rules (§2.8.4). Table 5.10 shows the inflectional paradigm for *mon-* ‘throw’:

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1du	2/3du	1pl	2/3pl
Remote Past	<i>mon-do-t</i>	<i>mon-do-rok</i>	<i>mon-do-k</i>	<i>mon-do-mok</i>	<i>mon-do-morok</i>	<i>mon-do-mong</i>	<i>mon-du-ng</i>
Near Past	<i>mor-e-t</i>	<i>mor-e-rok</i>	<i>mor-e-k</i>	<i>ur-e-mok</i>	<i>mor-e-morok</i>	<i>mor-e-mong</i>	<i>mor-i-ng</i>
Present	<i>mon-ta-t</i>	<i>mon-ta-rok</i>	<i>mon-ta-k</i>	<i>mor-a-mok</i>	<i>mor-a-morok</i>	<i>mor-a-mong</i>	<i>mor-a-ng</i>
Near Future	<i>mor-engka-t</i>	<i>mor-engka-rok</i>	<i>mor-engka-k</i>	<i>mon-dangka-mok</i>	<i>mon-dangka-morok</i>	<i>mon-nangka-mong</i>	<i>mon-nangka-ng</i>
Remote Future	<i>mor-i-t-ma</i>	<i>mor-i-rok-ma</i>	<i>mor-i-k-ma</i>	<i>mon-di-n-ma</i>	<i>mon-di-morok-ma</i>	<i>mon-ni-n-ma</i>	<i>mon-ni-ng-ma</i>

The consonant-final verb *it-* ‘be’ is irregular in that the final consonant elides in the Remote Future, Near Future and Near Past inflections, with the root vowel /i/ assimilating to the vowel of the tense suffix. Thus, Remote Future inflections have /ii/ while Near Future and Near Past inflections have /ee/.

Consonant-final verbs receive no nominalizing suffix, with the bare root serving as the basis for the nominalized form; thus, ‘throwing’ is *mon~mon*. Consonant-final verbs cannot form participles.

### **5.1.7 Consonant elision and curtailment of some verbs**

In fast speech, some verbs have reduced forms that are used alongside the longer forms outlined above. These reductions fall into two categories: intervocalic elision of consonants /w/ or /r/, or curtailment of the inflected verb.

Intervocalic elision of the consonants /w/ and /r/, and ensuing vowel changes on either side of the elision, occurs in the Near Future and Near Past singular inflections for some verbs. The Near Future tense suffix combines a Probable suffix that indexes three values of subject number (singular, dual, and plural) with an unchanging suffix *-ka*. These two suffixes taken together express Near Future, which is the only disyllabic tense marking. Possibly because of the length of the Near Future

suffix, verbs—especially those with roots ending in /o/, or an /o/ nucleus in the last root syllable—tend to have reduced forms of the singular Near Future inflections, as illustrated by a few verbs in table 5.11. Table 5.11 also includes the Near Past singular forms of these verbs: Ø-class verbs always lack the Near Past singular suffix *-wa* found with other vowel-final classes, while other verbs in the table have optional elision of this suffix in the Near Past. As seen in table 5.1 above, all vowel-final verbs have a zero form for the non-singular Near Past suffix. There is no Near Past suffix to elide. In contrast, consonant-final verbs take a Near Past suffix *-e* in all numbers. This means that with consonant-final verbs, reduced alternative forms possible in singular Near Past are also possible in non-singular Near Past—the suffix and process are the same.

**Table 5.11. Reduced forms of Near Future and Near Past singular inflections due to elision**

	verb root	Near Future 3sg non-reduced	Near Future 3sg reduced	Near Past 3sg extant forms
Ø-class	<i>ongo-</i> ‘go’	<i>ongo-wangka-k</i>	<i>ong-angka-k</i>	<i>ongo-Ø-k</i>
	<i>yo-</i> ‘say’	<i>yo-wangka-k</i>	<i>y-angka-k</i>	<i>yo-Ø-k</i>
H-class	<i>duo-</i> ‘sleep’	<i>duo-wangka-k</i>	<i>du-angka-k</i>	<i>duo-Ø-k</i> or <i>duo-wa-k</i>
	<i>imo-</i> ‘give’	<i>imo-wangka-k</i>	<i>im-angka-k</i>	<i>imo-Ø-k</i> or <i>imo-wa-k</i>
consonant-final class	<i>wet-</i> ‘beat (sg. O)’	<i>*wer-engka-k</i>	<i>we-engka-k</i>	<i>we-Ø-k</i>
	<i>gopbot-</i> ‘be lost’	<i>gopbor-engka-k</i>	<i>gopb-engka-k</i>	<i>gopbor-e-k</i> or <i>gopb-e-k</i>

With vowel-final verbs, the /w/ between the final vowel of the root and the initial vowel of the Near Future suffix is elided, with ensuing elision of the vowel /o/ before the more dominant vowel /a/ (§2.8.3). With vowel-final verbs, the entire Near Past singular suffix *-wa* is optionally elided. With consonant-final verbs, it is the root-final /r/ that is elided before both the /e/-initial Near Future suffix and the Near Past suffix *-e*.

The initial /r/ or /d/ of Near Future dual forms such as *duo-rang-ka-morok* ‘the two of you/them will sleep’ and *wet-dang-ka-morok* ‘the two of you/them will hit it’ is never elided.

A verb with form *wot-* and meaning very similar to *wet-* ‘beat’ also occurs, though it does not seem to productively receive non-3sg object prefixes as *wet-* does (§5.3). The verb *wet-* is the only

verb in table 5.11 that does not have /o/ as the nucleus of the final syllable of the root. It is possible that the original form of *wet-* was *\*wot-*. If the verb root were *\*wot-*, following other consonant-eliding consonant-final verbs such as *gopbot-* ‘be lost,’ the reduced form in the Near Past singular would be *\*w-e-k*. This is what we actually have, although in table 5.11 the morpheme boundary was analysed differently. The only problem with using a historical form *\*wot-* to explain the elisional behavior of *wet-* is that in the reduced Near Future form there is a definite long vowel /ee/ in *w-engka-k*, where *\*wot-* would be expected to have a reduced form of *\*w-engka-k*, without lengthening of the vowel /e/. It is most likely that both forms *\*wot-* and *wet-* conditioned parts of the inflectional paradigm of *wet-*.

Verbs that have alternative reduced forms in the Near Future also have such alternative forms in the Probable (§5.5.4) and Imminent (§6.5.6) inflections, which are formally related to the Near Future. The following example illustrates the reduced form of the imminent inflection of *gopbot-* ‘be lost’:

5.1)Iyeps	urop	oo-ng	gopb-eng-na	to-go-k.
sun	enough	descend-DEP	disappear-PROB.SG-IMNT	do-RP-3SG

‘The sun already was about to disappear downward.’ (Rosalin hat irom arap dawik 2:04)

The speaker used the reduced form *gopb-eng-na* instead of the full form *gopbor-eng-na*, which would also have been acceptable.

Across dialects, elision of root-final consonants before vowel-initial tense suffixes occurs even when the final syllable has another vowel as nucleus. I was originally told that the verb *henet-* ‘tie up’ occurred in the Towet dialect in the Near Past only as non-reduced *hener-e-k* ‘s/he tied (it),’ while occurring as reduced *hen-e-t* ‘s/he tied (it)’ in the Yawan dialect. Blaming other village dialects for irregular forms is not unusual! Later, however, most people I consulted from Towet were unable to confirm this with me, saying that both forms were equally acceptable and used interchangeably in Towet.

The other type of reduction of inflected verbs is curtailment. Only two verbs have curtailed forms, and only in specific inflections. The verb *i-mo-* ‘give,’ which bears an obligatory prefix

referencing the Recipient argument (§5.3), is *na-mo-hi!* ‘1SG.O-give-IMM.IMP.2SG’ ‘give it to me!’ in the 2sg Immediate Imperative with 1sg Recipient argument. This has an alternative form with the last two syllables curtailed: *na-m!* ‘give it to me!’ Such curtailment is impossible for *i-mo-* with any other Recipient/subject combination, and in any other mood or tense inflection.

The other verb with curtailed form is *orom hi-* ‘understand, perceive, hear, feel.’ When the 1sg subject inflection is negated in Present tense, I have observed this verb as either *ma=rom hit-ta-t* or *ma=rom hi-wa-t*, using either the Present tense form or the Near Past form. (As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter above, this verb is the only verb with which the Present tense may be directly negated.) These forms have an alternative reduced form, *ma=rom hit*. Here, this could be analysed as either curtailment, as with *na-m!* ‘give it to me!’ above, or as elision of the Near Past suffix, as with the verbs in table 5.11. That is, if *ma=rom hit-ta-t* is taken as the basis for the reduced form, curtailment of the final syllable *-tat* is more likely than elision of the geminate /tt/ and vowel between the verb root *hi-* and the subject-indexing suffix *-t*. But if *ma=rom hi-wa-t* is taken as the basis for the reduced form, the reduction must have occurred through elision of the entire Near Past suffix *-wa*, as with other verbs in table 5.11. In the Worin dialect of Nungon, *orom hi-* has been reduced to a single phonological word, *omfi-*. Worin has a similar reduced form only in the 1sg negated Present tense: the longer form is *ma=mfi-ya-t*, and reduced form is *ma=mfi-t*.

### 5.1.8 Further notes on verb root morphology

Perhaps the restrictions of verbal roots to two syllables, ending in a vowel, /t/, or /n/, have led to a large number of verbal roots in Nungon being very similar to other verbal roots, with only one phoneme, sometimes, differentiating the two forms. Sometimes the verbal roots with similar form seem to have related meanings, sometimes not. Examples of this phenomenon are:

- a) *kati-* ‘spill over (H-class),’ *koti-* ‘pour (salt, e.g.) (H-class),’ *kotu-* ‘divide, sort (H-class)’
- b) *yumbot-* ‘cut brush around a stationary item, such as a house or tree (T-R-class),’ *humbot-* ‘bear on the shoulder (T-R-class),’ *tumbot-* ‘to wrap up,’ *mumbot* ‘to gather together, as fingers into a fist’
- c) *haga-* ‘gather together,’ *hago-* ‘grate,’ *waga-* ‘pound,’ *wago-* ‘beat, as bark-cloth’

Some of these rhyming roots may have originally been singular-object and non-singular-object derived forms of intransitive verbs; compare the verb *emo-* ‘fight’ with *t-emo-* ‘hunt, shoot (sg. object)’ and *y-emo-* ‘hunt, shoot (nsg. object).’ But *t-emo-* and *y-emo-* (or perhaps, homophonous transitive verbs) seem to have also taken on distinct meanings, with which the initial prefix does not change to reflect number of the O argument: *temo-* means ‘fasten (skirt, loincloth)’ and *yemo-* means ‘weave (bamboo slats of house walls).’ See §5.3 for further discussion of valency-increasing object prefixes, and §5.3.3 for more discussion of these non-inflecting homonyms.

## **5.2 Transitivity-related verb classes**

Verbs may also be divided into sub-classes based on syntactic behavior and argument structure.

Transitivity classes do not correlate with the morpho-phonological verb classes. Nungon verbs may be intransitive, ambitransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. Transitivity-related verb classes are listed in table 5.12.

**Table 5.12. Transitivity-related verb classes**

<b>core</b>			
<b>class</b>	<b>argument(s)</b>	<b>class size</b>	<b>notes, sample members</b>
<b>intransitive</b>	S	about 30% of all verbs	A sub-class includes the weather verbs <i>iso-</i> ‘dawn’ (H-class) and <i>wari-</i> ‘flash lightning’ (H-class)
<b>S=A ambitransitive</b>	S (when intransitive) A, O (when transitive)	about 45% of all verbs	<i>to-</i> ‘do, result’ (Ø-class), <i>yo-</i> ‘say, speak’ (Ø-class), <i>boo-</i> ‘sew’ (H-class), <i>woro-</i> ‘pull’ (H-class), and <i>hoo-</i> ‘close’ (P-class).
<b>S=O ambitransitive</b>	S (when intransitive) A, O (when transitive)	fewer than 10% of all verbs	<i>obö-</i> ‘break/be broken’ (H-class), <i>di-</i> ‘burn/be burned’ (H-class), and <i>mö-</i> ‘plant/fall’ (NG-class).
<b>transitive</b>	A, O	15 verbs bearing O-indexing prefixes	Two types of prefixes: those that reference only O number, and those that reference O person and number. Verbs listed in Tables 5.13 and 5.14.
<b>ditransitive</b>	A, O <sub>1</sub> and O <sub>2</sub> O <sub>1</sub> = Recipient O <sub>2</sub> = Gift	3 verbs	<i>imo-</i> ‘give s.o. (s.t.),’ <i>ino-</i> ‘tell s.o. (s.t.),’ and <i>yandi-</i> ‘show s.o. (s.t.)’  O <sub>1</sub> obligatorily referenced in prefix; O <sub>2</sub> optionally explicit in clause

Nungon intransitive verbs include: *oo-* ‘descend (H-class),’ *dongko-* ‘rejoice (H-class),’ *iso-* ‘dawn (H-class),’ *e-* ‘come (P-class),’ *ongo-* ‘go (Ø-class),’ *buret-* ‘be finished (T-R-class),’ *hun-*

‘burst (N-R-class).’ These verbs are never transitive, unless transitivity prefixes are added when permitted, as with *oo-* ‘descend’ and *e-* ‘come’ (§5.3.1).

Ambitransitive verbs are those that can serve in either intransitive or transitive clauses (Dixon 2010a: 77). Nungon ambitransitive verbs fall into two categories: S=A and S=O ambitransitive verbs. With S=A ambitransitives, the single core argument S in intransitive clauses corresponds to the A argument of the same verb in transitive clauses. In contrast, the intransitive S argument of S=O ambitransitives corresponds to the O argument of the same verb in transitive clauses.

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**Examples of S=O ambitransitives:**

<i>Mö-wa-t.</i>	<i>Möit<sub>O</sub></i>	<i>mö-wa-t.</i>	<i>Eeps</i>	<i>obö-wa-k.</i>	<i>Eep<sub>O</sub></i>	<i>obö-wa-t.</i>
fall-NP.SG-1SG	taro	plant-NP.SG-1SG	wood	break-NP.SG-3SG	wood	break-NP.SG-1SG
‘I fell.’	‘I planted taro.’		‘The firewood broke.’		‘I broke the firewood.’	

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Because all core arguments may be omitted, it is sometimes hard to distinguish between a truly intransitive clause (with a single core argument, S, either explicit or only indexed on the verb) and a transitive clause with a null, non-explicit O argument. With S=O ambitransitives, this is not an issue: the statement ‘I fell down’ need not involve an underlying A argument. But with S=A ambitransitives, an intransitive interpretation of a clause lacking an explicit O argument is only possible if an oblique argument such as instrument or location is explicit:

5.2)Na-ha-k.

eat-PRES.SG-3SG

‘S/he eats it.’ [Not \*’s/he eats.’]

5.3)Gowik=dek<sub>OBL</sub> na-ha-k.

knife=INSTR eat-PRES.SG-3SG

‘S/he eats (it) with a knife.’

In (5.2) above, an O argument is always understood, albeit optionally explicit. In (5.3), however, the presence of the oblique instrument argument enables the verb *na-* to be understood as either intransitive, referring to the action of ‘eating’ without reference to an O argument, or as transitive, with a non-explicit O argument. Sentence (5.3) could be analysed as a token of Dixon’s ‘extended intransitive’ clause type (2010b: 99).

One verb with varied polysemies may be analysed as having different valency possibilities depending on meaning: the H-class verb *hori-* ‘shine, stare, wait, look at.’ This verb is intransitive when used with ‘sun’ as S, in which case it means ‘shine,’ as in example (5.4):

5.4) *Iyep<sub>S</sub> hori-ha-k.*  
 sun shine-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘The sun is shining.’

Since the sun’s core is called its *daar-o* ‘eye’ (§3.1.5), it may be that the meaning ‘shine’ of *hori-* is an extension of another of its meanings, ‘stare.’ When the S argument of *hori-* is *daan* ‘eye,’ *hori-* is intransitive and means ‘stare,’ with no other core argument indicated. This use of *hori-* often implies both alertness and awakesness—as opposed to closed-eye sleep—and staring intently. *Daan* ‘eye’ is clearly the S argument of *hori-*, as shown by switch-reference marking in the next example, (5.5). The speaker is relating her husband’s near-death experience:

5.5) {*Uyec t-una-i*}, {*daar-os hori-ng na-un-a*},  
 raw do-DS.3SG-LINK eye-3SG.POSS stare-DEP 1SG.O.see-DS.3SG-MV  
 [*ngo<sub>VCS</sub> nain-e<sub>VCC</sub>?... {{nain-e<sub>OBL</sub> e-ya-moc}}]<sub>SR:O?</sub> {{yo-go-c}}].  
 here where-LOC.ADJ where-LOC.ADJ come-NP.NSG-1DU say-RP-3SG  
 ‘He being sleepless, his eye staring and seeing me, “Here is where? Where have we come?”  
 he said.’ (Wosiri opno hon hat 1:48)*

The S argument of *hori-* is not the man himself, but *daar-o* ‘his eye’: this is clear because the A argument of *na-un-a* ‘seeing me,’ which shares a subject with *hori-* ‘stare,’ is marked as different from the subjects of both the preceding and following clauses—‘he being sleepless,’ and ‘he said...’

When *hori-* means ‘wait’ it may take a subject S (possibly referenced only on the verb) and a dative second argument, as in (5.6), but it may also occur without the second argument, as in (5.7):

5.6) Iyep=pa<sub>OBL</sub> hori-ng=ir-a-mong.

sun=BEN wait-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-1PL

‘We wait for the sun.’ (Nongi iyep pon hat 0:05)

5.7) {T-un-a}, {{opmou hori-go-t}}, {{hori-go-t}}, {{hori-go-t}}=ma...

do-DS.3SG-MV small wait-PR-1SG wait-RP-1SG wait-RP-1SG=SPEC

‘It having done so, I waited a bit, I waited, and I waited, then...’ (Rosarin arap dawik 4:10)

When *hori-* means ‘regard, look at,’ the noun *haa* ‘area, place’ may occur as a verbal argument without dative marking.

5.8) Haa<sub>O</sub> hori-ha-t.

area stare-PRES.SG-1SG

‘I’m looking at the view.’ (Field notes)

Here, *haa* appears to be the O argument of *hori-*. If it were a locational oblique argument—the place toward which the ‘staring’ is directed—it should bear the locative suffix =*dek*.

The meaning of the S=A ambitransitive verb *to-* ‘do’ varies depending on its transitivity.

When serving as an intransitive verb, *to-* indicates a change of state, as in the following example:

5.9) [Ali<sub>Pr</sub> mak-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub> {hundik=k<sub>OA</sub> taman-o=dek<sub>OBL</sub> haga-un-a},

Ali mother-3SG.POSS grass.sp=FOC nose-3SG.POSS=LOC scrape-DS.3SG-MV

{{urop, [nogot<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> to-go-k}}.

enough blood large do-RP-3SG

‘Ali’s mother: (a blade of) *hundik* reed having scraped her on her nose, that’s it, great bleeding resulted.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain onogomok 6:10)

Here, there is no obvious subject argument of the verb *to-* ‘do.’ The act of scraping described in the first clause could be understood as the subject of *to-*, with the verb meaning ‘do, make’; or the

situation of *nogot morö* ‘great bleeding’ could be understood as the subject of *to-*, with the verb then serving as an intransitive, meaning ‘happen’ or ‘result.’

The other possibility here is that *nogot morö* is the O argument of *to-* ‘do,’ with the understood subject to be the situation described in the preceding medial clause.

### 5.3 Verbs with obligatory object prefixes

The transitive and ditransitive verb classes in Table 5.12 take obligatory prefixes indexing the verb’s object argument (see Suter 2012 for discussion of these verbs across Finisterre-Huon languages).

These prefixes fall into two categories: those that reference only the number (singular versus non-singular) of the verb’s object argument, and those that reference the person and number of the object argument. Even when a verb that obligatorily takes these prefixes is nominalized, the prefixes still index the O argument of the nominalized verb.

Verbs that take person/number-referencing object prefixes may be described as having prototypically-human O arguments, while verbs that take the number-referencing prefixes may be described as having prototypically-non-human O arguments.

#### 5.3.1 Verbs with obligatory object number prefixes

The object prefixes that reference only number are *k-* ‘singular object’ and *h-* ‘non-singular object.’ An additional verb, *to-* ‘pick up, take’ has a different alternation: the forms *to-* ‘pick it up’ and *yoo-* ‘pick them up’ may be considered as suppletive stems, varying according to number of the object argument. The non-singular form *yoo-* ‘pick them up’ also alternates with the singular form *mo-* in the Causative II construction (§6.8).

Table 5.13. Verbs that take number-indexing object prefixes			
	singular	non-singular	source verb
'bring' (P-class)	<i>ke-</i>	<i>he-</i>	<i>e-</i> 'come' (P-class)
'raise' (H-class)	<i>köö-</i>	<i>höö-</i>	<i>öö-</i> 'ascend' (H-class)
'lower' (H-class)	<i>koo-</i>	<i>hoo-</i>	<i>oo-</i> 'descend' (H-class)
'take away' (T-class)	<i>ku-</i>	<i>hu-</i>	—
'pick up'	<i>to-</i> (Ø-class)	<i>yoo-</i> (P-class)	—

In table 5.13, the first three verbs—'bring,' 'raise,' and 'lower'—are transparently derived from intransitive motion verbs 'come,' 'ascend,' and 'descend,' through prefixing of the elements *k-* and *h-*. The morpho-phonological class of the intransitive verb is maintained in the transitive derived form. In contrast, the fourth verb *ku-/hu-*'take away' is not transparently derived from an intransitive verb. There is no verb *\*u-* 'go away' in contemporary Nungon. Thus, the verb *ku-/hu-* may be considered to have suppletive stems based on number of its object argument, like the verb *to-/yoo-* 'pick up.'

The last entry in table 5.13 is unlike the others in that it is hard to separate any core verbal root from the singular and non-singular object prefixes, in this case, *t-* and *yoo-*. These prefixes are close to those used in the Causative II construction in Nungon, where *m-* is used for singular O and *yoo-* is used for non-singular O (O corresponding to S of the intransitive verb of the Causative construction). The situation is further complicated here by the fact that Nungon 'do' is *to-*, homophonous with 'pick it up/get it.' But *t-o-* and *yoo-* are, in practice, counterparts, differing only in number of the O, as in the following pair of sentences:

5.10) To-ng            mon-ti!  
 SG.O.take-DEP    throw-IMM.IMP.2SG

‘Take it and throw it away!’

5.11) Yoo-ng            mon-ti!  
 NSG.O.take-DEP    throw-IMM.IMP.2SG

‘Take them and throw them away!’

When questioned, speakers ably and quickly replace *to-* with *yoo-* and vice versa in sentences like the above depending on the number of the O. So it appears that *to-* ‘pick it up/take it/get it’ is only homophonous with *to-* ‘do,’ not the same verb. The situation is complicated by the fact that this verb is most often used in multiple-verb constructions and not on its own. In fact, there are no corpus examples of the form with singular O, *to-*, occurring in fully-inflected final verb form. On the other hand, the form with non-singular O, *yoo-*, does seem to occur in fully-inflected final verb form, in the restricted sense of ‘pick (coffee).’ Examine the following sentence, illustrating the broader and more common use of *yoo-* as non-singular O counterpart to *to-* in clause chains, meaning ‘pick them up/take them along’:

5.12) {Deerim<sub>OBL</sub> e-ng-a},            {[maa-no    maa-no]<sub>O</sub>    [yiip<sub>MOD</sub>  
 Deerim            come-DEP-MV    name-3SG.POSS name-3SG.POSS salt  
 bög-in<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub>            yoo-ng-a},            {iyako tana-ng-a}  
 house-LOC            NSG.O.take-DEP-MV    greens pick-DEP-MV  
 {yoo-ng-a},            {{Tipsit<sub>OBL</sub>    ongo-go-mong}}.  
 NSG.O.take-DEP-MV    Tipsit            go-RP-1PL

‘Arriving in Deerim, taking up miscellaneous goods at the store, picking (fresh) greens, taking them, we went to Tipsit. (Fooyu Deerim ongonga 0:33)

But *yoo-* is apparently the same verb that is used regularly for ‘pick (coffee).’ Usually the verb follows the P-class inflectional paradigm when used with coffee, but it may alternatively follow the

H-class paradigm. In both cases, only the *yoo-* form, i.e., the form that refers to nsg. O, (never *to-*) is used with coffee picking:

5.13) Köpio<sub>O</sub> yoop-pi!  
 coffee NSG.O.pick-IMM.IMP.2SG  
 ‘Pick coffee!’

5.14) Köpio<sub>O</sub> yoo-hi!  
 coffee NSG.O.pick-IMM.IMP.2SG  
 ‘Pick coffee!’

Note that this is very similar to the inflectional pattern of the Causative construction, in which the erstwhile S of an intransitive verb is referenced as O on an inflecting agency-expressing word following the verb describing the Causer’s action, as in the next example:

5.15) [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> inggouk<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O/S</sub> t-u hönggot-do-k.  
 man one SG.O.take-CAUS.2/3PL emerge-RP-3SG  
 ‘One man emerged (as their choice) by their doing.’

5.16) [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> yoi<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O/S</sub> yo-u hönggot-do-morok.  
 man two NSG.O.take-CAUS.2/3PL become-RP-2/3DU  
 ‘Two men emerged (as their choice) by their doing.’

Constructions of this type involve three arguments: S of *hönggot-do-k*, O of *t-u/yo-u*, and A of *t-u/yo-u*. In this case, the S referent for *hönggot-do-k* is not explicitly stated outside the verb. The A of *t-u/yo-u* is also apparent only through the inflection *-u*, which reflects 2/3pl. The O argument of *t-u/yo-u* is explicit in the above sentences, but this is optionally explicit in the clause. The number of this O is reflected in the *t-/yo-* prefix alternation.

### 5.3.2 Verbs with obligatory object person/number prefixes

The object prefixes that reference person and number vary slightly in form from verb to verb. Some of this variation is predictable based on phonological rules for vowel combinations (§2.8.1), while some is not. These prefixes are formally related to the basic personal pronouns (§7.1.1).

<b>Table 5.14. Object prefixes and basic personal pronouns</b>				
	<b>object prefixes</b>		<b>basic personal pronouns</b>	
	<b>singular</b>	<b>non-singular</b>	<b>singular</b>	<b>non-singular</b>
<b>1</b>	<i>n(a)-</i>	<i>n(i)-</i>	<i>nok</i>	<i>non</i>
<b>2</b>	<i>g(a)-</i>	<i>k(a)-</i>	<i>gok</i>	<i>hon</i>
<b>3</b>	<i>y-/i-</i>	<i>y(o)-</i>	<i>yu</i>	

As mentioned in §2.8.5, the number distinction in third person object prefixes is neutralized for certain verbs with roots beginning with the vowel /a/ or /i/. The singular and non-singular first person prefixes both begin with *n-*, but number distinctions between 1sg and 1nsg. are rarely neutralized (*n-öö-* ‘1.O-ascend,’ i.e. ‘bring me/us up,’ is one exception). Since there is a voicing distinction between the first consonant of the 2sg object prefix and the 2nsg object prefix, the distinction between these is never neutralized, even when the following vowel is the same.

Table 5.15 is an exhaustive list of verbs that take obligatory prefixes referencing person and number of the object, and can serve clause-finally. Throughout this grammar, these verbs are cited in the form bearing the 3sg object prefix. Morpheme boundaries between the prefix and root are written in the table, but with many of these verbs this boundary could be placed in an alternative way—or omitted altogether, with the root plus prefix considered as a fused form. This is because almost none of the verb roots in table 5.15 may occur without the prefixes. Only one of these transitive verbs, *yemo-* ‘shoot,’ is possibly related to an intransitive verb without the object prefixes, *emo-* ‘make war.’ Verbs are given in Present tense and with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular subject.

Table 5.15. Transitive verbs with person/number object prefixes						
	1sg	2sg	3sg	1nsg	2nsg	3nsg
<i>aa-</i> ‘see’	<i>n-aa-ha-k</i>	<i>g-aa-ha-k</i>	<i>aa-ha-k</i>	<i>ni-i-ha-k</i>	<i>k-aa-ha-k</i>	<i>y-aa-ha-k</i>
<i>imo-</i> ‘give’	<i>na-mo-ha-k</i>	<i>ga-mo-ha-k</i>	<i>i-mo-ha-k</i>	<i>ni-mo-ha-k</i>	<i>ka-mo-ha-k</i>	<i>yo-mo-ha-k</i>
<i>ino-</i> ‘tell’	<i>na-no-ha-k</i>	<i>ga-no-ha-k</i>	<i>i-no-ha-k</i>	<i>ni-no-ha-k</i>	<i>ka-no-ha-k</i>	<i>yo-no-ha-k</i>
<i>taambit-</i> ‘tread on’	<i>na-ambit-ta-k</i>	<i>ga-ambit-ta-k</i>	<i>ta-ambit-ta-k</i>	<i>na-ambit-ta-k</i>	<i>ka-ambit-ta-k</i>	<i>ya-ambit-ta-k</i>
<i>tan-</i> ‘follow’	<i>na-n-ta-k</i>	<i>ga-n-ta-k</i>	<i>ta-n-ta-k</i>	<i>handan-ta-k</i>	<i>handan-ta-k</i>	<i>handan-ta-k</i>
<i>temo-</i> ‘shoot’	<i>n-emo-ha-k</i>	<i>g-emo-ha-k</i>	<i>t-emo-ha-k</i>	<i>n-emo-ha-k</i>	<i>k-emo-ha-k</i>	<i>y-emo-ha-k</i>
<i>wet-</i> ‘beat’	<i>n-et-ta-k</i>	<i>g-et-ta-k</i>	<i>w-et-ta-k</i>	<i>nisop-pa-k</i>	<i>kaap-pa-k</i>	<i>doop-pa-k</i>
<i>yama-</i> ‘watch over’	<i>na-ma-ha-k</i>	<i>ga-ma-ha-k</i>	<i>ya-ma-ha-k</i>	<i>ni-ma-ha-k</i>	<i>ka-ma-ha-k</i>	<i>ya-ma-ha-k</i>
<i>yandi-</i> ‘show’	<i>na-ndi-ha-k</i>	<i>ga-ndi-ha-k</i>	<i>ya-ndi-ha-k</i>	<i>ni-ndi-ha-k</i>	<i>ka-ndi-ha-k</i>	<i>ya-ndi-ha-k</i>
<i>yangat-</i> ‘escort’	<i>na-ngat-ta-k</i>	<i>ga-ngat-ta-k</i>	<i>ya-ngat-ta-k</i>	<i>ni-ngat-ta-k</i>	<i>ka-ngat-ta-k</i>	<i>ya-ngat-ta-k</i>
<i>yii-</i> ‘bite’	<i>ne-i-ha-k</i>	<i>ge-i-ha-k</i>	<i>yi-i-ha-k</i>	<i>ni-i-ha-k</i>	<i>ke-i-ha-k</i>	<i>yi-i-ha-k</i>
<i>yö-</i> ‘place down’	<i>n-öng-ka-k</i>	<i>g-öng-ka-k</i>	<i>y-öng-ka-k</i>	<i>n-öng-ka-k</i>	<i>k-öng-ka-k</i>	<i>y-öng-ka-k</i>
<i>yuu-</i> ‘roll, lead on’	<i>n-uu-ha-k</i>	<i>g-uu-ha-k</i>	<i>y-uu-ha-k</i>	<i>n-uu-ha-k</i>	<i>k-uu-ha-k</i>	<i>y-uu-ha-k</i>

Some verbs have an initial segment referencing a 3sg object argument that differs from the *y-* or *i-* anticipated by table 5.14. The cells containing these forms are shaded in table 5.15. These forms

may be understood to prototypically refer to a non-human object argument; in a society of hunters, ‘following’ and ‘shooting’ are most often used to describe tracking and hunting game, while ‘seeing,’ ‘treading on’ and ‘beating’ are probably more likely to have non-human object arguments than human ones. It is conceivable that these forms do not derive from the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun *yu* in table 5.14: *yu* is usually used with human reference. Non-humans, especially inanimates, are usually referred to with the distal demonstrative *wo* ‘that.’ This may be the source for the initial *w-* of *w-et-* ‘beat (3sg. object),’ as well as that of *w-e-p mo-* ‘touch (3sg. object)’ in §5.3.4. The source of the initial *t-* in *taambit-*, *tan-*, and *temo-* is unknown.

Table 5.15 shows that some verbs have suppletive stem forms beyond just the object prefix formative based on object number. The verb *wet-* ‘beat’ is such an example. As mentioned above, this verb behaves as a consonant-final verb if its object is singular, but as a vowel-final P-class verb if its object is non-singular. There is further irregularity between non-singular persons. While ‘s/he will beat you (nsg.)’ is *kaa-wangka-k*, ‘s/he will beat us’ is *niso-wangka-k*. At an assembly of upper-grade Yawan Primary School students in May 2012, I made a comical mistake partway through a rousing speech. I quoted students in America as saying: ‘If we don’t do our homework, our teacher will bite us,’ using *nii-wang-ka-k* ‘1NSG.O.bite-PROB.SG-NF-3SG’ instead of *niso-wang-ka-k* ‘1NSG.O.beat-PROB.SG-NF-3SG.’

In the appropriate contexts, all but one of the verbs in table 5.15 may take non-human third person object arguments. The verb that can truly only take human object arguments is *yangat-* ‘escort.’ Speakers allowed for use of *yö-* ‘place down’ in all instances where the object argument referred to a higher animate that was able to move around autonomously. That is, *yö-* must be used with toddlers through living adult object arguments, and could also be used with animal object arguments such as dogs and pigs. Insects were questionable. Very tiny babies that were not yet self-propelling could not serve as object argument with *yö-* (its counterpart for non-animates, *hi-* ‘put,’ would be used instead), nor could corpses.

It happens that two different ancestor stories, one from Towet and one from Kotet, begin with a pair of women beating bark-cloth. One storyteller in the below sentences chose to use the singular object form of ‘beat,’ *wet-*, while the other chose to use the form with non-singular object, to describe apparently the same activity. It seems that the difference here is the amount of bark-cloth that the two women were understood by each speaker to be making.

5.17) [Ow<sub>HEAD</sub>      yoi<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>A</sub>      tic<sub>O</sub>      wet-do-moroc.  
 woman      two      bark-cloth      3SG.O.beat-RP-2/3DU

‘Two women beat bark-cloth.’ (Manggirai tic korong 1:07)

5.18) [Oe<sub>HEAD</sub>      yoi<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>A</sub>      tik<sub>O</sub>      doo-ng=it-do-morok.  
 woman      two      cloth      3NSG.O.beat-DEP=be-RP-2/3DU

‘A pair of women were beating bark-cloth.’ (Gosing bem hat 0:17)

As seen in (5.17) and (5.18), the presence of object prefixes does not preclude the explicit stating of the O argument as an NP in the same clause. In fact, even if the O argument is explicitly stated, the object prefixes are obligatory. The following sentences illustrate this:

5.19) Nok<sub>A</sub>      ya-ma-ng-a      it-ta-t.  
 1SG.PRO      3.O-watch.over-DEP-MV be-PRES.SG-1SG

‘I am watching over him/her/it.’

5.20) Nok<sub>A</sub>      gungak<sub>O</sub>      ya-ma-ng-a      it-ta-t.  
 1SG.PRO      child      3.O-watch.over-DEP-MV be-PRES.SG-1SG

‘I am watching over a child.’

5.21) {[Arap,      tanak]<sub>O</sub> h-ep-bu-ng }=ma,      wo-nd<sub>OBL</sub>  
 game      food      NSG.O-come-RP-2/3PL=REL      that-LDEM.NEAR  
 mor-a} ...  
 throw-MV

‘The game and food that they had brought, throwing it there...’ (Geisch bem 7:01)

- 5.22) \*Arap<sub>O</sub>, tanak<sub>O</sub> ep-bu-ng.  
 game food come-RP-2/3PL  
 \*‘They came game and food.’

In this last sentence, even though the O argument—coordinated *arap* ‘game’ and *tanak* ‘food’—is explicit, the verb *e-* ‘to come’ must bear the number-indexing object prefix *k-/h-* in order to have transitive reading.

The verb *aa-* ‘see’ is the only verb that has expanded prefix possibilities, permitting shortened demonstrative forms *ng-* ‘here’ and *w-* ‘there’ to serve in the object prefix slot. This only occurs with the Immediate Imperative inflections of *aa-*, where it may combine with all person-number combinations. Object prefixes with *aa-* ‘see’ are in table 5.16:

Table 5.16. Object prefixes with the verb <i>aa-</i> ‘see’		
	singular	non-singular
<b>1</b>	<i>n-aa-hi</i> ‘look at me!’	<i>n-aa-ha-rok</i> ‘you see us’
<b>2</b>	<i>g-aa-ha-t</i> ‘I see you (sg.)’	<i>k-aa-hat</i> ‘I see you (nsg.)’
<b>3</b>	<i>aa-mong</i> ‘we see it/him/her’	<i>y-aa-mong</i> ‘we see them’
<b><i>ng-</i> ‘this, here’</b>	<i>ng-aa-wa</i> ‘let me see this!’ <i>ng-aa-hi</i> ‘look at this!’ etc.	
<b><i>w-</i> ‘that, there’</b>	<i>w-aa-wa</i> ‘let me see that!’ <i>w-aa-hi</i> ‘look at that!’ etc.	

### 5.3.3 Non-inflecting homophones of object prefix-taking verbs

Some of the verbs in table 5.15 are either polysemous, or are homophonous with verbs on which the object prefix does not change form. That is, it is likely that the intransitive H-class verb *emo-* ‘fight’ is related, diachronically or derivationally, to the transitive, object person/number prefix-taking verb *t-emo-* ‘shoot (with bow and arrow).’ The functionally-unmarked form of this verb is with the 3sg object prefix; that is, if one is going hunting and it is unknown how many birds or game will be shot, the act of hunting is described using the 3sg object prefix. If the number of birds or game—or non-speech-act-participating people—shot is known to be non-singular, the verb must take the 3nsg object

prefix form, as *y-emo-*. If the object argument of ‘shoot’ is one or more speech act participants, the verbal prefixes must change accordingly to index the appropriate person and number of the object.

At least one homophone exists for each of the verb forms with third person object: *temo-* ‘fasten (a grass skirt, loincloth),’ and *yemo-* ‘weave (bamboo wall slats).’ It could be said that these two verbs stem from idiomatic uses of ‘shoot’; since only one skirt or loincloth is fastened at a time, it makes sense that the 3sg object prefix is always used here, while weaving bamboo slats necessarily implies working with more than one slat at a time. But while ‘shoot’ changes from *t-emo-* to *y-emo-* if more than one bird is shot, I was told that even if many girls fasten many grass skirts, *temo-* ‘fasten’ would not change to reflect number of the O argument. There is also a third homophonic verb, *yemo-* ‘ford water by wading through it.’ The forms *yemo-* ‘weave’ and *yemo-* ‘ford’ are both in free variation with *yomo-* (see §2.10), while *y-omo-* is not found in the corpus as a variant of *y-emo-* ‘shoot them.’

The form of ‘shoot’ with 3nsg object-referencing prefix, *y-emo-*, is also homophonous with the 3nsg object prefix-bearing verb *yemo-* ~ *yomo-* ‘give them.’ The verb ‘give’ is an alternative source of the verb *yemo-* ~ *yomo-* ‘ford’; because the act of weaving is physically similar to the act of fastening a skirt or loincloth, *temo-*, it is likely that *yemo-* ~ *yomo-* ‘weave’ is only coincidentally homophonous with ‘give them’ and ‘ford.’ In any case, *temo-* ‘fasten,’ *yemo-* ‘weave,’ and *yemo-* ‘ford’ never change forms to reference O argument number, although they may have originated as extended uses of prefix-bearing verbs *t-emo-* ‘shoot’ and *i-mo-* ‘give.’

The form of *i-mo-* ‘give’ with 3sg object has another homophone. The intransitive verb *imo-* ‘swell’ is homophonous to the 3sg object prefix-bearing *i-mo-* ‘give,’ but—like ‘fasten,’ ‘weave,’ and ‘ford’ above—*imo-* ‘swell’ does not inflect for O argument person/number. In the following sentence, if *imo-* ‘swell’ were really *i-mo-* ‘give,’ it would inflect for person/number of the O argument, taking the form *ka-mo-wa-ng* ‘2NSG.O-give-PRES.NSG-2/3PL.’ Since it does not inflect, it may be understood to mean ‘swell.’

5.23) {{ {{ [[Eet honi]s imo-wa-ng }}=ma=ha]SR:O, yo-go-k}},  
 foot 2PL.POSS swell-PRES.NSG-2/3PL=REL=BEN say-RP-3SG  
 OROG-OSR.  
 good-ADJ

“‘Since your feet are swelling,” he said, “Okay.”” (Nusek Finschafen 3:00)

### 5.3.4 Additional expressions with object prefixes

Additional verbs that take these prefixes are never inflected independently as clause-final verbs. They only occur synchronically either nominalized or in Dependent form and followed by an auxiliary verb. As mentioned earlier in §5.3, the object prefixes on nominalized or Dependent forms always inflect to index the object argument. These verbs are listed in table 5.17.

Table 5.17. Additional expressions with person/number object prefixes						
	1sg	2sg	3sg	1nsg	2nsg	3nsg
<i>wep mo-</i> ‘touch’	<i>n-e-p</i> <i>mo-ha-k</i>	<i>g-e-p</i> <i>mo-ha-k</i>	<i>w-e-p</i> <i>mo-ha-k</i>	<i>ni-i-p</i> <i>mo-ha-k</i>	<i>k-e-p</i> <i>mo-ha-k</i>	<i>y-e-p</i> <i>mo-ha-k</i>
<i>yeng hot-</i> ‘pass’	<i>n-e-ng</i> <i>hot-ta-k</i>	<i>g-e-ng</i> <i>hot-ta-k</i>	<i>y-e-ng</i> <i>hot-ta-k</i>	<i>ni-i-ng</i> <i>hot-ta-k</i>	<i>k-e-ng</i> <i>hot-ta-k</i>	<i>y-e-ng</i> <i>hot-ta-k</i>
<i>aa-m<sup>8</sup> poto-</i> ‘leave behind’	<i>n-aa-m</i> <i>poto-ha-k</i>	<i>g-aa-m</i> <i>poto-ha-k</i>	<i>aa-m poto-</i> <i>ha-k</i>	<i>ni-i-m poto-</i> <i>ha-k</i>	<i>k-aa-m</i> <i>poto-ha-k</i>	<i>y-aa-m</i> <i>poto-ha-k</i>

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<sup>8</sup> The final velar nasal of *aa-ng*, which is the Dependent form of *aa-* ‘see,’ has assimilated to the place of articulation of the initial consonant of *poto-* ‘demur,’ becoming /m/. *N-aa-m poto-ha-k* ‘s/he leaves me behind,’ literally means: ‘seeing me, s/he demurs.’

The expression *we-p mo-* ‘touch’ probably comprises the nominalized form of an (unattested elsewhere) person/number object prefix-taking P-class verb *we-* and the auxiliary verb *mo-* ‘transfer.’ The expression ‘touch’ could be argued to not prototypically take a human object argument. The second expression in table 5.17 is *ye-ng hot-* ‘pass’; this combines the Dependent form, *ye-ng*, of a verb unattested outside this expression, *?ye-*, in a tight multi-verb construction with the verb *hot-* ‘run.’ The third expression, *aam poto-* ‘leave behind,’ derives from the Dependent form, *aa-ng*, of the verb *aa-* ‘see,’ followed by the H-class verb *poto-* ‘refuse, demur.’

Finally, different verbs with object prefixes may co-occur in multi-verb constructions when the object argument is shared. This occurs in the expression *i-no-ng y-uu-* ‘lead along, lie to,’ which combines the object prefix-taking verbs *ino-* ‘tell’ and *yuu-* ‘roll from side to side.’ In example (5.24), object prefixes on four verbs, *yangat-* ‘escort,’ *höö-* ‘raise,’ *ino-* ‘tell,’ and *yandi-* ‘show,’ all index the number, or person and number, of *gungak opm~opmou* ‘small children’:

- 5.24)      {[Gungak<sub>HEAD</sub> [opmou opmou]<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> y-angat      h-öö-ng-a},  
           child            small    small            3.O-escort      NSG.O-ascend-DEP-MV  
           {{aapo yo-no-ng                            y-andi-ng=it-do-t}}.  
           song    3NSG.O-tell-DEP            3.O-show-DEP=be-RP-1SG

‘Taking the small children up (into the building), I used to tell and show them songs.’

(Nusek Finschafen 1:28)

## 5.4 Tense inflections

The times in which the five tense inflections are used were introduced in table 5.1. Forms of tense suffixes were in table 5.2. As noted there, the Nungon tense suffixes show fusion of tense marking with number indexing of the verb’s subject argument. The number of number values distinguished in each tense suffix varies according to tense, with a full three-value number system distinguished in the future tense suffixes, a two-value system distinguished in the Present and Near Past tense suffixes, and no number values distinguished in the Remote Past tense suffix. This number marking is redundant everywhere except in the Remote Future first person dual and plural.

This section discusses uses of each tense. Mood and reality status suffixes that can occur in the inflection slot after the verb root are discussed in §5.5. Verbal aspect—marked in various ways, most commonly through auxiliary verb constructions—is discussed in §6.5.

#### 5.4.1 Remote Past tense

The Remote Past tense is used for actions and events that occurred on the day before the speech act or any time before that, including many years ago. This is the tense in which all narratives relating events that took place before yesterday are framed, including ancestor stories.

The following example, from a Kotet speaker, illustrates use of the Remote Past in a narrative relating events that took place many years prior to the speech act:

- 5.25)      {Wo-nd<sub>OBL</sub>                      hi-ng-a},                      {yu<sub>A</sub>    sap<sub>O</sub>    t-o-ng-a},  
                  that-LDEM.NEAR                      put-DEP-MV    3.PRO    dog    SG.O-take-DEP-MV  
                  {{ongo-go-c}}.  
                  go-RP-3SG

‘From there, he having taken a dog, he left.’ (Inewe arap dawic togoc 0:33)

The Remote Past may also be used to express either the protasis or the apodosis in counterfactual sentences framed in time periods ‘yesterday’ and earlier. In the following example, the protasis of a counterfactual sentence is framed in the Remote Past tense:

- 5.26)      Osuk=gon<sub>OBL</sub>    hönggot-do-k=ka-i...  
                  first=RSTR                      emerge-RP-3SG=BEN-LINK  
                  ‘If it had happened in the olden days...’ (Field notes)

In the next example, however, the Remote Past is used to describe a non-actualized event, without dedicated Counterfactual marking anywhere in the counterfactual sentence. Here, it is the expression *hut=ta-i* ‘had it been’ (composed of the adverb *hut* ‘new’ with benefactive enclitic =*ha* and discourse suffix *-i*) that marks the protasis, while the apodosis is framed in the Remote Past.

- 5.27) [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>] hut=ta-i... ma=i-no-ng yo-go-k.  
 man other new=BEN-LINK NEG=3SG.O-TELL-DEP say-RP-3SG  
 ‘If (it had been) another man...he would not have spoken to her.’ (Gaus inoin 14:18)

#### 5.4.2 Near Past tense

The Near Past tense is used for expressing actions and events that occurred earlier the day of the utterance or on the day before the utterance.

- 5.28) Dombisum, gaam=pa<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-Ø-t.  
 morning kunai.grass=BEN go-NP-1SG  
 ‘This morning, I went for kunai grass.’ (Field notes)

Like the Remote Past, the Near Past may occur in the protasis of counterfactual sentences, as in the following example:

- 5.29) Nok<sub>s</sub> ongo-Ø-t=ta-i, {eep<sub>o</sub> humbor-a}  
 1SG.PRO go-NP-1SG=BEN-LINK wood bear.on.shoulder.DEP-MV  
 {t-o-ng-a} {{ep-pem}}.  
 SG.O-take-DEP-MV come-CNTR.1SG  
 ‘If I had gone (earlier today), shouldering wood, taking it, I would have come.’ (Field notes)

#### 5.4.3 Present tense

The Present tense may describe events occurring at the moment of the speech act or, sometimes, just before the speech act, with continuing relevance; it may also describe regular, or gnomic (Bybee et al. 1994: 141), occurrences and habits. That is, the expression *aa-ha-t* ‘3SG.O.see-PRES.SG-1SG’ may mean ‘I see it (right now),’ ‘I have seen it (in the past few minutes),’ ‘I (regularly) see it.’ The following sentence is the concluding line of a text relating how the Towet community became Seventh-Day Adventist. Framed in the Present tense, the sentence refers to the present era, not just the present moment:

5.30) Unga, wo-rok, miti=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ir-a-mong.  
 today that-SEMBL church=LOC be-PRES.NSG-1PL

‘Nowadays, thus, we are within [i.e., ‘within the fold of’] the church.’ (Idit orogo  
 0:34)

Some verbs may have Present tense form when referring to events that occurred earlier the same day that are still relevant. This use of the Present tense has perfect aspect overtones. The intransitive verb *di-* ‘burn’ (H-class) is used in this way: a speaker who was burned by the fire several minutes before speaking can still say *di-ha-t* ‘burn-PRES.SG-1SG’: ‘I’m burning,’ or ‘I’m burnt.’ Here, burning is not imagined as a punctual event, but as a change of state: if the state still applies, the Present tense may be used. Another such verb is the verb of motion *e-* ‘come’ (P-class). The Present tense may be used to both: describe an airplane that is approaching the airstrip but has not yet landed: *ep-pa-k* ‘it’s coming’; and to tell others that the plane has landed: *ep-pa-k* ‘it has come.’ Here, use of the Near Past *e-wa-k* ‘it came’ might imply that the plane had come and left again—or that even though it was still there, it arrived a significant amount of time ago (perhaps a half hour or more). A third such verb is *ho-* ‘cook’ (Ø-class). The Present tense form *ha-a-t* ‘I am cooking’ may also be used when the speaker has cooked food earlier the same day, while the Present tense of the verb *na-* ‘eat’ (H-class) may still be used when the speaker has finished eating very recently—say, the past half hour. Finally, an adult comforting a crying child often asks:

5.31) Numa=ho<sub>A</sub> get-ta-k?  
 who=FOC 2SG.O.beat-PRES.SG-3SG

‘Who has beaten you?’ (Field notes)

It could be that here the question is framed in the Present tense because it is asked with habitual aspect—‘who could be beating you?’—not perfect aspect. But the actual meaning of the question here implies perfect aspect. And of course the answer is a tearful *Kaila*, or *Gorungon*, or *Keisa*: the name of the person who has hurt the child just then.

In Nungon, there seems to be little discourse-based need for a ‘narrative’ or ‘historical’ present, since most narratives involve long chains of tense-less clauses, with tense marked only on the single final verb at the end of the chain (and on any speech reports and other subordinate clauses within the medial clauses). A ‘narrative present’ does occur in a few narrative texts in the corpus. Outside the recorded texts, one speaker used a final verb in the Present tense to accompany her reenactment of arm-waving from a dance routine performed several days before the time of the utterance; listening, it did not seem to me that the statement was meant to describe a habitual action, but that it was meant to make the story of the performance vivid for listeners:

- 5.32)        {Wo-go            to-ng-a},        {{oesit<sub>A</sub>        aap<sub>O</sub>    ya-a-ng}}.
- that-ADV        do-DEP-MV    girl                song    say-PRES.NSG-2/3PL
- ‘Doing like that, the girls sing a song.’ (Field notes)

#### 5.4.4 Near Future tense

The future tenses are distinct from the other tenses both formally and functionally. I discuss the Near Future first, and leave Remote Future for discussion in §**Error! Reference source not found.** below.

As a fully-inflected final verb, the Nungon Near Future comprises a Probable verb stem (§5.5.4), which inflects for number of the S/A argument, and an additional suffix *-ha-* in all person/number combinations before the final person/number-referencing inflectional suffix.<sup>9</sup>

The Near Future inflection both strictly demarcates the time period from the reference time to ‘tonight,’ and serves another function: marking events that are likely to happen at any time, i.e. general truths. In its strictly temporal usage, the Near Future delineates events from a little beyond the present moment through nighttime tonight. That is, on a given day at dusk I may say *Yawan ongo-wang-ka-t* ‘Yawan go-PROB.SG-NF-1SG’ if I really still plan to hike up to Yawan that evening; if I plan

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<sup>9</sup> Pronunciation of the suffix *-ha-* varies from speaker to speaker. Realization of the /h/ ranges from [h] to [k] to [q] within the Towet dialect. In the Yawan dialect, the suffix is *-ta-*.

to go the next day, however, I should use the Remote Future and say *Yawan ong-i-t-ma* ‘Yawan go-IRR.SG-1SG-RF.’ Speakers introducing a story they are about to tell often use the Near Future (or the Imminent aspect—§6.5.6), as in the next example:

- 5.33) [Wo-rok=kon<sub>Pr</sub>            [maa<sub>MOD</sub>            hat<sub>HEAD</sub>]Pe]O    yo-wang-ka-t.  
           that-SEMBL=GEN            speech            story            say-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
           ‘Of which the story I will (now) tell.’ (Joshua toropni hon hat 0:11)

Since tense use does not follow a 24-hour clock, the question arises as to which tense is used late at night to refer to the coming dawn: the Near Future, or the Remote Future. In general, speakers bed down for the night when it is ‘today,’ and ‘tomorrow’ is anticipated to begin when the speaker wakes after sleeping. If a speaker is about to go to sleep, even fairly late at night, plans for ‘tomorrow’—after waking, that is, from a full night’s sleep—are still couched in the Remote Future. People rarely speak of events anticipated to occur in the middle of the night. But when they do, the amount of anticipated sleep tends to make the difference between use of the Remote Future (a full night’s sleep anticipated) or Near Future (only a partial night’s sleep anticipated). This was confirmed for the related Finisterre-Huon language Nek (Katri Linnasalo, personal communication 2014), which also draws a tense distinction between two future tenses at the boundary between ‘today’ and ‘tomorrow.’<sup>10</sup> Speakers of Nek pondering the issue told Linnasalo that if a speaker woke late at night, they could speak of events planned for the next morning in either the future tense used only for ‘today’ or that used for ‘tomorrow’ and beyond, depending on perception of the nearness of their waking.

When I had an appointment to speak at the Yawan Primary School one day, it was arranged that one of the Towet schoolchildren, who routinely hike across the *Wep* River to attend school in

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<sup>10</sup> This question does not regularly arise for related languages such as Ma Manda (Pennington 2014), in which the boundary between the two future tenses is between ‘tomorrow’ and ‘beyond tomorrow.’ It is unlikely that Ma Manda speakers regularly discuss occurrences slated for the liminal time period of ‘tomorrow night.’

Yawan, would escort me there when she left, before dawn. I told people that I had trouble sleeping for fear that I would oversleep and the child, Mait, would leave without me. I was told to express myself with the following example:

5.34) {        [[{Mait=to<sub>A</sub>    n-aa-ng        poto-ng-a        ongo-wang-ka-k}]]<sub>SR:O</sub>  
                  Mait=FOC        1SG.O-see-DEP    refuse-DEP-MV    go-PROB.SG-NF-3SG  
 yo-ng-a},        {{ma=duo-wa-t}}.        {{Uyek        e-e-t}}.  
 say-DEP-MV        NEG=sleep-NP.SG-1SG    raw                be-NP-1SG

‘Thinking: “Mait will go, leaving me behind,” I didn’t sleep. I stayed awake.’ (Field notes)

This seems to demonstrate the principle of tense selection described above: if only a partial night’s sleep is anticipated before the events discussed, the Near Future is used.

The Near Future tense is also used to express general truths and predictions, which could happen either soon or at a general, unspecified time far in the future. These are often the apodosis of a conditional clause, as ‘If you walk in the rain, you will get wet.’ But such general truths also include descriptions of manufacturing and hunting processes, recipes, and the like. These can be analysed as underlyingly conditional, with the protasis inherent in the premise for speaking—‘if you want to build a house, you will...’

The following sentence was part of a description of ‘stubbornness’ told to me to explain the term ‘stubborn’ in general. This could be considered a conditional sentence, with protasis a medial clause marked for different-subject (§6.3).

5.35) {Gok<sub>A</sub>        [[{t-i-rog-a}]]<sub>SR:O</sub>        i-n-i-ya},        {{yu<sub>A</sub>  
 2SG.PRO        do-IRR.SG-2SG-PROH    3SG.O-tell-DS.2SG-MV    3.PRO  
 dondon        to-wang-ka-k}}.  
 obstinate        do-PROB.SG-NF-3SG

‘You having said “Don’t do it!” s/he will obstinately do it.’ (Field notes)

The situation described is hypothetical and occurs in a generalized, nonspecific temporal context. Far from strictly delineating a time period from the next five minutes through tonight, the Near Future tense here is used to predict the consequence of an event—‘you saying “Don’t do it!”’—with unspecified time of occurrence.

This timeless use of the Near Future may also occur in non-conditional sentences that describe general processes or behaviors. Many Nungon idioms were explained to me using the Near Future, like the below explanation of the term *tem-un tem-un* ‘shoot-DS.3SG shoot-DS.3SG’ (discussed in §6.4.4):

- 5.36)      {{Nogo<sub>A</sub>      gok<sub>O</sub>      g-em-ang-ka-t}};  
                  1SG.PRO+FOC   2SG.PRO      2SG.O-shoot-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
                  {{n-em-ang-ka-rok}}.  
                  1SG.O-shoot-PROB.SG-NF-2SG  
                  ‘I will shoot you; you will shoot me.’ (Field notes)

This statement, comprising two final clauses, is timeless. The speaker was not claiming that at some point in the future she would shoot me, and I her. The underlying conditional here could be understood as inherent in the premise for the utterance: ‘If we want to do *tem-un tem-un*...’ If the above were rephrased using the Remote Future, there would no longer be implied conditionality, and the utterance itself would no longer be hypothetical:

- 5.37)      {{Nogo<sub>A</sub>      gok<sub>O</sub>      g-em-i-t-ma}},  
                  1SG.PRO      2SG.PRO      2SG.O-shoot-IRR.SG-1SG-RF  
                  {{n-em-i-rok-ma}}.  
                  1SG.O-shoot-IRR.SG-2SG-RF  
                  ‘I will shoot you, (and) you will shoot me.’

Framed in the Remote Future, the statement is now a flat declaration about some future duel planned between the two speech act participants.

Finally, the Near Future is the preferred inflection for final verbs in descriptions of recipes, house building, and other processes. Recipes and such prescriptive statements are often framed in the second person, though they need not be. An example of such prescriptive use of the Near Future with generic second person is in (5.38):

- 5.38) [Eep<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP:S/O</sub>, {hai-ng=m-i  
 tree large cut.down-DEP=SG.O.CAUS-2SG  
 mö-un-a}, {{korowasi=dek<sub>OBL</sub> huk<sub>O</sub> to-wang-ka-rok}},  
 fall-DS.3SG-MV axe=INSTR slice do-PROB.SG-NF-2SG  
 {{au böörong=dek<sub>OBL</sub> waga-wang-ka-rok}}.  
 other rock=LOC/INSTR pound-PROB.SG-NF-2SG

‘A large tree, it having fallen through your cutting it, you will slice it with an axe, or else you will pound it on a rock (to break it).’ (Field notes)

Here, the second person Near Future is used with generic reference to describe how a person—not necessarily the addressee—generally deals with breaking a large felled tree into pieces.

The preceding examples have shown the Near Future used to describe timeless behaviors. A stubborn child ‘will’ refuse to obey (in general); if we want to do *tem-un tem-un*, I must shoot you and you me; a person chops wood with an axe or pounds the wood against a rock to split it. Could the Habitual aspect (§6.5.1) be used instead of the Near Future in these contexts? Sometimes, but not always. As we see below, the Habitual is not interchangeable with the Near Future without altering meaning, as in the following rephrasing of (5.35):

- 5.39) {Gok<sub>A</sub> [{t-i-rog-a}]}<sub>SR:O!</sub> i-n-i-ya}, {{yu<sub>A</sub> dondon  
 2SG.PRO do-IRR.SG-2SG-PROH 3SG.O-tell-DS.2SG-MV 3.PRO obstinate  
 to-ng=it-ta-k}}.  
 do-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG

‘You having said “Don’t do it!” s/he obstinately does it (habitually).’

The rephrasing with the Habitual aspect is at once more specific as to temporal setting and less conditional. The implication is that a specific person, known to speaker and addressee, regularly defies the addressee or anyone else who tries to tell him/her not to do things. In contrast, when the Near Future is used, the statement has a conditional and general nature. Unlike with the Habitual aspect, there is no implication with the Near Future that an action will be repeated by the same actor habitually.

Further, the Near Future when used in conditionals may describe an action or event that is specific to a certain context, and meant to be neither habitual nor general. The following example comes from a letter dictated to me and directed at the speaker's children, who were expected to read the letter no earlier than two days after the writing of it (thus, not within the normal time scope of the Near Future tense when functioning to delimit tense strictly). The event indicated in the Near Future here—that is, the returning messenger's potential relaying of news from the faraway children to their mother—would be expected to occur no earlier than one week after the writing of the letter, and at least two days after the messenger left the children:

- 5.40)      {Orengo            i-n-i-ya},                            {k-e-ng-a},  
                  Oreng            3SG.O-tell-DS.2SG-MV    SG.O-come-DEP-MV  
                  {{ni-no-wang-ka-k}}.  
                  1NSG.O-tell-PROB.SG-NF-3SG  
                  'You having told Oreng, (she) bringing [the message], she can tell us.' (Letter 3)

In contrast to some other societies, in which to tell someone 'you will die' is to seriously curse them, Nungon speakers say this quite frequently, usually to children. The Near Future is used—never the Remote Future. A mother whose child is acting obstinately may tell the child: *om-eng-ka-rok* 'you'll die!' Taken literally in the strict temporal sense of the Near Future tense, this would mean 'you will die between now and the end of today.' But this is a response to a distinct behavior—such a statement is always provoked by some action. Thus, even this can be understood as a conditional use of the Near Future; the protasis is contextual, instead of explicit in the utterance.

The Near Future may also be used as a strategy for issuing very stern commands (see §10.6.2).

#### 5.4.5 Remote Future

The Remote Future inflection is morphologically unusual in three main ways. First, like the Near Future, Remote Future suffixes mark three values of subject argument number. Second, the person-number suffixes used in the Remote Future for 1du and 1pl are both *-n*, which is different from the *-mok* (1du) and *-mong* (1pl) used after all other tense suffixes. Third, in positive statements the last person/number suffix of a Remote Future final verb is followed by the suffix *-ma*. Under negation, this *-ma* is omitted. There is some indication that this suffix *-ma* is related to the specifier/relativizer *=ma* (Chapter 12).

The Remote Future is identical in form, save for the final suffix *-ma*, to the irrealis inflection (§5.5.5). Thus, Nungon is an example of that typological rarity: a language with formally marked realis (the Remote Future tense, marked with *-ma*) and formally unmarked irrealis. As noted in § the known examples are all from Papuan languages: Teiwa (Klamer 2012), and the languages of the Awyu-Dumut family (Wester 2014); there is some indication that other Finisterre-Huon languages also have Remote Future tenses that are formed from irrealis inflections plus an unchanging suffix<sup>11</sup>). Since *-ma* is omitted under negation, this means that not only is the distinction between Near Future and Remote Future tenses neutralized under negation, but the distinction between these tenses and the Irrealis is also neutralized under negation. The following examples show the Near Future, Remote Future, Irrealis, and negation of all three:

- 5.41) E-wang-ka-t.  
come-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
'I will come (between now and the end of today).'

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<sup>11</sup> See Sarvasy (2014a) for references.

- 5.42) E-i-t-ma.  
 come-IRR.SG-1SG-RF  
 ‘I will come (tomorrow or beyond).’
- 5.43) E-i-t.  
 come-IRR.SG-1SG  
 ‘Would that I could come.’
- 5.44) Ma=e-i-t.  
 NEG=come-IRR.SG-1SG  
 ‘I won’t come (later today, tomorrow, or beyond).’

The Remote Future tense is used to describe specific events that will take place after the night of the day on which the speech act occurs. As mentioned above in discussion of the Near Future, only the Near Future may be used to speak about things that will be done later on the day of the speech act. That is, it would be unacceptable to speak on Thursday morning about plans for the same Thursday afternoon or evening using the Remote Future tense. Plans for Friday morning and beyond must be couched in the Remote Future, not the Near Future. Under negation, however, the Near and Remote Future are conflated, so that there is no formal tense distinction between events that will not occur later today and events that will not occur later this year.

A typical sentence illustrates the Remote Future in use:

- 5.45) { [[{[Högök<sub>HEAD</sub> amna<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>A</sub> mitio y-i-k-ma}]]<sub>SR.O</sub>  
 white man church say-IRR.SG-3SG-RF  
 y-u-ya, {{noks yo-go-t}}, [Öö! {{Noks  
 say-DS.2/3PL-MV 1SG.PRO say-RP-1SG EXCL 1SG.PRO  
 ong-i-t-ma.}}]<sub>SR</sub>  
 go-IRR.SG-1SG-RF

‘They having said, “A white man will say the church (service),” I spoke. “Oh! I will go.’” (Nusek kon hat Finschafen 0:49-0:53)

In this example—which includes two direct speech reports—both future events described will definitely happen. The first is that an Australian plans to come to the Huon Peninsula town Gagidu to give an SDA sermon (a definite, specific occurrence slated for about two months from the time it was reported to the speaker), and the second is that the speaker herself declares that she will go to hear him speak.

This stipulation of specificity does not mean that the Remote Future may not combine with the dubitative marker, as in the following:

- 5.46)      {{Ni-i-k-ma}}                      hu,      muuno hu.  
                  1NSG.O.bite-IRR.SG-3SG-RF      DUB      not      DUB  
                  ‘Perhaps it will hurt us, perhaps not.’ (Field notes)

Like all the other tenses, the Remote Future can occur in questions.

- 5.47)      {{Horo-noni=ha      dawi-go-mong}}. {      [{{Deogo      deogo  
                  base-1PL.POSS=BEN      search-RP-1PL                      how                      how  
                  it-ni-n-ma?}}]SR:O      yo-ng-a},      {{dawi-go-mong}}.  
                  be-IRR.PL-1NSG-RF      say-DEP-MV      search-RP-1PL

‘We searched for our own support. Saying: “How and how will we be?” we searched.’ (Boas babiya bök 0:29)

### 5.4.6 Neutralization of tense distinctions under negation

As noted in the introduction to Chapter 5, two tense distinctions are neutralized under negation. The distinctions between the Present and Near Past tenses, and between the Near Future, Remote Future (and Irrealis) are neutralized under negation. The negated Near Past form is used for negated Near Past and for negated Present tense, and the negated Irrealis form is used for negated Near Future, Remote Future, and Irrealis. Positive forms and negated forms are in table 5.18:

<b>Table 5.18. Neutralization under negation</b>					
<b>tense</b>	<b>1sg positive inflection</b>	<b>English gloss</b>	<b>form used under negation</b>	<b>negative example</b>	<b>English gloss</b>
<b>Remote Past</b>	<i>na-go-t</i>	I ate it (before yesterday).	Remote Past	<i>ma=na-go-t</i>	I did not eat it (before yesterday).
<b>Near Past</b>	<i>na-wa-t</i>	I ate it (yesterday or earlier today).	Near Past	<i>ma=na-wa-t</i>	I did not eat it (yesterday or today), or I am not eating/have not eaten it.
<b>Present</b>	<i>na-ha-t</i>	I am eating it (now).			
<b>Near Future</b>	<i>na-wangka-t</i>	I will eat it (later today).	Remote Future	<i>ma=na-i-t</i>	I will not eat it (later today or ever).
<b>Remote Future</b>	<i>na-i-t-ma</i>	I will eat it (tomorrow or beyond).			

### 5.5 Mood and reality status inflections

In addition to the five tense inflections, Nungon final verbs may inflect for mood or reality status. Mood and reality status suffixes occur in the same suffix slot after the verb root as the tense suffixes. This means that in Nungon, tense, mood, and reality status marking cannot co-occur. Mood

inflections are: Immediate and Delayed Imperatives, and the Prohibitive. Reality status inflections are: Irrealis, Probable, and Counterfactual.

Mood and reality status are formally interrelated—and these are further formally related to the two future tenses. The Counterfactual inflectional paradigm is formed from the Immediate Imperative paradigm. The Delayed Imperative forms are Irrealis forms with the vowel of the final syllable raised or made more back; the Prohibitive form is the Irrealis form with a suffix *-a*. The Near Future tense form seems to have derived diachronically from an auxiliary construction using the Probable inflection, while the Remote Future tense form is based on the Irrealis.

These formal correspondences are summarized in Table 5.19. Inflections formally based on the Probable inflection are associated with a Probable group, and the same for inflections formally based on the Immediate Imperative and Irrealis.

<b>Table 5.19. Morphological correspondences between paradigms</b>		
	<b>inflection</b>	<b>morphological group</b>
tenses	Remote Past	—
	Near Past	—
	Present	—
	Near Future	Probable
	Remote Future	Irrealis
moods	Immediate Imperative	Immediate Imperative
	Delayed Imperative	Irrealis
	Prohibitive	Irrealis
reality status markers	Irrealis	Irrealis
	Probable	Probable
	Counterfactual	Immediate Imperative

In Nungon, then, verbal inflectional paradigms may be divided into several morphological groups. As in related languages Awara and Nek (Sarvasy 2014a), Nungon medial verb different-subject suffixes fit into the ‘Immediate Imperative’ group.

### 5.5.1 Immediate Imperative

The Immediate Imperative in Nungon may be expressed for all person-number distinctions, with the usual collapse of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons in the non-singular. Table 5.20 shows the Immediate Imperative suffixes. Suffix forms with consonant-final verbs are second in each cell; where forms differ for different sub-classes of vowel-final verbs, forms are listed in the order H-class, P-class, T-class, Ø-class, NG-class.

<b>Table 5.20. Immediate Imperative suffixes</b>			
	<b>sg.</b>	<b>du.</b>	<b>pl.</b>
<b>1</b>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-na</i>
	<i>-e</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-na</i>
<b>2</b>	<i>-hi/-pi/-ti/-i/-ki</i>	<i>-warun</i>	<i>-warut</i>
	<i>-ti</i>		
<b>3</b>	<i>-hun/-pun/-tun/-un/-kun</i>	<i>-arun</i>	<i>-arut</i>
	<i>-tun</i>		

As noted above, the canonical (2<sup>nd</sup> person) and non-canonical (1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person) Immediate Imperative inflections (Aikhenvald 2010: 17) cohere in a single paradigm. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons even share a form in the non-singular. But the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular Immediate Imperative has slightly different meaning and use than, for instance, that of the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular, as shown in examples (5.48) and (5.49):

- 5.48)      {{To-wa}}                      ha      {{ma=to-wa}}?  
do-IMM.IMP.1SG                      or      NEG=do-IMM.IMP.1SG  
‘Shall I do it or shall I not do it?’

If this were expressed using the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular Immediate Imperative inflection, the resulting sentence would be (5.49), which is a meta-question about an original command:

- 5.49)      {{To-i}}                      ha      {{ma=to-i}}?  
                  do-IMM.IMP.2SG              or      NEG=do-IMM.IMP.2SG  
                  ‘(Did you say:) “Do it!” or “Don’t do it!”?’

The commanding force of the Immediate Imperative inflection is so much stronger with the 2<sup>nd</sup> person than with the 1<sup>st</sup> person that (5.49) cannot be interpreted as a question in the same way as (5.48).

The Immediate Imperative may have implications other than commands across both canonical and non-canonical imperative addressees. Often, the 1sg Immediate Imperative is spoken as a question, with rising polar question intonation (§2.9), in which the speaker seeks guidance or permission from the addressee to perform an action, as in the question to me from a speaker about to record a song presented in example (2.18) in §2.9.1:

- 5.50)      {{Aapo              yo-wa}}?  
                  song                      say-IMM.IMP.1SG  
                  ‘Shall I sing the song?’ (Helen ketket torop aap 0:02)

There are alternative special forms of the Immediate Imperative for two verbs. One is the 2sg Immediate Imperative form of the verb *imo-* ‘give’ with 1sg O prefix, *na-m* (mentioned in §5.1.7). The other is the 1pl form of the verb *ongo-* ‘go.’ This is usually *ongo-na*, a regular Immediate Imperative inflection. But an alternative form *onginna*, with marked stress on the second syllable, also exists, used only to exhort a group to get moving along: ‘let’s go already!’ This may have developed from the bi-clausal expression *ong-i-ya ongo-na* ‘go-DS.2SG-MV go-IMM.IMP.1PL,’ literally ‘you (sg.) having gone, let us go’: see §6.3 on switch-reference.

The narrative corpus includes two special uses of the Immediate Imperative form. The first special use simply involves the Immediate Imperative used where a Delayed Imperative form would be expected: that is, the Immediate Imperative form used to command an action for later and in another place. An example of this is at 0:43 in Dialogue II, Appendix. The second apparent special

form involves a form that is homophonous with the 2sg Immediate Imperative form, but which does not seem to form a command, and frequently describes action undertaken by more than one person. This is found only in the speech of two individuals in the corpus; it usually occurs at peak instances in storytelling when the action is depicted as fast and tumultuous. Thus, the 2sg Immediate Imperative form here may serve a discourse function, adding vibrancy and immediacy to narrative peaks (see Margetts 2013 for parallels in Oceanic languages). This is exemplified in example (5.51), which is from the description of the fleeing Japanese in World War II excerpted in translation in §1.6.2:

- 5.51)      {Madang<sub>OBL</sub>    og-eg<sub>OBL</sub>,                    honggir-a}      {{ongo-i}}
- Madang            same.level-LDEM.FAR    grab-MV            go-IMM.IMP.2SG
- {{to-ng            ku-gu-ng}}.
- do-DEP                SG.O.take.away-RP-2/3PL
- ‘At Madang yonder, grabbing (boats), they kept going away.’ (Joshua hat osuk 1:17)

The form *ongo-i* is homophonous with and possibly identical to the 2sg Immediate Imperative form of the verb *ongo-* ‘go.’ It could be, as noted above, that its use here adds to the vibrancy and immediacy of the action depicted in the story.

### 5.5.2 Counterfactual

The Counterfactual inflection encodes non-actualities that could have been but are definitely not. This inflection is formed by adding a suffix *-m* to the vowel-final Immediate Imperative inflections (with slight alteration in the Towet dialect of the 1sg Immediate Imperative form to be similar to the 2sg Immediate Imperative form). Consonant-final Immediate Imperative forms—3sg, 2/3du, and 2/3pl—receive no suffix and are identical to the Counterfactual forms. The forms with the H-class verb *na-* ‘eat’ are in Table 5.21.

<b>Table 5.21. Counterfactual</b>			
	<b>sg</b>	<b>du</b>	<b>pl</b>
<b>1</b>	<i>na-he-m</i> (Towet) <i>na-wa-m</i> (Worin)	<i>na-ra-m</i>	<i>na-na-m</i>
<b>2</b>	<i>na-hi-m</i>	<i>na-warun</i>	<i>na-warut</i>
<b>3</b>	<i>na-hun</i>		

The example below illustrates the Counterfactual combined with Continuous aspect (see §6.5.2). I had asked whether a certain plant was edible, and the speaker joked that if only it were eaten, she was sure it would taste wonderful and they would enjoy eating it:

- 5.52)    {{Na-ng=ir-a-ng}}                    hut=ta-i,                    {{imbange  
eat-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL    true=BEN-LINK                    wonderful  
na-ng-a                    it-nam}}}.  
eat-DEP-MV                    be-CNTR.1PL  
‘If (people) did indeed eat it, we’d be eating it wonderfully.’ (Field notes)

The whole clause chain ending in a final verb inflected for the Counterfactual must be interpreted as representing a non-actualized situation. The next example is a rhetorical question from a church sermon celebrating parents:

- 5.53)    [[[Mak noni]                    [nan    noni]]s                    ma=i-iny-a),  
mother 1PL.POSS                    father 1PL.POSS                    NEG=be-DS.2/3DU-MV  
{{it-nam}}                    ha                    muuno?  
be-CNTR.1PL                    CONJ                    not  
‘Our mother and father not existing, would we exist or not?’ (Field notes)

Here, it is in fact the first medial clause ending with the different-subject-marked Medial verb *ma=i-iny-a* ‘they two not existing’ that expresses the non-actualized state—not the verb framed in the

Counterfactual. The integral relationship between the medial clause and the final clause here is shown through the fact that the non-actualized state expressed in the medial clause forces the verb in the final clause, which expresses an actualized state, ‘we exist,’ to be framed in the Counterfactual.

A common biclausal sentence type using the Counterfactual follows the format ‘If X had happened, then Y would have happened.’ The first clause here is protasis, and the second clause is apodosis. The following two examples illustrate this sentence type:

5.54)      {{Ongo-Ø-rok}}=ka,      {{oo-ng      ep-pim}}.  
                  go-NP-2SG=BEN      descend-DEP      come-CNTR.2SG  
                  ‘If you had gone (up), you would have come (back) down.’ (Field notes)

5.55)      {{T-emo-wa-t}}=ta,      {k-e-wa-ya},      {{ho-ng  
                  3SG.O-shoot-NP.SG-1SG=BEN      SG.O-come-DS.1SG-MV      cook-DEP  
                  na-nam}}.      {{Wo-rok=ko-i      osung      ta-a-t}}.  
                  eat-CNTR.1PL      that-SEMBL=FOC-TOP      miss      do-PRES-1SG  
                  ‘If I had shot it, I having brought it, we would have cooked and eaten it. However,  
                  I’m missing.’ (Field notes)

Note in the second example above, the speaker emphasizes the unreality of the first statement with a clarifying statement in the Present tense: ‘but I’m missing (the target).’ So the first final clause, stating the conditions under which the second would have occurred, is in the Near Past tense; the second final clause is in the Counterfactual modality, and then a follow-up statement describing the actual situation is in the Present tense.

Another sentence form using the Counterfactual employs the word *hut* ‘new’ with the benefactive postposition and suffix *-i* to link the clauses describing X and Y above, or alternatively to set up the conditions for the counterfactual occurrence Y, without a first final clause.

5.56)    {{Noks        ongo-Ø-t}}    hut=ta-i        {{e-wam}}.  
          1SG.PRO        go-NP-1SG        new=BEN-TOP    come-CNTR.1SG

‘If I had actually gone, I would have come.’ (Field notes) (Implication is: But I did not go, so I did not come.)

Example (1.1) from Chapter 1 is repeated here:

5.57)    Osuk=gon        hut=ta-i        {goks        ngo-go        e-i-ya},  
          first=RSTR    new=BEN-TOP    2SG.PRO        this-ADV        come-DS.2SG-M  
          {{g-er-arut}}.  
          2SG.O-beat-CNTR.2/3PL

‘If you had actually come here long ago, they would have killed you.’ (Field notes)

This sentence has similar structure to the biclausal sentences above, except that the first conditional statement is not a final clause. That is, the sentence is literally: ‘If actually it were long ago, you having come here, they would have killed you.’ The speaker may have chosen to highlight the adverbial phrase *osuk=gon* ‘first=RSTR,’ i.e. ‘in the olden days/a long time ago,’ because it is the time period that is counter to reality, not my actions: I did in fact come to Towet, but not in the distant past. In contrast, in all of the biclausal example sentences, the first clause states a condition for the second clause that is not real.

It is difficult in some cases to understand why a speaker chose to use the Counterfactual and not the general, conditional use of the Near Future. The following two examples illustrate the two inflections used under very similar circumstances:

5.58) {Noga<sub>OBL</sub> hori-ng t-u t-u  
 1SG.PRO+BEN wait-DEP SG.O.take-CAUS.2/3PL SG.O.take-CAUS.2/3PL  
 t-u ma=s-un-a},  
 SG.O.take-CAUS.2/3PL NEG=come.to.fruition-DS.3SG-MV  
 {{e-wang-ka-rok}}.  
 come-PROB.SG-NF-2SG  
 ‘You (pl.) having waited and waited for me to no avail, you (sg.) would come.’ (Field notes)’

5.59) {Hori-ng to-wa to-wa to-wa  
 wait-DEP SG.O.take-CAUS.1SG SG.O.take-CAUS.1SG SG.O.take-CAUS.1SG  
 ma=s-un-a}, {{irot-na<sub>OBL</sub> oro-goo ha  
 NEG=come.to.fruition-DS.3SG-MV inside-1SG.POSS good-ADJ CONJ  
 moin-noo oro hit-tem}}?  
 bad-ADJ understand put-CNTR.1SG  
 ‘Having waited and waited to no avail, would I feel good or bad inside?’ (Field notes)

Both of the above sentences begin with a medial clause using the dependent verb *hori-* ‘wait’ and negated Medial verb *so-* ‘come to fruition’ in a frustrative construction. The second clause of both sentences is a final clause; the final verb of the first sentence is in predictive modality, using the Near Future inflection, while the final verb of the second sentence is inflected for the Counterfactual modality. While the first sentence is a declarative statement, the second sentence is a content question, largely rhetorical, since the answer is understood.

Example (5.58) was said to me to illustrate the frustrative construction by giving me an example of a context in which the frustrative would be used: ‘If you waited and waited and waited for me to no avail, you would come (back).’ Example (5.59) was uttered by a Towet grandmother during a Bible study session. She prefaced this statement by describing a situation in which her son in Lae promised to send her various presents. Using the above phrasing, she asked the gathered SDA church attendees whether she would feel good or bad after waiting and waiting to no avail for the promised

gifts. Note that although the statement was phrased as a question, no one bothered to ‘answer’ the question, since everyone present understood the speaker’s implication that she would feel bad in such circumstances.

The difference prompting use of the conditional Near Future in one sentence and the Counterfactual in the other here seems to be that the first sentence describes a general, hypothetical situation, while the second describes a specific situation that is clearly not reality.

In one procedural text on house construction from a Kotet speaker, however, the Counterfactual and Near Future both occur. This can be seen in the following excerpt:

5.60)      {[Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]A      giyöng<sub>O</sub>      fuc      ta-arut }},  
          man                    other                    betelnut                    slice      do-CNTR.2/3PL  
          { {ororong,      dooo      yemo-nang-ka-ng } }.  
          piles                    floor      weave-PROB.NSG-NF-2/3PL

‘Other men would slice betelnut (wood), (place it in) piles; they would weave the floor.’ (Field notes)

The Counterfactual here occurs inflected for 2/3pl. As seen in Tables 5.20 and 5.21, the Counterfactual and Immediate Imperative share a form in the third person singular and second and third person dual and plural. This means that the form used in (5.60) could be the Immediate Imperative, not the Counterfactual. Perhaps it is a moot point: perhaps the two senses, ‘then let them slice the betelnut’ and ‘then they would slice the betelnut,’ are not that different when the narrative is not framed in the past. That is, none of the procedure is described as actualized fact, since no verbs occur in either of the past tenses.

Because the Counterfactual is formally identical to the Immediate Imperative in the 3sg, 2/3du and 2/3pl inflections, context alone determines whether the sentence is declarative mood (and counterfactual) or imperative mood. An example that can only be the Counterfactual comes from the introduction to a traditional story featuring an older sister and younger brother. The speaker looks

around the room for an older sister/younger brother pair who are roughly the size of the children in the story:

- 5.61) Naat-no<sub>VCS</sub> [opmou morö bom-o]<sub>VCC</sub>, {[Löösiöng orin], e,  
 diff.sex.sibl-3SG.POSS small large size-ADJ Löösiöng CONJ  
 [Basarö orin numa]<sub>S</sub> ta-arun }}, wo-go=ma, Geilin.  
 Basarö CONJ who do-CNTR.2/3DU that-ADV=SPEC Geilin  
 ‘His sister was a bit big; Löösiöng and—eh, Basarö and who—like that one, Geilin,  
 would have done it.’ (Joshua bem hat ii 0:19)

Here, *ta-arun* ‘do-CNTR.2/3DU’ is identical to the 2/3du Immediate Imperative form of *to-* ‘do,’ but this is clearly not a command: the children did not stand up to pose.

### 5.5.3 Delayed Imperative

The Delayed Imperative is used to issue positive commands that will be carried out later or in a faraway location (or both). It probably derives from the Irrealis through alteration of the final vowel of Irrealis forms (see §5.5.5). Delayed Imperative forms exist only for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular, and for the combined second and third person duals and plurals. Delayed Imperatives expressed for all other persons and numbers are identical to the Irrealis, on which indeed the Delayed Imperative form may be based. Table 5.22 presents the Delayed Imperative, with cells containing forms that are identical to Irrealis forms shaded. Table 5.23 compares the forms of the verb *ongo-* ‘go’ in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person Immediate Imperative, Delayed Imperative, and Irrealis.

Table 5.22. Delayed Imperative			
	sg	du	pl
1	<i>ong-it</i>	<i>ongo-rin</i>	<i>ongo-nin</i>
2	<i>ong-irök</i>	<i>ongo-rimorök</i>	<i>ongo-nung</i>
3	<i>ong-ik</i>		

<b>Table 5.23. Comparison of 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms: Irrealis, and Immediate and Delayed Imperatives</b>			
	<b>2sg</b>	<b>2du</b>	<b>2pl</b>
<b>Immediate Imperative</b>	<i>ongo-i</i>	<i>ongo-run</i>	<i>ongo-rut</i>
<b>Delayed Imperative</b>	<i>ong-irök</i>	<i>ongo-rimorök</i>	<i>ongo-nung</i>
<b>Irrealis</b>	<i>ong-i-rok</i>	<i>ongo-ri-morok</i>	<i>ongo-ni-ng</i>

The 2sg and 2du Irrealis forms are related to the Delayed Imperative simply through the raising, by one phonemic position, of the final syllable nucleus vowel, from /o/, i.e. [ɔ], to /ö/, i.e. [o]. The 2pl Irrealis form already features a final syllable nucleus vowel /i/ that is maximally high; this is made back in the Delayed Imperative, occurring as the highest back vowel /u/. Both the raising and backing of vowels to create imperatives here may relate to the Call-At-Distance phenomenon (§2.8.9), in which the final vowel of an utterance is altered to mark a long-distance shout (even when the utterance is whispered). The Call-At-Distance phenomenon is not directly at play with the Delayed Imperative forms, since Call-At-Distance always entails change from /a/, i.e. [a], to /o/, i.e. [ɔ].

Delayed Imperatives are often called out on leave-taking or in shouting instructions across spatial distance, in which situations it is common for the final syllable to be sustained for an extra-long time: for instance, the 2sg Delayed Imperative of *ongo-* ‘go’ may be pronounced as *ong-irö:::::k* when calling to a leave-taker who is already en route. Similarly, it could be posited that the difference between Irrealis ending *-ning* and Delayed Imperative ending *-nung*, is due to vowel change that facilitates calling over spatial distances: perhaps the back vowel /u/, since it involves more space in the oral cavity, is inherently easier to hold in a shout than the front vowel /i/.

Although vowel alteration to the Irrealis to facilitate shouting may have determined the present-day form of the Delayed Imperative, this is no longer a productive or reversible process. Further, since the Nungon plural Delayed Imperative suffix *-nung* is apparently cognate with forms in related languages such as Awara (Quigley 2014), such a process of vowel change may have taken place long ago, in the proto-language. In contrast, the Call-At-Distance phenomenon is productive and reversible: an utterance can be framed as a Call-At-Distance or not, without altering the mood of the utterance. The Delayed Imperative and Irrealis forms determine two different moods for an utterance and are not interchangeable.

Delayed Imperatives nowadays are an integral part of the grammar, with forms that are stable when spoken in all contexts, including careful, quiet speech in close quarters. The following sentence exemplifies use of the Delayed Imperative spoken indoors, in a quiet speech register, to an addressee sitting next to the speaker:

- 5.62)      Öö,      orog-o,      goks      wo-go-rok<sub>OBL</sub>      ong-irök.  
             EXCL   good-ADJ      2SG.PRO      that-ADV-SEMBL      go-DEL.IMP.2SG  
             ‘Yes, good, go on like that (later today).’ (L orin V oe op maa 0:22)

Note that the Delayed Imperative may be used for situations of spatial distance as well as delay between the speech act and the expected action. This is to be expected with Delayed Imperatives (Aikhenvald 2010: 135), and relates to the well-known extension from space to time (Haspelmath 1995). In the following example, a child in distress has called for help to a man some distance downhill, whereupon the man calls uphill to the child:

- 5.63)      Oho!    {{E-irök}},      {{e-irök}}!  
             EXCL   come-DEL.IMP.2SG      come-DEL.IMP.2SG  
             ‘Oho! Come (from afar)! Come (from afar)!’ (Mangirai hon bem fatno 1:03)

The command in (5.64) is framed with the Delayed Imperative because it instructs the hearers to perform actions over far distance and time:

- 5.64) {Hons<sub>S</sub> ongo-ng-a}, {Mungku<sub>OBL</sub> duo-ng-a},  
 2NSG.PRO go-DEP-MV Mungku sleep-DEP-MV  
 {Sapmangga<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ng-a}, {{Sugan<sub>OBL</sub> öö-rimörök}}.  
 Sapmanga go-DEP-MV Sugan ascend-2DU.DEL.IMP  
 ‘You going on, sleeping at Mungku, going on to Sapmanga, ascend to Sugan.’ (Field notes)

As with many other communities in Papua New Guinea, leave-taking occasions the remaining party to bid the leave-taker(s) adieu with the command ‘you go!’ In return, the leave-taker(s) call back to the remaining person(s) a rejoinder command: ‘you stay!’ When either party is a single person, the singular Delayed Imperative forms *ong-irök* ‘go!’ and *i-irök* ‘stay!’ are greatly preferred over the Immediate Imperative forms *ongo-i* ‘go!’ and *it-ti* ‘stay!’ This is the case regardless of the distance the leave-taker is expected to travel: the 2sg Immediate Imperative forms are deemed too brusque and peremptory for ritual leave-taking.

But in the dual and plural, the distance the leave-takers are about to travel makes the difference in determining which inflection is used. The dual and plural Immediate Imperative are not felt to be as brusque as the singular, so these are often heard in leave-taking by more than one person. When the party is larger than one person, the Delayed Imperative is chosen for leave-taking when the departing group may be expected to travel a relatively long distance: this could be from one village to another, roughly 1.5 hours away, for instance.

Typical leave-taking formulae demand that the person departing and the person being left behind bid each other onward with the Delayed Imperative. The leave-taker uses the verb *it-* ‘be/stay’ to tell those being left to remain, while those being left tell the leave-taker to go on using the verb *ongo-* ‘go.’ The leave-taker may accompany the command ‘stay!’ with a downward pushing of the palm parallel to the ground. The Delayed Imperative has polite overtones. When the leave-taker or remaining person is singular, the Delayed Imperative is always used in ordinary (i.e., non-rushed or otherwise marked) leave-taking, with the Immediate Imperative having imperious and impatient overtones—‘Just go, already!’; ‘Stay there, right now!’ But in the dual and plural numbers, both

Delayed and Immediate Imperative forms are regularly used in leave-taking; in this case, the Delayed Imperative forms seem to be used mostly in cases where the leavers will be travelling relatively far away (i.e., Yawan to Worin)—there seems to be less of a politeness distinction between Immediate and Delayed Imperative forms in the non-singular numbers.

The first person and 3sg forms of the Delayed Imperative are completely homophonous with the Irrealis. The Irrealis tends to have apprehensional meaning, while the Delayed Imperative is used similarly to the Immediate Imperative: with jussive or hortative meaning. The following examples illustrate use of the first person Delayed Imperative; (5.65) shows a 1sg imperative, while (5.66) shows a 1pl imperative.

5.65)      Nok<sub>s</sub>              bök-na-nobl              e-i-t!  
                  1SG.PRO              house-1SG.POSS-LOC      come-DEL.IMP.SG-1SG  
                  ‘Let me come home (far away)!’

The sentence in (5.65) was offered in the context of a Towet person travelling to another village, finding himself hungry with nothing to eat, and exhorting himself to go back to Towet. More first person Delayed Imperatives come from the following excerpt from an oral re-telling of the Biblical Exodus story:

5.66)      {            {{{[Isip            noni]<sub>OBL</sub>            it-ni-n}}]<sub>SR:O</sub>,            yo-ng-a},  
                  Egypt            1PL.POSS            be-DEL.IMP.PL-1PL            say-DEP-MV  
                  {{{[nungon=ta<sub>OBL</sub>            ep-bo-mong}}]<sub>SR?</sub>            {            {{{[Tanak            noni]<sub>O</sub>  
                  what=BEN            come-RP-1PL            food            1PL.POSS  
                  orog-o            na-ng=it-do-mong}}];            {nons            w-eyo  
                  good-ADJ            eat-DEP=be-RP-1PL            1NSG.PRO            that-LDEM.FAR  
                  it-ni-n}}]<sub>SR:O</sub>            yo-ng-a}.

be-DEL.IMP.PL-1NSG    say-DEP-MV  
 “‘Let us be in our own Egypt,’” saying, “‘why did we come? We used to eat our own food well (in Egypt), let us be there,’” (they were) saying.’ (Gosing Mosasi 6:11)

In the next example, a man uses the Conative construction (§12.7.4), which employs a speech report followed by the verb *to-* ‘do,’ to express that he used to wish he would become a literate, formally-educated person. The Conative construction most often features an Immediate Imperative in the reported speech, but here the transformation into a formally-educated person is obviously not immediately possible in the context of the reported speech: it is thus expressed as a Delayed Imperative:

- 5.67)        {        [{{Wo-go        hönggor-i-t}}]<sub>SR:O</sub>        yo-ng-a }        {{to-go-t}}.  
                  that-ADV        emerge-DEL.IMP-1SG        say-DEP-MV        do-RP-1SG  
                  ‘I wanted to become like that.’ [Literally: ‘Saying: “Let me (later) become like that,”  
                  I acted.’] (Field notes)

The Delayed Imperative and Irrealis forms are distinct in the third person non-singular. In the first example below, a man uses 2/3pl Delayed Imperative in instructing his son to tie up bundles of sticks, which should then go up into the tree canopy hunting platform he is building.

- 5.68)        {{{Hener-iy-a},        {[[öö-ng        öö-ng]<sub>O</sub>        to-nung}}]<sub>SR:O</sub>,  
                  tie.up-DS.2SG-MV        ascend-DEP        ascend-DEP        do-DEL.2/3PL  
                  na-no-go-k}}}.  
                  1SG.O-tell-RP-3SG  
                  ‘You having tied them up, let them repeatedly go up, he told me.’ (Geisch nanno  
                  8:27)

Here, the subject of the Delayed Imperative is the third person plural sticks: the sticks are not being addressed here. It is commanded that the sticks ascend, although how they will do so (who will hoist them up) is not stated. In contrast, the Irrealis is used in the next example to express something that is feared, rather than commanded:

- 5.69)        [Nuk    yoni]=ho=gons        au        to-ni-ng.  
                  friend    3PL.POSS=FOC=RSTR        other        do-IRR.NSG-2/3PL  
                  ‘Their friends will just act in another way.’ (Joshua bem hat 3:04)

Here, the non-man-eating brother of a man-eater, from the legend introduced in §4.2, warns his brother that because of his wanton killing and eating of Towet men, their friends may come and revenge their dead. This is not a command, but the description of a possible future occurrence; thus, it is expressed with the Irrealis, *to-ni-ng*, instead of the Delayed Imperative, which would be *to-nung*, as in (5.68).

Only a few instances of negated Delayed Imperatives are found in the corpus. Usually, negative distal commands are expressed using the Prohibitive (see §5.5.6).

Many Papuan languages spoken in areas close to Nungon have both immediate and Delayed Imperative paradigms. A Delayed Imperative is also found in Gara (Timbe family; interview with Gara speakers in Lae), Nukna (Taylor 2013: 40), Awara (Quigley 2014), and Ma Manda (Pennington 2014).

#### 5.5.4 Probable

The Probable inflection is rare in the eleven hours of transcribed speech in the Nungon texts corpus; it is more frequent in conversation than in narratives. It describes events that are reasonably likely to occur at some time in the future. It is anomalous in that it can conclude sentences, but does not index the person of its subject argument, only its number. Table 5.24 gives the Probable inflection for the H-class verb *na-* ‘eat’ and the consonant-final verb *ut-* ‘cry’:

<b>Table 5.24. The Probable inflection</b>				
verb class	verb	singular	dual	plural
vowel-final	<i>na-</i> ‘eat’	<i>na-wang</i>	<i>na-rang</i>	<i>na-nang</i>
consonant-final	<i>ut-</i> ‘cry’	<i>ur-eng</i>	<i>ut-dang</i>	<i>ut-nang</i>

- 5.70) Mee, ga-mo-wang.  
 later 2SG.O-give-PROB.SG  
 ‘Later I will give it to you.’

In (5.70), the person of the verb's subject must be understood from context. The time of the giving is unspecified, but is most likely the next day or beyond. The Probable inflection serves as the morphological basis for both the Near Future tense (§5.4.4) and the Imminent aspect (§6.5.6).

Morphologically, the Near Future tense inflection appears to combine the Probable inflection with a suffix *-ka*, followed by the usual subject agreement suffixes. Thus, the Near Future has the form *-wang-ka-*, *-rang-ka-*, *-nang-ka-* for singular, dual, and plural S/A arguments. In the verbal inflection paradigm tables of §5.1, the morpheme boundary between the Probable inflection and suffix *-ka* in the Near Future inflections was omitted. Table 5.25 shows the Near Future inflection of the verb *na-* 'eat' (H-class) with the morpheme boundary inserted between the Probable stem and the suffix *-ka*:

1sg	2sg	3sg	1du	2/3du	1pl	2/3pl
<i>na-wang-ka-t</i>	<i>na-wang-ka-rok</i>	<i>na-wang-ka-k</i>	<i>na-rang-ka-mok</i>	<i>na-rang-ka-morok</i>	<i>na-nang-ka-mong</i>	<i>na-nang-ka-ng</i>

In the Yawan village dialect, the suffix after the Probable stem in the Near Future tense inflection is *-ta*, not *-ka*. It is conceivable that this particular inflection originated in an multi-verb construction using the auxiliary verb *to-* 'do,' which has the form *ta-* in the Present tense. That is, a possible derivational path is:

original expression	Yawan dialect	Towet dialect
*[ <i>na-wang ta-a-t</i> ]	→ [ <i>na-wan-ta-t</i> ]	→ [ <i>na-wang-ka-t</i> ]
eat-PROB.SG do-PRES-1SG	eat-PROB.SG-NF-1SG	eat-PROB.SG-NF-1SG
'I do likely-eating'	'I will soon eat'	'I will soon eat'

An alternative explanation takes the suffix *-ka* or *-ta* as related to the Present tense singular suffix *-ha*. Then the two elements of the Near Future tense inflection could be parsed as 'likely' (from the first

element, the Probable stem) ‘with current relevance’ (from the second element, the Present tense suffix). Further examination of Nungon dialect differences may help determine the morphological sources for the Near Future tense inflection.

### 5.5.5 Irrealis

What is called here the Irrealis inflection is the morphological basis for the Remote Future tense (§**Error! Reference source not found.**), the Delayed Imperative mood (§**Error! Reference source not found.**), and the Prohibitive mood (§5.5.6). The Remote Future is formed from the Irrealis, with an unchanging suffix *-ma* only under positive polarity. The Delayed Imperative is identical to the Irrealis except in second person—and third person dual and plural, which share forms with the second person dual and plural; the forms that differ from the Irrealis differ only in the height or backness of the final vowel. The Prohibitive is the Irrealis with an additional unchanging suffix *-a*. Recall from §**Error! Reference source not found.** that the negated Irrealis form is used for both negated Near Future and negated Remote Future.

Irrealis forms also exist on their own, without any of the alterations listed above. Most commonly, positive-polarity Irrealis forms that occur without Remote Future or Prohibitive suffixes can be interpreted as non-canonical (first person, or third person singular) Delayed Imperatives. This is the case with examples (5.65) and (5.66) above. Since these are non-canonical imperatives, framed in the first or third person, it is sometimes hard to prove that they are truly hortatives or jussives, and not statements of non-actualized situations.

The Irrealis’s homophony—or identity—with non-canonical Delayed Imperative forms adds to the difficulty of determining the precise meaning of this form when it occurs on its own. This is compounded by the fact that the negated Irrealis shares a form with the negated Remote Future and negated Near Future, as well as with negated non-canonical Delayed Imperatives.

The sense of the Irrealis on its own must be gleaned from the few instances of positive Irrealis form in second person, or in third person dual or plural inflections: this is where it is distinct from the



or third person singular should be analysed as a Delayed Imperative or as speculation (hence, Irrealis). Thus far, all instances of these inflections in the corpus deal with outcomes that are strongly desired by the speaker, so these have all been analysed as Delayed Imperatives, with no instances of the Irrealis (speculation) analysed for these persons. It could be that due to the possibility of confusion with the Delayed Imperative, neutral or feared outcomes are not framed in the Irrealis for first person or third person singular. That is, ‘lest I go’ would be identical in form to ‘let me go!’ This sort of confusion does not arise in the other case of mood-reality status paradigm formal overlap in Nungon, between the Immediate Imperative paradigm and the Counterfactual paradigm. As shown in §**Error! Reference source not found.** and §5.5.2, the 3sg, 2/3du and 2/3pl forms of the Counterfactual and Immediate Imperative are identical. But usually context shows whether a desired outcome or a non-actualized event is being described.

### 5.5.6 Prohibitive

Negative commands in Nungon may be issued in a variety of ways, discussed in §10.6.2. For instance, example (5.49) above showed a negated Immediate Imperative form. The Immediate and Delayed Imperative forms do not frequently occur negated, however. Instead, the Prohibitive inflection represents the most common, and most polite, negative command form. It may be used as a negative command either referring to the immediate future or to a more distant future time (thus serving as negative counterpart to either the Immediate Imperative or Delayed Imperative). It is formed by adding a suffix *-a*, probably related to the attention-commanding suffix *-a* (§10.6.1), to the inflected positive Irrealis form. The Prohibitive form and attention-commanding suffix are both illustrated in example (5.73) below:

5.73)      {{Ongo-ng      wakwak      t-i-rog-a }}.      [Gaga      nang]-a!  
             go-DEP      long      do-IRR-2SG-PROH      2SG.PRO.EMPH self-ATT  
             ‘Don’t go far. (Be aware that you are) by yourself!’ (Field notes)

The attention-commanding suffix, and possible grammaticalization pathways for the Prohibitive inflection, are discussed further in §13.1.1.



## 6 Non-Final Verbs

As mentioned in Chapter 5, all verbs can take two different non-final forms, called here Dependent and Medial. These forms are uninflected when no different-subject marking is indicated through the switch-reference inflections (§6.3). The uninflected Dependent form is the verb root with consonant-final verbs, and the verb root with final velar nasal *-ng* with vowel-final verbs. The uninflected Medial form comprises the Dependent form plus an additional suffix *-a*. Since Nungon phonological rules dictate that the final consonant (/n/ or /t/) of consonant-final verbs is expressed as /r/ intervocally (§2.8.4), the Medial forms of consonant-final verbs with both /n/-final and /t/-final roots always end in a syllable /ra/.

The Dependent form may host subject person-number suffixes. Inflected Dependent forms of vowel-final verbs lack the final velar nasal of the uninflected form. The inflected Medial form comprises the inflected Dependent form with the usual Medial suffix *-a* after the person-number suffix, except with 2/3du (see §6.1 for forms). If a Dependent or Medial verb occurs uninflected for person and number of its subject, it is understood to share a subject argument with the following verb (if Dependent) or the predicate of the next clause (if Medial).

The difference between the Dependent non-final verb form and the Medial non-final verb forms is most fundamentally one of relative dependence. The Dependent form usually does not stand on its own before a pause.

Non-canonical uses of Dependent and Medial verbs outside of multi-verb constructions and clause chains are addressed in §6.4. The dynamics of clause chains are discussed in §10.1.

## 6.1 Non-final verb forms

Table 6.1 shows Dependent and Medial verb formation without subject-indexing inflection.

	<b>vowel-final verb roots</b>	<b>consonant-final verb roots</b>
<b>Dependent (DEP) form</b>	root + <i>-ng</i>	root
<b>Medial (MV) form</b>	Dependent form + <i>-a</i>	

When uninflected for subject, the Medial form always comprises the uninflected Dependent form and suffix *-a*. Dependent and Medial forms inflected for S/A argument person and number are in table 6.2. There, it may be seen that the 2/3du Medial form is an exception, with an additional glide /y/ after the alveolar nasal /n/ of the inflected Dependent form: this is not phonologically conditioned. Where the forms used with vowel-final and consonant-final verbs differ, the vowel-final form is listed first, with the consonant-final form after a slash.

		sg	du	pl
1	Dep	<i>-wa/-e</i>	<i>-ra/-da</i>	<i>-na</i>
	Med	<i>-wa-ya/-e-ya</i>	<i>-ra-ya/-da-ya</i>	<i>-na-ya</i>
2	Dep	<i>-i</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>-u</i>
	Med	<i>-i-ya</i>	<i>-un-ya</i>	<i>-u-ya</i>
3	Dep	<i>-un</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>-u</i>
	Med	<i>-un-a</i>	<i>-un-ya</i>	<i>-u-ya</i>

The extra glide in the 2/3du Medial suffix differentiates between the 3sg form *-un-a* and the 2/3du form *-un-ya*, while the Dependent 3sg and 2/3du forms are indistinguishable.

Table 5.19 showed morphological relationships between final verb inflectional paradigms within Nungon. Except for the three non-future tenses, every other final verbal inflectional paradigm is formally based on the Immediate Imperative, Irrealis, or Probable paradigm. The inflectional paradigms of non-final verbs affiliate with the Immediate Imperative group, which also includes the Immediate Imperative and Counterfactual. In table 6.3, the Dependent form is listed above the Immediate Imperative form.

		sg	du	pl
1	Dep	<i>-wa/-e</i>	<i>-ra/-da</i>	<i>-na</i>
	Imm.Imp	<i>-wa/-e</i>	<i>-ra/-da</i>	<i>-na</i>
2	Dep	<i>-i</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>-u</i>
	Imm.Imp	<i>-hi/-pi/-ti/-i/-ki/-ti</i>	<i>-warun/-arun</i>	<i>-warut/-arut</i>
3	Dep	<i>-un</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>-u</i>
	Imm.Imp	<i>-hun/-pun/-tun/-un/-kun/-tun</i>	<i>-warun/-arun</i>	<i>-warut/-arut</i>

As table 6.3 shows, the Immediate Imperative and inflected Dependent forms are identical in all first person numbers. The second and third person forms in the two paradigms are also similar.

The next example shows the S=O ambitransitive consonant-final verb *iwan-* ‘turn’ in a Iterative construction (§6.6.3). This construction utilizes the inflected Dependent form of the verb repeated twice, followed by the Focus enclitic =*ho*.

6.1)[Iyep<sub>Pr</sub> daar-o<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>s</sub>      iwar-un      iwar-un=to,      yup<sub>o</sub>      t-emo-ng  
sun      eye-3SG.POSS      turn-DS.3SG      turn-DS.3SG=FOC      bird      3SG.O-shoot-DE  
dirong-o=gon<sub>o</sub>      to-go-k.  
hair-3SG.POSS=RSTR      do-RP-3SG

‘The sun’s eye first turning, he shot a bird and only took its feathers.’ (Fooyu ketket orin dogu 0:54)

The 3sg Dependent form of *iwan-* is *iwar-un*: the final consonant of the root becomes /r/ intervocally. But the 3sg Immediate Imperative form is *iwan-tun*; here there seems to be an underlying consonantal onset to the suffix that assimilates to the place of articulation of the root-final consonant. Even verbs of the  $\emptyset$ -class (§5.1.4), which take a form of the 3sg Immediate Imperative that lacks consonantal onset, do not elide the final /o/ of the verb root before the Immediate Imperative suffix, maintaining the suffix as a separate syllable with no consonant onset. The two forms are compared across verb classes in table 6.4.

	verb root	Dependent 3sg	Immediate Imperative 3sg
H-class	<i>di-</i> ‘burn up’	<i>di-un</i>	<i>di-hun</i>
P-class	<i>e-</i> ‘come’	<i>e-un</i>	<i>ep-pun</i>
T-class	<i>hi-</i> ‘place’	<i>hi-un</i>	<i>hit-tun</i>
$\emptyset$ -class	<i>ongo-</i> ‘go’	<i>ong-un</i>	<i>ongo-un</i>
NG-class	<i>mö-</i> ‘fall, plant’	<i>mö-un</i>	<i>möng-kun</i>
consonant-final class	<i>wet-</i> ‘beat (sg. o)’	<i>wer-un</i>	<i>wet-tun</i>

There is also a concomitant difference in stress between the two forms. The 3sg Immediate Imperative form is generally stressed on the final syllable—the Immediate Imperative suffix—while the Dependent suffix *-un* is never stressed.

The 2sg Dependent form differs in a similar way across verb classes from the 2sg Immediate Imperative form. That is, even in the Ø-class, where the two suffixes have the same form, the final root vowel /o/ is elided before the Dependent suffix *-i* but retained before the Immediate Imperative suffix *-i*. The Dependent 2sg form of the Ø-class verb *ongo-* ‘go’ is *ong-i*, while the Immediate Imperative 2sg form is *ongo-i* (see §2.7.1). As mentioned in §2.7.1, the last syllable of the Immediate Imperative form *ongo-i* bears stress because of its diphthong nucleus, while the first syllable of the Dependent form is stressed.

The 2/3du and 2/3pl forms are also similar across the two paradigms. The Immediate Imperative 2/3du is *-(w)arun*, while the Dependent 2/3du is *-un*—identical to the second syllable of the Immediate Imperative form. The Immediate Imperative 2/3pl is *-(w)arut*, while the Dependent 2/3pl is *-u*; here, an older form *\*-ut* could have lost the final consonant /t/ over time.

A variation on the Dependent inflectional suffixes occurs in the Causative constructions (§6.8): the Causative forms are the last member of the Immediate Imperative-based morphological grouping of paradigms. A comparison of Dependent and Causative forms for the verbs *to-* ‘take (sg. object),’ *wet-* ‘beat (sg. object),’ and *omot-* ‘hunt’ is in Table 6.5. Where the Causative form differs from the Dependent form, it is in bold type.

	sg		du		pl	
	Dep	Caus	Dep	Caus	Dep	Caus
1	<i>to-wa</i>	<i>to-wa</i>	<i>to-ra</i>	<b><i>tot-da</i></b>	<i>to-na</i>	<i>tot-na</i>
	<i>we-e</i>	<b><i>we-ya</i></b>	<i>wet-da</i>	<i>wet-da</i>	<i>wet-na</i>	<i>wet-na</i>
	<i>omor-e</i>	<b><i>omor-a</i></b>	<i>omot-da</i>	<i>omot-da</i>	<i>omot-na</i>	<i>omot-na</i>
2	<i>t-i</i>	<i>t-i</i>				
	<i>wi-i</i>	<i>wi-i</i>	<i>t-un</i>	<i>t-un</i>	<i>t-u</i>	<i>t-u</i>
	<i>om-i</i>	<i>om-i</i>	<i>wer-un/wi-in</i>	<i>wi-in</i>	<i>wer-u/wi-i</i>	<i>wi-i</i>
3	<i>t-un</i>	<i>t-un</i>	<i>om-un</i>	<i>om-un</i>	<i>om-u</i>	<i>om-u</i>
	<i>wer-un/wi-in</i>	<i>wi-in</i>				
	<i>om-un</i>	<i>om-un</i>				

For second and third person subjects, the two forms are identical for all three verbs. With *to-*, the 1sg Causative form is also identical to the 1sg Dependent form, while only the 1du and 1pl forms differ slightly. In fact, in the 1du and 1pl Causative, the vowel-final verb *to-* behaves as if its root ended in /t/. The two consonant-final verbs behave differently in the Causative 1sg inflection: *omot-* receives a final suffix *-a*, just as vowel-final verbs do in both the Causative and Dependent 1sg inflection. While *wet-* also receives this suffix *-a*, here the final consonant of the verb root is elided. This phenomenon may be limited to *wet-* ‘beat (3sg. O),’ as no other verbs are known to have this elision in the Causative. The Causative is discussed below in §6.8.

In the speech of some speakers, there is a second form of the Medial suffix *-a* that occurs only in the Perfect construction (§6.6.1). This suffix is called here ‘Medial suffix II’; it takes the form *-o*. Thus more-conservative speakers distinguish between an unmarked Medial form ending in *-a*, such as

*hi-ng-a* ‘PUT-DEP-MV,’ and the Medial II form occurring in a Perfect construction, such as *hi-ng-o mu-ya* ‘put-DEP-MVII PERF.2/3PL.’ This is discussed in §6.6.2 below.

## 6.2 Basic functions of Dependent and Medial verbs

In many Papuan languages, the difference between types of non-final verbs has commonly been analysed as one of temporal sequencing. Indeed, Foley (1986: 180) states: ‘Normally they [different suffixes on non-final verbs] encode differences of temporal relations between the clauses. The simplest temporal contrast, and the one which underlies all more complex ones, is between simultaneous and sequential actions.’ Foley goes on to specify that: ‘Within a Papuan context “simultaneous” means that the period of duration of the two actions must overlap, either partially or full. Sequential actions are those in which there is no temporal overlap.’ Many languages, such as Mauwake (Berghäll 2010: 118) and Amele (Roberts 1988: 48), have been analyzed as having two or more different forms of the same-subject switch-reference marker, depending on whether the action of the marked verb is simultaneous with or anterior to the action of the predicate in the following clause. In these languages, this distinction is separate from a distinction between medial verb forms and verb forms that can function in serial-type single-predicate constructions. Nungon lacks such marking—although this could have been the original function of the Medial verb II suffix form (§6.6.2).

If one attempted to impose relative-temporal labels on the Nungon Dependent and Medial forms, this would miss the grammatical distinction between the two forms that underlies any occasional implications of temporal relations. The Nungon Dependent form must form a single predicate with an element that follows it—verbal or non-verbal. In contrast, the Medial form cannot form a single predicate with elements after it: it must be the last element in a medial clause. These grammatical restrictions very often mean that the action of a Medial verb is interpreted as preceding that of the subsequent clause in time, since it forms a separate predicate. Less often can it be said that the action of a Dependent verb occurs simultaneously with or overlaps in time with that of the subsequent verb in a multi-verb predicate.

The Dependent verb form is the minimal verbal element able to serve as part of a predicate. The action denoted by a Dependent verb form is conceived of as composing a single-predicate unit with succeeding verb(s), while actions denoted by verbs in Medial form are conceived of as separate units (and predicates) from succeeding verbs. The next example shows a Dependent verb within the complex predicate of a medial clause, followed by a final clause composed of a single inflected verb. As in the rest of this work, medial clauses are marked with single curly brackets, and final clauses with double curly brackets.

6.2) {Nok<sub>A</sub>        yoko    k-e-ng            bök=dek<sub>OBL</sub>    mor-a}        {{ongo-go-t}}.  
 1SG.PRO        bag        SG.O-come-DEP house=LOC        throw-MV        go-RP-1SG  
 ‘I, bringing and throwing-in-the-house my bag, went along.’ (Anita inoin hat 2:19)

Here, the verb *k-e-ng* ‘bring (sg. O)’ is in Dependent form. It cannot conclude the medial clause, but combines with the following elements in a construction that describes something taken as a unit, in contrast to the next clause. Here, it is hard to interpret the ‘bringing’ and ‘throwing-in-the-house’ as temporally simultaneous or overlapping, unless the notion of throwing-in-the-house is conceived of as specification of the general ‘bring.’

Example (6.2) could be rephrased with *k-e-ng* ‘bring (sg. O)’ in Medial form, instead of Dependent form, yielding the following:

6.3) {Nok<sub>A</sub>        yoko    k-e-ng-a},                    {böc=dek<sub>OBL</sub>    mor-a},  
 1SG.PRO        bag        SG.O-come-DEP-MV        house=LOC        throw-MV  
 {{ongo-go-t}}.  
 go-RP-1SG  
 ‘Bringing my bag, throwing it in the house, I went along.’

The difference between (6.3), in which the ‘bringing’ is couched in Medial form, and (6.2), in which the bringing is expressed with a Dependent verb, is not principally one of sequentiality. The bringing and throwing have the same temporal relationship to each other in both sentences. Instead, the difference between the two sentences is one of information structure. In (6.3), use of the Medial form

for both ‘bring’ and ‘throw’ makes this a three-clause sentence instead of the two-clause sentence in (6.2). The O argument of the first clause, *yok* ‘bag,’ is also the O argument of the second clause (implied through the English translation using ‘it’). This gives *yok* added prominence: it remains salient through two medial clauses in (6.3), instead of just one medial clause in (6.2). But (6.2) comes from a text in which the speaker rushes home to Towet from Lae because she has heard that her father is mortally ill. The detail about throwing her bag in the house and immediately leaving again to find her father serves only to show how much of a rush she was in. There is nothing important about the *yok* ‘bag’ that would merit her dwelling on it for two clauses.

Certain sequences of actions are often framed using Dependent verbs in complex predicates for similar reasons to the ‘bringing’ and ‘throwing-in-the-house’ above. That is, certain sequences of actions are so commonly combined in a certain order that they do not merit dwelling on individually in separate clauses. Some are idiomatic, such as *to-/yoo-ng hi-* ‘take-DEP put’ for ‘marry’ (either *oe* ‘wife/woman’ or *op* ‘husband’ can serve as O argument of this complex predicate). Another such sequence is *ho-ng na-* ‘cook-DEP eat,’ ‘cook and eat.’ When someone speaks of eating *tanak* ‘food,’ they usually mean cooked food, not raw fruits (the only foods generally eaten raw). Thus, eating *tanak* often entails cooking first, then eating. Even if a speaker did not actually peel tubers or prepare greens for a meal, being present while the meal was cooking and then eating together with the cook(s) merits use of the complex predicate *ho-ng na-* ‘cook-DEP eat,’ as in the next example, which comprises two medial clauses and a final clause:

6.4) {Arapo}ho-ng            na-ng-a},        {duo-ng-a},        {{keembok-noOBL  
           game cook-DEP        eat-DEP-MV        sleep-DEP-MV        tomorrow-3SG.POSS  
           ongo-go-mong}}.  
           go-RP-1PL

‘Cooking and eating the game, sleeping, the next day we went along.’ (Ruth arap dawik 1:39)

The speaker could rephrase this using the Medial form of *ho-* ‘cook’ instead of the Dependent form, and thus creating a third medial clause, but this would be done only if she wanted to stretch out the description for some reason. This is the case in the next example:

6.5) {Ho-ng-a}, {na-ng-a}, urop, {biyömo faep<sub>OBL</sub> na-ng-o  
 cook-DEP-MV eat-DEP-MV enough tobacco pipe eat-DEP-MV.II  
 muna}, {[dombisum boni=gon]<sub>OBL</sub>, {[biyöm<sub>HEAD</sub> inging-<sub>OMOD</sub> hinom<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub>  
 PERF.3SG morning middle=RSTR tobacco hurtful-ADJ INTENS  
 faep=dek<sub>OBL</sub> na-go-k}}.  
 pipe=LOC eat-RP-3SG

‘Cooking, eating, that’s it, he consuming tobacco by pipe, in early morning, he consumed very strong tobacco in a pipe.’ (Fooyu Yawan boop 5:02)

Here, the speaker separates the cooking and eating into two separate clauses as part of a fine-grained description of the events on a certain morning. That is, the subject cooked his food, ate it, and then smoked very strong tobacco, all in the early hours of the morning. As is described in the succeeding sentence, this made him vomit, which was an event of note: perhaps one reason for the separation of the events of the morning into individual clauses.

The example of the commonly-used complex predicate *ho-ng na-* ‘cook and eat’ further illustrates the pitfalls of relative-temporal labels for non-final verb forms in Nungon. There are three main types of cooking on the hearth fire: boiling in cookpots, steaming in bamboo sections, and cooking *mam* ‘roasted,’ that is, roasting directly on the fire or in its coals. Food boiled in a cookpot is generally ladled out after the food is deemed cooked, with the pot not returned to the fire. Here, cooking and eating are not simultaneous or even overlapping actions. The same is true of an individual bamboo section: once it has been eaten from, it is not returned to continue steaming. But with roasted foods, such as a bunch of plantains or several taro or sweet potato tubers, people usually begin eating whichever plantain or tuber is ready first, while the others continue to roast. In such a situation, the two actions could be called simultaneous: people eat some plantains while others are

cooking. ‘Cooking’ and ‘eating’ are of course strictly sequential for each individual plantain or tuber, however: it cannot be cooking on the fire while it is being eaten! Since the phrasing *ho-ng na-* does not vary depending on whether the food was boiled, steamed, or roasted, this is further evidence that relative temporality is not a principal function of the different non-final suffix forms.

An even starker example is the frequent combination *mö-ng na-* ‘plant-DEP eat’: ‘plant and eat,’ which sums up the agricultural cycle of planting and harvesting. This is used in the following question, framed as a verbless clause but including a subordinate verbal clause:

6.6)Mak <sub>VOC</sub> ,	[	öö <sub>o</sub>	mö-ng	na-ng=it-ta-rok]=ma <sub>TOP</sub> ,
mother	farm	plant-DEP	eat-DEP=be-PRES.SG-2SG=REL	
deogo	osuk?			
how	first			

‘Mother, that you’re planting and eating farms, how (do you act) first?’ (Lyn ton hat 0:01)

Clearly here the planting and eating are not simultaneous or even remotely overlapping in time. But they are discussed here within a single predicate because agriculture is being described as a whole.

In general, verbs in complex predicates only take Dependent form when the following verb is of the same valency (see §6.5.1 below on the Habitual aspect construction, and Chapter 11 for more on the argument structures of complex predicates). Further, verbs of motion tend to combine with verbs of motion. One verb designating directional motion up or down—*oo-* ‘descend,’ *öö-* ‘ascend,’ or *mö-* ‘fall’—or a certain style of motion—*monde-* ‘jump’—typically precedes another verb designating motion toward or away—*e-* ‘come’ or *ongo-* ‘go.’ Here, the first verb describes the process through which the second verb (coming or leaving) was achieved. Thus, while *ongo-* ‘go’ may take a locative argument in other contexts, as *Yawan ongoingo-* ‘go to Yawan,’ here it is strictly telic and means ‘leave.’ Similarly, *e-* ‘come’ in this context means ‘arrive.’ In the next example, a transitive verb in Medial form is thus set off from two verbs of motion that together form a single predicate:

6.7) {Yo-wa-ya}, {to-ng-a}, {{öö-ng ep-bo-k}}.  
 say-DS.1SG-MV SG.O.take-DEP-MV ascend-DEP come-RP-3SG

‘I having spoken, (he) taking it, ascended and came.’ (Fooyu arap dawik 1:42)

Here, the transitive verb *to-* ‘take (sg. O)’ cannot combine with the intransitive verbs of motion *öö-* ‘ascend’ and *e-* ‘come.’ While the combination *öö-ng e-* ‘ascend and come’ commonly occurs as a single predicate, the two components can be separated into separate clauses, as with *ho-* ‘cook’ and *na-* ‘eat’ above. The last three verbs of (6.7) occur in separate clauses in the next example, although the suppletive form *yoo-* is used for ‘take (nsg. O).’

6.8) {Yoo-ng-a}, {öö-ng-a}, {{e-ng=it-du-ng}}.  
 NSG.O.take-DEP-MV ascend-DEP-MV come-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL

‘Taking them, ascending, they used to come.’ (Hesienare yip pon hat 0:33)

This example concludes a text explaining how people used to descend to the coast to harvest salt and to trade for clay pots and other goods. The verb *öö-* ‘ascend’ may occur in its own medial clause here to emphasize the lengthy distance that people had to ascend—1500 meters in elevation, from the sea to the mountains.

### 6.3 Switch-reference

The Nungon switch-reference system tracks referents throughout a clause chain via S/A person-number indexation on Medial verbs. Thus, Nungon has a canonical switch-reference system (Haiman and Munro 1983, *inter alia*). In the precise person-number reference encoded in the Different-Subject indexation, Nungon is more similar to other Papuan systems (Roberts 1997) than to North American (Munro 1983, Watkins 1993, Mithun 1993) or East African systems (Amha and Dimmendaal 2006).

Like Kobon, as shown in Comrie (1983: 29), and Amele, as shown in Roberts (1988: 49), when the referent of the subject of the Nungon ‘controlling’ verb (the predicate of the clause following the switch-reference-marked Medial verb) is included among the referents of the subject of the ‘marked’ verb (the switch-reference-marked Medial verb), the marking is usually same-subject.

As in Kobon and Amele, when the opposite is true in Nungon—when the referent of the subject of the marked clause is included in the referents of the subject of the controlling clause—this is usually marked as different-subject. In contrast to both Kobon and Amele, but like some other languages of Papua New Guinea (Roberts 1997: 127), same-subject marking in Nungon uses a fixed morpheme with no subject person-number indexation. It is only with different-subject marking that person and number of the marked verb's subject argument are indexed.

While the Medial and Dependent subject indexing inflections are very similar (as shown in table 6.2), it is inflected Medial verbs that facilitate switch-reference. Dependent verb forms usually occur uninflected for subject, although they are inflected for subject in the Iterative construction (§6.6.3), and the forms used in the Causative (§6.8) construction are similar to or identical with inflected Dependent verbs. In contrast, Medial forms are marked for subject person-number through the Nungon switch-reference system. If the S or A argument of the predicate of the subsequent clause is anticipated to differ from the S or A argument of a given medial verb, that medial verb inflects to index the person and number of its own S or A argument. This person-number indexing is called here, following Roberts (1997) and the papers in Haiman and Munro (1983), *inter alia*, different-subject marking. In Nungon, however, the difference in subject arguments is only the occasion or context that conditions the inflection; the inflection itself, as seen in the paradigms in tables 6.1-6.5, is simply subject agreement, marked with very similar forms to Immediate Imperatives.

A straightforward example of a subject-indexing Medial verb indicating a difference in subjects is in the clause chain in (6.9):

6.9) {Nan-nas                    om-un-a},        {ongo-ng-a},    {Imöm<sub>OBL</sub>        ir-a},  
 father-1SG.POSS        die-DS.3SG-MV    go-DEP-MV        Imöm            be-MV  
 {morö to-ng-a},        {e-ng-a},        {ngo-nd<sub>OBL</sub>        ir-a},  
 big    do-DEP-MV        come-DEP-MV    here-LDEM.NEAR        be-MV  
 {{ amnao        to-ng                    hi-go-t }}.  
 man                    SG.O.take-DEP    put-RP-1SG

‘My father dying, (I) going on, staying in Imöm, becoming big, coming, staying here (in Yawan), I took a man<sup>12</sup> (as husband).’ (Tina yong tuktuk maa 0:18)

This sentence forms a prosodic unit, with falling intonation on the final verb *hi-go-t*. The sentence includes six Medial verbs. Five of these—*ongo-ng-a*, *ir-a*, *to-ng-a*, *e-ng-a*, and the second *ir-a*—share a subject argument, which is understood to be 1sg ‘I’ because of the inflection on the final verb. These five Medial verbs are thus uninflected for subject argument: each of them is formed from the uninflected Dependent form of the verb (identical to the bare root form for *ir-a*, which has a consonant-final root) plus the Medial suffix *-a*. Only the first Medial verb, *om-un-a*, is inflected to index its subject argument: this is because the S argument of this verb, *nan-na* ‘my father’ differs from that of the following clause.

Following Comrie (1983: 29) on Kobon and Roberts (1988: 49) on Amele, Nungon may be said to have asymmetrical switch-reference marking regarding coreferentiality between controlling and marked clause subjects. In Nungon, even if the subject argument of the following clause includes one or more of the referents of the subject argument of the preceding clause, the Medial verb of the preceding clause is still marked for different-subject (by inflecting to index its own subject argument).

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<sup>12</sup> The idiom *amna/oe to-ng hi-* ‘man/woman SG.O.take-DEP put,’ literally ‘take and put a man/woman’ describes marriage—not so much the wedding ceremony, but the settling-down that marriage entails. If the O argument of the two-verb complex predicate here were non-singular, as in the description of many people marrying many other people, the verb ‘take’ takes the form used with non-singular objects, *yoo-*. Note also that here it is the non-kin term *amna* ‘man’ that is used, never the kin term *op* ‘husband.’ The latter term occurs in the expression used to describe a wedding ceremony: [*oe op*]<sub>O</sub> *to-* ‘wife-husband do.’

This is shown in the next example, which also includes the idiom *to-ng hi-* ‘SG.O.take-DEP put’ referring to marriage:

6.10) {Oe<sub>O</sub> to-ng hi-wi-ya}, {{it-dang-ka-morok}}.

wife SG.O.take-DEP put-DS.2SG-MV be-PROB.DU-NF-2/3DU

‘You having taken a woman (as a wife), the two of you will exist/stay.’ (Nongi amna

oe tong 0:15)

Here, the S argument of the final verb in the second clause, *it-dang-ka-morok*, is understood to be ‘the two of you,’ referring to the addressee and the wife he has taken. One of these, the addressee, is also the A argument in the first clause. But since the ‘marked’ subject referent is included in the ‘controlling’ subject referents, the Medial verb *hi-wa-ya* is inflected to index its own A argument, 2sg. Such marking may also be seen in example (6.88). In contrast, (6.11) shows the opposite arrangement. Here, the referent of the controlling clause’s subject argument is included among the referents of the marked clause’s subject argument.

6.11) {{Ketker-ot boop<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ng=it-do-mong-an}}=ma-i<sub>TOP:A</sub>,

youth-COMIT forest go-DEP=be-RP-1PL-LOC=REL-LINK

{youp<sub>O</sub> to-ng-a}, {{nok<sub>A</sub> [naga-in<sub>Pr</sub> eep<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>O</sub>

work do-DEP-MV 1SG.PRO 1SG.PRO.EMPH-GEN tree

hai-ng hi-ng=it-do-t}}.

fell-DEP put-DEP=be-RP-1SG

‘On (those times) that we, with the youths, used to go to the forest, doing work, I used to fell my own wood and set it aside.’ (Stanli inoin bök 0:12)

Here, the subject of *youp to-ng-a* ‘doing work’ is the group of youths that includes the speaker himself, while the subject of the tight multi-verb construction *hai-ng hi-ng=it-do-t* ‘I used to fell and set aside,’ is the speaker alone. Thus, there is no different-subject marking on the Medial verb *to-ng-a*.

Example (6.10) also showed that when Medial verbs are marked for different-subject, this often entails a sequential temporal relationship between the marked verb and the following clause. A

sequential relationship is usually entailed when the marked Medial verb describes an event or action and not a state. When either the marked Medial verb, or the verb of the next clause describes a state, the state is often understood to exist alongside the action, event or state indicated by the other predicate. This is especially the case when the verb *it-* ‘be’ is involved, as is also seen below in discussion of the Continuous aspect (§6.5.2). In this way, Nungon is similar to Mauwake (Berghäll 2010: 304-305). The following example explains that people did not hide from the first European to enter the Uruwa River valley, Karl Saueracker, when he arrived:

- 6.12)     {{Ma=poto-k   poto-k           yo-gu-ng}}.     {Bög-in=don<sub>OBL</sub>  
           NEG=fear-NMZ   fear-NMZ           say-RP-2/3PL   house-LOC=RSTR  
           i-iy-a),           {{ep-bo-k}}.  
           be-DS.2/3PL-MV   come-RP-3SG  
           ‘They weren’t afraid. They being at home, he came.’ (Nongi Saueracker hat 2:45)

The meaning of this example is that while people existed/remained in their homes, Saueracker came.

Other stative verbs such as *hori-* ‘shine’ lead to similar inter-clausal temporal relationships:

- 6.13)     {Iyep=pos       hori-un-a),     {{ombom=pos   di-ng-a       it-ta-k}}.  
           sun=FOC       shine-DS.3SG-MV   epiphyte=FOC   burn-DEP-MV   be-PRES.SG-3SG  
           ‘The sun shining, the epiphyte platform is alit.’ (Tomep song)

Here, the platform of dirt and epiphytes high in a rainforest tree is lit up by the sun’s rays. The sun’s shining is necessarily simultaneous with the epiphyte’s being lit up (literally, ‘burning’). The final verb *it-* ‘be’ could be analysed as composing part of a single clause with the Medial verb *di-ng-a* ‘burning’ in a Continuous aspect construction (§6.5.2).

The corpus contains very few instances of apparent mistakes in switch-reference marking. The few extant mis-matches mostly involve speakers’ failing to mark instances of switch-reference. That is, occasionally a clause with Medial verb predicate that is uninflected for subject agreement is followed by a clause that clearly has a different subject argument than the preceding one. The opposite is rarely true, although I have found at least one instance of it: that is, when a clause

concludes with a Medial verb that is inflected for subject argument (indicating a coming switch in subject reference), but the succeeding clause in fact shares its subject argument (so there is no switch in subject reference). Such misspeech is exceedingly rare and is often accompanied by pauses or faltering speech.

While inflected Medial verbs generally signal switch-reference, inflected Dependent verbs do not always do so. Inflected Dependent verbs do mark switch-reference when they occur in Causative constructions (§6.8) and in non-Causative complex predicates, but they do not mark switch-reference in the Iterative construction (§6.6.3).

Non-Causative and non-Iterative complex predicates with inflected Dependent verbs are rare. This is because actions or events with two different actors tend to be split into two predicates, unless the relationship between the actors is one of causer to cause. One instance of a non-Causative-inflected Dependent verb is in the expression described in (6.14), for when the moon is up at the time the sun rises:

- 6.14)    {Iso-wang-na            t-un-a},            {[e-ng            e-ng]o  
           dawn-PROB.SG-IMNT    do-DS.3SG-MV    come-DEP            come-DEP  
           t-un-a},            [{{i-in            iso-ng            ta-a-k}}]SR.o  
           do-DS.3SG-MV    be-DS.3SG            dawn-DEP            do-PRES-3SG  
           {{yo-ng=ir-a-mong}}.  
           say-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-1PL

‘It being about to dawn, (the moon) coming, we say “it<sub>i</sub> being, it<sub>j</sub> dawns.”’ (Nongi  
 yaarop 0:30)

Here, the inflected Dependent verb *i-in* ‘be-DS.3SG’ indicates that the subject of ‘be’ is different from the subject of *iso-ng* ‘dawn-DEP.’

## 6.4 Non-canonical uses of Dependent and Medial verbs

The principal function of the Dependent verb form is to serve as initial or middle member of a tight multi-verb construction (§11.2, and see Aikhenvald 2006). The principal function of the Medial verb form is to serve as predicate of a medial clause in a clause chain. But beyond these functions, both Dependent and Medial forms occur outside multi-verb constructions and independent of clause chains with various extended uses. The discussion here builds on exposition in Evans (2007) and Mithun (2008) of independent uses of canonically-dependent forms in other languages. Although some descriptions of Papuan languages mention such occurrences (Aikhenvald 2008: 446, Franklin 1983: 47, and especially Berghäll 2010: 140-141, 264, 302, 313), functions of non-final verbs outside of clause chains is generally under-reported for Papuan languages. A full discussion of non-canonical uses of Dependent and Medial verbs in Nungon is in Sarvasy (forthcoming);

The Dependent and Medial forms have inherent relationality due to their canonical functions. That is, the principal function of the Dependent verb form is combining with other verbs in single predicates, while the principal function of the Medial verb form is combining with other clauses in clause chains. Non-canonical uses of these forms may utilize this relationality to surpass the expressive possibilities of final verbs. This is exemplified in the use of appended medial clauses to express pluperfect tense (§6.4.1), for instance.

Discussion of the discourse function of switch-reference marking has most often been provoked by anomalous or unexpected patterns of switch-reference marking. This is the case in Rising (1992), Stirling (1993: 60-119), Mithun (1993), Watkins (1993) and others. In the Nungon corpus, however, there are exceedingly few instances of switch-reference mismatches, all explicable as speaker error, or as characteristics of certain grammatical structures or idioms, such as the Iterative aspect (§6.6.3). In Nungon, the apparently anomalous or unexpected characteristic to be described and accounted for is the occurrence of Medial verbs—which are canonically restricted to non-final position in a clause chain—outside of a clause chain. Here, there are no ‘unexpected uses of switch-reference markers’ (Stirling 1993: 119), but rather unexpected uses of Medial verbs. Instead of being well-behaved non-final verbs, these Medial verbs stand alone, apparently sentence-finally, as with

other examples of independent uses for prototypically dependent forms in Evans (2007) and Mithun (2008).

#### 6.4.1 Appended medial clauses

Just as speakers can append a clarificational word or phrase after a final verbal clause (§13.3.1), they can append a medial clause. Such appended medial clauses feature sentence-final intonation (see §2.9), as shown in Sarvasy (forthcoming). The most extensive documentation of this in another Papuan language is in Berghäll (2010), for Mauwake. Individual NPs or modifiers are usually appended to clarify or elaborate, and this is also a major reason medial clauses are appended. But appended medial clauses may also communicate temporal relationships between clauses—pluperfect tense, for instance—in ways that final clauses cannot.

The Medial verbs in appended medial clauses are marked for switch-reference relative to the final verb of the preceding sentence, not relative to any anticipated clause that will follow the appended clause. In the first example of an appended medial clause below, the Medial verb of the appended clause is not inflected for person-number of its subject because it shares a subject with the preceding final verb.

- 6.15)    {{Katnang<sub>O</sub>    maa-ng            eet-do-mong}}; {            [{{taga=ha<sub>OBL</sub>  
bamboo            chop-DEP            insert-RP-1PL            scrubhen=BEN  
y-aa-na}}]<sub>SR:O</sub>,            yo-ng-a}.
- 3NSG.O-see-IMM.IMP.1PL            say-DEP-MV

‘We cut up bamboo (sections) and put them in (our string bags); saying “let’s look for scrubhens.”’ [Literally: ‘let’s see them, for/about scrubhens.’] (Winuk makno rot 2:08)

In this example, the semicolon after the final verb *eet-do-mong* represents a pause in speech without sentence-final falling intonation. Here, there is a pause of over one second between the end of the initial final clause and the beginning of the appended medial clause, but there is rising non-final intonation on *eet-do-mong*. The Medial verb *yo-ng-a* has sentence-final intonation, which is characteristic of appended medial clause predicates. This speaker’s speech is characteristically slow

and careful, with long pauses between utterances. The appended medial clause here explains why the speaker and her companions prepared and packed the bamboo sections, which had not been explained earlier; it seems that here the appended medial clause could have been inserted verbatim before the initial final clause, had the speaker remembered or chosen to do so earlier. This could be considered an instance of use of the appended medial clause for clarification or elaboration.

The next example comes from the conclusion to a procedural narrative detailing how men paint on bark-cloth.

- 6.16)      { {Wo-go-n      to-ng=ir-a-mong} }.                      { Youp-no<sub>s</sub>      hönggor-un-a }.
- that-ADV-LOC    do-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-1PL                      work-3SG.POSS emerge-DS.3SG-MV
- ‘That’s how we do it. A cause for (the action) being evident.’ [Lit. ‘its work having emerged’] (Nongi tik orip 3:04)

The meaning of the appended medial clause ‘its work having emerged’ is that the bark-cloth painting process is only done when it is occasioned by some event or important visitor: when the artifact will serve some purpose, ‘its work.’

The speaker first summarizes the preceding explanation with the anaphoric demonstrative *wo-go-n* ‘like that’ (§13.2.4) and the verb *to-* ‘do’ in Habitual aspect (§6.5.1), which involves the auxiliary verb *it-* ‘be.’ The predicate of the final clause is inflected for 1pl subject. For clarification, however, the speaker appends a medial clause, *youp-no hönggor-un-a*, after the final clause. Both the last verb *ir-a-mong* of the final clause and the verb *hönggor-un-a* of the medial clause bear sentence-final intonation (§2.9), indicated by the periods in the first line of the example.

Here, the Medial verb *hönggor-un-a* is marked for 3sg subject, indexing the person and number of the possessed noun *youp-no* ‘its work.’ The general view of switch-reference in Papuan languages—see for instance Roberts (1997)—takes for granted that subject indexation in medial verbs must signal that the subject of the following verb will differ from that of the marked medial verb. But here this indexing cannot be understood as referring to some following verb. The Medial verb in the

appended clause is in fact marked in reference to the preceding final clause—which itself is not marked for switch-reference.

Such instances could be analysed as afterthoughts (§13.1.1) or speaker self-repair, in which the speaker belatedly supplies a medial clause that should have occurred within the clause chain he has just produced. The Medial verb of this appended clause bears exactly the switch-reference marking it would have borne in the position it would have occurred in, had it been uttered within the clause chain. A rephrasing of example (6.16) is in (6.17):

- 6.17)      {Youp-no<sub>s</sub>      hönggor-un-a},      {{wo-go-n      to-ng=ir-a-mong}}.  
                  work-3SG.POSS emerge-DS.3SG-MV      that-ADV-LOC      do-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-1PL  
                  ‘Its work having emerged, that’s how we do it.’

This would not have been spoken this way in exactly the same place in the narrative as (6.16), since the anaphora no longer work out (the anaphoric demonstrative *wo-go-n* originally referred back to discourse before the medial clause containing *youp-no hönggor-un-a*, but this relation is severed in (6.17)). Instead, the most likely way to express the same meaning without leaving the medial clause on its own would be to leave the final clause in (6.16) as it is, but to add a final clause after the appended *youp-no hönggor-un-a* to form a complete clause chain, as in (6.18):

- 6.18)      {{Wo-go-n      to-ng=ir-a-mong}}.      {Youp-no<sub>s</sub>  
                  that-ADV-LOC      do-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-1PL      work-3SG.POSS  
                  hönggor-un-a},      {{to-ng=ir-a-mong}}.  
                  emerge-DS.3SG-MV      do-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-1PL  
                  ‘That’s how we do it. Its work having emerged, we do it.’

This rephrasing, although it maintains anaphoric relations intact, includes repetition of the predicate of the first final verb: this may be why this sort of full-clause-chain statement was not chosen by the speaker.



6.20)    { {[Dono<sub>Pr</sub>    oe-no<sub>Pe</sub>]=rot            Yupna<sub>OBL</sub>    ongo-go-mok } }.  
           Dono            wife-3SG.POSS=COMIT    Yupna            go-RP-1DU  
           {Op-no<sub>TOP</sub>,                    wo=ma-i,        [Dono   ino<sub>APPOS</sub>]<sub>S</sub>,  
           husband-3SG.POSS        that=SPEC-TOP   Dono    3SG.PRO.EMPH  
           Lae    ong-un-a }.  
           Lae    go-DS.3SG-MV

‘Along with Dono’s wife, the two of us went to Yupna. Her husband, that is, Dono himself, having gone to Lae.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain 0:12)

The initial final clause here, ending in the verb *ongo-go-mok* ‘the two of us went,’ is the first line in a story. It summarizes the coming narrative. It would not have been appropriate to include the details of where Dono himself had gone—a minor aspect of the broader story—in this first sentence. These details are supplied as background in the appended medial clause, which is thus not repair of the preceding sentence, but elaboration of it.

Why did the speakers of all examples in this section choose to clarify, elaborate, or repair through an appended medial clause, instead of another final clause? In example (6.20), for instance, the first sentence is a summary that does not need detailed clarification. The appended medial clause is not just a quick afterthought; including a topicalization and several NPs, it is itself elaborate enough to be framed as a full final clause in its own right. But the speaker chose to frame it as a medial clause, not a final clause with a fully-inflected final verb predicate.

Appending a medial clause instead of elaborating or clarifying through a final clause allows for expression of a temporal and aspectual relationship between clauses. In (6.20), if the different-subject-inflected Medial verb *ong-un-a* ‘he having gone’ were re-stated as a final verb, *ongo-go-k* ‘he went,’ the temporal and aspectual relationships between the husband’s travel and his wife’s travel would be lost. Instead, the two sentences would read as parallel events: ‘The two of us went to Yupna. Her husband Dono went to Lae.’ The sequence of events—Dono first going, then his wife and her companion going—as well as the sense that the two events are related—he could not accompany the



A speaker can also respond to an action, without accompanying speech, with a medial clause. A speaker set a string bag handle on her child's head. The child started to move away before the mother had finished shortening the handle with a knot. She told him:

6.23) {Awe, towi-wa-ya}.

yet arrange-DS.1SG-MV

'Wait, let me fix it first.' [Literally: '(Not) yet, I having arranged/fixed it.'] (Field notes)

All of the above has demonstrated that appending a medial clause after a final clause is not sloppy speech: on the contrary, it is an efficient way of clause-combining that preserves the temporal, causal, or circumstantial relationships encoded through medial clauses.

With pluperfect tense above, the relational quality of medial verbs within clause chains gives them added functionality outside the clause chain that surpasses the range of meanings available to final verbs: pluperfect tense. But with other appended material framed as medial clauses, the question remains: why not use append final clauses instead?

Farr (1999) notes that 'tense-iconic' organization of discourse in Korafe entails clause chaining, while 'thematic' organization does not. Such 'tense-iconic' organization is reminiscent of the notion of 'event-dominated' languages in Capell (1965). If each speaker chose to append a final clause instead of a medial clause in the above examples, this would break the forward motion of the trajectory described in each narrative. By appending medial clauses instead of final clauses, the speakers are able to elaborate, correct, and express intricate time relationships, without the discourse type changing to 'thematic' from 'tense-iconic' (see Sarvasy, forthcoming).

#### **6.4.2 Clause chains ending in non-final verbs**

Individual medial clauses occurring after final clauses are considered to be appended in the preceding section. But in narrative, it is not uncommon for a speaker to end a clause chain of medial clauses in a medial clause. Often, this occurs to indicate that the series of actions described by the clause chain

were repeated or continued indefinitely. Further, occasionally Dependent verbs occur where Medial or final forms would be expected.

One text describes a group of people walking in the forest, with four at a time bearing a sick person on their shoulders. In a final clause, the speaker describes how the two men bringing up the rear of the group of four stayed constantly in their positions:

- 6.24) ... {{yu-i<sub>A</sub> humbot-do-morok}}=ma {{wo-go-rok=gon<sub>OBL</sub>  
 3.PRO-TOP shoulder-RP-2/3DU=REL that-ADV-SEMBL=RSTR  
 ir=it-do-morok}}.  
 be=be-RP-2/3DU  
 ‘As for them, (the way) that they shouldered it, they were staying just like that.’  
 (Rosarin högök boop 4:12)

The next sentence describes how the others in the group switched into and out of the first two positions carrying the sick person. This sentence is a clause chain made up only of medial clauses.

- 6.25) Non<sub>TOP</sub> wo=ma-i, {au=ho<sub>A</sub> humbor-un-a},  
 1PL.PRO that=SPEC-TOP other=FOC shoulder-DS.3SG-MV  
 {giiw-os inging y-un-a}, {au=ho<sub>A</sub> humbor-un-a},  
 skin-3SG.POSS hurt say-DS.3SG-MV other=FOC shoulder-DS.3SG-MV  
 {giiw-os inging y-un-a}.  
 skin-3SG.POSS hurt say-DS.3SG-MV  
 ‘We, as for us, (were doing like) another having shouldered it, her body hurting,  
 another having shouldered it, his body hurting.’ (Rosarin högök boop 4:13)

The clause chain here is an intonational sentence, occurring between pauses and with falling intonation on the last medial verb. There is a sense of ellipsis here: the chain of medial clauses seems like a long adverbial, with the verb it modifies omitted. The verb *to-* ‘do’ could be added as a final verb here to fill out the clause chain.

Since the preceding sentence, (6.24), describes others' mode of carrying, it is likely that the speaker deemed it unnecessary and possibly un-artful to finish the clause chain in (6.25) with a final verb. The fact that it is the mode of carrying that is being described is already understood from the preceding clause. Further, the speaker varies the rhythm of the narrative by not monotonously using the same structure for each sentence. The sequence here has the sense of: 'As for them, they stayed in their positions. We, as for us, (were like) one carrying, getting tired, another carrying, getting tired.'

In at least one example in the corpus, a question ends in a Medial verb. Here, the question includes an afflictive construction (§11.1.3), *hum i-mo-* 'be afflicted by cold':

- 6.26)      {Ma=hum      ga-m-un-a}?  
              NEG=cold      2SG.O-give-DS.3SG-MV  
              'You weren't cold?' [Literally: 'Cold not afflicting you?'] (Field notes)

Sometimes, speakers conclude sentences or medial clauses with Dependent verbs. This is the case in examples (4.91), (12.42), (13.19), and 1:44 in Narrative II, Appendix (and see §6.4.3 for Dependent forms as imperative strategies). The effect is that of presenting a complex occurrence as a single unit. The Dependent verb in these instances is never marked for Different-Subject as a Medial verb would be: recall that Dependent verbs only inflect to index their subjects in the Iterative construction. Since inflected Dependent forms are very similar to inflected Causative forms, it could be that an inflected Dependent form in sentence- or clause-final position would be misinterpreted as a Causative form.

### 6.4.3 Imperative strategies

Imperative strategies (see Aikhenvald 2010: 256 for a cross-linguistic summary), in which forms other than the dedicated imperative inflections are used to command, are addressed in §10.6.2. Two of these strategies involve non-final verbs.

Uninflected Dependent verbs may serve as very stern and impatient commands, especially negative commands, as in the following:

- 6.27)        {Ma=i-mo-ng}!  
               NEG=3SG.O-give-DEP  
               ‘Don’t give it to him/her!’ (Field notes)

Dependent forms used as imperative strategies are less frequent than Medial forms as imperative strategies.

Medial verbs as imperative strategies may occur inflected or uninflected. Uninflected, the understanding is usually that the addressee or some obvious contextual actor is the subject. Uninflected Medial forms have very stern, imperious tone. In contrast, inflected Medial forms are not stern: they are even more polite than the dedicated Immediate Imperative form.

An example of the uninflected Medial verb as imperative strategy is below:

- 6.28)        Mak<sub>VOC</sub>!        {Yo-ng-a}!  
               mother        speak-DEP-MV  
               ‘Mother! Speak!’ (Field notes)

The sternness of the command here seems to relate to the impersonalness of the uninflected Medial verb form. If the form is inflected, this effect is lessened; in fact, the inflected Medial form seems to be less brusque and imperious than the Immediate Imperative. Leave-taking formulae using the Delayed Imperative form were introduced in §5.5.3. A less formal and less polite way of dismissing someone is with the Medial form of the verb *ongo-* ‘go,’ inflected for 2sg:

- 6.29)        {Ong-i-ya}!  
               go-DS.2SG-MV  
               ‘Go!’

More complex imperative strategies involve a clause chain with final verb inflected for Immediate Imperative, and the underlying command embedded in the sentence as a Medial verb. The next sentence was addressed to a toddler by his grandmother:

6.30) Alfi! {E-i-ya},                    {{ga-no-wa}}.  
 Alfi    come-DS.2SG-MV            2SG.O-tell-IMM.IMP.1SG

‘Alfi! You coming, let me tell you (something).’ (Field notes)

This was used to coax the toddler into coming to the speaker’s side. Although the focus is more on persuasion than on command, the entire sentence is still framed in the imperative mood because the final verb *ga-no-wa* is inflected for Immediate Imperative. Thus, the Medial verb *e-i-ya* ‘you coming’ can be understood as a command ‘come!’

But such a clause chain may be understood as a command even when the last verb is itself a Medial verb, as in the next example, framed as a Call-At-Distance (§2.8.9):

6.31) {Ö-i-ya},                    {Hana=ho<sub>A</sub>    ga-n-un-o}!  
 ascend-DS.2SG-MV            Hannah=FOC    2SG.O-tell-DS.3SG-MV.CAD

‘You ascending, Hannah telling you (something)!’ (Field notes)

This could have been rephrased with the second verb, *ga-n-un-o*, inflected for 3sg Immediate Imperative, as *ga-no-hun*.

#### 6.4.4 Inflected Dependent 3sg verbs in reciprocal expressions

The 3sg inflected Dependent form occurs repeated in several expressions describing certain reciprocal actions. These expressions usually occur with the verb *to-* ‘do.’ Expressions known to date are: *tem-un tem-un* ‘shooting each other,’ *i-m-un ga-m-un* ‘trade,’ and *i-n-un ga-n-un* ‘back-and-forth conversation.’ All of the sources of these expressions are verbs that take object person/number prefixes. An additional adjectival root that is similar in form and semantics to these is *imb-un imb-un*<sup>13</sup> ‘mixed.’ Although *imbun imbun* possibly originated as a repeated 3sg Dependent form, it now

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<sup>13</sup> It may be that a historical verb *\*imbo-* ‘be false, be mixed up’ is the original source of two expressions in Nungon: the noun *imbogo* ‘mistake, lie’ and the adjectival root *imbun* ‘mixed.’ Unlike *temo-*, *ino-*, and *imo-*, the sources of the other expressions above, there is no contemporary verb *\*imbo-* for productive Dependent



The expression *i-n-un ga-n-un* means literally ‘s/he telling him/her, s/he telling you.’ It refers to exchange of words instead of exchange of goods.

## 6.5 Aspect marking

Following the discussion of aspect in Comrie (1976), Nungon imperfective aspectual distinctions are analyzed here as further subdivided into Habitual, Continuous, and Continuous Habitual. Three additional aspectual distinctions marked through inflection are: Inferred Imperfective, Completive, and Imminent. These aspects employ non-final forms of the lexical verb with the verbs *it-* ‘be’ or *to-* ‘do.’ An additional aspectual distinction, Perfect aspect, is marked only with Medial verbs. Tight multi-verb constructions (§11.2) may be marked for aspect, with the last verb of the construction bearing aspect marking that applies to the construction as a whole.

	<b>Habitual</b>	<b>Continuous</b>	<b>Continuous Habitual</b>	<b>Inferred Imperfective</b>	<b>Completive</b>	<b>Imminent</b>
<b>form</b>	DEP + <i>it-</i> ‘be’	MV + <i>it-</i> ‘be’	MV + <i>it-</i> ‘be’ in Habitual form	MV + <i>to-</i> ‘do’ with suffix <i>-g-</i> in Present	DEP + = <i>dup</i> , optional aux. <i>to-</i> ‘do’	PROB + <i>-na</i> , optional aux. <i>to-</i> ‘do’
<b># of phon. words</b>	1	2	2	2	2	2
<b>inflection possible for auxiliary</b>	Remote Past, Present, Remote Future, Medial	all	same as Habitual	only Present; clause chaining not possible	all	all

### 6.5.1 Habitual aspect

The Habitual aspect combines the Dependent form of the lexical verb with the auxiliary verb *it-* ‘be’ in a single phonological word. As seen in §6.2, a verb occurs in the Dependent form when it is viewed as composing part of a unit with the verb(s) that follow it. The Habitual aspect, thus, packages a continuing action, state, or event into a single-predicate unit. This is similar to perfective aspect, since the action is viewed as an inseparable whole. This can be contrasted with the Continuous aspect

(§6.5.2), which uses the Medial form of the lexical verb and the auxiliary *it-* ‘be’ to present an in-progress continuing action, state, or event in detail, through an imperfective lens. The Habitual is most commonly used to describe ongoing actions that span large stretches of time, but it may also be used to frame actions that the speaker chooses to present as perfective, instead of imperfective. For a lexical verb meaning ‘do X,’ the Habitual aspect construction can be translated literally as ‘do X and stay/exist,’ or figuratively as ‘habitually do X.’

- 6.34)      {Yup<sub>O</sub> to-ng-o            muya},            {{aap<sub>O</sub> wer=ir-a-ng}}.
- bird    do-DEP-MVII    PERF.2/3PL    song    3SG.O.beat=be-PRES-2/.3PL
- ‘Having made their feather decorations, they (always) beat out their songs.’ (Geischnanno 10:02)

The Habitual aspect clearly originated in a complex predicate construction with the lexical verb in Dependent form and the verb *it-* ‘be’ inflected, with meaning ‘go, staying,’ or ‘beat, staying’ (see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 127 on ‘exist’ as continuous and thence habitual aspect marker). It occurs only with the auxiliary *it-* inflected for Dependent or Medial form, Remote Past, Present, or Remote Future tense. That is, Habitual aspect never co-occurs with Near Past or Near Future tenses, presumably because these denote time periods too fleeting to contain ‘habits.’ It is not found in the corpus with *it-* ‘be’ inflected for Immediate or Delayed Imperative, or for Counterfactual, Probable, or Irrealis.

The following sentence in the Past Habitual aspect describes how Uruwa valley people used to trade for clay pots on the coast:

- 6.35)      {Top=dek=gon<sub>OBL</sub>    yoo-ng-a}            {{e-ng=it-du-ng}}.
- sea=LOC=RSTR            NSG.O.take-DEP-MV    come-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL
- ‘Taking them at the sea, they used to come.’ (Hesienare hon hat uwa 0:04)

Note that use of the Past Habitual implies that the action ‘used to’ be done, but is no longer done, as in the following sentence concluding the explanation of an out-dated practice:

- 6.36)    {{Wo-go-rok<sub>OBL</sub>            to-ng=it-du-ng}};            {{urop wo-rok  
that-ADV-SEMBL            do-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL    enough that-SEMBL  
buret-ta-k}}.  
be.finished-PRES.SG-3SG  
‘That’s what they used to do, enough, that’s it, it’s finished. (Nongi ondomo 0:33)

The Present Habitual aspect describes habits and repeated, habitual actions that are customary at the present time. An example follows:

- 6.37)    Non<sub>A</sub>            daweng<sub>O</sub>            na-ng=ir-a-mong.  
1NSG.PRO            Chinese.taro    eat-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-1PL  
‘We eat *daweng* (as our staple food).’ (Nusek kon hat irom 0:43)

The Future Habitual describes future customary states, actions, or events, as in the next example:

- 6.38)    Nungon<sub>TOP</sub>            wo=ma-i<sub>LINK</sub>            to-ng=it-ni-n-ma?  
what                    that=SPEC-TOP    do-DEP=be-IRR.PL-1NSG-RF  
‘What, as for that, will we (always) do?’ (Waasiöng inoin hat 18:53)

The auxiliary verb *it-* of the Habitual aspect may occur in Medial form, within a clause chain. Often it then has similar meaning to the Continuous aspect, indicating that the action referred to by the verb in Habitual aspect was in progress at the time of the next action. This is the case in example (6.39):

- 6.39)    {[Towon Towon]<sub>OBL</sub> e-ng=it-na-ya},            {{wo-rok,            dook    yo-go-k}}.  
Towon Towon    come-DEP=be-DS.1PL-MV            that-SEMBL            dark    say-RP-3SG  
‘We having been coming to Towon Towon, thus, it got dark.’ (Irising hat irom 1:23)

Here, the speaker may have chosen to use the Habitual aspect instead of the Continuous to show that the coming took a long time: the Continuous aspect only indicates that the action was occurring at the time of the next event, without noting whether it had been happening for a long time. It is also

possible that in fast speech the final *-a* suffix on the lexical verb, which distinguishes the Dependent form from the Medial form, is simply elided.

The Habitual may also comprise several verbs in the Dependent form in a multi-verb Habitual construction. The following example shows this and negation of the Habitual aspect: the negating proclitic *ma=* precedes the first Dependent verb of the predicate marked for Habitual:

- 6.40)     {[Katnang<sub>HEAD</sub>            w<sub>MOD</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ma=ho-ng     na-ng=ir-a-ng}.
- bamboo                    that=LOC            NEG=cook-DEP eat-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL
- ‘They don’t cook and eat in that (type of) bamboo.’ (Field notes)

The Present Habitual aspect is the aspect used in at least one riddle. Riddles are most likely not traditional; this one, one of only two riddles I collected, was explained to me by schoolchildren who may have learned it in school—moreover, it describes an introduced vegetable, the onion:

- 6.41)     {Gaga=wut=don<sub>OBL</sub>                                    bangan-nao     maa-ng-a},
- 2SG.PRO.EMPH=AUTOREFL=RSTR            neck-1SG.POSS chop-DEP-MV
- {{na-ng            ur=it-ta-rok}}.
- eat-DEP            cry=be-PRES.SG-2SG
- ‘All by yourself, slicing my throat, you eat and cry.’ (Field notes)

The verb *it-* ‘be’ may itself occur in the Habitual aspect, combining with the auxiliary *it-* ‘be.’ This is exemplified in a sentence excerpted from an autobiographical narrative explaining that the young speaker, having stopped attending school, simply stays at home (‘home,’ that is, writ large, including her farm plots):

- 6.42)     {Daweng<sub>O</sub>     mö-ng-a},     {pauko     mö-ng-a},
- Chinese.taro     plant-DEP-MV     sweet.potato     plant-DEP-MV
- {{böğ-in<sub>OBL</sub>     ir=it-ta-t}}.
- house-LOC     be=be-PRES.SG-1SG
- ‘Planting *daweng*, planting sweet potatoes, I stay at home.’ (Helen inoin hat 2:51)

The Habitual is sometimes used to describe a state that may be considered customary only within a very limited, timeframe. In one story, for instance, a speaker described accompanying her brothers on a forest excursion. One brother carried his axe raised in a way that struck her as funny, and she was seized with uncontrollable laughter. The speaker described the raising of the axe, the continual laughing, another brother chastising her for laughing, and her refusal to stop laughing all using the Past Habitual construction, even though the episode could not have lasted for more than an hour or so. One bit of the description is excerpted here as (6.43):

- 6.43)      {            [{{Ööp ep-pi}}]<sub>SR:O</sub>            na-no-ng-a}            {{n-aa-ng  
                  quiet    come-IMM.IMP.2SG            1SG.O-tell-DEP-MV            1SG.O-see-DEP  
                  yo-ng=it-do-k}}.  
                  say-DEP=be-RP-3SG  
                  ‘Telling me, “Come quietly!” he used to scold me.’ (Gosing arap ii 1:10)

The Habitual aspect here shows that these actions and events lasted for some time, while framing them as perfective wholes. Had the speaker chosen to present them as in progress at the time of some other action, she would have used the Continuous aspect.

### 6.5.2 Continuous aspect

Like the Habitual aspect, the Continuous aspect employs the verb *it-* ‘be’ as auxiliary. With the Continuous, however, the lexical verb takes Medial form. The Continuous is used to describe actions or events in progress in the time of reference, with no requirement that they last for a long period or be habitual. As noted in §6.2, the Medial verb form cannot be interpreted as sequentially preceding a verb following it if either verb describes a state, rather than a punctual action. This is the case with the Continuous aspect, where the lexical verb in Medial form is followed by the auxiliary verb *it-* ‘be.’ For a lexical verb meaning ‘do X,’ the Continuous aspect construction literally means ‘doing X, exist/stay/be.’ In practice, it can be translated as ‘be doing X.’

In contrast to the Habitual aspect, the lexical Medial verb and auxiliary *it-* ‘be’ remain separate phonological words, each with its own stress, in the Continuous aspect construction. But

while a Medial verb in a clause chain normally bears rising, list-style intonation (§2.9) and may be followed by a pause, the Medial verb in a Continuous aspect construction is distinguished by flat intonation, and no pause before the auxiliary verb *it-* ‘be.’ No other arguments may be inserted between the Medial verb and the verb *it-*. Further, the restrictive/durative postposition =*gon* ‘just’ may encliticize to the Medial verb in the Continuous aspect construction, but otherwise rarely encliticizes to Medial verbs in clause chains. This all indicates that the Continuous aspect construction is not bi-clausal, with the Medial verb concluding an initial medial clause, and the verb *it-* forming a second final clause. Instead, here the construction is analysed as comprising a single clause. This may be seen in the following examples:

6.44)    {{ Amna<sub>S</sub>        bög-in<sub>OBL</sub>        it-ta-k }}.  
           man            house-LOC        be-PRES.SG-3SG  
           ‘The man is at home.’

6.45)    {{ Amna<sub>S</sub>        youp<sub>O</sub> to-ng-a        it-ta-k }}.  
           man            work    do-DEP-MV        be-PRES.SG-3SG  
           ‘The man is doing work.’

6.46)    Amna<sub>TOP</sub>        {youp<sub>O</sub> to-ng-a},        {{ bög-in        it-ta-k }}.  
           man            work    do-DEP-MV        house-LOC        be-PRES.SG-3SG  
           ‘The man, doing work, he is at home.’

In (6.46), when the location *bög-in* ‘at home’ intervenes between the Medial verb *to-ng-a* ‘doing’ and the final verb *it-ta-k* ‘s/he is,’ the two can no longer be interpreted as co-existing in a single clause. This is unlike multi-verb predicates made up of Dependent verbs, such as those in §6.2 (examples (6.2), (6.4), (6.6), (6.7), and (6.8)).

The auxiliary *it-* ‘be’ of the Continuous aspect can occur inflected for any tense, mood, or reality status. In the following example describing the fate of sinners according to a Biblical source, the speaker uses the Continuous aspect with the Remote Future to highlight the internal composition of the burning they will experience:



6.51) {Gaga=nang<sub>OBL</sub> wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> ir-a}, {{nandugu-yao  
 2SG.PRO.EMPH=lone that-LDEM.NEAR be-MV something-2SG.POSS  
 to-ng-a i-irök}}.  
 SG.O.take-DEP-MV be-DEL.IMP.2SG

‘You by yourself staying there, be taking up your something.’ (Ges hat 2 7:17)

The ‘something’ referred to here is the bow and arrows that the addressee will use if an intruder tries to enter the house.

For Continuous aspect within a clause chain, the auxiliary *it-* ‘be’ occurs in Medial form:

6.52) {Ya-ma-ng-a e-e-ya}<sub>2</sub> {{urop yo-gu-ng}}.  
 3.O-guard-DEP-MV be-DS.1SG-MV enough say-RP-2/3PL

‘As I was watching over him, that’s it, they spoke.’ (Anita inoin hat 2:31)

The postposition =*gon* (§8.8) never encliticizes to the Medial verb of a Continuous aspect construction in a final clause. That is, with =*gon*, the auxiliary *it-* ‘be’ is always in Medial form—and most often inflected for different-subject, as in (6.53):

6.53) {Ur-a=gon e-e-ya} , {{nan-na=ho<sub>A</sub> yo-go-k}}.  
 cry-MV=RSTR be-DS.1SG-MV father-1SG.POSS=FOC say-RP-3SG

‘I being just crying, it was my father who spoke.’ (Anita hon hat 2:26)

Out of 105 examples in the Nungon texts corpus in which =*gon* encliticizes to the Medial verb in a Continuous aspect construction, the verb *it-* is never in final verb form. Further, only in one instance out of 105 is the verb *it-* not inflected for different-subject. There does not seem to be a grammatical restriction against *it-* occurring in final verb form after =*gon*, as ?*u-ra=gon it-do-t* ‘I was just crying.’ It may be that the phrasing ‘while I/someone kept on crying/doing X, my father/someone did Y’ has become the preferred usage.

Unlike the Habitual aspect, the Continuous is not frequently directly negated, although such negation is possible. This is for pragmatic reasons: people tend not to discuss negated in-progress

events. It is strange to say: ‘While I was not crying, my father spoke,’ or ‘Don’t stay taking up your bow and arrows.’ Thus, aspectual distinctions are at least somewhat dependent on polarity (Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998) here, with the imperfective Continuous aspect less likely to be used under negative polarity. The most natural way to negate the Continuous aspect is with the lexical verb in final form, not Continuous form. This can be seen in a negative response to a question framed in the Continuous aspect, as in the example below:

- 6.54) Q: Unga dombisum, youp<sub>o</sub> to-ng-a e-Ø-k?  
 today morning work do-DEP-MV be-NP-3SG  
 ‘Was she doing work this morning?’  
 A: Dombisum youp<sub>o</sub> ma=to-Ø-k.  
 morning work NEG=do-NP-3SG  
 ‘She didn’t do work this morning.’

But the Continuous aspect does occasionally occur directly negated, as in the following example from an SDA church sermon:

- 6.55) {{Goga<sub>OBL</sub> ma=eto-ng-a it-ta-r}}-a.  
 2SG.PRO+BEN NEG=forget-DEP-MV be-PRES.SG-1SG-ATT  
 ‘Be aware that I am not forgetting about you.’ (Field notes)

Some stative expressions are commonly expressed in Continuous aspect. Among these is ‘be idle.’ The verb *maya-* ‘be idle, rest’ may host inflection directly, as in (6.56), but it is often framed in the Continuous aspect, as in (6.57):

- 6.56) {{Sabar-u<sub>TOP</sub> wo-is ma=bure-Ø-k}}. {{Maya-nung}}!  
 sabbath-TOP that-TOP NEG=be.finished-NP-3SG rest-DEL.IMP.2/3PL  
 ‘As for the Sabbath, it is not finished. Rest!’ (Field notes)

6.57)     {{Maya-ng-a            it-ti}}!  
           rest-DEL.IMP-2/3PL     be-IMM.IMP.2SG

‘Be resting!’ [Often used to command to sit down, or to stop moving around.] (Field notes)

### 6.5.3 Continuous Habitual aspect

The Continuous Habitual morphologically and semantically combines these two aspects. It is essentially a variation of the Habitual aspect which brings the Habitual into closer focus. As seen in the preceding sections, the Habitual frames a lasting or repeated action as a perfective whole, while the Continuous frames any action—lasting or not, repeated over time or not—as imperfective and in-progress. The Past Habitual can usually be translated as ‘used to do,’ while the Remote or Near Past Continuous can be translated as ‘was (in the act of) doing.’ The Continuous Habitual combines these two aspects, framing an in-progress event as lasting or habitual. With the Continuous Habitual aspect, the Medial form of the lexical verb is followed by the verb *it-* ‘be,’ itself combined with the auxiliary *it-* ‘be’ as in the Habitual aspect.

In §6.5.1, it was shown that the lexical verb in a Habitual aspect construction can be the verb *it-* ‘be’ itself, which then combines with the auxiliary *it-* ‘be’ in a single phonological word. Replacing the NP *bög-in* ‘at home’ in example (6.42) with a Medial verb yields a Continuous Habitual construction:

<i>bög-in</i>	<i>ir=it-ta-t</i>	→	<i>hori-ng-a</i>	<i>ir=it-ta-t</i>
house-LOC	be=be-PRES.SG-1SG		wait-DEP-MV	be=be-PRES.SG-1SG
‘I habitually exist at home’			‘I habitually exist in a state of waiting’	

If the verb *hori-* above were used in a Habitual construction instead, the meaning would be ‘I (habitually) wait.’

This is shown in (6.58):

- 6.58) [Ep-ni-ng-ma yo-ng-a], [hori-ng-a ir=ir-a-ng].  
 come-IRR.PL-2/3PL-RF say-DEP-MV wait-DEP-MV be=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 ‘Thinking that they<sub>i</sub> will come, they<sub>j</sub> are always waiting.’ (David Ögate 4:49)

As with the Habitual, the auxiliary verb *it-* ‘be’ in the Continuous Habitual may only inflect for Remote Past, Present, or Remote Future, reflecting the meanings of this aspect ‘used to be doing,’ ‘always be doing,’ and ‘will always be doing.’

A good example of the Continuous Habitual in use comes from a letter written in Nungon. Towet village is famous for one of its clean, cold springs. The waterway that springs from this source is named *Huang*.

- 6.59) [Huang<sub>MOD</sub> Yamuk<sub>HEAD</sub>]=kO<sub>FOC</sub> oo-ng-a ir=it-ta-k.  
 Huang water=FOC descend-DEP-MV be=be-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘It is Huang Stream that is always flowing down.’ (Joel letter March 2014)

The water’s downward flowing is described as perpetually in-progress through the Continuous Habitual aspect construction.

Not all verbs are attested in Continuous Habitual aspect constructions—and the construction itself is not extremely common, with only 33 instances in the corpus. Verbs attested as lexical members of Continuous Habitual constructions are: *to-* ‘do,’ *hori-* ‘wait,’ *na-* ‘eat,’ *aa-* ‘see,’ *duo-* ‘sleep,’ *maya-* ‘be idle,’ *humbot-* ‘bear on shoulder,’ *hi-* ‘put,’ *ut-* ‘cry,’ *ho-* ‘cook,’ *öö-* ‘ascend,’ *oo-* ‘descend,’ and *yo-* ‘say.’ The verb *to-* ‘do’ is most frequently the lexical verb in a Continuous Habitual constructions in the corpus: 19 out of 33 instances have *to-* as lexical verb.

Table 6.7 is a comparative summary of the Habitual, Continuous, and Continuous Habitual aspect constructions in Nungon.

Table 6.7. Comparison of Habitual, Continuous, and Continuous Habitual aspects		
aspect	form with <i>yo-</i> ‘say’, Remote Past 3sg	gloss
Habitual	<i>yo-ng=it-do-k</i>	s/he used to say
Continuous	<i>yo-ng-a it-do-k</i>	s/he was saying (at a certain time)
Continuous Habitual	<i>yo-ng-a ir=it-do-k</i>	s/he used to be saying

#### 6.5.4 Inferred Imperfective: aspect and evidentiality

Across languages, if evidentiality is only marked in a certain tense or aspect, this is usually past tense or perfect aspect (Aikhenvald 2004: 264). But the Nungon Inferred Imperfective aspect, which combines habitual or imperfective aspect and non-firsthand evidentiality, occurs only in Present tense.

The Inferred Imperfective aspect is canonically used for an action that is presumably being done regularly, but which the speaker has not directly observed; in the Nungon corpus, this aspect only occurs with animate subject arguments, and only in the Present tense. The lexical verb appears in medial form, followed by the verb *to-* ‘do,’ with an additional suffix *-g* before the Present tense suffix *-a*.

The Inferred Imperfective aspect is used for events and actions that are current, often habitual, and unfinished, i.e., may continue indefinitely. In common use, it has non-firsthand evidential overtones. It may also convey politeness or indicate an actor’s lack of control, especially when used with a first-person S/A.

The Inferred Imperfective seems to employ the verb *to-* ‘do’ as auxiliary, with a special imperfective aspect suffix *-ga-* after the verbal root, followed by a person-number suffix. It may be that the auxiliary verb is in fact *ta-* ‘split’ and not *to-* ‘do,’ because the combined surface form is *ta-ga-* and not *to-ga-*, but it is likely that the /o/ of *to-* ‘do’ becomes /a/ because of proximity to /a/ (/g/ here is the velar fricative [ɣ], not a stop). The corpus includes no instances of a predicate inflected for Inferred Imperfective in a medial clause.

The Inferred Imperfective form is the following:

lexical verbal root-(DEP)-MV + *ta-ga*-S/A person/number suffix

Table 6.8 below shows the Inferred Imperfective inflectional paradigm for *na-* ‘eat’ (recall that *na-ng-a* is ‘eat-DEP-MV’).

<b>Table 6.8 Inferred Imperfective</b>			
	<b>sg.</b>	<b>du.</b>	<b>pl.</b>
<b>1</b>	<i>na-ng-a ta-ga-t</i> ‘I seem to be eating’	<i>na-ng-a ta-ga-mok</i> ‘the two of us seem to be eating’	<i>na-ng-a ta-ga-mong</i> ‘we (pl.) seem to be eating’
<b>2</b>	<i>na-ng-a ta-ga-rok</i> ‘you (sg.) seem to be eating’	<i>na-ng-a ta-ga-morok</i> ‘the two of you/them seem to be eating’	<i>na-ng-a ta-ga-ng</i> ‘you/they (pl.) seem to be eating’
<b>3</b>	<i>na-ng-a ta-ga-k</i> ‘s/he/it seems to be eating’		

- 6.60) Oe-no<sub>o</sub> wer-a ta-g-a-k.  
woman-3SG.POSS 3SG.O.beat-MV do-INF-PRES-3SG

‘He must beat his wife (regularly).’ [Inference by the speaker.] (Field notes)

- 6.61) Tanak<sub>o</sub> ma=na-ng-a ta-g-a-k.  
food NEG=eat-DEP-MV do-INF-PRES-3SG

‘She must not be eating food.’ [Because she has a large sore on her lips; but the speaker does not know for sure, since the afflicted woman has confined herself to her house and cannot speak.] (Field notes)

The following examples of the Inferred Imperfective in use are each presented with a brief explanation of context. The first example below relates to inference of habitual action. A Towet woman on the way to a remote farm location noticed, on passing another farm plot of hers, that some

of her pitpit next to the path showed signs of cutting, indicating that other people had been secretly harvesting her pitpit.

- 6.62)      Gir-a                              ta-g-a-ng.  
              harvest.pitpit-MV              do-INF-PRES-2/3PL  
              ‘They seem to be harvesting (pitpit).’ (Field notes)

The next example is among the strongest proofs that the Inferred Imperfective has non-visual evidential overtones. In explaining the Inferred Imperfective to me, a Towet woman set up the following situation: her brother and his family are inside their house. All signs indicate that they are eating food: smoke rising from the smoke-hole, water for washing root vegetables thrown outside, the sound of spoons scraping against bowl rims, etc., but the two of us are outside and cannot actually see them eating, so we use the Inferred Imperfective, as follows:

- 6.63)      Tanak<sub>O</sub> na-ng-a              ta-g-a-ng.  
              food    eat-DEP-MV              do-INF-PRES-2/3PL  
              ‘They seem to be eating food (but we can’t see them).’ (Field notes)

The Inferred Imperfective aspect may combine with the dubitative marker *hu* for extra epistemic doubt. In the next example, five-year-old Stesi’s mother had left Stesi alone in the house and come up the hill to visit me. Saying the below, she excused herself to go check on Stesi.

- 6.64)      {{ Stesis              ur-a              ta-g-a-k }}              hu.  
              Stesi              cry-MV              do-INF-PRES-3SG              DUB  
              ‘Stesi may be crying (but I can’t see her).’ (Field notes)

The next example is the only one in the corpus in which a lexical verb in the Dependent form, not Medial form, combines with the auxiliary. This may be evidence that the repeated Dependent form, discussed as a nominalization in §4.2.4, does actually form a complex predicate with the verb *to-* ‘do.’

- 6.65) Yonggut           yonggut           ta-g-a-ng.  
 laugh                laugh               do-INF-PRES-2/3PL  
 ‘They tend to joke around (unseen).’ (Field notes)

This is from a sermon criticizing those who joke around here on earth but will be punished in the hereafter. The implication is somewhat vaguer than if the statement had been framed in the habitual aspect (§6.5.1), which would place the statement firmly in the realm of actual, definite occurrences—thus perhaps having more potential to offend, when stated in public.

The next example describes how many Towet people walk to wait for the sun to grow hot on cold (fire-less) Sabbath mornings:

- 6.66)    {{Wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub>           ongo-ng=ir-a-ng}},            {{{[oe           anna]<sub>HEAD</sub>  
 that-LDEM.NEAR           go-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL    woman           man  
 ngo-ndo=ma<sub>MOD</sub>]s                ongo-ng-a           ta-g-a-ng}}}.  
 here-LDEM.NEAR=ORIGIN       go-DEP-MV           do-INF-PRES-2/3PL  
 ‘Where they (habitually) go, (where) people of here seem to be going.’ (Nongi iyep  
 1:08)

In an illustration of the close relationship between the habitual aspect and the Inferred Imperfective, this sentence first uses the habitual *ongo-ng=ir-a-ng*, then rephrases this in the Inferred Imperfective as *ongo-ng-a ta-g-a-ng*. In his explanation of the movements of the sun through the Uruwa valley, the oldest living Towet man notes that because Towet is on the eastern flanks of the mountains, Towet remains cold later in the morning than most other villages, which are lit by the sun earlier than Towet. On the Sabbath, many Towet people walk to a sunlit ridge, Urong-o-n Bö (‘ridge-3SG.POSS-LOC peak’), to wait for the sun to fall on Towet proper. The elderly man himself does not usually walk to Urongon Bö, and this may be why he seems to distance himself from the action by using the Inferred Imperfective.

When the Inferred Imperfective aspect occurs in the first person, the construction has mirative overtones. This is to be expected; such special uses of evidentiality marking with the first person are

also found in other languages (Aikhenvald 2004: 219). A speaker who had been told the English word for ‘knee’ but kept forgetting it when quizzed produced example (6.67):

- 6.67)      Nok<sub>S</sub>              eto-ng-a              ta-g-a-t.  
                  1SG.PRO              forget-DEP-MV      do-INF-PRES-1SG  
                  ‘I seem to keep forgetting.’ (Field notes)

Similarly, I was instructed that the proper way to say that I was eating a lot of fresh corn was with the Inferred Imperfective:

- 6.68)      Nok<sub>A</sub>              songgöm=bono              na-ng-a              ta-g-a-t.  
                  1SG.PRO              corn=RSTR              eat-DEP-MV              do-INF-PRES-1SG  
                  ‘I seem to be eating just corn.’ (Field notes)

The Inferred Imperfective makes this utterance politer than if it were framed in the Habitual aspect, or in the Present tense with gnomic meaning (Bybee et al. 1994: 141).

Although the Inferred Imperfective usually occurs with animate S/A arguments, in one instance in the texts corpus it occurs with a type of illness as the S argument. This is shown in example (6.69):

- 6.69)      [[Toron, kök kök<sub>APPOS</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub>,      botbot-no<sub>MOD</sub>,      morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>:  
                  snot      cough              big.and.bad-ADJ              large  
                  wo=ma-i,              [ngo ka ngo]<sub>OBL</sub>              e-ng-a              ta-g-a-k.  
                  that=SPEC-TOP              nowadays              come-DEP-MV      do-INF-PRES-3SG  
                  ‘Colds, coughs, gross, large (sickness): as for that, it just seems to be coming  
                  nowadays.’  
                  (Nongi him 0:28)

### 6.5.5 Completive aspect

Completive aspect marking denotes that an action has been performed thoroughly or has completely finished. As such, it does not occur with atelic verbs such as *it-* ‘be.’ The Completive is formed by

adding the enclitic =*dup* to the Dependent form of the lexical verb. The element =*dup* is considered to be an enclitic here because it bears secondary stress, may be stressed for emphasis by speakers, and may be separated from the Dependent verb to which it cliticizes by a small pause in slow speech. Dependent verb forms with =*dup* are usually followed by the auxiliary *to-* ‘do.’ Alternatively, the Dependent verb + =*dup* may stand alone, bearing full completive meaning without the auxiliary *to-* ‘do.’ Here, Nungon differs from some other Finisterre-Huon Papuan languages, which use the verb meaning ‘finish’ as auxiliary for completive aspect (Linnasalo 2014, Pennington 2014).

Example (6.70) shows the Completive aspect with the intransitive verb *omo-* ‘die,’ while Example (6.71) shows the Completive aspect with the S=A transitive verb *henet-* ‘tie up.’ Example (6.72) shows the Completive aspect construction without the auxiliary verb *to-* ‘do.’

6.70) [[Gungak yoni]<sub>HEAD</sub> hottop<sup>14</sup><sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> omo-ng=dup  
 child 3PL.POSS first-born die-DEP=COMPL  
 to-gu-ng.  
 do-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘Their first-born children died out completely.’ (Gosing Mosasi hon hat notes)

6.71) Amna=ho<sub>A</sub> [eet-na obu-na]<sub>O</sub> henet=dup  
 man=FOC leg-1SG.POSS arm-1SG.POSS tie.up=COMPL  
 to-gu-ng.  
 do-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘It was the men who tied up my arms and legs completely.’ (Narrative II, Appendix 1:51)

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<sup>14</sup> The word *hottop* must be interpreted here as either an adjective or as a noun in apposition to the NP *gungak yoni*. It describes the first child a woman bears, but is not regularly used by Towet Nungon speakers.

6.72)    Ööp=bon        ööp=bon        amnao temo-ng=dup  
           quiet=RSTR    quiet=RSTR    man    shoot-DEP=COMPL  
           doo-ng=dup.  
           3NSG.O.kill-DEP=COMPL

‘Quietly, quietly, (they) shot all the men and killed them all.’ (Ges hat 2 10:10)

Any diachronic source for the completive suffix is unclear. A free form *\*dup* could have been the nominalized form (§4.2.1) of a P-class verb *\*du-*. Today’s completive forms, such as *doo-ng=dup* ‘killed them completely,’ would have evolved from the nominalization of a complex predicate, with the first verb, *doo-ng* ‘kill them’ in Dependent form, and the second verb, *\*du-* ‘do completely’ in nominalized form as *\*dup* ‘doing completely.’ This is, of course, only speculation. The intransitive verb meaning ‘be finished’ today, *buret-*, does not formally resemble *=dup* at all; further, since *buret-* is intransitive, a preceding verb such as *doo-ng* ‘kill them’ must be inflected for different-subject.

The verb *buret-* ‘be finished’ may itself occur in the completive aspect with *=dup*, as in the next example:

6.73)    Ma,        {to-ng tot-na                buret=dup                t-un-a}...  
           REL    do-DEP SG.O.caus-1PL    be.finished=COMPL    do-DS.3SG-MV  
           ‘So, it having finished by our doing...’ (Boas *babiya bök* 2:04)

Here, the finishing has occurred completely. If the verb *buret-* ‘finish’ occurs on its own without *=dup*, it does not serve as a marker of aspect within the clause.

### 6.5.6 Imminent aspect

Imminent aspect marking combines desiderative modal and imminent aspectual meanings, as in colloquial American English ‘be fitting to do s.t.’: *I’m fitting to go* could imply either desire for action, or the imminence of the action, or both. The Imminent aspect is marked by adding a suffix *-na* to the probable inflection. This is usually followed by the auxiliary *to-* ‘do’; but as with the completive, the Imminent aspect still bears total imminent meaning if the auxiliary *to-* ‘do’ is omitted. This is the case in example (6.74) below, in which the lexical verb is itself the verb *to-* ‘do’:

- 6.74) [Imun gamun]<sub>O</sub> to-nang-na, Hamerengan<sub>LOC</sub>  
trade do-PROB.PL-IMNT Hamerengan  
ongo-ng=it-du-ng.  
go-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
‘Wanting to do trade, they used to go to Hamerengan.’ (David Ögate 0:41)
- 6.75) { [[{Muuno, yup<sub>O</sub> honggir-eng-na ta-a-t}]]<sub>SR:O</sub>,  
no bird grab-PROB.SG-IMNT do-PRES.SG-1SG  
yo-ng-a}, {{ongo-go-k}}.  
say-DEP-MV go-RP-3SG  
‘Having said: “No, I’m going to grab the bird,” he left.’ (Ges hat 1 5:36)
- 6.76) {{{[Oe amna]<sub>HEAD</sub> hinom<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> omo-nang-na  
woman man INTENS die-PROB.PL-IMNT  
ta-a-ng}}=ma...  
do-PRES-2/3PL=REL  
‘(At the time) when the old people are about to die...’ (Field notes)
- 6.77) Nisop-nang-na e-wa-ng.  
1NSG.O.beat-PROB.PL-IMNT come-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
‘They are coming to kill us.’ (Yosua hat 1 25 June 2011 6:48)

Imminent aspect marking may indeed have evolved from a combination of the Probable inflection and the Medial form of the verb *yo-* ‘say,’ as in the Conative construction (§12.7.4). The Conative construction is still an alternative strategy for expressing Imminent aspect. In the Conative construction, the Immediate or Delayed Imperative occurs as part of a speech report (§12.7), accompanied by the verb *to-* ‘do.’ Example (6.75) included the imminent aspect-framed *yup<sub>O</sub>*



## 6.6 Aspect marking on non-final verbs and deverbal nominalizations

In non-final verbs, as in final verbs, the formally unmarked aspect is perfective. All aspects marked in final verbs except Inferred Imperfective may also occur in medial clauses, with the auxiliary verb *it-* ‘be’ or *to-* ‘do’ taking Medial form. But non-final verbs also distinguish two additional aspects: Perfect and Iterative.

### 6.6.1 Perfect aspect with Medial verbs

The optional Perfect aspect marking denotes that an event within a clause chain has finished before the onset of the next event, with relevance to it. It occurs with action and state verbs, but only when the subject argument has animate reference, usually human. Because the subject of the Perfect aspect-marked medial clause is most often either identical to or included among the subjects of the following clause, Lauver and Wegmann called the equivalent marking in Yau ‘included subject’ marking (1994: 31), and it is the basis for an erroneous account of combined different subject and same subject marking in Yau by Roberts (1997: 134-135). But in Nungon, the subject of the marked clause very occasionally differs from the subject of the following clause. Further, if the marking were only meant to signal same or included subject, it would be completely redundant: no marking at all on a Medial verb already signals same or included subject.

I call this marking Perfect in Nungon because it generally seems to indicate that the action of the marked clause was completed before the action of the subsequent clause. Of course, since Nungon clause chains are generally tense-iconically ordered, there are many more instances of completed actions without Perfect marking than there are with Perfect marking. This marking could be called Emphatic Perfect marking, with formally unmarked medial verbs often being understood to bear perfect aspect, but Perfect marking making this completion explicit.

Perfect marking is helpful for tail-head linkage within long clause chains. The Nungon Perfect is similar to Comrie’s ‘perfect of recent past’ (1976: 60). In the Perfect aspect, the lexical verb in uninflected Medial form is followed by the grammaticalized verb root *mot-* (possibly originating in a lexical verb \**mo-* ‘give’) which also occurs in the Causative II construction (§6.8). In Perfect aspect

marking, the verb *mot-* takes forms that probably originated in the Causative inflection (shown in table 6.5). While the person and number of the subject of the lexical verb in Medial form are indexed on the verb *mo-*, the subject of the following clause may be either the same as or different from the subject indexed on *mo-*. The Perfect aspect is one area of grammar where language change is evident: older and more conservative speakers employ a special suffix *-o* on the Medial verb before the Perfect aspect marker instead of the usual Medial suffix *-a*. This suffix is called here ‘Medial II.’ This suffix never replaces *-a* on person-number-inflected Medial forms.

A link between Perfect aspect marking and the Causative paradigm may also be evident in the absence of Perfect marking with inanimate subject arguments. That is, all instances in the corpus of Perfect aspect marking have animate subject arguments. Verbs that typically take inanimate subjects, such as *buret-* ‘be finished,’ never occur with Perfect aspect marking. Perfect aspect marking does occur with a range of state and action verbs, however.

The Perfect aspect is shown in example (6.82), from a description of house construction:

- 6.82)      {Winduwa<sub>O</sub>      towi-ng      hoo-ng-a      moraina},  
              window      arrange-DEP      close-DEP-MV      PERF.1SG  
              {{yama=ha<sub>OBL</sub>      öö-ng      ongo-go-mok}}.  
              door=BEN      ascend-DEP      go-RP-1DU

‘I having arranged and closed the windows, the two of us went up for (wood for) the doors.’ (Stanli inoin bök 3:38)

The 1sg Perfect marking in (6.82), *moraina*, is parsable into *mor-a i-in-a* ‘?give-MV be-DS.3SG-MV.’ Indeed, some speakers separate *moraina* into two phonological words. Parsed into two words, the 1sg Perfect marking may be translated as ‘By my giving/acting, it [the action indicated by the preceding Medial verb(s)] staying....’ Example (6.82) may then be translated closely as ‘Arranging and closing the windows, by my acting, staying (done), we went up for the doors.’ The different-subject marking on the second word, *i-in-a* ‘be-DS.3SG-MV,’ would always be appropriate, even if the subject of the next clause were the same as that of the Perfect-marked clause, because the

subject of *it-* ‘be’ could be interpreted as an impersonal 3sg, summing up the preceding action(s). In the speech of some speakers, all first person Perfect marker forms may be parsed into two words. Other speakers always pronounce these forms as single words. No speakers parse the second or third person forms into separate words.

<b>Table 6.9. Perfect aspect marking</b>			
	<b>sg</b>	<b>du</b>	<b>pl</b>
<b>1</b>	<i>moraina/</i> <i>mor-a i-in-a</i>	<i>motdaina/</i> <i>mot-da i-in-a</i>	<i>motnaina/</i> <i>mot-na i-in-a</i>
<b>2</b>	<i>mina</i>	<i>munya</i>	<i>muya</i>
<b>3</b>	<i>muna</i>		

If the Perfect aspect marking paradigm originated in the Causative paradigm of the grammaticalized verb *mo-* ‘?give,’ then this could explain the separability of the first person forms. Table 6.5 showed the Causative inflections of three verbs. Like those, the verb *mo-* has disyllabic Causative first person forms *mor-a* (1sg), *mot-da* (1du) and *mot-na* (1pl), but monosyllabic second and third person forms *m-i* (2sg), *m-un* (3sg), *m-un* (2/3du), and *m-u* (2/3pl). In the historical development of the Perfect aspect marking, the disyllabic forms would have retained their separability from the 3sg different-subject-inflected Medial verb *i-in-a*.

As for the origin of the second and third person Perfect aspect markers, the 3sg, 2/3du and 2/3pl forms are as would be expected of different-subject—or Causative<sup>15</sup>—forms with the Medial suffix *-a*, shown in table 6.2. Here, there is no incorporated second Medial verb *i-in-a*. Only the 2sg

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<sup>15</sup> Although the Causative inflection cannot combine with the Medial suffix *-a* elsewhere in Nungon grammar, this does not preclude the possibility of this combination being the origin of part of the perfect aspect marking paradigm.

form in table 6.9 possibly incorporates *i-in-a*; the expected different-subject or Causative-marked 2sg Medial form of *mo-* would be *m-i-ya*, not *\*m-i-na*; the form *mina* may have come from the 2sg Causative form *m-i* followed by *i-in-a*, as with the first person forms.

**Perfect aspect marking development: first person and 2sg forms**

<i>hoo-ng-a</i>	<i>mot-da</i>	<i>i-in-a</i>		<i>hoo-ng-a</i>	<i>motdaina</i>
close-DEP-MV	give-CAUS.1DU	be-DS.3SG-MV		close-DEP-MV	PERF.1DU
‘closing, by us remaining (done)...’			→	‘we having closed...’	

**Perfect aspect marking development: 3sg, 2/3du, 2/3pl forms**

<i>hoo-ng-a</i>	<i>m-un-a</i>		<i>hoo-ng-a</i>	<i>muna</i>	
close-DEP-MV	give-CAUS.3SG <sup>16</sup> -MV		close-DEP-MV	PERF.3SG	
‘closing, by him...’			→	‘he having closed...’	

As noted above, more-conservative speakers employ a Medial II suffix on the Medial verb before the Perfect marking. This is illustrated in example (6.83):

6.83)      {Höö=gon<sub>o</sub>                      honggir-o                      motnaina}                      {{ep-bo-mong}}.

                 echidna.sp=RSTR                      grab-MVII                      PERF.1PL                      come-RP-1PL

                 ‘Having caught only echidnas, we came (back).’ (Gosing arap davik 2 2:05)

In (6.82) above, the referent of the subject of the Perfect aspect-marked verb is included among the referents of the subject of the following verb. In (6.83), the subject of the Perfect-marked verb is identical to the subject of the following verb. The referent of the subject of the Perfect-marked

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<sup>16</sup> Nowhere else in Nungon grammar is the Causative inflection followed by the Medial suffix *-a*. But the postulated original inflected *m-un-a* above could not have been different-subject-inflected. This is because in Nungon, the subject of a Medial verb bearing different-subject inflection may not be identical to the subject of the following clause. But the subject of the clause following perfect aspect marking may be identical to or different from the subject of the marked clause. If *m-un-a* represented the causative with Medial suffix *-a*, not the homophonous different-subject marking with Medial suffix, this might be more permissive of subject identity than the different-subject inflection.

verb may also include that of the subject of the following verb. Unlike other different-subject-inflected Medial verbs, however, these may be followed by verbs that share the subject argument indexed on *mo-*, as seen in the next example:

- 6.84) {Kaunsöli=hos ongo-ng-a muna}, {{yo-go-c}}.  
 Councillor=FOC go-DEP-MV PERF.3SG say-RP-3SG  
 ‘It was Councillor who, having gone (there), spoke.’ (Waasiöng inoin hat 19:42)

Perfect aspect marking of Medial verbs often serves to facilitate narrative flow: ‘X having happened, Y.’ But beyond narratives, imperative strategies using Medial verbs (see §6.4.3) may be framed using Perfect aspect marking. Compare the following commands using Medial verbs with and without Perfect aspect marking:

- 6.85) {Ngo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> e-ng-a}!  
 here-LDEM.NEAR come-DEP-MV  
 ‘Coming here!’ [impersonal, imperious tone]
- 6.86) {Ngo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> e-i-ya}!  
 here-LDEM.NEAR come-DS.2SG-MV  
 ‘You coming here!’ [relatively polite, neutral tone]
- 6.87) {Ngo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> e-ng-a mina}!  
 here-LDEM.NEAR come-DEP-MV PERF.2SG  
 ‘You having come here!’ [polite, more tentative than (6.86)]
- 6.88) {E-i-ya}! {Um<sub>O</sub> wor-e-ya}, {[biyöm<sub>HEAD</sub>  
 come-DS.2SG-MV bamboo.sp pull-DS.2SG-MV tobacco  
 opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]o na-ng-o motdaina}.  
 small eat-DEP-MVII PERF.1DU  
 ‘You come! You having started a fire, let’s consume a little tobacco.’ [first command is relatively polite, second command is even more polite] (Joshua bem hat 1 0:35-37)

### 6.6.2 Medial II suffix with Perfect aspect

Towet speakers who distinguish between Medial verb suffixes I (-*a*) and II (-*o*) use Medial II suffix in very restricted circumstances. It is unclear whether this distinction was a feature of the archaic Towet dialect in general, or whether it was restricted to certain clans. Preliminary exploration of the Kotet dialect shows that Kotet speakers do not use this suffix; instead, Kotet speakers use a bare Dependent verb where Towet conservative speakers use a Medial verb with Medial II suffix, as in the next example:

- 6.89)      {Kubit-nas      ngo-roc=toOBL      bumbum      yo-ng      muna}...  
                  head-1SG.POSS   here-SEMBL=FOC      crazy      say-DEP      PERF.3SG  
                  ‘My head having gone crazy like this...’ (Manggirai undip dek oncoc 0:08)

Before the 3sg Perfect marker *muna*, Towet speakers would have used the verb *yo-* ‘say’ either in regular Medial form, as *yo-ng-a*, or with the Medial II suffix, as *yo-ng-o*. The oldest Worin speaker, Watno, who in 2013 recorded texts describing her memories of World War II bombings of the Uruwa valley, does not use a Medial II suffix in her speech: she always uses the usual Medial suffix *-a* in Perfect constructions. In contrast, the oldest Towet speaker, Nongi, who also recorded a text recalling World War II, always uses the Medial II suffix *-o* in Perfect aspect constructions. Towet grandparents in their fifties and sixties vary in use of the Medial II suffix, with many using it, but a few not using it. This could be due to dialect mixing, since many of these people spent some of their youth in Worin after the governmental in-gathering of the 1960s (§1.6.4).

The next example shows the Medial II suffix used by a Towet grandfather, Hesienare:

- 6.90)      {Hagam<sub>o</sub>      hi-ng-o      moraina},      {{wo-rok,      köpi<sub>o</sub>  
                  bridge      put-DEP-MVII    PERF.1SG      that-SEMBL      coffee  
                  yoo-ng                      ku-go-t}}.  
                  NSG.O.take-DEP      SG.O.take.away-RP-1SG  
                  ‘Having set up the ladder, I was picking coffee.’ (Hesienare köpi mönggok 0:03)

It is noteworthy that Hesienare's son, who is in his mid-twenties, also uses the Medial II suffix in Perfect constructions, while his daughter, in her late teens, does not seem to distinguish systematically between the Medial II suffix and the usual Medial suffix.

Although the enclitic *=ho* is used with deverbal nominalizations and with the Iterative aspect (§6.6.3) to mark manner, it is unlikely that the Medial II suffix is related to *=ho*. Wherever *=ho* occurs, it never loses its initial consonant. This means that *=ho* would occur as *=ko* after the final *-ng* of a vowel-final Dependent verb form, and as *=to* after the final alveolar consonant of consonant-final Dependent forms. Instead, it is possible that the change of *-a* to *-o* in only the Perfect construction could have to do with iconicity of sounds, as with the Call-At-Distance phenomenon (§2.8.9). As noted in §2.8.9, speakers can indicate long duration of an action expressed by an uninflected Medial verb by changing the final *-a* to an elongated *-o*. It could be that this change was codified in either the Towet dialect or the speech of certain clans. It is also possible that some speakers systematically add rounding to the unstressed final vowel of Medial verbs before the initial bilabial consonant *m-* of the Perfect marker, although such alteration does not occur where the Medial suffix *-a* precedes *m-* in any other context.

### **6.6.3 Iterative aspect with Dependent verbs**

In the Iterative construction, a Dependent verb marked with subject-indexing suffix is repeated, usually followed by the focus enclitic *=ho* (§8.3), here marking manner. Repetition of the verb indicates iterative action; the focus enclitic *=ho* marks that the iterative action continues while some other action or event occurs. This construction is not found negated in the corpus, and it is conceivable that negative polarity is incompatible with the Iterative construction.

The following example comes from a description of how two men built a treetop bird-hunting platform in the nineteen-seventies:

6.91) {H-oo-ng y-un, [eep<sub>Pr</sub> beeg-0<sub>Pe</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub>  
 NSG.O-descend-DEP NSG.O.take-DS.3SG tree gap-3SG.POSS=LOC  
 ngo-go oo-ng-a}, {[agep t-un t-un]=to,  
 this-ADV descend-DEP-MV tight do-DS.3SG do-DS.3SG=FOC  
 wo-rok henet k-öö-go-k }.  
 that-SEMBL tie.DEP SG.O-ascend-RP-3SG

‘He bringing them down, they descending between the trees like this, he (repeatedly) making them fast, that’s how he tied and raised them.’ (Geisch nanno orin orugo 2:41)

Here, it is clear that the inflected repetitions of *to-* ‘do’ in the Iterative construction share an A. Thus, although this is the same inflection used for different-subject marking, here is more proof (compounding that of the Causative, which essentially employs the same inflectional paradigm as that used for different-subject marking) that different-subject marking is only one application of this inflectional paradigm, which most basically marks S/A on Dependent verbs.

In the next example, the Iterative construction denotes that birds were calling at the time that two actors went and waited at a fence:

6.92) [Yup<sub>s</sub> y-un y-un=to], {urop ongo-ng-a},  
 bird speak-3SG speak-3SG=FOC enough go-DEP-MV  
 {{gombo=dek<sub>OBL</sub> hori-ng-a it-do-morok }},  
 fence=LOC wait-DEP-MV be-RP-2/3DU

‘A bird having spoken first, that’s it, going to the fence, they were waiting.’ (Gosing bem hat 7:20)

With the verb *ongo-* ‘go’ in the context of human movements along footpaths, the Iterative construction is used to indicate who goes ahead along a path. This is an extension of the iterative meaning: ‘go repeatedly’ comes to mean ‘go quickly’ or ‘go vigorously.’ This is shown in example (6.93):

- 6.93) [Goks ong-i ong-i=ho], {{noks otomo otomo  
 2SG.PRO go-2SG go-2SG=FOC 1SG.PRO slow slow  
 e-wang-ka-t}}.  
 come-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
 ‘You go ahead; I’ll come slowly.’ (Field notes)

Perhaps as shorthand for a longer sentence like (6.93), the Iterative construction may be used with commanding force, as an imperative strategy (§10.6.3). With the verb *ongo-*, this means ‘go ahead!’

- 6.94) Ong-i ong-i=ho!  
 go-2SG go-2SG=FOC  
 ‘You go ahead (of me)!’ (Field notes)

## 6.7 Other ways of indicating aspectual notions

In Nungon, there are additional ways to indicate aspect beyond the core six above. These involve verbs that have been bleached of much of their lexical meaning functioning in tight multi-verb constructions with other verbs.

### 6.7.1 Durative with *ku-* ‘take away’

The verb *ku-/hu-* ‘take away’ was listed among transitive verbs that take number-referencing prefixes in Table 5.13. The form that references a singular object argument, *ku-*, may indicate durative aspect when it follows a Dependent verb of motion or the verb *it-* ‘be’, as in:

- 6.95) {[Babiyam<sub>MOD</sub> bög-in<sub>HEAD</sub>]OBL öö-ng ku-ng-a}...  
 paper house-LOC ascend-DEP SG.O.take.away-RP-1SG  
 ‘I going to school for a long time...’ (Anita inoin hat 0:30)

Durative aspectual meaning may occur when *ku-* follows a range of verbs, including both intransitive verbs such as *it-* ‘be’ and verbs of motion, and transitive verbs, such as *dawi-* ‘search for,’ *tan-* ‘follow,’ and *to-* ‘do.’ But *ku-* may also combine as the second or final verb in a tight multi-verb

construction and maintain lexical meaning ‘take away.’ In texts, determining whether *ku-* yields durative aspect or bears lexical meaning is rarely ambiguous, and the singular object number marking inherent in the form *ku-* helps distinguish between aspect marking and lexical use in a multi-verb construction. In example (4.62) in Chapter 4, repeated here, the Dependent verb preceding *ku-* takes suppletive form referencing non-singular O argument number, while the verb *ku-* remains in the form used with singular O arguments:

- 6.96) [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> onding-o=ma<sub>MOD</sub>]=gon<sub>O</sub> yoo-ng  
 man strong-ADJ=REL=RSTR NSG.O.take-DEP  
 ku-gu-ng.  
 SG.O.take.away-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘They kept taking just the strong men.’ (David Ögate 5:55)

### 6.7.2 Finality with *mö-* ‘fall’

The verb *mö-* ‘fall, plant’ in Dependent form, as first verb in a tight multi-verb construction (§11.2), indicates that an action was completed with finality and purposefulness. Use of this construction is not obligatory to indicate that an action was completed, and its occurrence is restricted to narrative contexts. It translates well as colloquial English ‘up and X,’ as in *I up and left*.

A boy accused of theft defended himself with an alibi describing where he had been earlier that day. At the end of his narrative, he stated:

- 6.97) ... nok<sub>S</sub> mö-ng e-wa-t.  
 1SG.PRO fall-DEP come-NP.SG-1SG  
 ‘...I just/surely/up and came.’ (Field notes)

Use of *mö-ng* here adds finality and vehemence to the boy’s statement. He could have substituted an adverb such as *urop* ‘enough, that’s it’ for *mö-ng*, for slightly different meaning.

## 6.8 Causative constructions

Nungon has two main causative constructions (see §11.2.4 for an additional strategy for expressing causation). Both of these function to add valency to intransitive verbs, adding a causer argument who makes the S of the intransitive verb change state or move. The Causative I construction occurs primarily with intransitive change-of-state verbs such as *ta-* ‘split,’ *kotu-* ‘crack,’ and *hönggot-* ‘become’; in contrast, the Causative II construction occurs only with intransitive verbs of motion, and the verb *it-* ‘be.’

The Causative I construction employs a two-part tight multi-verb construction (§11.2). In this construction, the first verb is a Dependent-like verb inflected for the person/number of the causer and the second is an intransitive verb inflected for the person/number of the causee. If the first verb bears an object-referencing prefix, this prefix indexes the number or person and number of the causee as O argument, while the second verb indexes the causee as S argument. The Causative II construction employs an uninflected Dependent verb, followed by the Causative verb *mo-/yoo-* inflected for person and number of the Causer, then an intransitive verb inflected for person/number of the Causee.<sup>17</sup> Both constructions are strictly contiguous, meaning that other elements may not come between the Dependent and inflected verbs. The Causative I construction is shown in example (6.98), and the Causative II construction in example (6.99):

- 6.98)      Septemba=dek<sub>OBL</sub>      wo=ma-i      to-wa      buret-do-k.  
             September=LOC      that=SPEC-TOP      SG.O.CAUS-1SG finish-RP-3SG

‘In September, that is, I finished it.’ [Literally: ‘it was finished by my doing.’] (Stanli

ino in bök 4:18)

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<sup>17</sup> It is possible that the causative verb *mo-/yoo-* originated as a verb meaning ‘give,’ used for inanimate O arguments. It would then be a counterpart to the object prefix-bearing verb *i-mo-* ‘give,’ which generally takes animate O arguments. *Mo-/yoo-* also occurs as an auxiliary in light verb constructions of affecting (see §11.1.3) that may relate to the benefactive use of *i-mo-* (§11.2.5). Of course, the verb ‘give’ grammaticalizing into a marker of causation is well-attested cross-linguistically (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 152).

6.99)        {T-emo-ng                    m-un                    mö-un-a}...  
                  3SG.O-fight-DEP            SG.O.CAUS-3SG            fall-DS.3SG-MV

‘He having shot it down...’ [Literally: ‘it falling, by his shooting it...’] (Field notes)

The two constructions differ in the type of intransitive verb that may serve as last verb in the construction, expressing the action or state resulting from the causation. The last verb in a Causative I construction usually describes a change of state, such as intransitive *buret-* ‘finish’ in (6.98), while the last verb in a Causative II construction is always a verb of motion, such as *mö-* ‘fall’ in (6.99), or the verb *it-* ‘stay, be.’ Verbs extant in the corpus as the last verbs in Causative constructions are in table 6.10.

<b>Table 6.10. Result verbs possible with Causative constructions</b>	
<b>Causative I</b>	<b>Causative II</b>
Almost always intransitive change-of-state verbs, including: <i>hat-</i> ‘swirl; come up; leaf out’ <i>hom to-</i> ‘become short’ <i>horok yo-</i> ‘be surprised’ <i>hönggot-</i> ‘be born; emerge; appear’ <i>huk mot-</i> ‘slip’ <i>kotu-</i> ‘crack (firm material)’ <i>omo-</i> ‘die’ <i>ta-</i> ‘shatter (of dropped egg, glass)’	Only intransitive verbs of motion and the verb <i>it-</i> ‘be’: <i>ongo-</i> ‘go’ <i>e-</i> ‘come’ (not in corpus, but assumed to be possible) <i>öö-</i> ‘ascend’ <i>oo-</i> ‘descend’ <i>mö-</i> ‘fall’ <i>it-</i> ‘be’

Both Causative constructions employ a Dependent-like form inflected for the person-number of the causer argument, followed by an intransitive verb inflected for the person-number of the S/O argument. It makes sense for the Dependent form to be used in these constructions, rather than the Medial form: while the Medial form serves as predicate of its own separate medial clause, the Dependent form must partner with other verbs in tight multi-verb constructions (§11.2) within the same clause. But the Dependent-like form—called the Causative form here—used in the Causative constructions differs slightly from the Dependent form. This difference is only evident in the first

person inflections. Since not every verb occurs in Causative constructions, it is not clear how systematic this difference is.

As shown in Table 6.5 in §6.1, the Dependent and Causative paradigms are almost exactly the same. The difference is in the 1du and 1pl, where the Causative has an extra *-t-* between the verbal root and the person/number suffix. This is illustrated in the contrast between the inflected Dependent and Causative forms in the following pair of sentences; the first sentence uses the inflected Dependent form as the basis for the different-subject Medial form *yoo-na-ya* ‘we taking them,’ while the second sentence uses the Causative form *yot-na* ‘we cause-by-taking them’:

6.100)    {Non=to<sub>A</sub>                    yoo-na-ya},                    {{yu=ho<sub>A</sub>  
                   1NSG.PRO=FOC                    NSG.O.take-DS.1PL-MV    3.PRO=FOC  
                   ni-i-ng-a                            e-eng-ka-k}}.  
                   1NSG.O-see-DEP-MV    be-PROB.SG-NF-3SG  
                   ‘We taking them, she will be watching us.’ (Field notes)

6.101)    Yot-na                            hönggot-ni-ng-ma.  
                   NSG.O.take.CAUS-1PL    emerge-IRR.PL-2/3PL-RF  
                   ‘We will choose them.’ (Literally: ‘By our taking them, they will emerge.’)

An alveolar unvoiced stop /t/ is inserted before an /n/-initial suffix elsewhere in Nungon. That is, the Class 1 adjective and cardinal numeral *yoi* ‘two’ gains a /t/ between the diphthong and the Class 3 adjectivizing suffix *-ni* when it takes derived cardinal numeral form *yoit-ni* ‘two.’ The same happens with the Class 1 adjective and cardinal numeral *yaanhi* ‘three’ when it occurs in derived Class 3 adjective form: *yaanhit-ni* ‘three’ (this retains stress on the first syllable). The difference between 1pl Dependent form *yoo-na* and 1pl Causative form *yot-na* could have to do with status as independent phonological words. In fact, the 1pl Immediate Imperative form *yoo-na* ‘let’s take them’ bears stress on the second syllable, and the Medial form *yoo-na-ya* is usually stressed on the second syllable, while *yot-na* is stressed on the first syllable. It could be the metric rhythm of the Causative





## 7 Pronouns and Demonstratives

This chapter covers Nungon personal pronouns and demonstratives.

### 7.1 Pronouns

As is typical of Finisterre-Huon languages (McElhanon 1973: 21), Nungon personal pronouns take two different forms: a basic form and an ‘emphatic’ form. (The ‘emphatic’ form has reflexive and contrastive, as well as focusing, functions; ‘emphatic’ is the label used in most literature on Finisterre-Huon languages, including: McElhanon 1973: 21 and n.d.: 55; Linnasalo 1993: 11; Reed 2000: 16; and Taylor 2013: 78-79). Both the basic pronouns and the emphatic pronouns may combine with postpositions expressing grammatical relations.

The basic pronouns have neutral person and number reference and may combine with all grammatical-relation-marking postpositions (see next chapter). Without grammatical relation-marking postpositions, the emphatic pronouns have contrastive, reflexive, or focusing person-number reference. Because they are inherently focused, the emphatic pronouns rarely occur with the focus postposition =*ho* (§8.3). They also do not take the genitive postposition =*hon*, serving instead as the basis for contrastive and reflexive possessive pronouns with an emphatic genitive suffix *-in*. Emphatic pronouns co-occur with all other grammatical relation-marking postpositions. The non-singular emphatic pronouns are also the basis for the non-singular personal possessive endings.

Basic pronouns mark fewer person-number distinctions than the emphatic pronouns: in the basic paradigm, first and second persons distinguish between singular and non-singular number, while in the third person, a single expression is used for all numbers. In contrast, the emphatic pronoun paradigm marks singular, dual, and plural for all three persons.

Because any argument may be omitted from a Nungon clause, pronouns are used to disambiguate and contrast. Pronoun occurrence is addressed in §7.1.4.

### 7.1.1 Basic personal pronouns

Nungon basic pronouns are the functionally unmarked free personal pronouns. The basic pronouns distinguish three persons and two numbers (sg. and nsg.) in first and second persons, with no number distinction in third person:

	sg.	nsg.
1	nok	non
2	gok	hon
3	yu	

Since the basic personal pronoun paradigm lacks a dual/plural distinction in all persons, and any number distinctions at all in the third person, these number distinctions must be expressed periphrastically, if desired. The following example shows a typical strategy for expressing dual number with a basic first person pronoun: using the non-singular form of the pronoun together with the number word ‘two, pair’:

7.1)[NON<sub>HEAD</sub>    yo<sub>iMOD</sub>]<sub>s</sub>    Yawan<sub>OBL</sub>    ongo-Ø-mok.  
 1NSG.PRO    two    Yawan    go-NP-1DU  
 ‘We two went to Yawan.’ (Field notes)

In (7.2), the basic pronoun *yu* (3sg/du/pl) is used with plural (>2) agreement in the verb:

7.2){ Yu<sub>s</sub> [Pahamit    wo-ndo<sub>APPOS</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub>    i-i-ya},    {{ nok<sub>s</sub>  
 3.PRO    Pahamit    there-LDEM.NEAR    be-DS.2/3PL-MV    1SG.PRO  
 Inabö<sub>OBL</sub>    ep-bo-t } }.  
 Inabö    come-RP-1SG  
 ‘They staying in Pahamit, there, I came to Inabö.’ (Irising hat irom 2:37)

Note that the third-person pronouns—either basic, as above, or emphatic, as below—are rarely used for inanimate objects. The singular basic and emphatic pronoun may refer to God, and angels and other supernatural beings with human attributes may be referred to using these pronouns.

Unlike nouns, and unlike the emphatic personal pronouns (described in the next section), first and second person singular basic pronouns combine with some of the grammatical relation-marking postpositions (Chapter 8). That is, the initial /h/ of of postpositions =*ho* ‘focus,’ =*hon* ‘genitive,’ and =*hon* ‘benefactive’ assimilates to the place of articulation of the final consonant of a noun to which it is postposed, as with *yok* ‘string bag’: *yok=ko*, *yok=kon*, *yok=ka*. But this is not the case with the 1sg and 2sg basic pronouns, *nok* and *gok*. Instead of \**nok=ko* and \**gok=ko*, these forms are *nogo* [nɔɣɔ] and *gogo* [gɔɣɔ]. All 1sg and 2sg basic pronoun forms with the six grammatical relation-marking postpositions are shown in table 7.2, with two of the non-combining basic pronouns, *yu* and *non*, included for comparison.

**Table 7.2. Basic pronoun forms combined with postpositions**

basic pronoun	= <i>ho</i> focus	= <i>hon</i> genitive	= <i>ha</i> benefactive	= <i>rot</i> comitative	= <i>gon</i> restrictive	= <i>dek</i> locative
<i>nok</i> 1sg	nogo	nogon	noga <sup>18</sup>	nogot	nok=gon	nok=dek
<i>gok</i> 2sg	gogo	gogon	goga	gogot	gok=gon	gok=dek
<i>yu</i> 3	yu=ho	yu=hon	yu=ha	yu=rot	yu=gon	yu=dek
<i>non</i> 1nsg	non=to	non=ton	non=ta	non=ot	non=don	non=dek

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<sup>18</sup> In the speech of some speakers, the /o/ vowel of the first syllable of the forms *noga* and *goga* differentiates from the /a/ of the second syllable, yielding the forms *nöga~nuga* and *göga~guga*; a literate Nungon speaker wrote me using the form /guga/ ‘about you.’

### 7.1.2 Emphatic personal pronouns

These forms are used for topicalization, contrast, and contrastive possession (‘mine, as opposed to yours’); to form reflexives; and to express the notion of ‘on one’s own/by one’s own power.’ Further, the non-singular emphatic pronouns are the basis for the non-singular pertensive markers. More on the pertensive paradigm follows in §9.4. As mentioned above, the emphatic pronouns have a full nine-term person-number distinction paradigm, distinguishing three numbers for all three persons:

Table 7.3. Nungon emphatic personal pronouns			
	sg.	du.	pl.
1	naga	nori	noni
2	gaga	hori	honi
3	ino	yor	yoni

In the following sentence, the emphatic form of the 2sg pronoun is used when three brothers return home and, finding all of the animals they’d killed gone, accuse their elder brother of having eaten them:

7.3) {{Gaga<sub>A</sub> na-ng=dup to-ng-a it-tarok}}.... {{Gaga<sub>A</sub>  
 2SG.PRO.EMPH eat-DEP=COMPL do-DEP-MV be-PRES.SG.2SG 2SG.PRO.EMPH  
 na-ha-rok}}!  
 eat-PRES.SG-2SG

‘It is you yourself who have completely eaten (them) up.... You yourself who eat (them)!’  
 (Ges hat ii 03:58)

Here, *gaga* ‘you’ is contrastive—‘you, and not some other animal or being.’ Since the verbs here both index 2sg A arguments, the most neutral way to form this sentence would be with the subject argument non-explicit, only indexed on the verbs. But here, the brothers express surprise and anger; the emphatic pronoun here serves as an argumentative device, rejecting their brother’s protest that it is not he: ‘You, yourself!’

The emphatic personal pronoun form is used for reflexive actions—though not all instances of the emphatic personal pronoun are reflexives. The next example shows the standard way to describe suicide:

7.4) Inoo                wet-do-k.  
 3SG.PRO.EMPH 3SG.O.hit-RP-3SG  
 ‘He killed himself.’ (Field notes)

But in the next example, the same sequence is not reflexive because the referent of *ino* ‘3SG.PRO.EMPH’ is not the same as the subject of *wet-* ‘beat (sg. O)’:

7.5) {[Yoiwet=ton<sub>Pr</sub>        bök<sub>Pe</sub>]s obö-ng-a},        {{hara inoo                we-Ø-k}}.  
 Yoiwet=GEN                house break-DEP-MV almost 3SG.PRO.EMPH 3SG.O.beat-NP-3SG  
 ‘Yoiwet’s house breaking, it almost killed her.’ (Field notes)

Here, the pronoun *ino* refers to *Yoiwet*, the owner of the house that broke, but the subject of the verb *wet-* ‘beat (sg. O)’ is the NP headed by *bök* ‘house.’ This is clear from the lack of different-subject marking on the S=O ambitransitive Medial verb *obö-* ‘break.’ There could still be something reflexive about the fact that it was *Yoiwet*’s own house that almost killed her.

The emphatic pronouns also combine with encliticizing elements =*wut*~*wuk* and =*nang*, and the restrictive/durative postposition =*gon* to express ‘being alone’ or ‘achieving on one’s own.’ These clitics follow the emphatic pronouns with no morpho-phonological changes within the pronouns.

The auto-reflexive enclitic =*wut* only occurs in this context, following emphatic personal pronouns. Emphatic pronouns combined with =*wut* have auto-reflexive meaning. For instance, =*wut* after the 1sg emphatic pronoun yields *naga=wut* ‘1SG.PRO.EMPH=AUTOREFL’ means ‘on my own, by my own power.’ Some speakers use an alternative form =*wuk* instead of =*wut*; these precede different forms of the restrictive/durative postposition =*gon*: =*wut*=*don* and =*wuk*=*gon*, and may be rooted in clan-lectal or dialectal differences.

7.6) Osuk=gon<sub>OBL</sub>, naga=wut<sub>OBL</sub>                      öön<sub>O</sub>    hai-ng=it-d-ot.  
 first=RSTR    1SG.PRO.EMPH=AUTOREFL    farm    cut.down-DEP=be-RP-1SG  
 ‘In the olden days, I used to brush farmplots all by myself.’ (Misupmon hat 2 0:01)

The auto-reflexive enclitic =*wut* may be used to mean that someone did something of their own accord, without being forced to do so. This is the case in the next example, from a legend recounting how Europeans introduced commercial salt to the Uruwa valley. Most people avoided the outsiders, but a few approached them of their own accord:

7.7) ... {yoni=wut<sub>OBL</sub>                      e-ng-a}                      {aambek<sub>ADV</sub>    hi-ng-a} ...  
 3PL.PRO.EMPH=AUTOREFL    come-DEP-MV    near                      put-DEP-MV  
 ‘...(they) of their own accord coming, from nearby...’ (Steven ton hat osukno 0:45)

The enclitic =*nang* ‘lone’ has more to do with accompaniment than power. Combining this enclitic with the 1sg emphatic pronoun *naga* yields *naga=nang* ‘by myself, alone.’ The enclitic =*nang* is homophonous with the uninflected Dependent form of the verb *na-* ‘eat,’ so this could have originated as an idiomatic use of *na-ng* ‘eating.’ Perhaps ‘by myself’ was originally expressed as ‘eating myself’; as the expression became grammaticalized, the Dependent verb became a clitic.

7.8) Keembok=no<sub>OBL</sub>,                      nok<sub>S</sub>                      naga=nang<sub>OBL</sub>                      ongo-go-t.  
 tomorrow-3SG.POSS    1SG.PRO                      1SG.PRO.EMPH=LONE    go-RP-1SG  
 ‘The next day, I went by myself.’ (Stanli tung 0:30)

Constructions with both =*wut* and =*nang* serve as oblique arguments denoting manner, not core (S/A or O) arguments, in verbal clauses. This can be proven by the co-occurrence of basic pronouns with auto-reflexives, as in (7.8), and by the scope of negation with these constructions. That is, when a clause such as (7.8) is negated, the negation is interpreted as applying to the auto-reflexive construction—here, a manner oblique argument—and not to the action itself. This is illustrated in (7.9) and (7.10). In (7.9), with ordinary declarative intonation, negation applies to the manner oblique argument *naga=nang* ‘by myself’:

7.9) *Nok<sub>s</sub>*            *naga=nang<sub>OBL</sub>*            *ma=ngo-go-t.*  
 1SG.PRO            1SG.PRO.EMPH=LONE    NEG=go-RP-1SG  
 ‘I did not go by myself.’ [I went with someone, not alone]

This is the usual way that manner adverbs are negated, as well (§3.4.2). For negation to unequivocally apply to the act of ‘going’ performed by 1sg, the manner oblique must be omitted, as in (7.10):

7.10)    *Nok<sub>s</sub>*            *ma=ngo-go-t.*  
           1SG.PRO            NEG=go-RP-1SG  
 ‘I did not go.’ [Someone else went, not me]

The restrictive postposition =*gon*, discussed in detail in §8.8, can usually be translated as ‘just.’ When combined with the emphatic pronouns, =*gon* has similar semantics to =*nang*: *naga=gon* translates as ‘by myself, only me.’ In the next example, the emphatic pronoun with =*gon* serves as O argument of the verb *humbot* ‘bear on the shoulders’:

7.11)    *Nok<sub>A</sub>*            {*naga=gon<sub>O</sub>*            *humbot*            *to-ng-a*},  
           1SG.PRO            1SG.PRO.EMPH=RSTR    bear.on.shoulder    do-DEP-MV  
           {{e-wa-t}}.  
           come-NP.SG-1SG  
 ‘Shouldering only myself, I have come.’ (Field notes)

The meaning of this statement is that the speaker brought nothing along—only carrying him- or herself. In the next example, the 3sg emphatic pronoun *ino* marked with =*gon* deals with accompaniment, like =*nang*. Here, *ino=gon* ‘by itself’ has very similar meaning to *ino=nang* ‘by itself.’

7.12) Yawan<sub>TOP</sub> wo<sub>VCS</sub> ino=gon<sub>VCC</sub>  
 Yawan that 3SG.PRO.EMPH=RSTR  
 Towet<sub>VCS</sub> ino=gon<sub>VCC</sub>  
 Towet 3SG.PRO.EMPH=RSTR  
 Kotet<sub>VCS</sub> ino=gon<sub>VCC</sub>  
 Kotet 3SG.PRO.EMPH=RSTR  
 bök<sub>VCS</sub> [uwin uwin]<sub>VCC</sub> {{wo-go-rok ir-it-du-ng}}.  
 village far far that-ADV-SEMBL be=be-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘Yawan, that was by itself, Towet by itself, Kotet by itself, the villages were far  
 away; they used to be like that.’ (Steven ton hat osukno 0:16)

### 7.1.3 Genitive emphatic pronouns

The basic pronouns may be followed by the genitive postposition =*hon* for genitive meaning. For instance, *non=ton hap* ‘1NSG.PRO=GEN dog’ means ‘dog of us, our dog.’ The emphatic pronouns do not take =*hon* for genitive meaning. Instead, the emphatic genitive paradigm combines the emphatic pronouns with suffix *-(w)in*, which is homophonous with the locative suffix *-(i)n* after singular emphatic pronouns. The genitive emphatic forms function in the same position within the clause as do basic pronouns with the genitive postposition =*hon*. They are listed in table 7.4.

Table 7.4. Nungon genitive emphatic pronouns			
	sg.	du.	pl.
1	naga-in	nori-win	noni-win
2	gaga-in	hori-win	honi-win
3	ino-in <sup>19</sup>	yori-win	yoni-win

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<sup>19</sup> In the Kotet and Worin dialects, the 3sg genitive emphatic form is *in-in*, with the final /o/ of *ino* elided.

The genitive emphatic pronoun forms are used for contrastive or reflexive possession. They usually carry the sense of ‘one’s own,’ as opposed to another person’s. A young woman who had previously helped record a family legend returned to record an autobiographical narrative. She introduced the new story as ‘her own,’ using the genitive emphatic form:

- 7.13)      Nok<sub>TOP</sub>            maa-nav<sub>CS</sub>            Anita<sub>VCC</sub>.  
                  1SG.PRO            name-1SG.POSS Anita  
                  {[Naga-in<sub>Pr</sub>            hat<sub>Pe</sub>]o yo-wang-na            ta-a-t }.  
                  1SG.PRO.EMPH-GEN    story    tell-PROB.SG-IMNT            do-PRES-1SG  
                  ‘My name is Anita. I am about to tell my own story.’ (Anita hon hat 0:01)

The genitive emphatic pronouns often convey exclusivity. The word used for ‘name’ above, *maa*, is the same word used for ‘language,’ ‘speech,’ and ‘sound.’ When *maa* means ‘name,’ it usually bears pertensive marking, as in (7.13). When *maa* lacks pertensive marking and is possessed using the emphatic genitive construction, it refers to the language or speech of a particular group or individual, often with the implied exclusion of others: ‘our own/their own speech.’ In the next example, from Narrative I, Appendix, Towet grandmother Gosing emphasizes that when she and her peers were young and living in Boksawin so they could attend Kâte language school, no one else helped them to survive:

- 7.14)      [Noni-win<sub>Pr</sub>            dong<sub>Pe</sub>]VCS,            noni=ha=gon<sub>VCC</sub>!  
                  1PL.PRO.EMPH-GEN    support                    1PL.PRO.EMPH=BEN=RSTR  
                  ‘Only our own support was there for us!’ [Literally: ‘Our own support was just for us!’] (Narrative I, Appendix 0:24)

Here, the 1pl emphatic genitive pronoun *noni-win* adds vehemence to the point that no one else assisted, only the group referenced as 1pl.

#### 7.1.4 Pronoun usage

In clause chains, first and second person pronouns optionally occur in S/A argument role the first time a new subject of those persons is introduced. The first and second person pronouns are obligatory in O

argument role unless the verb bears an object-referencing prefix, in which case the free pronoun is optional. Otherwise, pronouns are generally omitted.

Basic personal pronouns occur in the texts corpus more frequently than their emphatic counterparts. Occurrences of free personal pronouns in the Nungon text corpus (total 17,160 words) are listed in table 7.5.

<b>Table 7.5. Textual frequency of pronoun occurrence</b>				
person	basic	frequency	emphatic	frequency
1	<i>nok</i> (sg)	695	<i>naga</i> (sg)	90
	<i>non</i> (nsg)	315	<i>nori</i> (du)	30
			<i>noni</i> (pl)	58
2	<i>gok</i> (sg)	146	<i>gaga</i> (sg)	42
	<i>hon</i> (nsg)	58	<i>hori</i> (du)	3
			<i>honi</i> (pl)	8
3	<i>yu</i>	250	<i>ino</i> (sg)	128
			<i>yori</i> (du)	9
			<i>yoni</i> (pl)	45

## 7.2 Demonstratives

Nungon demonstratives comprise a bound base form, or root, which bears elevational or distal meaning, and at least one derivational suffix, which determines degree of deictic function and relative distance on the horizontal plane, as well as nominal demonstrative or local adverbial demonstrative status. There are two distinct sets of demonstrative roots: a three-member set referencing relative elevation (called topographic demonstratives here) and a two-member set referencing distance from deictic centre (called distance-referencing demonstratives here). These two systems are related morphologically, and demonstratives formed from one member of the distance-from-centre-referencing set can also occur contrastively with demonstratives formed from members of the elevation-referencing set.

Demonstratives formed from all roots of both sets may serve anaphorically or, less commonly, cataphorically, to refer to physical locations. Only demonstratives formed from distance-referencing roots may be used as anaphors for non-spatial and non-temporal referents (that is, NPs that do not refer to spatial or temporal locations). Four of the six suffixes that can occur with the topographic demonstrative roots can also be used with the distance-referencing roots, but the latter also take seven additional suffixes, most having to do with non-spatial reference (see §13.2.4 for a full list). Finally, as noted in §5.3.2, the two distance-referencing roots may also replace person-number object prefixes before the verb *aa-* ‘see’ in Immediate Imperative form (forming *ng-aa-hi* ‘see this!’ and *w-aa-hi* ‘see that!’), but this is not possible with the topographic demonstrative roots.

### 7.2.1 Demonstrative suffixes overview

There are three groups of derivational suffixes that can combine with both topographic and distance-referencing demonstrative roots, shown in table 7.6 below. These groups are defined syntactically: those deriving nominal demonstratives; those deriving local adverbial demonstratives; and those deriving locational adjectives.

When combined with the topographic demonstrative roots, the suffixes in the first two groups indicate distance from deictic centre, so that a nominal or local adverbial topographic demonstrative distinguishes both location on a vertical plane (elevation, in the root) and on a horizontal plane (distance from deictic centre, in the suffix). In contrast, the distance-referencing demonstrative roots already distinguish distance from deictic centre. With these, the suffixes have other functions. The near-distance suffixes are neutral, the middle-distance suffix does not occur, and the far-distance suffix has extended meanings. The third group of suffixes, those deriving locational adverbs, includes only a middle-distance suffix and a disambiguating or contrastive suffix.

Table 7.6. Comparison of demonstrative forms						
		topographic demonstratives			distance-referencing demonstratives	
		<i>om-</i> lower	<i>og-</i> same level	<i>on-</i> higher	<i>ng-</i> proximal	<i>w-</i> distal
NP-modifying demonstratives	<i>-o</i> near	om-o	og-o	on-o	ng-o	w-o
	<i>-u</i> mid	om-u	og-u	on-u	—	—
local nominal demonstratives	<i>-ondo</i> near	om-ondo	og-ondo	on-ondo	ng-ondo	w-ondo
	<i>-undo</i> mid	om-undo	og-undo	on-undo	—	—
	<i>-eCo</i> far	om-emo	og-ego	on-eno	ng-engo / ng-eyo <sup>20</sup>	w-ewo / w-eyo
local adverbial demonstratives	<i>-u-ye</i> mid	om-u-ye	og-u-ye	on-u-ye	—	—
	<i>-ese</i> contrast	om-ese	og-ese	on-ese	ng-ese	—

The two suffixes in the first group, *-o* and *-u*, create demonstrative forms that can modify or head NPs. The suffix *-o* is used with both distance-referencing and topographic roots; *-u* occurs only with topographic demonstratives. With topographic demonstratives, *-o* forms indicate near distance and *-u* forms indicate middle distance—somewhat removed from near distance, but not extremely far away (see extension to temporal deixis in §7.2.3). The *-o*-derived forms of the distance-referencing demonstratives are the most basic nominal forms of these demonstratives, glossed throughout this work as single forms *ngo* ‘this’ and *wo* ‘that,’ without morpheme break, for both simplicity and because *ngo* and *wo* could be analysed as the underlying forms. Unlike the topographic demonstratives, there are no counterparts with *-u* to the forms *ngo* and *wo*, and the elision of the final /o/ before /e/-initial suffixes would be expected under normal phonological rules (§2.8.1). All further discourse-organizing derived forms of the proximal and distal demonstratives are formed from the

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<sup>20</sup> Speakers say that the purportedly-archaic variants *ng-eyo* and *w-eyo* are interchangeable with *ng-engo* and *w-ewo*.

*ngo* and *wo* forms (§13.2.4), although the middle-distance topographic demonstratives with *-u* suffix may also serve as the basis for derived forms with one derivational suffix listed in §13.2.4.

As NP modifiers, nominal demonstratives formed with *-o* and *-u* are the final modifying element in NPs (see §4.4.2). Example (7.15) includes NP-modifying demonstratives of both distance-referencing and topographic sets.

- 7.15)      {Wo=dek=gon<sub>OBL</sub>      öö-ng-a},      {[ganak-no<sub>HEAD</sub>  
that=LOC=RSTR      ascend-DEP-MV    hole-3SG.POSS  
on-o<sub>MOD</sub>]=dek=gon<sub>OBL</sub>      öö-go-k } }.  
uphill-MDEM.NEAR=LOC=RSTR    ascend-RP-3SG  
‘Just ascending in that, he just ascended in its hole up there.’ (Ges bem hat ii 3:01)

Here, the distance-referencing demonstrative *wo* ‘that’ functions anaphorically, referencing something that should be recoverable from context. To be sure the referent is understood, however, the speaker supplies an explicit description in the next clause, using an NP that includes a topographic demonstrative that happens to also bear the derivational suffix *-o*. *On-o* ‘uphill-MDEM.NEAR’ modifies the noun *ganak-no* ‘hole-3SG.POSS,’ while *wo* heads its own NP. Topographic nominal demonstratives like *on-o* may also head an NP, as in (7.16):

- 7.16)      {Bangar-a      i-in-a},      {on-o=dek<sub>OBL</sub>  
bear.around.neck-MV    be-DS.3SG-MV    uphill-MDEM.NEAR=LOC  
o-un-a} ...  
descend-DS.3SG-MV  
‘He bearing it around the neck, it descending (from) up there...’ (Nongi emok 0:34)

A major syntactic difference between the topographic and distance-referencing nominal demonstratives is that distance-referencing nominal (and NP-modifying) demonstratives *ngo* and *wo* may head NPs in S/A or O functions, while topographic nominal demonstratives may only head oblique (location) argument NPs (see table 7.7, below, for a full list of syntactic possibilities for

demonstratives). This difference is related to the possibilities for distance-referencing demonstratives to function anaphorically, a possibility closed to topographic demonstratives.

As with the two NP-modifier-deriving suffixes, the three local nominal demonstrative-deriving suffixes distinguish relative distance on the horizontal plane when used with the topographic roots. The demonstratives derived with these suffixes may serve as oblique verbal arguments just like nouns marked with the locative suffix *-(i)n* or enclitic *=dek*. In contrast to the NP modifiers formed with *-o* and *-u*, which occur with the locative enclitic *=dek* in (7.15) and (7.16), local nominal demonstratives never take such marking, since they are inherently marked as locatives; this can be seen in (7.17), below. The only grammatical relation-marking postposition that co-occurs with demonstratives of this group is the restrictive/durative marker *=gon*. Again, this is similar to an NP marked for locative (see §8.8.6).

The first two suffixes of this group, the near distance *-ondo* and middle distance *-undo*, possibly originated in combinations of the nominal demonstrative suffixes *-o* and *-u* with the locative suffix *-n* and the focusing enclitic *=ho*. Thus, a nominal demonstrative such as *om-o* ‘down there (near)’ could have become *\*om-o-n=to* ‘(located) down there (near),’ which with voicing of the /t/ could have become frozen as the local adverbial demonstrative *om-ondo* ‘down there (near).’ The third suffix of this group, *-eCo* ‘far distance,’ repeats the root consonant as *C*. Topographic adverbial demonstratives derived by this suffix indicate very far distance away from deictic centre.

- 7.17)      { Yamuk=*dek*<sub>OBL</sub>      om-emo<sub>OBL</sub>      ongo-ng-o      muya } ...  
                  water=LOC      downhill-LDEM.FAR      go-DEP-MVII      PERF.2/3PL  
                  ‘They having gone to the water, down there...’ (Nongi emok 0:34)

In (7.15) and (7.16) above, the NP modifier forms *wo* and *on-o* take the locative enclitic *=dek*. But (as mentioned above), local nominal demonstratives are inherently marked as locatives. Thus the noun *yamuk* in (7.17) takes *=dek*, with *om-emo* ‘downhill-LDEM.FAR,’ which here exists in apposition to the NP *yamuk=dek*, unmarked.

The local nominal demonstrative suffixes have different functions with the distance-referencing roots. Proximal *ng-ondo* ‘here’ is not used with textual anaphoric reference; its reference is always deictic centre, even when it occurs in narratives. Example (7.18) shows the proximal local nominal demonstrative *ng-ondo* ‘here’ in a command:

- 7.18)      {Na-m-i-ya},                      {{ng-ondo<sub>OBL</sub>                      hi-wa}}.
- 1SG.O-give-DS.2SG-MV    this-LDEM.NEAR                      put-IMM.IMP.1SG
- ‘Give it to me so I can put it here.’ [Literally: ‘You giving it to me, let me put it here.’] (Field notes)

In contrast to proximal *ng-ondo*, its distal counterpart *w-ondo* ‘there’ has anaphoric reference in texts and much everyday parlance. Its only non-anaphoric use is in pointing, where the location is understood from context. Example (7.19) shows the distal local nominal demonstrative *w-ondo* in a command framed with the Medial verb imperative strategy (§6.4.3) and addressed to a child. Here, *w-ondo* refers to the location in which the child is standing, roughly twenty meters from where the speaker is calling from.

- 7.19)      {W-ondo<sub>OBL</sub>                      ir-a}!
- that-LDEM.NEAR                      be-MV
- ‘Stay there!’ [Literally: ‘Being there!’] (Field notes)

As noted above, the distance-referencing demonstrative roots do not combine with the middle distance suffix *-u* or its adverbial counterpart *-undo*. While there are forms *ng-engo* and *w-ewo*, the suffix *-eCo* necessarily imparts different meaning with *ng-* and *w-* than with the topographic demonstratives. The combination of the proximal demonstrative root *ng-* and the far distance suffix *-eCo* would seem to be contradictory. Indeed, the resulting demonstrative *ng-engo* (variant: *ng-eyo*) has special uses: it may encompass a larger area ‘hereabouts’ than its proximal-proximal counterpart *ng-ondo* ‘here,’ or it may describe a proximal location from the perspective of someone far away, as in example (7.20), below. Here, the first European to visit the Uruwa area, Karl Saueracker (see §1.6.1), is reported to have spoken of visiting the area from afar:

- 7.20) {Sawarakka<sub>TOP</sub> wos [ng-engo<sub>OBL</sub> e-w~e-p]=pa<sub>OBL</sub> y-un-a},  
 Saueracker that here-FAR come-NMZ:RED=BEN say-DS.3SG-MV  
 {nan-na=ho<sub>A</sub> y-angat to-ng-a} {{ep-bo-k}}.  
 father-1SG.POSS=FOC 3.O-escort SG.O.take-DEP-MV come-RP-3SG

‘Saueracker speaking of coming hereabouts [to the Uruwa area], it was my father who escorted him and came.’ (Nongi hat 10 3:09)

The final group of derivational suffixes shown in table 7.5 includes two that form local adverbial demonstratives (§3.4.1). Demonstratives formed with these suffixes are adverbs. That is, these cannot directly modify nouns (as can demonstratives derived with *-o* and *-u*), nor can they serve as oblique arguments of verbs (as do demonstratives derived with *-ondo*, *-undo* and *-eCo*). The first of these suffixes, *-uye*, is possibly related to the local adverbializing suffix *-ne/-e*, which would have originally attached after the middle distance suffix *-u* with topographic demonstrative roots. The second suffix *-ese* has contrastive meaning—‘uphill,’ as opposed to ‘downhill,’ or ‘here,’ as opposed to ‘there.’ Even when the oppositional element is not explicit, use of a local adverbial demonstrative derived with *-ese* implies that there is another side or place that contrasts with the place indicated.

- 7.21) [[Huang<sub>MOD</sub> yamuk<sub>HEAD</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub> om-undo<sub>OBL</sub> on-ese]<sub>TOP</sub>  
 Huang water=LOC downhill-LDEM.MID uphill-ADEM.CTRST  
 w-ondo<sub>OBL</sub> numao to-go-mong}}.  
 that-LDEM.NEAR who do-RP-1PL

‘At the Huang stream down there, up (above the stream), what<sup>21</sup> did we do there.’

(Field notes)

Here, the local nominal demonstrative *om-undo* stands in apposition to *Huang yamuk=dek* ‘at the Huang stream,’ while *on-ese* serves as a local adverb showing that it is the area uphill from the water,

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<sup>21</sup> See §10.7.2 for the interchangeability of *numa* ‘who’ and *nungon* ‘what’ as O argument of verbs such as *to-‘do’* when speakers question themselves while story-telling.

not downhill or level with it, that is at issue. The entire location described in the first line of the example is then anaphorically summed up with *w-ondo* in the second line.

The local adverbial demonstratives are further differentiated from local nominal demonstratives by the semantics of each with the relativizer/specifier *=ma*. The nominal demonstratives combined with *=ma* have meaning of origin or source, as in (7.21):

- 7.22) [Mak-na nan]<sub>vcs</sub> [ng-ondo=*ma*]<sub>vcc</sub>.  
 mother-1SG.POSS father here-LDEM.NEAR=*SPEC*  
 ‘My mother and father are from here.’ (Nathalyne 0:03)

Here, *ng-ondo=ma* has similar semantics to other locative nouns combined with *=ma*; *bög-in=ma* ‘house/village-LOC=*SPEC*,’ ‘of the village’ could describe anything that originates in the village, and *Towet=ma* ‘Towet=*SPEC*’ refers to someone or something that originates in Towet. In contrast, when the local adverbial demonstratives combine with *=ma*, the semantics are different. There is no connotation of origin or source; instead, the result is a straightforward descriptive headless NP, such as can be formed by manner adverbs—*karup=ma* ‘quick=*SPEC*,’ ‘one associated with being quick.’ In (7.23), the local adverbial demonstratives *on-ese* and *om-ese* combine with *=ma* to form headless NPs denoting contrasting sides of a waterway—‘the uphill (area),’ ‘the downhill (area)’—these NPs are further marked by the locative enclitic *=dek* to show that they are oblique location arguments of an ellipsed verb of motion:

- 7.23) {Mim<sub>TOP:OBL</sub> {on-ese=*ma*=dek<sub>OBL</sub>, om-ese=*ma*=dek<sub>OBL</sub>,  
 Mim uphill-ADEM=*SPEC*=LOCdownhill-ADEM=*SPEC*=LOC  
 on-ese=*ma*=dek<sub>OBL</sub>, öö-ng-a}...  
 uphill-ADEM=*SPEC*=LOC ascend-DEP-MV  
 ‘(At) Mim (stream), (continuing) on the uphill side, on the downhill side, on the uphill side, (then) going up...’ (Fooyu bem hat 0:42)

Here, *om-ese=ma* and *on-ese=ma* differ semantically from *ng-ondo=ma* ‘of/originating here’ and *Towet=ma* ‘of originating in Towet’ in that they bear no connotations of origin. The same is true of local adverbial demonstratives derived by the suffix *-uye*.

		topographic demonstratives	distance-referencing demonstratives
NP-modifying demonstratives	<i>-o</i> near	NP head NP modifier oblique argument VCC	NP head NP modifier core argument VCS, VCC
	<i>-u</i> mid		—
local nominal demonstratives	<i>-ondo</i> near	oblique argument VCC	oblique argument VCC
	<i>-undo</i> mid		—
	<i>-eCo</i> far		oblique argument VCC
local adverbial demonstratives	<i>-uye</i> mid	local adverb	—
	<i>-ese</i> contrast		local adverb

In a text, the same location may be referred to by both a topographic demonstrative and a distance-referencing demonstrative. In the next example, from a speaker’s recollection of going hunting with her father, the father directs her to look for game using the distal distance-referencing demonstrative, while the speaker then states that she went in that direction using the uphill topographic demonstrative:

7.24)    {{Nan-na=ho<sub>A</sub>            maa<sub>o</sub>    hi-go-k}}.    [Gok<sub>VCS1</sub>,  
father-1SG.POSS=FOC    speech    put-RP-3SG    1SG.PRO  
w-eyo=gon<sub>VCC1</sub>,            nok<sub>VCS2</sub>,            ng-eyo=gon<sub>VCC2</sub>]<sub>SR</sub>.    {Y-un-a},  
that-LDEM.FAR=RSTR    1SG.PRO            here-LDEM.FAR=RSTR    say-DS.3SG-MV  
{{nok<sub>S</sub>            on-eno=gon<sub>OBL</sub>            ongo-go-t}}.  
1SG.PRO            uphill-FAR=RSTR            go-RP-1SG

‘My father set (out) (the plan). “You (go) there, I (will go) here.” He having spoken, I went along uphill.’ (Reringgi nanno rot boop 0:10)

### 7.2.2 Further applications of the topographic demonstratives

The elevation-referencing demonstratives have further applications to time and to new domains, such as type on a page. Even when the page is held flat, type that will be read later is referred to using the demonstrative form *om-ondo* ‘downhill-LDEM.NEAR.’

In the Towet dialect of Nungon, time may be described using the NP-modifying topographic demonstratives, with the past downhill and the future uphill.<sup>22</sup> Degree of temporal distance is indicated by the suffix, with direction in time (past, future, or present) denoted by the demonstrative root. This is one example of the two demonstrative systems—topographic and distance-referencing—coalescing in a single paradigm, since present time is not represented by the ‘same level’ topographic demonstrative *og-o*, but by the proximal *ng-o*. The paradigm using *yara* ‘year’ is in table 7.8; the same system may be applied to *sönda* ‘week.’

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<sup>22</sup> The Worin dialect uses other locational terms to demarcate past and future years. The local adverb *koma-ne* ‘below’ is used to indicate past time; this contrasts with *mee-ne* ‘behind, after’ which refers to future time: *biruc koma-ne* ‘season below-ADV,’ i.e. ‘last year,’ and *biruc mee-ne* ‘season behind-ADV,’ i.e. ‘next year.’

**Table 7.8. Time reference in Towet Nungon using topographic demonstratives (2013 scenario)**

2011	2012	2013 (current)	2014	2015
yara ‘year’ om-u	yara om-o	yara ng-o	yara on-o	yara on-u

In one text, the oldest Towet Nungon speaker, Nongi, used *ng-ondo*, the proximal local nominal demonstrative, to mean both ‘here’ in space and ‘now’ in time. He said that nowadays in Towet there are only a few pigs here and there (belonging to the few non-SDA Towet villagers). Then he contrasted this with the elevational demonstrative *om-ondo* ‘downhill-near,’ referring to the olden days:

7.25) Wo=ma-ivcs, irom, [inggouk, inggouk]<sub>vcc</sub>, ng-ondo.  
that=SPEC-TOP free one one here-LDEM.NEAR

‘As for that, (there are) just a few here (now).’ (Nongi oe min 3:15)

7.26) {{ Benno-nobl, osuk-no=dekobl oo-nang-ka-mong }}-a,  
afterward-LOC old-ADJ=LOC descend-PROB.PL-NF-1PL-ATT

om-ondo.

downhill-LDEM.NEAR

‘Afterward, we’re going back to the olden days, down there.’ (Nongi oe min 3:17)

### 7.2.3 Describing unseen topography

A point of interest for languages that have topographic demonstratives is how they are applied to places that are far removed from speakers’ frame of reference. In Towet Nungon, the ‘same level’ topographic demonstrative root *og-* with far distance suffix *-eCo* is the demonstrative used for very faraway places. Places that are closer by, or that are visited by more people, are referred to with appropriate topographic demonstratives depending on their relative elevation vis-à-vis the upper Uruwa River valley. A few distant places and the topographic demonstrative most often used to describe them are listed in table 7.9.

<b>Table 7.9. Topographic demonstratives with distant places: Towet village reference</b>			
place	demonstrative	walking distance, elevation change	visited by speakers?
Munom Taurong (place in Towet forest)	<i>on-eno</i> uphill-LDEM.FAR	1 day + 1400m	now and traditionally
Bismarck Sea coast	<i>om-emo</i> downhill-LDEM.FAR	1-2 days - 1600m	now and traditionally
Derim (Kabwum High School site)	<i>on-eno</i> uphill-LDEM.FAR	2-3 days + 1000m	now; not traditionally
Lae	<i>og-ego</i> same.level-LDEM.FAR	2-3 days - 1600m	now; not traditionally
Madang	<i>og-ego</i> same.level-LDEM.FAR	(by van or ship from Lae) - 1600m	rarely
Australia, America, China, etc.	<i>og-ego</i> same.level-LDEM.FAR	(ship or plane)	no

The Bismarck Sea coast is always referred to with the downhill-LDEM.FAR demonstrative *om-emo*, and locations high in the Towet forest with *on-eno*. Extremely distant places that speaker have not seen are always referenced with the same.level-LDEM.FAR demonstrative *og-ego*, which thus serves as a default. Of the other locations listed in table 7.9, there is some variation from speaker to speaker between the default *og-ego* and its uphill or downhill equivalents. Speakers' firsthand knowledge of topography is a major factor in demonstrative choice, with one speaker who had never been to the Siarum area on the Huon Peninsular coast referring to it with the default *og-ego*, while another who had walked there in his youth referring to it with *om-emo*, since it is at sea level. But despite the fact that many people have walked to the city of Lae and reported back that one descends to it, the most frequent topographic demonstrative referring to Lae is the default *og-ego*.

#### **7.2.4 Sides of a body of water**

Just as the 'same.level-LDEM.FAR' demonstrative *og-ego* is the default descriptor for unseen, distant places, demonstratives formed from the same-level topographic demonstrative root *og-* can function as the 'other side' counterpart to demonstratives formed from the proximal distance-referencing

demonstrative root *ng-*. This occurs in discussing the sides of a body of water, or the opposite row of men in the game *bunggo*.

Although Nungon speakers have no grammatical means of expressing which way water flows, they do have the means to describe the ‘near bank’ and ‘far bank’ of a body of water. Since the opposite bank of a body of water is usually level with the near bank, a demonstrative referencing the opposite (far) bank must begin with the topographic demonstrative root *og-* ‘same.level,’ while the near bank must be referred to with the distance-referencing prefix *ng-* ‘here.’

The following, from an oral retelling of the Biblical Exodus story, describes Moses and the Israelites’ crossing of the Red Sea:

7.27)      {[Mosasi=hon<sub>Pr</sub>      torop<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>S</sub>      e-ng  
               Moses=GEN                clan                come-DEP  
               og-o-n=ton<sub>OBL</sub>                                öö-ng=dup                t-u-ya},  
               same.level-MDEM.NEAR-LOC=GEN      ascend-DEP=COMPL      do-DS.2/3PL-MV  
               {{ wo-rok      top=dek<sub>OBL</sub>      ongo-gu-ng }},  
               that-SEMBL      sea=LOC                go-RP-2/3PL

‘Moses’s group coming and having completely ascended on the opposite bank, thus, (the Egyptians) went to the sea.’ (Gosing Mosasi hon hat 4:00)

The demonstrative referring to the opposite bank may bear any of the suffixes in table 7.6. The next example shows the far-distance forms *og-ego* and *ng-engo* used to describe the two banks of a rushing river:

7.28)      {Nons                ng-engo=gon<sub>OBL</sub>                it-da-ya}...  
               INSG.PRO                this-LDEM.FAR=RSTR      be-DS.1DU-MV  
               {yamuk<sub>O</sub>                yemo-ng-a},      k-u-ng                og-ego<sub>OBL</sub>.  
               water                ford-DEP-MV      SG.O-take.away-DEP      same.level-LDEM.FAR

‘The two of us staying on the near side... He having waded across the water, he placed (the child) on the opposite bank.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain 5:37)

Note here that the speaker uses *ng-engo* to refer to the near bank in the context of the narrative. The body of water of which she speaks is in fact two or more days' walk from the location of the speech act.

### 7.2.5 Archaic forms of the topographic demonstratives

Towet Nungon speakers today recall two archaic topographic demonstrative words, although there is not complete consensus among speakers as to which archaism designated which elevation difference. The two terms are: *mön* and *karing*. The oldest Towet Nungon speaker declared that they were used for *on-eno* 'uphill-LDEM.FAR' and *om-emo* 'downhill-LDEM.FAR,' respectively. Another elderly speaker, however, glossed the two archaic demonstratives with the near-distance demonstrative forms, *om-ondo* and *on-ondo*, and further reversed their meanings.

In Nukna, *áring* is the equivalent to Nungon *og-ego* 'same.level-LDEM.FAR,' while the equivalents to Nungon *on-eno* 'uphill-LDEM.FAR' and *om-emo* 'downhill-LDEM.FAR' are *áning* and *áming*, respectively. Normally, correspondences between Nungon and Nukna feature an initial /k/ in the Nukna word that is missing from the Nungon word, but if archaic Nungon *karing* above is related to Nukna *áring* or *áning*, it displays the opposite relationship—or it is evidence of an older Nukna form that has since undergone loss of initial /k/ in Nukna itself.

### 7.2.6 Anaphoric and cataphoric demonstrative-derived forms

The topographic demonstratives usually do not function anaphorically—the exception is with the derivational suffix *-rok* (see §13.2.4). Anaphoric reference to a location or time introduced earlier in a text is always through a distance-referencing demonstrative: this is almost always based on the distal form *w-*, although if the location referred to is the location of the speech act, a form based on the proximal demonstrative root *ng-* may be used. Then, of course, it is unclear whether a demonstrative such as *ng-ondo* 'this-LDEM.NEAR': 'here' simply references the location of the speech act or also serves as anaphor referring back to the earlier mention. Cataphoric use of distance-referencing demonstrative forms is found in texts, although this is much less frequent than anaphoric use.

In addition to the four suffixes shared with the elevational demonstrative prefixes, the distance-referencing demonstratives also take a set of suffixes with discourse-organizing functions. These are presented in §13.2.4.

Distal demonstrative forms based on *w-* are usually used anaphorically, except when accompanied by gestures. Both *w-ondo* and *w-ewo* almost exclusively occur in texts in my corpus anaphorically, meaning ‘there’ in reference to a place or time that has been already introduced in the current discourse, or is understood by both speakers and thus left unspoken, sometimes with insulting or derogatory impact. *Wo* and *w-eyo*, however, maybe used deictically to mean ‘that’ and ‘there’ respectively without their referents being previously mentioned in discourse. Compare the following two sentences:

7.29)      Nagavcs                      ngo-ndo=ma<sub>vcc</sub>.  
                  1SG.PRO.EMPH                  this-LDEM.NEAR=ORIGIN  
                  ‘I am from (right) here.’ (Jio yong tuk tuk maa 0:01)

7.30)      Yu<sub>vcs</sub>    wo-ndo=ma<sub>vcc</sub>.  
                  3.PRO    that-LDEM.NEAR=ORIGIN  
                  ‘S/he/they are from there [previously mentioned in discourse].’

Example (7.29) need not follow any introductory information about where ‘here’ is, but (7.30) must follow a reference to the location referred to by *wo-ndo*, or the reference must be recoverable from context.

In the following example, the demonstrative *w-ondo* ‘there’ refers anaphorically to the entire situation of the speaker continuously attending school in her own language. It clearly does not refer to location, since the location of going to school is *ng-ondo* ‘here.’ Note in the following example that in Nungon, one ‘ascends’ to school, since the term for school is *babiya bök*, ‘book house,’ and entering a *bök* ‘house’ through the door always involves the verb *öö-* ‘ascend.’ That is, one ‘ascends’ into all houses—even if a particular ‘house,’ such as the actual school buildings in the Uruwa region, is not itself on stilts.

7.31) {Ng-ondo<sub>OBL</sub>            öö-ng-a            ir-a}    {[noni-win<sub>Pr</sub>  
 here-LDEM.NEAR            ascend-DEP-MV be-MV 1PL.PRO.EMPH-GEN  
 maa<sub>Pe</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub>    öö-ng-a}                            {{w-ondo=ma<sub>OBL</sub>  
 speech=LOC            ascend-DEP-MV            that-LDEM.NEAR=SOURCE  
 Sapmangga<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-go-t}}.  
 Sapmanga            go-RP-1SG

‘While attending (school) here, attending in our own language, from there, I went to Sapmangga.’ (Anita hon hat 0:20)

Forms derived from the distal demonstrative *w-* do not occur with cataphoric reference in the corpus; only forms derived from the proximal demonstrative *ng-* are found as cataphors. One instance, in example (7.32) below, comes from the introduction to the personal story that is the source of (7.31); this example follows directly after example (7.13), also from that text:

7.32) Hat-na<sub>VCS</sub>            ngo-go<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 story-1SG.POSS this-ADV  
 ‘My story is as follows.’ (Anita hon hat 0:05)

In another instance, the same form, *ngo-go*, here serving as a manner adverb, occurs in the introduction to a procedural description, referring to the narrative that follows:

7.33) Wo=ma-i,            ngo-go            to-ng=it-do-mong.  
 that=SPEC-TOP    this-ADV            do-DEP=be-RP-1PL  
 ‘As for that (the interviewer’s question), this is how we used to do it.’ (Nongi horut 0:09)

## 8 Grammatical Relation-Marking Postpositions

This chapter covers six grammatical relation-marking postpositions and one suffix.

In Nungon, modifying words and enclitics generally follow the words they modify. (The negative proclitic *ma=*, which occurs only with verbs and deverbal derived forms, is a noteworthy exception.) Among the classes of elements that mark grammatical relations and follow the words they mark, various types of suffixes, enclitics, and postposed markers may be distinguished. Suffixes include the singular pertensive suffixes and topicalizing and locative suffixes used with verbs and nouns to mark location and organize discourse. The pertensive suffixes mark relations within NPs, while the other suffixes and enclitics mark grammatical relations within clauses. Postposed question marker *ha* and postposed doubt marker *hu* were discussed above in §3.5.4; it was noted that these bear stress, and that the initial /h/ of both markers does not assimilate to the final consonant of the preceding word. Finally, postpositions marking grammatical relations form a closed class of six mono-syllabic enclitics that do not bear stress, and of which the first consonant assimilates to the place of articulation of the final consonant in the preceding word. These postpositions are: *=ho* ‘focus,’ *=ha* ‘benefactive/dative,’ *=hon* ‘genitive,’ *=rot* ‘comitative,’ *=dek* ‘locative,’ and *=gon* ‘restrictive/durative.’

### 8.1 Overview of postposition occurrence

The six grammatical relation-marking enclitics are much more mobile than the pertensive markers and other suffixes. They generally follow the final element (noun, modifier, or relativizer) in the NP they mark. They sometimes directly follow inflected final verbs in when the relativizer *=ma* has been omitted from a relative clause.

In contrast, suffixes and pertensive markers must directly follow the possessed noun, or the specifier *=ma*: they do not follow adjectival modifiers of an NP. In the following pair of sentences, *-na* is the 1sg pertensive suffix; no other grammatical elements can occur between *hap* ‘dog’ and *-na* ‘1SG.POSS.’ But the genitive postposition *=hon* is an enclitic. Thus, when *hap-na* ‘my

dog' is modified by the adjective *morö* 'big,' =*hon* moves to after the end of the new NP *hap-na morö ma*, while *-na* remains directly connected to *hap*.

8.1)[Dirang]<sub>Pe</sub>, [hap-na]=hon<sub>Pr</sub>.  
 dog.collar dog-1SG.POSS=GEN  
 'The dog-collar, it's my dog's.'

8.2)[Dirang]<sub>Pe</sub>, [hap-na<sub>HEAD</sub> morö=ma<sub>MOD</sub>]=hon<sub>Pr</sub>.  
 dog.collar dog-1SG.POSS big=SPEC=GEN  
 'The dog-collar, it's my big dog's.'

The same contrast may be seen in comparing the locative suffix *-(i)n* with the locative postposition =*dek*. The NP *babiya bök* 'book house' is a two-noun NP (§4.3.2) meaning 'school.' If 'school' has no adjectival modifiers, the locational noun (§3.1.9) *bök* 'house' takes the locative suffix *-in*, as in the first of the pair of sentences below:

8.3)W-ondo<sub>OBL</sub> [babiya<sub>MOD</sub> bög-in<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> öö-go-t.  
 there-LDEM.NEAR book house-LOC ascend-RP-1SG  
 'There, I went up to school.' (Anita inoin hat 0:58)

But if 'school' is followed by one or more adjectival modifiers, *-in* cannot be used; instead, the postposition =*dek* is used to mark the modified 'school' as a location.

8.4)[Göt=ton<sub>Pr</sub> [[babiya<sub>MOD</sub> bök<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>Pe</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ma=ngo-go-t.  
 God=GEN book house large=LOC NEG=go-RP-1SG  
 'I didn't go to God's large school.' (Gaus inoin hat 18:53)

In the Towet and Yawan dialects, the initial consonants of postpositions =*ho*, =*hon*, =*ha*, and =*gon* assimilate to the place of articulation of the final consonant of the preceding word. The assimilated initial consonant of the /h/-initial postpositions is realized as voiceless oral stop /k/, /p/, or /t/, while the assimilated initial consonant of =*gon* is realized as voiced oral stop /b/, /d/, or /g/. It is

the initial voicing that distinguishes between assimilated forms of genitive marker=*hon* and manner marker =*gon*.

If the word preceding the postposition ends in a vowel, the initial segment of the postposition does not change. The only postposition of which the initial consonant may undergo lenition after a vowel is =*gon*; in normal-speed speech after a vowel-final word, the initial /g/ is often expressed as [ɣ]. The comitative postposition =*rot*, in contrast, is an enclitic after vowel-final forms, but loses the initial rhotic and acts as a suffix -*ot* after consonant-final forms. When the suffix -*ot* is attached to words, the final consonant of the word to which it is attached undergoes normal phonological change due to its new intervocalic position. The postposition =*dek* shows no phonological change in any context. The phonological rules applying to =*rot* and =*dek* are constant across Nungon dialects, but those applying to the /h/-initial postpositions and to =*gon* vary among the dialects, with the Towet and Yawan dialects diverging from the Kotet, Worin, and Sagain dialects.<sup>23</sup> The following table shows the forms as they occur in the Towet dialect:

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<sup>23</sup> In other Nungon dialects, the assimilation pattern is different, although dialect mixing seemed to be rampant on my brief sojourns in Kotet, Sagain, and Worin. In the Kotet dialect, /h/-initial postpositions become /t/-initial after all consonant-final words, while maintaining the initial /h/ after glottal stop-final words and words with final vowels. The ‘true’ Worin pattern is unclear; it seems that the postpositions that are /h/-initial in other dialects are /k/-initial in Worin after glottal stop-final words and vowel-final words, with /t/ replacing the initial velar stop in all other situations. But longtime Worin elementary school teacher Boting and his wife Hemi claim that /t/-initial forms must follow NPs with non-singular referents, while /k/-initial forms are used with NPs with singular referents. Although Hemi and Boting were able to produce such examples while thinking about the issue, my texts from other Worin speakers have many inconsistencies; texts show instances in which Worin speakers used =*to* for Focus after /m/ and /t/ when the referent of the preceding NP was clearly singular, and =*pon* for Genitive after /m/ and /p/, as is done in Towet. I noticed that in a small printed Yau dictionary that Urs Wegmann produced and is in use at the Worin elementary school, =*ton* is glossed as plural, so I wondered whether Boting and Hemi’s judgment was related to the written material. The Sagain dialect, which is now nearly extinct, shows an alternation between /t/-initial and /h/-initial forms, but the environments for these forms were inconsistent in investigation.

Table 8.1. Postposition forms in Towet Nungon						
noun	focus	benefact.	genitive	manner	comitative	locative
<i>mak</i> 'mother'	mak=ko 'it was Mother who...'	mak=ka 'for/about Mother'	mak=kon 'of Mother'	mak=gon 'just Mother'	mag-ot 'along with Mother'	mak=dek 'on Mother'
<i>mum</i> 'breast, milk'	mum=po 'it was milk that...'	mum=pa 'for milk'	mum=pon 'of milk'	mum=bon 'just milk'	mum-ot 'along with milk'	mum=dek 'in the milk'
<i>bin</i> 'skirt'	bin=to 'it was the skirt that...'	bin=ta 'for the skirt'	bin=ton 'of the skirt'	bin=don 'just the skirt'	bin-ot 'along with the skirt'	bin=dek 'on the skirt'
<i>sing</i> 'raptor'	sing=ko 'it was the falcon that...'	sing=ka 'for the falcon'	sing=kon 'of the falcon'	sing=gon 'just the falcon'	sing-ot 'along with the falcon'	sing=dek 'on the falcon'
yaarop 'moon'	yaarop=po 'it was the moon that...'	yaarop=pa 'for the moon'	yaarop =pon 'of the moon'	yaarop=bon 'just the moon'	yaarow-ot 'along with the moon'	yaarop=dek 'in the month'
<i>hat</i> 'story'	hat=to 'it was the story that...'	hat=ta 'for/about the story'	hat=ton 'of the story'	hat=don 'just the story'	har-ot 'along with the story'	hat=dek 'in the story'
<i>uwa</i> 'pot'	uwa=ho 'it was the pot that...'	uwa=ha 'for the pot'	uwa=hon 'of the pot'	uwa=gon 'just the pot'	uwa=rot 'along with the pot'	uwa=dek 'in/on the pot'

Each postposition can occur after complex NPs and clauses ending in the relativizer=*ma*, which are then within the scope of the postposition. Headless NPs (§4.3.1)—NPs comprising only a modifier or modifiers, with the NP head omitted—may be marked with postpositions, as may demonstratives.

The six postpositions are discussed in detail in the following sections.

## 8.2 Focus postposition =*ho*

The postposition =*ho* has a wide range of uses. It occurs marking S and A arguments of verbs, the Possessor in locational NPs, Instrument with non-animate NPs, and Manner with deverbal nominalizations, as well as occasionally marking topicalized O arguments. Underlying these and other occasional uses is its focusing function. The focusing process is defined here, following Radetsky (2002: 103), as ‘an attention-getting mechanism,’ in which the process of focusing highlights the identity of a constituent that goes against a presupposition (see also Lambrecht 1994).

Verbal arguments in Nungon are often non-explicit; this is especially true of subject (transitive and intransitive) arguments, since these are always indexed on the verb. In Nungon, when subject arguments are explicit, this is presumably because in a given context they are deemed to merit further specification than the person-number indexing already present on the verb. In contrast, object arguments are usually less-than-maximally-indexed on the verb. As noted in §5.3, the object prefixes that occur only with a closed sub-class of transitive verbs distinguish two number values—singular and non-singular—while the system used for verbal subject indexing distinguishes a full three number values—singular, dual, and plural. While an object prefix denoting 1sg has specified the person and number of the O argument to the maximum allowed in Nungon grammar, an object prefix denoting 1nsg has not. On the basis of specification levels in verbal indexation, it makes sense that object arguments should be explicit more of the time than subject arguments.

When subject arguments are explicit—for reasons of disambiguation, emphasis, specification, clarification, narrative rhythm, etc.—they are often marked with the focus postposition =*ho*. If no special focus on the subject argument is called for by the context and the narrative structure, =*ho* is not used. This applies to animate and inanimate S arguments of intransitive verbs, and to animate A arguments of transitive verbs. With explicit inanimate A arguments of transitive verbs, =*ho* marks these arguments in every instance in the corpus. Since inanimate A arguments are rare and perhaps unexpected by listeners, these may always merit extra focus.

The focus postposition *=ho* may also mark oblique arguments. When the postposition is used to mark instrument arguments, this puts the marked NP in stronger focus than if the dedicated locative/instrument postposition *=dek* (§8.6) were used. The same is true of deverbal nominalizations marked by *=ho*; deverbal nominalizations always have serve in a manner oblique role but can be more or less in focus.

Two special constructions are always marked with *=ho*. Possessive locational NPs—NPs denoting possessed locales—are normally formed with the genitive postposition *=hon* encliticized to the Possessor argument; this precedes the head of the NP, the Possessed location. But when such an NP is itself followed by the locative postposition *=dek* or the locative suffix *-(i)n*, the genitive postposition *=hon* is replaced by the focus postposition *=ho*. A second construction that is always marked by *=ho* was called Iterative in §6.6.3.

Certain constituents are never marked by *=ho*; these are inherently focused. The emphatic/reflexive personal pronouns do not generally occur with *=ho*. The only instances of emphatic pronouns with *=ho* involve a combination of *=ho* and the restrictive/durative postposition *=gon* (§8.8), never the focus postposition by itself.

As shown in Table 8.1, in the Towet dialect the initial consonant of *=ho* assimilates to the place of articulation of the final consonant of the word it follows, becoming /t/ after alveolars, /k/ after velars, and /p/ after bilabials. When *=ho* marks a verbal argument, but the verb itself is omitted from the clause through ellipsis, the type of argument (S/A, Instrument, Manner, Possessor) is understood from the nominal sub-class of the head of the argument: if it is animate, it is most likely S/A of the missing (but understood) verb; if it is an inanimate manipulable object or substance, it is most likely Instrument; if it is a place, it is most likely Location; and if it is a nominalized verb, it is most likely Manner.

The apparent counterparts in related languages to the postposition *=ho* have been called ‘Agentive/Instrumental’ (in Nukna; Taylor 2013: 120-124) and ‘Ergative/Emphasis/New Actor’ (Lauver and Wegmann 1994: 56-57). Lauver (1988: 54) initially described the ‘clitic’ *=ho* in Yau as

...serving as ‘subject of transitive; new or contrasted subject in any CI type; can introduce any new participant in any role at discourse level; can replace genitive in that context.’ In Nukna, Taylor interprets the ‘agentive marker’ to have to do with ‘control’ (2013: 120).

The functions of =*ho* are summarized in table 8.2.

	marking S/A or topic	marking Instrument	marking Topic	marking Possessor in poss. loc. NP	marking Manner	marking Iterative
types of constituents	animate or inanimate NPs, not locational NPs	inanimate NPs	topicalized NP	personal name, community name, basic personal pronoun	deverbal nominalization	repeated inflected Dependent verb

### 8.2.1 =*ho* with S and A arguments

The Focus postposition =*ho* is obligatory neither with S nor with A arguments. As described below in §8.2.2, inanimate A arguments most often occur with =*ho*.

In the below example, the noun marked with =*ho* is an inanimate S argument of a verb of motion:

8.5) Eep=pos            möng-go-k.

tree=FOC            fall-RP-3SG

‘(It was) the tree (that) fell.’ (Field notes)

Here, the focus postposition marks the S of the intransitive verb *mö-* ‘fall.’ The focus postposition is optional here; this statement (‘It was the tree that fell’) might serve as the response to a question ‘What fell?’ while its unmarked counterpart *eep möng-go-k* ‘The/a tree fell,’ which lacks the focus postposition, is a matter-of-fact statement that could form part of a narrative.

In the next example, the element marked with *=ho* is a lower-animate A argument of a transitive verb, with the first person singular O argument indexed with a verbal prefix:

8.6) [Ibaa<sub>HEAD</sub>      opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]=ho<sub>A</sub>      ne-e-ha-k.  
 leech                  small=FOC                  1SG.O-bite-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘(It is) a little leech (that) has bit me.’ (Field notes)

Here again, the focus postposition marking the A argument of the transitive verb *y-ii-* ‘bite s.o./s.t.’ is optional. Although the A argument is in focus, it remains an argument within the clause: it is not fronted out of the clause.

With animate transitive subjects, *=ho* is used when: 1) the subject is newly-introduced, 2) the subject differs from another known actor/potential alternative subject, and/or 3) the situation is one of switch-reference. At 0:12 and 0:55 in Narrative II, Appendix, none of these conditions hold, so that the narrator’s wife, *oe-na* ‘woman-1SG.POSS,’ is not marked with *=ho*. These lines are repeated as (8.7) and (8.8) below:

8.7) {Oe-na<sub>A</sub>                  daweng<sub>O</sub>                  goni-ng-a},      om-emo<sub>OBL...</sub>  
 woman=1SG.POSS      Chinese.taro      dig-DEP-MV      downhill-LDEM.FAR  
 ‘My wife digging up taro, down there...’ (Narrative II, Appendix, 0:12)

8.8) {{Oe-na<sub>A</sub>      daweng<sub>O</sub>      ho-ng-a      it-do-k}}.  
 who=1SG.POSS      Chinese.taro      cook-DEP-MV      be-RP-3SG  
 ‘My wife was cooking taro.’ (Narrative II, Appendix, 0:55)

The narrator’s wife is introduced as an actor at 0:04 in Narrative II. Thus, there is no need for *=ho* in (8.7) or (8.8) under (1) above—to mark a newly-introduced participant. Only the wife could be digging up and cooking taro, since the husband is described as cutting down, then becoming entangled in a tree far above her, so there is further no need for *=ho* under the contrastive situation (2) above—to highlight the fact that ‘it was my wife (not me), who cooked/dug taro.’ Finally, there is no switch-reference operating here (situation (3) above).



Here, *nan-na* ‘father-1SG.POSS’ has already been introduced into the story, so *=ho* is unnecessary in that regard. Further, it is unlikely that a pademelon would be throwing an arrow, so *=ho* is also unnecessary to contrast two possible actors. Here, it is the switch-reference context (above, condition (3)) that triggers *=ho* on the subject after the different-subject marking.

The conditions under which *=ho* is used with both transitive subjects and intransitive subjects may be summarized under the blanket label of ‘focus.’ Thus, *=ho* may mark a repetition of an already-introduced subject when both instances are in focus; this is the case in the next example:

- 8.12)      {[Hon=to      osuk,      hon=to      osuk]<sub>o</sub> ta-a-ng }  
                  2.NSG.PRO=FOC first      2.NSG.PRO=FOC first      do-PRES-2/3PL  
                  ‘You are doing ‘you (go) first, you (go) first.’ (Field notes)

Here, both instances of the basic pronoun *hon* ‘2NSG.PRO’ are marked with the focus postposition. The expression *hon=to osuk* may be considered as the first part of a verbal clause with an ellipsed verb such as *ongo-* ‘go’; *hon* would then serve as the intransitive subject of such a clause. See the summary in §8.2.6 for discussion of *=ho* marking arguments of ellipsed verbs.

When the content question word *numa* ‘who’ serves as S/A argument of a verb, it is usually marked with *=ho*, as in the next example:

- 8.13)      {Numa=ho<sub>A</sub>      y-angat      to-ng-a}      {{ongo-go-k}}?  
                  who=FOC      3.O-escort      SG.O.take-DEP-MV      go-RP-3SG  
                  ‘Who, escorting her/him, went?’ (Field notes)

The reason *numa* as verbal subject is often marked by *=ho* seems to relate to the fact that usually this is the focus of the question: ‘*who* was it that...?’ Indeed, in the few questions in the corpus in which *numa* serves as S or A argument of a verb and *=ho* is not present, it seems that another element is foregrounded over *numa*. This is the case in the next example, in which churchgoers in another village praise a Towet woman for teaching their children new Sabbath songs:



Here, although the 1sg basic pronoun *nok* is A argument of the verb *honggit-*, it is not marked by *=ho* because it is not in focus. That is, the identity of the actor is given in the context: speaker A is not asking ‘who’ is going, but ‘where’ the addressee is going.

In another example with the same verb, a child calls to his mother using the Call-At-Distance form (§2.8.9) to alert her to a situation involving two children:

- 8.17) Mak=yOVOC!    {{Kaila<sub>A</sub>    [Komo<sub>OPr</sub>    kaag-<sub>OPe</sub>] =dek<sub>LOC</sub>  
 mother=VOC    Kaila                    Komo    head-3SG.POSS=LOC  
 wee<sub>O</sub>    honggir-a            it-to-k}}!  
 wound    hold-MV                    be-PRES.SG.CAD-3SG  
 ‘Mother! Kaila is holding onto the wound on Komo’s head!’ (Field notes)

Here, the name of the misbehavior, *Kaila*, is not marked with *=ho* because it is not in focus. The emphasis here is perhaps on the misbehavior itself.

### 8.2.2 *=ho* marking Instrument, and inanimate A arguments

In Nungon, there are two ways to mark an Instrument oblique argument. The locative postposition *=dek* (§8.6) may be used to mark Instrument, and the focus postposition *=ho* may also mark Instrument. When *=ho* marks Instrument, the Instrument is focused; when *=dek* marks Instrument, there is no focusing.

The next sentence is a clear example of *=ho* marking Instrument:

- 8.18) Eepi=ho<sub>OBL</sub>    di-go-rok    ha?  
 fire=FOC            burn-RP-2SG    QUES  
 ‘Were you burned by the fire?’ (Field notes)

It is clear that *eepi* ‘fire’ is an Instrument argument here, not the S of intransitive verb *di-* ‘burn,’ because *di-* is inflected for 2sg. Note that while the Focus postposition seems to be optional when it marks S/A, it seems to be requisite for marking Instrument. That is, although *=dek* ‘Locative’ may

also be used to mark Instrument, as with ‘tongs’ above, either =*dek* or =*ho* must be present if the argument is to be interpreted as Instrument—non-marking is not an option, as it is with S/A marking.

The next example clearly involves an Instrument argument for the same reason as (8.18): the element marked with =*ho* is not the subject argument of the verb.

- 8.19) Nungon=<sub>TOBL</sub> doo-wang-ka-rok?  
 what=<sub>FOC</sub> 3NSG.O.beat-PROB.SG-NF-2SG  
 ‘With what will you beat them?’ (Field notes)

The next sentence is biclausal, with the S, *tung* ‘raptor sp.’ of the ambitransitive final verb in the second clause stated explicitly only before the first, medial, clause:

- 8.20) [Tung<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>, {eep=<sub>deKOBL</sub> ir-a},  
 New.Guinea.eagle large tree=<sub>LOC</sub> be-MV  
 {{hot-no=<sub>hoOBL</sub> waga-ha-k}}.  
 wing-3SG.POSS=<sub>FOC</sub> pound-PRES.SG-3SG

‘The big New Guinea eagle, while in the tree, pummels (the air) with its wings (to flush small mammals from their holes below).’ (Adapted from field notes)

This seems to be another instance of =*ho* used to mark an Instrument argument. If *hot-no* ‘its wing(s)’ were the S of *waga-* ‘pound,’ we would expect a Different-Subject ending on *it-* ‘be,’ which has *tung* ‘raptor sp.’ as S. Since there is no change in S marked, *hot-no* is understood as the Instrument with which the *tung* pummels the air. (Further, if the speaker were careful and *hot-no* were truly the S of *waga-*, *waga-* should be inflected for 3du, not 3sg, to indicate that both wings flap.)

In the next example as well, the element marked by =*ho* is clearly not S/A because of the switch-reference marking on the verbs:

8.21) {Boru=h<sub>OBL</sub> [kombön noni]=dek<sub>OBL</sub> henet agep<sub>ADVto-ng-a</sub>},  
 cloth=FOC stomach 1PL.POSS=LOC tie tight do-DEP-MV  
 {e-ng-a}, Haanggo Bö.  
 come-DEP-MV Haanggo Peak

‘Having tied around our stomachs tightly with cloth, (we) came to Haanggo Peak.’

(Fooyu Deedim 1:54)

Here *boru* ‘cloth’ is marked with the focus postposition to indicate its status as Instrument argument of the serial construction *henet agep to-* ‘tie tightly do.’ Note that this sentence has no final verb, and no other inflection indicating that the underlying A of *to-ng-a* and S of *e-ng-a* is the 1pl personal pronoun; this is understood through the context of the story.

Within Nungon grammar, the difference between human and non-human referents plays a role in number marking on nouns (§4.1.1); in other areas, the boundary is drawn between animate and inanimate referents, as in the difference between verb *hi-* ‘place s.t.’ and *yö-* ‘place (someone, or a higher animate that can move on its own).’ There are not extremely many unambiguous examples of inanimate A arguments of transitive verbs. Even when there is no obvious alternative animate A argument to be understood from context, the A argument of the transitive verb could be understood as ‘impersonal’ (Roberts 2001). But there are a few unambiguous examples of inanimate A arguments—which in these examples are always marked with =*ho*. The first example below, was spoken by a woman who struck a machete against a boulder while cutting weeds in her coffee plantation:

8.22) Gowik<sub>A</sub>=ko böörongo na-ha-k.  
 knife=FOC stone eat-PRES.SG-3SG

‘It is the knife that has eaten rock.’ (Field notes)

Here, *na-* ‘eat’ is used somewhat figuratively. A machete or knife’s cutting edge is referred to as its *maar-o* ‘teeth-3SG.POSS’; similarly, here it is said to ‘eat rock’ when it strikes against a rock instead of the plant material it was meant to cut. *Gowik* ‘knife’ here is unambiguously the 3sg A argument of *na-* ‘eat’; there could be no other argument. Impersonal ‘circumstances’ or ‘situations’

are not talked about as ‘eating’ in Nungon. Another clear instance comes from a World War II narrative describing how the remains of a German woman who died in a plane crash in the Uruwa area were carried away in two sacks by her countrymen. Here, *girang* ‘ship’ is the A argument of the transitive verb *yoo-* ‘take (nsg. O)’:

- 8.23)      {Top=*dek*      *hi-u-ya*},                      {*girang*<sub>A</sub>=*ko*      *yoo-ng-a*},  
                  ocean=LOC      put-DS.2/3PL-MV      ship=FOC      NSG.O.take-DEP-MV  
                  {{*bök-no-n*                      *ongo-go-k*}}.  
                  house-3SG.POSS-LOC      go-RP-3SG

‘They having put (the sacks of bones) by the ocean, it was a ship that taking them, went to its/her home.’ (Joshua hat osukno 1:54)

Because the verb *hi-* ‘put’ is inflected for different-subject, the subject of *yoo-* ‘take (nsg. O)’ is not the same as the subject of *hi-*, the German men who placed the bags of bones by the sea. Except for *girang* ‘ship,’ there are no other possible 3sg subjects that could be shared by both *yoo-* ‘take (nsg. O)’ and *ongo-* ‘go.’ Further, *girang* ‘ship’ is marked by the focus postposition =*ho*. If it were Instrument or Location here, it would be more natural to mark *girang* with the locative postposition =*dek*.

Everywhere an inanimate NP has been found serving as A argument of a verb, it is marked by =*ho*. Another example comes from an oral retelling of the Biblical Exodus story:

- 8.24)      {[*Isip*<sub>MOD</sub>      [*oe*      *amna*]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>S</sub>      *ong-u-ya*},                      *wo-rok*,  
                  Egypt                      woman man                      go-DS.2/3PL-MV                      that-SEMBL  
                  {{*top*=*po*<sub>A</sub>      *wo-rok*                      *yoo-ng*                      *tombot*=*dup*      *to-go-k*}}.  
                  ocean=FOC      that-SEMBL      NSG.O.take-DEP cover=COMPL      do-RP-3SG

‘The Egyptian men and woman having gone, thus, it was the ocean that took them and covered them completely.’ (Gosing Mosasi hon hat 4:11)

Here, *top* ‘ocean’ must be interpreted as A argument of *to-* ‘do’ and *tombot-* ‘cover,’ unless this is an impersonal construction. This is because *Isip oe amna* ‘Egyptian people’ (in which the

coordinated nouns *oe* and *amna*—the usual term for ‘people’—head a two-noun NP, with *Isip* ‘Egypt’ as modifier) is the S argument of the verb *ongo-* ‘go’ in the first medial clause, and *ongo-* is inflected for different-subject, showing that the next clause has a different subject. Further, *Isip oe amna* triggers 2/3pl indexation on a verb, while the final verb of the sentence, *to-go-k*, is inflected for 3sg. This 3sg could either be *top* ‘the ocean,’ or an impersonal generic 3sg ‘it.’

Similarly, the next sentence is identical to example (8.6) above, except that the lower animate *ibaa opmou* ‘a small leech’ is replaced by the inanimate *iyep* ‘sun’:

- 8.25)      *Iyep=po<sub>A</sub>*      *ne-e-ha-k*.  
               *sun=FOC*          *1SG.O-bite-PRES.SG-3SG*  
               ‘It is the sun that hurts me.’ (Field notes)

Finally, the story of a major avalanche told in the Worin dialect not only features *böörong* ‘stone’ as A argument, but refers back to this inanimate object with the emphatic pronoun form *ino* ‘itself’ (§7.1.2), which rarely occurs with inanimate reference:

- 8.26)      {{ *Ambaraco*    *wo-roc*,            *böörong=k<sub>OA</sub>*,    *ino=k<sub>AOBL</sub>*,  
               *all*                *that-SEMBL*    *rock=FOC*        *3SG.PRO.EMPH=BEN*  
               *yoo-ng*            *ööp*    *hi-go-c* }}.  
               *NSG.O.take-DEP quiet*    *put-RP-3SG*  
               ‘All of them, that is, it was the stone that for itself, took them and put them hidden.’  
               (Kewin Nagom ewepni 7:25)

The sentence describes the way a giant boulder covered the opening to a crevice in which a number of people were trapped, thus hiding them from the view of rescuers looking down from above.

While inanimate A arguments are usually marked by *=ho*, the Afflictions of Afflictive constructions using *i-mo-* ‘give’ (§11.1.3) are never marked by *=ho*. This is one indication that the A

argument of ‘give’ is not the Affliction itself, but the situation that leads to the Affliction. The next example, cited in Chapter 11, is the usual way to say that smoke is blowing in one’s face:

- 8.27) Börok<sub>O</sub> na-mo-ha-k.  
smoke 1SG.O-give-PRES.SG-3SG  
‘Smoke afflicts me.’ [Literally: ‘It gives me smoke.’] (Field notes)

Were *börok* ‘smoke’ the A argument of *i-mo-*, it should be marked with *=ho*.

### 8.2.3 *=ho* marking Possessor in possessive locational NPs

In a function that at first seems to diverge from its other uses, *=ho* may stand in for the genitive postposition *=hon* in phrases describing ownership of a location, as ‘Matthew’s house,’ or ‘Yawan people’s lands.’ This only occurs when the possessive locational NP is further marked as a locative argument with the locative postposition *=dek* (§8.6.1) or locative suffix *-(i)n*.<sup>24</sup> When such a possessive locational NP occurs as the S or O argument of a verb, the genitive postposition occurs, not the focus postposition.

Most of the following examples come from a story about a group of Towet travellers journeying to a conservation-related Community Based Organization meeting in the Yupna area. In the first example, the possessive NP *Metyu=hon bök* ‘Matthew’s house’ is the S argument of the verb *it-* ‘be, exist,’ and the genitive postposition occurs in the NP:

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<sup>24</sup> See 2:53 in Narrative II, Appendix, for the one instance in the corpus where the possessive NP apparently serves as a location oblique argument but is not marked by the locative postposition or suffix—and *=ho* still occurs instead of *=hon*. This example is repeated as (8.73) and (12.11).

- 8.28)      {{Hori-ng-a    aa-nang-ka-ng}}=ma,                      wo=ma-i,  
              stare-DEP-MV    3SG.O.see-PROB.PL-NF-2/3PL=REL            that=SPEC-TOP  
              {{[Metyu=hon<sub>Pr</sub>            bö<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>S</sub> it-ta-k}}.  
              Matthew=GEN            house    be-PRES.SG-3SG  
              ‘What, gazing, you will see, is, that Matthew’s house is there.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain  
              12:40)

In the next example, *Metyu=hon bö<sub>k</sub>* is topic of the sentence and corresponds to the non-explicit O argument of the verb *aa-* ‘see,’ so the genitive postposition =*hon* also occurs:

- 8.29)      {{[Metyu=hon<sub>Pr</sub>            bö<sub>k</sub>]<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>            ganang-e  
              Matthew=GEN            house            inside-ADV  
              [om-emo                    hinom]            aa-nang-ka-ng}}.  
              downhill-LDEM.FAR    INTENS            3SG.O.see-PROB.NSG-NF-2/3PL  
              ‘You will see Matthew’s house in the forest, all the way down there.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain  
              12:57)

But when the same possessive NP occurs with locative postposition =*dek*, the genitive postposition =*hon* is not used; instead, the focus postposition =*ho* occurs in its place:

- 8.30)      {W<sub>OBL</sub>ongo-ng-a},      {{[Metyu=ho<sub>Pr</sub> bö<sub>k</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub>    ongo-rang-ka-morok}}.  
              that    go-DEP-MV            Matthew=FOC    house=LOC            go-PROB.DU-NF-2/3DU  
              ‘Going there, you will go to Matthew’s house.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain 13:15)

If the noun *bö<sub>k</sub>* hosts the Locative suffix *-(i)n*, the focus postposition is also used instead of the genitive. This is illustrated by an excerpt from a text dictated by a Kotet speaker:

- 8.31)      [E-ng-a],            [[Kansöli=ho<sub>Pr</sub>    böc-in<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub>            tanac<sub>O</sub>    na-go-mong].  
              come-DEP-MV    Councillor=FOChouse-LOC            food    eat-RP-1PL  
              ‘Coming, we ate food in Councillor’s house.’ (Field notes)

Another example is found in Appendix, Dialogue II. Here, the non-specific NP *nandu=ma au* ‘somebody else’ is Possessor in the possessive locational NP:

- 8.32)      [[Nandu=ma<sub>HEAD</sub>      au<sub>MOD</sub>]=ho<sub>Pr</sub>      bög-in<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub>      duo-wang-ka-t.  
                  something=SPEC      other=FOC      house-LOC      sleep-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
                  ‘I will sleep in someone else’s house.’ (Dialogue II 0:46)

Possessive locational NPs in the Nungon texts corpus most often occur with *bök* ‘house, village,’ *haa* ‘area,’ and *boop* ‘forest’ as the head of the possessive NP, and a personal name, community name, or basic personal pronoun as Possessor element. The replacement of the genitive postposition =*hon* with the focus postposition =*ho* occurs when every possessive locational NP is marked by the locative postposition =*dek* or the locative suffix *-(i)n*. This is consistent for all speakers and I have found it in texts from Yawan, Worin, and Kotet dialect speakers, as well as Towet speakers.

The next example shows a possessive locational NP with the noun *haa* ‘area’ as head. Here, there is no locative postposition or suffix present; the NP serves as verbless clause subject, and the genitive postposition =*hon* is used, not the focus postposition =*ho*:

- 8.33)      [Yawan=ton<sub>Pr</sub>      haa<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub>      morö<sub>VCC</sub>.  
                  Yawan=GEN      area      large  
                  ‘Yawan’s area is large.’ (Fooyu Yawan boop hat 1:01)

But in the next example, the noun *haa* ‘area’ takes the Locative suffix *-(i)n*. This means that the Focus postposition =*ho*, not the Genitive postposition =*hon*, occurs in the possessive locational NP *non=ton haa* ‘our area.’

8.34) {Amnao i-n-i-ya}, {{{non=toPr ha-inPe]OBL  
 man 3SG.O-tell-DS.2SG-MV 1NSG.PRO=FOC area-LOC  
 ng-ondoOBL e-wang-ka-k}}.  
 here-LDEM.NEAR come-PROB.SG-NF-3SG

‘You having told the man, he could come to our area here.’ (Waasiöng inoin hat 20:49)

Example (8.34) included the first person basic non-singular personal pronoun *non*, which does not incorporate the focus, genitive, or benefactive postpositions. The singular basic personal pronouns do incorporate these postpositions into special forms of the pronouns (§7.1.1); these show the same occurrence pattern of focus and genitive forms in possessive locational NPs as other nouns and pronouns. If the possessive locational NP is the S or O argument of a verb, or subject of a verbless clause, the pronoun form that incorporates the genitive postposition =*hon* is used, as in the next example:

8.35) {{{ {NogonPr bökPe]O to-ri-n}}=ma=ha  
 1SG.PRO+GEN house do-IRR.DU-1NSG=REL=BEN  
 hömo hai-ra}}.  
 house.post fell-IMM.IMP.1DU

‘That we may make my house, let us fell the houseposts.’ (Stanli Böifa hon bök 0:14)

But if the possessive location NP is framed as a locative argument, the pronoun takes the form that incorporates the focus postposition =*ho*, as in the next example:

8.36) [GogoPr bökPe]=dekOBL ngo-rok e-wa-mong.  
 2SG.PRO+FOC house=LOC this-SEMBL come-PRES.NSG-1PL

‘In this way, we have come to your house.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain 13:47)

There are two lines of argument to explain why =*ho* and =*hon* alternate in this special context. The two arguments hinge on whether the possessive NP is understood as a single possessive NP with both =*ho* and =*hon*. If the possessive NP is taken as such even when =*ho* is present instead

of *=hon*, then the issue is the replacement of genitive postposition *=hon* by focus postposition *=ho* in certain contexts. That is, if the NP is framed as a locative argument by the locative postposition *=dek* or suffix *-(i)n*, this bars the genitive postposition from occurring within the NP. It may be farfetched to surmise that the genitive postposition *=hon* actually comprises the Focus postposition *=ho* and the locative suffix *-(i)n*. (The genitive function ‘of Matthew, Matthew’s’ could have originated as ‘by, at Matthew’ with more of a locative sense.) The originally-locative suffix *-n* then occurs in the genitive everywhere except when the possessive NP itself is framed in the locative, in which case the first of the two locative markers is omitted.

An alternative analysis takes the possessive NP as a possessive NP when the genitive postposition is present but as two separable-but-related, non-possessive NPs when the focus postposition is present. The first NP of *Metyu=ho bök=dek*, then, would be *Metyu=ho* ‘it is Matthew,’ which could be understood as focused. The second NP *bök=dek* ‘in the house’ could be understood as backgrounded. Analysing *Metyu=ho bök=dek* as comprising two separate NPs is in keeping with the behavior of *=ho* everywhere else—it always attaches to the end of an NP, and does not ordinarily serve to link two nouns within a possessive NP. But if *Metyu=ho* were a focused NP, not part of a possessive NP with *bök* ‘house,’ it is unclear why *bök=dek* must be understood as relating to *Metyu*. Further, the intonation pattern and pausing used with *Metyu=ho bök=dek* do not differ from those used with *Metyu=hon bök*: there is no pause at all between the first and second word, nor other intonational indication that the two are separable. If the expression using the focus postposition indeed originated in a construction that was not a possessive NP, it seems that speakers now consider it prosodically to be a type of possessive NP, albeit used only in a certain context.

Even when a possessive locational NP denotes location in time, not space, the focus postposition *=ho* still stands in for the genitive postposition *=hon*. Early in my fieldwork, I questioned people about time words beyond the designators *isuna* ‘two days after today’ and *isunon* ‘three days after today.’ For any day beyond *isunon*, speakers in that early stage faltered, eventually giving me the cover-all term *wo=ho mee-no-n*: ‘that-FOC back-3SG.POSS-LOC’: ‘after that.’ I duly wrote this down, realizing later that this is not an acceptable designator of time on its own because it

includes an anaphoric demonstrative, which referred back to *isunon* in the context in which it was first given to me. This is a possessive NP with the anaphoric demonstrative *wo* ‘that’ as Possessor and *mee-no* ‘back-3SG.POSS,’ ‘its back,’ as head; the head of the possessive NP is marked by the locative suffix *-(i)n*, which blocks the genitive postposition *=hon* from occurring. Instead, *=ho* occurs. Thus, regardless of whether the construction refers to location in space or in time, the Focus postposition *=ho* stands in for the genitive postposition *=hon*.

#### 8.2.4 *=ho* marking Manner and the Iterative aspect

When deverbal nominalizations are marked with *=ho*, they serve as Manner obliques. Marking with *=ho* is not obligatory in order for these nominalizations to function as Manner obliques, but most often they are marked in this way, as in the next example:

- 8.37)      {{Aa-ng-gang=ko                      e-irök}},              {mö-ng-a}  
                  3SG.O.see-DEP-PART=FOC              come-DEL.IMP.2SG              fall-DEP-MV  
                  {{ge-eng-ka-k}}.  
                  2SG.O.hurt-PROB.SG-NF-3SG

‘Watchfully come; if you fall, you’ll get hurt.’ [Literally: ‘(In a) seeing-it manner, come; falling, it will hurt you.’] (Field notes)

The focus postposition also serves as part of the Iterative construction (introduced in §6.6.3), which combines a repeated inflected Dependent verb with the focus postposition.

#### 8.2.5 *=ho* marking topic

The Focus postposition *=ho* usually does not mark verbless clause complements or verbal O arguments. In only two instances in the corpus does *=ho* seem to mark an O argument of a transitive verb. In both instances, it seems that *=ho* in fact marks an extra-clausal focused topic, which shares reference with the non-explicit O argument within the clause. These are instances where topicalization combines with focusing, as with Radetsky’s ‘contrastive topic’ (2002). One of these examples is included here, as (8.38).

I had asked a Towet elder about the origin of the verb *indat-* ‘read,’ which nowadays is used for reading, done in the Latin alphabet. I was wondering whether this verb had existed before writing in the Uruwa valley, and if so, what it had originally described. She told me that it used to describe counting on one’s fingers, and that people would count farm produce to determine, as she put it:

- 8.38)      {{Dogong=ko    moi    ta-a-ng}},      dogong=ko<sub>TOP</sub>  
               how.many=FOC bad      do-PRES-2/3PL    how.many=FOC  
               {{hawek      ta-a-ng}}.  
               theft                    do-PRES-2/3PL  
               ‘How many have gone bad, how many (people) have stolen.’ (Field notes)

Here, the content question word *dogong* ‘how many’ (§10.7.6) can be interpreted as the S argument of the intransitive light verb construction *moi to-* ‘become bad.’ But it cannot be interpreted as the S argument of the complex predicate *hawek to-* ‘commit theft (of)’: it is people who commit theft. Thus *dogong=ko* in the second final clause here is either a topic—‘how many are they, that people have stolen’—or the O argument of *hawek to-* ‘commit theft (of).’ Since O arguments are never marked by *=ho*, it is easier to analyse *dogong=ko* as the extra-clausal topic here, marked with *=ho* for focus.

### 8.2.6 Summary: postposition *=ho*

The above discussion has shown that the polysemies of *=ho* are context-dependent. It is largely the nature of the element marked by *=ho* in a given context that determines the function of *=ho*. For instance, when it marks an animate NP that is not Possessor in a possessive locational NP, *=ho* can only indicate that the NP is transitive or intransitive subject argument—never location, instrument, or manner. Similarly, when it marks a deverbal nominalization, *=ho* can only indicate that the nominalization is a manner argument—never subject, location, or instrument. The function of *=ho* is sometimes ambiguous when an inanimate NP marked by *=ho* could be interpreted as either A argument of a transitive verb, or Instrument argument.

Since the nature of the NP marked by *=ho* and its discourse-pragmatic status largely determine the precise function of *=ho* in a given context, such a marked NP can be fully meaningful

on its own even when the verb of the clause is omitted. This occurs in elliptical speech and in appended partial statements. In the next example, Towet elder Nongi emphasizes that it would not be a single man who would carry out *tik orip* ‘bark-cloth design’ work in the old days: a single man doing it by himself would find it too tedious:

- 8.39)      Wo-i,                      [amna<sub>HEAD</sub>      ingguk<sub>MOD</sub>]=ko=gon,      muuno-wa.  
                  that-TOP                      [man                      one]=FOC=RSTR                      no-ATT  
                  ‘That is, just one man, no, hear.’ (Nongi hat 14 tik orip 1:45)

Above, although the verb ‘do’ or a similar verb is omitted, a listener understands that =*ho* marks *amna ingguk* ‘one man’ as S or A argument in both instances, since the referent of *amna* is animate. The focus postposition =*ho* does overlap in function, given certain contexts, with the genitive postposition =*hon*, the locative postposition =*dek*, and the restrictive/durative postposition =*gon*. The other two postpositions—benefactive postposition =*ha* and comitative postposition =*rot*—do not overlap in function with =*ho*.

### 8.3 Benefactive postposition =*ha*

This postposition marks oblique verbal arguments including Addressee (§8.3.1), Beneficiary, Purpose, Reason, and Discussion Topic. Some intransitive verbs take peripheral arguments marked with =*ha*. In shape-shifting legends, the postposition =*ha* indicates the shape to which an actor shifted. This postposition is unique among those discussed in this chapter in being able to directly cliticize to a fully-inflected final verb in the protasis of counterfactual sentences.

#### 8.3.1 =*ha* marking Addressee and topic of speech

The benefactive postposition may also mark addressee of speech and, with the verb of perception ‘hear/understand/heed,’ the Heeded argument. The verb *mabo-* (H-class) ‘call out’ is intransitive; this may be because it originally comprised the noun *maa* ‘speech’ and a verb \**bo-*, with *maa* ‘speech’ serving as O argument of the verb. To say ‘call for s.o., summon s.o.,’ this verb is used with the person called for taking the benefactive postposition, as in the next example:

- 8.40) {Mag-a=ha<sub>OBL</sub> mab-i-ya}, {{ep-pun}}.  
 mother-2SG.POSS=BEN call.out-DS.2SG-MV come-IMM.IMP.3SG

‘Call your mother to come.’ [Literally: ‘You calling out for your mother, let her come.’] (Nongi Mousiöng bem hat 1:10)

*Mabo-* ‘call out’ cannot take a direct object; thus the person called for is marked by postposition =*ha*. On the other hand, the ditransitive verb *i-no-* ‘tell’ must have a direct object-referencing prefix. The referent of *i-* or other object-referencing prefixes need not be explicit elsewhere in the clause, and it is in fact likelier that the A argument of *i-no-* is expressed explicitly than that the O argument is expressed explicitly. If the O argument is named outside of the O prefix on the verb, it need not take =*ha*. This is illustrated by the following example:

- 8.41) [Oe [mak=kon<sub>Pr</sub> [morö=ma]<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>APPOS</sub>]<sub>O</sub> i-no-go-t.  
 woman mother=GEN large=SPEC 3SG.O-tell-RP-1SG

‘A woman, the head of the mothers (group), I addressed her.’ (Nusek Finschafen 4:42)

Above, the fact that the Speaker argument is 1sg and the Addressee is 3sg means that even with no postpositions or other grammatical marking, there is no chance of mistaking the Addressee, that is, ‘the head of the mothers’ group,’ as the Speaker. But if the arguments had the same person and number, the sentence would be ambiguous. Although the Addressee need not be marked by =*ha*, it may be marked by =*ha*, in which case it is an oblique argument of the verb of speech. When the Addressee of *i-no-* is marked by =*ha*, =*ha* seems to serve to clarify semantic relations within the clause as well as to imply that the statement was not just delivered to the Addressee, but spoken for the benefit of the Addressee. This is shown in the next example:

8.42)      {{{[Towet<sub>MOD</sub>    amna<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>S</sub>    ongo-go-k}}}=ma<sub>TOP</sub>    wo=ha<sub>OBL</sub>  
Towet            man                    go-RP-3SG=REL            that=BEN  
[amna            na-ng-in]<sub>A</sub>            i-no-ng=it-do-k.  
man                    eat-DEP-LOC            3SG.O-tell-DEP=be-RP-3SG

‘The Towet man who had gone, (it was) to/for him that the cannibal<sup>25</sup> was telling him, “You pull (the twine to start the fire).”’ (David Ögate 3:49)

In contrast to the verbs *mabo-* ‘call out,’ which is intransitive, and *i-no-* ‘tell,’ which is either ditransitive, with the reported speech as one O and the Addressee as the other O, or transitive, with the Addressee as O and the reported speech not explicit, the verb *yo-* ‘say, speak’ is ambitransitive: it may be transitive, with the reported speech as O, or intransitive, with no explicit O. While the Addressee is integral to the verb *i-no-* ‘tell,’ the Addressee is irrelevant to the verb *yo-* and is not usually mentioned; the preferred way to indicate an interlocutor of speech is to use the comitative: ‘X along-with-Y was speaking.’ When =*ha* marks an argument of the verb *yo-*, this argument is the topic of the speech act described by *yo-*, not the Addressee. In the next example, from Narrative II, Appendix, the speaker says that he is going to talk ‘about’ himself, not ‘to’ himself:

8.43)      [Hat<sub>HEAD</sub>            au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>            wo=ma-i,            naga=ha<sub>OBL</sub>  
story                    other                    that=SPEC-TOP    1SG.PRO.EMPH=BEN  
yo-wang-ka-t.  
say-PROB.SG-NF-1SG

‘As for another story, I will speak about myself.’ (Narrative II, Appendix, 0:00-0:03)

The argument marked by =*ha* may also be the translation or explanation of the speech report that is the O argument of *yo-*. The next example comes from the oldest Towet man’s explanation of the archaic topographic demonstrative terms mentioned in §7.2.5:

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<sup>25</sup> Note that *amna na-ng-in* is a variant of *amna na-ng na-ng* (discussed in §4.2.4).

- 8.44) Karing<sub>TOP</sub> wo=ma-i {{on-eno=ha<sub>OBL</sub> yo-ng=it-du-ng}}.  
*karing* that=SPEC-TOP uphill-LDEM.FAR=BEN say-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
 Mön<sub>TOP</sub> wo=ma-i {{om-emo=ha<sub>OBL</sub>  
*mön* that=SPEC-TOP downhill-LDEM.FAR=BEN  
 yo-ng=it-du-ng}}.  
 say-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL

‘As for *karing*, they used to say it for ‘uphill yonder.’ As for *mön*, they used to say it for ‘downhill yonder.’ (Nongi maa osukno 0:05)

The combination of *yo-* ‘say, speak’ and benefactive postposition =*ha*, ‘speak about/for,’ is also used to mean ‘praise.’ One day, a Towet elder known as Söpa passed me at the spring and heard me singing a *Tomep aap*, song of the Tomep corpus. Later, I was told:

- 8.45) Söpas goga<sub>OBL</sub> hatdek ya-a-k.  
 Söpa 2SG.PRO+BEN much say-PRES-3SG  
 ‘Söpa praised you a lot.’ [Literally: ‘Söpa spoke about you a lot.’] (Field notes)

With the verb of perception *orom hi-* ‘hear, listen, understand, know,’ that which is heard or attended to may take the postposition =*ha*, as in the next sentence from a traditional story, in which a man asks his dog, which he has sent on a mission to rescue his grandsons, whether the dog can hear him or not:

- 8.46) {{Noga<sub>OBL</sub> oro hit-ta-rok}} ha muuno?  
 1SG.PRO+BEN understand put-PRES.SG-2SG CONJ not  
 ‘Can you hear me or not?’ (Julianne orin Anita hon hat 6:50)

It could be said that the benefactive marks both oblique arguments and core arguments, if verbs such as *orom hi-* ‘hear’ and *mabo-* ‘call out’ are analysed as extended intransitives (Dixon 2010b: 99). The argument marked with =*ha* would be the Extended argument.

### 8.3.2 =*ha* with shape-shifting

Shape-shifting features in many legends. Characters change into animals and inanimate objects both temporarily and permanently. In the corpus, the verb most often used to indicate shape-shifting is *kore-* ‘hide.’ When the transmogrification is permanent, the form taken is often (but not always) marked with the postposition =*ha*. When the shift is temporary, the form taken usually lacks =*ha*.

The verb *kore-* ‘hide’ used to describe shape-shifting may either occur with the benefactive postposition marking the goal of the shift, or with the goal of the shift unmarked. A Kotet legend tells of two women who dressed as men to enter a men’s house. When the women dress as men, there is no benefactive postposition used:

- 8.47)      ...{t-uny-a}...                    {{amnao      kore-go-c}}.  
do-DS.2/3DU-MV      man                    hide-RP-3SG

‘The two of them doing so... (first, one) disguised (herself as) a man.’ (Manggirai tic korong 10:20)

At the end of the legend, the two women become bandicoots, apparently permanently, in their shame. Here, the benefactive postposition is used:

- 8.48)      {{Mudan=ta<sub>OBL</sub>      kore-go-moroc}},      owe.  
bandicoot=BEN      hide-RP-2/3DU      woman

‘They turned into bandicoots, the women.’ (Manggirai tic korong 10:20)

Even when the verb *kore-* is missing, the benefactive postposition may serve with other verbs to mark the form into which an actor changes. This is the case with the next example, from the end of a Towet legend about a sister and brother:

8.49)      {[Naat-no                    amna=ma]s      yup=pa<sub>OBL</sub>      ong-un-a},  
           diff.sex.sib-3SG.POSS    man=SPEC      bird=BEN      go-DS.3SG-MV  
           {{oe=mas      wo-rok            ure ure=ha      it-do-k}}.  
           woman=SPEC    that-SEMBL      flower.sp=BEN    be-RP-3SG

‘Her male sibling having gone as a bird, the female one stayed as the *ure ure* flower.’

(Ges story 1 5:44)

Here, the shape-shifting is understood from context. If the context were different, *yup=pa ong-un-a* in the first clause could be interpreted as ‘going off (in search of)/for birds,’ and *ure ure=ha it-do-k* could be interpreted as ‘she stayed (to look) for *ure ure* flowers.’

### 8.3.3 =ha with content questions and responses

The basic way to ask the reason for something is to use the content question word *nungon* ‘what’ with Benefactive postposition =*ha*:

8.50)      Nungon=ta?  
           what=BEN  
           ‘Why?’ [Literally: ‘for what?’]

The response to such a question, and indeed any proffering of a reason for something, is marked with the benefactive postposition:

8.51)      {{Dombisum    tanako    ma=na-wa-t}}=ma=ha.  
           morning      food      NEG=eat-NP.SG-1SG=REL=BEN  
           ‘Because I didn’t eat food this morning.’ [This could be the answer to a question, such as ‘Why are you hungry?’ or it could preface another statement by the same speaker, such as ‘I am hungry.’]

The reason-marking function of the benefactive postposition occurs in combination with anaphoric demonstrative-derived words that serve to organize discourse. Example (8.52) presents a frequently-used expression that sums up preceding discourse as the reason for ensuing discourse:

- 8.52) {Wo-rok=ka to-ng-a}...  
 that-SEMBL=BEN do-DEP-MV  
 ‘Because of that...’
- 8.53) {[Yamuk<sub>MOD</sub> boik<sub>HEAD</sub>]=ka<sub>OBL</sub> poto-k poto-k yo-ng-a},  
 water landslide=BEN fear-NMZ fear-NMZ say-DEP-MV  
 {{karup e-wa-mong}}.  
 quickly come-NP.NSG-1PL  
 ‘Fearing a water-induced landslide, we came (home) quickly.’ [Literally: ‘Being afraid because of/about a water-induced landslide...’] (Field notes)

### 8.3.4 =ha and the Counterfactual

The postposition =ha is the only postposition discussed in this chapter that may directly encliticize to a fully-inflected final verb. This only occurs in the protasis of a counterfactual sentence (§5.5.2).

Here, the final verb’s being marked by =ha is the only indication within the protasis that the event is unrealized. In such a sentence, the final verb of the apodosis is inflected for Counterfactual.

- 8.54) {{Ongo-Ø-t}}=ta, {{og-ego<sub>OBL</sub> it-tem}}.  
 go-NP-1SG=BEN level-LDEM.FAR be-CNTR.1SG  
 ‘If I had gone, I would be yonder.’ (Field notes)

In order to interpret the first final verb of (8.48) as describing an actualized state, the specifier =ma must be inserted between the verb and the benefactive postposition. This is discussed in §12.5.2.

## 8.4 Genitive postposition =hon

With possession, there are Nungon ways to mark both head and dependent. The head of a possessive construction may be marked with the pensive markers, while the dependent member of a possessive construction may be marked with the genitive postposition =hon. The genitive postposition =hon encliticizes to the Possessor (Pr) in possessive constructions; if the Possessed noun is present, it follows =hon. When =hon is present, possessive suffixes may or may not also occur on the possessed

noun following *=hon*. The phonological rules governing assimilation of the initial consonants of clitics *=ho* and *=ha* apply to *=hon* as well.

The genitive postposition *=hon* and comitative postposition *=rot* are the least polysemous of the six grammatical relation-marking postpositions. Genitive postposition *=hon* has just one extended use that does not clearly relate to possession: marking location in time.

Some simple example possessive NPs with *=hon* follow:

- 8.55) [amna=hon<sub>Pr</sub> youp<sub>Pe</sub>]  
 man=GEN work  
 ‘men’s work’
- 8.56) [bot=ton<sub>Pr</sub> tanak<sub>Pe</sub>]  
 pig=GEN food  
 ‘pig’s food’
- 8.57) [Mak=kon<sub>Pr</sub> hipat<sub>Pe</sub>]  
 Mother=GEN coconut  
 ‘Mother’s coconut’
- 8.58) [Babiya<sub>HEAD</sub> ngomod<sub>TOP:Pe</sub>, numa=hon<sub>Pr</sub>?]  
 book this who=GEN  
 ‘This book, whose is it?’

#### 8.4.1 *=hon* in content questions

Questions about possession usually take the form of the last sentence above, with the possessed item fronted and the expression *numa=hon*, ‘whose,’ ending the question. This fronting emphasizes the possessed item. Emphasis on another aspect of the possessed may yield another form of the question, as in the following sentence:

- 8.59) [Numa=hon<sub>Pr</sub> babiya<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>S</sub> hatang=dek<sub>OBL</sub> it-ta-k?  
 who=GEN book table=LOC be-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘Whose book is on the table?’

Sentence (8.59) may still be less preferred by speakers than the alternative, which maintains the question word at the end:

- 8.60)     {{Babiyas     hatang=dek<sub>OBL</sub>   it-ta-k}}.     W<sub>o</sub>TOP:Pe,     numa=hon?  
           book           table=LOC     be-PRES.SG-3SG that           who=GEN  
           ‘The book is on the table; whose is it?’

The Possessed expression may be fronted for topicalization, as in the next two examples:

- 8.61)     [HiPAT<sub>HEAD</sub>     imbange<sub>MOD</sub>     imbange<sub>MOD</sub>     hinom<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP:Pe</sub>  
           coconut       wonderful       wonderful       INTENS  
           [mak   nori]=hon<sub>Pr</sub>.  
           mother 1<sub>DU</sub>.POSS=GEN  
           ‘The extremely fine coconut, it is our mother’s.’

- 8.62)     [Tanak<sub>HEAD</sub>     osuk-no<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP:Pe</sub>,     hup=pon<sub>Pr</sub>.  
           food           first-ADJ           chicken=GEN  
           ‘Old food is the chicken’s.’

Like the other five postpositions, =hon may follow a long and complex NP. This is shown with the relative clause below:

- 8.63)     [Amna<sub>Pr</sub>     {{oip           ongo-go-k}}=ma<sub>MOD</sub>]=hon<sub>Pr</sub>   hap<sub>Pe</sub>.  
           man           yesterday       go-RP-3SG=REL=GEN       dog  
           ‘(It’s) the man who left yesterday’s dog.’

#### 8.4.2 =hon combined with pertensive marking

Possession may be expressed through a combination of the genitive postposition =hon and the pertensive markers, especially when dealing with nouns that usually bear a pertensive marker, i.e. members of the kinship, body parts, and artifact parts nominal sub-classes.

In example (8.57), ‘Mother’ has no pertensive ending because it is the stand-alone, address form of the word. The Possessor NP marked by =*hon* may itself be a noun bearing pertensive suffix. The example could be adjusted to:

- 8.64) [mak nori]=hon hipat  
 mother 1DU.POSS=GEN coconut  
 ‘our mother’s coconut’

More on the genitive postposition in possessive NPs is in §9.2.

### 8.4.3 =*hon* with topographic demonstratives

The one use of the genitive postposition that diverges from the central function in possession involves location, both in space and time. When they head their own NPs, topographic NP-modifying demonstratives (§7.2.1) are most often followed by =*hon*, not =*dek*, when they do take postpositions for location. That is, \**on-o=dek* ‘uphill-MDEM.NEAR=LOC’ does not occur; instead, *on-o=hon* is used. In the next example, a churchgoer uses the topographic demonstrative to indicate location within two book pages:

- 8.65) On-u=hon<sub>VCS</sub>, nungon<sub>VCC</sub>, [lesen sewen]<sub>APPOS</sub>.  
 uphill-MDEM.MID=GEN what lesson seven  
 ‘Up over there, is what, lesson seven.’ (Field notes)

The topographic deictic demonstratives have further applications to time, serving as modifiers of temporal nouns denoting time, seasons, and names of days of the week. Unmodified names of days of the week occur with the locative postposition =*dek* or locative suffix *-(i)n* (§8.6 and §8.7). But when these are modified by topographic deictic demonstratives, they must be marked by =*hon*, not =*dek* or *-(i)n*, to form temporal-locative expressions.

- 8.66) Mōnda-in<sub>OBL</sub> e-i-k-ma.  
 Monday-LOC come-IRR.SG-3SG-RF  
 ‘S/he will come on Monday.’

- 8.67) [Mönda<sub>HEAD</sub> o-nu<sub>MOD</sub>]=hon<sub>OBL</sub> e-i-k-ma.  
 Monday up-DEICT.FAR=GEN come-IRR.SG-3SG-RF  
 ‘S/he will come next Monday.’ (\*Mönda onu-in, \*Mönda-in onu)

## 8.5 Locative postposition =dek

The locative postposition =dek is used with Location and Instrument oblique arguments. It may be used both with stative verbs to indicate location of the state, and with verbs of motion, to indicate either location in which the motion occurs or goal location of the motion. It also applies to non-physical locations, such as dreams, and conditions, such as ‘illness.’ It has extended uses pertaining to time and to personal responsibility. Unlike /h/-initial postpositions =ho, =ha, and =hon, the initial consonant of =dek does not assimilate to the final consonant of preceding words.

As marker of Location, =dek is in complementary distribution with the locative suffix -(i)n. The content question word *nai* ‘where’ often occurs with locative suffix -(i)n, as *nai-n*. It may also occur, especially in baby talk, with =dek. But *nai* may not take both the locative suffix -n and the postposition =dek; *nai=dek* is in complementary distribution with *nai-n*. Although my corpus is full of instances of *nai-n*, with a few examples of *nai* alone, no adults recording narratives used *nai=dek*. I also never observed adults speaking with other adults or teenagers using *nai=dek*.

### 8.5.1 =dek for location in time

The locative postposition =dek is the default marker of location in time, used with Nungon words and loan words alike. In the next example, =dek is used with *bongon* ‘time, season’:

- 8.68) Bongon-o=dek<sub>TOP:OBL</sub> wo=ma-i, bot<sub>VCS</sub> koit-no<sub>VCC</sub>-wa.  
 time-3SG.POSS=LOC that=SPEC-TOP pig many-ADJ-ATT  
 ‘In the (right) season, that is, the pigs were many.’ (Nongi oe min 3:13)

Some time terms are usually marked with -(i)n, not =dek; these include some days of the week, such as *Mönda* ‘Monday.’

### 8.5.2 =dek for psychological and rhetorical location

The Locative postposition =dek is also used to describe psychological location. Such expressions denoting psychological location include *it hu=dek* ‘in a dream’ and *meep-mo=dek* ‘in trouble,’ from *it hu* ‘dream’ and the labile adjective *meep-mo* ‘heavy-ADJ.’ As with English *in sickness and in health*, Nungon =dek may combine with physical states to mean ‘in the state of’:

- 8.69) Omo-k=dek<sub>OBL</sub> him=dek<sub>OBL</sub> tanak=dek<sub>OBL</sub> bunako yo-nang-ka-mong.  
 die-NMZ=LOC sick=LOC food=LOC prayer say-PROB.PL-NF-1PL  
 ‘In dying, in sickness, on (eating) food, we (should) say prayers.’ (Field notes)

The postposition =dek may also indicate rhetorical location—location within discourse. This is anticipated by Radetsky (2002) with Japanese and Greek. In Nungon, this is exemplified in (8.70):

- 8.70) {[Amna<sub>Pr</sub> maa-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>O</sub> yo-wang-ka-t} }. Ketket<sub>CA:S</sub>  
 man name-3SG.POSS say-PROB.SG-NF-1SG boy  
 {{ir-a-mong}}=ma, {naga=dek<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a},  
 be-PRES.NSG-1PL=REL 1SG.PRO.EMPH=LOC put-DEP-MV  
 oruk-na-i=dek<sub>OBL</sub>.  
 brother.of.male-1SG.POSS-PL=LOC  
 ‘I will say (each) man’s name. We boys who exist, starting with myself, then on to my brothers.’ (Boas *babiya bök kon hat* 0:40)

### 8.5.3 =dek for personal responsibility

When it occurs with humans, the postposition =dek may signify either physical location—either within or on the surface of one’s body—or personal responsibility. When used to denote responsibility—‘it’s on you,’ ‘the matter rests with you/in your hands’—the postposition =dek may follow a personal name or epithet, basic personal pronoun, or emphatic personal pronoun. The next example shows responsibility for bestowing blessings attributed to God through the postposition =dek:

- 8.71) Yu=dek<sub>OBL</sub>, Göt=dek=gon<sub>OBL</sub> it-ta-k.  
 3.PRO=LOC God=LOC=RSTR be-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘It’s with Him, with God. (Boas *babiya bök usam ma* 2:25)

#### 8.5.4 =dek with Instrument

While the focus postposition =*ho* marks focused Instrument arguments, the locative postposition =*dek* marks non-focused Instrument arguments.

This was seen in example (3.11) in Chapter 3, with *korowasi=dek* ‘with an axe’ and *gowik=dek* ‘with a machete.’ It is also shown by the next example, with *obu=dek* ‘with the hand/by hand’:

- 8.72) {Obu=dek<sub>OBL</sub> wer-a=gon i-i-ya}... {{araps omo-go-k}}.  
 hand=INSTR 3SG.O.beat-MV=RSTR be-DS.2/3PL-MV game die-RP-3SG  
 ‘They just beating it by hand... the animal died.’ (Joshua *arap dawik togung* 0:49)

#### 8.5.5 =dek with complex NPs

While some location and time-denoting nouns may take *-(i)n* instead of =*dek*, relative and subordinate clauses may be followed by =*dek* but not *-(i)n*. This is illustrated by line 2:53 in Narrative II, Appendix, repeated as (8.73) here and as (12.11) in Chapter 12:

- 8.73) {{Ketket-na=ho<sub>Pr</sub> öön<sub>Pe</sub>}}<sub>OBL</sub> {{bök ta-a-k}}=ma=dek<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a}...  
 boy-1SG.POSS=FOC farm house do-PRES-3SG=REL=LOC put-DEP-MV  
 ‘Coming from [literally: ‘putting (it) (at)’] my son’s farm, where he is making a house...’ (Narrative II, Appendix, 2:53)

This example also shows a special use of the uninflected Medial form of the verb *hi-* ‘put,’ in which it means ‘coming from.’ Except for the fact that the Nungon verb is S=A ambitransitive, this use is somewhat analogous to the Tok Pisin construction that expresses origin or source with the verb *stap* ‘exist’—*mi stap long haus na mi kam* ‘Being at home, I have come.’ The verb *hi-* used in this way in Nungon is never inflected for different-subject; if it were inflected, it would have to be understood as

‘put, place,’ not ‘come from.’ Here, the ablative sense conveyed in the English gloss of the example may be ascribed to the verb, not to *=dek*, which simply marks location of the idiomatic ‘putting it’.

Similarly, example (8.30) above showed that the locational goal of the verb *ongo*-may be marked by *=dek*: ‘You will go to Matthew’s house.’ But *=dek* here simply marks *Metyu=hon bök* ‘Matthew’s house’ as a Location oblique argument of the verb *ongo*-, not necessarily as the goal of the motion.

Grade levels in school are framed as Tok Pisin loans: these occur with *=dek*, as *gred eit=dek* ‘in eighth grade.’ An activity such as the communal hunting practice *horut* may be marked with *=dek*, as may group membership. In an example from an SDA church sermon, *=dek* marks a group of people as a Location argument of *ongo*- ‘go,’ indicating entrance into group membership:

8.74)      Nai-n<sub>OBL</sub>            ongo-ri-n-ma?            [Dombi=hon    torop]=dek<sub>OBL</sub>  
               where-LOC            go-IRR.DU-1NSG-RF      night=GEN      clan=LOC  
               ongo-ri-n-ma?  
               go-IRR.DU-1NSG-RF

‘Where will the two of us go? Will we go into the night’s group?’ (Field notes)

The sermon had established two groups of people—those of the night (sinners), and those of the afternoon (do-gooders). Note the use of the first person dual here as a rhetorical first person inclusive plural (§13.5.5).

Expressions with *=dek* may serve as the basis for modifying expressions with the specifier *=ma*, such as the following:

8.75)      [Arap    gurok=dek=ma],            udoni<sub>APPOS</sub>.  
               game    ground=LOC=SPEC            wallaby

‘A mammal of the ground, a wallaby.’ (Yamosi boop 1:17)

## 8.6 Locative suffix *-(i)n*

The locative suffix *-(i)n* is a suffix, not a postposition, but it is included here for comparison with the locative postposition =*dek*. Unlike postpositions, *-(i)n* cannot attach to modifiers or the relativizer =*ma*; it can only either attach directly to the noun it marks, or to a pertensive suffix on the marked noun.

This suffix takes the form *-in* after monomorphemic nouns, including those that end in consonants, such as *yok* ‘bag,’ and those that end in vowels other than /i/, such as *haa* ‘area,’ *uwa* ‘pot,’ *gombo* ‘fence,’ *obu* ‘hand,’ *nandu* ‘something.’ With nouns that end in /i/, such as *eepi* ‘fire,’ the suffix takes the form *-n*. There are no instances of the suffix *-(i)n* with the very few nouns that end in *-e*. After the singular pertensive suffixes *-na*, *-a*, and *-o/-no*, the suffix takes the form *-n*, not *-in*. The non-singular pertensive markers all end in *-i* already; with these, the suffix takes the form *-n*.

**Table 8.3. Forms of locative suffix *-(i)n***

noun	form with <i>-(i)n</i>	form with 3sg pertensive suffix	form with 3sg pertensive suffix and <i>-(i)n</i>
<i>yok</i> ‘string bag’	<i>yog-in</i> ‘in the bag’	<i>yok-no</i>	<i>yok-no-n</i>
<i>bök</i> ‘house’	<i>bög-in</i> ‘at home’	<i>bök-no</i>	<i>bök-no-n</i>
<i>top</i> ‘ocean’	<i>tow-in</i> ‘in the ocean’	?	?
<i>eem</i> ‘hole’	<i>eem-in</i> ‘in the hole’	<i>eem-no</i>	<i>eem-no-n</i>
<i>öön</i> ‘farm’	<i>öör-in</i> ‘at the farm’	<i>öör-o</i>	<i>öör-o-n</i>
<i>amba</i> ‘men’s house’	<i>amba-in</i> ‘in the men’s house’	?	?
<i>haa</i> ‘area’	<i>ha-in</i> ‘in the area’	<i>haa-no</i>	<i>haa-no-n</i>
<i>gombo</i> ‘fence’	<i>gombo-in</i> ‘within the fence’	<i>gombo-no</i>	<i>gombo-no-n</i>
<i>obu-</i> ‘hand’	<i>obu-in</i> ‘by hand’	<i>obu-ro</i>	<i>obu-ro-n</i>
<i>eepi</i> ‘fire’	<i>eepi-n</i> ‘in the fire’	?	?

Nouns that can take *-(i)n* form a sub-class of nouns, discussed in §3.1.9. Nouns that do not belong to this sub-class and are not deverbal nominalizations cannot take *-(i)n*; these are always

marked for locationality with the postposition =*dek*. For instance, the noun *doo* is both the name of a variety of bamboo and the label for woven bamboo floors, which are often made from *doo* bamboo. There is no term \**do-in*; even if something were inside a section of *doo*, it would have to be described as *doo=dek* or *doo irot-no-n*, using the body part term *irot* ‘innards, inside.’

The difference in meaning between *top=dek* and *tow-in* is ‘at the beach/by the ocean’ versus ‘inside the ocean.’ The usual way to speak of going to the spring to fetch water, or to a waterfall to bathe, is to say that one is going to the location *yamuk=dek* ‘at/by the water.’

- 8.76) {Na-ng-a}, wo-rok, {{yamuk=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-go-k}}.  
 eat-DEP-MV that-SEMBL water=LOC go-RP-3SG  
 ‘Having eaten, then, he went to the waterside.’ (Fooyu Yawan boop 5:09)

Although in the above use there is no expectation of immersion or entering the water itself, *yamuk=dek* may also be used for incidentally falling into water, as in the next example:

- 8.77) [{{Nok<sub>S</sub> yamuk=dek<sub>OBL</sub> mö-ang-ka-t}}]<sub>SR.O</sub>, {{yo-go-k}}.  
 1SG.PRO water=LOC fall-PROB.SG-NF-1SG say-RP-3SG  
 ‘‘I will fall into the water,’’ she said.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain 7:26)

In contrast, the locative expression *yamug-in* ‘within the water’ implies deep immersion in water. The next example comes from a description of young men’s initiation in former days. The initiates would dive deep into a lake, disappearing under the surface. Here, *-(i)n* is used instead of =*dek*:

- 8.78) {Yamug-in<sub>OBL</sub> mö-ng gopbor-a}, wo-rok, [öö-ng-o  
 water-LOC fall-DEPdisappear-MV that-SEMBL ascend-DEP-MVII  
 muya]...  
 PERF.2/3PL  
 ‘Falling and disappearing deep in the water, then, they having risen...’ (Nongi ambain 0:50)

Similarly, *bök* ‘house’ can take either the locative postposition =*dek* or the locative suffix *-in* (always in the form *-in*), with slightly different meanings. *Bög-in* ‘in the house, at home’ is broadly used to describe staying at home, going or coming home, and being in the house. In contrast, *bök=dek*, like *yamuk=dek*, describes either the environs of the house—‘by the house,’ or the actual frame of the house—‘on, against the house.’

In Dialogue II (Appendix), the man playing insubordinate teenager threatens to throw rocks at his parents’ house, using =*dek*:

- 8.79) Böörong=*ko*<sub>A</sub> irom... bök=*dek*<sub>OBL</sub> maa-no<sub>O</sub> yo-wang-ka-k.  
 stone=FOC free house=LOC speech-3SG.POSS say-PROB.SG-NF-3SG  
 ‘It is a stone that will freely make noise on the house.’ (Dialogue II 0:24)

Further, a speaker explains that two boulders stand by a named person’s house using *bök=dek*:

- 8.80) [Hesienare=*hop*<sub>r</sub>, bök<sub>pe</sub>]=*dek*<sub>OBL</sub> böörongs ir=*ir-a*-morok.  
 Hesienare=FOC house=LOC stone be=*be*-PRES.NSG-2/3DU  
 ‘It is by Hesienare’s house that the two rocks exist.’ (Joshua Towet bem hat 7:35)

Discussion of something being inside a house, or at home, usually involves *bög-in*, not *bök=dek*:

- 8.81) {[Yok tik]<sub>s</sub> bög=*in*<sub>OBL</sub> ir-a-ng}} ha?  
 bag cloth house-LOC be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL QUES  
 ‘Are the belongings in the house/at home?’ (Field notes)

With some nouns, the forms are both used in similar contexts. The noun *öön* occurs with both =*dek* and *-in* to mean ‘at the farm,’ ‘to the farm,’ or ‘on/in the farm.’ There is no discernable difference in meaning between the two forms.

With *bök* ‘house’ and *öön* ‘farmplot,’ *öön=dek* means ‘in the farm,’ while *öör-in* is often used with verbs of motion, describing going farm-ward or coming from the farm.

Note that *bög-in* and *öör-in* have broader meanings than just ‘in the house/farm.’ They are also used regularly with the verb *ongo-* ‘go’ to mean ‘go home/go to the farm.’ That is, *-in* here has both stative locative and allative locative implications, depending on semantics of the verb of the clause (in a verbless clause, the implication is stative).

- 8.82)      Gowig-as      bög-in<sub>OBL</sub>      it-ta-k.  
                  knife-2SG.POSS house-LOC      be-PRES.SG-3SG  
                  ‘Your knife is in the house.’
- 8.83)      {Taktak<sub>AFL</sub>      na-m-un-a},      {{bög-in      ongo-Ø-t.  
                  tedium      1SG.O-give-DS.3SG-MV house-LOC      go-NP-1SG  
                  ‘Getting fed up, I went home.’ [Literally: ‘Being afflicted by tedium...’]
- 8.84)      {Nok<sub>S</sub>      öör-in<sub>OBL</sub>      ongo-ng-a},      {e-ng-a},  
                  1SG.PRO      farm-LOC      go-DEP-MV      come-DEP-MV  
                  {{k-aa-wang-ka-t}}.  
                  2NSG.O-see-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
                  ‘I going to the farm, coming (back), will see you.’

*Obu-in*, ‘in/on hand,’ may also have the sense of ‘by hand.’

- 8.85)      Obu-in<sub>OBL</sub>      obö-wa-t.  
                  hand-LOC      break-NP-1SG  
                  ‘I broke it with (my) hand.’

When nouns that normally take *-(i)n* are possessed, the locative marker follows the possessive suffixes in the form *-n*, as in the following examples:

- 8.86)      Obu-ro-no<sub>B</sub>L      honggit-do-k.  
                  hand-3SG.POSS-LOC      hold-RP-3SG  
                  ‘He held her hand.’ [This and the following sentence were used to describe how a child crossed a bridge by holding onto adults’ hands.] (Field notes)

- 8.87) [Obu nori]-<sub>NOBL</sub> honggit-do-k.  
 hand 1DU.POSS-LOC hold-RP-3SG  
 ‘He held both of our hands.’ (Field notes)
- 8.88) Bög-a-<sub>NOBL</sub> ongo-wangka-rok.  
 house-2SG.POSS-LOC go-PROB.SG-NF-2SG  
 ‘You will go to your house (later today).’

If the 2sg pertensive suffix *-a* were dropped from the noun *bök* ‘house’ in (8.82), the locative suffix would have the form *-in*, as *bög-in ongo-wang-ka-rok*, ‘You will go home.’

The suffix *-(i)n* is also used with three days of the week and the indefinite noun ‘something’ with temporal-locative meaning. The days of the week in Nungon were originally loans from Kâte (which took them from German; see §1.3.1), so this may have something to do with the preferred locative suffixes used with them. In Towet, *Sondanggie* is rarely used for ‘Saturday,’ with *sabat*, ‘the Sabbath,’ preferred, even by non-SDA adherents.

Names of days of the week may stand without locative suffixes, as in the following sentence:

- 8.89) Söikbönö, Komutuk<sub>OBL</sub> ong-i-t-ma.  
 Thursday Komutuk go-IRR.SG-1SG-RF  
 ‘On Thursday, I will go to Komutuk.’

Especially when discussing the past, however, names of days of the week are frequently used with temporal-locative suffixes. The loan *sabat* ‘Sabbath’ used to refer to Saturday by Seventh-Day Adventists, and sometimes others, always occurs with *=dek* when ‘on the Sabbath’ is meant (as opposed to instances where *sabat* is the verbless clause complement in an equational verbless clause—see §10.4.1—such as ‘tomorrow is the Sabbath’). But the Kâte-originating word for Saturday, *söndanggie*, which—as noted in §2.6.4—was di-morphemic in Kâte, *sönda* ‘Sunday’ and *gie* ‘work,’ usually occurs without any locative marking. As noted in §1.3.1, names of days of the week are all loans from Kâte, with *sabat* from English via Tok Pisin.

Day of week	locative marker	expression
Mönda	-in	Mönda-in
Sinda	-in	Sinda-in
Mitiwö	=dek	Mitiwö=dek
Söikbönö	=dek	Söikbönö=dek
Nenggo	=dek	Nenggo=dek, Nenggo-in (both used)
sabat	=dek	sabat=dek
Söndanggie	N/A	Söndanggie
Sönda	-in	Sönda-in

Months of the year (all loans) all take =dek, not -in: *öktöba=dek*, etc.

The expression for ‘sometime’ is the indefinite noun *nandu*, the basis for ‘someone’ and ‘something’ (see §3.1.11) with the suffix -in:

- 8.90) Nandu-in<sub>OBL</sub> aa-wa.  
some-LOC see-IMM.IMP.1SG  
‘Let me see it sometime.’ (Field notes.)

The context for this statement was the following: on the way home from Yawan, the speaker paused along the path through the Towet coffee farms to look down toward the bottom of one of her farm areas, where a number of large pandanus trees are. She said out loud, but to herself, that it looked like people had been active cutting something down below. But since she was with me and we were on our way home from somewhere else, she said to herself the above: ‘Let me (go) see it some (other) time.’

Note that in the Yawan dialect, the word for house is very different: *yut*, cognate with other languages in the region, including Yopno and languages of the Erap family. But this word, like Towet

*bök*, still takes the *-in* suffix, yielding *yud-in* ‘to/in the house.’ Other nouns that vary between dialects seem to maintain the preference for *-in* or *=dek* regardless of actual word form; we have the *bög-in/yud-in* pair, and Kotet ‘in the bamboo’ is *kandang-in*, comparable to Towet *katnang-in*.

The locative suffix *-(i)n* also combines with adjectives to mean ‘in the state of.’ Note that these are adjectives that are not also modifying nouns. The following three sentences were offered by Towet elder Irising as synonymous:

8.91) {Nok<sub>S</sub> manahit ir-a}, {{youp<sub>O</sub> to-ng=it-do-t}}.  
 1SG.PRO youthful be-MV work do-DEP=be-RP-1SG  
 ‘I being youthful, used to do work.’ (Field notes)

8.92) {{Nok<sub>S</sub> manahir-in<sub>OBL</sub> youp<sub>O</sub> to-ng=it-do-t}}.  
 1SG.PRO youthful-LOC work do-DEP=be-RP-1SG  
 ‘In youthfulness, I used to do work.’ (Field notes)

8.93) {Nok<sub>S</sub> manahit-no-n ir-a}, {{youp<sub>O</sub> to-ng=it-do-t}}.  
 1SG.PRO youthful-3SG.POSS-LOC be-MV work do-DEP=be-RP-1SG  
 ‘I being in youthfulness, used to do work.’ (Field notes)

Note that in (8.92) the locative suffix *-in* is affixed directly to the adjective *manahit*, ‘young,’ to yield ‘when I was young/in my youth.’ I have seen this with two other adjectives of age: *opmou* ‘small,’ and *ketket-* ‘boy/young’: *Opmu-in*, *ketker-in*. In the Yawan dialect, this suffix is attached to the Dependent form of verbs to indicate ‘being in a state of.’ For instance, there, *ud-in* ‘cry.DEP-LOC’ means ‘while crying.’

## 8.7 Restrictive and durative postposition =gon

The postposition =gon may follow nouns of most sub-classes, as well as personal pronouns, adverbs and certain forms of verbs. Like =ho, the character of the word =gon marks, as well as the context, determine the precise meaning of =gon. Alone, it occurs with oblique arguments, especially Manner or Location, but also with O (transitive object) arguments. It may also follow the postpositions =ho, =ha, and =hon. It often has exclusive and/or durative meaning: it can be translated as ‘only, just,’ and

also tends to indicate that the marked element lasts for some time. Unlike the other postpositions discussed here, =gon can follow all other postpositions. It is also non-obligatory in many of its functions.

As shown in Table 8.1, the initial consonant of =gon assimilates to the place of articulation of preceding consonants. In such instances, it is distinct from the genitive postposition =hon because the assimilated first consonant of =gon is always voiced: hap=pon ‘the dog’s,’ versus hap=bon ‘just the dogs.’

### 8.7.1 =gon with locational nouns and demonstratives

When it marks deictic demonstratives or locational nouns, the postposition =gon often means ‘just,’ as in ‘only at that place.’ Its use implies that this location was the only place at which the action or event indicated by the verb took place, and that this restriction lasted for some time.

8.94) Worin=don<sub>OBL</sub> ir=it-do-mong.

Worin=RSTR be=be-RP-1PL

‘We used to just stay at Worin.’ (Hesienare öön mööp togung 0:31)

8.95) [Mak-na<sub>Pr</sub> mee-no-n<sub>Pe</sub>]=don<sub>OBL</sub> e-ng=it-do-t.

mother-1SG.POSS back-3SG.POSS-LOC=RSTR come-DEP=be-RP-1SG

‘I used to come (following) right behind my mother.’ (Helen inoin hat 0:25)

The postposition =gon does not mark these NPs as Locative: they can stand as Locative arguments without =gon. Both examples (8.94) and (8.95) could have been expressed without =gon, as in the next examples:

8.96) {Ongo-ng-a}, {{Worin<sub>OBL</sub> ir=it-do-mong}}.

go-DEP-MV Worin be=be-RP-1PL

‘Going along, we used to stay in Worin.’ (Hesienare öön mööp togung 0:26)

8.97) {{Non=to<sub>S</sub> [yu<sub>Pr</sub> mee-no-n<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> ep-bo-mong}}=ma...

1NSG.PRO=FOC 3.PRO back-3SG.POSS-LOC come-RP-1PL=REL

‘That it was we who came behind him...’ (Boas boop hat 0:35)

Rather than marking *Worin* and *mee-no-n* as Locative arguments, the role of =*gon* in these locational examples could be understood as creating Manner adverbials from the locational nouns. The postposition =*gon* may also follow complex locational NPs formed by the locative postposition =*dek*. This is shown in the next example, in which the speaker describes helping her sister-in-law cross a treacherous river by holding out a stick for the woman to grasp:

- 8.98)      {Nok<sub>S</sub>            [eep    usam=ma]=dek=gon<sub>OBL</sub>            honggir-a} ...  
                  1SG.PRO            wood    side=SPEC=LOC=RSTR            hold-MV  
                  ‘I just holding on with the other stick...’ (Rosarin Yupna hain 7:50)

### 8.7.2 =*gon* with non-locational nouns and pronouns

When it occurs with non-locational nouns in verbal clauses, =*gon* generally occurs marking O arguments, in which case it has usually has overtones of exclusivity, but retains a sense of duration: that the exclusivity persisted for some time. This is shown in the next examples. The first comes from the story of a young man who lived with his grandmother, but never gave her any of the meat from the game he killed. His grandmother is described as eating only her spittle, for want of other food:

- 8.99)      Orup-no=gon<sub>O</sub>            na-ng-a            ir=it-do-k.  
                  spittle-3SG.POSS=RSTR    eat-DEP-MV            be=be-RP-3SG  
                  ‘She used to be eating her spittle alone.’ (Fooyu Yawan bem 0:33)

This applies to deverbal nominalizations, as in the next example:

- 8.100)    {[Yup<sub>O</sub> dawi-k]=gon<sub>O</sub>            to-ng-a} ...  
                  bird    search.for-NMZ=RSTR    do-DEP-MV  
                  ‘Doing only bird-hunting...’ (Boas babiya bök 1:02)

In the next example, a speaker clearly indicates that she has used the postposition =*gon* with the verbal O argument with implication of exclusivity:

8.101)    {{Arap<sub>TOP</sub>    hewam=bon<sub>O</sub>    doo-ng=it-do-mong}}.  
           mammal        tree.kangaroo=RSTR    3NSG.O.beat-DEP=be-RP-1PL  
           {{[Nandu=ma<sub>HEAD</sub>    au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub>    ma=doop-bo-mong}}.  
           something=SPEC        other        NEG=3NSG.O.beat-RP-1PL  
           Hewam=bon.  
           tree.kangaroo=RSTR

‘Game, we were just killing tree kangaroos. We didn’t kill anything else. Just tree kangaroos.’ (Gosing kon hat arap dawik 1:27-1:31)

Pronouns (basic and emphatic) tend to behave like non-locational nouns with =gon: basic pronouns marked by =gon in verbal clauses are usually the O arguments of transitive verbs, as in the next example, a plaintive complaint about being given too much work while others are idle:

8.102)    Gok<sub>A</sub>            [nok=gon        nok=gon]<sub>O1</sub>    [you<sub>Pr</sub> hat-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>O2</sub>  
           2SG.PRO        1SG.PRO=RSTR    1SG.PRO=RSTR    work    story-3SG.POSS  
           na-no-ng=it-ta-rok.  
           1SG.O-tell-DEP=be-PRES.SG-2SG

‘You always tell just me, just me, stories about work.’ (Field notes)

An example with the 1sg emphatic pronoun, *naga*, combined with =gon was given in example (7.11) in §7.1.2. It is repeated here:

8.103)    {Nok<sub>A</sub>            naga=gon<sub>O</sub>            humbot            to-ng-a},  
           1SG.PRO        1SG.PRO.EMPH=RSTR    bear.on.shoulder    do-DEP-MV  
           {{e-wa-t}}.  
           come-NP.SG-1SG

‘Shouldering only myself, I have come.’ (Field notes)

This is an artful way of stating the more-direct *iron e-wa-t* ‘I came free (of any baggage).’ Without =gon, this sentence would need to be interpreted literally, as ‘Bearing myself on my shoulders...’

Even if the 1sg basic pronoun *nok* were omitted from (8.103), *naga=gon* could not be interpreted as

the A argument of *humbot to-ng-a* ‘bearing on the shoulder.’ This is because A arguments cannot be marked with =gon. Examples (4.62) and (6.96) are repeated below as (8.104). Here, the person and number of the verbal O argument are the same as the person/number indexed on the verb, but the O argument cannot be interpreted as actually the A argument because it is marked by =gon.

- 8.104) [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub>    onding-o=ma<sub>MOD</sub>]=gon<sub>O</sub>    yoo-ng  
 man            strong-ADJ=REL=RSTR            NSG.O.take-DEP  
 ku-gu-ng.  
 SG.O.take.away-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘They kept taking just the strong men.’ (David Ögate 5:55)

A few nouns tend to form adverbs with =gon. Among these is *torop* ‘group, clan,’ which means ‘in a group’ when marked by =gon. The next example comes from a procedural text describing how women prepare the earth in a new farm plot for planting:

- 8.105) {{Guroko    towi-ng=ir-a-ng}},            torop=bon,    torop=bon.  
 earth            arrange-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL            group=RSTR    group=RSTR  
 ‘They arrange the ground, in a group (here), in a group (there).’ (Field notes)

### 8.7.3 =gon with Medial verbs

The postposition =gon may mark the Medial verb in a Continuous aspect construction (§6.5.2). In this role, =gon conveys both exclusivity and duration.

- 8.106) {Dombi    ur-a=gon    it-na-ya}...    {iso-wang-na  
 night            cry-MV=RSTR    be-DS.1PL-MV    dawn-PROB.SG-IMNT  
 t-un-a}...  
 do-DS.3SG-MV  
 ‘We being just crying (all) night... it getting ready to dawn...’ (Boas *babiya bök*  
 3:10)

The implication of =gon here is that the speaker and his companions spent the night doing only crying, nothing else. This could have been rephrased with the adverb *uyek* ‘raw, awake’ replacing the Medial verb, as in the next example:

- 8.107) {Om-u-ya}, {wo=ma-i uyek=gon it-na-ya}...  
 die-DS.2/3PL-MV that=SPEC-TOP raw=RSTR be-DS.1PL-MV  
 {{iso-ng=it-ta-k}}.  
 dawn-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG

‘They having died, that is, we staying just awake (all night)... it dawns.’ (Nongi oe amna omuya 0:24)

The next example has both =gon (as allomorph =don) after a Dependent verb with locative suffix *-in*, *ut-in* ‘cry.DEP-LOC,’ then =gon with a Medial verb in a Continuous aspect construction:

- 8.108) {{Ur-in=don e-ng=it-do-k}}.  
 cry-LOC=RSTR come-DEP=be-RP-3SG  
 {E-ng-a=gon i-iny-a}, urop, bög-in.  
 come-DEP-MV=RSTR be-DS.2/3DU-MV enough bouse-LOC

‘She was coming just crying. The two of them just coming—finally, home.’ (Fooyu bem hat Yawan boop 4:25-4:30)

The two instances of =gon here indicate that the crying persisted the whole way home without ceasing, and that the coming lasted for a long time and was not punctuated by other activities.

#### 8.7.4 =gon with adverbs

The adverb *osuk* ‘first’ is used for any ordering of events, as in the next example (which lacks =gon):

- 8.109) {Goks osuk o-i-ya}, {{nok<sub>A</sub> mee  
 2SG.PRO first descend-DS.2SG-MV 1SG.PRO behind  
 g-aa-wang-ka-t}}.  
 2SG.O-see-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
 ‘You descending first, I will see you later.’ (Field notes)

But when *osuk* is marked with =*gon*, it refers to ‘the olden days,’ or ‘long ago,’ as in the next examples:

- 8.110) Osuk=*gon*, otok-ni<sub>O</sub> to-ng=it-du-ng.  
 first=RSTR pity-ADJ do-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘In the olden days, they used to live in hardship.’ [Literally: ‘they used to do pity.’]  
 (Joshua hat osukno 1:51)

The expression *osuk=gon* ‘the olden days’ may be applied to the early days of a living person’s life, or ‘at first,’ ‘in the beginning,’ especially if the behavior described is no longer practiced by that person. This is the case in the next example:

- 8.111) {Gaga<sub>TOP</sub> manahir-in<sub>OBL</sub>, osuk=*gon* awe [[oe op]<sub>O</sub>  
 2SG.PRO.EMPH youthful-LOC first=RSTR yet wife husband  
 ma=to-k~to-k] ir-a}, {{deogo to-go-rok}}?  
 NEG=do-NMZ:RED be-MV how do-RP-2SG  
 ‘When you yourself were youthful, in the olden days, being not yet married, how did you use to do (things)?’ (Nongi hat irom boop 0:01)

### 8.7.5 =*gon* with adjectives

When it marks an adjective modifying a noun, the exclusivity sense of =*gon* is primary, with little connotation of long duration.

- 8.112) [[Hat<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>] muuno<sub>MOD</sub>], [hat<sub>HEAD</sub> opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]=gon<sub>VCS</sub>  
 story large not story small=RSTR  
 wo-rok<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 that-SEMBL  
 ‘(That was) not a great story; that (was) just a small story.’ (Boas boop hat 4:05)

The notion of exclusivity differs when =gon follows the adjective *ambarak* ‘all,’ as in the next example:

- 8.113) [Gungak-na-i<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> ma=mo-gu-ng. [Gungak-na-i<sub>HEAD</sub>  
 child-1SG.POSS-PL other NEG=die-RP-2/3PL child-1SG.POSS-PL  
 ambarak<sub>MOD</sub>]=gon<sub>S</sub> ir-a-ng.  
 all=RSTR be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 ‘Others of my children did not die. My children are just all (alive).’ (Soonggiring  
 yong tuktuk maa 0:58)

Here, since the restrictive sense does not work with *ambarak* ‘all,’ it might make more sense to interpret *ambarak*=gon adverbially: ‘they are here, collectively/completely.’

### 8.7.6 =gon with other postpositions

Although verbal subjects are never marked by =gon alone, verbal subjects that are already marked with the Focus postposition =ho may then take =gon, as in the following example:

- 8.114) {Burer-u-ya}, {[gun ingguk]=ko=gons i-in-a},  
 be.finished-DS.2/3PL-MV arrow one=FOC=RSTR be-DS.3SG-MV  
 {{um<sub>O</sub> woro-go-k}}.  
 bamboo.sp pull-RP-3SG  
 ‘(The arrows) having finished, only one arrow remaining, he pulled *um* (to start a  
 fire).’ (Fooyu Yawan ketket 2:04)

Here, the exclusive sense of =gon is primary, with the sense of duration muted or not present. After the postposition =ha, however, =gon has both senses. This may be seen in Narrative I, Appendix (0:24), for instance, and in the below example, in which the durative meaning of =gon is compounded with the verb *ku-* ‘take away (sg. O)’ in its durative aspect sense (§6.7.1), and the Habitual aspect:

- 8.115)      {Ku-ng-a},                                      {{orug-o=ha=gon<sub>OBL</sub>  
                  SG.O.take.away-DEP-MV                      brother-3SG.POSS=BEN=RSTR  
                  i-mo-ng=it-do-k}}.  
                  3SG.O-give-DEP=be-RP-3SG  
                  ‘That going on for a while, he used to give him (gifts), only for his brother.’ (Fooyu  
                  bem hat 0:37)

It could be claimed that in an example like this it is not =gon that bears any durative meaning, but the two verbal aspect constructions. But in fact whenever =gon occurs after =ha there is a sense of long duration. This has to do with the grammatical roles marked by =ha. That is, the postposition =ha marks oblique arguments, and the durative sense of =gon is primary with other obliques such as Location and Time.

The postposition =gon following genitive postposition =hon is rare, but when it does occur the exclusive sense is again primary, with duration not implied.

- 8.116)      {Morum-i=ha<sub>OBL</sub>                                      eer-a},                      oro,                      ambarak=kon=don-u<sub>TOP</sub>  
                  owner-3SG.POSS.PL=BEN                      insert-MV                      well                      all=GEN=RSTR-TOP  
                  {{au<sub>O</sub>                      eet-nang-ka-ng}}.  
                  other                      insert-PROB.PL-NF-2/3PL  
                  ‘Filling (vessels with food) for her possessors, well, as for just the general public’s  
                  (food), they will fill other ones.’ (Nongi oe min 3:50)

Finally, when =gon follows the locative postposition =dek, the meaning of =dek determines which of the senses of =gon is primary. When =dek marks a Location, Time, or Instrument, it is the

durative sense of =*gon* that is primary, while when =*dek* marks personal responsibility, the exclusive sense is primary.

In the first example below, *hagam* ‘ladder’ is Instrument oblique argument of *öö-* ‘ascend’:

- 8.117) {Hagam=*dek*=*gon*<sub>OBL</sub> öö-ng-a}, korog-o=*dek*.  
 bridge=*LOC*=*RSTR* ascend-*DEP*-*MV* canopy-*3SG*.*POSS*=*LOC*  
 ‘Climbing with the ladder, into the (tree’s) canopy.’ (Geisch nanno 3:12)

Here, there would not really be another way to climb the tree, so the exclusive sense of =*gon* is minimal. Rather, =*gon* here shows that the subject of *öö-* ‘ascend’ was using the ladder to climb for some time. In the next example, =*gon* marks a Time oblique argument of the same motion verb:

- 8.118) {Ben-no-n, ripito to-ng-a}, {faip=*dek*=*gon*<sub>OBL</sub>  
 after-*3SG*.*POSS*-*LOC* repeat do-*DEP*-*MV* five=*LOC*=*RSTR*  
 öö-ng-a}...  
 ascend-*DEP*-*MV*  
 ‘Afterward, doing a “repeat,” continuing to go (to school) in (grade) five...’ (Helen  
 inoin hat 2:40)

But in example (8.71), repeated here as (8.119), =*dek* indicates personal responsibility, and its durative sense is minimized relative to the exclusive sense:

- 8.119) Yu=*dek*<sub>OBL</sub>, Göt=*dek*=*gon*<sub>OBL</sub> it-ta-k.  
*3SG*.*PRO*=*LOC* God=*LOC*=*RSTR* be-*PRES*.*SG*-*3SG*  
 ‘With Him, (the matter) rests with God alone.’ (Boas *babiya bök usam* 2:27)

Although =*gon* may follow postpositions, modifiers may not intervene between adverbs and =*gon*. For example, *osuk*=*gon* ‘first=*RSTR*’ means ‘in the olden days.’ The intensifier *hinom* may not intervene between *osuk* ‘first’ and =*gon*, i.e. \**osuk hinom*=*bon* is ungrammatical: the expression must be intensified by adding *hinom* after =*gon*, as *osuk*=*gon hinom*.

### 8.7.7 Summary of functions of =gon

When it does not follow other grammatical relation-marking postpositions, the postposition =gon may mark only O or oblique verbal arguments. In order for =gon to mark subject arguments, =ho must precede it. This shows that subject arguments marked by =gon are necessarily focused.

The semantics of the postposition =gon are two-fold: exclusivity and durativity. The word class membership and grammatical role of the element marked by =gon determine which of these meanings is primary. With locational nouns and demonstratives, adverbs, and oblique verbal arguments, the durational sense of =gon is primary, while with non-locational nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, and core verbal arguments, the exclusive sense of =gon is primary.

### 8.8 Comitative postposition/suffix =rot/-ot

The comitative marker has to do with accompaniment and may be used with simple and complex NPs, and nouns with human referents; it may coordinate more than two participants or inanimates. As mentioned above, the marker is the suffix -ot after consonant-final words, but the postposition =rot after vowel-final words. As the postposition =rot, the comitative marker may follow complex NPs, but as a suffix, it must be directly attached to a noun. The argument marked by =rot/-ot is the Accompanied; the Accompanier is usually the S/A of the clause's verb, which may reference the person/number of the Accompanier alone or the person/number of the group formed by Accompanier and Accompanied together.

A cultural note is in order for the first example below, which illustrates the question 'who are you with?' This sort of question may have complex implications in English (cf. G. W. Bush *you are with us or you are against us*). In Nungon, I never heard self-sufficient adults being asked this question. This is because such a construction implies that the Accompanied argument 'who,' marked by rot, has primary agency and may act independently, while the Accompanier is not quite independent or self-sufficient: a hanger-on, follower, of the first argument. I only ever heard this question asked of young children, who must have a designated babysitter while their parents are away

from the house, working, and of myself, since I was also considered vulnerable and not-to-be-left-alone.

- 8.120) Numa=rot<sub>OBL</sub> it-ta-rok?  
 who=COMIT be-PRES.SG-2SG  
 ‘Who are you with?’

The Comitative marker may create associative plurals of a sort. Although the verb *it-ta-rok* in the above example is inflected for 2sg, i.e., the verb excludes the referent(s) of *numa* ‘who,’ the Accompanied argument. In the next two examples, the verb is inflected to agree in person and number with the group formed by the Accompanied (the argument marked by =*rot*/*-ot*) and the Accompanier (which may or may not be explicitly stated):

- 8.121) {Op-no=rot<sub>OBL</sub> emo-ng-o munya}...  
 husband-3SG.POSS=COMIT fight-DEP-MVII PERF.2/3DU  
 ‘With her husband, the two of them having fought...’ (Hesienare mamno hon hat 0:18)

- 8.122) Sigeto omop-ot<sub>OBL</sub> ho-ng na-ng=ir-a-ng.  
 siget *pandanus.conoideus*-COMIT cook-MV eat-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 ‘They cook and eat *siget* (fern sp.) with pandanus nut.’ (Field notes)

When the postposition =*rot* is used twice this seems to create a reciprocal sense, as in the following sentence:

- 8.123) [Keket<sub>HEAD</sub> opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]=rot<sub>OBL</sub> owi-go=rot<sub>OBL</sub> ir=it-do-morok.  
 boy small=COMIT grandmother-3SG.POSS=COMIT be=be-RP-3DU  
 ‘A small boy and his grandmother used to exist (stay) together.’ (Fooyu keket orin dogu 0:01)

If =rot were only used here after *owi-go*, the verb would inflect for 3sg and the meaning would be: ‘A small boy used to be with his grandmother.’ But with two instances of =rot and the verb inflecting for dual, the meaning is reciprocal: ‘they accompany each other.’

## 8.9 Summary of the characteristics of postpositions

As seen above with interrogative examples, postpositions may serve in interrogative, declarative, and imperative mood clauses. Postpositions may not be directly negated, but negation may be achieved by using the negative word *muuno* after the postposition, or by negating the verb to which the argument marked by the postposition relates. Postposition functions are summarized in table 8.4.

<b>Table 8.4. Nungon postposition behavior summarized</b>						
	=ho	=ha	=hon	=dek	=gon	=rot
	Focus	Benefactive	Genitive	Locative	Manner	Comitative
Marks core argument (S, A, O)?	S/A	—	—	—	—	—
Marks oblique argument?	Instrument, Location, Manner, Possessor	Recipient, Goal, Rationale	Possessor	Location, Controller, Instrument	Manner, Location, Time	Accompanied
Alters phonologically depending on final phoneme of preceding word?	/h/ changes to /k/, /p/, or /t/	/h/ changes to /k/, /p/, or /t/	/h/ changes to /k/, /p/, or /t/	/d/ does not change	/g/ changes to /b/ or /d/	/rot/ becomes suffix /ot/ after consonants, prompting change in final consonant of preceding word

## 9 Possession

### 9.1 Possession overview

In Nungon, possession and association (Heine 1997, Aikhenvald 2013) are marked grammatically in two ways: by using the genitive postposition =*hon* after the Possessor (Pr) constituent, and by using pertensive (possessive) endings after the Possessed (Pe) constituent. These two ways of marking possession may co-occur; the farther the head noun of the Pr NP gets from the Pe, or the more complex the Pr is, the more likely it is that the genitive postposition =*hon* is used between the Pr and the Pe: this is apparently for clarity. The same broad spectrum of semantic relationships between Pr and Pe may be marked by either the genitive construction or pertensive markers: these may be categorized as ownership, part-whole relationship, kin relationship, and attribute relationship (following Dixon 2010b: 262-263). While the genitive postposition may link highly complex clauses and complex NPs, however, the types of constituent that may serve as Pe and Pr with pertensive markers are much more limited. The pertensive markers are required for marking of inalienable possession and for possession of members of requisitely-possessed nominal sub-classes; they may also be used with nouns that do not need to occur as Pe for further reinforcement of the possessive relationship.

In Nungon, formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is made only through two forms of the pertensive marker referencing a 3sg Pr: *-o* for inalienable possession and *-no* for alienable possession. As mentioned in §4.1, the alienable/inalienable formal distinction is neutralized when the Pe ends with a vowel or with the consonant /t/. A formal distinction between the two types of possession occurs in Ma Manda, another Finisterre-Huon language of the Erap family (Pennington 2012), but is not noted in many other documented FH languages.

Ordinarily-possessed nouns are those that usually occur with pertensive markers: members of the nominal sub-classes kin terms, body and plant parts, and artifact components (note that ordinarily-possessed nouns vary in whether they are alienably or inalienably possessed). When the Pe

is a member of one of these sub-classes, it must be followed by a pertensive marker, as in the following sentence:

9.1)[Kaila<sub>Pr</sub> mak-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>S</sub>                      og-ondo<sub>OBL</sub>                      ongo-ya-k.  
           [Kaila    mother-3SG.POSS                      same.level-LDEM.NEAR    go-PRES.SG-3SG  
           ‘Kaila’s mother is walking over there.’

It would be inappropriate to use the genitive construction as well as the pertensive suffix *-no* ‘3SG.POSS’ in a casual comment with a single noun as Pr, like that of the sentence above; since use of the genitive is redundant, content-wise, its use in addition to the pertensive marker implies some sort of disambiguation, ‘of Kaila, her mother,’ as opposed to ‘of Gorungon, his mother.’ Although that sort of disambiguation is not needed in the above sentence, it may be employed in a comment emphasizing the relationship between Pr and Pe, as in the next example:

9.2)[Oe<sub>S</sub>    ogo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub>                      ongo-ya-k } }=ma]<sub>TOP</sub>,  
           woman same.level-LDEM.NEAR    go-PRES.SG-3SG=REL  
           wo<sub>VCS</sub> [Kaila=hon<sub>Pr</sub>    mak-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
           that    Kaila=GEN                      mother-3SG.POSS  
           ‘The woman walking over there is the mother of Kaila.’

Thus, when ordinarily-possessed nouns serve as Pe, the possessive construction may either use only a pertensive marker on the Pe, or both a pertensive marker on the Pe and the Genitive postposition after the Pr. That is, these expressions occur in the form [Pr] [Pe]-POSS or in the form [Pr]=GEN [Pe]-POSS.

In contrast, there are three possible forms for the possessive construction when the Pe belongs to a nominal sub-class that does not usually occur with pertensive markers. That is, in addition to the above options, such a construction may be expressed using only the Genitive postposition after the Pr, with no possessive ending on the Pe, as [Pr]=GEN [Pe]. Below, the concept of ‘men’s work’ is expressed in these three different ways:

9.3) amna=hon<sub>Pr</sub>    youp<sub>Pe</sub>

man=GEN    work

men's work ('work of men')

9.4) amna=hon<sub>Pr</sub>    [youp    yoni]<sub>Pe</sub>

man=GEN    work    3PL.POSS

'their work, of men'

9.5) amna<sub>TOP</sub>,    [youp    yoni]<sub>Pe</sub>

man    work    3PL.POSS

'men, their work'

## 9.2 Genitive constructions with =hon

Since genitive constructions with =hon mark relations between NPs, a genitive construction may serve as complement of a verbless clause; see §**Error! Reference source not found.** for examples.

### 9.2.1 Possibilities for Pr constituent in genitive construction

The genitive construction is the broader, 'associative,' (Aikhenvald 2013, Ameka 2013) possessive construction in Nungon. In genitive constructions, the Pr may be a single noun, a complex NP, or a relative clause.

If the Pr is an abstract conceptual noun, the possessive NP has no sense of 'ownership':

9.6) [[Yara<sub>HEAD</sub>    yoi<sub>MOD</sub>]=hon<sub>Pr</sub>    torok<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub>,    Lae<sub>OBL</sub>    it-do-t.

year    two=GEN    size    Lae    be-RP-1SG

'I was in Lae for about two years.' (Anita hon hat 1:19)

Here, the notion of 'about two years' is expressed with a genitive construction: 'the size/shape of two years.' The genitive construction here indicates that the speaker is not sure whether she was in Lae for exactly two years; by saying 'two years' shape/size,' i.e., 'roughly two years,' she expresses the time period in a vaguer way than if she had simply said 'two years.'

Deverbal nominalizations can function as Pr (and Pe) in a genitive construction. In the next example, the Pe is omitted because it is recoverable from context:

9.7) {[[Bök<sub>o</sub>to-k~to-k]=kon<sub>Pr</sub>      Ø]<sub>o</sub>,      oro      hi-ng-o      muya}...  
 house    do-NMZ:RED=GEN                      understand      put-DEP-MVII    PERF.2/3PL  
 ‘They having understood house construction’s (technique)...’ (Hesienare bök toktok 1:05)

A =*ma*-marked subordinate final verbal clause may also be Pr in a genitive construction: this is discussed in §12.5.1.

### 9.2.2 Possibilities for Pe constituent in genitive construction

In the genitive construction, the Pe constituent itself may be complex, although it is rarely as complex as the Pr. I have no example of Pe constituents that are entire clauses; it seems that the Pe should be an NP.

The next example shows a Pr that is itself possessed possessing a two-noun Pe NP (§4.3.2), headed by *hat* ‘story’; the two-noun NP is further modified by an adjective:

9.8) {[[Göt noni]=hon<sub>Pr</sub>      [[maa<sub>MOD</sub>      hat<sub>HEAD</sub>]      morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>s</sub>  
 God    1PL.POSS=GEN speech                      story                      great  
 wo-rok                      i-in-a}...  
 that-SEMBL      be-DS.3SG-MV

‘Our God’s great story thus being...’ (Dilingi hon sabat hat 1:48)

Note that there is no question here as to whether *maa* ‘speech’ or *hat* ‘story’ is head of the two-noun NP. If the ordering of the two nouns is reversed, the meaning changes, from *maa hat* ‘speech-story’ (a narrative comprising speech) to *?hat maa* ‘story-speech’ (presumably the type of speech used only in story-telling). This second ordering never occurs. Further, other two-noun NPs describing types of speech employ *maa* ‘speech’ as the first, modifying, noun. One example of these is *maa nongoru* ‘speech law,’ referring to advice; this is found at 1:03 in Dialogue I, Appendix.

### 9.2.3 Ellipsis of Pe

In a kind of extended fronting, the Pe constituent may be understood anaphorically from previous sentences and left out, as in the next example, from the introduction to an ancestor story. Here, the Pr is explicit, but the Pe is unstated:

9.9) {Wo-rog-in<sub>OBL</sub> ir-a}, {{to-gu-ng}}=ma=hon<sub>Pr</sub>.  
 that-SEMBL-LOC be-MV do-RP-2/3PL=REL=GEN

‘Therein being, what they did’s (story).’ (Yuppe hon bem hat 0:01-0:09)

The unstated Pe of the third sentence above is *bem hat* ‘ancestor story’ this was mentioned two sentences before.

The Pe constituent may also be omitted when two or more Possessors possess different examples of the same type of Pe, as in:

9.10) [Yawan=ton<sub>Pr</sub> boop<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub> usam<sub>VCC</sub>, Towet=ton<sub>VCS</sub> usam<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 Yawan=GEN forest half Towet=GEN half

‘Yawan’s forest (is) on one side, Towet’s (is) on the other side.’ (Ges story 1 6:54)

Here, *boop* ‘forest’ is mentioned explicitly as Pe of the subject NP in the first verbless clause, so it is not mentioned explicitly as Pe in the subject NP of the second verbless clause.

In the next example, a man has just described chopping down a large *sogung* tree to make the plank doors for his own and a brother’s new houses. He describes the process of felling the tree and stacking its wood, then says that he and his companions shaped and set down wood for the other brother before going on to shape his own planks:

- 9.11)      {[Noman=ton<sub>Pr.O</sub>            og-ego<sub>OBL</sub>                    hai-ng  
                  Noman=GEN                    same.level-LDEM.FAR    cut-DEP  
                  hi-ng-a},            {e-ng-a},            urop    {[non=ton]<sub>Pr.O</sub> hai-go-mong}}.  
                  put-DEP-MV    come-DEP-MV    enough 1NSG.PRO=GEN cut-RP-1PL  
                  ‘Cutting and putting Noman’s over yonder, coming, enough, we cut ours.’ (Stanli bök  
                  3:53)

The Pe constituents of *Noman=ton* ‘of Noman’ and of *non=ton* ‘of us’ are not explicit, even in earlier clauses, other than the initial mention of the living *sogung* tree itself. The earlier clauses mention the felling of the tree and organizing of its wood without explicitly naming the wood as separate from the tree. Because the portioning of wood for Noman and for the speaker occurs within the description of the process of felling and processing the *sogung* tree, however, the Pe is understood to be the *sogung* wood, with no explicit Pe necessary.

### 9.3 Contrastive and reflexive possession

When possessive is contrastive, i.e. ‘mine as opposed to yours,’ or reflexive, i.e. ‘my own,’ the genitive emphatic personal pronouns are used. This is discussed in §7.1.3.

Pertensive markers only occur along with contrastive possessive pronouns if the Possessed constituent is ordinarily-possessed (see §9.1)—that is, if it usually bears pertensive marking.

- 9.12)      [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub>            inggouk<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub>, [noni-win<sub>Pr</sub>                    [bap  
                  man                    one                    1PL.PRO.EMPH-GEN    mother’s.brother  
                  noni]<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>S</sub>,            Yawit=<sub>toS</sub>            yo-go-k.  
                  1PL.POSS            Yawit=<sub>FOC</sub>            say-RP-3SG  
                  ‘It was one man, our mother’s brother, Yawit, who spoke.’ (Yuppe nipno 4:47)

### 9.4 Possession with pertensive markers

As explained in §4.1, pertensive markers follow the Possessed (Pe) noun and reflect the person and number of the Possessor (Pr). These markers distinguish three numbers (sg., du., pl.) and three

persons, so that there are nine forms altogether for use with all nouns. (Further expression of the plurality of the Pe, if human, adds an additional six forms to this, for a total of 15.) The pertensive markers in Nungon vary according to the inalienable/alienable nature of the possessive relationship and according to whether the noun's referent is human or not.

For most nouns, it is inherent in each noun whether it may be alienably or inalienably possessed. That is, a 'branch' (i.e., of a tree) is always inalienably possessed. A few polysemous nouns, such as *mum*, 'breast; powdered milk,' and *giip* 'skin; leather,' behave as inalienably possessed when used with one meaning, but as alienably possessed when used with another meaning.

As described in Chapter 4, the principal way that Nungon nouns are formally marked for number is through the pertensive markers, and only nouns with human referents are marked for number in this way. Singular, dual and plural numbers are distinguished when the noun is possessed by a singular possessor; number is not distinguished when the noun is possessed by a non-singular possessor (see §9.4.3 below for thoughts on why this is).

The pertensive marker paradigm (without number marking) was introduced in Chapter 4; it is repeated here:

<b>Table 4.1 Pertensive markers</b>			
	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>-na</i>	<i>nori</i>	<i>noni</i>
2	<i>-a</i>	<i>hori</i>	<i>honi</i>
3	<i>-o/-no</i>	<i>yori</i>	<i>yoni</i>

Remember that the difference between alienable and inalienable possession is marked only when the Pr is 3sg, and only when the phonological requirements are met: in the 3sg cell in table 4.1, the form *-o* is used with inalienable possession, while the form *-no* is used with alienable possession.

### 9.4.1 Grammatical restrictions on the Pe constituent with pertensive markers

As with genitive possessive NPs (§9.2), the possibilities for Pe constituent of a pertensive-marked possessive NP are more limited than the possibilities for Pr constituent. While Pr constituent of a possessive NP marked with pertensive suffixes may be a complex NP or relative clause, the Pe constituent may not be a relative clause; in fact, the preferred Pe constituent is a single noun or a noun with one modifying adjective. Content question words *numa* ‘who’ and *nungon* ‘what’ may host pertensive endings, but the corpus has no instances of other content question words, such as *nai* ‘where,’ as Pe.

Although pertensive markers occur most frequently directly after noun that is the Pe constituent, they may follow modifiers. In (9.13), the 3sg pertensive marker follows the adjectival modifier *au* ‘other’:

- 9.13)      {[Nandu=ma<sub>HEAD</sub>      au<sub>MOD</sub>]-no<sub>Pe:O</sub>,    [towi-k      towi-k]-no<sub>Pe:O</sub>,      hu,  
something=SPEC      other-3SG.POSS arrange-NMZ    arrange-NMZ-3SG.POSS    DUB  
[nandu=ma<sub>HEAD</sub>      au<sub>MOD</sub>]-no<sub>Pe:O</sub>    uwa-in<sub>OBL</sub>      ho-ng-a  
something=SPEC      other-3SG.POSS pot-LOC      cook-DEP-MV  
i-in-a}...  
be-DS.3SG-MV  
‘His something else, his sorcery, perhaps, his something else, he cooking it in a  
pot...’ (Fooyu hon bem hat 3:49)

- 9.14)      [[Morö=ma]-na=hon<sub>Pr</sub>      maa-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub>...  
large=SPEC-1SG.POSS=GEN      name-3SG.POSS  
‘My ancestor’s name was...’ (Nongi hat 12 0:16)

Nested possessive NPs bear pertensive endings individually. That is, *taman hot-no* ‘nose flank-3SG.POSS’ is the term generally used for ‘nostril.’ But when ‘nose’ is also possessed, as it usually is, the expression becomes [*taman noni*]<sub>Pr</sub> *hot-no<sub>Pe</sub>* ‘nose 1PL.POSS flank-3SG.POSS,’ for

example. Note that the *-no* ‘-3SG.POSS’ ending does not reflect the plural number of ‘our (pl.) nostrils’; this is characteristic of possession by inanimate non-singular Pr constituents (see §9.7).

#### 9.4.2 Pertensive markers with naturally-paired and modified nouns

Nouns are usually followed directly by the pertensive marker, with other modifiers after the pertensive marker. In the next example, *nogon hat-na* is ‘of me, my story’; note that the modifier *opmou* ‘small’ follows *hat-na* and is not itself marked with any pertensive ending.

- 9.15)      [[Nogon<sub>Pr</sub>      hat-na<sub>pe</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub>      opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub>      wo-rok<sub>VCC</sub>.  
                  1SG.PRO+GEN      story-1SG.POSS      small                              that-SEMBL  
                  ‘My small story is thus.’ (Anita hon hat 5:36)

Similarly, in (9.16), *oruk* ‘brother (of male)’ takes the pertensive marker for 1sg Pr and is then followed by two adjectival modifiers: *opmou* ‘small’ and *inggouk* ‘one’; the comitative suffix *-ot* follows the final modifier:

- 9.16)      {[[Oruk-na]<sub>HEAD</sub>              opmou<sub>MOD</sub>              inggouk<sub>MOD</sub>]-ot<sub>OBL</sub>  
                  brother-1SG.POSS              small                              one-COMIT  
                  ir-a      motdaina}...  
                  be-MV      PERF.1DU  
                  ‘We being, (I) along with one younger brother of mine...’ (Dikson yong tuktuk maa  
                  0:31)

When two nouns form a natural pairing (§4.5.2), a pertensive marker may intervene between the two, or the two may be separated and each receive its own pertensive marker. If the pertensive marker intervenes between the two naturally paired nouns, modifiers are understood to modify the entire pairing, not either individual noun, and they follow the second of the nouns.

Naturally-paired nouns such as *yok tik* ‘belongings’ (literally, ‘bag bark-cloth’), *gun tawa* ‘bows and arrows,’ and *mak nan* ‘mother (and) father’ sometimes take a pertensive ending on only the first member of the pair, as in the following two sentences:

9.17)    {{{[Mak-na            nan]-ot<sub>OBL</sub>    ir-a-mong}}},            Towet<sub>OBL</sub>.  
           mother-1SG.POSS        father-COMIT    be-PRES.NSG-1PL        Towet  
           ‘We are with my mother and father (in) Towet.’ (Dikson ton yong tuktuk maa 0:20)

9.18)    {Ongo-ng-a,    {[yok-no        tik]<sub>O</sub>            yo-u-ya},  
           go-DEP-MV        bag-3SG.POSS    bark-cloth        NSG.O.take-DS.2/3PL-MV  
           {{{ep-bo-mong}}}.  
           come-RP-1PL  
           ‘They going, (they) having taken her belongings, we came.’ (Fooyu amna tong higok  
           0:35)

Note that *mak-na nan* ‘mother-1SG.POSS father’ in (9.17) is taken as a single NP, because the comitative suffix *-ot* follows *nan* ‘father’ but applies to both ‘father’ and ‘mother.’ Similarly, *yok-no tik* ‘bag-3SG.POSS bark-cloth’ triggers non-singular object prefix indexation through the suppletive form of the verb ‘take’ in (9.18). With both *mak-na nan* and *yok-no tik*, only the first of the two nouns that form the natural pair bears pertensive marking.

The two members of a natural pair may also bear separate pertensive markers, as in (9.19):

9.19)    {        [[{[Mak        noni        nan        noni]<sub>S</sub>  
                   mother        1PL.POSS        father    1PL.POSS  
           e-wa-ng}}]<sub>SR:O</sub>    yo-ng-a},        {{{hori-ng=it-du-ng}}}.  
           come-PRES.NSG-2/3PL    say-DEP-MV        wait-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
           ‘Saying, “Our mothers and our fathers are coming,” they were waiting.’ (Irising maga  
           morok morok 0:32)

### 9.4.3 Origin of the non-singular pertensive markers

The pertensive markers used to express person and number of a singular Pr, *-na*, *-(y)a*, and *-o/-no*, are not also stand-alone words in other parts of the grammar. In contrast, all six of the dual and plural suffixes (the same in Alienable and Inalienable possession) have the same form as the standalone emphatic personal pronouns: *nori*, *hori*, *yori*, *noni*, *honi*, *yoni*. It is likely that in the history of the

language, the personal pronouns were drafted into the pertensive paradigm. This is supported by the fact that these endings are not modified to reflect number of Pe with human referents, though the singular suffixes change to reflect human Pe number.

Most importantly, phonological changes that take place within a grammatical word when phonological word components are altered do not take place before the non-singular pertensive markers. For instance, when /k/ and /h/ meet at a syllable boundary through reduplication or other processes, this yields the velar fricative [ɣ], allophone of phoneme /g/. But when /hori/ and /honi/ follow words ending in /k/, this process does not take place. E.g., *gowik hori* ‘the two of your knife,’ *mak honi* ‘your (pl.) mother.’

The non-singular pertensive markers also maintain stress on the first syllable, even when following a possessed noun. For this and the above reasons, I have chosen to represent them as separate words from the Pe nouns they follow.

Note, however, that other suffixes and modifications to the NP are added after the non-singular pertensive markers, just like the singular suffixes. Below is a line from a song of the Tomep funerary corpus. Here, the locative suffix *-n* is added to the 1pl pertensive marker *noni* to mean ‘to our house/village.’

- 9.20)      {[Bök noni]-n<sub>OBL</sub>      ongo-na}},      {{Towet<sub>OBL</sub>      ongo-na}}.
- house    1PL.POSS-LOC    go-IMM.IMP.1PLTowet                    go-IMM.IMP.1PL
- ‘Let’s go to our home, let’s go to Towet.’ (Song lyric, Tomep corpus)

#### 9.4.4 Alienable and inalienable pertensive marking

As shown in table 4.1, alienable and inalienable possession are marked differently only when the Pr is 3sg. The form of the 3sg pertensive suffix is *-no* with alienable possession, and *-o* with inalienable possession. If the Pe noun to which the suffix is attached ends in a vowel or /t/, the form *-no* is always used: after a vowel or /t/, no formal distinction is made between alienable and inalienable possession. Alienable possession is the default possessive relationship between Pr and Pe. Only body part terms and some kin terms and terms with human referents are inalienably possessed.

The following pairs of related words listed with pertensive markers illustrate the contrast between inalienable and alienable possession marking:

- a) mum-na,                      mum-a,                      mum-o  
 breast-1SG.POSS              breast-2SG.POSS              breast-3SG.POSS  
 ‘my breast, your (sg.) breast, her breast’
- b) mum-na,                                      mum-a,                                      mum-no  
 powdered.milk-1SG.POSS              powdered.milk-2SG.POSS              powdered.milk-3SG.POSS  
 ‘my powdered milk, your (sg.) powdered milk, her powdered milk’
- c) oruk-na,                      orug-a,                      orug-o  
 brother-1SG.POSS              brother-2SG.POSS              brother-3SG.POSS  
 ‘my brother (of male ego), your (sg.) brother, his brother’
- d) oruk oruk-na,                      oruk orug-a,                      oruk oruk-no  
 friend-1SG.POSS              friend-2SG.POSS              friend-3SG.POSS  
 ‘my friend, your (sg.) friend, his/her friend’

In the first pairing, we see that ‘breast’ is marked as inalienably possessed when possessed by a 3sg Pr, with the suffix *-o*, while the homophone ‘powdered milk,’ which is phonetically identical to ‘breast,’ is marked as alienably possessed in the same context, with the 3SG.POSS suffix form *-no*. The second pairing contrasts the alienability of *oruk* ‘brother (of male ego)’ with that of *oruk oruk* ‘(unrelated) friend, trading partner,’ which is literally ‘brother brother,’ a repetition of *oruk* (and quite possibly a calque from Tok Pisin *brata brata*). The above examples show that *oruk* is marked as inalienably possessed when possessed by a 3sg Pr, while *oruk oruk* is marked as alienably possessed in the same context.

With nouns referring to physical entities, inalienable possession is used to describe the body parts of humans, animals, and plants. As noted in §3.1.5, terms for body parts rarely occur without the 3sg inalienably possessed suffix, even when the Pr is unmentioned, unknown or irrelevant to discussion. They primarily occur without the pertensive marker when paired with another noun in a

two-noun NP. For example, *dirong* ‘hair’ is usually cited in the form *dirong-o*, ‘hair-3SG.POSS.’ But in expressions such as *omop dirong*, ‘*pandanus conoideus* hair,’ i.e. ‘spine of the *pandanus conoideus* plant,’ it bears no suffix. Like other nouns, body parts that end in a vowel or in /t/ take the alienably-possessed form of the 3SG.POSS suffix: that is, the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is neutralized in this context, with the ‘default,’ alienable possession marker, used.

Body parts ending in /n/ take the inalienably possessed form of the 3sg pertensive suffix. Here, as elsewhere in Nungon grammar (§2.8.4), /n/ generally becomes /ɾ/ before the suffix -o, but sometimes /n/ remains /n/. Most body parts ending in /n/ feature the rhotic before both 2sg pertensive suffix -a and 3sg pertensive suffix -o. Examples are: *daan* ‘eye’ → *daar-o* ‘her/his/its eye’; *kombön* ‘stomach’ → *kombör-o* ‘her/his/its stomach’; *tuun* ‘knee’ → *tuur-o* ‘her/his/its knee.’ But exceptions exist in which the /n/ is maintained before -a and -o: *bangan* ‘neck’ → *bangan-o* ‘her/his/its neck’; *gin* ‘lips’ → *gin-o* ‘her/his/its lips’; and *bunbun* ‘bud’ → *bunbur-o* ~ *bunbun-o* (I was told by different Towet speakers that both forms of ‘bud’ were acceptable, but that *bunbun-o* was the form in the Yawan, or Worin dialect). Both *gin-o* and *bunbun-o* feature phonetic lengthening of the /n/ before the -o consonant, which is common when /n/ occurs between a high vowel and the low back vowel /o/ (see §2.8.4).

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the complete pertensive marking paradigm with inalienable possession is usually observed only when the inalienably possessed Pe is a human body part or inalienably possessed kin term. Animal and especially plant parts usually only occur with the 3sg pertensive marker, except for rare cases of addressing an animal or highlighting the dual or plural number of the animals. I have not found that two or three plants would merit the 3du or 3pl pertensive marker when referring to their components.

Animal and human body parts and components of plants are almost uniformly expressed using the inalienable paradigm. The only exception found thus far is *ngirop-mo* ‘antler-3SG.POSS.’ This was the term used by Nungon speakers to describe the antlers of a moose they saw in a video; the origin of the term, and any applications to animals found in the Uruwa area, are unclear. Bodily fluids

that share a name with the body part from which they excrete are inalienably possessed, i.e.: *mum-o* ‘breast milk/breast’; *omör-o* ‘excrement/intestines.’ Since *hiyet* ‘urine’ and *nogot* ‘blood’ end in /t/, the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is unmarked when these are possessed; *orup* ‘spit’ is alienably possessed (*orup-no* ‘spit-3SG.POSS,’ not \**oruw-o*).

One body part is irregular in another way. *Obu*, ‘arm/hand’—used for both human arms/hands and for the equivalent extremities of mammals, insects, and even machines—ends in a vowel, but when it takes the 3sg inalienably possessed pertensive suffix, it acts as if it ended in /n/. That is, the noun stem ends in a vowel, which is clear from instances in which it occurs *sans* pertensive marker, but before the 3sg inalienably possessed pertensive suffix *-o*, an additional /r/ is inserted before the suffix *-o*, making it seem as if it ended in /n/.

- 9.21) Gungak-na-i<sub>TOP</sub> [obu<sub>HEAD</sub> usam<sub>MOD</sub>] ambarak]s  
 child-1SG.POSS-PL hand half all  
 ir-a-ng.  
 be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 ‘My children are five.’ [Literally: ‘(As for) my children, one-hand-all exist.’]

Example (8.86) showed the form of *obu* ‘hand’ with 3sg pertensive suffix. It is repeated here:

- 9.22) Obu-ro-no<sub>BL</sub> honggit-do-k.  
 hand-3SG.POSS-LOC hold-RP-3SG  
 ‘He held onto her hand.’ (Field notes)

The paradigm for *obu* ‘hand’ with pertensive marking is in table 9.1:

Table 9.1. <i>Obu</i> with pertensive marking			
	sg.	du.	pl.
1	obu-na	obu nori	obu noni
2	obu-ya	obu hori	obu honi
3	obu-ro	obu yori	obu yoni

It is likely that ‘his/her hand’ was originally *obu-no*, as one would expect (parallel to *mee-no*, ‘his/her back, above, another vowel-final body part’), and then, later, at least in the Towet dialect, this was reanalyzed as *obun-o*. It would have then been logical, interpreting the stem as *obun*, to change the /n/ to /r/ before the suffix *-o*. Note that in the Yawan dialect ‘his/her arm/hand’ is *obu-no*, as we would expect, not *obu-ro*, as in the Towet dialect.

#### 9.4.5 Alienable/inalienable possession contrast in neighbouring languages

In Awara, the usual 3SG.POSS suffix, called ‘3.GEN’ by E. Quigley (in Quigley and Quigley 2011), is usually [-nʌ], but has an alternate form [-i]~[-e]~[-ʌ], which Quigley describes in the following way: ‘These occur more often with body-part nouns.... However, it is unpredictable when to use the alternate form instead of [-nʌ]’ (Quigley and Quigley 2011: 59). That is, Quigley stops short of claiming that this suffix shows inalienable possession, or a whole-part relationship, despite the fact that all examples cited by Quigley are body parts except ‘son-in-law.’

The Awara ‘alternate 3.GEN form’ allomorph environments are: [-ʌ] after consonant-final nouns; “all /i/-final nouns and some /a/- and /ʌ/-final nouns use allomorph [-i], whereas other /a/- and /ʌ/-final nouns use allomorph [-e]” (Quigley and Quigley 2011: 60).

Quigley states that word-final /n/ on nouns changes to /l/ before the “alternate 3.GEN form,” word-final /p/ changes to /y/, and word-final /t/ changes to /l/. As in Nungon, some word-final segments never co-occur with the alternate 3.GEN form; in Awara, these are: /k/, /m/, and /ng/. Although Quigley does not state this explicitly, I assume that this means that words ending in the velar stop and the bilabial and velar nasals only occur with the non-alternate 3.GEN suffix *-nʌ*. This is similar to the situation in Nungon, where words ending in /t/ or a vowel always take *-no*.

Quigley reports that final vowels of the nouns to which the “alternate 3.GEN form” attaches elide before the suffix, which he finds unique within the language (with suffixes of two or more syllables, at least, the first vowel of the suffix usually elides, leaving the final vowel of the noun intact; if reduplication leads to vowel-vowel combinations at morpheme boundaries, both vowels remain intact) (Quigley and Quigley 2011: 59-61).

In Nukna, nouns ending in /n/ exhibit two behaviors with possessive endings (Taylor 2013: 25). That is, some nouns ending in /n/ take the 3SG.POSS suffix *-ná*, but with others, the /n/ is replaced by /l/, then followed by *-á*. Of nouns that are not requisitely possessed, the vast majority take *-ná*, with no change to the final consonant of the noun. Of 20 body part words Taylor lists that end in /n/, 16 take *-á* with the switch from /n/ to /l/; the four that do not are *pungan* ‘back of neck,’ *milun* ‘lips,’ *káráman* ‘ear’ and *ulin* ‘vein/artery.’ (In Nungon, *ondom* ‘ear’ and *topmum* ‘vein, artery’ do not end in /n/ and are marked as inalienably possessed.) In Nukna, *nan* ‘father’ takes the ending *-ná*, similar to the counterpart word *nan* in Nungon, which takes alienable possession marker *-no*, but Nukna *náun* ‘husband’ becomes *náulá* ‘her husband,’ while in Nungon the word for husband is marked as alienably possessed with *-no*, not *-o*.

In Ma Manda, the difference between alienable and inalienable possession is also marked formally only through a difference in the 3SG.POSS suffix. In Ma Manda, however, this is reflected quite differently morphologically than in Awara, Nungon, and Nukna (Pennington 2012).

#### 9.4.6 Possession of labile adjectives and headless NPs

As noted in §3.2.10, some Nungon adjectives may host pertensive markers directly. The only Class 1 adjective known to do so is *högök* ‘white’ in its meaning ‘white person.’ Otherwise, a Class 1 adjective may form a headless NP with the specifier *=ma*, and a pertensive marker may then follow *=ma*. This does not usually occur with most Class 1 adjectives, however; it primarily occurs with the adjective *morö* ‘large,’ describing a supervisor, leader, or deity, as in (9.23):

9.23) Amna<sub>TOP</sub> [[morö=ma]-no<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>Pe:APPOS</sub>, [amna<sub>HEAD</sub>  
man big=SPEC-3SG.POSS other man  
taambong-o<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>, [kombör-o<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>APPOS</sub>, wo-rog-ot  
worn.out-ADJ stomach-3SG.POSS big that-SEMBL-COMIT  
ep-bo-morok.  
come-RP-2/3DU

‘A man: her other supervisor, an old man, with a big belly; (she) alongside that one,  
the two of them came.’ (Rosarin Yupna hain 16:56)

Some Class 2 adjectives may host pertensive markers. A few of these expressions may be Tok Pisin calques, e.g. *meep-mo noni* ‘heavy-ADJ 1PL.POSS,’ *hevi bilong mipela* ‘our problem(s);’ *onding-o noni* ‘strong-ADJ 1PL.POSS,’ *strong bilong mipela* ‘our strength(s).’ But contexts are not limited to the church (domain of Tok Pisin). In the next example, the Class 2 adjective *iwiw-o* ‘delicious’ bears a 3sg pertensive suffix; here, the non-explicit (but recoverable from context) Pr is a type of food.

9.24) Hum-o<sub>VCC</sub>, iwiw-o-no<sub>VCS</sub> muuno<sub>VCC</sub>.  
cold-ADJ tasty-ADJ-3SG.POSS not

‘(It is) bland, its tastiness does not exist.’ (Field notes)

The second and third words here compose a negative existential verbless clause (§10.4.1). In another use of a labile adjective with pertensive marking outside the domain of Tok Pisin comes from a hunting story. A hunter related the physical power of a particular quarry in terms of ‘its strength’:

9.25) Arap<sub>TOPIC</sub> wo-i<sub>TOPIC</sub>, [onding-o-no]<sub>VCS</sub> [horo<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
game that-TOP strong-ADJ-3SG.POSS root other

‘The game, as for it, its strength was another type.’ (Boas boop 1:02)

Further, this example shows that the labile adjective here truly functions as a noun: *onding-o-no* heads a verbless clause subject NP. If *onding-o* did not have the pertensive marker, it could not serve alone as verbless clause subject.

Like Class 1 adjectives, Class 3 adjectives cannot directly take pertensive markers. Possession of Class 3 adjectives could be imagined if the adjective served in a headless NP with =*ma* (§4.3.1), e.g. *biigo-ni=ma* ‘the green one’ becoming *?biigo-ni=ma noni* ‘our green one.’ But as with most Class 1 adjectives, this construction does not actually occur. Thus Class 3 adjectives are not possessed, even as part of headless NPs.

## 9.5 The puzzle of the homophones of the 3sg pertensive suffix

Not only are the Class 2 adjectivizing suffixes homophonous with the 3sg pertensive suffixes, but another form, homophonous with the alienably possessed 3sg pertensive suffix *-no*, occurs with several other functions. In contrast to the 3sg pertensive suffix, this element may follow complex clauses. It is often a stretch to imagine a 3sg Pr of the element marked with *-no*. The suffix *-no* may attach directly to inflected final verbs, in which case it is usually followed by the locative suffix *(i)n*—in the form that suffix always takes after pertensive suffixes.

### 9.5.1 ‘Miscellanea’ construction

The ‘miscellanea’ construction was introduced in §4.1.4. In this construction, a noun bearing the suffix *-no* (never *-o*) is repeated once. The precise meaning of the construction varies slightly depending on the noun’s semantics, but every miscellanea construction has to do with various distinct instances of the noun.

Nouns that occur in the ‘miscellanea’ construction in the corpus include *bongon* ‘day,’ *maa* ‘name, speech,’ *bök* ‘house, village,’ *duo-k* ‘night,’ *yara* ‘year,’ *mum* ‘coil (of rope),’ and *höan* ‘meeting, gathering, cluster.’ *bongon-no bongon-no* ‘day after day, every day’; *maa-no maa-no* ‘various things’; *bök-no bök-no* ‘village by village (each village doing things differently)’; *duok-no duok-no* ‘night after night, every night’; *yara-no yara-no* ‘year after year’; *mum-no mum-no* ‘coil by coil,’ *höan-no höan-no* ‘grouping by grouping.’ Note that in the following example, the miscellanea construction *höan-no höan-no* ‘group by group’ takes singular agreement in the verb *ongo-* ‘go.’



- 9.28) {      [{{Kembok    nons            ongo-ni-n-ma }}-no]<sub>SR:O</sub>            yo-ng-a}...  
                  tomorrow      1NSG.PRO            go-IRR.PL-1NSG-RF-3SG.POSS    say-DEP-MV  
                  ‘Saying, “On the next day that we will go”...’ (David Ögate 6:31)

As mentioned above, when *-no* follows an inflected final verb, it is often followed by the locative suffix *-(i)n*. As noted in §8.7, *-(i)n* always takes the form *-n* after pertensive suffixes, and this is the form it takes after this time-related suffix *-no*. The following two examples, (9.29) and (9.30), show *-no-n* after fully-inflected final verbs; an instance of *-no-n* after a time-related adjective, *manahit* ‘youthful,’ was in example (8.93).

- 9.29)      {{Eepi=hos      di-ng-a            it-do-k}}.            {{Amnas  
                  fire=FOC            burn-DEP-MV    be-RP-3SG            man  
                  ma=it-do-k}}-no-n<sub>OBL</sub>.  
                  NEG=be-RP-3SG-3SG.POSS-LOC  
                  ‘A fire was burning. Where no man was.’ (Gosing Mosasi hon hat 1:10)
- 9.30)      {{Yu=hos            it-do-k}}-no-n<sub>OBL</sub>                            ongo-go-k.  
                  3SG.PRO=FOC    be-RP-3SG-3SG.POSS-LOC            go-RP-3SG  
                  ‘He went to where He [God] was.’ (Gosing Mosasi hon hat 1:34)

Locative and temporal adverbials *ben-no-n* ‘afterward’ and *mee-no-n* ‘after, behind that’ also both seem to employ the 3sg pertensive suffix with Locative suffix *-n*. Although no independent noun *?ben* is known in the corpus (the closest form is *benben*, the body part ‘calf’), *mee* ‘back’ is a body part noun. The pertensive suffix *-no* in *mee-no-n* usually has specific reference to a Pr NP, either when it means ‘after that,’ or ‘at his/her back.’

## 9.6 Endearment with pertensive markers

The pertensive markers referencing first person Pr, especially 1sg, may be used with endearing overtones. Endearment can be applied to inanimate and animate entities alike. One difference between common nouns and ultra-specific nouns such as personal names, place names, and species names is that common nouns may or may not have endearing overtones when possessed, while ultra-

specific nouns are not normally possessed; possession of these nouns entails special meaning, such as endearment.

The common noun *bangam* ‘cucumber,’ for instance, may bear the 1sg pertensive suffix without overtones of endearment. If a speaker possesses one or more cucumbers that she has been given by someone else, or harvested from her own farm, she may refer to it or them neutrally as *bangam-na* ‘cucumber-1SG.POSS,’ ‘my cucumber(s).’ But *bangam-na* may also have endearing overtones, spoken by someone who loves cucumbers:

- 9.31)      Öö,      bangam-na,                      bangam-na!  
                  EXCL   cucumber-1SG.POSS      cucumber-1SG.POSS  
                  ‘Oh, my cucumber! My cucumber!’ (Field notes)

When personal names bear pertensive marking, this generally has endearing and otherwise playful overtones. Such pertensive marking is most often first person, although second person marking also occurs. One five-year-old called out, on seeing me:

- 9.32)      Öö,      Hana-na                                      Hana-na!  
                  EXCL   Hannah-1SG.POSS                      Hannah-1SG.POSS  
                  ‘Oh, my Hannah! My Hannah (has come)!’

Her cousin disputed her claim to close association or possession, asserting his own claim. Here, the personal name *Hana* is able to host both 1sg and 2sg pertensive suffixes.

- 9.33)      [[Gogon<sub>Pr</sub>      Hana-ya<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub>                      muun<sub>MOD</sub>],      [nogon<sub>Pr</sub>  
                  2SG.PRO+GEN   Hannah-2SG.POSS                      not                      1SG.PRO+GEN  
                  Hana-na<sub>Pe</sub>]!  
                  Hannah-1SG.POSS  
                  ‘Not your Hannah, my Hannah!’ (Field notes)

I do not have examples in my field notes of the third-person pertensive markers used with personal names. It is conceivable that a third child could come and mediate between the cousins of (9.32) and (9.33) with the hypothetical:

- 9.34) ?[[Gogon<sub>Pr</sub> Hana-ya<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> muun<sub>MOD</sub>], [ino-in<sub>Pr</sub>  
 2SG.PRO+GEN Hannah-2SG.POSS not 3SG.PRO.EMPH-GEN  
 Hana-no<sub>Pe</sub>].  
 Hannah-3SG.POSS  
 ?‘(She’s) not your Hannah, (she’s) her Hannah.’

### 9.7 Mismatches in agreement in possessive constructions

Mismatches in agreement occur when the number of the pertensive marker does not match the number of the Possessor. Such mismatches invariably involve the 3sg pertensive marker used when the actual Possessor is 3<sup>rd</sup> person dual or plural, as indexed on the verb.

The next example is repeated from (3.7). Here, *gurok* ‘earth,’ which here means ‘piece of land/landholding,’ takes the 3sg pertensive marker even though it is preceded by a contrastive possessive pronoun showing clearly that the Possessor is 3pl:

- 9.35) {{{Gurok<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>s</sub> ir-a-ng}}, {{{[morum yoni]<sub>s</sub>  
 earth other be-PRES.PL-2/3PL owner 3PL.POSS  
 [yoni-win<sub>Pr</sub> gurok-no<sub>Pe</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ma=∅-i-ng}}}.  
 3PL.PRO-GEN.EMPH earth-3SG.POSS=LOC NEG=be-NP-2/3PL

‘There are other pieces of land, their owners don’t stay on their own piece of land.’

(Field notes)

Similarly, in the next example, the parents of a group of children (naturally-paired nouns—§4.5.2) are marked with the 3sg pertensive suffix *-no*, even though the children are clearly plural, as indexed on the final verb in the sentence:

9.36) {[Mak-no nan]=tos Morot<sub>OBL</sub> i-i-ya},  
 mother-3SG.POSS father=FOC Morot be-DS.2/3PL-MV  
 {{hori-ng=it-du-ng}}.  
 wait-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL

‘Their mother and father being in Morot, they were waiting.’ (Irising maga 0:18)

## 9.8 Summary of possession with the genitive, pertensive endings, and free pronouns

The preceding discussion of possessive NPs is summarized in table 9.2:

Table 9.2. Summary of possessive NP constructions				
	genitive	pertensive marker	free pronoun plus genitive	genetic emphatic pronoun
example: ‘Kaila’s house’	<i>Kaila=hon bök</i>	<i>Kaila bök-no</i>	<i>yu=hon bök</i>	<i>ino-in bök</i>
gloss	‘the house of Kaila’	‘Kaila, her house’	‘the house of her’	‘her own house’
example: ‘my dog’	—	<i>hap-na</i>	<i>nogon hap(-na)</i>	<i>nagain hap(-na)</i>
gloss	—	‘my dog’	‘of me, (my) dog’	‘my own dog’

## 9.9 Predicative possession

Nungon may be understood to employ three main schemas of predicative possession, following Heine (1997): a Genitive schema, ‘X’s Y exists’ (Heine 1997: 58-59); an Equation schema, ‘Y is X’s’ (Heine 1997: 65-67); and a Topic schema, ‘as for X, (its) Y exists’ (Heine 1997: 61-64). That is, no verb ‘have’ or ‘belong’ exists; instead, a concept such as ‘I have a dog,’ or ‘the dog belongs to me’ is framed as ‘[my dog] exists’ (Genitive schema), ‘[the dog] is mine’ (Equation schema), or ‘as for me, (my) dog exists’ (Topic schema). In the Genitive and Equation schemas, the entire possessive NP

(headed by the Pe) or the Pe alone is topicalized through fronting, while in the Topic schema it is the Pr that is topicalized through fronting. In addition to these three schemas, predicative possession may also be expressed with the verb *honggit-* ‘hold,’ although this is not possible with many types of possessive NPs.

The Genitive schema employs the verb *it-* ‘be, exist, stay.’ The S argument of *it-* is the possessive NP (§4.3.4). The Genitive schema is exemplified in (9.37):

- 9.37)      [[Hap noni]<sub>HEAD</sub>      opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP:S</sub>,      wo-rok,      Ketis,  
              dog      1PL.POSS      small      that-SEMBL      Keti  
              ir=it-do-k.  
              be=be-RP-3SG  
              ‘We used to have a small dog named Keti.’ [Literally: ‘Our small dog, that is, Keti,  
              used to exist.’] (Rosalin arap dawik 0:15)

Here, the personal name *Keti* of the dog is appositional to the possessive NP with modifier *opmou* ‘small.’

In the Equation schema, only the Pe itself is topicalized through fronting. Usually, an anaphoric demonstrative referencing the fronted Pe serves as verbless clause subject, with the genitive-marked Pr as verbless clause complement (see §10.4 for more on verbless clauses). The Equation schema is exemplified in (9.38):

- 9.38)      [[Tanak<sub>MOD</sub>      hön<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>Pe:TOP</sub>      wo=ma-i<sub>VCS</sub>...  
              food      gathering      other      that=SPEC-TOP  
              morum-o=hon<sub>Pr:VCC</sub>.  
              owner-3SG.POSS=GEN  
              ‘As for the other food pile... it was her owner’s.’ (Nongi hon maa hat 18 2:25)

The Equation schema may be analysed as a rearranging of an underlying possessive NP; for (9.38), this would be [*morum-o=hon<sub>Pr</sub> [[tanak hön] au]<sub>Pe</sub>*], ‘her owner’s other food pile.’

In the Topic schema, unlike the Genitive and Equation schemas, it is the Pr that is topicalized. Like the Genitive schema, the Topic schema employs the verb *it-* ‘be, exist’; the difference here is that the S argument of *it-* is not the entire possessive NP, including the Pr, but only the Pe. The Pr is a topicalized, extra-clausal, fronted constituent. The Topic schema is exemplified in (9.39):

- 9.39)      Nok<sub>TOP</sub>              w-ey<sub>TOP</sub>              torop-na-i<sub>Pe,S</sub>              ir-a-ng.  
                  1SG.PRO              that-LDEM.FAR      clan-1SG.POSS-PL              be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
                  ‘I have family over there.’ [Literally: ‘As for me, over there, my clan members exist.’] (Lin hawek amna 0:22)

Another example of the Topic schema is in example (13.15) in Chapter 13.

Finally, the verb *honggit-* ‘grab, hold’ may be used for punctual predicative possession, i.e. ‘obtain’; if it is marked for habitual aspect or is inflected for Present tense and has gnomic meaning, *honggit-* may indicate predicative possession. This is the case in Narrative I (Appendix), in which the speaker exclaims that people nowadays *honggir-a-ng* ‘hold-PRES.NSG-2/3PL’ very good schools: ‘they have very good schools’ (line 1:37). Predicative possession is relatively rarely expressed with *honggit-*, however: it retains too much of a literal sense of ‘grabbing’ or ‘holding.’

## 9.10 Negation and possession

Just as there are two main ways to express possession through predication, there are two ways to express the negative of positive declarative possessive statements. For existential negation, the verb ‘exist’ may be negated in a verbal clause, i.e. ‘my book does not exist,’ ‘I have no book,’ as (9.40) (and see §10.4.1 for more on negative existential verbless clauses):

- 9.40)      [Nogon<sub>Pr</sub>              babiya<sub>Pe</sub>]              ma=e-Ø-k.  
                  1SGPRO+GEN      book              NEG=be-NP-3SG  
                  ‘I have no book.’ [Literally: ‘My book does not exist.’]

For identity negation, the possessive NP is negated with the negative word *muuno* ‘no’: ‘(it is) not my book’:

- 9.41) [[Nogon<sub>Pr</sub>      babiya<sub>Pe</sub>]      muuno].  
 1SG.PRO+GEN    book                      no  
 ‘(It is) not my book.’

### 9.11 Mood and possession

Possession may be questioned using both a verbal existential possessive schema and a verbless identification schema (Heine’s Genitive and Equation schemas, 1997: 47, 58):

- 9.42)      Gungag-as      it-ta-k?  
 child-2SG.POSS    be-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘Do you have a child?’ [Literally: ‘Does your child exist?’]

- 9.43)      [Ketket<sub>HEAD</sub>      ngomod]<sub>VCS</sub>,      gungag-avcc?  
 boy                      this                      child-2SG.POSS  
 ‘This boy, (is he) your child?’

Possession using the verbal existential construction may be willed or commanded in the imperative/injunctive paradigm, as:

- 9.44)      {Noga<sub>OBL</sub>      na-m-i-ya},                      {{{nogon<sub>Pr</sub>      babiya<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>S</sub>  
 1SG.PRO+BEN    1SG.O-give-DS.2SG-MV    1SG.PRO+GEN    book  
 it-tun } }.  
 be-IMM.IMP.3SG  
 ‘Give it to me and my book will exist.’ [Literally: ‘You giving it to me for me (to have), let my book exist.’]

In (9.44), the benefactive form *noga* of the 1sg basic pronoun (§7.1.1) denotes possession. If the unmarked form *nok* were used, there would be no implication that the giving was not temporary. With *noga*, it is understood that possession is transferred.

Since verbless clauses cannot function as imperatives, the verbless identification construction cannot similarly create an imperative, i.e. \*’let this child be yours!’

## 9.12 Kinship and possession

### 9.12.1 Nungon kinship terminology system overview

Like much of Melanesia, where until fairly recently Tok Pisin *brata* meant ‘same-sex sibling’ and *susa* meant ‘opposite-sex sibling’ (Mihalic 1971: 75, among others) a number of Nungon kinship terms vary depending on Ego’s sex.

Although there is no major comparative work yet on the Finisterre-Huon languages, many if not most of these languages distinguish between older and younger siblings with kinship terms. The Uruwa languages are unusual in that they seem to have lost such a distinction.<sup>26</sup> Distinct Nungon terms exist for ‘father’ (*nan*), ‘mother’s brother’ (*bap*), and ‘father’s brother’ (*biip*), although I have heard ‘father’s brother’ called *nan*, i.e., the same as ‘father’; the exact contexts in which this is permitted are yet to be determined. I have not observed *mak* ‘mother’ used instead of the usual *mam* ‘aunt’ to describe ‘mother’s sister’; sisters of both parents, as well as wives of father’s and mother’s brothers are all called *mam* ‘aunt.’ Parallel cousins, i.e., the children of one’s parents’ same-sex siblings (FB and MZ) are called ‘siblings,’ while cross-cousins, the children of one’s parents’ opposite-sex siblings (FZ and MB) are called ‘cousins.’

Kinship terms in Nungon form a closed sub-class of nouns with 32 members (comprising 31 kin terms plus the term *wase* ‘namesake,’ which seems to function as a full-fledged kinship term), distinguished from other nouns by a few key characteristics. Nungon kinship terms usually occur with pertensive suffixes when used referentially, but may occur without these suffixes when used as terms of address and when these terms of address are then used referentially, as in the difference between a) *My mother is coming*, b) *Mother! Come here!* and c) *Mother is coming* in English. (See below for endearing use of the 1SG.POSS suffix with terms of address, and use of the 3SG.POSS suffix in

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<sup>26</sup> It is likely that the little-used Nungon kin term *dat* ‘sibling of either sex’ is borrowed from Nukna; Nukna *dat* is ‘older sibling.’

descriptive terms of address.) In Nungon, nouns with human referents are formally marked for number when possessed by singular possessors. Since all kinship terms have human referents, they are marked for number when possessed by singular possessors. Nouns with non-human referents are never formally marked for number.

The Nungon kin terms are listed in tables 9.3 and 9.4. Terms that are noted as reciprocal in the last column of each table are those that may be used to refer to either member in a kin relationship. These are glossed according to the primary meaning, as defined through reciprocity.

Most same-generation kin terms, such as *daa* ‘sister (of female ego)’ are strictly reciprocal: if A calls B *daa*, B has no other choice of term to address A besides *daa*. The only exception among the same-generation kin terms is *dat* ‘sibling’; although this term may be used reciprocally, B may also address A with another term meaning ‘sibling’: *naat*, *daa*, or *oruk*. Most affinal kin terms are strictly reciprocal; exceptions are *oe* ‘wife’ and *op* ‘husband.’ Strictly reciprocal terms have ‘yes, strict’ in the reciprocal column in the tables.

There is a second degree of reciprocity among kin terms, found with terms that span generations, such as *mak* ‘mother’ and *ura* ‘grandfather.’ Here, the primary meaning of the term is understood as defined by the context in which only that term may be applied. With these terms, the younger of the pair in the kin relation may only use the specific kin term—*mak* ‘mother’ or *ura* ‘grandfather’—to address and refer to the elder of the pair (if a kin term, not another epithet, is used). But the older relation in the pair may choose to address or refer to the younger relation in various ways. A woman may call her son or daughter *mak* ‘mother,’ but she may also call them *gungak* ‘child,’ *ketket* ‘boy/son,’ *wie* ‘daughter,’ or *oesit* ‘girl.’ A grandfather is more likely than a mother to use the reciprocal term *ura* to address his grandchild, but he may also choose to use *ketket* ‘boy/son’ or *oesit* ‘daughter/girl,’ with endearing overtones. Such kin terms, describing relationships in which the older member of the pair is free to use the reciprocal term or choose another term, have ‘yes’ but not ‘strictly’ in the reciprocity columns in the tables.

Kin terms referring to the younger member of a pair of people in a kin relationship, such as *wie* ‘daughter,’ are usually not reciprocal. The exception is *tep* ‘EZC (male E).’ Special terms exist for each member of the relationship between a child of either sex and his or her mother’s brother. The maternal uncle is called *bap*, and the niece or nephew is called *tep*. But in practice, both *bap* and *tep* may be used reciprocally: in example (13.57) in Chapter 13, a man addresses his mother’s brother as *tep*, while many men address their sister’s children as *bap*. It remains to be explored whether referential use of these terms allows for less reciprocity than use in address.

<b>Table 9.3. Nungon consanguineal kin terms</b>		
<b>term</b>	<b>gloss, primary meaning</b>	<b>reciprocal?</b>
bap	mother's brother: MB, MFBS, MMZS	optionally
biip	father's brother: FB, FFBS, FMZS	optionally
daa	sister (of female): EZ (female E)	yes, strict
dat	older sibling: EZ+, EB+	yes
gungak	child/son: ES, ED, EBS, EZS (female E), EFBSS, EMZSS	no
ketket	boy/son: ES, EBS, EZS (female E)	no
mak	mother: EM	optionally
mam	aunt: EMZ, EFZ, EMBW, EFBW	no
nan	father: EF, EFB (sometimes)	optionally
naat	cross-sex sibling: EZ (male E), EB (female E)	yes, strict
nip	cross cousin: EMBC, EFZC	yes, strict
oesit	girl/daughter: ED, EZD (female E), EBD	no
ombu	great grandparent/great grandchild: EPPP, ECCC	yes
oruk	brother (of male): EB, EMZS, EFBS (all with male E)	yes, strict
owi	grandmother/grandchild (of woman): EPM, ECC (female E)	yes
sagung	great-great-great grandparent/-child (Worin): EPPPPP, ECCCCC	yes
tep	sister's child (of male): EZC (male E), EMZDC (male E), EFBDC (male E)	optionally
tikeng	great-great grandparent/-child: EPPPP, ECCCC	yes
ura	grandfather/grandchild (of man): EPF, ECC (male E)	yes
wie	daughter: ED, EZD (female E), EBD, EMZDC (female E), EMZSC, EFBDC (female E), EFBSC	no
yuon	great-great-great-great grandparent/-child (Worin): EPPPPPP, ECCCCCC	yes

<b>Table 9.4. Nungon affinal kin terms</b>		
<b>term</b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>reciprocal?</b>
boyuk	husband of <i>naat</i> : EWB, EZH (male E)	yes, strict
bööt	husband of <i>daa</i> : EZH (female E), EWZ	yes, strict
domi	wife of <i>oruk</i> : EHB, EBW (male E)	yes, strict
homu	wife of <i>naat</i> : EBW (female E), EHZ	yes, strict
komot	husband of <i>tep</i> : EWMB, EZDH (male E)	yes, strict
kora	husband of <i>wie</i> : EWM, EWF, EWFB, EDH (male and female E)	yes, strict
moyum	husband of <i>mam</i> : EMZH, EFZH	no
nambe	exchange counterpart (of female): EBW (female E; if EB married EHZ)	yes, strict
oe	wife: EW	no
op	husband: EH	no

<b>Table 9.5. Additional terms that describe relations between people</b>		
<b>term</b>	<b>gloss</b>	<b>reciprocal?</b>
bem	ancestor	no
morum	guardian, owner	no
nuk	friend	yes
oruk oruk	trade-friend, friend	yes
uung-o	taboo relation (labile Class 2 adjective)	yes
wase	namesake (Kâte)	yes, strict
waup	namesake (N)	yes

As described in Chapter 3, several nouns with human referents may be used to describe relationships between people but do not ordinarily function as terms of address, therefore not truly fitting the kinship terms sub-class of nouns. These include *nuk* ‘friend, neighbour,’ *oruk oruk* ‘trade-friend, classmate,’ and *morum* ‘master, owner.’ The various terms for ‘(unrelated) friend, partner’ are not usually used as terms of address; possibly because address in that way might be offensive, signalling that the addressee is an outsider. Co-wives are referred to as *nuk*, while *oruk oruk*, literally ‘brother brother,’ and the synonymous *nip oruk* ‘cross-cousin brother’ seem to be rooted in trading relationships with extra-Uruwa communities in pre-contact times, when creation of *oruk oruk* ‘friend’

relationships with coastal peoples facilitated travel through their regions on trading expeditions. In contrast, *morum* ‘owner’ is usually used with pets and inanimate objects and concepts, as *bök morum*, ‘owner of the house/village,’ ‘landowner, local,’ but may be extended to describe, for instance, a young girl’s paternal uncles as her ‘owners,’ because they control her fate and movements. The term *morum* always has a human referent, but is not used as a term of address, even when it is extended to describe a consanguineal relationship.

Finally, the Class 2 labile adjective *uung-o* ‘taboo,’ may be used to refer to taboo relations—possibly as a calque from Tok Pisin, as in the following example:

- 9.45) [Daa-na<sub>Pe</sub>=hon<sub>Pr</sub> op-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub> [nogon<sub>Pr</sub> uung-o-na<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 sister-1SG.POSS=GEN husband-3SG.POSS 1SG.PRO+GEN taboo-ADJ-1SG.POSS  
 ‘My sister’s husband is my taboo (relation).’ (Field notes)

Although it may be used to describe the taboo category of kin relations, *uung-o* ‘taboo’ is never used as a term of address, so it is not a true member of the kinship terms nominal sub-class.

### 9.12.2 Alienable and inalienable possession with kin terms

As described in §9.4, inalienable and alienable possession are distinguished grammatically only in certain phonological circumstances and when the possessor may be referenced as 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular.

In Nungon, some nominal sub-classes are partially defined by the requisite marking of sub-class members with the inalienably-possessed form of the 3SG.POSS suffix, such as the nominal sub-class body parts, introduced in §3.1.5 (including body parts of humans, which can take all persons and numbers of perturbive markers, body parts of animate animals, which can in theory take all persons and numbers of perturbive markers, and parts of plants, which only take the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular perturbive marker, always in inalienable form).

Of the group of thirty-two kinship terms, six end in /t/, meaning that when possessed by a 3sg Pr, they will automatically take the alienable possession lookalike suffix *-no*. An additional eleven end in a vowel, which means that they also take the suffix *-no*, similarly to alienably-possessed nouns.

One of these, *owi*, which describes the reciprocal relationship between a grandmother and grandchild, is irregular in that it ends in a vowel, but acts as if it ends in /k/ and is inalienably possessed: ‘her grandchild’ is *owig-o*, not \**owi-no*.

Out of the fifteen kinship terms that end in non-/t/ consonants, twelve are marked as alienably possessed when possessed by a 3sg Pr. That is, *mak* ‘mother,’ *bap* ‘mother’s brother,’ *bem* ‘ancestor,’ *biip* ‘father’s brother,’ *gungak* ‘son/child,’ *mam* ‘aunt,’ *nan* ‘father,’ *nip* ‘cross-cousin,’ *op* ‘husband,’ *tep* ‘sister’s child,’ *tikeng* ‘great-great-grandparent/child,’ and *waup* ‘namesake’ are all formally alienably possessed.

In contrast, only three of these fifteen kin terms that are phonologically eligible to take the inalienably-possessed suffix *-o* actually take it. These terms are: *oruk* ‘brother (of man),’ *boyuk*, the term that describes the reciprocal relationship between a man and his wife’s brothers and male cousins, and *moyum* ‘aunt’s husband.’ In addition to these three, we may add *owi*, the term for ‘grandmother’ mentioned above; this behaves the same as *oruk* ‘brother (of man),’ indicating that it may have historically ended in /k/.

In addition to these kin terms, *morum* ‘owner’ is always inalienably possessed, whether the Pr is animate or inanimate (i.e. *oesit morum-i* ‘girl owner-3SG.POSS.pl,’ *bök morum-o* ‘house owner-3SG.POSS,’ *öön morum-o* ‘farm.plot owner-3SG.POSS’).

### 9.12.3 Kinship terms with and without pertensive markers

One of the defining characteristics of the nominal sub-class ‘kin terms’ (§3.1.2) is the ability of its members to be used to address without pertensive marking. The kin term *mak* ‘mother’ may be used as exemplar to demonstrate uses of kin terms with and without pertensive markings.

Example (9.46) shows *mak* with 1sg pertensive suffix *-na* as a term of reference:

- |       |                        |                     |
|-------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 9.46) | Mak-nas                | e-wang-ka-k.        |
|       | mother-1SG.POSS        | come-PROB.SG-NF-3SG |
|       | ‘My mother will come.’ |                     |

In example (9.47), *mak* occurs without a pertensive suffix as a term of address:

- 9.47)      Mak<sub>voc!</sub>      Nok<sub>s</sub>      ep-pa-t.  
                  mother      1SG.PRO      come-PRES.SG-1SG  
                  ‘Mother! I’m coming!’

Example (9.48) shows *mak* with 1sg pertensive suffix *-na* in endearing address:

- 9.48)      Öö,      mak-navoc!      Mak-navoc!  
                  EXCL      mother-1SG.POSS      mother-1SG.POSS  
                  ‘Oh, my dear mother! My dear mother!’

In example (9.49), *mak* lacks pertensive marking but is used as a term of reference; here, the term of reference is used like a personal name:

- 9.49)      Awe,      Mak<sub>s</sub>      e-wang-ka-k.  
                  yet      mother      come-PROB.SG-NF-3SG  
                  ‘In a little bit, Mother will come.’

In example (9.50), *mak* functions as the second, head noun of a two-noun NP (§4.3.2). As head of a two-noun NP, *mak* has generic reference, thus lacks pertensive marking:

- 9.50)      [Gungak<sub>MOD</sub>      mak<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>s</sub>      öör-in      e-ng=ir-a-ng.  
                  child      mother      farmplot-LOC      come-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
                  ‘Mothers of children are coming to the farmplots.’

In example (9.51), *mak* functions as the Pe in a possessive NP, *Gorongon mak-no* ‘Gorongon’s mother,’ that is used as a term of reference:

- 9.51)      [Gorongon<sub>Pr</sub>      mak-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>s</sub>      urop      ep-pa-k.  
                  Gorungon      mother-3SG.POSS      enough      come-PRES.SG-3SG  
                  ‘Gorongon’s mother is now coming.’

Finally, in example (9.52), the referential possessive NP *Gorongon mak-no* ‘Gorongon’s mother’ itself is used as a term of address.

- 9.52) [Gorongon<sub>Pr</sub> mak-no<sub>Pe</sub>]!                    {{Ep-pa-rok}}                    ha                    muuno?  
 Gorongon                    mother-3SG.POSS                    come-PRES.SG-2SG                    QUES                    no  
 ‘Gorongon’s mother! Are you coming or not?’

This is summarized in table 9.6:

Use of kin term	Form of kinship term	Examples
Reference term	[Kinship term]-pertensive marker	<i>mak-na</i> mother-1SG.POSS, <i>bap hori</i> MB 2DU.POSS <i>nip-na-in</i> cross-cousin-1SG.POSS- du
Term of address	[Kinship term]	<i>Mak-Ø!</i> mother-VOC <i>Bap-Ø!</i> MB-VOC <i>Nip-Ø!</i> cross-cousin-VOC
Term of address, endearing	[Kinship term]-1SG.POSS suffix	<i>Mak-na!</i> mother-1SG.POSS <i>Bap-na!</i> MB-1SG.POSS <i>Nip-na!</i> cross-cousin-1SG.POSS
Use of term of address to refer to specific person	[Kinship term]	<i>Unga, Mak ep-pa-k</i> today Mother come-PRES.SG-3SG
As second, generic, head term in two-noun NP	[Specifying noun] [Kinship term] <i>NB: this involves restricted categories of kinship terms, incl. ‘mother,’ ‘father,’ and few others</i>	<i>gungak mak</i> child mother <i>gungak nan</i> child father
Composite term of reference based on relationship to a named person	[Named person] [Kinship term]-3SG.POSS suffix <i>NB: For pragmatic reasons, these expressions usually use close relations: ‘grandmother/grandfather/grandchild,’ ‘mother,’ ‘father,’ ‘wife,’ ‘husband,’ ‘daughter,’ ‘son’</i>	<i>Alisi mak-no</i> Alisi mother- 3SG.POSS <i>Gorongon ura-no</i> Gorongon grandfather-3SG.POSS <i>Naweng nan-no</i> Naweng father-3SG.POSS
Composite term of address based on relationship to a named person	Same form as previous row	<i>Alisi mak-no! Ep-pi!</i> Alisi mother-3SG.POSS come- IMM.IMP.2SG

#### 9.12.4 *Yomot* to create non-singular same-generation kin expressions

As mentioned in §4.1.3, groups of people who share a same-generation consanguineal relationship with each other may be referred to using the collective term *yomot* before the kin term. A pair of women in a *daa* relationship to each other may be referred to as *yomot daa*. The same is true of *oruk* ‘brother (of male),’ *naat* ‘different-sex sibling,’ and *nip* ‘cross-cousin.’ This was seen in example (4.33) in Chapter 4.

In the next example, the implication is that the speaker is not in a cross-cousin relationship with the people she refers to as *yomot nip* ‘cross-cousins’:

9.53)        {Non<sub>S</sub>                    w-ondo<sub>OBL</sub>                    duo-ng-a},        [yomot  
                  1NSG.PRO                    there-LDEM.NEAR                    sleep-DEP-MV    COLL  
                  nip]=ma=rot.  
                  cross.cousin=SPEC=COMIT

‘We sleeping there, along with the cross-cousins.’ (Fooyu Deerim hat 1:39)

#### 9.12.5 Kinship terms that may also function outside the kin system

Of the thirty-two kinship terms, four may be used outside the context of kinship: *gungak*, ‘child,’ *ketket* ‘boy,’ *oesit* ‘girl,’ *oe* ‘woman.’ These four terms may be used simply as labels to define the type of person discussed, without reference to kinship: ‘The girls are walking to school.’ But they may also describe kinship relationships, when possessed: *ketket-na* ‘my boy’ means ‘my son,’ as does *gungak-na* ‘my child,’ although the latter also means the sex-neutral ‘my offspring’ if the child is small (if older, it refers to a son only). Similarly, *oesit-na* ‘my girl’ may be substituted for *wie-na* ‘my daughter.’ *Gungak* ‘child’ is generic ‘children’ when it lacks pertensive marking and, ‘progeny’ when it features pertensive marking. *Oe* is both the general term for ‘woman’ and, when possessed, ‘wife.’ (‘Man,’ on the other hand, is *amna*, while ‘husband’ is *op*.)

When these four terms do not describe kin relations, they do not bear pertensive marking. The non-kin meaning, however, bleeds into the realm of kinship, as in colloquial English ‘my boys’ for ‘my sons.’ Thus, even when used as kin terms, these terms seem to allow for more flexibility of the

pertensive marking than do other kinship terms such as *mak* ‘mother’ or *biip* ‘FB.’ This is exemplified in the following verbless clause, with which a speaker concluded a list of his children:

- 9.54) [Naga-in<sub>Pr</sub>                      gungag-u<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub>, wo-rok<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 1SG.PRO.EMPH-GEN      child-TOP              that-SEMBL  
 ‘As for my children, that’s it.’ (Hesienare hon yong tuktuk maa 0:26)

Here, *gungak* takes the topicalizing suffix *-u* (§13.1.2): it bears no pertensive marker, with possessive reading stemming only from the emphatic possessive pronoun *naga-in*. This is counter to the usual situation with kin terms: a kin term normally must bear pertensive marking even when a genitive pronoun is also present, marking the same Pr and Pe. Example (9.55) below, an appended oblique argument to a statement about traditional ways, exemplifies the usual coexistence of pertensive markers with the genitive construction with kin terms such as *nan* ‘father’:

- 9.55) [[Nogon<sub>Pr</sub>              nan-na<sub>Pe</sub>]=hon<sub>Pr</sub>              bongon<sub>Pe</sub>]=dek.  
 1SG.PRO+GEN      father-1SG.POSS=GEN      time=LOC  
 ‘In the time of my father.’ (Field notes)

The criteria for inclusion into the nominal sub-class of kinship terms described above were: nouns with human referents that always take a pertensive suffix, except when used as terms of address. In Nungon, the Kâte term for ‘namesake,’ *wase*, is used to describe the namesake relationship to the near-complete exclusion of what is claimed to be the old Nungon counterpart, *waup*. This term fits the criteria for inclusion as kinship term; it is often used without pertensive marker as a term of address, otherwise occurring only with pertensive markers.

## 10 Clause types

This chapter reviews the types of clauses permissible in Nungon and describes a diverse group of clause-level affixes. Complex predicates are covered in Chapter 11; relative clauses are discussed in Chapter 12.

### 10.1 Introduction to grammatical mood in Nungon

Although mood is discussed here in terms of the usual three categories of declarative, imperative, and interrogative, these categories do not map neatly onto Nungon verbal inflectional morphology. As in many languages, declarative mood is formally unmarked in Nungon. Nungon imperatives are morphologically intertwined with reality status-marking paradigms (§5.5): the 3sg, 2/3du and 2/3pl Immediate Imperative forms are homophonous with the 3sg, 2/3du and 2/3pl Counterfactual forms, while the first person and 3sg Delayed Imperative forms are homophonous with their Irrealis counterparts. Interrogative mood, in contrast, is expressed through a different system: not through verbal inflection, but through intonation, a postposed question marker, or the replacement of a clausal constituent by a question word. This means that any NP, adjective, medial clause, final verbal clause, adverb, pronoun, or demonstrative can be marked as bearing interrogative mood. Thus, a clause the final verb of which is formally a non-canonical (first or third person) imperative may in fact bear interrogative mood through a change in intonation, the addition of a polar question marker after the verb, or the substitution of a content question word for one of its arguments. This was introduced in examples (5.48-50) of §5.5.1 and is discussed further below in §10.6.3.

Besides intonation and the postposed polar question marker, the Nungon grammar does not have dedicated markers for mood alone. Although the Immediate Imperative and Delayed Imperative are expressed through different verbal inflectional suffixes than declarative Remote Past, Near Past, Present, and positive Near Future, the third-person and non-singular second-person Immediate Imperative forms are homophonous with the (declarative) Counterfactual in those persons, while the first- and third-person inflections of the Delayed Imperative are homophonous with the (declarative) Remote Future. Nungon grammar does not mark mood within the verbal inflectional paradigms.

## 10.2 Clause types in Nungon

Nungon clauses may be divided into verbal clauses and verbless clauses. Verbal clauses are further subdivided morpho-syntactically into medial and final clauses. Any NP, adjective, verb, or adverb, as well as members of some closed classes such as pronouns and demonstratives, may be questioned using a non-assimilating polar question marker. With content questions, it is the presence of a content question word in an argument slot that determines the mood of the sentence. Thus, a medial verb may bear interrogative mood within a clause chain when one of its arguments is a content question word, and medial verbs may be marked for interrogative mood by the postposed polar question marker. Final verbs, on the other hand, may be marked for imperative (including types of irrealis) or declarative mood.

Thus, if the final verb of a clause chain comprising one or more medial verbs is marked imperative and there are neither content question words nor the postposed polar question marker, the clause chain may be considered imperative. Imperative clauses usually have a verbal predicate, except under ellipsis.

## 10.3 Declarative clauses

Declarative clauses may be verbal or verbless. Verbless clauses were introduced in Chapter 4. In verbal declarative clauses, the predicate is headed by a final verb. As mentioned above, if medial verbal clauses are part of clause chains with final verbs not inflected for the imperative or for first- or third-person Remote Future at the end and no content or polar question markers present, the medial verbs are essentially mood-neutral and mood of the entire clause chain is determined by the final verb.

## 10.4 Verbless Clauses

Verbless clauses are complete, non-elliptical clauses that have no verb. These clauses may be negated with the negative word *muuno*, but are otherwise unmarked for tense, aspect, mood, modality, causation, or switch-reference. The basic verbless clause structure is one NP (possibly complex and/or comprising several coordinated NPs) or demonstrative followed by another NP, an adjective, a demonstrative, or an adverb plus specifier *=ma*. The first NP will be referred to here as verbless clause

subject (VCS) and the second element will be referred to as verbless clause complement (VCC). One criterion for a verbless clause is that a pause be insertable between the VCS and VCC. Especially when the VCC is an adjective, a verbless clause may look similar (on paper) to an NP. In such cases, the syntactic context—that is, whether the supposed verbless clause actually serves as a core argument in a verbal clause—may help establish whether the element is a verbless clause or an NP. But speakers often append afterthoughts and elaborations after final verbal clauses (§13.3.1). If such a ‘stranded’ (outside of a verbal clause) element comprises an NP and adjective, prosody determines whether the element is actually a verbless clause in its own right—or just an appended NP. If there is a pause between the two elements, or if a pause could be inserted, then the two most likely constitute a verbless clause.

#### 10.4.1 Verbless clause types

Verbless clauses may be divided into four types: equational, negative existential, ‘circumstantial,’ and sequential. (Compare possessive clause types, in §9.9.) In an equational verbless clause, the VCC describes or is equated with the VCS. An example of this is:

- 10.1) [Ofi-c~ofi-c]-no<sub>VCS</sub> morö<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 understand-NMZ:RED-3SG.POSS large  
 ‘Her understanding is great.’ (Field notes: Worin dialect<sup>27</sup>)

Another adjective, such as *agep-mo* ‘good’ (in the Worin dialect) could be added after *morö* ‘large’ in this example, yielding:

- 10.2) [Ofi-c~ofi-c]-no<sub>VCS</sub> morö<sub>VCC</sub>, agep-mo<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 understand-NMZ:RED-3SG.POSS large firm-ADJ  
 ‘Her understanding is great, good.’ (Field notes: Worin dialect)

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<sup>27</sup> Note that in the Worin dialect, even though the verb *ofi-* ‘understand’ is disyllabic, the nominalized form seems to be a single phonological word, with only one stressed syllable, unlike the examples in §4.2.1 from the Towet dialect.

Here, each adjective could stand as VCC by itself. Another example of an equational verbless clause has a personal pronoun as VCS and complex NP as VCC:

- 10.3) Oe<sub>VOC</sub>, oe-na<sub>VOC</sub>, gok<sub>VCS</sub> [oe<sub>HEAD</sub> moin-no<sub>MOD</sub> hinom<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>!  
 woman wife-1SG.POSS 2SG.PRO woman bad-ADJ INTENS  
 ‘Woman, my wife, you are a very bad woman!’ (L orin V oe op maa emok 0:01)

In texts listing a speaker’s family lineage, the standard way to introduce relatives is with an equational verbless clause in which the VCS is a kin term with appropriate pensive suffix, and the VCC is the family member’s personal name, as in:

- 10.4) Mak-na<sub>VCS</sub>, Mombiöng<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 mother-1SG.POSS Mombiöng  
 ‘My mother is Mombiöng.’ (Winuk kon hat 1:55)

Self-identification in recorded texts usually takes the form of an equational verbless clause with *maa-na* ‘name-1SG.POSS’ as VCS, as in example (10.5):

- 10.5) [Maa-na]<sub>VCS</sub>, [Inewe]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 name-1SG.POSS Inewe  
 ‘My name is Inewe.’ (Inewe yong tuctuc maa 0:00)

When an NP or adjectival VCC occurs negated with the negative word *muuno* ‘not,’ the result is still an equational verbless clause as in (10.1-5). Here, the complement happens to have negative semantics. Example (10.1) may be negated by negating the adjectival VCC:

- 10.6) Ofi-c~ofi-c-no<sub>VCS</sub>, [morö muuno]<sub>VCC</sub>  
 know-NMZ:RED-3SG.POSS large not  
 ‘Her knowledge is not great.’

This is not a negative existential verbless clause: the *ofi-c-ofi-c* ‘knowledge’ does exist; it is the adjective *morö* that is negated. Similarly, the VCC may include a negated NP. Example (4.103) in Chapter 4 showed a negated NP, *amna opmou muuno* ‘man small not,’ ‘not a small man,’ which is

understood as the complement of an equational verbless clause, the subject of which being ellipsed:  
 ‘(so-and-so is) not a small man.’

In a negative existential verbless clause, the negative word *muuno* serves alone as the VCC. The meaning of such a verbless clause is always that the VCS ‘does not exist.’ The next example refers to the sharpness of a knife, which Nungon speakers discuss either with the adjective *inging-o* ‘sharp, stinging, hurtful’ or the body part term *maan* ‘tooth.’ If a knife ‘has no teeth,’ it is dull:

10.7)      Ayi!    [Gowik nungon]<sub>TOP</sub>    maar-<sub>OVCS</sub>,      muun<sub>OVCC</sub>.  
               EXCL   knife    what                    tooth-3SG.POSS   not

‘Ayi! The knife and stuff,<sup>28</sup> its teeth do not exist.’ (Field notes)

Here, the NP *maar-o* ‘tooth-3SG.POSS’ serves as VCS, while the negative word *muuno* ‘not, no’ is VCC. Similarly, the usual way to express a lack of money (literally *böörong* ‘stone’) is with a negative existential verbless clause, as in (10.8):

10.8)      Non<sub>TOP</sub>,            böörong<sub>VCS</sub>,      muun<sub>OVCC</sub>.  
               1NSG.PRO      rock                    not

‘We do not have money.’ [Literally: ‘us, money does not exist.’] (Field notes)

Another example of a negative existential verbless clause was in (9.24), in Chapter 9.

If the verbless clause involves enclitics or suffixes indicating grammatical relations, it is ‘circumstantial,’ i.e. describes a relationship between VCS and VCC that is not directly equational. An example of the circumstantial type of verbless clause is in (10.9):

10.9)      Yok-<sub>navcs</sub>,      bög-<sub>invcc</sub>.  
               bag-1SG.POSS    house-LOC

‘My bag is at home.’

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<sup>28</sup> See §10.7.2 for more on the content question word *nungon* coordinated with other nouns as the second coordinand in this way.

If the locative suffix *-in* were omitted from *bök* ‘house,’ this would be a (false) equational verbless clause meaning ‘my bag is a house.’ The noun *mööp* ‘lack, want’ most commonly occurs as the VCC of a circumstantial verbless clause. The VCS of a verbless clause with *mööp* as VCC describes the thing that is lacking or wanting; this is marked by the benefactive enclitic *=ha*, as in (10.10), from Narrative I, Appendix:

- 10.10)     Tanak=kavcs,    mööpvcc.  
           food=BEN        lack  
           ‘For food, lack.’ (Narrative I 0:23)

A fourth type of verbless clause describes a progressive relationship between VCS, which is located earlier in time and/or space, and the VCC. Here, the VCC and VCS are usually locations visited consecutively in the course of a journey. The place visited earlier (VCS) may or may not occur with the specifier *=ma* (more on the role of *=ma* in sequential verbless clauses is in §12.6.1). It could be argued that sequential verbless clauses are instances of ellipsis, with the verb *ongo-* ‘go’ understood from context. An example of a sequential verbless clause is in (10.11):

- 10.11)     Koyomin=ma,            Komutuk.  
           Koyomin=SOURCE    Komutuk  
           ‘From Koyomin, (we went to) Komutuk.’ (Fooyu Deerim 0:17)

The VCS in a sequential verbless clause may be a demonstrative, place name, or other location-designating noun. In (10.12), the VCS is a demonstrative:

- 10.12)     Wo-ndo=ma,            Inabö.  
           that-LDEM.NEAR=SOURCE    Inabö  
           ‘From there, (we went to) Inabö.’

Unlike equational verbless clauses, sequential verbless clauses expressions may be understood as elliptical clauses in which an underlying verbal predicate is omitted in a kind of shorthand speech, but is understood because of context. The next example begins like the other sequential verbless clauses above, but the second location mentioned is an oblique argument of the verb *duo-* ‘sleep’:

- 10.13) Haanggobö=*ma*,            {{ Köngsuenon<sub>OBL</sub>      duo-go-mong } }.  
 Haanggobö=*SOURCE*      Köngsuenon            sleep-RP-1PL

‘From Haanggobö, we slept at Köngsuenon.’ (Gosing kon hat arap dawik 0:08)

Such a sentence could be said to be the non-ellipsed form underlying all sequential verbless clauses.

Sequential verbless clauses using place names with *=ma* can also describe source or origin outside of a journey context, as in the next examples:

- 10.14) Nok<sub>VCS</sub>,            [Towet            ng-ondo<sub>APPOS</sub>]=*ma*<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 1SG.PRO            Towet            here-LDEM.NEAR=*ORIGIN*

‘I am from here, Towet.’ (Fooyu yong tuktuk maa 0:01)

A person’s origin may even be described without the *=ma* marking origin:

- 10.15) Mak-na,                    Towet; nan-na,            Yawan.  
 mother-1SG.POSS            Towet father-1SG.POSS            Yawan

‘My mother (was from) Towet, my father (was from) Yawan.’ (Fooyu yong tuktuk maa 0:03)

This sentence may be understood to involve ellipsis of the *=ma* specifier. Of course, it does not make sense to equate the speaker’s mother with the village Towet, so it is understood that she was from/of Towet. But another reading gets at another possibility: that the noun we have glossed simply as ‘place name’ in fact involves more semantic range. That is, that the noun *Towet* ‘Towet village’ actually has extended meaning ‘Towet person/people.’

#### 10.4.2 Topicalization with verbless clauses

If the VCS is topicalized, it may precede the verbless clause, with various forms of the anaphoric demonstrative *wo* ‘that’ serving in its stead as VCS in the verbless clause. The derived forms of *wo* most commonly used are *wo-i*, which employs *wo* ‘that’ with the suffix *-i* (§13.1.3), and *wo-rok*, which has the likeness suffix *-rok* (§13.2.4). The following examples illustrate this:

10.16) Gungak<sub>TOP</sub> wo<sub>VCS</sub>, öö-ng-gong-ni<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 child that ascend-DEP-PART-ADJ  
 ‘The child, he is stubborn.’ (Dialogue II, Appendix, 0:07)

10.17) Nog-u<sub>TOP</sub> wo-i<sub>VCS</sub>, [Towet=ma]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 1SG.PRO-TOP that-TOP Towet=ORIGIN  
 ‘As for me, (I’m) of Towet.’ (Dikson yong tuktuk maa 0:04)

Note that *wo-i* and *wo-rok* may also link an NP with a verbal predicate, as in the next example:

10.18) Gungak<sub>TOP</sub> wo-is, doun<sub>ADV</sub> omo-ng gopbot-do-k.  
 child that-TOP forever die-DEP disappear-RP-3SG  
 ‘The child, as for him, he was irreversibly lost in death.’ (Fooyu Gipson him 0:40)

#### 10.4.3 NPs including verbless clauses

Relative clauses formed with the relativizer =*ma* are dealt with in Chapter 12. The first type of complex NP to be addressed here requires some preliminary explanation of the ‘X’s name is Y’ verbless clause construction. In this construction, an NP or subordinate clause X followed by the word *maa* ‘name/speech’ with personal possessive suffix forms the verbless clause Subject, while the actual ‘name’ of X, Y, is the verbless clause Complement/predicate. Note that X may be a pronoun, e.g. *nok maa-na Hana*, ‘1SG.PRO name-1SG.POSS Hannah.’ The following example illustrates the ‘X’s name is Y’ verbless clause construction, where X is a relative clause.

10.19) [Gungak-nas osuk hönggot-do-k=*ma*]<sub>Pr</sub>, maa-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub> Sulamait<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 child-1SG.POSS first emerge-RP-3SG=REL name-3SG.POSS Sulamait  
 ‘My child who was born first, her name is Sulamait.’ (Nusek Finschafen 0:18)

In the next example, the verbless clause *heharök maa-no ure ure* is summarized in the demonstrative *wo-rok* ‘that is’:

10.20) [[Heharök<sub>Pr</sub> maa-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub> ure ure<sub>VCC</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub> {wo-rok<sub>OBL</sub> kore-ng-a}...  
 flower name-3SG.POSS herb.sp that-SEMBL become-DEP-MV  
 ‘The flower called *ure ure*, she becoming (like) that...’ (Ges story 1 6:26)

Such a construction may occur in any argument role and position within the sentence. In the next example, the verbless clause *haa maa-no Niukem*, ‘area name-3SG.POSS Niukem,’ i.e. ‘the place’s name is Niukem,’ serves as the end of a sentence that actually lacks a final inflected verb:

10.21) {E-ng-a motnaina}, haatop maa-novcs Niukemvcc.  
 come-DEP-MV PERF.1PL area name-3SG.POSS Niukem

‘We having come, (it was at) the place called Niukem.’ (Nusek Finschafen 6:19)

Verbless clauses of the type ‘X’s name is Y’ are clearly clauses, not NPs, because another word, such as a demonstrative, may occur between the verbless clause Subject, i.e. ‘X’s name,’ and the Complement ‘Y.’ These verbless clauses may occur as epenthetic insertions providing further specification between a verb’s core argument and the verb in a medial or final verbal clause. An example is (10.22):

10.22) [YawanMOD oeHEAD]HEAD osuk-nomod]s, [[oePr maa-nope]VCS  
 Yawan woman old-ADJ woman name-3SG.POSS  
 KoanggiriVCC], boopOBL ongo-go-k.  
 Koanggiri forest go-RP-3SG

‘An olden-days Yawan woman, a woman named Koanggiri, went to the forest.’ (Rut ton bem hat 0:01)

Here, *oe maa-no Koanggiri*, ‘woman name-3SG.POSS Koanggiri,’ is parenthetical to the main sentence, *Yawan oe osuk-no boop ongo-go-k* ‘Yawan woman before-ADJ forest go-RP-3SG.’

## 10.5 Constituent order in verbal clauses

As seen in the preceding section, the verbless clause complement is typically the final element in a verbless clause. In a verbal clause (either medial or final), the verbal predicate is the final element.

Other clause constituents have relatively mutable ordering. A prototypical declarative clause, whether medial or final, is generally ordered:

1. (temporal oblique argument)
2. (S/A argument)
3. (temporal oblique argument)
4. (non-temporal oblique argument)
5. (O argument)
6. verb

This ordering is quite mutable under fronting for topicalization purposes, but even under fronting, some of the above ordering still holds. The verb remains the final element of the clause except in the case of verbal ellipsis. Rarely, if ever, does an oblique argument intervene between an object argument and the verb. Appended ‘afterthoughts’ are discussed in §13.3.1.

Only one temporal oblique argument (a time adverb or relative clause headed by a time word that sets the time period for the clause) may exist per clause, although the representation above does not adequately express this. That is, while the temporal oblique may be complex, such as *keembok dombisum* ‘tomorrow morning,’ clauses do not occur in which two different time periods are stated in different parts of the clause. This is possibly more due to pragmatic reasons than by grammatical restriction: a clause only takes place in one time period. Within a clause chain, each medial clause may have its own temporal oblique argument, and subordinate clauses within clauses may also have their own temporal obliques. More than one non-temporal oblique may occur within a clause. The order of all elements is mutable through fronting, mostly for focus purposes.

The S/A argument, if explicit, may be preceded or followed by a temporal oblique argument. A non-temporal oblique may precede the S/A argument through fronting. The O argument may also be fronted, but unless it is followed by a demonstrative, it is rare for it to precede the S/A argument, for the S/A is explicit.

Temporal oblique arguments usually occupy either sentence-initial position (regardless of whether an explicit S/A argument is present) or the second position, after S/A. It does seem that the sentence-initial placement lends slightly more semantic prominence to temporal obliques than when they occur after S/A, so this position probably represents fronting. With fronting or absence of a non-temporal oblique argument and absence of an O argument, temporal oblique arguments may occupy the position closest to the verb, but only one sentence in the entire corpus has a temporal oblique apparently between the O argument and the verb. The analysis of this sentence, given below as (10.28), is debatable and may represent an instance of an S=O ambitransitive verb, with the apparent O argument of a transitive verb actually the S argument of an intransitive verb.

The following two examples show declarative final verbal clauses with sentence-initial and with post-S/A temporal oblique arguments:

10.23) Oip<sub>OBL</sub>        nok<sub>S</sub>            [babiya<sub>MOD</sub>    bög-in<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-Ø-t.  
 yesterday        1SG.PRO        book            house-LOC        go-NP-1SG  
 ‘Yesterday, I went to school.’ (Field notes)

10.24) Nok<sub>S</sub>            unga<sub>OBL</sub>        ngo-nd<sub>OBL</sub>            hon-ot<sub>OBL</sub>  
 1SG.PRO        today            this-LDEM.NEAR        2NSG.PRO-COMIT  
 ma=duo-i-t.  
 NEG=sleep-IRR.SG-1SG

‘I will not sleep here by you-all today!’ (Dialogue II, Appendix 0:44)

The following three sentences illustrate the way that an O argument, shown in usual position in (10.25), may be fronted, as in (10.26), and linked to the predicate with the demonstrative *wə*, as in (10.27):

10.25) 2012=dek<sub>OBL</sub>    gowik<sub>O</sub> umo-go-k.  
 2012=LOC        knife    buy-RP-3SG  
 ‘She bought a knife in 2012.’

10.26) Gowik<sub>TOP:O</sub>, 2012=dek<sub>OBL</sub> umo-go-k.  
 knife 2012=LOC buy-RP-3SG  
 ‘As for the knife (as opposed to the axe), she bought it in 2012.’

10.27) Gowik<sub>TOP:O</sub>, w<sub>TOP:O</sub>, 2012=dek<sub>OBL</sub> umo-go-k.  
 knife that 2012=LOC buy-RP-3SG  
 ‘As for that knife, she bought it in 2012.’

The next example is the only one in the corpus in which a temporal oblique apparently intervenes between an O argument and its verb:

10.28) Yama<sub>TOP:O</sub> unga<sub>OBL</sub> soop-nang-ka-ng.  
 door today close-PROB.PL-NF-2/3PL  
 ‘Today they will close the door.’ (Field notes, Kotet dialect)

Since usually there is only one door to a house, and the verb here indexes a 2/3pl subject argument, *yama* is probably not the subject of the S=O ambitransitive verb *soo-* ‘close’ (P-class). Most likely, *yama* here is a fronted topic argument (see §13.2.2), which is then clause-external, leaving the O argument of *soo-* in the clause non-explicit.

The following example shows one instance of verbal ellipsis, in which the final verb is omitted because it is understood:

10.29) {Ngo<sub>O</sub> yo-wa-ya} {burer-un-a-i}, {{mee,  
 this say-DS.1SG-MV be.finished-DS.3SG-MV-TOP back  
 [ngokka ngo]<sub>OBL</sub> to-ng=ir-a-ng}}=ma=dek.  
 nowadays do-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL=REL=LOC  
 ‘I having said this, it having finished, afterward, (I will talk) about (what) they do nowadays.’ (Nongi oe min 3:18)

This example prefaces a discussion of wedding practices by explaining that after the speaker speaks about practices in former times, he will go on to talk about current-day practices. After the final

morpheme =*dek*, a Near Future tense verb such as *yo-wang-ka-t* ‘say-PROB.SG-NF-1SG,’ ‘I will say,’ or *ongo-nang-ka-mong* ‘go-PROB.PL-NF-1PL,’ ‘we will go,’ is understood. This particular speaker, the oldest living Towet person, uses verbal ellipsis very much, which gives his speech an impatient, abrupt quality.

When an oblique, either temporal or non-temporal, is added as an afterthought after the verb (see §13.3.1), this usually may be analysed as an extra-clausal element, as in the following example (periods represent sentence-final falling intonation):

- 10.30)      {Tombor-a},      {yoo-ng-a},      {{e-ng=it-du-ng}}.  
                  wrap-MV            NSG.O-take-DEP-MV      come-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
                  [Yiip yoni]=ha.  
                  salt      3PL.POSS=BEN

‘Wrapping (them), taking them, they used to come. For their salt.’ (Irising hat osukno 2:17)

The afterthought here, *yiip yoni=ha*, is a non-temporal oblique argument, Reason/Goal, that could have been placed into any of the three preceding clauses. Here, falling intonation on the preceding final verb *it-du-ng* and again on the afterthought indicates that the afterthought is considered to be extra-clausal.

## 10.6 Imperative clauses

As noted in §10.1 above, the imperative mood is only marked on inflected final verbs. Single NPs may serve as commands in the event of verb ellipsis, where the verb is understood: that is, the local nominal demonstrative *ng-ondo!* ‘here-LDEM.NEAR’ could be understood in a certain context as the command ‘(put it) here!’ In the absence of a final verb, medial verbal clauses may also serve as stern or brusque commands (see §6.4.3 and §10.6.2), but the medial verb cannot be formally marked for imperative mood. Finally, as mentioned in §10.1, verbs that are formally marked as imperatives, especially non-canonical imperatives, may serve in sentences that actually bear interrogative meaning due to intonation or interrogative markers.

As described in §5.5.1, the Nungon Immediate Imperative paradigm includes seven person-number distinctions, with a single form for second and third person dual and another form for both second and third person plural. This means that there is some morphological blurring of boundaries between canonical (second person) and non-canonical (third person) imperatives. While the second person singular imperative does not seem to be able to function in sentences marked for interrogative mood, the third person plural imperative, for instance, can, and this is formally identical to the second person plural imperative.

In addition to the dedicated immediate and Delayed Imperative paradigms, a variety of imperative strategies (Aikhenvald 2010: 256) exist in Nungon. Some imperative strategies are used for both positive and negative commands, while other strategies are used only with one polarity value.

With the dedicated imperative, the predicate of a final verb in a clause chain may be inflected as an immediate or Delayed Imperative. The Delayed Imperative is preferred with longer clause chains; since the final verb comes last in the chain, this usually (with tense-iconic ordering) entails that the action indicated by the final verb is removed from deictic centre and present moment in time. Morphology of the two dedicated (inflectional) imperative paradigms was outlined in §5.5.1 and §5.5.3.

### 10.6.1 Stative and other verbs inflected as imperatives

All verbs may occur in the imperative form, including the verb *it-* ‘exist.’ That is, verbs with both stative and active meanings can form imperatives. For instance, example (6.56) in Chapter 6 showed *maya-* ‘be idle, rest’ in Delayed Imperative form. *Wo<sub>S</sub> it-tun* ‘that be-IMM.IMP.3SG,’ ‘let that be (as it is)’ is a common expression used to mean ‘wait’ or ‘let it be.’ Examples of these stative imperatives are below, given in canonical second person form to show their imperative force:

- 10.31)      Amök            it-ti!  
                  seated            be-IMM.IMP.2SG

‘Be seated/sit down!’ [Either directs the addressee to sit from another (usually, standing) position, or directs an already-seated addressee to remain seated.]

- 10.32) Ngo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> it-ti!  
 here-LDEM be-IMM.IMP.2SG  
 ‘Be/stay here!’ [Either directs a newcomer to a proper seat at the hearth, or directs someone who is already stationary at deictic centre to stay there.]
- 10.33) Dongko-hi!  
 rejoice-IMM.IMP.2SG  
 ‘Rejoice!’ [Observed directed at a child who has gotten her way, against her mother’s wishes.]
- 10.34) Orom hi-wirök!  
 understand put-DEL.IMP.2SG  
 ‘Listen/Understand!’

As mentioned in §3.3.3, meteorological verbs *iso-* ‘dawn’ and *dowok si-* ‘get dark’ only ever occur in the third person singular inflections. The corpus contains no clear examples of them used as imperatives, but no proof as yet that this is impossible. All of the above examples may be negated: ‘don’t sit down,’ ‘don’t be/stay here,’ ‘don’t rejoice,’ ‘don’t listen.’

### 10.6.2 Imperative strategies

Nungon speakers use more and more varied negative imperative strategies (Aikhenvald 2010: 256) than positive imperative strategies: there are multiple ways to rebuke, dissuade, forbid, and proscribe behavior. Imperative strategies differ from the dedicated imperative in that they are highly context-dependent: removed from a particular context or spoken with different intonation, they lose commanding force. Positive and negative imperative strategies employing the (uninflected) Dependent or (uninflected or inflected) Medial verb were described in §6.4.3, and a positive imperative strategy using the Iterative aspect construction was described in §6.6.3. These strategies vary in brusqueness and commanding force. Additional positive and negative imperative strategies are described below; a summary is in table 10.1.

<b>Table 10.1 Imperative strategies</b>			
	<b>polarity</b>	<b>pragmatics</b>	<b>example</b>
Dependent verb	both	impersonal, brusque	(6.27)
Medial verb: uninflected	both	impersonal, brusque	(6.28)
Medial verb: inflected	both	personal, gentle	(6.29)
Iterative construction	positive	gentle	(6.94)
future tense	both	stern	(10.35)
‘reasonable people’ construction	both	pressure to conform to social mores	(10.36), (10.37)
deverbal nominalization	negative	impersonal dissuasion	(10.38)
<i>muuno</i> ‘no’ in speech report	negative	forbidding	(10.39)

As seen in table 10.1, only one imperative strategy occurs only in positive polarity: the Iterative construction used to command, introduced in §6.6.3. Commands produced with this imperative strategy are gentle: ‘you going (repeatedly)’ means ‘you go ahead!’ As the Iterative construction has not been found in negative polarity, this is not used for negative commands.

The imperative strategies using Dependent and Medial verbs may function in either positive or negative polarities, creating positive or negative commands. Another imperative strategy that may be used in either polarity involves a declarative clause with verb inflected for Near Future tense (§5.4.4) or Remote Future tense (§5.4.5). That is, a future statement may be used as a stern order as in (10.35):

- 10.35) Na-wang-ka-rok.  
eat-PROB.SG-NF-2SG  
‘You *will* eat.’ (Field notes)

Both (10.35) and its negated counterpart bear threatening overtones ('or else...').

The last imperative strategy that creates either positive or negative commands employs the weight of social pressure to shame the addressee into conforming. In this construction, which I dubbed the 'reasonable people' construction in my field notes, a verb in habitual aspect, with the auxiliary inflected for Present tense, bears 2/3pl S/A indexation. There is never an explicit S/A argument in the clause, however. The meaning of the construction is 'they [good, reasonable, people: mores-conforming society at large] do / do not do X,' where X is the action denoted by the lexical verb in the habitual aspect construction.

The 'reasonable people' construction is used to prescribe conformist behavior and to correct nonconformist behavior. The first use is illustrated by the next example. The context is: a couple carrying their mortally ill baby to the health aid station meet a relative along the way. He dissuades them from continuing on with their baby in such a condition, saying:

10.36)    {Gungak<sub>A</sub>      ngo-go          t-u-ya},                      {yo-ng-a},  
           child            here-ADV        do-DS.2/3PL-MV          say-DEP-MV  
           {{ ganang-e<sub>OBL</sub>            ma=ngo-ng=ir-a-ng }}.  
           inside-ADJ                    NEG=go-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL

    "“When children do like this,” (he was) saying, “they don’t go into the bush.” (Fooyu Gipson him 1:11)

With stative expressions that are often framed in the Continuous aspect, such as *maya-ng-a it-* 'be idle,' (see §6.5.2), the 'reasonable people' construction may be framed in the Continuous Habitual aspect. Example (10.37) shows this, and also illustrates the 'reasonable people' construction in its second, behavior-correcting, function. Five year-old Gorungon's grandmother had just been shown the latest wound on Gorungon's foot, this one from his over-vigorous chopping at a tree with a machete. She told him:

- 10.37)      Maya-ng-a      ir=ir-a-ng!  
                  idle-DEP-MV      be=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
                  ‘They habitually are idle!’ (Field notes)

The implication of this is that reasonable people do not rush around swinging machetes at plants all the time; they sit quietly and thus do not cut themselves.

In addition to the four strategies—Dependent verb, Medial verb, future tense verb, and ‘reasonable people’ construction—that can facilitate positive or negative commands, there are several strictly negative imperative strategies. The trivial negative imperative strategy is simply the negative word *muuno* ‘no,’ with loudness and assertive force showing that it is meant as a negative command. The first non-trivial negative-only imperative strategy utilizes a negated deverbal nominalization.

Deverbal nominalization has only been found as a negative, not positive, imperative strategy. Here, the reduplicated root deverbal nominalization form (§4.2.1), combined with the verbal negator *ma=*, serves as a negative command. This was shown in (4.25) and is also exemplified in the similar (10.38):

- 10.38)      Wo-go-n      ma=to-k-to-k!  
                  that-ADV-LOC      NEG=do-NMZ:RED  
                  ‘Not acting like that!’ (Field notes)

A second negative-only imperative strategy frames the trivial negative imperative strategy *muuno* ‘no’ as reported speech. Nungon has no lexical verb meaning ‘forbid.’ Instead, the expression *muuno yo-* ‘say no’ functions to express forbidding. The subject argument of *yo-* ‘say’ is often first person (‘I/we say no!’) but may also be second or third person (‘your father said no!’). It is exemplified in (10.39):

- 10.39)      Nok<sub>A</sub>                  muun<sub>SR:O</sub>                  ya-a-t.  
                  1SG.PRO                  no                          say-PRES-1SG  
                  ‘I say “no.”’ (Field notes)

This is a stern way to forbid people over whom one has sway from certain behavior. Its rare positive counterpart, *orog-o yo-* ‘good-ADJ say,’ is not used so much to command as to express approbation.

## 10.7 Interrogative clauses

All Nungon questions are either content questions, which solicit information, or polar questions, which seek affirmation or refutation of the concept in question (‘yes’ or ‘no’). In content questions, a content question word of the appropriate word class replaces the questioned element in an expression, or the content question word may itself serve as the question. Content questions are usually expressed with the falling intonation used with declarative clauses. Polar questions are marked with the polar question marker *ha* in Towet Nungon (this is *fa* in some other dialects), or by rising intonation. It is unclear which of *ha*’s functions—question-marking or alternative-conjoining—is primary (see discussion, §10.7.9). Framing of answers to questions is addressed in §13.5.6.

The expressions for ‘question’ in Nungon were mentioned as possible neologisms in §4.2.1. There is no lexical verb with sole meaning ‘ask’; both verbs of speech, *yo-* ‘say’ and *i-no-* ‘tell,’ may introduce reported questions or statements.

### 10.7.1 Content questions overview

Content questions generally replace the questioned element in a statement with one of the content question words, while maintaining all other qualities of the declarative clause, including constituent order and, usually, falling intonation. In verbless clauses soliciting new information, the content question word is usually complement, not subject—‘you (are) who?’ not ‘who (are) you?’ In echo questions, however, the content question word may be subject of a verbless clause.

The content question words begin with /n/ or with /d/; the /n/-initial words occasionally function in non-interrogative contexts, similarly to the indefinite word *nandu* ‘something.’ The two content question words *numa* ‘who’ and *nungon* ‘what’ are distinct as S/A arguments, but blurring of the distinction between them in other roles may hint at their recent differentiation, which is reported by elderly speakers.

Note that content question words are sometimes used within clauses that are not truly interrogative, often to indicate the speaker's uncertainty about the specifics of a situation or entity. The content question words that truly seem to function as indefinites, similar to *nandu* 'something,' are *nungon* 'what' and *numa* 'who.' Other question words seem to always entail questions, even when such interpretation would imply self-interrogation, as within a monologue. Such contexts are addressed question word-by-question word, below.

Content question words were listed in §3.5.3 and are restated in table 10.2:

<b>Table 10.2. Content question words</b>				
<b>Content question word</b>	<b>English gloss</b>	<b>Word class of expected response</b>	<b>Postpositions acceptable after question word</b>	<b>Possessable?</b>
nungon	what	NP, verbal clause	=ho, =ha, =hon, =dek, =rot	yes
numa, numa ri(-n)	who, who (pl.)  (rarely: what)	NP, verbal clause	=ho, =ha, =hon, =dek, =rot	yes
naye/nain/naine	where	NP (+ LOC)	(=dek)	no
deo	how	verbal clause		no
dogong	how many	adjective	=ho (=ha, =hon, =dek, =rot)	no
dogomin	when	date		no

Content question words are discussed one by one below.

### **10.7.2 *nungon* 'what' and *numa* 'who'**

The two content question words that may function as core arguments of a verb are *nungon* 'what' and *numa* 'who.' When it forms a complete NP in S or A argument role, *nungon* always solicits the identity of a non-human, while *numa* in the same role always solicits the identity of a human. This

referential distinction between the two question words blurs, however, when they function as O arguments or oblique arguments, or combine with other NPs in a complex NP: in such instances *nungon* and *numa* are often interchangeable. That is, in these contexts *nungon* may solicit or refer to the identity of a human, and *numa* may solicit or refer to the identity of a non-human. Discussion of the historical reasons for this blurring of referential distinctions is at the end of this section.

In general, *nungon* does refer to non-human NPs, while *numa* refers to human NPs. This may be seen in the following examples, which comprise a pair of verbal clauses, a pair of verbless clauses, and a pair of simple questions contrasting *nungon* and *numa*:

10.40) Nungon<sub>S</sub> [gogon<sub>Pr</sub> yog-in<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> it-ta-k?  
 what 2SG.PRO+GEN bag-LOC be-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘What is in your bag?’

10.41) Numa=hos on-ondo<sub>OBL</sub> ep-pa-k?  
 who=FOC uphill-LDEM.NEAR come-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘Who is coming up there?’

10.42) Ngovcs, nungon<sub>vcc</sub>?  
 this what  
 ‘What is this?’

10.43) Ngovcs, numav<sub>vcc</sub>?  
 this who  
 ‘Who is this?’

10.44) Nungon?  
 what  
 ‘What (is it)?’

10.45) Numa?  
 who  
 ‘Who (is it)?’

The usual way to ask someone's name uses *numa* although the structure of the question (a verbless clause with 'your name' as subject) would seem to be more compatible with *nungon*:

- 10.46) [Gok<sub>Pr</sub>            maa-ya<sub>Pr</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub>    numa<sub>VCC</sub>?  
           2SG.PRO            name-2SG.POSS who  
           'What is your name?'

Here, occurrence of *numa* instead of *nungon*, yielding literally 'who is your name?' is understandable because the question serves to solicit the identity of a human. Most other instances in which *numa* occurs where *nungon* would be expected, and vice versa, cannot be explained this way.

The two question words are predictably differentiated when marked by the postposition =*ho*. That is, *numa=ho* can only serve as S/A argument with human reference, while *nungon=to* may be either an Instrument oblique argument or S/A argument with non-human reference. This is shown in the following pair, comprising an example from Narrative II (Appendix) and a similar sentence with *numa* substituted for *nungon* in the first text:

- 10.47)    Arap<sub>TOP:O</sub>,            nungon=to<sub>OBL</sub>            maa-wang-ka-t?  
           game            what=FOC            cut-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
           'The game, with what will I cut it?' (Narrative II, Appendix 3:07)
- 10.48)    Arap<sub>TOP:O</sub>,            numa=ho<sub>A</sub>            maa-wang-ka-k?  
           game            who=FOC            cut-PROB.SG-NF-3SG  
           'The game, who will cut it?'

Similarly, when marked by the postposition =*ha*, the two question words are most often differentiated: *nungon=ta* 'for what/why' generally solicits a reason, while *numa=ha* 'for whom' solicits a designated recipient. *Nungon=ta* meaning 'for what/why' occurs in example (4.47), of which the first part is repeated here as (10.49):

- 10.49)     {Nungon=ta<sub>OBL</sub> to-ng-a}                    {{ep-pa-rok}}?  
           what=BEN       SG.O.take-DEP-MV        come-PRES.SG-2SG  
           ‘Why have you taken it and come?’ (Joshua bem hat 1:00)

With verbs of speaking and thinking, the topic of discussion or thought is marked with =*ha* (§8.3.1). Here, *nungon=ta* would be expected to solicit the identity of a non-human topic of discussion, and *numa=ha* that of a human one, but this is not always the case. In the next example, *numa=ha* is used to solicit the identity of a non-human topic of conversation:

- 10.50)     {{Ngo,        osuk,    numa=ha<sub>OBL</sub>   yo-na}}?  
           this           first    who=BEN       say-IMM.IMP.1PL  
           [Tik<sub>MOD</sub>        orip<sub>HEAD</sub>]=pa-wa.  
           bark.cloth     design=BEN-ATT  
           ‘This, first, what shall we talk about? About bark-cloth design, indeed.’ (Nongi hon hat 14 0:48)

In (10.50), *numa* questions a topic of speech that is non-human: the two-noun NP *tik orip* ‘bark-cloth design.’ The English gloss ‘who’ is inappropriate here.

It is rare for *nungon* to be used to ask about the identity of humans. This seems to be acceptable when the NP with human referent is a kin term, as in the following example, in which the term *boyug-o* ‘his brother-in-law’ is followed by the qualifier *nungon-no* ‘his what’:

- 10.51)     K-öö-ng                    boyug-o<sub>o</sub>                    hu,    nungon-no<sub>o</sub>    hu...  
           SG.O-ascend-DEP        brother.in.law-3SG.POSS DUB    what-3SG.POSS DUB  
           i-mo-wang-ka-k.  
           3SG.O-give-PROB.SG-NF-3SG  
           ‘Raising it, he will give it to... his brother-in-law, perhaps, his what, perhaps.’ (Nongi oe min 3:01)

Especially in monologue narrative, *numa* may solicit non-human verbal clauses or NPs. Speakers often use question words during storytelling, less for rhetorical flourish than to buy time to think of the ‘answer,’ e.g. ‘Having done so, what did he do next? He went home.’ In this context, *numa* is often used to question non-human NPs and verbal clauses in addition to human NPs. One speaker repeatedly used *numa* to question the type of twine and leaves used for making traditional armbands:

- 10.52)      *Dunggu*=rot<sub>VCS</sub>,                  *numa*<sub>VCC</sub>,                  *undo*<sub>VCC</sub>...                  *Orip-no*=*ha*<sub>VCS</sub>  
                  fern.sp=COMIT                  who                  fern.sp                  design-3SG.POSS=BEN  
                  *wo*=*ma-i*                  *wo-rok*,                  *numa*<sub>VCC</sub>,                  *simbit*<sub>VCC</sub>.  
                  that=SPEC-TOP                  that=SEMBL                  who                  herb.sp

‘With *dunggu*, what? *undo*... As for its design, that is, what? *simbit*.’ (Hesienare daöng kon hat 0:07-0:16)

Another speaker similarly used *numa* in two different texts in an inalienable possession construction with *hagim* ‘leaf’ to question the type of leaf used in constructing a bird-hunting platform in the forest canopy:

- 10.53)      [*Numa*<sub>Pr</sub>                  *hagim*-*oPe*]?      [*Ami*<sub>Pr</sub> *hagim*-*oPe*]<sub>TOP</sub>,      { { *wo-rok*  
                  [what                  leaf-3SG.POSS]      [fern.sp leaf-3SG.POSS]      that=SEMBL  
                  *maa-ng*                  *h-e-ng*                  *hi-Ø-mok* } }=*ma*...  
                  cut.horiz-DEP      NSG.O-come-DEP                  put-NP-1DU=REL

‘What leaf? *Ami* leaves, those that we cut and brought and set down...’ (Geisch nanno orin orugo hon hat 8:48)

The above examples show *numa*, glossed as ‘who,’ used to solicit names of specific plant species. I have no examples in the corpus of *numa* used to solicit non-plant and non-human NPs. This may show that plant variety names are conceived of within the Nungon grammar as on par with personal names in terms of specificity. (As mentioned in §3.1.8, there are also examples of people named after plant varieties.)

Perhaps the most confounding blurring of the functions of *nungon* and *numa* is found in questions about actions, in which the content question words serve as O argument of *to-* ‘do’ to mean ‘do what.’ This is common in questions storytellers ask themselves during the course of a narrative as they try to remember story lines. Example (10.54) below shows *nungon* in such a context, while (10.55) shows *numa* in a very similar context:

- 10.54)    {{Keembok-no<sub>OBL</sub>    nungon<sub>O</sub>    to-gu-ng}}?  
           tomorrow-3SG.POSS    what    do-RP-2/3pl  
           ‘The next day, what did they do?’ (Limson ketket torop ganandum 3:19)
- 10.55)    {T-un-a},    {wo-nd<sub>OBL</sub>    hi-ng-a},    {{numa<sub>O</sub>    to-go-k}}?  
           do-DS.3SG-MV    that-LDEM.NEAR    put-DEP-MV    who    do-RP-3SG  
           ‘It having done that, from there, what did he do?’ (Julianne orin Anita hon hat 6:20)

At first, it might be argued that *numa* in (10.55) could actually be S argument of *to-* ‘do,’ with meaning ‘from there, who acted?’ This is not the case here: the speaker continues on to explain what the known actor (S argument of *hi-* ‘put’ and A argument of *to-* ‘do’) did. Further, if *numa* were a subject here, it should be marked with =*ho* (see §8.2.1).

Even an individual speaker may use *nungon* and *numa* seemingly interchangeably as O argument of *to-* ‘do.’ The following pair of sentences are from different texts from the same speaker. Here *nungon* and *numa* occur in nearly identical contexts:

- 10.56)    {Morö t-u-ya},    {aa-ng-a-i},  
           big    do-DS.2/3PL-MV    3SG.O.see-DEP-MV-TOP  
           {{nungon<sub>O</sub>    to-ng=it-du-ng}}?  
           what    do-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
           ‘(The holes in their ears) becoming big, seeing it, what did they use to do?’ (Nongi ondomo ganakno 1:06)

- 10.57) {Iyeps hori-un-a}, {aa-ng-a-i},  
 sun shine-DS.3SG-MV 3SG.O.see-DEP-MV-TOP  
 {{numa<sub>o</sub> to-ng=it-du-ng}}?  
 what do-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘The sun shining, seeing it, what did they use to do?’ (Nongi biip orin iyep hatno  
 0:24)

Unlike *numa*, *nungon* occurs coordinated list-style (see §4.5.1) after at least one other NP. In this context it describes other things that are similar to the one(s) listed, or indicates the speaker’s uncertainty of the identity of the thing(s) listed. Appropriate English glosses are ‘what-all,’ ‘or whatever,’ or ‘et cetera.’ In the next example, which describes traditional trading practices between Towet people and Siang potters in Hamerengan (village in the Nukna area that served as trading hub), *nungon* follows *tik* ‘bark-cloth,’ implying that bark-cloth and miscellaneous other things, or perhaps not bark-cloth, but other things like it, were traded by the Towet people for Siang clay pots:

- 10.58) Yu=ho<sub>A</sub> uwa<sub>o</sub> yo-m-u-ya},  
 3.PRO=FOC cookpot 3NSG.O-give-DS.2/3pl-MV  
 {yu=ho<sub>A</sub> [tik nungon]<sub>o</sub> yo-m-u-ya}...  
 3.PRO=FOC bark.cloth what 3NSG.O-give-DS.2/3pl-MV  
 ‘They [Siang people] having given them [Towet people] cookpots, they [Towet  
 people] having given them [Siang people] bark-cloth and what-not...’ (Hesienare hon hat uwa  
 0:30)

A similar example is at 0:02 of Dialogue I in Appendix.

Use of *nungon* in coordinated complex NPs may give the sense of abundance. That is, *nungon* may have overtones of ‘whatever (you could imagine),’ as in the following subordinate clause describing the food at a feast:

- 10.59) [Tanac bot arap nungon bot nungon]s wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub>  
 food pig game what pig what that-LDEM.NEAR  
 it-du-ng=ma...  
 be-RP-2/3PL=REL  
 ‘(Vegetable) food, pigs, game, what-all, pigs, what-all, that were there...’ (Kewin  
 Nagom fatno 7:39)

*Nungon* may be coordinated with a time designation, as *naintin fifti, nungon* ‘1950, what-all’, i.e. ‘1950 or thereabouts’ (used in the same story of the feast from which the above example came), or a place name, with meaning ‘Towet *et cetera*,’ i.e. ‘Towet and the places around it.’ The next example comes from a text recorded in the Towet satellite hamlet Gapmambö and describes travel from Towet to Gapmambö or other places near it on the west side of the Uruwa river:

- 10.60) {[Gapmambö nungon]<sub>OBL</sub> ng-eyo e-ng=it-du-ng }.  
 Gapmambö what here-FAR.DIST come-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘Gapmambö, wherever, over here, they used to come.’ (Limson ketket torop  
 ganandum 2:26)

The examples with *nungon* in coordinated NPs show that this content question word may occur in clauses that are not truly interrogative. If a content question word is not coordinated list-style with any other NP, the clause may be considered an interrogative sentence (even if there is no interlocutor besides the speaker him-/herself). This is the case with examples (10.40-57). Note that in (10.53), the question word *numa* still bears interrogative meaning when it is dependent within a possessive NP. But if *nungon* is coordinated list-style after at least one other NP, the clause as a whole is not interrogative. Examine the two different structures in the next two examples:

- 10.61) Nungono yo-mo-go-k?  
 what 3NSG.O-give-RP-3SG  
 ‘What did s/he give them?’

- 10.62) [Tik nungon]o yo-mo-go-k.  
 [bark.cloth what]o 3NSG.O-give-RP-3SG  
 ‘S/he gave them clothing, et cetera.’

The question word *numa* is not found coordinated list-style; when it is coordinated with the NP coordinator *orin* (§3.5.5), it retains interrogative meaning, as in example (5.61) in Chapter 5.

As shown earlier in this section, *nungon* marked by the postposition =*ho* must be either an Instrument or S/A argument with non-human reference. Since Instrument arguments cannot have human reference, this means that *nungon=to* should never have human reference. But when *nungon* meaning ‘et cetera’ is coordinated with an NP with human reference, the resulting complex NP may have human reference. Compare the first sentence below, in which *nungon* is subsumed in a complex NP marked by =*ho*, with its counterpart with *nungon* forming an NP by itself—where *nungon=to* must be interpreted as Instrument argument:

- 10.63) [Bap-n-i nungon]s=to doo-wang yo-ng=it-du-ng.  
 MB-3SG.POSS-PL what=FOC 3NSG.O.kill-PROB.SG say-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘It was her mother’s brothers, et cetera, who.... were talking with intention to kill them.’ (Hesienare hon hat irom mamno 1:08-1:13)

- 10.64) Bap-n-i<sub>A</sub> nungon=to<sub>OBL</sub> doo-wang yo-ng=it-du-ng?  
 MB-3SG.POSS-PL what=FOC 3NSG.O.kill-PROB.SG say-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘With what were her mother’s brothers saying they’d kill them?’

In just one example in the corpus, given here as (10.65), a content question word other than *deo*- ‘how’ bears a pertensive suffix and then an adjectivizing suffix. Here, the content question word *numa* ‘who’ occurs with 3sg pertensive suffix *-no* and the Class 3 adjectivizing suffix *-ni*, in a form that apparently parallels the form of the word the speaker was searching for:

- 10.65) Giiw-OTOP,      böörong<sub>VCS</sub>      wo=ma-i,      wo-rok,  
 skin-3SG.POSS stone                      that=SPEC-TOP that-SEMBL  
 numa-no-ni<sub>VCC</sub>,                      borong-o-ni<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 who-3SG.POSS-ADJ      scar-3SG.POSS-ADJ  
 ‘Its surface, the stone that is, was what, scarred.’ (David Ögate 12:31)

This again is an unexpected use of *numa* instead of *nungon*. When *numa* bears pertensive markers, these ordinarily pertain to kin relations.

It is not uncommon for languages to have a single question word covering both ‘what’ and ‘who’ (Dixon 2012: 412 and references therein; Childs 2011: 216 is another example). The case of *nungon* and *numa* is unusual in that the two different question words exist, but division of human and non-human reference between them is unstable in many contexts. This instability and interchangeability of *nungon* and *numa* when not in S/A roles is most likely due to the recent differentiation of the two from a single archaic question word, *nu*.

Towet elders recall hearing their own forebears use an archaic content question word *nu* encompassing both ‘who’ and ‘what.’ In their words, this predated present-day *nungon* ‘what’ and *numa* ‘who.’ *Nungon* and *numa* may have derived from *nu* in a parallel process to the synchronic derivation today of NPs *nandu=ma* and *nandu-gu* from non-specific noun *nandu* (see §3.1.11). While *nandu=ma* has broad referential possibilities—to humans, non-humans, and actions—*nandu-gu* is only found as O argument of the verb *to-* ‘do,’ referring to an action. *Nandu=ma* may also function as O argument of *to-* ‘do.’ Similarly, *nungon* and *numa* are most interchangeable when these question words serve as O arguments of *to-* ‘do,’ referring to actions. One major difference between the two is that *nungon* has the possibility of an indefinite reading.

It may be that *numa* ‘who’ originated as the synchronic derivation \**nu=ma* ‘question.word-SPEC’ from general question word *nu*, and *nungon* as \**nu-(n)go* or a similar form, which could also host locative suffix *-n* (§8.7) for *nu(n)go-n*. Just as today the non-specific forms *nandu=ma* and

*nandu-gu* coexist with derivational source *nandu*, the archaic question word *nu* must have co-existed with its derivatives for some time before becoming obsolete.

The forms derived with the specifier =*ma* (§4.3.3, Chapter 12), *nandu=ma* and \**nu=ma*, might have had human reference, while the forms derived with a velar-initial suffix *-(n)gu* or *-(n)go* could have had non-human reference. With the indefinite words, *nandu=ma* then could have become generalized to have broad human or non-human reference, while *nandu-gu* became limited to actions, prior to nearly dropping out of use. With the question words, \**nu=ma* retained human reference as S/A argument and in some other roles, but elsewhere also became more generalized, like *nandu=ma*. \**Nu-(n)go-n* would have retained non-human reference and, unlike *nandu-gu*, remained in wide circulation, expanding its referential scope to occasionally include humans.

This hypothesis of the origins of present-day *numa* and *nungon* is still far from proven. But the common origin of *nungon* and *numa*, and their probable recent differentiation, may be part of the reason that their referential possibilities overlap when not in subject role.

### 10.7.3 *numa* with number marking

Another indication that *numa* has underlying human reference is its ability to be marked for number with the human number-marking suffix *-ri(n)*. The suffix *-ri(n)* is rare and seemingly optional with most NPs with human reference. It inflects to show dual and plural number in a very similar way to the marking of number on possessed prototypically-human nouns (§4.1.1). The suffix *-ri(n)* does not co-occur with number-marked possessed nouns with human referents. The optionality of *-ri(n)* with most NPs other than *numa* represents a difference between this suffix and the number markers used on possessed prototypically-human nouns. That is, an NP with human reference lacking *-ri(n)* may have singular, dual, or plural number value, while the dual and plural forms within the possessive paradigm are clearly related to the singular forms.

Table 10.3 compares number marking within the possessive paradigm with number marking through *-ri(n)*. Note that although the three rows in the possessive paradigm exhaustively represent

the inflectional possibilities within that paradigm, the three rows of examples with *-ri(n)* are not exhaustive, and simply represent all instances of *-ri(n)* found in the present corpus:

		<b>singular</b>	<b>dual</b>	<b>plural</b>
possessed prototypically- human nouns	1sg	<i>mam-na</i> ‘my aunt’	<i>mam-na-in</i> ‘my (2) aunts’	<i>mam-na-i</i> ‘my (3+) aunts’
	2sg	<i>mam-a</i> ‘your aunt’	<i>mam-a-in</i> ‘your (2) aunts’	<i>mam-a-i</i> ‘your (3+) aunts’
	3sg	<i>mam-no</i> ‘his/her aunt’	<i>mam-n-in</i> ‘his/her (2) aunts’	<i>mam-n-i</i> ‘his/her (3+) aunts’
<i>-ri(n)</i>		<i>numa</i> ‘who (sg. or unknown number)’	<i>numa-rin</i> ‘who (2)’	<i>numa-ri</i> ‘who 3+’
		<i>nandu=ma</i> ‘someone’	<i>nandu-rin</i> ‘some (2) people’	<i>nandu-ri</i> ‘some (3+) people or other’
		<i>amna opmou</i> ‘small man’	(not extant in corpus)	<i>amna opmou opmou-ri</i> ‘small men (3+)’
		<i>Nomorong=ma</i> ‘one of Nomorong’	(not extant in corpus)	<i>Nomorong=ma-ri</i> ‘ones (3+) of Nomorong’

Unmarked *numa* is the form of the question word when the number of its referent is unknown or known to be singular. The dual *numa-rin* and plural *numa-ri* are used in contexts when the number of the referent is known, but the precise identity is not. This would be the case if the number of people needed to complete a certain work project were known, but the identities of the workers were not; or if one had seen two or more figures from a distance without being able to make out their identities.

In the next example, a speaker relates that in his youthful perambulations, he encountered two men of the Boksawin area (Uruwa valley) near Finschafen (Huon Peninsula coast). He asks himself their identities in the course of the storytelling:

- 10.66)    {{Urop,            numa-rino            y-aa-go-mong}}<sub>SR:O</sub>    {{yo-wa}}?  
 enough            who-DU            3NSG.O-see-RP-1PL    say-IMM.IMP.1SG  
 [Nakke orin    [Iyoröng=ma], [numa ngo], Mansenang].  
 Nakke CONJ    Iyoröng=SPEC    who    this    Mansenang  
 ‘So, who two did we see, shall I say? Nakke and, one of Iyoröng [Boksawin area],  
 this who: Mansenang.’ [Literally: ‘Shall I say ‘we saw who two’?] (Waasiöng inoin hat  
 16:15)

Note that here the question word *numa-rin* occurs in a subordinate final verbal clause (a speech report), so that the mood of the speech report is marked separately from that of the main clause, which has interrogative semantics, but imperative form, because of the first person Immediate Imperative *yo-wa* ‘say-IMM.IMP.1SG’ (see §10.7.14, below).

In the next example, it is understood that a group of more than two will be accompanying the subject of the verb: the identities of the members of the group are solicited with *numa-ri*:

- 10.67)    Numa-ri=rot<sub>OBL</sub>            ongo-nang-ka-ng?  
 who-PL=COMIT            go-PROB.PL-NF-2/3PL  
 ‘With who-all will they go?’ (Field notes)

When *numa* is the complement of a verbless clause and the subject of the verbless clause has non-singular human reference, *numa* must be marked for appropriate number. This is the case in the next example, illustrating one way to inquire how many children or siblings someone has. Using the question word *numa-ri* instead of the question word *dogong* ‘how much’ entails naming the siblings, rather than a numerical count:

- 10.68)    [Gogon<sub>Pr</sub>            daa-ya-i<sub>Pe</sub>]vcs            numa-ri<sub>vcc</sub>?  
 2SG.PRO+GEN    sister.of.female-2SG.POSS-PL    who-PL  
 ‘Your sisters, who-all are they?’ (Field notes)

The last three rows of table 10.3 show *-ri(n)* with NPs other than *numa*. The only such NPs attested in the corpus are the non-specific *nandu* ‘someone/-thing/-time’ (§3.1.11), *amna opmou opmou* ‘small men,’ and *Nomorong=ma* ‘one of Nomorong (place name).’

When used with the non-specific *nandu*, *ri(n)* enables the speaker to specify the number of people without specifying their identity, as in the next example:

- 10.69) Nandu-rin=to<sub>A</sub> na-wa-morok.  
 some-DU=FOC eat-NP.NSG-2/3DU  
 ‘Some two people ate it.’ (Field notes)

The Inferred Imperfective aspect is a good fit for *nandu-ri(-n)*, since it is used for events and actions that have not been witnessed by the speaker, as in the following:

- 10.70) Nandu-ri=ho<sub>A</sub> na-ng-a t-a-ga-ng.  
 some-PL=FOC eat-DEP-MV do-INF-PRES-2/3PL  
 ‘Some people are apparently eating it.’ (Field notes)

As with *numa*, *nandu* occurs without *-ri(n)* when the number of the referent is either singular or unknown, but must occur with the suffix when the referent is known to be dual or plural. This is not the case with the two other NPs found with *-ri(n)* in the corpus, however: with both of these NPs, *-ri(n)* is clearly optional even when the referent of the NP marked by *-ri(n)* is otherwise marked or known to be dual or plural.

With the first of these two NPs, *amna opmou opmou* ‘man small small’ (‘small men’), the NP is marked as having non-singular reference through the repetition of the adjective *opmou* ‘small’ (see §4.4.3). The speaker who used the suffix *-ri(n)* with this NP in two instances also produced the same NP without *-ri(n)* in the same text in similar contexts. Two examples, one with and one without *-ri(n)*, are in (10.71) and (10.72):

10.71) {I-in-a}, { [amna<sub>HEAD</sub> [opmou opmou]<sub>MOD</sub>]-ris e-ng-a}...  
 be-DS.3SG-MV man small small-PL come-DEP-MV

‘That remaining, the little men coming...’ (Limson ketket torop hat 3:49)

10.72) ...{ [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> [opmou opmou]<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> e-ng-a}, { [ [bök yoni-n]<sub>OBL</sub>  
 man small small come-DEP-MV house 3PL.POSS-LOC

it-du-ng} }.

be-RP-2/3PL

‘...The little men coming, they stayed in their houses.’ (Limson ketket torop hat

3:04)

Here, *-ri(n)* as marker of number is clearly optional, unlike with question word *numa* and non-specific noun *nandu*. There is no clear discourse-related function of *-ri(n)* here either: the NP ‘small men’ has the same referents throughout the narrative.

The suffix is also optional after the other NP, formed from the place name *Nomorong* and the specifier *=ma*. A Worin elder born before World War II described the belittling names girls used to call boys when she was young. Though both of the names are derived with the specifier *=ma*, the speaker used *-ri(n)* with only one of them:

10.73) { {Oro, ketket<sub>TOP:O</sub> wo=ma-i ye-no-ng=it-do-mong} }:  
 well boy that=SPEC-TOP 3NSG.O-tell-DEP=be-RP-1PL

[bisop=ma, Nomorong=ma-ri]<sub>SR</sub>.

tree.sp=SPEC Nomorong=SPEC-PL

‘Well, as for boys, we used to say to them: *bisop* one(s), Nomorong ones.’ (Watno

oesitketket koreng 0:10)

*Bisop* is a tree species with hard-shelled seeds; boys used to wear headdresses made from these seeds, which rattled as they moved. Nomorong is the name of a place in the forest belonging to Sugan people. There is a pause between *bisop=ma* and *Nomorong=ma* that probably precludes analysis of the two as comprising a single NP that is then marked with *-ri(n)*. A paucity of examples of NPs other

than *numa* and *nandu* in the corpus precludes conclusive statement of the function of apparently-optional *-ri(n)* with such NPs.

#### 10.7.4 *naye/nain/naine* ‘where’

There are three related forms of the question word ‘where’: local adverbial *naye*, local nominal *nain*, and local adverbial *naine*. The presumed root form *\*na* never occurs alone; the forms probably originated with *\*na* combining with the local adverbializing suffix *-e* (§3.4.1) and locative suffix *-in* (§8.7); it appears that the two suffixes combine in the form *na(-)in(-)e*, but *-e* here could be the allomorph *-e* of the topicalizing and linking suffix *-i* (§13.1.3). As mentioned in discussion of the locative postposition *=dek* in §8.6, *naye=dek* may substitute for *nain* only in the speech of children, or of adults speaking to children.

The three forms of ‘where’ overlap in distribution, but a few patterns are evident in the corpus. First, the simplest form *naye* occurs almost exclusively in the complement of a verbless clause soliciting new information. This may be seen in 2:24 and 2:31 of Narrative II, Appendix, and in the below example, from reported speech in a narrative:

- 10.74) [[*Misin=ton<sub>Pr</sub>* [*youp<sub>MOD</sub>* *ketket<sub>HEAD</sub>*]]=*ton<sub>Pr</sub>* *kömpaun<sub>Pe</sub>*]*vcs* *naye<sub>vcc?</sub>*  
mission=GEN work boy=GEN compound where  
‘Where is the compound of the work-boys of the mission?’ (Waasiöng inoin hat  
11:08)

*Naye* is rarely found in other contexts.

A second distributional pattern is that the form *nain* occurs most frequently in verbal clauses directly before the predicate, serving as oblique argument. This is shown in (10.75):

- 10.75) [*Morum* *honi<sub>s</sub>* *nain<sub>OBL</sub>* *ongo-Ø-k?*  
owner 2PL.POSS where go-NP-3SG  
‘Where did your owner go?’ (Nongi Towet amna orin Öpmat amna 2:01)

The form *nain* is also the preferred form of ‘where’ as a one-word question; it implies ‘where (are you going)?’

The form *naine* is flexible in distribution; it may occur either before the predicate in a verbal clause, like *nain*, or as complement of a verbless clause, like *naye*. When it does occur before a verbal predicate, *naine* is often followed by a pause: this differentiates it from *nain*. It has a more urgent questioning quality than the neutral *nain*.

Both *nain* and *naine* may combine with specifier =*ma* to indicate origin or source. An individual speaker used both in one recording of a legend:

- 10.76) [Ura            nori]<sub>TOP</sub>            {wo<sub>A</sub>    tanako [naine=ma<sub>OBL</sub>    hinom]  
 grandfather    1DU.POSS            that    food    where=SOURCE INTENS  
 yoo-ng-a},                    {{ho-ng            ni-mo-ng=it-ta-k}}?  
 NSG.O.take-DEP-MV    cook-DEP            1NSG.O.give-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘Our grandfather: taking food from where truly, does he cook and give it to us?’

(Julianne orin Anita hon hat 3:59)

- 10.77) [Tanak]<sub>TOP</sub>            {wo<sub>O</sub>    nain=ma<sub>OBL</sub>    yoo-ng-a},                    {{ho-ng  
 food                    that    where=SOURCE NSG.O.take-DEP-MV    cook-DEP  
 ni-m-un-a    na-ng=ir-a-mok}}?  
 1NSG.O.give-DS.3SG-MV                    eat-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-1DU  
 ‘The food: he taking it from where, cooking and giving it to us, do we eat it?’

(Julianne orin Anita hon hat 4:17)

Although examples (10.76) and (10.77) differ in argument structure, the difference influencing choice of question words is the presence in (10.76) of the intensifier *hinom*. This signals intensified wondering about origin, which triggers use of *naine* instead of *nain*.

### 10.7.5 *deo/deogo* ‘how’

The two forms *deo* and *deogo* refer to manner. It is possible that the second form, *deogo*, shares a derivational suffix with adjectival/adverbial demonstratives *ngo-go* ‘like this’ and *wo-go* ‘like that’

(§13.2.4)—possibly related to the Class 2 adjectivizing suffix—but this is as yet unproven. As with the various forms of the question word ‘where’ in the previous section, a general pattern may be noted in distribution of the two forms, but it is difficult to pin down exactly how they differ in meaning.

Unlike the other content questions introduced thus far, *deo/deogo* do not ordinarily occur in verbless clauses. When they occur without verbs, they do not constitute part of a verbless clause; instead, there is a sense of verbal ellipsis: this is the case in example (6.6) in Chapter 6. *Deo/deogo* cannot head NPs, nor take any grammatical relation-marking postposition except the restrictive/durative =*gon*. In this, the variants of this question word are similar to manner adverbs.

The form *deo* is slightly more limited than *deogo* in the verbs with which it occurs. In the corpus, *deo* primarily occurs with *to-* ‘do’ and *yo-* ‘say,’ with a single instance each of co-occurrence with *honggit-* ‘grab,’ *orom hi-* ‘understand,’ and the complex predicate *ho-ng na-* ‘cook and eat’ (see §6.2). In contrast, *deogo* not only occurs with *to-* ‘do,’ *yo-* ‘say,’ *honggit-* ‘grab,’ *orom hi-* ‘understand,’ and *it-* ‘be,’ but also with verbs of motion *e-* ‘come,’ *ongo-* ‘go,’ and *hinggan-* ‘go around.’

The form *deogo* with *to-* ‘do’ was illustrated in example (8.111) of Chapter 8. The form *deo* with *to-* is shown in the next example, from a story in which a young man suddenly finds himself unable to shoot birds successfully. Perplexed by this strange inability to hit his targets, he asks:

- 10.78)    [{{Noks        unga    deo    ta-a-t}}]<sub>SR:O?</sub>    {{yo-go-k}}.  
           1SG.PRO        now    how    do-PRES-1SG    say-RP-3SG  
           “‘How am I performing now?’” he said.’ (Fooyu ketket orin dogu 1:03)

In Nungon, the usual way to ask about speech is to use *deo/deogo* with *yo-*, meaning ‘what did you say?’—literally, ‘how have you spoken?’ As seen in §10.7.2, the question word *nungon* ‘what’ is used when the question refers to the content, not the form, of the utterance, i.e. *nungon=ta ya-a-rok* ‘About what have you spoken?’

As with *numa-no-ni* in example (10.65), *deogo*—but not *deo*—may take the Class 3 adjectivizing suffix *-ni* to form an adjective. Unlike underived *deo/deogo*, the adjective *deogo-ni* may function as NP modifier and as verbless clause complement, as in the next example:

- 10.79)     Amnavcs       deogo-nivcc?  
           man            how-ADJ  
           ‘What is the man like?’ (Field notes)

*Deo* and *deogo* both occur repeated, as *deo deo* and *deogo deogo*, when referring to a series of actions. Repeated *deo* is found at 0:02 in Dialogue I, Appendix; repeated *deogo* is shown in the next example:

- 10.80)     {{Miti<sub>s</sub> deogo   deogo   ep-bo-k }}=ma=hon<sub>pr</sub>        hat<sub>pe</sub>]o  
           church how    how    come-RP-3SG=REL=GEN        story  
           yo-wang-ka-t.  
           say-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
           ‘I will tell the story of how the church came (to Towet).’ (Field notes)

### 10.7.6 *dogong* ‘how many’

The presence of a question word ‘how many’ might be seen at first to disprove the notion, suggested in §1.1 and §3.2.5, that Nungon may not have had a traditional counting system, instead using adjectives ‘single,’ ‘pair,’ and ‘threesome.’ But this is not necessarily disproof, as seen in the range of acceptable responses to a question using *dogong* ‘how many.’ That is, answers to such a question may involve QUANTITY adjectives such as ‘many’ and ‘few’ instead of borrowed or native CARDINAL NUMBER adjectives. It must not be assumed that just because a speech community has no need for an intricate counting system, that they have no interest in discussing quantity at all.

The question word *dogong* is the only question word that falls into the adjective class. It shares syntactic possibilities with Class 1 CARDINAL NUMBER adjectives *inggouk* ‘one,’ *yoi* ‘two,’ and *yaanhi* ‘three’ (§3.2.1, §3.25). It was seen in a headless NP marked by the focus postposition =*ho* in example (8.38) of §8.3.5. An example of *dogong* serving as modifier in a noun-headed NP is below:

- 10.81) [[Oe amna]<sub>HEAD</sub> dogong<sub>MOD</sub>] =kO<sub>S</sub> ir-a-ng?  
 woman man how.many=FOC be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 ‘How many people are there?’ (Field notes)

Like the Class 1 number adjectives, *dogong* may also serve as complement of a verbless clause. The next example is an alternative to (10.68): a way to ask how many siblings someone has.

- 10.82) [Gogon<sub>Pr</sub> daa-ya-i<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub> dogong<sub>VCC</sub>?  
 2SG.PRO+GEN sister.of.fem-2SG.POSS-PL how.many  
 ‘Your sisters are how many?’ (Field notes)

In example (10.81), the NP *oe amna* ‘people’ modified by *dogong* is inherently non-singular, so the verb *it-* inflects for plural S/A number. If the head of the NP modified by *dogong* is marked for dual or plural number (through suffixes or repetition of another adjectival modifier) or is inherently non-singular, appropriate dual or plural number is indexed throughout the clause. If, however, the head of the NP including *dogong* is neither marked for number nor inherently non-singular, it is indexed as singular throughout the clause—even if the speaker expects the answer to ‘how many’ to indicate more than one. The next example comes from the conclusion of the story introduced in Chapter 4, in which a cannibal had been murdering and devouring Towet men en route to trade in Hamerengan (Nukna-speaking area). On apprehending the cannibal, the community invoked the number of men he had killed to justify their killing him:

- 10.83) {{{[Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> dogong<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>, [[amna<sub>Pr</sub> kaag-o<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> dogong<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub>  
 man how.many man head-3SG.POSS how.many  
 t-un buret-do-k}}]<sub>SR</sub>? {yo-ng-a muya}  
 SG.O.take-CAUS.3SG be.finished-RP-3SG say-DEP-MV PERF.2/3PL  
 {{wo-rok, wet-du-ng}}.  
 that-SEMBL 3SG.O.kill-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘They having said: “How many men, how many men’s heads did he make finish?”  
 thus, they killed him.’ (David Ögate 10:12)

The characters speaking in the story know that the cannibal killed more than one man. But neither *amna dogong* nor *amna kaag-o dogong* bears any marking of non-singularity. Thus, singular O number is indexed on the Causative Dependent verb *t-un* ‘SG.O.take-CAUS.3SG’ and singular S number is indexed on the resulting final verb *buret-do-k* ‘be.finished-RP-3SG.’ The question in (10.83) is also a textual example of a question that serves more to declare than to elicit information.

### 10.7.7 *dogomin* ‘when’

The traditional Nungon time-keeping system contained discrete names for up to six days after the present day (listed in table 3.11). The question word that concerns time, *dogomin*, may elicit as a response a day-title of the traditional system, a day-of-the-week name (from Kâte), a newer English-style date or year, or a vaguer expression such as *mee* ‘later’ or *awe* ‘not yet.’ An appropriate response could also align another event with the one questioned about: ‘When do scrub-hens lay eggs in their nests?’—‘Cucumbers being ripe, scrub-hens lay their eggs.’

It is likely that the final *-in* reflects the locative suffix *-in*; it is possible that the source of *dogomin* ‘when’ was historically *\*dogong-in* ‘how.many-LOC’: ‘at how many-o’clock/in the month?’

10.84)	{	{{Dogomin	ong-i-rok-ma}}	}SR?	i-n-u-ya},
		when	go-IRR.SG-2SG-RF		3SG.O-tell-DS.2/3PL-MV
	{{	{{keembok	ong-i-t-ma}}	}SR,	yo-go-k}}.
		tomorrow	go-IRR.SG-1SG-RF		say-RP-3SG

‘They telling him, “When will you go?” “I will go tomorrow,” he said.’ (Fooyu bem hat 0:48)

The question word *dogomin* behaves like a temporal adverb (§3.4.4). Like temporal adverbs, *dogomin* cannot take the locative suffix *-in* or the locative postposition =*gon*. Temporal adverbs may take the restrictive/durative postposition =*gon*; this is not attested in the corpus with *dogomin*, however.

### 10.7.8 Combining content question words in a single clause

It is acceptable in Nungon, if more than one constituent in a clause are unknown or in question, to use two or more content question words in a single clause. This is exemplified in the following question, in which of three verbal arguments, only one, the O argument, is apparently known to speaker and interlocutor (this argument is unstated; only its singular number is indicated through the form of the verb *to-/yoo-* ‘take’). The interlocutor is expected to supply information regarding both the A argument and an oblique (Location) argument:

- 10.85)      Numa=ho<sub>A</sub>      to-ng              nai-noBL              hi-wa-k?  
                  who=FOC              SG.O.take-DEP      where-LOC              put-NP.SG-3SG  
                  ‘Who took it and put it where?’ (Field notes)

If the interlocutor could not or did not want to supply the identity of the A argument and the name of the location, it would be acceptable to use two unspecific words in the response, which may have overtones of annoyance—‘I have no idea, so don’t ask me’—i.e.:

- 10.86)      {[Nandu=ma<sub>HEAD</sub>      au<sub>MOD</sub>]A=ho      to-ng,              usandu<sub>OBL</sub>              hi-wa-k }.  
                  some=SPEC                      other=FOC              SG.O.take-DEP      somewhere              put-NP-3SG  
                  {{Nok<sub>S</sub>              ma=a-wa-t } }.  
                  1SG.PRO              NEG=3SG.O.see-NP.SG-1SG  
                  ‘Somebody else took it and put it somewhere. I didn’t see it.’ (Field notes)

### 10.7.9 Polar I questions: rising intonation

Polar questions may be marked in one of two ways. In Polar I constructions, a declarative statement may be marked for interrogative mood through rising pitch on the final syllable of the statement (the nucleus of single-syllable words tends to begin with high pitch, then fall and rise again). This intonational difference, introduced in §2.9, is also the way that echo questions work. Polar II question marking involves falling pitch, as with declarative statements, and the polar question marker *ha* after the questioned element. This is also the intonation used in alternative questions, which simply add an alternative after *ha*.

Polar I questions simply involve rising intonation on the final syllable of a statement. The highest pitch in a Polar I question is also usually higher than it would have been were the statement declarative (see §2.9.1 for pitch contour images). The next two examples contrast the final verb *ongo-ya-rok* ‘go-PRES.SG-2SG’ as declarative statement and as Polar I question:

10.87)   
 Ongo-ya-rok.  
 go-PRES.SG-2SG  
 ‘You are going.’

10.88)   
 Ongo-ya-rok?  
 go-PRES.SG-2SG  
 ‘Are you going?’

As shown in §2.9.1, echo questions bear intonation similar to that of Polar I questions. When an echo question echoes a statement ending in an inflected final verb, the verb in the echo question inflects to reflect the relationship of the echoer to the subject of the verb in the original statement. That is, if A says ‘I will go,’ B will repeat this with an echo question that reframes the verb for 2sg, producing a form identical to (10.88): ‘You will go?’ The next example is a mono-syllabic one-word echo question, a possible response to mention of the word *hum* ‘cold’:

10.89)   
 Hum?  
 cold  
 ‘(Did you say) “cold”?’

#### 10.7.10 Polar II questions: postposed *ha*

In Polar II questions, a marker *ha* is postposed after the questioned element. This marker is also used in alternative questions, in which it usually occurs between the alternatives but also is found occurring

after each alternative. When the second of two alternatives is *muuno* ‘not,’ as in *aa-go-rok ha muuno?* ‘did you see it or not?’ in example (2.16), §2.9.1, I call this an ‘alternative polar question.’

The question marker *ha* serves in two roles: a) as a marker of disjunction ‘or’ between nouns, NPs, or clauses in interrogative sentences; and b) as polar question marker, occurring at the end of declarative sentences or after shorter questioned constituents to change the mood to interrogative. Nungon has no marker of disjunction that occurs in declarative statements. In its role as polar question marker, *ha* is similar contexts to the doubt marker *hu*. But *ha* only operates within the interrogative mood, and *hu* only operates within the declarative mood.

In Polar II questions, intonation is falling, as in declarative clauses. The declarative statement ‘you are cold’ and its Polar II equivalent are shown in the following two examples:

- 10.90)   
 Hum ga-mo-ha-k.  
 cold 2SG.O-give-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘You are cold.’ (Field notes)
- 10.91)   
 Hum ga-mo-ha-k ha?  
 cold 2SG.O-give-PRES.SG-3SG QUES  
 ‘Are you cold?’ (Field notes)

The polar question marker *ha* may also stand on its own as a question after a pause: in this context, it still serves to solicit affirmation or refutation of the information expressed just before it, but may be quite separate from that information in the timing of the speech act.

- 10.92) Ongo-wang-ka-rok. Ha.  
 go-PROB.SG-NF-2SG QUES  
 ‘You’re going. Or—?’

The polar question marker also serves as a marker of disjunction ‘or’ only in interrogative mood. As such, it follows the first alternative of a group of two or more alternatives, in which the alternatives are subordinate clauses, NPs, or other grammatical constituents. The final alternative need not be followed by *ha*. As marker of disjunction, *ha* may be analysed as questioning individual subordinate clauses, NPs, or other clause constituents: ‘was it X? Was it Y?’ semantics are presumed to have led to ‘it was X or Y’ reading.

In the first example below, *ha* may be analysed as occurring within an oblique argument of *it-be,* linking two adjectives as the two alternatives. In the second example, *ha* links a final verbal clause and the question word *deogo* as the two alternatives. In general, it seems, the alternatives listed in such constructions with *ha* must be able to fill the same constituent slot within a clause.

- 10.93)    [[Meep-mo]    ha    [yungan-o]]=dek<sub>OBL</sub>    ir=it-du-ng?  
           heavy-ADJ    ALT    light-ADJ=LOC    be=be-RP-2/3PL

‘Did they use to exist in heaviness or (in) lightness?’ (Adapted from title given by

Towet youth to text by elder Hesienare)

If one of the alternatives is a question word, as in (10.94), or the negative word *muuno*, as in (10.95), this is presented second:

- 10.94)    {{Ganang-e    mö-ng=it-ta-rok}}                    ha    deogo?  
           inside-ADJ    plant-DEP=be-PRES.SG-2SG    ALT    how

‘Do you plant (crops) in the forest or how (do you plant crops)?’ (Lyn öön youp 0:15)

In alternative polar questions, when the negative word *muuno* is the second of two alternatives, the question has demanding, aggressive overtones. The next example comes from the series of questions for which an intonation contour is shown in §2.9.1. Example (2.16) is repeated here. The example is from a conversation in which a Towet man confronts a teenager about cutting down the man’s bananas. He demands whether the teenager saw the felled tree that marked the border (*tau-no* ‘mark-3SG.POSS’) of the man’s farm; the assumption is that the teenager must have seen it and that he must respond affirmatively to the question:

10.95) {{Eep<sub>o</sub> [[hai-ng-a] {{ngo-go hi-go-t}}=ma]<sub>REL</sub>]<sub>o</sub>  
 tree cut-DEP-MV this-ADV put-RP-1SG=REL  
 aa-go-rok}} ha muuno?  
 3SG.O.see-RP-2SG ALT not

‘The tree that I cut and set like this, did you see it or not?’ (J orin V hawek 0:09)

If the second alternative, *muuno* ‘not,’ were omitted from the question above, its tone would change to a simple inquiry, with no underlying assumption:

10.96) {{Eep<sub>o</sub> [[hai-ng-a] {{ngo-go hi-go-t}}=ma]]<sub>o</sub>  
 tree cut-DEP-MV this-ADV put-RP-1SG=REL]<sub>o</sub>  
 aa-go-rok}} ha?  
 see-RP-2SG QUES

‘The tree that I cut and set like this, did you (happen to) see it?’

As marker of disjunction, *ha* may link two final verbal clauses as well. In lines 0:47-0:53 of Dialogue I, Appendix, two verbal predicate alternatives linked by *ha* are subsumed in a relative clause headed by the NP *nungon maa* ‘whatever speech,’ which is the O argument of both verbs. Like that example, (10.97) shows *ha* used pragmatically to preface a restatement of the previous statement.

10.97) {Osuk=gon<sub>OBL</sub>, awe [oe op]<sub>o</sub> ma=to-k~to-k ir-a},  
 first=RSTR yet woman husband NEG=do-NMZ:RED be-MV  
 {{deo to-go-rok}}? Ha, {deogo t-u-ya} {{y-aa-go-rok}}?  
 how do-RP-2SG ALT how do-DS.2/3PL-MV 3NSG.O-see-RP-2SG

‘At first, still not having married, what did you do? Or, what was it that they doing, you saw them?’ (Nongi hon maa hat 20 0:01)

It is conceivable that the primary and older role of *ha* was as marker of disjunction ‘or.’ This is the analysis of Spaulding and Spaulding (1994) for Nankina, a far-western Finisterre language according to McElhanon’s grouping. They state (Spaulding and Spaulding 1994: 138) that in Nankina, ‘there are no specific words or morphemes used to mark polar questions.’ The Nankina counterpart *bo*

to Nungon *ha* usually intervenes between two alternatives in a question seeking confirmation of one of the alternatives. But Spaulding and Spaulding give an example in which *bo* stands alone at the end of a question, with no alternative stated (1994: 139).

Thus, the function of Nungon *ha* may be analysed in two different ways. In one analysis, this word could be understood as a marker of disjunction ‘or’ primarily used in alternative questions, occurring between the alternatives. When it then occurs on its own after a clause, the second alternative could be understood to be left open-ended: ‘Are you going, or...?’ This analysis does not explain why *ha* would be restricted to use in questions; disjunct coordinators in other languages often function in both interrogative and declarative clauses.

The second analysis takes the principal function of *ha* as marking polar questions. When it occurs in alternative questions, it can be understood in this analysis as questioning each alternative in turn. Although this analysis explains why *ha* only occurs in clauses with interrogative mood, it does not explain why *ha* does not have to follow the final alternative in a list of alternatives.

#### 10.7.11 Polar questions with content question words

The polar question marker *ha* may co-occur with content question words. In such instances, the polar question marker seems to determine the nature of the question, while the content question marker is either interpreted as an indefinite word or as a backgrounded question, subsidiary to the primary polar question. This is the case in the next example, from the same story as (10.83):

10.98)    {{Ongo-ng-a    ir=ir-a-ng}}                    ha?    {{Nungon=to<sub>A</sub>  
                   go-DEP-MV        be=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL QUES    what=FOC  
                   doo-ng                na-ng=it-ta-k}}                                    ha?  
                   3PL.O.kill-DEP    eat-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG}}                    QUES

‘Are they going on? Is what/something killing and eating them?’ (David Ögate 2:30)

Here, the two final clauses that are each followed by *ha* could be interpreted as two mutually-exclusive alternatives. That is, the first clause asks whether the Towet men who keep disappearing

are actually making it to Hamerengan, while the second asks whether they are (instead) being killed and eaten en route.

### 10.7.12 Imperatives as questions

As shown in §2.9.1 and §5.5.1 and as mentioned in §10.1, non-canonical (first and third person) imperatives may actually serve as questions in Nungon. This occurs when clauses with inflected imperative forms are: a) pronounced with interrogative intonation; b) marked by the polar question marker *ha* (§10.7.9); or c) inclusive of one or more content question words (§10.7.1-7)

The first example below is an imperative mood clause with verb inflected for 1sg Immediate Imperative:

10.99)   
 Nok<sub>S</sub> böğ-in<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-wa.  
 1SG.PRO house-LOC go-IMM.IMP.1SG  
 ‘Let me go home.’

With clause-final rising intonation, the clause is now framed in interrogative mood in (10.100):

10.100)   
 Nok<sub>S</sub> böğ-in<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-wa?  
 1SG.PRO house-LOC go-IMM.IMP.1SG  
 ‘Shall I go home?’

If the clause-final falling intonation of (10.99) is maintained, but the polar question marker *ha* is postposed to the clause, it is understood as bearing interrogative mood, as in (10.101):

10.101)   
 Nok<sub>S</sub> böğ-in<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-wa ha.  
 1SG.PRO house-LOC go-IMM.IMP.1SG QUES  
 ‘Shall I go home?’

If the oblique argument *bög-in* ‘house-LOC’ in (10.99) is replaced by the content question word *nain* ‘where,’ this also lends the clause interrogative mood:

10.102)   
 Nok<sub>S</sub> nain<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-wa.  
 1SG.PRO where go-IMM.IMP.1SG  
 ‘Where shall I go?’

10.103)   
 Nok<sub>S</sub> nain<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-wa?  
 1SG.PRO where go-IMM.IMP.1SG  
 ‘Where shall I go?’ (Echo question)

Clauses with final verbs inflected for third person imperatives may also be framed with interrogative mood, as in the next example:

10.104)   
 Ga-mo-hun?  
 2SG.O-give-IMM.IMP.3SG  
 ‘Shall she give it to you?’

It is noteworthy that I have not observed this type of ‘mood syncretism’ (in which the verb is inflected for imperative, but the mood of the entire sentence is interrogative) when the final verb is inflected for second person, especially 2sg. The commanding force of the canonical (second-person) imperatives seems to preclude their use in questions, in contrast to the non-canonical imperatives. If the first person S argument in examples (10.99-104) is changed to second person, interrogative mood iterations as in (10.100-4) are not grammatical:

10.105) Gok<sub>S</sub> bög-in<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-i!  
 2SG.PRO house-LOC go-IMM.IMP.2SG  
 ‘You go home!’

10.106) \*Gok<sub>S</sub>            bög-in<sub>OBL</sub>            ongo-i            ha.  
                  2SG.PRO            house-LOC            go-IMM.IMP.2SG            QUES

\*‘Should you go home?’

10.107) \*Gok<sub>S</sub>    nai-no<sub>BL</sub>            ongo-i.  
                  2G.PRO where-LOC            go-IMM.IMP.2SG

\*‘Where should you go?’

It is conceivable that a content question word could replace the O argument in *youp to-i!* ‘work do-IMM.IMP.2SG,’ ‘Do work!’ yielding *nungon to-i!* ‘what do-IMM.IMP.2SG,’ i.e. ‘Go do whatchamacallit!’ But this represents *nungon* ‘what’ used as a non-specific word, and the sentence does not bear interrogative mood; the overriding mood is still imperative.

## 11 Complex predicates

This chapter covers complex verbal predicates, defining ‘complex’ as comprising more than one phonological and grammatical word (cf. Aikhenvald 2008a: 424). Although the predicates of verbless clauses may be complex in this way, these were addressed in Chapter 10. The term ‘complex predicates’ here will be used to refer to verbal complex predicates. In Nungon, verbal complex predicates may comprise two or more verbs in Dependent form, which I call ‘tight multi-verb constructions,’ or a non-verbal element and auxiliary verb, which I call ‘light verb constructions.’ Light verb constructions are often superficially similar to argument/verb combinations in which the argument is not truly part of the predicate. Light verb predicates differ from simple predicate/argument combinations with similar structure under negation; in Nungon, the negative proclitic *ma=* comes before the first element of a verbal predicate, so if an argument is not part of the predicate, *ma=* will intervene between the argument and the predicate.

### 11.1 Light verb constructions

Light verb constructions in Nungon are those complex predicates which combine an adjectival root (§3.2) with an auxiliary (or light) verb, usually *to-* ‘do,’ *yo-* ‘say,’ and rarely *di-* ‘burn’ and *hat-* ‘change state.’ Light verb constructions are uniformly intransitive; thus, *to-* ‘do’ may be translated as ‘become’ in light verb constructions and *yo-* ‘say’ as ‘be,’ while *di-* ‘burn’ and *hat-* ‘change state’ have idiomatic meanings. Light verb constructions may function in imperative and interrogative, as well as declarative, mood environments.

The main test to distinguish light verb constructions from verb/O argument combinations concerns behavior under negation. As mentioned above, when light verb constructions are negated, the negative proclitic *ma=* precedes the whole complex predicate comprising verb and non-verbal component. In contrast, when the non-verbal constituent is not part of the predicate, the negative proclitic intervenes between this constituent and the verb, with scope over the verb but not the non-verbal constituent.

I consider the Afflictive construction, discussed in §11.1.5, a sub-type of light verb construction using the verb *i-mo-* ‘give to s.o.’ as auxiliary verb. Like light verb constructions using *to-*, *yo-*, and *hi-* as auxiliaries, the Afflictive construction also combines a non-verbal element—an adjectival root, a noun, or a deverbal nominalization—with the auxiliary verb. One Afflictive expression does use a noun, *borök* ‘smoke,’ in the non-verbal element slot, however. I have not found such a combination among other light verb constructions using *to-*, *yo-*, or *hi-* as auxiliary verbs.

### 11.1.1 The components of light verb constructions: adjectival root and auxiliary verb

As noted above, S=A ambitransitive verbs *to-* ‘do’ and *yo-* ‘say’ are the bases for intransitive light verb constructions, in which they mean ‘become’ and ‘be,’ respectively. With light verb constructions, *yo-* describes a state that has been (usually, recently) achieved, while *to-* describes the act of achieving that state. Some adjectival roots may occur with both *to-* ‘become’ and *yo-* ‘be.’ For instance, the adjectival root *manman* ‘dry’ occurs in a light verb construction ‘be dry’ with *yo-* and another light verb construction ‘become dry’ with *to-*, as seen in (11.1-2):

- 11.1)      Manman      ya-a-k.  
                  dry                    say-PRES-3SG  
                  ‘It is (already) dry.’
- 11.2)      Manman      ta-a-k.  
                  dry                    do-PRES-3SG  
                  ‘It is becoming dry.’

Most adjectival roots cannot occur with both *to-* or *yo-*. For instance, *bom* ‘wet’ may only occur with *to-*, not with *yo-*. Once something has become wet, typically no light verb construction is used at all; the adjective *bom-no* is simply used to modify the noun which is now wet. The adjectival root *moi* ‘bad’ may only be used with *to-*, with meaning ‘spoil, become bad.’ It may not be used with *yo-*.

Adjectival roots are listed with the auxiliary verbs they most often combine with in light verb constructions in table 11.1: The class membership of the adjective derived from the adjectival root is in parentheses after its gloss.

<b>Table 11.1. Auxiliary verbs with some adjectival roots as light verbs</b>			
<i>to-</i> ‘do’	<i>yo-</i> ‘say’	<i>di-</i> ‘burn’	<i>hat-</i> ‘emerge’
<i>onding</i> ‘strong’ (2)	<i>dokdok</i> ‘ready’ (N/A)	<i>gomon</i> ‘red’ (2)	<i>horong</i> ‘loose’ (2)
<i>siing</i> ‘weak’ (2)	<i>osuk osuk</i> ‘slippery’ (2)		<i>hum</i> ‘cold’ (2)
<i>bom</i> ‘wet’ (2)	<i>manman</i> ‘dry’ (2)		
<i>opmou</i> ‘small’ (1)	<i>bumbum</i> ‘stupid’ (3)		
<i>morö</i> ‘large’ (1)	<i>iwip</i> ‘delicious’ (2)		
<i>biigo</i> ‘verdant’ (3)	<i>inging</i> ‘painful’ (2)		
<i>meep</i> ‘heavy’ (2)	<i>mönmön</i> ‘hot’ (2)		
<i>yungan</i> ‘lightweight’ (2)	<i>tuktuk</i> ‘clear’ (2)		
<i>bogot</i> ‘dirty’ (3)	<i>dook</i> ‘darkness’ (1)		
<i>kombut</i> ‘dark, angry’ (3)			
<i>moi</i> ‘bad’ (2)			
<i>hom</i> ‘short’ (2)			

Few adjectival roots can occur with either *to-* or *yo-*; most always occur with the same auxiliary.

Examining the first two columns of table 11.1 first, it seems that the adjectival roots that take *to-* ‘do’ describe qualities that are measured relative to others, while those that take *yo-* ‘say’ could be considered absolute qualities. Either someone or something is ‘stupid,’ or they’re not; either something is ‘dry,’ or it’s not; in contrast, something can become ‘wet,’ as rainforest-dwellers are all too aware, in stages.

*Dook* ‘darkness’ is special: *dook yo-* primarily refers to the fall of darkness at dusk. The intransitive subject *haa* ‘area’ may be explicit, but if it is not, it is still clear that the expression refers to the environs.

The adjectival root *gomon* ‘red, ripe’ is unusual in that it takes the intransitive verb *di-* ‘burn’ as auxiliary; the adjectival roots *horong* ‘loose’ and *hum* ‘cold’ are likewise the only roots to take the intransitive verb *hat-* ‘emerge’ as auxiliary.

- 11.3)      Bori-nos            {{ma=gomon    di-ng-a            e-Ø-k}}.  
              fruit-3SG.POSS   NEG=red            burn-DEP-MV    be-NP-3SG  
              ‘Its fruits were not ripe.’<sup>29</sup> (Field notes)

The adjectival root *gomon* cannot occur alone with auxiliary *to-* ‘do.’ When *gomon-o* (with Class 2 suffix) does occur with the verb *to-*, it serves as an adverb, modifying the verb ‘do’:

- 11.4)      Gomon-O<sub>ADV</sub>    ta-a-k.  
              red-ADJ            do-PRES-3SG  
              ‘It’s doing/acting red.’ (Field notes) [Of a color-changing LED light on a video camera.]

The majority of adjectival roots that occur with auxiliaries form adjectives with Class 2 derivational suffixes. Exceptions in table 11.1 are: Class 1 DIMENSION adjectives *opmou* ‘small’ and *morö* ‘large’ and COLOUR adjective *dook* ‘dark’; and adjectival roots *biigo* ‘verdant,’ *bogot* ‘dirty,’ *bumbum* ‘stupid,’ which all form adjectives with the Class 3 derivational suffix *-ni*. There is no known adjective derived from root *dokdok*.

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<sup>29</sup> Note that the light verb construction *gomon di-* ‘be red, be ripe’ may actually serve as an adjective in nominalized form *gomon-di-k* ‘ripe’; although there is no Class 2 or 3 adjectivizing derivational suffix present here, I did not list it in table 3.3 as a Class 1 adjective because it is not monomorphemic. Although *gomon-di-k* does not really have a polar opposite adjective, it contrasts with at least two other adjectives: *uyeg-o* ‘new, raw’ (Class 2) and *di-k-di-k-ni* ‘cooked’ (Class 3). Note that the Class 3 adjective *di-k-di-k-ni* is formed from the reduplicated nominalization of the intransitive verb *di-* ‘burn’ that also composes the final element of *gomon-di-k*.

- 11.5) {T-un-a}, {[gondam<sub>HEAD</sub> gomon-di-k<sub>MOD</sub>]o  
do-DS.3SG-MV banana.sp red-burn-NMZ  
na-rang-na t-uny-a}...  
eat-DU.PROB-IMNT do-DS.2/3DU-MV  
‘He having done (so), the two of them wanting to eat the ripe *gondam* bananas...’  
(Julianne orin Anita hon hat 6:25)

Adjectival roots that are the bases for adjectives in all three classes are shown in light verb constructions in (11.6-9). (*Opmou* ‘small’ is a Class 1 adjective; *bom* ‘wet’ and *manman* ‘dry’ are the bases for Class 2 adjectives *bom-no* and *mamman-o*; *bumbum* ‘stupid, crazy’ is the basis for the Class 3 adjective *bumbum-ni*.)

- 11.6) {Tanak=ka<sub>OBL</sub> mööp ir-a}, {{opmou to-go-k}}.  
food=BEN lack be-MV small do-RP-3SG  
‘Having been in lack with respect to food, she became small(-bodied).’
- 11.7) Bom ta-a-rok.  
wet do-PRES-2SG  
‘You are getting wet.’
- 11.8) Manman ya-a-k.  
dry say-PRES-3SG  
‘It is (already) dry.’
- 11.9) Bumbum ya-a-t.  
nonsense say-PRES-1SG  
‘I’m (temporarily) stupid.’

Adjectival roots generally do not modify nouns directly (exceptions were listed in §4.4.4). They also cannot serve as verbless clause complements. The adjectival roots *moi* ‘bad’ and *meep* ‘heavy’ below are ungrammatical when made to modify nouns or to stand alone as verbless clause complements or descriptive comments:

- 11.10) \*amna moi  
 man bad  
 \*'bad man'
- 11.11) \*yok meep  
 bag heavy  
 \*'heavy bag'
- 11.12) \*Moi!  
 bad  
 \*'(It's) bad!'
- 11.13) \*Meep!  
 heavy  
 \*'(It's) heavy!'

When these adjectival roots are used with adjectival suffixes in the same contexts, the results are grammatical:

- 11.14) amna moin-no  
 man bad-ADJ  
 'bad man'
- 11.15) yok meep-mo  
 bag heavy-ADJ  
 'heavy bag'
- 11.16) Moin-no!<sup>30</sup>  
 bad-ADJ  
 '(It is) bad!'

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<sup>30</sup> Before the suffix *-no*, most speakers pronounce another [n] after the adjectival root *moi*.

- 11.17) Meep-mo!  
 heavy-ADJ  
 ‘(It is) heavy!’

Adjectival roots lacking adjectivizing suffixes most often occur in light verb constructions, with auxiliary verbs. That is, if the verb *to-* ‘do, become’ is added to the end of ungrammatical examples (11.10 and 11.11), the examples become grammatical:

- 11.18) Amna<sub>s</sub> moi ta-a-k.  
 man bad do-PRES-3SG  
 ‘The man is becoming bad.’

- 11.19) Yok<sub>s</sub> meep to-go-k.  
 bag heavy do-RP-3SG  
 ‘The bag became heavy.’

### 11.1.2 Distinguishing light verb constructions from verb-argument combinations

The Nungon verb *to-* ‘do’ is the verb usually used with expressives such as *pap pap* ‘flapping,’ *hirip hirip* ‘dripping,’ and with Tok Pisin verbal loans such as *sugim* ‘swim.’ How can *hirip hirip to-* ‘do dripping’ or *sugim to-* ‘do swimming,’ as well as constructions with nouns such as *youp to-* ‘do work,’ be distinguished from light verb constructions?

When the above words and words like them occur with *to-* ‘do,’ they function as O argument, but in light verb constructions, the adjectival root functions as part of the predicate. This may be shown in two ways. The first is through placement of the verbal negator *ma=*, noted in the previous section. The second is the ability to insert a nominal or verbal modifier between the first constituent and *to-*. In a verb-argument combination, a modifier may occur here. This is not possible with light verb constructions.

The next example proves that *youp* ‘work’ in *youp to-* ‘do work’ is not part of the verbal predicate by adding the adjectival modifier *orog-o* ‘good-ADJ’ to *youp*:

- 11.20) [Youp<sub>HEAD</sub> orog-o<sub>MOD</sub>]o to-ng-a it-ta-t.  
 work good-ADJ do-DEP-MV be-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘I am doing good work.’ (Gaus inoin hat 17:58)

In contrast, adjectival roots can never be modified. In the light verb construction *moi to-* ‘become bad,’ a modifier may not intervene between the adjectival root *moi* ‘bad’ and the auxiliary verb *to-*:

- 11.21) Moi \*hinom to-go-k.  
 bad \*INTENS do-RP-3SG  
 \*‘It spoilt very much.’

Example (11.18) above is superficially similar to transitive sentences with simple predicates, such as the next example, which substitutes the noun *youp* ‘work’ for the adjectival root *moi* ‘bad’ in (11.18):

- 11.22) Amna<sub>A</sub> youp<sub>O</sub> ta-a-k.  
 man work do-PRES-3SG  
 ‘The man is doing work.’

Under negation, however, the structures of the two sentences diverge, with the negator *ma=* occurring before the beginning of each predicate:

- 11.23) Amna<sub>S</sub> ma=moi to-Ø-k.  
 man NEG=bad do-NP-3SG  
 ‘The man has not become bad.’

- 11.24) Amna<sub>A</sub> youp<sub>O</sub> ma=to-Ø-k.  
 man work NEG=do-NP-3SG  
 ‘The man has not done work.’

Similarly, the light verb construction *manman yo-* ‘dry say’ is the usual way to express that something that was wet has dried. This can be contrasted with argument/predicate combination *maa<sub>O</sub> yo-* ‘speech say’ using the negator and modifier tests. Without negator or modifier, the two constructions are superficially similar, as shown in (11.25) and (11.26):

- 11.25) Tik-na<sub>S</sub>                      urop    manman            ya-a-k.  
 bark.cloth-1SG.POSS    enough dry                      say-PRES-3SG  
 ‘My clothing is now dry.’
- 11.26) Mak-na<sub>A</sub>                      urop    maa<sub>O</sub>    ya-a-k.  
 mother-1SG.POSS            enough speech    say-PRES-3SG  
 ‘My mother is now saying something.’

But the sentences differ under negation, again with the placement of *ma=* showing the lefthand boundary of the predicate:

- 11.27) Tik-na<sub>S</sub>                      ma=manman    yo-Ø-k.  
 bark.cloth-1SG.POSS    NEG=dry            say-NP-3SG  
 ‘My clothing is not (yet) dry.’
- 11.28) Mak-na<sub>A</sub>                      maa<sub>O</sub>    ma=yo-Ø-k.  
 mother-1SG.POSS            speech    NEG=say-NP-3SG  
 ‘My mother has not said a word.’

Further, while no modifying element may intervene between the adjectival root *manman* and verb *yo-*, both the noun *maa* ‘speech’ and the verb *yo-* of (11.26) may be modified, as shown in (11.29):

- 11.29) Mak-na<sub>A</sub>                      [maa    imbange]<sub>O</sub>    ööp=bon<sub>ADV</sub>    ya-a-k.  
 mother-1SG.POSS            speech    wonderful            quiet=RSTR            say-PRES-3SG  
 ‘My mother quietly says wonderful things.’

### 11.1.3 The Afflictive construction as light verb construction

Some adjectival roots also occur in other verbal constructions, notably the Afflictive construction. In the Afflictive construction, an adjectival root or member of another word class that represents an undesirable, uncontrollable physical or emotional sensation is combined with the verb *i-mo-* ‘give.’ The verb *i-mo-* is inflected for 3sg or 2/3pl transitive subject, with the initial object prefix indexing the person/number of the person experiencing the sensation.

In the example below, the subject of the verb *i-mo-* ‘give’ could be analysed as recoverable from context. That is, whatever situation is salient at the moment of the utterance is understood by both speaker and hearer to be the inducer of the Affliction indicated by the first element in the predicate—here, the adjectival root *meep* ‘heavy’:

- 11.30) Meep ga-mo-wang-ka-k.  
 heavy 2SG.O-give-PROB.SG-NF-3SG  
 ‘It will make you feel heavy.’ (Field notes)

As noted in §3.2, adjectival roots cannot head NPs. Thus, *meep* is not O argument (Gift) of *ga-mo-wang-ka-k*. The verb *i-mo-* ‘give,’ then, has a different meaning and perhaps argument structure in the Afflictive construction than it has elsewhere.

Example (11.30) could have been produced at seeing someone filling a string bag with taro: the subject of the verb *i-mo-* here could be understood as ‘carrying that bag.’ But the tense of the verb *i-mo-* in Afflictive constructions is problematic for this interpretation. That is, *i-mo-* inflects for the tense referring to the time at which the O argument (Recipient) of *i-mo-* ‘give’ experiences the Affliction, not a prior time at which an inducer acted on the O argument of *i-mo-* to bring about the state. A Towet villager who had eaten a large meal at Mungku, near Sapmanga, and was faced with a several-hour uphill hike home to Towet said, as she started to walk:

- 11.31) Nok<sub>TOP</sub> meep na-mo-ha-k.  
 1SG.PRO heavy 1SG.O-give-PRES.SG-3SG  
 ‘I feel heavy.’ (Field notes)

The verb here is not framed in the Near Past tense, to refer back to the consuming of the meal (‘eating that made me heavy’); the undesirable sensation is felt at the time of the utterance, so the verb is in Present tense.

Further, some Afflictions cannot be induced by forces outside the body. Among these is the deverbal noun *duo-k duo-k* ‘sleepiness.’ Speakers talk about sleep affecting them using the Afflictive

construction even when they feel sleepy without any obvious contextual inducer. The Nungon construction thus differs from the English *it put me to sleep*, where *it* refers to some inducer of sleep.

A range of word classes may occur in Afflictive constructions: adjectival roots, deverbal nominalizations, and one or two concrete nouns. Table 11.2 shows some elements that commonly occur in Afflictive constructions:

<b>Table 11.2. Word class membership for the ‘Afflictor’ role in the Afflictive construction</b>		
<b>Afflictor</b>	<b>word class</b>	<b>gloss</b>
<i>honon</i>	adjectival root	cold and wetness
<i>meep</i>	adjectival root	heaviness
<i>bik</i>	adjectival root	spiciness
<i>ak</i>	adjectival root	picquantness
<i>iik</i>	concept noun	anger
<i>taktak</i>	entire entity noun (§3.1.7)	boredom, listlessness
<i>borök</i>	entire entity noun	smoke
<i>hum</i>	entire entity noun, adjectival root	wind, cold
<i>duo-k duo-k</i>	deverbal noun	sleepiness
<i>poto-k poto-k</i>	deverbal noun	fear
<i>möö-k möö-k</i>	deverbal noun	vomiting
<i>woro-k woro-k</i>	deverbal noun	itching
<i>yonggut yonggut</i>	deverbal noun	giggling

Although at first the ‘affliction’ appears to serve as A argument, or O argument, the Afflictive construction may be considered instead a type of light verb construction because of placement of the negator *ma=*.

Of the next two examples, the first involves the verb *i-mo-* ‘give’ without Afflictive meaning, while the second contains an Afflictive construction:

11.32) Gorungon<sub>A</sub> youp<sub>O</sub> na-mo-Ø-k.  
 Gorungon work 1SG.O-give-NP-3SG  
 ‘Gorungon gave me work (to do).’

11.33) Hum<sub>AFFLICTION</sub> na-mo-Ø-k.  
 cold 1SG.O-give-NP-3SG  
 ‘I was cold.’ (‘Cold afflicted me.’)

When the non-Afflictive construction is negated, the negative proclitic *ma=* comes directly before the verb:

11.34) Gorungon<sub>A</sub> youp<sub>IND.O</sub> ma=na-mo-Ø-k.  
 Gorungon work NEG=1SG.O-give-NP-3SG  
 ‘Gorungon did not give me work.’

But when the Afflictive construction is negated, the Affliction comes between the negative proclitic *ma=* and the verb, as:

11.35) Ma=hum<sub>AFFLICTION</sub> na-mo-Ø-k.  
 NEG=cold 1SG.O-give-NP-3SG  
 ‘I was not cold.’

In Nungon, the negative proclitic *ma=* never immediately precedes the A argument of a verb, i.e. *\*ma=Gorungon namok* ‘NEG=Gorungon 1SG.O-give-NP-3SG’ for ‘Gorungon did not give it to me’ is highly ungrammatical. Thus, example (11.35) above shows that *hum* ‘cold,’ while it is the Affliction affecting ‘me,’ is not the A argument of ‘give.’

Not all adjectival roots may serve in an Afflictive construction; of the adjectival roots in the examples in §11.1.1-2, only *meep* ‘heavy’ can be used in an Afflictive construction. In contrast to *meep*, *moi* ‘bad’ cannot be used in an Afflictive construction, nor can the semantic opposite of *meep*, *yungan* ‘lightweight’:

11.36) \*Nok            moi    na-mo-ha-k.  
 1SG.PRO            bad    1SG.O-give-PRES.SG-3SG

\*'Badness affects me.'

11.37) \*Nok            yungan            na-mo-ha-k.  
 1SG.PRO            light            1SG.O-give-PRES.SG-3SG

\*'Lightness affects me.'

The correct way to express that one feels light (not weighed-down) is to use the adjectival root *yungan* with Class 2 adjectivizing suffix *-o* as an adverb to modify the verb of motion that is appropriate to the situation:

11.38) Nok<sub>s</sub>            yungan-O<sub>ADV</sub>    ep-pa-t.  
 1SG.PRO            light-ADJ            come-PRES.SG-1SG

'I am coming along (feeling) light.' (Field notes)

The Afflictive construction is used with adjectival roots and other words that describe negative emotions and undesirable physical sensations. The underlying unifying element among those words that can be Affliction within this construction seems to be a negative or undesirable element, not the level of control the Afflicted person has over the experience. That is, one might expect that feeling 'light' and feeling 'heavy' involve the same level of control by the experiencer, but 'heavy' may be Affliction in an Afflictive construction, while 'light' may not. Similarly, in a cold high-elevation cloud rainforest environment, being 'warm' is much more desirable than being 'cold' or being 'cold and wet.' Thus, there are no words for 'warm' or 'hot' that may serve as Affliction in an Afflictive construction, but both *honon* 'cold and wet' and *hum* 'cold' may serve as Affliction, in addition to *wun wun* 'shivering' in the Worin dialect (I have not observed the Towet equivalent, *wik wik* 'shivering,' used in an Afflictive construction). With emotions, positive emotions never serve as Afflictions. The Class 1 adjective *imbange* 'wonderful' and the expression *iroto orog-o* 'inside good-ADJ' express positive emotions with the verb of perception *orom hi-* 'understand/feel/hear';

*dongko*- ‘rejoice’ is an intransitive verb. In contrast, ‘be annoyed,’ ‘be fed up,’ and ‘be angry’ may be expressed using Afflictive constructions.<sup>31</sup>

The verb *i-mo-* in an Afflictive construction, or its auxiliary verb in the Habitual or Continuous constructions, most often inflects to index a 3sg A, except in some instances when the Affliction has reduplicated form. When the Affliction is a reduplicated deverbal nominalization, the verb *i-mo-* may inflect for either 3sg or 2/3pl A. Clearly here, it is the repeated action inherent in the reduplicated verb root that triggers plural indexation on the verb.

In the first example below, the non-reduplicated *hum* ‘cold’ occurs with the Continuous aspect-marking auxiliary *it-* ‘be’ of *i-mo-* inflected for 3sg:

- 11.39)    {{Oip,            [belengket<sub>o</sub>    ma=mir-e-t]=ma,  
yesterday    cotton.sheet    NEG=bear.on.forehead-NP-1SG=REL  
hum    na-mo-ng-a            e-Ø-k }}.  
cold    1SG.O-give-DEP-MV    be-NP-3SG

‘Yesterday, since I didn’t wear a sheet, I was cold (all night long).’ (Field notes)

In contrast, the deverbal nominalizations *duo-k duo-k* ‘sleeping,’ *poto-k poto-k* ‘fear,’ *möö-k-möö-k* ‘vomiting,’ and *yonggut yonggut* ‘laughing,’ as well as the origin-unknown *taktak* ‘tedium,’ may trigger 2/3pl A argument indexation on the verb *i-mo-*:

- 11.40)    [Yonggut            yonggut]<sub>AFFLICTION</sub>            na-mo-wa-ng.  
laugh.NMZ:    laugh.NMZ                    1SG.O-give-PRES.NSG-2/3PL

‘I feel giggly!’ (Field notes)

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<sup>31</sup> Although negative or undesirable emotional and physical states may be expressed using the Afflictive construction, this construction is not the only way to express these states. That is, an alternative to using an Afflictive construction to describe being angry is to use the light verb construction combining the adjectival root *kombut* ‘black, angry’ and the auxiliary *to-*.

So why is *yonggut yonggut* ‘laughing’ here not itself A argument? In general, the Affliction—the adjectival root or noun preceding the verb *imo-* ‘give’—is never marked with the focus postposition =*ho* that normally marks inanimate A arguments. This is one indication that the Affliction here is not the subject argument of *i-mo-* ‘give.’

Afflictive constructions differ from other idioms using the verb *i-mo-* in that the verb in Afflictive constructions invariably inflects for 3sg or 2/3pl. Two common expressions for carrying or hoisting other people involve *i-mo-* ‘give’: *bak i-mo-* ‘hold against one’s torso,’ and *dok i-mo-* ‘carry on the back.’ While *bak* ‘lap’ occurs outside this expression, *dok* does not (the word for ‘back,’ is *mee*). With these expressions, as with Afflictive constructions, the object prefix of the verb *i-mo-* references the person being carried. But unlike the verb in Afflictive constructions, in these two carrying expressions the verb *i-mo-* indexes the person and number of the carrier as its subject.

- 11.41)      Doko                      ga-mo-wa?  
               carrying.on.back        2SG.O-give-IMM.IMP.1SG  
               ‘Shall I carry you on my back?’ (Field notes)
- 11.42)      Bak    i-mo-ng-a                      it-ta-k.  
               lap      3SG.O-give-DEP-MV      be-PRES.SG-3SG  
               ‘She is hugging her.’ (Field notes)

#### 11.1.4 Light verb constructions with *mo-*

Another class of light verb constructions uses the auxiliary verb *mo-* (H-class), which may be the same verb that features in Causative II constructions (§6.8) and in the Medial verb Perfect aspect construction. If it is related to the Causative II verb, it could also be related to the verb *i-mo-* ‘give.’ Like *to-* ‘do’ and unlike *i-mo-* ‘give,’ *mo-* cannot bear O argument-referencing prefixes. In at least one light verbal construction using *mo-*, however, the other member of the construction does bear O-referencing prefixes.

These complex verbs differ from the light verb constructions with adjectival roots and expressives outlined in §11.1.2 above in that their first elements do not occur independently outside

the light verb construction. At least two of these first elements may have originated as Dependent verb forms in tight multi-verb constructions (§11.2).

All three known light verb constructions that use *mo-* are listed in table 11.3 below:

light verb construction	meaning	O-referencing prefixes present on first element?
<i>wep mo-</i>	touch	yes
<i>doot mo-</i>	bend over	no
<i>gap mo-</i>	step over <sup>32</sup>	no

In none of these constructions does the first element occur independently elsewhere. The first element of the construction *wep mo-* ‘touch s.t.’ inflects in a way that is closely, though not perfectly, aligned with the O-referencing prefix systems of *wet-* ‘beat’:

person-number of O	<i>wep mo-</i> ‘touch s.t.’	<i>wet-</i> ‘beat s.t.’	<i>yii-</i> ‘bite s.t.’
1sg.	<i>nep mo-</i>	<i>net-</i>	<i>nei-</i>
1nsg.	<i>niip mo-</i>	<i>nisop-</i>	<i>nii-</i>
2sg.	<i>gep mo-</i>	<i>get-</i>	<i>gei-</i>
2nsg.	<i>kep mo-</i>	<i>kaap-</i>	<i>kei-</i>
3sg.	<i>wep mo-</i>	<i>wet-</i>	<i>yii-</i>
3nsg.	<i>doop mo-</i>	<i>doop-</i>	<i>yii-</i>

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<sup>32</sup> This light verb construction describes stepping over something: a culturally-loaded act in Papua New Guinea, where it is rude, at the least, to step over food, people, and other things. It also means ‘skip over,’ as in reading only certain passages of a book, picking coffee berries from only certain trees, while skipping over others.

The similarity between the 3nsg forms of *wep mo-* ‘touch’ and *wet-* ‘beat’ is striking (so to speak). Either these paradigms converged later, or—more likely, it seems—the first element in *wep mo-* was originally the Dependent form of the verb *wet-* ‘beat’: *wet*. As the expression grammaticalized from a tight multi-verb construction into a light verb construction, the final /t/ of *wet* probably assimilated to the place of articulation of the initial bilabial nasal of *mo-*, becoming /p/. In this process, the extra syllable in *nisop* ‘beat (1nsg. O)’ could have been reduced, and the long vowel /aa/ in *kaap* ‘beat (2nsg. O)’ could have been adjusted to fit with most of the other inflections, becoming /e/.

The initial element *gap* in *gap mo-* ‘step over, skip over’ could be related to the P-class verb *gaa-* ‘spit,’ but the semantic relationship between spitting and stepping over something is unclear. Finally, the origin of the element *doot* in *doot mo-* ‘bend over’ is still opaque.

In at least one instance in the corpus where the light verb construction *wep mo-* is used reflexively, the first element of the construction does not inflect to reference the O argument, which is expressed with a reflexive/emphatic pronoun, as:

- 11.43)    Naga<sub>O</sub>            wep            mo-ha-t.  
           1SG.PRO.EMPH 3SG.O.touch    give-PRES.SG-1SG  
           ‘I touch myself.’ (Field notes)

Otherwise, it usually inflects:

- 11.44)    Doop            m-i-rog-a!  
           3NSG.O.touch    give-IRR.SG-2SG-PROH  
           ‘Don’t touch them!’ (Field notes)

### 11.1.5 Light verb constructions with other non-verbal elements

Besides the deverbal nominalizations and adjectival roots described in §11.1.2, some non-Afflictive light verb constructions comprise an auxiliary verb *to-*, *yo-*, or *hi-* and a second element that is not a

synchronic adjectival root in Nungon.<sup>33</sup> These are few, including *hak to-* ‘wash,’ *huk to-* ‘slice,’ *kom to-* ‘close (eyes),’ *gön to-* ‘be ready to shoot,’ *döp to-* ‘chew,’ *otowot to-* ‘lick,’ *orom hi-* ‘understand, hear, heed,’ and probably a handful of others.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Tok Pisin and other foreign words of various word classes are made to function as verbs in Nungon when followed by the verb *to-* ‘do’ or *yo-* ‘say.’ These are relatively rare in the parlance of those Nungon speakers who have not spent time outside the Uruwa valley, but especially with those now employed by the conservation organization and others, this is becoming more common. Some of the more common examples include *pikhet to-* ‘stubborn do,’ from Tok Pisin *bikhet* (from English *big-head*) and *sugim to-* ‘swim do,’ from Tok Pisin *suwim* or English *swim*. These loans, however, seem to remain fully separate from the auxiliary verb, as evidenced under negation:

- 11.45)      *Pikhet<sub>o</sub>*              *ma=to-ng=it-ta-k.*  
                  *big.head*              *NEG=do-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG*  
                  ‘He does not act stubbornly.’ (Field notes)

## 11.2 Tight multi-verb constructions

Tight multi-verb constructions comprise two or more verbs that describe a single event or action, or something that is otherwise conceived of as a unitary whole. Only the final verb is inflected as a Medial or final verb; the other verbs are Dependent. The Causative constructions described in §6.8 may be considered essentially a sub-set of tight multi-verb constructions. Causative constructions

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<sup>33</sup> Some of these constructions may offer clues to Towet Nungon diachronic development. That is, the counterpart to Towet *hak to-* ‘wash (s.t.)’ in the Kotet and Worin dialects is *sac to-* ‘wash (s.t.)’ This is related to the adjective forms *sacsag-o* ‘clean’ (Worin) and *sacsac-o* (Kotet). Towet has apparently maintained the original initial /s/ in its adjective *saksag-o* ‘clean’ while switching it to /h/ in the light verb construction *hak to-* ‘make clean, wash.’ One might expect Towet *huk to-* ‘slice (in half)’ to be related to *suksugo* ‘smooth’ in the same way, but forms in Kotet (*fuc to-* and *sucsuc-o*) indicate otherwise.

involve a reduced form of the Dependent verb inflected for subject agreement, followed by an intransitive verb. This subject indexing within a tight multi-verb construction indicates that the S/A argument referenced by the marking causes the S argument of the final verb of the string to perform the action or be in the state described by the final verb.

Non-Causative tight multi-verb constructions never have subject indexation within the tight multi-verb construction. That is, if subject indexation is necessary but there is no causative relationship between the verbs of the string, the sequence must be expressed using Medial verb forms in a clause chain, not Dependent verb forms in a tight multi-verb construction. Tight multi-verb constructions comprise verbs in Dependent form, not other non-verbal elements: this is the major difference between tight multi-verb constructions and light verb constructions. The first element in a light verb construction is an adjectival root, not a Dependent verb. Further, while tight multi-verb constructions may include several verbs, light verb constructions are limited to a single non-verbal element and the auxiliary verb.

In tight multi-verb constructions, verbs with requisite O-referencing prefixes may combine with both other prefixing verbs and verbs that lack object prefixes. There is no ungrammaticality about two Dependent verbs within a single complex predicate bearing object-referencing prefixes that reference the same constituent, even though this could be thought of as redundant.

<b>Table 11.5. Complex predicates compared</b>			
	<b>penultimate constituent</b>	<b>subject indexation on non-final verbs</b>	<b>intervening modifiers allowed</b>
<b>Causative constructions</b>	reduced, inflected Dependent verb	yes	no
<b>light verb constructions</b>	adjectival root	no	no
<b>tight multi-verb constructions</b>	uninflected Dependent verb	no	yes



In the above sentence, no additional argument may be inserted between *yoong* ‘take them’ and *monti* ‘throw.’ But when the Medial suffix *-a* is added to the Dependent verb *yoong*, this is now possible:

- 11.47) {Eep<sub>O</sub> yoo-ng-a},                      {{babiya<sub>O</sub> mon-ti}}!  
 wood NSG.O.take-DEP-MV      book                      throw-IMM.IMP.2SG  
 ‘Having taken the wood, throw away the books!’

The last verb in a tight multi-verb construction may be a Medial verb, an inflected final verb, or a deverbal nominalization. These three options for inflection of the last verb in a tight multi-verb construction are illustrated in the following examples, all of which are negated to show the left-hand boundary of the complex predicate formed by the tight multi-verb construction:

- 11.48) {Oruk-na-i=ho<sub>A</sub>                      noga<sub>OBL</sub>                      bot<sub>O</sub>      ma=maa-ng  
 brother-1SG.POSS-PL=FOC                      1SG.PRO+BEN      pig      NEG=chop-DEP  
 na-m-u-ya},                      {{ho-ng                      na-wa-t}}.  
 1SG.O-give-DS.2/3PL-MV                      cook-DEP                      eat-NP-1SG  
 ‘It was my brothers who did not cut and give me a pig for myself (which) I (did not) cook and eat.’ (Fooyu Yawan boop 4:46)

The above example is unusual in that the negative proclitic *ma=* seems to have scope over not only the clause including the tight multi-verb construction it negates, *oruknai=ho noga bot ma=maa-ng na-m-u-ya*, but also over the final clause, also composed of a tight multi-verb construction, *hong na-wa-t*. This may be indicative of a tendency in Nungon not to negate multiple elements within a sentence. See a similar example in Narrative I, Appendix, 0:37. Berghäll (2010: 261) comments on ‘negation spreading’ in the Papuan language Mauwake as applying in either or both directions.

### 11.2.2 Adverbs and other modifiers intervening in tight multi-verb constructions

As mentioned above, although all verbs of a tight multi-verb construction share a single S/A argument, adverbials and other oblique arguments may intercede between verbal components of the construction, then having scope only over a single component. This is shown with the following two-verb tight multi-verb construction, in which the adverb *agep* ‘firm’ modifies the verb *to-* ‘do’:

11.49) Homböng<sub>TOP</sub> wo=ma-ivcs eep<sub>vcc</sub>, imug-ovcs gaung-ovcc,  
 tree.sp that=SPEC-TOP tree sap-3SG.POSS sticky-ADJ  
 {{yoo-ng agep to-ng=it-ta-k}}.  
 NSG.O.take-DEP firm do-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG

‘As for *homböng*, it’s a tree, its sap is sticky; it takes (things) and makes them (stick) firmly.’ (Field notes)

In a text describing his father and uncle building a bird-blind and platform high in the tree canopy, one speaker frequently pauses after Dependent verbs he uses in contexts in which other speakers might use Medial verbs. This creates very long tight multi-verb construction clauses. Although there is a slight pause between the third Dependent verb of the tight multi-verb construction in the following sentence, note that the string itself contains a repeated adverbial as well as five verbs:

11.50) {Yii=ho<sub>OBL</sub> towi-ng henet agep agep to-ng  
 twine=INSTR arrange-DEP tie.up firm firm do-DEP  
 towi-ng=dup to-ng-a}...  
 arrange-DEP=COMPL do-DEP-MV

‘With the twine, arranging and very firmly doing the tying up, having completely arranged it...’ (Geisch nanno orin orugo yup bök 4:50)

### 11.2.3 The verb *to-/yoo-* ‘take’ in tight multi-verb constructions

The verb *to-/yoo-* ‘take,’ with suppletive forms depending on O argument number, was introduced in §5.3.1 and discussed further in §6.8. The form used with singular O arguments is homophonous with the verb *to-* ‘do,’ and in fact has near-complementary distribution with *to-* ‘do’; there are no instances of a final, fully-inflected verb *to-* that may be glossed ‘take (sg. O)’ instead of ‘do.’ That is, the form of ‘take’ used with singular O arguments seems to occur only in Dependent or Medial form. In contrast, the form of ‘take’ used with non-singular O arguments, *yoo-*, does occur in final form. The verb *to-* ‘do’ itself clearly occurs in Dependent and Medial forms as well as in final form (with *youpo to-* ‘do work,’ for instance, *to-* may be in Dependent, Medial or final form), so it is not quite in





The S=A ambitransitive verb of perception *orom hi-* ‘think, feel, understand, hear’ has nominalized form *orom hi-k* ‘understanding, mental capacity.’ The expression for ‘ponder, wonder, think about, realize’ involves *orom hi-k* preceded by *to-ng*, and usually followed by the inflected verb *to-* ‘do’ as well.

- 11.53) {Bög-in<sub>OBL</sub> e-ng-a}, [to-ng orom hi-k]<sub>O</sub> to-go-t.  
 house-LOC come-DEP-MV do-DEP understand put-NMZ do-RP-1SG  
 ‘On coming home, I thought (about it).’

One idiomatic tight multi-verb construction with initial *to-ng* element is *to-ng hat yii-* ‘do-DEP change.state bite s.o.,’ ‘help s.o.’ This expression comprises the verbs *to-* ‘do,’ *hat-* ‘stay, swirl, become, leaf out, etc.’ and *y-ii-* ‘bite s.o.’ (The intransitive verb *hat-* is highly polysemous, although its transitivity value does not change with its various meanings. It serves as a support for the adjectival root *hum* ‘cold, dull’ in the light verb construction *hum hat-* ‘become dull, cold.’<sup>34</sup> It may mean ‘swirl up’ when the S argument is *yamuk* ‘water,’ and ‘leaf out’ when the S argument is a type of plant. It also serves in Causative I constructions (§6.8) in which the Causee is abandoned or left behind.)

### 11.2.5 The verb *i-mo-* ‘give’ with benefactive meaning in complex predicates

The verb *i-mo-* ‘give’ often has benefactive meaning when combined with another verb in a complex predicate. This is a very well-attested pattern cross-linguistically (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 149-151). Usually, *i-mo-* is the final lexical verb of the predicate, as *bangan ye-mo-ng=ir-a-mong* in the following, ‘put.on.neck 3NSG.O-give-DEP be-PRES.NSG-1PL,’ ‘we put (it) on their necks for them.’

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<sup>34</sup> The expression *hum hat-* ‘become dull’ may apply to knives and other things that must stay powerful and sharp, and also to eyes. While deafness is described as ‘ears being stoppered,’ blindness is described as ‘eyes becoming dull.’

11.54) {[Högök        nungon]s        e-u-ya},  
white                what                come-DS.2/3PL-MV  
{[bangan        ye-mo-ng=ir-a-mong]}.  
bear.on.neck        3NSG.O-give-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-1PL

‘Whites or whoever coming, we make them bear (decorated bark-cloth) on their necks.’ (Nongi tik orip 2:26)

This describes how when luminaries or white people come to the area, Nungon speakers place decorated bark-cloth and other gift items around their necks, thus decorating them. The element preceding *i-mo-* ‘give’ must be a Dependent verb, not an NP: if the preceding element were an NP, this would be interpreted as an O2 argument of *i-mo-*, indicating ‘gift.’

In a few complex predicates combining other verbs with *i-mo-*, *i-mo-* could be interpreted as fully lexical. Such is *ho-ng i-mo-* ‘cook-DEP 3SG.O-give,’ meaning ‘feed s.o.,’ which could be construed as either ‘cook for someone’ (benefactive) or ‘cook (food) and give it to someone’ (non-benefactive). But *i-mo-* is grammaticalized in such expression as *temo-ng i-mo-* ‘fasten-DEP 3SG.O-give,’ meaning ‘fasten (skirt) for s.o.’ Here, there is no act of ‘giving’ that may be separated from the ‘fastening.’

A non-exhaustive list of examples of *i-mo-* in the corpus used with benefactive meaning is in table 11.6.

<b>Table 11.6. Examples of tight multi-verb constructions with <i>i-mo-</i> as Benefactive</b>		
<b>expression</b>	<b>gloss of Dependent verb</b>	<b>gloss of entire expression</b>
<i>ho-ng i-mo-</i>	cook	feed s.o.
<i>guo-ng i-mo-</i>	bathe (intransitive)	bathe s.o.
<i>to-ng/yoo-ng i-mo-</i>	take	take for s.o.
<i>hai-ng i-mo-</i>	cut down	cut down for s.o.
<i>det i-mo-</i>	harvest by cutting	cut for s.o.
<i>t-emo-ng i-mo-</i>	fasten (skirt)	fasten for s.o.
<i>doo-ng i-mo-</i>	beat (bark-cloth)	beat for s.o.
<i>bangan i-mo-</i>	wear around neck	put around s.o.'s neck for them
<i>hi-ng i-mo-</i>	place	place for s.o.
<i>tuo-ng i-mo-</i>	tie up	tie up for s.o.
<i>orom hi-ng i-mo-</i>	know, perceive	become acquainted with s.o.
<i>pudet i-mo-</i>	give way (intransitive)	give way to s.o. (on path, in house)
<i>to-ng dirong to-ng i-mo-</i>	act out, make trouble	make trouble for s.o.

When the verb used with *i-mo-* is intransitive, this contributes to the clearest benefactive meaning. For example, *guo-ng* ‘bathe-DEP’ is intransitive. When used together with *i-mo-*, however, it gains transitive semantics. A young Towet woman recalled bathing and dressing her terminally-ill father for the last time in the Huang stream at Towet before he died:

11.55) { Yamuk<sub>OBL</sub> guo-ng i-mo-ng=dup to-ng-a },  
 water bathe-DEP 3SG.O-give-DEP=COMPL do-DEP-MV  
 {[tik-no naap-no]<sub>O</sub> hi-ng  
 bark-cloth-3SG.POSS loincloth-3SG.POSS put-DEP  
 i-mo-ng=dup to-ng-a}, {{it-do-mong}}.  
 3SG.O-give-DEP=COMPL do-DEP-MV be-RP-1PL

‘Having bathed him completely, having put on his shirt and pants completely, we stayed (there).’ (Anita hon hat 3:40)

Here, because the woman’s father is infirm, she must bathe and dress him.

In these expressions, the O1 (Recipient) argument of *i-mo-* is usually not explicit in the clause: the explicit arguments are more likely to be the A argument of *i-mo-*, the O2 (Gift) argument, if the Dependent verb before *i-mo-* is transitive (for instance, *tanak* ‘food’ with *ho-ng i-mo-* ‘feed s.o.’), and/or an oblique such as *yamuk* ‘water’ in the examples above.

Finally, benefactive constructions may describe an action that is undesired or detrimental to the beneficiaries. Such is the final entry in table 11.9, *to-ng dirong to-ng i-mo-* ‘make trouble for s.o.’, more literally, act obstinately/annoyingly toward someone.’ This is exemplified at 0:11 of Dialogue II, Appendix, reproduced here as (11.56):

11.56) {[To-ng dirong]<sub>O</sub> to-ng ka-m-ang-ka-t}}=ma=ha...  
 do-DEP hair do-DEP 2NSG.O-give-PROB.SG-NF-1SG=REL=BEN  
 ‘Since I will act out toward you...’ (Dialogue II, Appendix, 0:11)

## 12 Clause combining

Clause combining is widespread in Nungon discourse. Clause chains, discussed in Chapter 6, combine one or more medial verbal clauses with one final clause, or, sometimes, two or more medial clauses without a final clause. Final verbal clauses, on the other hand, may not be ‘chained’ as such; final verbal clauses may be combined within a single sentence through processes of: coordination, in which two or more final verbal clauses are coordinated within a single intonational phrase; subordination, including relative clause constructions, complementation strategies, backgrounding, and speech reports; and disjunction, in which two final verbal clauses are linked as alternatives in a question or statement.

A single morpheme, *=ma*, serves to mark relative clauses and other subordinate or backgrounded clauses. This morpheme is familiar from §4.3.1 and §4.3.3, where its role in forming headless NPs was discussed. The connection between the headless NP-creating function, specifying function, relativizing function, and subordinating function of *=ma* is discussed in §12.5 below. More tenuous is the relationship between this *=ma* and the Remote Future tense marker *-ma*, which distinguishes the Remote Future tense inflections from the Irrealis and first person/3sg Delayed Imperative inflections (§5.4.5).

### 12.1 Final clause coordination

Clause chains in Nungon comprise one or more medial verbal clauses and one final clause; two or more final clauses may also be coordinated. The only formal difference between final clause coordination in a single sentence and the same final clauses existing as separate sentences is intonation, although there may be other syntactic clues that the two final clauses are coordinated. When final clauses are coordinated, each clause except the last coordinand features rising list-style intonation, instead of the usual declarative sentence-final falling intonation. Syntactically, the coordinated final clauses usually share at least the S/A argument, and the meanings of the two final verbs are often synonymous or otherwise semantically associated with each other. In the first example of coordinated final clauses below, *öön ma=haing-i-ng* ‘they<sub>i</sub> won’t cut (out) farm plots’ is

coordinated with *eep ma=haing-i-ng* ‘they<sub>i</sub> won’t fell trees.’ Note that the verb *hai-* ‘cut down’ is the same, and the non-explicit A of *hai-* in both clauses is also understood to be the same: idlers who don’t do farmwork.

- 12.1)      {{Öön<sub>o</sub>            ma=haing-i-ng}},      {{eep<sub>o</sub> ma=haing-i-ng}}.  
                  farm                    NEG=cut-IRR.SG-2/3PL      tree    NEG=cut-IRR.SG-2/3PL  
                  ‘They won’t clear a farm (and) they won’t fell trees.’ (Field notes)

The next example comes from the description of dance preparations in a legend. Here, three final clauses are coordinated:

- 12.2)      {Dokdok            yo-ng-a},      {{heharok<sub>o</sub>            to-gu-ng}},      {{yup<sub>o</sub> to-gu-ng}},  
                  ready                    say-DEP-MV      flower                    do-RP-2/3PL      bird                    do-RP-2/3PL  
                  {{urop,                    mö-ng                    indongo-gu-ng}}.  
                  enough                    fall-DEP                    stand.up-RP-2/3PL  
                  ‘Getting ready, they did flowers, they did feathers; finally, they just stood up.’

(Yuppe bem hat 0:38)

The three coordinated final verbal clauses share the A argument, which is understood from seven final clauses earlier. Here, the intonation of the first medial clause and the first two final clauses is rising list-style intonation. The second syllable of the third final verb, *indongo-gu-ng*, does feature falling intonation.

Both of the above examples of coordinated final verbal clauses could be rephrased to eliminate the coordination with little semantic difference. The coordinated clauses in (12.1) could be rephrased using the dubitative marker, as *öön hu, eep hu, ma haing-i-ng* ‘farms, perhaps, trees, perhaps, they won’t cut.’ The second could be rephrased by putting the first two final verbs into Medial form, as *{heharok to-ng-a}, {yup to-ng-a}, {mö-ng indongo-gu-ng}*.

## 12.2 Verbal clause conjunction and disjunction

Alternative questions and disjunct coordination may link either final verbal clauses or medial verbal clauses. The polar and alternative question marker *ha* was discussed in §3.5.4 and §10.7.11. In alternative questions involving verbal clauses, the alternatives are most often final clauses, as in example (10.98), but they could conceivably also be medial clauses. As noted in Chapter 3 and Chapter 10, the polar and alternative question marker *ha* only functions in the interrogative mood. With disjunct coordination in the declarative mood, the dubitative marker *hu* (§3.5.4) may serve instead of *ha* after each alternative, meaning ‘perhaps X, perhaps Y.’ Also in the declarative mood, the adjective *au* ‘other’ can serve after each alternative with meaning ‘either X or Y.’ Usually, alternative coordinands marked by *au* are limited to two. An example with medial clauses followed by *au* is in Narrative I, Appendix, 1:12.

## 12.3 Relative constructions in Nungon

Relative clauses in Nungon are formed by postposing the polyfunctional morpheme *=ma* to the relative clause. Relative clauses will be discussed here using the framework of Dixon (2010b: 313-369). We may consider a relative clause construction to involve two clauses—a Relative Clause (RC) and Main Clause (MC)—as well as a Common Argument (CA) that features in both RC and MC. In Nungon, the fullest statement of the CA is usually in the MC. Like arguments in all Nungon verbal clauses, however, the CA may be non-explicit in the MC. In such instances, the CA is omitted entirely from both MC and RC.

Relative clauses in Nungon may be formed in two general ways. If the RC is a verbless clause, it is formally unmarked. If the RC is a verbal clause, it must be marked—after the final RC constituent—with the relativizer *=ma*. A RC with verbal predicate must end in a final verb; medial clauses may not conclude an RC. With RC constructions involving both verbless and verbal clauses, the CA may serve in any role in the MC. When the RC comprises a verbless clause, the CA must be referenced as Possessor within the RC. When the RC comprises a verbal clause, the CA may only serve as S/A or O within the RC, thus fitting with Keenan and Comrie’s accessibility hierarchy

(Keenan and Comrie 1977). As mentioned in §4.2.2, the deverbal nominalization ‘participle’ form may serve as a relativization strategy. See table 12.1 in section §12.3.2 below for a summary.

### 12.3.1 CA as Possessor in RC and S/A in MC: verbless relative clauses

Nungon RCs may be verbless clauses. These constructions could possibly be analysed as parentheticals, but are not prefaced by pauses.

Verbless clauses that serve as relative clauses are fairly restricted in form. In these clauses, the CA must serve as Possessor, referenced through pertensive marking on the verbless clause subject (VCS). The CA, which must be an NP, is stated within the MC, then immediately followed by the RC. The VCS may be anyone or anything that can be linked through pertensive marking to the CA: body parts, kin terms, and other nouns that may be possessed (for instance, *öön* ‘farm plot,’ *maa* ‘name,’ *bök* ‘house, village, home’). The verbless clause complement (VCC), may be an NP or an adjective.

Narratives discussing people whose names may not be familiar to listeners often name characters by introducing them first with a generic descriptor, e.g. *amna* ‘man,’ *oe* ‘woman,’ *ketket* ‘boy,’ *oesit* ‘girl,’ followed by a verbless RC construction stating the character’s name. Example (12.3) shows that this construction may serve as a stand-alone verbless clause; *maa-ya* ‘your name’ is the subject, and *Hana* is the complement:

- 12.3)      *Maa-ya*<sub>VCS</sub>      *Hana*<sub>VCC</sub>.  
                  name-2SG.POSS Hannah  
                  ‘Your name (is) Hannah.’

Clauses of this structure are not infrequent as RCs in narrative. Thus, the CA in (12.4) below is *amna* ‘man,’ which has its fullest expression in the MC and is referenced as Possessor with the pertensive suffix *-no* in the RC. In the discussion of RCs in this section, the CA is underlined:

- 12.4)      *Urop*, [*amna*<sub>Pr</sub> *maa-no*<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub>      *Bafic*<sub>VCC</sub>]<sub>RC</sub>=*kos*      *yo-go-c*.  
                  enough man      name-3SG.POSS *Bafic*=FOC      say-RP-3SG  
                  ‘Enough, a man named *Bafic* spoke.’ (Watno emoc morö 0:15)

In the next sentence, RCs comprising verbless clauses specify whether the women discussed had sound or faulty legs for climbing trees. Again, the pertensive markers on the verbless clause subjects in both RCs reference the CA:

- 12.5)      {[[Oe<sub>HEAD</sub>      ambarak<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>Pr</sub> [[eet    yoni]<sub>Pe:VCS</sub>      orog-ovcc]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>s</sub>,  
               woman            all                    leg      3PL.POSS            good-ADJ  
               kugek=dek<sub>OBL</sub> horogon<sub>OBL</sub>      öö-ng=dup                    t-u-ya},  
               tree.sp=LOC      above                    ascend-DEP=COMPL      do-DS.2/3PL-MV  
               {[[oe<sub>HEAD</sub>      inggouk<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>Pr</sub> [eet-no<sub>Pe:VCS</sub>      moin-novcc]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>s</sub>      ongo-ng-a},  
               woman            one                    leg-3SG.POSS      bad-ADJ                    go-DEP-MV  
               {[[kugek<sub>Pr</sub>      hor-Ope]=dek<sub>OBL</sub>                    it-do-k}}.  
               tree.sp            base-3SG.POSS=LOC      be-RP-3SG

‘All the women whose legs were good having completely climbed to the top of the *kugek* tree, one woman whose legs were bad, going on, stayed at the base of the *kugek*.’

(Lynne bem hat 0:07)

In both of the examples above of verbless RC constructions, if the RCs were omitted, the resulting sentences would still read well.

### 12.3.2 CA in various syntactic roles

As noted above, the CA may have various syntactic roles within both the RC and MC. These are summarized in table 12.1:

**Table 12.1. Functions of CA in RC and MC**

		RC function				
		S/A	O	oblique	possessor	topic
MC function	S/A	yes	yes		verbless RC only	no
	O	yes	yes		verbless RC only	no
	oblique	yes	yes	yes	verbless RC only	no
	possessor	yes	yes		verbless RC only	no
	topic	yes	yes		verbless RC only	no

1. CA as S/A in both RC and MC.

In example (12.6), the CA *Towet amna* ‘man of Towet’ is S argument in the RC and A argument in the MC:

12.6)    [[Towet<sub>MOD</sub>    amna<sub>HEAD</sub>]    {{∅    ongo-go-k}}<sub>RC=ma</sub>]=ho<sub>A</sub>  
           Towet            man                            go-RP-3SG}}=REL=FOC  
           um<sub>O</sub>            woro-go-k.  
           bamboo.sp       pull-RP-3SG

‘It was the Towet man who left who started the fire by friction (lit.: pulled the *um* bamboo).’ (David Ögate 3:55)

2. CA as O in both RC and MC.

In (12.7), the CA is the noun *maa* ‘speech.’ It is the fronted topic of the sentence, co-referential with the omitted O argument of the verb *yo-∅-t* in the RC:

12.7) Maa<sub>TOP</sub> wo-i {{ {{{{Ø yo-Ø-t}}=ma]=gono yo-wang-na  
 speech that-TOP say-NP-1SG=REL=RSTR say-PROB.SG-IMNT  
 ta-a-r}}-a.  
 do-PRES-1SG-ATT

‘The speech, as for that, I am just going to say that which I already said.’ (Nongi maa hat 14 0:21)

In (12.8), the CA, *arap* ‘game animal,’ is O argument in the RC and topicalized (co-referent of the O argument) in the MC. The non-singular number of *arap* is indexed through object prefixes on *yoo-ng-a* in the RC and *h-öö-ng* in the MC, and it is also referred to anaphorically by the demonstrative *wo* in the MC:

12.8) [Arap<sub>CA:O</sub> {{{{Ø yoo-ng-a}} {{ep-bu-ng}}=ma]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>  
 game NSG.O.take-DEP-MV come-RP-2/3PL=REL  
 wo<sub>O</sub> h-öö-ng hi-gu-ng.  
 that NSG.O-ascend-DEP put-RP-2/3PL

‘The game [which they brought], that, they put up (to dry).’ (Fooyu Yawan bem hat 5:17)

Example (4.58) in Chapter 4 also shows a sentence including an RC with the CA in O function in both RC and MC. There, however, the CA is explicit in neither MC nor RC. That is, in the response to the question: ‘Which bag shall I bring you?’ the CA *yok* ‘bag’ was omitted from the answer, *gaga<sub>A</sub> na-mo-go-rok=ma...* ‘the one that you yourself gave me.’ In this instance, the CA is recoverable from context, since it was explicit in the immediately-preceding question.

### 3. CA as O in RC, S/A in MC

This is the case in line 3:32 of Narrative II, Appendix.

### 4. CA as O in RC, oblique in MC



- 12.11)    {[Ketket-na=ho<sub>Pr</sub>\_\_\_\_\_öön<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub>    [∅<sub>OBL</sub> {{böko ta-a-k}}]=ma=dek<sub>OBL</sub>  
 boy-1SG.POSS=FOC    farm                            house do-PRES-3SG=REL=LOC  
 hi-ng-a}...  
 put-DEP-MV  
 ‘Coming from my son’s farm, where he is making a house...’ (Narrative II, 2:53)

### 12.3.3 Relative clause chains and multi-verb constructions

Relative clauses may be internally complex, involving one or more medial clauses as well as a final clause. Although Nungon medial clauses may function as complete utterances in various contexts (§6.4), a verbal relative clause must end with a fully-inflected final verb. Medial and Dependent verbs cannot host the relativizer =*ma*.

Example (10.95) in Chapter 10 showed a relative clause chain, including one medial clause and one final clause. The next pair of examples, from a conversation reported in a narrative, show an RC with a complex predicate, and a relative clause chain. The background is: two Towet women and the husband of one of the women went on a hunting expedition in the forest. Their dogs took off after some game, and the man followed the dogs with his bow and arrows. As they waited for him, one woman told the other that the game—which neither had seen—was an echidna. The other responded sarcastically with a relative clause comprising a tight multi-verb construction (§11.2):

- 12.12)    ∅<sub>O</sub>    [{{Gogo<sub>A</sub>    ∅<sub>O</sub>    tuo-ng    hi-go-rok}}]=ma]<sub>RC</sub>  
           2SG.PRO+FOC                    tie.up-DEP    put-RP-2SG=REL  
           {to-ng-a}                    {e-un-a}                    {{ya-a-rok}}    ha?  
           SG.O.take-DEP-MV    come-DS.3SG-MV    say-PRES-2SG    QUES

‘He having brought that which you tied up and placed, do you speak?’ (Fooyu boop hat 1:38)

The meaning here is: ‘How can you know it is an echidna? Has he already brought it, and he recognized it as some echidna that you yourself tied up for the dogs to find?’ The animal did, however, turn out to be an echidna. Vindicated, the addressee of (12.12) told the other woman:

12.13)  $\emptyset$  [[{Nogo<sub>A</sub>  $\emptyset$ <sub>o</sub> ga-no-wa-ya}, {yo- $\emptyset$ -rok}]=ma]<sub>RC</sub>,  
 1SG.PRO+FOC 2SG.O-tell-DS.1SG-MV say-NP-2SG=REL

aa-hi!

3SG.O.see-IMM.IMP.2SG

‘That which I told you, then you spoke (sarcastically): behold it!’ (Fooyu boop 1:46)

## 12.4 Complementation strategies

Nungon has no canonical complement clause constructions, in which entire clauses serve as core arguments of other clauses. Nungon does, however, have at least two complementation strategies (Dixon 2010b: 405) primarily used with verbs of attention, thinking, and deciding. These are nominalization—especially to express purposive meaning—and clause chaining.

### 12.4.1 Nominalization as complementation strategy

Perhaps the most frequent type of complement taken by verbs of thinking and deciding is the purposive construction, which also occurs with verbs of speaking (introduced in §4.2). This construction comprises a nominalized verb (see §4.2) of Comrie and Thompson’s ‘action/state noun’ type (2007: 334), and the benefactive postposition =*ha*. Thus, what would be a complement clause in languages that have them is framed as an oblique verbal argument: ‘I thought about going,’ instead of ‘I thought that I would go.’

In the next example, a young man begins his confession about cutting down someone else’s bananas with the excuse that he had cut them to save them from the flying foxes—and first planned to set the bananas aside, not eat them on the spot.

- 12.14) {Aa-wa-ya}, {hanggamba=ho<sub>A</sub> na-ng-a i-in-a},  
 3SG.O.see-DS.1SG-MV flying.fox=FOC eat-DEP-MV be-DS.3SG-MV  
 {hai-ng mo-ra mö-un-a}, {[to-ng  
 cut-DEP SG.O.CAUS-1SG fall-DS.3SG-MV SG.O.take-DEP  
 higik]=ka<sub>OBL</sub> oro hi-go-t}}.  
 put.NMZ:RED=BEN understand put-RP-1SG

‘I seeing (the banana bunch), the flying fox being eating it, I making it fall by cutting it, I thought of putting it aside (instead of eating it).’ (J orin V hawek 0:15)

In (12.14), the tight multi-verb construction *to-ng hi-* is nominalized through reduplication of the second verb: *hi-k-hi-k* becomes *higik*. The participle form is also found, as in the next example:

- 12.15) {Ittu<sub>O</sub> to-wa-ya}, {{Wau<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ng-gong=ka<sub>OBL</sub> ya-a-k}}.  
 dream do-DS.1SG-MV Wau go-DEP-PART=BEN say-PRES-3SG

‘I dreaming, (the dream) speaks of going to Wau.’ (Gaus inoin hat 16:19)

#### 12.4.2 Clause chains as complementation strategies

Clause chains often serve as complementation strategies with verbs of attention. A medial clause or chain of medial clauses describe that which is attended to. In the first example below, a speaker describes a young man as hearing the speaker fall from a coffee tree, and running to his rescue.

- 12.16) {Mö-ng-a}, {pup<sub>SR</sub> yo-wa-ya}, {oro hi-ng-a}, {{wan  
 fall-DEP-MV ONOM say-DS.1SG-MV understand put-DEP-MV fast  
 oo-ng ep-bo-k}}.  
 descend-DEP come-RP-3SG

‘Falling, I going “pup!” he hearing it, he quickly descended and came.’ (Hesienare kopi 0:30)

Although it is likely that this strategy may be used with the Nungon verb *eto-* ‘forget,’ no such instances are found in the corpus.



Narratives are commonly introduced with a summary of the narrative framed as a final clause marked by *=ma* and by the genitive postposition *=hon*, followed by the noun *hat* ‘story.’ In such constructions, the entire final clause marked by *=ma* serves as Possessor in a possessive NP:

- 12.18)    [[{ {Doo-ng                    na-ng=it-do-k} }=ma]=hon<sub>Pr</sub>    [hat]<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>O</sub>  
                  3NSG.O.beat-DEP            eat-DEP=be-RP-3SG=REL=GEN    story  
                  yo-wang-ka-t.  
                  tell-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
                  ‘That he used to kill and eat them’s story I will tell.’ (David Ögate 0:33)

In the above sentence, the speaker could have added the pertensive marker *-no* ‘3SG.POSS’ to *hat* ‘story,’ the *Pe* argument of the possessive construction, but this is optional, since *hat* is not requisitely possessed. As with relative constructions (§12.3.3), the subordinate clause that serves as argument or Possessor may be complex, comprising a simple single-verb predicate, a tight multi-verb construction as in (12.18) or a clause chain, and being able to include several explicit core and oblique arguments.

In both examples (12.17) and (12.18), despite the fact that the subordinate clause plays a different syntactic role in each, the clause is semantically the topic of discussion in both examples. In (12.19) below, the subordinate clause is marked with the benefactive postposition, as in (12.17), but here the clause is semantically the reason for the action of the main clause:

- 12.19)    {{            {{Iik-ni<sub>ADV</sub>            ta-a-k} }=ma=ha<sub>OBL</sub>            noka            ma=i-no-ng  
                  anger-ADJ            do-PRES-3SG=REL=BEN 1SG.PRO            NEG=3SG.O-tell-DEP  
                  yo-Ø-t}}.  
                  say-NP-1SG  
                  ‘Because he is being annoying, I do not speak to him.’ (Field notes)

Example (4.39) in Chapter 4 shows an instance in which a clause marked by *=ma* essentially functions as verbless clause subject, while the complement of the verbless clause is the negated adjective *orog-o muuno* ‘not good.’ In the next section, another kind of causal relationship expressed with *=ma* is discussed.

## 12.5.2 Backgrounded subordinate clauses marked with =ma

Final clauses marked with =ma that: a) do not function as oblique arguments or Possessor in other clauses, and b) are not relative clauses, are backgrounded with varying semantic relationships to the main clause. These generally do not bear sentence-final falling intonation. Although here—unlike the constructions described in (§12.4.1)—there is no grammatical relation-marking postposition on the subordinate clause, such a postposition may be added in every instance after =ma. Its ability to host grammatical relation-marking postpositions would seem to imply that the =ma-marked clause here is a nominalization, although see §8.4 for instances of benefactive postposition =ha directly cliticizing to fully-inflected final verbs. Further indication that the =ma-marked clause is a nominalization is the use of demonstrative *wo* ‘that’ to refer to it anaphorically. The semantic relationship between the subordinate clause X and main clause Y in such instances is most often: a) perfect aspectual, ‘X having occurred, Y’; or b) causal, ‘because of X, Y.’ If a =ma-marked clause occurs alone, with no following unmarked clause, there is the sense of ellipsis, with the information that could have been conveyed in a following clause understood from context.

The two semantic relationships are illustrated below. Here, instead of putting brackets around the entire main clause, each clause is marked as either subordinate or main.

a) perfect aspectual relationship:

12.20)    {{Usandu<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-Ø-k}}=ma<sub>SUB</sub>,    {{ep-pa-k}}<sub>MAIN</sub>.  
           somewhere    go-NP-3SG=REL    come-PRES.SG-3SG  
           ‘Having gone somewhere, she’s come.’ (Field notes)

12.21)    {{Ep-bo-t}}=ma<sub>SUB</sub>,    wo-i,    {{ng-ondo<sub>OBL</sub> y-aa-go-t}}=ma<sub>SUB</sub>,  
           come-RP-1SG=REL    that-TOP    this-LDEM.NEAR 3NSG.O-see-RP-1SG=REL  
           {{{[[babiya<sub>MOD</sub> bök<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> ng-ondo<sub>OBL</sub>    ma=it-du-ng}}}<sub>MAIN</sub>.  
           paper    house    other    this-LDEM.NEAR    NEG=be-RP-2/3PL  
           ‘Having come, that is, I saw them here: there were not other schools here.’ (Gaus

inoin hat 6:00)

In the next example, the =*ma*-marked clause does not precede another clause, but the information that would have been represented in such a clause is understood from context. Sitting around the hearth, someone makes to turn over some roasting plantains. Someone else protests:

- 12.22)     {{Iwar-e-t}}=ma,     wo-i!  
           turn-NP-1SG=REL     that-TOP  
           ‘I turned (them), that is!’ (Field notes)

The =*ma*-marked clause may be understood as background to an unstated assumption that the plantains do not need to be turned over: ‘I having turned them already, they are fine as they are.’ This could also be understood as causal: ‘Since I already turned them, they are fine/you do not need to turn them.’

b) causal relationship

A causal semantic relationship may be understood to follow from the perfect aspectual relationship: That is, something that has already happened may be the grounds for understanding a newer circumstance: ‘X having happened, Y’ → ‘given X, Y’ → ‘since X, Y.’ A causal semantic relationship between the =*ma*-marked clause and the following clause is exemplified in example (11.39) in Chapter 11, translated as: ‘Since I didn’t wear a blanket last night, I stayed cold; since I am wearing two layers now, I’ll sleep well.’ It is seen in a question in the next example:

- 12.23)     {{Amna<sub>A</sub>     eepo     waga-ng-a     it-ta-k}}=ma,  
           man             wood     pound-DEP-MV     be-PRES.SG-3SG=REL  
           {{deogo     to-nang-ka-mong}}?  
           how             do-PROB.PL-NF-1PL  
           ‘Since a man is pounding wood (on the Sabbath), what should we do?’ (Gosing  
           Mosasi 4:54)

In the next example, a speaker protests that because he does not know how to start fire using friction, his interlocutor should start their fire himself:

- 12.24)    {{[Woro-ng-gong=kon<sub>Pr</sub>      horo<sub>Pe</sub>]o      ma=ro  
pull-DEP-PART=GEN      root      NEG=understand  
hi-t}}=ma,      {{gogo<sub>A</sub>      woro-hi}}.  
put-PRES.1SG=REL      2SG.PRO+FOC      pull-IMM.IMP.2SG  
‘Since I don’t know how to pull really well, you pull!’ (David Ögate 8:50)

Especially with a causal relationship between the =*ma*-marked clause and the main clause, the benefactive postposition =*ha* may be added to an anaphoric demonstrative *wo* referring back to the =*ma*-marked clause. Since *wo* may refer anaphorically only to NPs, this is a strong indication that the clause marked with =*ma* in fact functions as an NP. In the next example, one =*ma*-marked clause functions as an oblique argument within another =*ma*-marked clause:

- 12.25)    {{      {{Iso-wang-na      to-go-k}}=ma=ha<sub>OBL</sub>      yup<sub>A</sub>      maa-no<sub>O</sub>  
                 dawn-PROB.SG-IMNT      do-RP-3SG=REL=BEN      bird      speech-3SG.POSS  
yo-ng=it-ta-k}}=ma<sub>i</sub>,      {wo<sub>i</sub>=ha      wo-rok,  
say-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG=REL      that=BEN      that-SEMBL  
[orug-o<sub>HEAD</sub>      au=ma<sub>MOD</sub>]s      indongo-ng-a}, {{eepi<sub>O</sub> to-go-k}}.  
brother.of.male-3SG.POSS other=SPEC      stand.up-DEP-MV      fire      SG.O.take-RP-3SG  
‘Since it was about to dawn, birds (were) speak(ing) their calls; because of this, the  
other brother rising, took up (some) fire.’ (Geisch nanno 9:32)

The next example, (12.26), shows a final verbal clause marked by =*ma* that has a semantic causal relationship to the following clause. Here, the =*ma*-marked subordinate final clause also includes a canonical relative clause marked by =*ma*:

12.26)	{{Asap <sub>CA:O</sub>	{{∅	nain <sub>OBL</sub> ep-bo-k}}	=ma,	ma=ro
	path		where	come-RP-3SG=REL	NEG=understand
	hi-wa-t}}	=ma,	{gogo <sub>A</sub>	wo-rok	unga hato
	put-NP.SG-1SG=SUB		2SG.PRO+FOC	that-SEMBL	today story
	na-n-i-ya}		{{oro	hi-wang-ka-t}}.	
	1SG.O-tell-DS.2SG-MV		understand	put-PROB.SG-NF-1SG	

‘Since I don’t know the path from which he came, you thus telling me now, I will understand.’ (Idit orogo 0:06)

## 12.6 Relativizer/specifier =*ma*

The morpheme =*ma* marking canonical relative clauses was introduced in §12.3. This morpheme is argued here to be identical to the morpheme =*ma* that serves as subordinator (§12.5), and further to the morpheme =*ma* that creates headless NPs (§4.3). It is impossible at this point in data collection to prove that this =*ma* shares a common origin with the Remote Future tense marker -*ma*, but there is some indication of this, discussed below in (§12.6.2). Across its functions, wherever =*ma* follows a verb that is not nominalized, the verb must be a final verb that is not inflected for imperative mood.

The functions of =*ma* described thus far are:

- i. creating a headless NP (§4.3.3)
- ii. marking specificity on a headed NP (§4.3.3)
- iii. creating a canonical relative clause from a final verbal clause (§12.3)
- iv. allowing a final verbal clause to serve as an oblique argument in another clause, or Possessor in an NP (§12.5.1)
- v. subordinating a final verbal clause to another, probably by nominalizing it (§12.5.2)

Multiple instances of =*ma* may occur in a clause with multiple functions. That is, =*ma* could occur marking specificity on an NP that is also the CA of a relative clause (§12.3). In the example

below, the NP [*orug-o au=ma*] ‘brother.of.male-3SG.POSS other=SPEC’ is also CA for the relative clause [*horogon on-eno it-do-k*]=*ma* ‘above uphill.LDEM.FAR be-RP-3SG=REL.’

- 12.27)    {{[Orug-o<sub>HEAD</sub>                      au=ma<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>CA:A</sub> {{∅    horogon    on-eno  
 brother.of.male-3SG.POSS    other=SPEC                      above                      uphill-FAR  
 it-do-k}}=ma=ho<sub>A</sub>...    i-no-go-k}}.  
 be-RP-3SG=REL=FOC    3SG.O-tell-RP-3SG  
 ‘His other brother, who was up above...told him.’ (Geisch nanno orin orugo 5:43)

In addition to functions (i-v), =*ma* has three further functions. These are:

vi. marking source or origin (§12.6.1)

vii. marking realis (§12.6.2)

viii. linking sentences (§12.6.3).

These last three functions are closely related to function (v) of =*ma*: subordinating, with perfect aspectual or causal meaning.

### 12.6.1 =*ma* marking source or origin

When postposed to an NP referring to physical or temporal location, =*ma* may mark this NP as the source of movement—‘from there,’ ‘since that time’—or as origin—‘originating in Towet,’ ‘originating in the olden days.’ When the NP serves as oblique argument in a verbal clause, or in a clause in which a verb has been ellipsed, it must be interpreted as the source of movement. In all other contexts (when the =*ma*-marked NP modifies another noun in a complex NP, and when it serves as headless NP core argument in a verbal clause, or VCS or VCC in a verbless clause, or is cited out of any context), the interpretation must be one of origin, nor source.

Examples (12.28-30) are consecutive utterances from a text describing a physical journey. Here, even without verbs of motion, the local demonstrative or place name marked by =*ma* suffices to sketch out a trajectory:

- 12.28) Wo-ndo=*ma*<sub>OBL</sub>,                      Koyomin<sub>OBL</sub>    duo-go-mong.  
 there-LDEM.NEAR=SOURCE    Koyomin    sleep-RP-1PL  
 ‘From there, we slept at Koyomin.’ (Fooyu Deerim 0:13)
- 12.29) Koyomin=*ma*,                      Komutuk.  
 Koyomin=SOURCE    Komutuk  
 ‘From Koyomin, (we went on to) Komutuk.’ (Fooyu Deerim 0:16)
- 12.30) {{Komutuk<sub>OBL</sub> duo-go-mong}}.    Komutuk=*ma*,                      wo=ho=gon,  
 Komutuk    sleep-RP-1PL                      Komutuk=SOURCE                      that=FOC=RSTR  
 Tipsit.  
 Tipsit  
 ‘We slept at Komutuk. From Komutuk, just along there, (we continued to) Tipsit.’  
 (Fooyu Deerim 0:20)

Used in this way, *=ma* has similar effect to *hi-ng-a*, the Medial form of the verb *hi-* ‘to put,’ used to mean ‘being (in a place)’ before going somewhere else: see example (12.11) above (which also occurs as (8.75) and 2:53 in Narrative II, Appendix).

At first, the meaning of examples in Chapter 4 such as (4.59), *ketket youp=ma* ‘boy work=*ma*’: ‘a boy of work’ seems to differ greatly from that of *Koyomin=ma* ‘(coming) from Koyomin.’ That is, *ketket youp=ma* could not be interpreted with implied motion, as \*‘a boy (coming) from work.’ But in the right context, if *youp=ma* (without *ketket*) preceded a pause and were understood to indicate source of motion, it could mean ‘from work.’ Otherwise, *youp=ma* would have to be interpreted as the headless NP ‘(something) of/belonging to work.’

If *youp* ‘work’ in *ketket youp=ma* were replaced by the place name *Koyomin*, *ketket Koyomin=ma* would mean ‘boy of/from Koyomin.’ The meaning ‘origin’ occurs in all contexts when *=ma* allows a noun to modify another noun (§4.3.3).

### 12.6.2 =*ma* marking actuality or reality

The counterfactual construction that employs benefactive postposition=*ha* was introduced in §8.4.4. In this construction, the postposition =*ha* encliticizes directly to a final verb in the protasis of a counterfactual sentence. If the final verb is marked with =*ma* and the benefactive postposition encliticizes after =*ma*, the final verb of the following clause may not inflect for Counterfactual. The presence of =*ma* blocks the interpretation that the action or event has been unrealized. Example (12.31) is very similar to (8.54) of Chapter 8; this example shows the counterfactual construction using benefactive postposition=*ha*:

- 12.31)    [{{Ongo-Ø-k}}]=ka]<sub>PROTASIS</sub>,    [{{og-ego<sub>OBL</sub>    it-tun}}]<sub>APODOSIS</sub>.  
           go-NP-3SG=BEN                    level-LDEM.FAR            be-CNTR.3SG  
           ‘If she had gone, she would be yonder.’ (Field notes)

If the verb in the protasis of the sentence in (12.31) were marked with =*ma* and then the benefactive postposition =*ha*, the non-actualized interpretation, and the Counterfactual inflection on the next verb, are impossible. This may be seen in (12.32):

- 12.32)    [{{Ongo-Ø-k}}=ma=ha]<sub>PROTASIS</sub>,            [{{og-ego<sub>OBL</sub>    it-ta-k}}]<sub>APODOSIS</sub>.  
           go-NP-3SG=REL=BEN                    level-LDEM.FAR be-PRES.SG-3SG  
           ‘Since she went, she is yonder.’ (Field notes) [Counterfactual inflection of verb *it-*  
           ‘be,’ as *og-ego it-tun*, is ungrammatical]

Similarly, there are no examples in the corpus of a subordinate clause marked by =*ma* being followed by a final clause inflected for Counterfactual, irrealis, or probable.

All of this taken together implies that when a final verbal clause is subordinated with =*ma*, this subordinate clause must be interpreted as realis. The Nungon Remote Future tense is formed by adding a suffix *-ma* to the irrealis inflection. It is possible that the *-ma* that distinguishes the (realis) Remote Future tense from the irrealis inflection originated as the same =*ma* that also serves functions (i-vii) in §12.5 above.

### 12.6.3 =*ma* linking sentences

In all the examples with =*ma* seen thus far, =*ma* closely follows a clause, adjective, or NP for specification, relativization, or subordination. Usually, there is no pause between =*ma* and the preceding expression. But occasionally, =*ma* occurs between pauses, serving to link sentences. Here, the usual restriction on the constituents =*ma* follows applies: even if a pause intervenes between =*ma* and the clause it follows, the immediately-preceding constituent cannot be a medial verb.

Phonologically, this occurrence of (=)*ma* on its own is similar to occurrence of the other two special clitics, the polar question marker *ha* and the dubitative marker *hu* (§3.5.4, §10.7.11). That is, all three special clitics are phonetically lengthened when separated by pauses from other constituents. Use of non-cliticized *ma* after a pause indicates that speakers do conceive of the multi-functional =*ma* as a discourse element in its own right, utterable in isolation from the expression it follows.

When *ma* follows a narrative, it caps the narrative in a similar way to the way it subordinates a single final clause. That is, it serves to package a chunk of discourse, ranging in length from a single final clause to an entire narrative, into an NP that can host the benefactive postposition. In the examples that follow, the period [.] represents a pause of at least one second between the preceding final verb and *ma*; the final verb just before the period has falling intonation typical of end-of-sentence intonation in Nungon. Example (3.38) in Chapter 3 came from a text describing the movements of the sun above the Uruwa River valley. Example (12.33) is an expanded excerpt from that text, including the excerpt from (3.38). Here, the speaker paused for over one second between the final verb *öö-ha-k* ‘ascend-PRES.SG-3SG’ and *ma*.

- 12.33)    {{[Non=ton<sub>Pr</sub> ha-in<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>,    haas    ngo-go<sub>ADV</sub>    oo-ha-k }}.  
 INSG.PRO=GEN area-LOC    area    this-ADV    descend-PRES.SG-3SG  
 {{[Worin<sub>MOD</sub> ha-in<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>TOP</sub>    wo=ma-i    haas    öö-ha-k }}.  
 Worin    area-LOC    that=SPEC-TOP    area    ascend-PRES.SG-3SG  
 {Ma=ha<sub>OBL</sub> to-ng-a},    {{iyeps karup ma=horin-g=it-ta-k }}.  
 LINK=BEN    do-DEP-MV    sun    quick    NEG=shine-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG

‘In our area, the area goes down, like this. In the Worin area, that is, the area goes up.

Because of that, the sun does not quickly shine (in our area, unlike in Worin).’ (Nongi iyep  
 pon hat 0:22)

Here, *ma* packages (or subordinates) both preceding final clauses to serve as oblique argument (Reason) in the last final clause. The phrasing *ma=ha to-ng-a*, literally ‘doing because of...’ is a phrasing found in the speech of other speakers to summarize reasons for things.

In narrative, when it follows a pause, *ma* often signals a switch in narrative theme. It may signal the shift from a preamble to the body of a story, or it may indicate the end of a narrative and beginning of a summarizing conclusion. In these instances, it seems that *ma* serves as if to subordinate all preceding material to the sentence beginning with *ma*: ‘given all this...’ The following example is the final sentence of the preamble in a recording session. Having introduced herself, the speaker uses *ma* on its own to mark the switch into the story itself. The stand-alone *ma* that begins the sentence below comes after a pause of nearly one-half second, after a final verb with falling, sentence-final intonation:

- 12.34)    {{Ma, urop,    unga    dombisum    wo-rok    hato  
 LINK    enough today    morning    that-SEMBL    story  
 yo-wang-na    ta-a-t }}.  
 say-PROB.SG-IMNT    do-PRES.SG-1SG

‘(That being the case), that’s it, this morning, then, I am going to tell a story.’ (Fooyu  
 yong tuktuk maa 1:05)

The next example is the conclusion of a lengthy story. In the recording, there is a pause of nearly one second before *ma* and a pause of about one-half second after *ma*:

12.35)	...{[inggouk	inggouk] <sub>O</sub>	aa-wang-ka-rok}}	Ma,
	one	one	3SG.O.see-PROB.SG-NF-2SG	LINK
	[bem <sub>MOD</sub>	hat <sub>HEAD</sub> ] <sub>TOP</sub>	wo-rok,	wo-ivcs,
	ancestor	story	that-SEMBL	that-TOP
	[Waum= <sub>pon<sub>Pr</sub></sub>	[bem <sub>MOD</sub>	hat <sub>HEAD</sub> ]-no <sub>Pe</sub> ] <sub>VCC</sub> .	
	Waum= <sub>GEN</sub>	ancestor	story-3SG.POSS	

‘You will see a few (marks on the rocks showing the ancestors’ arrows). (That being the case), that is, the ancestor story, as for it, is the Waum clan’s ancestor story.’ (David Ögate 12:42)

Here, as in the previous example, *ma* links the previous discourse with a new direction, also signalling that the previous discourse comprised a cohesive whole in some sense, and that the following discourse, though related, is separate from that cohesive entity.

In sum, the functions of =*ma* outlined thus far (and also summarized above in §12.6) are:

- i. creating a headless NP (§4.3.3)
- ii. marking specificity on a headed NP (§4.3.3)
- iii. creating a canonical relative clause from a final verbal clause (§12.3)
- iv. allowing a final verbal clause to serve as an oblique argument in another clause, or Possessor in an NP (§12.451)
- v. subordinating a final verbal clause to another, probably by nominalizing it (§12.5.2)
- vi. marking source or origin (§12.6.1)
- vii. forcing actualized or realis interpretation, as opposed to counterfactual (§12.6.2)
- viii. linking sentences (this section).

## 12.7 Speech reports

The vast majority of speech reports in Nungon are direct. Direct speech reports use the verb *yo-* ‘say’ or *i-no-* ‘tell s.o.’ Direct speech reports (purport to) feature no paraphrasing by the reporter, and person reference of the original utterance is maintained. Although true indirect speech reports with complete person reference shift to reflect the perspective of the reporter may be possible in Nungon (see §12.7.2), they may be found primarily in written Nungon. Instead of framing an indirect speech report as a speech report, speakers use an indirect speech reporting strategy in which the theme of the original speech is summarized as an NP marked with the benefactive postposition =*ha*. In the course of summarizing, the person reference of the original utterance is usually changed to reflect the perspective of the reporter.

Section §12.7.1 covers the argument structures of the verbs of speech, *yo-* ‘say’ and *i-no-* ‘tell,’ while section §12.7.2 introduces types of speech reports. The reduced form of *yo-* ‘say’ that is used with speech reports in fast or colloquial speech is discussed in §12.7.3, and the Conative construction, which uses the speech verb *yo-* ‘say’ together with the verb *to-* ‘do,’ is discussed in §12.7.4.

### 12.7.1 Verbs of speech

The verbs *yo-* ‘say’ and *i-no-* ‘tell’ may each introduce a speech report. They may also combine with each other in a tight multi-verb construction, always with the verb *i-no-* first. The argument structure of the two verbs differs. *I-no-* ‘tell’ is ditransitive, with the speech report or speech NP O argument (called here O2) optional, but the addressee O argument (called here O1) obligatorily indexed through the verbal prefix. In contrast, *yo-* ‘say’ is S=A ambitransitive, and when serving as a transitive verb the O argument is the speech report or speech NP. Both A (speaker) and O1 (addressee) of the verb *i-no-* are prototypically human. (When animals are spoken of anthropomorphically, they may also serve as A or O1 arguments). The speech verb *yo-* ‘say,’ however, is generally applicable to production of sounds of all sorts and by producers of all sorts—encompassing humans, birds, and crackling dry leaves alike.

Note that it is possible to question a speech report with either *nungon* ‘what’ or *deogo* ‘how.’ Someone mishearing an utterance may ask the speaker to repeat it—or someone else present to rephrase it—with either *nungon* or *deogo*. Speech reports may be replaced in sentences by nouns such as *maa* ‘speech’ or two-noun NPs such as *maa hat* ‘speech-story’ or *bem hat* ‘ancestor-story.’ Further, they may not co-occur with such nouns serving as O arguments of the same verb of speech. Thus, speech reports are here considered to be O arguments of verbs of speech, despite the fact that they may be alternatively questioned using *deogo* ‘how,’ as well as *nungon* ‘what,’ which normally questions non-human verbal arguments.

Both speech verbs may take an NP (complex or comprising just a single noun) as O argument, or a speech report as O argument. As with other verbal clauses, clauses with speech verbs as predicates may include oblique arguments as well indicating location, time, manner, etc. The following two examples show the verb *i-no-* ‘tell’ with both an NP O argument and a speech report O argument:

12.36) {E-ng-a},      {{Hana<sub>O1</sub>      [bem<sub>MOD</sub>      hat<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>O2</sub>  
 come-DEP-MV    Hannah      ancestor      story  
 i-no-wa-mok}}.  
 3SG.O-tell-NP.NSG-1DU

‘Coming, we told Hannah an ancestor story.’ (Field notes)

12.37) {E-ng-a},      {{      [{{wos it-tun}}]<sub>SR!</sub>      i-no-wa-mok}}.  
 come-DEP-MV      that      be-IMM.IMP.3SG      3SG.O-tell-NP.NSG-1DU

‘Coming, we told her: “let it be!”’

In narratives, it is rare for the addressee to be fully specified in the same clause as the verb *i-no-* as it is in (12.36); usually, the addressee is introduced as a participant before being addressed in speech.

When the verb *yo-* ‘say’ functions intransitively, it refers to speaking in general. Like other S=A ambitransitives, when *yo-* ‘say’ functions as an intransitive, it usually co-occurs with an oblique argument or manner adverbial—or both, as in (12.38):



- 12.39)    {{Muuno<sub>SR:O</sub>, [muuno hinom]<sub>SR:O</sub>    ga-no-ha-t}},                    ketket-navoc.  
           no                    no            INTENS            2SG.O-tell-PRES.SG-1SG boy-1SG.POSS  
           ‘I tell you no, truly no, my son.’ (Dialogue I, 0:45)

In contrast, when *i-no-* occurs as first member of a multi-verb construction with *yo-* ‘say,’ it no longer takes an explicit or implicit O2 argument. This was seen in examples (5.27)—‘if it were another man, he would no longer speak to her’—and (12.19)—‘because he is acting annoying, I don’t speak to him.’ The second multi-verb construction shown in table 12.2 combines *i-no-* with the person/number object prefix-taking verb *y-uu-* (§5.3.2). Unlike the tight multi-verb construction with *yo-* ‘say,’ here both *i-no-* and *y-uu-* bear obligatory object person/number-referencing prefixes, which must share a referent (the O1 argument). It appears that this construction may take an O2 argument, but the extant examples of this are ambiguous.

### 12.7.2 Types of speech reports

Direct speech reports, i.e. non-paraphrased quoted speech in which the person reference of the original utterance has not been changed by the reporter, are by far the most common type of speech report in Nungon (see de Vries 1990 for similar remarks on Kombai). Semi-direct speech reports (Aikhenvald 2008b) may be considered a sub-category of direct speech reports with partial ‘person shift’ (Aikhenvald 2008b: 387). Paltry examples of indirect speech reports are shown at the end of this section.

Direct speech reports may be introduced with the inflected final form of the verb *yo-* ‘say,’ or *i-no-* ‘tell,’ this inflected final form of *yo-* or *i-no-* may intervene between the beginning of a speech report and the end, or the inflected final form of *yo-* or *i-no-* may follow the direct speech report, or *yo-* may occur in all of these places.

In the following example, the speaker remembers her father telling her to go away to school:

12.40)    {{Nan-na=ho<sub>A</sub>        na-no-go-k}}.    {{        {{{Babiy<sub>MOD</sub>    bög-in<sub>HEAD</sub>}}OBL  
 father-1SG.POSS=FOC    1SG.O-tell-RP-3SG        book        house-LOC  
 ongo-i}}<sub>SR:O!</sub>        yo-go-k}}.  
 go-IMM.IMP.2SG        say-RP-3SG

‘It was my father who told me, “Go to school!” he said.’ (Anita hon hat 0:15)

Here, the verb *na-no-go-k* in the first final clause may be understood to either have an omitted O2 argument ‘it,’ or to have no O2 argument at all, as ‘my father spoke to me.’ The direct speech report is the O argument of the verb *yo-go-k*.

Quoted thought, or internal speech (de Vries 1990, Rumsey 2009) usually takes the form of direct speech reports, but since there is no external interlocutor, the verb *i-no-* ‘tell s.o.’ is not used. (See Sarvasy 2003 for similar contrast between *inna* ‘he said/thought’ and *inna-yas* ‘he said to him/her (out loud)’ in Tashelhit Berber.) Other verbs of perception, e.g. *orom hi-* ‘know/understand’ and the verb *to-* ‘do’ may accompany internal speech reports, though *yo-* ‘say’ is more common than these other verbs. Inclinations and desires may be expressed as internal speech, often using the Immediate Imperative mood or imminent aspect inflections.

Semi-direct speech reports (Aikhenvald 2008b) are framed as direct speech reports, but feature partial shift in person reference from the original quoted speech. In all extant examples in the corpus that have been identified as semi-direct speech, this shift is from what would have been a third or second person pronoun, or personal name, to a first person basic pronoun, referencing the speaker (and associate(s), if non-singular) of the speech report.

In the first example of a semi-direct speech report, (12.41), the speech report comprises only one word. The original quoted speech was the name *Rosarin*, called out to Rosarin by her brother, David. On hearing this, Rosarin turned to me, replacing her name with the 1sg basic pronoun *nok*:

12.41) {{Nok<sub>SR:O</sub> Dewit=to<sub>A</sub> ya-a-k}}. {{Og-ondo<sub>OBL</sub>  
 1SG.PRO David=FOC say-PRES-3SG same.level-LDEM.NEAR  
 ongo-ya-t}}.  
 go-PRES-1SG

“‘Me,’ David says. I’m going over there (to see what he wants).’ (Field notes)

Semi-direct speech reporting in such a context is not obligatory. Especially when a speaker is locally important, and frequently referred to by name by others, he may mention his own name, along with second person pronouns unchanged for person reference, in direct speech reports. This is the case in the next example, from a narrative by the Towet-born Seventh-Day Adventist missionary and long-time local health worker known by his baptismal name, Gaus(i):

12.42) [{{Gaga=wuk<sub>OBL</sub>, höm<sub>TOP:O</sub> Yapem-in<sub>OBL</sub>  
 1SG.PRO.EMPH=AUTOREFL housepost Yapem-LOC  
 hai-wi-rok-ma}}]<sub>SR:O</sub> yo-ng, [Gaus<sub>VOC</sub>, gogo=gon]<sub>SR</sub>.  
 fell-IRR.SG-2SG-RF say-DEP Gaus 1SG.PRO+FOC=RSTR

“‘By yourself, the houseposts, you will fell them at Yapem,’ saying, ‘Gaus, just you will.’” (Gaus inoin hat 10:46)

In Manambu, semi-direct speech reports are only used in reporting actual speech, not in describing intentions or desires (Aikhenvald 2008b: 396; see §12.7.1 and §12.7.4 on such uses of direct speech reports in Nungon). But in Nungon, semi-direct speech reports do occur in contexts where there was no original speech act. The next example comes from a description of a large *gamat* snake. The speaker recounts that the snake looked like it wanted to come onto him and his brother. Here, the snake’s intention is cited using a Conative construction (§12.7.4), which involves a speech report. Person reference has shifted for the oblique, Location, argument *non=dek* ‘1NSG.PRO=LOC’ (‘onto us’) within the speech report, but not for the 1sg subject of the verb *e-wa-ya* ‘come-DS.1SG-MV,’ which still refers to the snake.

12.43) {Ewek=kos hata-ng-a} {{{non=dek<sub>OBL</sub> e-wa-ya}}SR  
 snake=FOC turn.around-DEP-MV 1NSG.PRO=LOC come-DS.1SG-MV  
 yo-ng-a} {{to-go-k}}.  
 say-DEP-MV do-RP-3SG

‘The snake turning, wanted to come onto us.’ [Literally: ‘Saying “I having come onto us,” it acted.’] (Stanli gamat 1:38)

The Conative construction (§12.7.4) presents the snake’s intention as a direct speech report, although there was no original speech act. Here, it would have been strange for the speaker, Stanli, to give a direct speech report without person shift, as *yu=dek e-wa-ya*, ‘3.PRO=LOC come-DS.1SG-MV.’ This would actually mean ‘let me come onto her/him/they,’ referring to someone who is neither co-referential with Stanli nor with the snake. This implies that in such a context, semi-direct speech reporting is obligatory in Nungon.

Indirect speech reports in Nungon are exceedingly rare in the corpus. Where they do occur, there is no formal marking of the indirect speech report, which follows the verb of speech. The following example comes from a letter from a twenty-year-old literate Nungon speaker:

12.44) {{Gok<sub>A</sub> muyu<sub>ADV</sub> Eric<sub>O</sub> i-no-ng y-irök}}  
 2SG.PRO despite.all Eric 3SG.O-tell-DEP say-DEL.IMP.2SG  
 {{nok<sub>S</sub> July=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ö-i-t-ma}}.  
 1SG.PRO July=LOC ascend-IRR.SG-1SG-RF

‘Despite (the circumstances), you tell Eric that I will go up in July.’ (Letter 5)

Here, the indirect speech report simply follows the tight multi-verb construction *i-no-ng y-irök*. Recall from §12.7.1 that when *i-no-* precedes *yo-* in a tight multi-verb construction, it does not take a speech report or other O2 argument. Thus the writer here simply juxtaposes the clause with the tight multi-verb construction and the indirect reported speech.

Similarly, a teenager who had quarrelled with her mother told her younger brother to pass on a message to their mother using what could be considered an indirect speech report:



A variant of *yo* for plural S is *yi*, which seems to be short for *y-Ø-ing* ‘say-NP-2/3PL.’ This form is much less common than *yo*, and *yo* is also often used with non-singular S/A arguments. Use of *yi* must be either optional or based on individual speaker preferences.

- 12.47)      {{Ni-no-gu-ng}}...      {{Hon=to<sub>A</sub>    boto    na-nung}}      yi.  
                  1NSG.O-tell-RP-2/3PL    2NSG.PRO=FOC pig      eat-DEL.IMP.2/3PL QUOT  
                  ‘They spoke to us. “You eat the pig,” saying.’ (Fooyu Yawan bop hat 4:36)

#### 12.7.4 The Conative construction using speech reports

A Conative construction results when an intention is represented as reported speech and framed by the verb *yo-* ‘say.’ Although the intention is represented as if it were reported speech, no actual speech act is implied. This sort of construction is well-attested in Papuan languages (de Vries 1990, Reesink 1993). In Nungon, the verb *yo-* ‘say’ is most often in Medial form and followed by another verb, either the verb *to-* ‘do’ or a verb of motion. The intention in the speech report is expressed with a verb inflected for Immediate or Delayed Imperative, or different-subject Medial verb. Sometimes the Conative construction frames a feared or undesirable imminent outcome, rather than a desired one. The Conative is most often used when the intended occurrence or state is not actualized, that is, when the intention is foiled. Although intentions may be attributed to lower animates such as snakes (see example (12.43) in §12.7.2), there are no instances in the corpus in which inanimates serve as the subject argument in Conative constructions. A tree being about to fall toward a farm plot, or a boulder being about to cover a cave (as in example (12.46)): these are framed in the Imminent aspect (§6.5.6). No volitionality is attributed to inanimates.

In the next example, (12.48), the Conative construction is used with Habitual aspect:

12.48) { { [Ami<sub>Pr</sub> horo<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>o</sub> hai-wa } }<sub>SR:O</sub> yo-ng-a }  
 tree.fern.sp base cut-IMM.IMP.1SG say-DEP-MV  
 { { to-ng=it-do-k } }.  
 do-DEP=be-RP-3SG

‘He was trying to cut the base of an *ami* tree fern.’ [Literally: ‘Saying “Let me cut the base of an *ami* tree fern,” he used to act.’] (Gosing boop hat 2 0:54)

In example (12.48), the main verb in the speech report is inflected for 1sg Immediate Imperative. This is very common in Conative constructions, but the verb may be inflected for Delayed Imperative, or for another person-number combination, or be a Different-Subject Medial verb serving as an imperative strategy (§10.6.2), as in example (12.43) in §12.7.2.

Sometimes the Conative construction describes a likely but not desirable outcome of present circumstances. This is the case in the next example, told to me to show the meaning of the Causative expression ‘lose something.’ (The Nungon verb *gopbor-* ‘disappear, become lost’ is intransitive; to describe losing one’s way, a Causative construction is used.)

12.49) { Asapo yo-wa ta-un-a }, { { gopbor-e } }<sub>SR:O</sub>  
 path say-CAUS.1SG split-DS.3SG-MV disappear-IMM.IMP.1SG  
 yo-ng-a } { { ta-a-t } }.  
 say-DEP-MV do-PRES-1SG

‘I having lost the path, I feel that I will become lost.’ (Field notes)

Here, the construction *gopbor-e yo-ng-a ta-a-t* is identical to the Conative construction. But the meaning is not ‘I try to get lost,’ but ‘I am about to get lost.’ Thus, the relationship between Imminent aspect and desiderative modality mentioned in §6.5.6 holds for the Conative as well. Context determines whether the Conative describes imminence or intent, or both.

In the final example of this chapter, the intention is realized. Here, the verb following *yo-ng-a* is not *to-* ‘do,’ but the verb of motion *e-* ‘come’:

12.50) Non-u<sub>TOP</sub> { {[bök noni-n]<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-na }<sub>SR:O</sub> yo-ng-a }  
 1PL.PRO-TOP house 1PL.POSS-LOC go-IMM.IMP.1PLsay-DEP-MV  
 {{ep-bo-mong}}=ma, {{ngo-rok<sub>OBL</sub> ir-a-mong}}.  
 come-RP-1PL=REL here-SEMBL be-PRES.NSG-1PL

‘As for us, since we, wanting to go home, came, we are here.’ (Hesienare meepmo ha  
 yungano 0:47)

## 13 Discourse

This chapter covers morphology that functions to organize discourse, information structure, prosody, discourse structure, and the pragmatics of communication. Special types of language, including baby talk and a code speech used by young people with schooling, were discussed in §1.8.

### 13.1 Clause-level morphology

The diverse affixes and one postposition covered here vary in scope and function, but all have to do with discourse pragmatics. They are also all outside the scope of negation, i.e. whether or not the constituents they follow are negated is irrelevant to these elements, and they themselves cannot be directly negated.

#### 13.1.1 Attention-commanding suffix *-a*

The attention-commanding suffix *-a* serves to call the hearer's attention to a verbal clause, a noun phrase, an adjective, or the negative word *muuno*. It functions to assert strongly the veracity of the proposition it follows; this may bear mirative overtones if the element it follows had been unexpected. Usually, there is a strong element of interaction involved with use of this suffix; the speaker is striving to impress something upon the hearer. Although the suffix *-a* triggers regular phonological change in the final consonants of words it follows, after vowel-final words, it occurs in the form *-wa*.

The attention-commanding suffix *-a* affixes to nouns and adjectives, the negative word *muuno*, and to final verbs inflected for any of the five tenses. When *-a* is affixed to final verbs inflected for Irrealis (§5.5.5), this is the Prohibitive form (§5.5.6). The suffix is not found in the corpus with imperatives, the Counterfactual, or the Probable. Likewise, there are no extant examples in texts in which *-a* is affixed to a Medial or Dependent verb.

- 13.1) {Y-un-a}, [amna<sub>HEAD</sub> yoi<sub>MOD</sub>]-wa<sub>TOP</sub> yo,  
 say-DS.3SG-MV man two-ATT QUOT  
 {{{[naap<sub>HEAD</sub> gom<sub>MOD</sub>]O tem]<sub>OBL</sub> e-wa-moroc}} yo.  
 loincloth red fasten come-PRES.NSG-2/3DU QUOT

‘He having said that, “Two men, indeed,” saying, “with red loincloth fastened, are coming,” saying.’ (Manggirai tic korong 2:41)

In the above sentence, *-a* bears mirative overtones; the speaker was not expecting two strange men wearing red loincloths to approach, but asserts that this is in fact occurring. Note that this mirative sense is secondary to the main, assertive/attention-commanding function of *-a*: when strangers approach, it is imperative to alert clansmen. The English translation ‘indeed’ does not convey the interactional force of *-a*.

The suffix *-a* may affix to various types of constituents. In (13.1), it occurs with an NP. It may affix to the negative word *muuno* for vehement disagreement: *mmuno-wa* ‘not at all!’ The next sentence comes from a Towet man’s reimagining of his forebears’ first encounter with manufactured salt; he imagines them saying that this new substance was not the *yiip* ‘salt’ they knew: it was something else, strange and delicious:

- 13.2) Yiip<sub>VCS</sub> muuno-wa<sub>VCC</sub>, {{{[nandu=ma<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>] iwiw-O<sub>MOD</sub>]O  
 salt not-ATT something=SPEC other delicious-ADJ  
 k-e-u-ya}...  
 SG.O-come-DS.2/3PL-MV

“Salt,” no indeed! They bringing something else delicious...’ (Steven ton hat osukno 1:57)

In (13.3), a speaker asserts that if one man were to do bark painting by himself it would be very tedious. Here, the complement of the verbless clause, the adjective *taktag-o* ‘tedium-ADJ,’ is marked with *-a* for illocutionary force:

- 13.3) [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> inggouk<sub>MOD</sub>]=ko=gon<sub>TOP</sub>, wo=ma-ivcs, taktag-o-wavcc.  
 man one=FOC=RSTR that=SPEC-TOP tedious-ADJ-ATT  
 ‘Just one man who (did it), that (would be) tedious indeed.’ (Nongi tik orip 1:45)

When *-a* affixes to final verbs inflected for Remote Past, Near Past, Present, Near Future or Remote Future tense, it functions to alert the listener to the proposition indicated by the verb. In the next example, *-a* follows a final verbal clause with verb inflected for Remote Future:

- 13.4) {{Isuna<sub>ADV</sub> ongo-ri-n-ma}}-wa, yo.  
 day.after.tomorrow go-IRR.DU-1NSG-RF-ATT QUOT  
 ‘The day after tomorrow the two of us will go, indeed, he said.’ (Inewe arap dawic 0:04)

In the next example, the lexical verb *eto-* ‘forget’ is framed in the Continuous aspect. The auxiliary verb *it-* ‘be’ bears *-a*. The example comes from a sermon and is spoken as if in the voice of God:

- 13.5) {{Goga<sub>OBL</sub> ma=eto-ng-a it-ta-r}}-a.  
 2SG.PRO+BEN NEG=forget-DEP-MV be-PRES.SG-1SG]-ATT  
 ‘I am not forgetting about you, indeed.’ (Field notes)

In the following example, spoken in the Yawan dialect, a woman about to leave her home for a brief errand alerts her neighbour to the fact that her child is still sleeping in the house. The speaker calls her neighbour’s attention to the possibility that the child may wake and cry, in which case the expectation is that the neighbour will enter the house to check on the child:

- 13.6) {{Gungak<sub>S</sub> yud-in<sub>OBL</sub> it-ta-g}}-a. {{Ud-en-ta-g}}-a!  
 child house-LOC be-PRES.SG-3SG-ATT cry-PROB.SG-NF-3SG-ATT  
 ‘(Be aware that) the child is in the house. (Be aware that) he may cry!’ (Field notes)

The suffix *-a* may have polite overtones; in giving a guest a small task, the host may apologize, saying:

- 13.7)      {{Nok<sub>A</sub>                      youp<sub>O2</sub> ga-mo-ha-r}}-a.  
                  1SG.PRO              work    2SG.O-give-PRES.SG-1SG-ATT  
                  ‘I’m giving you work, indeed.’ (Field notes)

The guest is expected to reply that the task is not work at all.

In contrast to all of the above examples, when the attention-commanding suffix follows a verb inflected for irrealis, this is the prohibitive mood, as discussed in §5.5.6. The implication is not ‘be aware that something may happen,’ but ‘do not act!’ Only one example will be mentioned here:

- 13.8)      Maa-ni-ng-a!  
                  cut.horizontally-IRR.PL-2/3PL-ATT  
                  ‘Don’t cut it!’ (Field notes)

Pakendorf and Schalley (2007: 537) describe “a very rare development of a negative imperative out of affirmative markers that have a meaning of possibility.” They envision this development as having the following stages (2007: 525):

possibility → apprehension → warning → prohibition

It is likely that this is similar to the development of the Nungon prohibitive form out of the irrealis and the attention-commanding suffix *-a*.

### 13.1.2 Topicalizing suffix *-u*

The topicalizing suffix *-u* serves to highlight the constituent that is semantically central to a clause, often with contrastive overtones (see §13.2.2 for more discussion of topics in Nungon). The suffix *-u* often marks a syntactic extra-clausal topic, but may also mark a constituent within a clause. It does not occur on verbs but may be suffixed to nouns, adjectives, adverbs, basic pronouns, and some postpositions. It does not ordinarily follow pensive suffixes. In some instances, it functions very similarly to the focus postposition *=ho* and, when used with pronouns, to the emphatic pronouns, with

only very nuanced differences in meaning. (The main difference seems to be that *-u* is likely to occur the first time something is mentioned, but speakers tend to use other forms for contrastive effect later in a text.) It is often used to introduce the theme of discourse. In contrast to the attention-commanding suffix *-a*, which has alternate form *-wa* after vowel-final words, there are no instances of *-u* after vowel-final words in the corpus. This implies that it may be an allomorph of the linking and topicalizing suffix *-i* (§13.1.3), which similarly cannot mark final verbs, and only occurs after vowels.

In the next example, from the beginning of an explanation of food eaten in the olden days, each word that takes *-u* is also used without *-u*, without topicalization:

- 13.9) Tanak? Tanag-u<sub>TOP</sub> wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub>, {{harang<sub>S</sub> wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub>  
 food food-TOP that-LDEM.NEAR banana.sp that-LDEM.NEAR  
 ir-a-ng}}, harang-u<sub>TOP</sub> {{wo-ndo ir-a-ng}}.  
 be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL banana.sp-TOP there-LDEM.NEAR be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 ‘Food? As for food there, *harang* bananas are there, as for *harang* bananas, they are there.’ (Nongi tanak 0:05)

In the next example, a pronoun and an adverb both take suffixed instances of *-u* to precede the introduction to an explanation of an old hunting procedure:

- 13.10) Non-u<sub>TOP</sub> osug-u<sub>TOP</sub> {{nungono to-ng=it-do-mong}}-an wo-i...  
 1NSG.PRO-FOC first-TOP what do-DEP=be-RP-1PL-LOC that-TOP  
 ‘As for us, before, on what we used to do, that is...’ (Nongi hon maa hat 9 horut 3:24)

The next example is part of the excerpt in example (6.54), taken from an SDA sermon warning those who might light fires or wash dishes too early on Saturday evening that the Sabbath has not yet concluded. Here, the suffix *-u* seems to contribute less a contrastive reading than a sense of strong assertion:

- 13.11)    {{Sabar-<sub>u</sub>TOP    wo-<sub>i</sub>TOP    ma=bure-Ø-k}}.  
           Sabbath-TOP    that-FOC    NEG=be.finished-NP-3SG  
           ‘As for the Sabbath, it is not finished.’ (Field notes)

The focusing suffix *-u* may be suffixed to a constituent that is appended after the main clause, as in (13.12). The speaker here appends the adverb *osug-u* ‘before-TOP’ to a final verbal clause that he has marked with the attention-commanding suffix *-a* for vehemence:

- 13.12)    {[Him<sub>HEAD</sub>    moin-no<sub>MOD</sub>    wo-go-no<sub>MOD</sub>    au<sub>MOD</sub>]S  
           disease    bad-ADJ    that-ADV-ADJ    other  
           ma=ir=it-do-g}}-a,    osug-u.  
           NEG=be=be-RP-3SG-ATT    first-TOP  
           ‘Other bad diseases like that didn’t use to exist, indeed, in the olden days.’ (Nongi  
           him 0:22)

An NP marked with the suffix *-u* may remain extra-clausal, or may serve as an argument in a verbal clause or as the subject of a verbless clause. The next example shows an *-u*-marked pronoun as verbless clause subject:

- 13.13)    Nog-<sub>u</sub>VCS,    [Towet<sub>MOD</sub>    amna<sub>HEAD</sub>]VCC.  
           1SG.PRO-TOP    Towet    man  
           ‘As for me, I am a Towet man.’ (Gaus inoin hat 0:15)
- 13.14)    Nog-<sub>u</sub>TOP,    wo-<sub>i</sub>VCS,    [Towet<sub>MOD</sub>    amna<sub>HEAD</sub>]VCC.  
           1SG.PRO-TOP    that-TOP    Towet    man  
           ‘As for me, I am a Towet man.’ (Gaus inoin hat 0:08)

### 13.1.3 Topicalizing and linking suffix *-i*

The topicalizing and linking suffix *-i* serves several functions. It may function to topicalize a constituent, like the suffix *-u* (with which it is possibly in an allomorphic relationship). In narrative discourse, it often follows the relativizer/specifier *=ma* or perfective aspect marker in tail-head linking. It has varied scope and can occur on NPs, postpositions, demonstratives, the relativizer *=ma*,

and Medial—but not final—verbs. It only occurs on vowel-final forms. In some expressions, *-i* bears negative meaning, ‘despite,’ and is necessary for that semantic reading of an utterance; as used elsewhere, *-i* is optional and its use seems to be stylistic.

The only topicalizing suffix in the Kotet dialect of Nungon is *-i*. In Kotet, *-i* occurs after both vowels and consonants. In contrast, the Towet Nungon topicalizing suffix *-u* is only found after consonants, while the topicalizing and linking suffix *-i* occurs only after vowels.<sup>35</sup> It is probable that these two forms in complementary distribution are allomorphs of a single morpheme. In the Towet dialect, the nature of the constituents that are marked by *-i* could be the cause of additional linking functions of *-i* that are not shared by *-u*.

The suffix *-i* is discussed here as it occurs with NPs, demonstrative-based discourse words, the counterfactual construction, and Medial verbs in turn.

Where *-i* marks NPs, it seems to function quite similarly to *-u*. This is the case in the following example, used to describe a plant that has no traditional use:

- 13.15)      Youp-no-i<sub>TOP</sub>,                      ma=e-Ø-k.  
                     work-3SG.POSS-TOP      NEG=be-NP.SG-3SG  
                     ‘As for its work, it does not exist.’ (Field notes)

The focusing suffix *-u* may only suffix to consonant-final postpositions =*hon*, =*gon*, =*rot*, and =*dek*. Vowel-final postpositions =*ho* and =*ha* cannot host *-u*, but they may host *-i*. In the next example, the benefactive postposition-marked noun *iyak* ‘edible greens’ is topicalized with *-i*:

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<sup>35</sup> It is unclear whether the Kotet dialect *-i* represents a merger of proto-Uruwa *\*-u* and *\*-i*, or whether it is in the Towet dialect that a proto-Uruwa *\*-i* has divided into two morphemes depending on environment.

13.16) Iyak=ka-i<sub>TOP</sub>, {biyak<sub>O</sub> tana-ng-a} {eer-a}  
 greens=BEN-TOP greens.type pluck-DEP-MV insert-MV  
 {{ongo-go-mong}}.  
 go-RP-1PL

‘As for greens, picking *biyak* greens, putting them in (our bags), we went on.’ (Fooyu arap dawik 0:06)

The suffix *-i* may mark a topographic demonstrative and also occurs in several common discourse-related words and expressions based on distance-referencing demonstratives (§13.2.4). With topographic demonstratives, *-i* functions much as *-u* does after adverbs, serving to topicalize the demonstrative itself. Distance-referencing demonstratives often bear *-i* when functioning to organize discourse (see §13.2.4).

Of these expressions, the most basic are *ngo-i* ‘this-TOP,’ ‘this is...’ and *wo-i* ‘that-TOP,’ ‘that is...’ These usually follow a full statement of the referent of the anaphor. The full statement of the referent may be understood as an extra-clausal topic, as in fact may *ngo-i* or *wo-i*. The discourse linkers *ngo=ma-i* ‘as for this’ and *wo=ma-i* ‘as for that’ are combinations of the demonstratives *ngo* ‘this’ and *wo* ‘that’ with the specifier *=ma* and topicalizer *-i*. The expressions *ngo-rok=ko-i* ‘this-SEMBL=FOC-LINK’ and *wo-rok=ko-i* ‘that-SEMBL=FOC-LINK’ have negative meanings ‘despite this,’ ‘despite that.’ The negative meaning comes about solely through *-i*; *ngo-rok=ko* and *wo-rok=ko* alone simply mean ‘it was this one who...’ and ‘it was that one who...’

The frequent demonstrative-derived form *wo-i* ‘that-TOP’ occurs in examples (3.39), (4.46), (4.48), (4.86), (4.96), (6.56), (8.39), (8.71), (12.7), (12.21), (12.22), (12.35), (13.10), and (13.11), as well as throughout the texts in Appendix. Its proximal counterpart *ngo-i* is far less frequent. Pragmatically, *wo-i* is often a filler, easing the flow of discourse. This may be seen in the following example. The speaker here speaks of the difference between how he and the others in the room used to dress and behave and how they now (post-conversion to the SDA church) dress and behave. In the free translation, the four instances of *wo-i* are left untranslated for ease of reading:

13.17) Osuk<sub>TOP</sub>, wo-i<sub>TOP</sub>, {{oro hi-wa-mong}},  
 first that-TOP understand put-NP.NSG-1PL  
 {{ng-ondo<sub>OBL</sub> it-do-mong}}=ma, wo, nog-u<sub>TOP</sub>,  
 this-LDEM.NEAR be-RP-1PL=REL that 1SG.PRO-TOP  
 wo-i<sub>VCS</sub>, [amna<sub>HEAD</sub> ng<sub>MOD</sub>]-i<sub>TOP</sub>, wo-i, nok<sub>TOP</sub>  
 that-LINK man this-TOP that-TOP 1SG.PRO  
 wo-i<sub>VCS</sub> [wo-go-no<sub>HEAD</sub> muun<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 that-TOP that-ADV-ADJ not

‘Before, we know, (how) we used to be here, that (manner): as for me, this man [indicating the speaker himself], I was not like that [referring to his current appearance and behavior].’ (Gaus inoin hat 18:20)

*Wo-i* could be interpreted as a filler without syntactic function throughout this example, or it could be interpreted as referring anaphorically to extra-clausal topics. The proximal form *ngo-i*, on the other hand, clearly serves as modifier to the noun *amna* ‘man’; here, *amna ngo-i* ‘this man-TOP’ could be seen as parallel in function to *nog-u* ‘1SG.PRO-TOP.’ While the 1sg basic pronoun *nok* is consonant-final and takes *-u* for focus, *amna ngo* is vowel-final and takes *-i*.

When used with the postpositions =*ho* and =*ha*, *-i* actually alters the semantics of the utterance. *Wo-rok=ko* ‘that-SEMBL=FOC’ has straightforward anaphoric meaning deducible from its parts: ‘it was that which/with which’ or ‘it was in that manner/location.’ But *wo-rok=ko-i* means ‘despite that.’ The next examples illustrate this difference in meaning; (13.18) shows *wo-rok=ko* without *-i*, while (13.19) shows it with *-i*:

13.18) Karasa.... {Wo-rok=ko<sub>A</sub> yoo-ng-a} {{ep-bu-ng}}.  
 Kalasa that-SEMBL=FOC NSG.O.take-DEP-MV come-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘Kalasa (missionaries).... It was they who bringing (coffee beans), came.’

(Soonggiring köpi 0:34)

Here, *wo-rok=ko* refers anaphorically to *Karasa*, which denotes the early missionaries from the Karasa area on the Huon Peninsula who brought coffee to the Uruwa area. In (13.19), *wo-rok=ko-i* means ‘despite that’:

13.19) Nok<sub>TOP</sub> eet-navcs muunovcc, {{to-ng inging yo-ng,  
 1SG.PRO foot-1SG.POSS not do-DEP hurt say-DEP  
 wo-rok=ko-i ongo-go-t}}.  
 that-2SG=FOC-LINK go-RP-1SG

‘My feet would not work, being hurting, but despite that, I went (on).’ [Literally: ‘my feet did not exist’] (Nusek kon hat Finschafen 2:34)

Here, *wo-rok=ko-i* refers anaphorically to the entire verbless clause *eet-na muuno*, ‘my foot did not exist,’ but means ‘despite that,’ not ‘in that manner.’

#### 13.1.4 The suffix *-i* in the protasis of counterfactual and conditional constructions

The suffix *-i* is optional after the benefactive postposition =*ha* in the protasis of a counterfactual construction (§8.4.4). But when the an initial verbal clause is marked with =*ma* and then the benefactive postposition =*ha*, suffixation of *-i* changes the semantic relationship between the =*ma*-marked clause and the ensuing clause. That is, absence of *-i* indicates a straightforward causal relationship, whereas presence of *-i* indicates a more nuanced relationship: ‘although, in spite of.’

First, the counterfactual construction involving a final verbal clause with the benefactive postposition =*ha* directly cliticized to it was described in §8.3.4. The postposition =*ha* may bear the suffix *-i* without change in the semantic relationship between the two clauses. Example (8.54) of Chapter 8 may be restated with *-i* after the benefactive postposition, as after the focus postposition in (13.19). This restatement is in (13.20):

13.20) {{Ongo-Ø-t}}=ta-i, {{og-ego<sub>OBL</sub> it-tem}}.  
 go-NP-1SG=BEN-LINK level-LDEM.FAR be-CNTR.1SG

‘If I had gone, I would be yonder.’ (Field notes)

If *ongo-Ø-t* ‘go-NP-1SG’ were marked with *=ma*, the going must be interpreted as an actualized event, as seen in (12.31) and (12.32) of §12.6.2. If the benefactive postposition *=ha* following *=ma* does not host the suffix *-i*, the relationship between the *=ma*-marked clause and the next one is understood as causal, as in example (12.32). But with the suffix *-i*, there is no longer a straightforward causal relationship between the two clauses. Instead, as with *wo-rok=ko-i* in (13.19), the situation described in the second clause comes about in spite of that described in the first clause.

- 13.21)    {{Osuk=gon    [nan    mak]=kos    to-ng    bumbum  
           first-RSTR    father    mother=FOC    do-DEP crazy  
           to-gu-ng }}=ma=ha-i,            {non=tos            unga    towi-ng-a}    {[babiya  
           do-RP-2/3PL=REL=BEN-LINK    INSG.PRO=FOC today    arrange-DEP-MV    paper  
           bö-g-in]<sub>OBL</sub>    öö-ng-a}    {[[orom hi-k orom hi-k]<sub>O</sub>    honggit-na} }.  
           house-LOC    ascend-DEP-MV understanding-NMZ:REP            grab-IMM.IMP.1PL

‘Despite the fact that in the olden days, parents acted ignorantly, let us today,

carefully, going up to school, obtain knowledge.’ (Field notes)

A common pattern in narrative tail-head clause linking is: [X=*ma-i*, Y.] where X is a final verbal clause, and Y is another verbal clause or other information. Often, this *=ma-i* seems to be an attempt to fill the gap between clauses while buying the storyteller time to think about the next line; once the story gets underway and the storyteller seems confident of the action and series of events, *=ma-i* is not used. Alternatively, the *=ma-i* may be used by a confident storyteller for dramatic effect and to indicate that the action described by the *=ma-i*-marked verb lasts for a long time. Note that the *-i* is often drawn-out expressively (while the storyteller thinks, or to indicate the extended nature of the action).

The next three examples comprise the first three intonational units of a story told by a speaker in her fifties.

- 13.22) {{{[Yawan<sub>MOD</sub> oe<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> osuk-no<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>s</sub> [oe<sub>TOP:Pr</sub> maa-no<sub>Pe:VCS</sub> Yawan woman first-ADJ woman name-3SG.POSS Koanggiri<sub>VCC</sub>]<sub>s</sub> boop<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-go-k}}}.  
 Koanggiri forest go-RP-3SG  
 ‘A Yawan woman of old, a woman named Koanggiri, went to the forest.’ (Rut bem 0:00)
- 13.23) {{{Boop<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-go-k}}}=ma-i, {Yawan<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a}  
 forest go-RP-3SG=REL-LINK Yawan put-DEP-MV  
 {{{onggo-go-k}}}.  
 go-RP-3SG  
 ‘She went to the forest; coming from Yawan, she went.’ (Rut bem 0:06)
- 13.24) {{{Ongo-go-k}}}=ma-i:....., [Hoin<sub>MOD</sub> BÖ<sub>HEAD</sub>].  
 go-rp-3sg=rel-link Hoin peak  
 ‘She went and went; (to) Hoin Peak.’ (Rut bem 0:08)

Here, repeating the preceding final clause marked by =*ma-i* in the beginning of the next sentence is an alternative to tail-head linking with medial clauses (§13.5).

Table 13.1. Contexts in which <i>-i</i> occurs					
	<i>-i</i> after = <i>ma</i> or after Medial verbs	<i>ngo-i/wo-i</i>	<i>ngo=ma-i/ wo=ma-i</i>	= <i>ho-i</i>	= <i>ha-i</i>
context	before pause	before pause	before pause	after <i>ngo-rok</i> , <i>wo-rok</i>	counterfactual alternative to = <i>ha</i> after protasis. Also, in place of = <i>ha</i> before pauses
effect	perfect, sequential meaning	anticipates further speech	‘as for that/this’ ...	‘despite, but’	‘then’

### 13.1.5 Discourse-organizing suffix *-an*

The suffix *-an* is another example of the application of primarily spatial-indicating grammatical elements to abstract and other concepts. The suffix is attached to an inflected final verb and may indicate spatial location or serve to mark semantic topic of discourse. Note that the final verb which *-an* follows may be negated, and *-an* may be followed by the dubitative marker *hu* or content question marker *ha* to cast doubt on or question the clause marked by *-an*.

The suffix seems to comprise a suffix *-a* and the locative suffix *-n*, since the topic of discourse may be phrased in Nungon in terms of spatial location, as noted in §8.6 and §8.7. The question is whether the suffix *-a* is identical to any of the other *-a* suffixes in Nungon, i.e. the attention-commanding suffix *-a*, discussed above in §13.1.1, or the Medial verb suffix *-a*, introduced in §6.1.

The following sentence exemplifies *-an* as spatial location marker. Here, it follows the inflected final verb *ir-a-ng* ‘be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL’ and parallels the form in the previous verbless clause that uses *=dek* for location:

- 13.25) Om-undo,                      Wapmang=dek. {{Tanako  
downhill-LDEM.MID      Wapmang=LOC    food  
na-ng=ir-a-ng}}-an,                      wo.  
eat-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL-LOC      that

‘Down there, at Wapmang. At where they eat food, that (place).’ (Nongi hat 21 1:32)

Here, *tanako na-ng=ir-a-ng* is literally ‘they (habitually) eat food.’ When *-an* follows the final verb *ir-a-ng*, it sparks the meaning ‘at (where) they (habitually) eat food.’

The suffix *-an* may also have temporal overtones, ‘at the time in which’, as in the next example:

- 13.26)    {{{[Emok<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]o       to-gu-ng}}}.    Wo=ma-i,       {{{Siapan=tos  
battle           large           do-RP-2/3PL    that=SPEC-TOP   Japan=FOC  
ep-bu-ng}}}-an        hu.  
come-RP-2/3PL-LOC    DUB

‘They did much battle. That is, (at the time that) the Japanese came, perhaps.’ (Nongi emok morö 0:11)

The suffix *-an* may also introduce the topic of a story or discussion, serving as a kind of chapter heading within oral discourse. In the next example, the storyteller used this function of *-an* to inform his listeners that, having explained about the old styles of dress, he would now switch to the topic of old wedding traditions:

- 13.27)    {{{[Oe op]o                   to-ng=it-du-ng}}}-an.  
woman husband        SG.O.take-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL-LOC

‘(Now I will talk) about (how) they used to do marriage.’ (Joshua hat osukno 0:27)

Although in all of the examples above the final verbs marked by *-an* are either inflected for Remote Past or Present tense, a final verb before *-an* may be also be inflected for Near Future tense. In the next example from an SDA sermon, the Near Future tense inflection is used with general temporal or conditional meaning.

- 13.28)    {{{Ongo-wang-ka-rog}}}-an,    {{{tanako       na-wang-ka-rog}}}-an.  
go-PROB.SG-NF-2SG-LOC    food           eat-PROB.SG-NF-2SG-LOC

‘At the time when you go, at the time when you eat food (you should thank God).’

(Field notes)

### 13.1.6 Vocative elements =yo, =ye and =kú

Shouted vocatives meant to get someone’s attention from afar may employ the vocative elements =yo, =ye or =kú. =Yo is used most frequently with *mak* ‘mother’ and other vocative forms of kinship

terms; I have not often heard it with personal names. =*Ye* may be a Kotet variant of =*yo*. =*Kú* is always pronounced with high pitch and often phonetically elongated as *kú:::;;*; this is the element of the yell that is meant to carry far away and reach the ears of the intended addressee. =*Kú* always occurs in the same form, regardless of the preceding consonant.

- 13.29) Stesi=*kú*!  
 Stesi=*VOC*  
 ‘Stesi-oh!’ (called from a long distance away from Stesi)
- 13.30) Mák=*yo*!  
 Mother=*VOC*  
 ‘Mother!’ (meant to get her attention within short range)
- 13.31) Mác=*ye*!  
 Mother=*VOC*  
 ‘Mother!’ (similar to =*yo* above, but Kotet variant)

## 13.2 Information structure

Focus is primarily through the postposition =*ho*. Topicalization may be achieved through constituent order, use of the NP-modifying distance-referencing demonstratives (§7.2.1) *wo* or *wo-i* (less commonly, also the proximal *ngo* and *ngo-i*), or use of the focusing suffixes *-u* (§13.1.2) and *-i* (§13.1.3). Words derived from the distance-based demonstrative roots *ng-* ‘here’ and *w-* ‘there’ are useful in organizing information within sentences.

### 13.2.1 Focus

The process of focusing a constituent within a clause was defined in §8.3 in accordance with Radetsky (2002). In Nungon, the focused constituent may be focused in situ or preposed or postposed to the clause. Focusing in Nungon is through the postposition =*ho*. As described in §8.3, =*ho* usually marks A, S, Instrument, Possessor in locational NPs, and Manner. A arguments are most often marked with =*ho*, but S arguments are optionally marked with =*ho*. When an S argument is marked with =*ho*, the marked constituent is in focus.

In (13.32), from an oral retelling of the Biblical Exodus story, the S argument of *ongo-* ‘go’ is not in focus and is not marked by *=ho*.

- 13.32) [Isip<sub>MOD</sub> [oe amna]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> top=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-gu-ng.  
 Egypt woman man ocean=LOC go-RP-2/3PL  
 ‘The Egyptian people went to the sea.’ (Gosing Mosasi 4:04)

But in the next example, the S argument of *ongo-* ‘go’ is in focus and is marked by *=ho*. A man stashed the game he killed on a solo hunting trip in a hiding place, and told his wife and her sister that it was they who should climb to the hiding place to retrieve the game (women being the bearers of heavy loads).

- 13.33) Unga, hon=to<sub>S</sub> ongo-run!  
 now 2NSG.PRO=FOC go-IMM.IMP.2/3DU  
 ‘Now, you two go!’ (Fooyu Yawan bem 1:45)

Here, the 2nsg basic pronoun *hon* is focused; the man himself went the previous time, but now those who are going are different.

As noted in §10.7.2, the question word *numa* ‘who’ most often occurs focused, with *=ho*. The constituent in the answer to such a question that corresponds to *numa* is often also focused.

Because of the many functions associated with *=ho*, a clause may have more than one constituent marked with this postposition. In the following example, both the A argument and Instrument argument are in focus because they are both individually marked with *=ho*:

- 13.34) {Oe=ho<sub>A</sub>, haang=ko<sub>OBL</sub>, usam usam t-u-ya}, {{wo-rok  
 woman=FOC club=INSTR side side do-DS.2/3PL-MVthat-SEMBL  
 hori-ng-a it-du-ng}}.  
 wait-DEP-MV be-RP-2/3PL

‘The women with clubs, doing (the beating) on both sides, (the men) were waiting.

(David Ögate 11:12)

If the Instrument argument were not focused, it would be marked with =*dek* (§8.6).

### 13.2.2 Topicalization

The definition of ‘topic’ accepted here is the element setting the ‘spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds.’ (Chafe 1976: 50). Topicalization is achieved through constituent order, use of the demonstrative *wo-i* ‘that-TOP’ or *wo=ma-i* ‘that=SPEC-TOP’ after the topic, or suffixation of the topicalizing suffix *-u*, (§13.1.2) or *-i* (§13.1.3). As discussed under explication of the two topicalizing suffixes, the topic may be an NP, adverb, adjective, or medial verbal clause.

Teachers at the Nungon-language Yawan elementary school seem to use *wo-i* to translate the English copula in demonstration sentences for students to copy:

- 13.35)      *Birang*<sub>TOP</sub>      *wo-i*<sub>VCS</sub>,      *arap*<sub>VCC</sub>.  
                 mammal.sp      that-TOP      game

‘As for *birang*, it’s a game animal.’ (Based on displays in Yawan elementary school)

The topicalization is apparently used by teachers to clearly differentiate between the verbless clause *birang, arap* ‘*birang* is a game animal’ and the NP *birang arap* ‘the *birang* game animal.’

Although the sentence *naga*<sub>VCS</sub> [*Towet amna*]<sub>VCC</sub> ‘1SG.PRO.EMPH [Towet man]’ is well-formed, the speaker of the sentence below chose to add *wo-i* to topicalize *naga* ‘1SG.PRO.EMPH’ in introducing himself:

- 13.36)      A,      *naga*<sub>TOP</sub>,      *wo-i*<sub>VCS</sub>,      [*Towet*<sub>MOD</sub>      *amna*<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
                 ah      1SG.PRO.EMPH      that-TOP      Towet      man

‘Eh, I myself, as for (me), am a Towet man.’ (Boas *babiya* bök 0:14)

### 13.2.3 Participant tracking

Characters in narrative are primarily tracked through different-subject inflection on Medial verbs, and through the person-number agreement of final verbs. This was covered in §6.3.

### 13.2.4 Demonstrative-derived forms used in organizing discourse

Demonstrative forms with spatial-deictic functions were discussed in §7.2. Other words derived from *ng-* ‘here’ and *w-* ‘there’ have principally anaphoric and discourse organizing functions. As mentioned in §7.2.1, these forms are all derived from the most basic independent forms of *ng-* and *w-*, *ngo* ‘this’ and *wo* ‘that.’ These derived forms are listed in table 13.2, by derivational suffix.

<b>Table 13.2. Demonstrative-derived discourse words</b>				
	<b>proximal <i>ngo</i></b>	<b>distal <i>wo</i></b>	<b>glosses</b>	<b>grammatical functions</b>
<i>-rok</i> ‘semblance’	ngo-rok	wo-rok	like this, like that thus	adjective, adverb, NP
<i>-go</i> adverbializer	ngo-go	wo-go	like this, like that	adverb, (NP)
<i>-go-n</i> adverbializer with locative suffix (§8.6)	ngo-go-n	wo-go-n	at (a place) like this, at (a place) like that	adverb
<i>-go-ni</i> adverbializer with Class 3 adjectivizer (§3.2.3)	ngo-go-ni	wo-go-ni	like this, like that	Class 3 adjective
<i>-go-no</i> adverbializer with Class 2 adjectivizer (§3.2.2)	ngo-go-no	wo-go-no	one like this, one like that	Class 2 adjective, NP
<i>-go-rok</i> adverbializer with semblance suffix	ngo-go-rok	wo-go-rok	like this, like that	adverb

The derivational suffixes in table 13.2 are discussed one by one below.

**1. Semblance suffix -rok.** The grammatical functions of the forms created with *-rok* vary. *Ngo-rok* and *wo-rok* are not exactly comparable to adverbs, since they may be marked with the focus postposition *=ho*, as nouns may. They rarely can be analysed as directly modifying nouns. Most commonly, they occur independently, with cataphoric or anaphoric reference, or as discourse organizers, meaning ‘thus.’

The demonstrative form *wo-rok*, especially as *wo-rok=gon* with restrictive postposition *=gon*, is the typical concluding expression for narratives. Of 221 narrative texts in the corpus, very few do not end with *wo-rok* ‘thus, that’s it’ or *wo-rok=gon* ‘that’s just it’; those that end with other words usually end with a variation, such as *ngo-rok it-ta-t* ‘thus I am’ (the end of a personal narrative), or *wo-rok it-ta-k* ‘it thus remains.’ These are often preceded by the phasal adverb *urop* ‘enough’ (§3.4.6).

Of the derivational suffixes in table 13.2, only *-rok* may occur with topographic demonstratives, and this is relatively infrequent, and only found with the NP-modifying mid-distance forms ending in the suffix *-u*. One example of *og-u-rok* ‘same.level-MDEM.MID-SEMBL,’ ‘(being) like (that one) over there’ is at 1:25 in Narrative II, Appendix. I was also told that the temporal extensions of the uphill and downhill topographic demonstratives (§7.2.2) could be framed with *-rok*, so that *yara on-u* ‘year uphill-MDEM.MID’ could be discussed as *on-u-rok* ‘(being) like (that one) up there.’

Forms derived with *-rok* may further take all postpositions and the locative suffix *-in*.

**2. Adverbializer -go.** The forms *ngo-go* and *wo-go* occur most frequently by far as manner adverbs, meaning ‘(do) like this’ and ‘(do) like that.’ In one example in the corpus, however, the clause *ngo-go=ha ya-a-k* ‘this-ADV=BEN say-PRES-3SG’ occurs, meaning ‘she is talking about this.’ Here, the form *ngo-go* is marked with the benefactive postposition *=ha*, which usually only marks NPs. I have no examples of manner adverbs occurring with *=ha* in similar circumstances. In example (5.61), *wo-go* occurs with the specifier *=ma* as a headless NP meaning ‘the one like that.’ Manner adverbs can occur with *=ma*, as with *karup=ma* ‘the fast one,’ so this does not mean that the forms with *-go* should not be considered primarily manner adverbs.

Otherwise, there are no instances in the corpus of *ngo-go* or *wo-go* being marked with grammatical relation-marking postpositions or suffixes: another reason to identify them as adverbs, not nominals.

Examples of *ngo-go* are in: (1.1), (2.15), (2.16), (2.21), (6.91), (7.32), (7.33), (10.36), (12.9), and (12.33), as well as 0:23, 3:09, and 3:11 of Narrative II, Appendix. Examples of *wo-go* are in: (5.32), (5.61), (5.67), (13.45), 0:40 of Dialogue I, Appendix, and 3:34 of Narrative II, Appendix.

**3. Adverbializer -go with locative -n.** Manner adverbs do not normally combine with the locative suffix *-(i)n*, although adjectives may (§8.6). But *ngo-go-n* and *wo-go-n* usually occur with reference to being in a type of place, so the locative meaning fits here. Although these forms would be homophonous with a basic modifying demonstrative form *ngo* or *wo* plus restrictive enclitic *=gon*, this is clearly not the origin of *ngo-go-n* and *wo-go-n*, since these forms can combine with *=gon*, yielding *ngo-go-n=don* ‘just (being) in this (type of place)’ and *wo-go-n=don* ‘just (being) in that (type of place).’ There are few examples of *ngo-go-n* in the corpus, but they do exist. Examples of *wo-go-n* are in: (6.16), (10.38), and 3:25 in Narrative II, Appendix.

**4. Adverbializer -go with Class 2 adjectivizer -no and Class 3 adjectivizer -ni.** Here, the forms *ngo-go* and *wo-go* are adjectivized as Class 2 and Class 3 adjectives. *Ngo-go-ni* and *wo-go-ni* have connotations of describing predilections, or temporary states, in contrast to Class 2 adjectives *ngo-go-no* and *wo-go-no*. See discussion in §3.2.4.

**6. Adverbializer -go with semblance suffix -rok.** Both *wo-rok* and *wo-go-rok* are most often used to sum up discourse: ‘thus,’ ‘that’s it.’ The difference in semantics between the two stems from the overtones of *-go*: inclusion of *-go* entails not just direct anaphoric reference, as with *wo-rok* ‘thus,’ but positing of the anaphor as a type, as with *wo-go-rok* ‘like thus, like so.’

Note that the basic distal form *wo* without any derivational suffix also serves a pragmatic function: it solicits an affirming response (*mm* or *öö*) from the addressee before the speaker continues. I noticed this use especially in the speech of small children, who seem to need to employ more devices than adults do to hold interlocutors’ attention. Example (13.37) is a circumstantial verbless

clause produced by a child. The child has been asked where another adult is. To build suspense, he uses *wo* twice, both times pausing afterward, with reference to the adult:

13.37)       $Wo_{TOP}, wo_{VCS}: [[Idet_{Pr} \text{ mak-no}_{Pe}]=hon_{Pr} \quad bök_{Pe}]=dek_{VCC}.$   
                  that      that      Idet      mother-3SG.POSS=GEN      house=LOC

‘*That* (person), as for her: (she is) in the house of Idet’s mother.’ (Field notes)

The two *wo* instances in this example may be analysed as serving anaphorically with two different scopes. The first *wo* refers to a woman who has been mentioned by the addressee, who is looking for her. The second *wo* serves more of a discourse-organizing function, referring anaphorically to the first instance of *wo* in the same sentence: ‘*that<sub>i</sub>*, as for *it<sub>i</sub>*...’

In another example, 1:40 of Narrative I (Appendix), Babiya Bök Osukno, the demonstrative forms serve to topicalize within the sentence:

13.38)      Oro      { {non=to<sub>TOP</sub>      wo<sub>S</sub>      öö-ng=it-do-mong } }=ma,      wo-i,      muuno.  
                  well      1NSG.PRO=FOC      that      ascend-DEP=be-RP-1PL=REL      that-TOP      no

‘Well, when we, as for us, were going up (to school), as for that, no...’

### 13.3 Prosody of sentences

In extended narrative, the end boundaries of sentences are marked by falling intonation on the final word of the sentence, often followed by a pause of variable length before the next sentence. When final verbal clauses are coordinated (§12.1), falling intonation is used only with the last final verbal clause of the sentence. Medial clauses functioning as appended afterthoughts were introduced in §6.4.1; section §13.3.1 covers other types of afterthoughts.

#### 13.3.1 ‘Afterthoughts’: information appended to final verbal clauses

The canonical Nungon declarative sentence containing verbs (i.e. not verbless clauses) ends with a final verb. After a sentence boundary, marked with falling intonation, a speaker may add information to clarify or elaborate on the sentence just pronounced. This information is often adverbial, but may also make explicit verbal arguments that were not stated in the sentence. There is usually less of a

pause between the main sentence and the appended information than there would be between two full sentences: sometimes there is no significant pause at all. The appended information is spoken with falling intonation, as if it were a sentence in its own right. Appended medial clauses were discussed in §6.4.1; other elements that may be appended were mentioned in §10.5.

Adverbial phrases indicating manner or location in space or time are common appended afterthoughts; these generally specify or re-state oblique arguments of the final verb of the main sentence, especially spatial or temporal location or manner. The first example below shows an appended oblique verbal argument denoting location:

- 13.39) {Hi-ng-o muna}, {{mö-ng ongo-go-k}}. Öör-o-n<sub>OBL</sub>.  
 put-DEP-MVII PERF.3SG fall-DEP go-RP-3SG] farm-3SG.POSS-LOC  
 ‘Having put it (there), he went. To his farm.’ (Gosing kon hat 3 0:49)

There is little pause between the final verb of the main sentence, *ongo-go-k*, and the appended NP *öör-o-n*, but both *ongo-go-k* and *öör-o-n* are marked with falling intonation. The pauses are as follows: before *hi-ng-o*, which begins the sentence, is a pause of 0.5 seconds. After *muna*, which is the end of the first medial clause within the sentence, there is a pause of slightly less than 0.4 seconds. Between the end of the main sentence, *ongo-go-k*, and the appended information is a miniscule pause of 0.07 seconds. After *öör-o-n* is a pause of 0.7 seconds before the next sentence.

In the following example, the appended information supplies the identity of a core argument of the final verb of the main sentence. Although the final verb of the sentence is pronounced with falling intonation, there is no significant pause between the main sentence and the appended information, while the pause after the previous sentence and before the main sentence is 0.5 seconds and the pause after the appended information and before the succeeding sentence is 0.4 seconds:

- 13.40)    {E-ng-a},        {Bahat=dek<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a},        {{yo-go-k}}.  
           come-DEP-MV    Bahat=LOC        put-DEP-MV        say-RP-3SG  
           Nan-no=hos.  
           father-3SG.POSS=FOC  
           ‘Coming, from the Bahat (stream), he<sub>i</sub> spoke. His<sub>i</sub> father<sub>i</sub> (did). (Fooyu Gipson him  
           0:26)

The above excerpt comes from a story in which the speaker and her husband were travelling with their sick baby. In the main sentence, the subject argument of *yo-go-k* ‘say-RP-3SG’ is not explicit. Immediately after uttering the main sentence, the speaker apparently decided to clarify the identity of the subject argument of *yo-go-k* by appending the NP *nan-no* ‘father-3SG.POSS,’ marked with the focus postposition =*ho* (§8.3).

The corpus contains several instances of the expression *hu nandu* ‘DUB something,’ i.e. ‘or something,’ appended to final verbal sentences (see example (3.52) in Chapter 3). This expression serves to qualify the preceding sentence by expressing the speaker’s doubt about it. In the next example, there is no pause between the final verb of the main sentence and the expression *hu nandu*; in this example, sentence-final falling intonation is used only on *nandu*, with the final verb of the main clause not pronounced with markedly falling intonation.

- 13.41)    {{Opmou        id~it=to                    omo-ri-morok-ma}},    hu        nandu.  
           small            be.NMZ:RED=FOC        die-IRR.DU-2/3DU-RF    DUB        something  
           ‘In a little while they will die, or something.’ (Dikson ton yong tuktuk maa 0:43)

The speaker, a man in his twenties, is speaking of his parents; in the preceding sentence, he had explained that they were already aged. Here, the appended *hu nandu* qualifies the callous joke ‘they’re so old that they’ll die soon.’ Although the Remote Future final verb *omo-ri-morok-ma* is not marked by falling intonation, the positioning of *hu nandu* after the final verb shows that is an appended afterthought. Perhaps the afterthought was conceived of so quickly after the speaker began the sentence that he did not use falling intonation with the main sentence.

Explanatory appended information is often marked for focus and/or topicalization. This is the case with example (13.40), in which *nan-no* is marked with the focus postposition =*ho*, and in (13.12). The next example also illustrates topicalization marked on the appended constituent:

- 13.42)    {E-ng-a},        {{hori-ng        to-ng=dup        to-ng=it-ta-k}}.  
           come-DEP-MV   shine-DEP        do-DEP=COMPL do-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG  
           {{To-ng=it-do-k}}.    Osuk=gon-u.  
           do-DEP=be-RP-3SG    before=RSTR-TOP  
           ‘Coming, (the sun) completely does its shining. Used to do. In the olden days.’  
           (Nongi iyep 1:25)

### 13.4 Discourse structure

Farr distinguished two types of discourse structure in Korafe (Farr 1999: 336-379), and Nungon texts (recorded narratives, mostly monologal, as opposed to conversations) may also be examined in terms of these two categories. In Farr’s scheme, the ‘tense-iconic’ discourse structure opposes ‘thematic’ discourse structure. By far, the more common type of discourse structure in the extant Nungon texts corpus is Farr’s ‘tense-iconic’ ordering, in which a series of consecutive events is described in, roughly, order of events. This discourse structure is typified by clause chaining and tail-head linking. ‘Thematic’ ordering entails two or more sentences that elaborate on a shared theme, but do not describe a trajectory of consecutive events. ‘Thematically’ ordered discourse is typified by single-clause sentences or sentences comprising conjoined final verbal clauses, and either a lack of tail-head linking, or tail-head linking through reference in the succeeding sentence to a non-verbal element in the preceding sentence. This ‘thematic’ tail-head linking is elaborated in §13.4.2.

Although Farr classified each Korafe discourse genre as to whether it was typically tense-iconic or thematic in structure (1999: 246), the Nungon corpus is not so easily divided into categories at the level of whole texts. Most texts contain a mixture of tense-iconic and thematic discourse. Nungon speaker preference seems to be for the tense-iconic ordering, so that texts of genres that in Farr’s work are listed as thematically ordering may contain a number of tense-iconically ordered

discourse sections. This means that narratives that do not ostensibly describe a trajectory contain sections that are tense-iconically ordered.

Narrative I in Appendix displays a mixture of tense-iconic and thematic discourse structure. The speaker, Gosing, a Towet grandmother, begins by setting the scene, from 0:00 to 0:04 seconds: before, there was no school in the upper Uruwa River valley. The following utterances, from 0:05 to 0:11 seconds, are tense-iconically organized, and describe how Gosing's elders took her and her peers to Boksawin to attend school there. Gosing dwells thematically on the theme of going to school from 0:12 to 0:19 seconds, then tense-iconic ordering returns in the sentence that lasts from 0:20 to 0:22 seconds. This sentence describes the Towet children coming and sleeping at a location above Boksawin. The next utterances, from 0:23 to 0:27 seconds, are thematically-ordered, introducing and expanding on a theme of the children subsisting on their own strength and resources, without help. There is then a return to tense-iconic ordering in the utterances from 0:28 to 0:36 seconds, with a description of how the children used to go into the forest and pluck ferns, returning and cooking them to sustain themselves. The subsequent utterances, from 0:37 to 0:42 seconds, are thematically ordered; these expand on the theme of the state of hunger in which the children lived.

The utterance beginning at 0:43 seconds, which states that some children, having refused to attend school, would stay at the sleeping location, prompts a switch back into tense-iconic ordering. The story of how such absentees would be given hard labour as punishment unfolds from 0:43 through 1:06. Finally, the remainder of the text, from 1:07 to 1:54, contains thematically-ordered discourse, with the speaker expanding on several related themes: the failure of Boksawin people and the children's own parents to give them food or other help (1:06-1:19); the fact that the children studied in Kâte, without understanding the language well (1:20-1:29); the notion that nowadays many places, including the upper Uruwa area, have excellent schools (1:30-1:39); and the contrast between the excellent schools of today, which teach English, a useful language, with the educational situation of Gosing and her peers, who studied in Kâte, deemed an impractical language (1:40-1:54).

This text shows us that within a single text a speaker may choose to linger in expounding on certain themes with thematic ordering and also choose to tell trajectory-based stories to support the main themes of the text.

#### **13.4.1 Tail-head linking in tense-iconically ordered discourse**

Two types of tail-head linking (de Vries 2005) may be distinguished on the basis of the Nungon corpus, relating closely to the two types of discourse structure. Tense-iconically ordered sentences usually feature repetition of part or all of the final clause of a sentence at the beginning of the next sentence, sometimes with rephrasing. Such tail-head linking is characteristic of speakers of both sexes and all age groups. This does not mean that texts are necessarily filled with tedious repetition, however, because speakers can minimize repetitiveness by using very long sentences comprising many medial clauses. Since tail-head linking only links sentences, not medial clauses, discourse with long sentences has minimal repetition. The role of the suffix *-i* in tail-head linking was discussed in §13.1.3.

Repetitions that serve to link a sentence with a previous sentence are rarely verbatim. This is partly necessary because of Nungon grammatical requirements: the final word of a sentence is canonically an inflected final verb, while the first clause of a sentence only ends in an inflected final verb if that verb is followed by the clause-linking *=ma*.

#### **13.4.2 Tail-head linking with non-verb-final sentences in tense-iconic ordering**

The speech of some speakers is characterized by ellipsis and non-canonical sentences, i.e. those that do not end in an inflected final verb. This may occur in both thematically ordered and tense-iconically ordered discourse. In tense-iconically ordered discourse, tail-head linking through repetition of part of the final clause of the previous sentence is possible even when the preceding sentence does not end in an inflected final verb. If the final element in the preceding sentence is a non-final verbal form, such as a medial verb or nominalized verb, this may be repeated without rephrasing at the beginning of the following sentence, as in example (13.54) below. If the final element in the preceding sentence is not a verb or deverbal form, tail-head linking may be achieved by repeating this element, embedded in a

medial verbal clause with appropriate verb (possibly the verb immediately preceding the non-verbal final element), as in example (13.44) below.

For instance, the speech of the narrator of the story from which the following excerpt comes is characterized by ellipsis. The ends of his sentences are often not canonical inflected final verbs. In the following excerpt, the first sentence ends with a deverbal nominalization denoting manner, marked by the postposition =*ho*. The next sentence begins with an elaboration of this deverbal nominalization; there is no inflected final verb in either repetition. (13.43) is the first of the two consecutive intonation units, and (13.44) is the second. The repeated ‘tail’ of (13.43) is underlined in both examples.

- 13.43)     {Öö-ng-a}-i,                    urop,     {kowira-no=dek<sub>OBL</sub>     ö-un-a},  
           ascend-DEP-MV-LINK   enough outside-3SG.POSS=LOC ascend-DS.3SG-MV  
           aa-ng-gang=ko.  
           3SG.O.see-DEP-PART=FOC  
           ‘Going up, enough, going up from outside, looking.’ (Nongi Towet amna 0:40)

- 13.44)     {Yamao            on-en<sub>OBL</sub>                    hondir-un-a}  
           door            uphill-LDEM.FAR            open-DS.3SG-MV  
           aa-ng-gang=ko-i,                    urop,     wo-go...  
           3SG.O.see-DEP-PART=FOC-LINK enough that-ADV  
           ‘(The other) having opened the door up there, looking, enough, like that...’ (Nongi Towet amna 0:42)

In another instance of tail-head linking from the same text, the speaker moves the extra element *hu nandu* ‘or something’ that he had appended to the final clause of the preceding sentence inside the repetition of that final clause in the next sentence. This instance of appended *hu nandu* is the same as that in example (3.52) in Chapter 3:

13.45) {Yama<sub>o</sub> hondir-a}, {{[yama<sub>HEAD</sub> wo<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>s</sub>, orung<sub>ADV</sub>  
door open-MV door that ajar  
ir=it-do-k}. Hu nandu.  
be=be-RP-3SG DUB something  
‘Opening the door, that door was ajar. Or something.’ (Nongi Towet amna 1:00)

13.46) {Orung hu nandu ir-a}, {au<sub>s</sub>  
ajar DUB something be-MV other  
[bök<sub>Pr</sub> irot-no-n<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> ir-o muna-i}...  
house inside-3SG.POSS-LOC be-MVII PERF.3SG-LINK  
‘(It) being ajar or something, the other (man) being inside the house...’ (Nongi Towet  
amna 1:02)

Note that (13.46) shows one of the very rare instances in which a Medial verb is not marked for switch-reference when it should be. Here, the non-explicit S argument of the Medial verb *ir-a* ‘be-MV’ is understood as co-referential with *yama wo* ‘that door,’ from the preceding sentence.

### 13.4.3 Structure of speech units

Paragraph junctions in Nungon texts may be defined thematically, with different paragraphs centring around different themes, but they are also defined language-internally, as in Korafe (Farr 1999: 337). That is, paragraph boundaries are often characterized by certain features in Nungon. In both tense-iconically ordered and thematically ordered discourse, the end of a paragraph may be characterized by a closing summary, often using an anaphoric demonstrative, i.e. ‘that (referring back to the content of the paragraph it concludes) is how it was.’ The beginning of a new paragraph that is not the very first paragraph of the text may be characterized by a discourse-organizing adverb—*wrop* ‘enough’ or *oro* ‘well’—or, in tense-iconically ordered discourse, by the Medial form of the verb *to-* ‘do’ or *it-* ‘be,’ inflected for different subject.

Within a tense-iconically-organized paragraph, that is, tail-head linking involves repetition of the actual lexical verbs. But at the beginning of a new paragraph, the ‘tail’ clause of the preceding

sentence (belonging to the preceding paragraph) is summarized using what Farr calls a ‘generic’ verb (1999: 337), meaning, in Nungon, ‘X having done so.’ An example of this follows:

13.47)    {{Ittongo-ng=it-du-ng}}.        {T-u-ya},        {{og-ondo<sub>OBL</sub>  
           roam-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL        do-DS.2/3PL-MV    same.level-LDEM.NEAR  
           ir=it-do-mong}}...  
           be=be-RP-1PL

‘They used to roam around. They doing so, we were staying over there...’ (Waasiöng  
 inoin hat 0:38)

Here, the paragraph juncture is signalled by the different-subject generic medial verb at the beginning of the sentence after the juncture. If this were not a paragraph juncture, the verb *ittongo-ng=it-du-ng* itself would be repeated in the beginning of the following sentence. Paragraph junctures indicated through discourse-organizing adverbs are exemplified below:

13.48)    ...{yoo-ng-a},        {{ongo-ng=it-du-ng}}. Oro,  
           NSG.O.take-DEP-MV    go-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL    well  
           {{[op            yoni]=rot,            kondong<sub>ADV</sub>    e-ng-a}}...  
           husband        3PL.POSS=COMIT        together        come-DEP-MV

‘...Taking them, they used to go. Fine, along with their husbands, coming (home)  
 together...’ (Hesienare meepmo ha yungano 0:23)

Note that the discourse-organizing adverbs *urop* and *oro* sometimes serve other functions; they do not always mark paragraph boundaries. *Oro* ‘well’ is frequently the first word in reported speech within narratives, and *urop* also means ‘done, enough’ (§3.4.6), sufficing as a one-word response to whether something has finished or whether, for instance, a pot of water has been filled enough. Even when it functions to organize discourse, *urop* does not always signal paragraph boundaries; it may serve as a filler, much like *wo-i* (§13.1.3).

The concluding line of a text may begin with an NP summary of the preceding text followed by the verb *it-* ‘be.’ The verb *it-* ‘be’ can mean ‘stay’ or ‘remain,’ and this seems to be the case with

paragraph junctures, where it signals that the preceding content ‘remains,’ as if still in space, with the speaker moving on to a new area. The concluding line of the religious homily in example (4.70) illustrates this.

#### 13.4.4 Tail-head linking in thematically-ordered discourse

Since thematically-ordered discourse does not describe consecutive events, the type of tail-head linking used with tense-iconic ordering would be almost nonsensical here. That is, a typical tense-iconically ordered group of sentences might read something like ‘Heading out from Yawan, they came. Having come, they cooked and ate. Having cooked and eaten...’ With thematically-ordered discourse, this sort of tail-head linking is inappropriate, i.e.: \*‘We always went to Yawan. Having always went to Yawan, we like going there. Having liked going there, we usually stay for several days.’ Instead, sentences in thematically-organized discourse may be linked through repetition of non-verbs: nominal arguments or adverbs in the preceding sentence may be repeated in the following sentence. This is not canonical tail-head linking, since the repeated element is not the ‘tail’ of the preceding sentence—more ‘belly-head’ linking!—but the function of promoting discourse cohesion is the same.

In the thematically-ordered sections of Narrative I (Appendix), some sections feature little to no tail-head linking. In the middle of the text, one apparent case of tense-iconic tail-head linking is in fact not so simple because of the placement of the negative proclitic *ma=*. The lines are repeated here as examples (13.49) and (13.50):

- 13.49)    W-ey<sub>OBL</sub>        tanak<sub>O</sub>    ma=ni-mo-ng=it-du-ng.  
           there-FAR        food      NEG=1NSG.O-give-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
           ‘There, they did not use to give us food.’ (Narrative I 1:10)

13.50) {Tanako ni-mo-ng-a} au {to-ng hat  
 food INSG.O-give-DEP-MV other do-DEP change.of.state  
 ni-i-ng-a} au {{ma=to-ng=it-du-ng}}.  
 INSG.O-affect-DEP-MV other NEG=do-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL

‘Either giving us food or helping us, they did not use to do.’ (Narrative I, Appendix, 1:12)

Since *tanak ni-mo-* ‘give us food’ is repeated in the following sentence, this pair of sentences at first appears to exhibit tail-head linking: unusual within a section of thematically-ordered discourse. But on further examination, we see that there are two differences between the repetition here and canonical tense-iconic tail-head linking. First, the verb *it-* ‘be’ that concludes the first sentence and gives it Habitual aspect is not repeated in the second sentence. Second, crucially, the polarity value of the predicate in the first sentence is different from the polarity value of the clause at the beginning of the second sentence. Were this tense-iconically ordered tail-head linking, the sentences would link in roughly the following way: ‘They didn’t use to give us food. (Having) not habitually given us food, they...’ In actuality, the thematic ordering means that the element *tanak ni-mo-* is repeated with altered aspect and polarity to link the two sentences thematically but not tense-iconically.

### 13.5 Pragmatics of communication

Greeting formulae were discussed in §1.9, as was non-verbal communication. Below, idiosyncratic features of discourse such as ‘feeding speech’ and use of the first-person dual as generic number are discussed alongside discussion of exclamations, which are more commonly used by women and children than by men, and terms of address.

A general note on facial expressions: people are quick to smile in public speaking, unless relating combative or otherwise negative words. In videotaped narratives, speakers often smile constantly throughout a narrative, especially on eye contact with on-lookers. This is also the case in public speaking. It seems to be a mark of good style for both men and women to act humble and smile frequently when addressing a group.

### 13.5.1 Putting words in others' mouths

A striking feature of Nungon discourse is the propensity of speakers to 'feed' other people speech in the presence of interlocutors. (The expression 'feed speech' is my own; I do not know of a Nungon idiomatic expression describing the phenomenon.) It is very common for onlookers to tell children, especially, but also adult men and women, what to say to an interlocutor *in the presence of the interlocutor*. The person so instructed is expected to obediently repeat what the onlooker told him or her to say, even though the interlocutor has already heard the speech clearly in the voice of the onlooker. I have almost never observed a person 'fed' speech in this way balk at repeating it. Such 'feeding' of speech almost always takes the form *X i-no-hi* or *X yo-i*, where *X* represents the speech that is to be repeated, in the precise form it is to be repeated (i.e. with appropriate person-number reference to be stated correctly verbatim by the person being 'fed' speech) and *i-no-hi* '3SG.O-tell-IMM.IMP.2SG' and *yo-i* 'say-IMM.IMP.2SG' are imperative forms of the verbs *i-no-* 'tell s.o.' and *yo-* 'say.'

In the Uruwa area, that is, there seems to be little to no shame in being 'fed' speech. The frequency of speech-feeding seems to relate to onlookers' perception of the facility of the target person with language *vis-à-vis* his or her interlocutor, i.e. the ability of the target person to respond appropriately to the interlocutor. If the appropriateness of the target person's response is doubted, or if the target person's caniness or grasp of social mores is shaky, interlocutors are more likely to intervene. The target person may have supplied an inappropriate response, failed to respond, or may still be mulling over a response when an onlooker 'feeds' him or her speech to repeat. If the person seems tongue-tied or uncertain, onlookers of all ages are liable to jump in to supply responses.

Although I did observe women 'feeding' adult men speech when those men were interacting with important outsiders or visitors, I would not expect this to occur in normal village settings when the men were interacting with their peers, unless there were joking going on and a woman had thought of a clever rejoinder a man should use. The most powerful person in Uruwa Ward I is of course the local Councillor, and I rarely heard anyone 'feed' him speech, except his wife, in private conversations.

I have only observed ‘fed’ speech in direct speech report form. That is, onlookers seem careful to format the speech they mean the target person to repeat with correct person/number reference for the target person to repeat the exact wording. For example, the eleven-year-old girl Emily served as narrator for a video in which the old man Nongi demonstrated the opening and closing of a traditional bamboo door. As Nongi removed bamboo sections holding the door shut, Emily spoke clearly into the camera microphone, explaining Nongi’s actions in the 3sg: ‘Now he has removed the third bamboo piece,’ etc. When Nongi was ready to push the door open, he fed Emily speech about himself in the third person, as follows:

- 13.51) N: {{ [Urop, [yama<sub>Pr</sub> bori-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>O</sub> to-ng  
enough door fruit-3SG.POSS SG.O.take-DEP  
hi-wang-na ta-a-k}}]<sub>SR:O</sub> i-no-hi}}.  
put-PROB.SG-IMNT do-PRES-3SG 3SG.O-tell-IMM.IMP.2SG  
‘‘That’s it, he is about to take the actual door and set it down,’’ tell her.’
- E: Urop, [yama<sub>Pr</sub> bori-no<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>O</sub> to-ng  
enough door fruit-3SG.POSS SG.O.take-DEP  
hi-wang-na ta-a-k.  
put-PROB.SG-IMNT do-PRES-3SG  
‘That’s it, he is about to take the actual door and set it down.’ (Video  
20130315140730)

### 13.5.2 Exclamations

Exclamations are used to express surprise, distaste, frustration, anger, and sympathy, among other emotions. I am more familiar with exclamations used by women and children than those used by men. My impression is that men in fact use exclamations less than women and children do; from their teenage years, men are expected to be stoic in the face of mishaps at which women and children would emit exclamations.

### 1. *Amna na-ng na-ng* ‘man-eater’

This expression comprises an O argument, *amna* ‘man,’ and the repeated Dependent form of the verb *na-* ‘eat,’ to mean ‘man-eater.’ The repetition of the Dependent form of the verb seems to indicate habitual action. The repeated Dependent verb here contributes to the expression being used as an epithet referring to a cannibal or man-of-the-woods monster. Were the deverbal nominalization *na-k na-k* used here, the expression would mean ‘eating men,’ instead of ‘man-eater.’ Other O arguments may be substituted for *amna*, such as *bot* ‘pig’ or *giyöng* ‘betelnut’; *bot na-ng na-ng* and *giyöng na-ng na-ng* are epithets for Lutherans and other non-SDA adherents.

Note that when there is no O argument present, *na-ng na-ng* means ‘edible,’ and plants may be discussed in terms of being *na-ng na-ng* ‘edible’ or *ma na-ng na-ng* ‘inedible.’

I observed *amna na-ng na-ng* used in two ways by women: it may be an outburst, which expresses surprise, especially at something unexpectedly large or plentiful, or anger, usually at the actions of a child; or it may be a dark comment on hearing a shocking anecdote or some new information contained within an anecdote, usually information that is surprising and unpleasant. Anecdotes that elicit *amna na-ng na-ng* as a comment seem to generally be: shocking and horrible stories, such as that of a shipwreck near Madang; stories indicating possible subterfuge or irreputable actions of another; stories describing a large quantity of something possessed by another, possibly secretly possessed. When exclaiming in anger or frustration, women may say *amna na-ng na-ng* quickly and loudly, while when commenting on a story, they may say it slower: pointedly, deliberately, with slightly raised eyebrows and firm eye contact with another member of the group conversing.

### 2. *Mag-a/mak hori/mak honi* ‘your (sg./du./pl.) mother’

This exclamation may be either used to express surprise on hearing a new, shocking anecdote or information, like *amna na-ng na-ng* ‘man-eater,’ or as an admonition, especially to children. Unlike *amna na-ng na-ng*, which is an unpossessed NP and thus not inherently directed at any addressee,

*mag-a/mak hori/mak honi* is a possessed noun, with the Pr (Possessor) associated with the addressee and inflected for appropriate number. The number of the possessive pronoun used with *mak* ‘mother’ varies with the number of people the listener addresses with his/her response. That is, if a single person tells a surprising story to two listeners, one of the listeners may respond: *mag-a* ‘your (sg.) mother,’ addressing either the storyteller or the other listener. The listener may also choose to respond *mak hori* ‘your (du.) mother,’ thus addressing both other people. The possessive endings are never inflected for first or third person in this context. The first syllable is spoken in a higher pitch than the second, which is a special intonation contour.

As a response to a shocking anecdote, *mag-a/mak hori/mak honi* ‘your (sg./du./pl) mother’ seems to be interchangeable with *amna na-ng na-ng* ‘man-eater’ above. But while the unpossessed NP *amna na-ng na-ng* may serve as a simple exclamation, not overtly addressed to anyone in particular, *mag-a/mak hori/mak honi* is intrinsically directed to an addressee, since the possessive endings used with *mak* ‘mother’ are always in the second person. Thus, this exclamation has a sense of including the addressee in the wonder the speaker feels at hearing the surprising anecdote or observing the unbelievable action. When there is no addressee in evidence, i.e., a grandmother is talking under her breath to herself, I have observed the second person possessor as inflected for singular number.

- 13.52) [Kaila orin Gorungon]<sub>voc</sub>! Deo ta-a-morok? [Mak hori]!  
 Kaila CONJ Gorungon how do-PRES-2/3DU mother 2DU.POSS  
 ‘Kaila and Gorungon! What are the two of you doing? Your mother!’ (Field notes)

### 3. *Kohet* ‘(name of spirit)’

This exclamation is used either as a general exclamation of frustration or to follow expression of a thwarted or unfulfilled desire. *Kohet* differs from *amna na-ng na-ng* as a general-purpose exclamation in that *amna na-ng na-ng* seems to have tinges of surprise, while *Kohet* has tinges of frustration or regret. *Kohet* may be used as a general-purpose exclamation on dropping something or falling down on a path, while *amna na-ng na-ng* and *mag-a/mak hori/mak honi* may not be used in that way. The

first example below shows *Kohet* as an exclamation expressing frustration in a situation of tension between mother and daughter:

- 13.53) Sirewen<sub>VOC</sub>! {{Ma=na-no-ng yo-Ø-k}}. Kohet!  
 Sirewen NEG=1SG.O-tell-DEP say-NP-3SG Kohet  
 ‘Sirewen! She doesn’t speak to me. Kohet!’ (Field notes)

In the above example, *Kohet* could be replaced by *amna na-ng na-ng* or *mag-a/mak hori/mak honi* with slightly different overtones: *amna na-ng na-ng* expresses outrage or surprise, rather than the frustration shown by *Kohet*, while replacement of *Kohet* by *mag-a/mak hori/mak honi* would entail the speaker seeking sympathy from an imaginary interlocutor (referent of the second person inflection in the possessive ending).

The next examples show *Kohet* used to express regret over, in the first example, the death of a well-liked man and in the second, over the speaker’s unfulfilled desire to have his own chainsaw, like the ones he sees in a video:

- 13.54) [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> imbange<sub>MOD</sub>]. Kohet!  
 man wonderful Kohet  
 ‘(He was a) wonderful man. Kohet!’ (Field notes)
- 13.55) {[[Naga-in<sub>Pr</sub> seinsO<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> wo-go-no<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>s</sub> i-in-a};  
 1SG.PRO.EMPH-GEN chainsaw that-ADV-3SG.POSS be-DS.3SG-MV  
 Kohet!  
 Kohet  
 ‘(If) my own chainsaw like that existed; Kohet!’

It would not be appropriate to replace *Kohet* with *amna na-ng na-ng* or *mag-a/mak hori/mak honi* in the two above examples expressing regret.

### 13.5.3 Forms of address

In Towet, Worin, and Yawan, a person may commonly be addressed and referred to either by a name, e.g. *Gorongon*, a kin relationship with someone other than the interlocutor, e.g. *Gipson oe-no* ‘Gipson wife-3SG.POSS,’ i.e. ‘Gipson’s wife,’ a kin relationship to the interlocutor, e.g. *gungag-a* ‘child-2SG.POSS,’ ‘your child,’ or by a descriptive epithet, e.g. *amna hinom* ‘man INTENS,’ i.e. ‘elderly man.’ In Kotet, the principal way to address and refer to anyone, young or old, is by birth-order term. Across all communities, the strongest name taboos concern affinal relationships, with the pronunciation of names of affines strongly frowned upon, while consanguineal relationships are less fraught with strict taboos. The nuances of terms of address and referring to people in the Towet community are discussed below.

In Towet, Worin, and Yawan, children and unmarried young people (*oe amna manahit*, *oe amna homo-no*) are usually addressed and spoken about by their given name or an epithet, often relating to the identity of their namesake, if a namesake exists. For instance, the unmarried young Towet woman Enita is named for Annie, a primary school teacher and wife of Dono Ögate. People most often refer to and address Enita as *Komutuk*, because her namesake Annie is from the Komutuk area. Similarly, the child Gaby, named for biologist Gaby Porolak, who has been working in the area since the early 2000s, is usually called *Saintas*, from English *scientist*, referring to his namesake’s occupation. Namesake relationships entail some sort of obligation on the part of the elder to the younger, but it is unclear how deep such obligations run, and taking a living namesake does not seem to be an indigenous Nungon tradition. Among themselves, children and teenagers often call each other by name, but also use kin terms to address each other, especially the baby talk register term for ‘sibling,’ *dada*, as well as *oruk* ‘brother of m.,’ *daa* ‘sister of f.,’ *naat* ‘opposite-sex sibling,’ and *nip* ‘cross-cousin.’ If within the classificatory kinship system, a child is technically the aunt or uncle of another child of similar age, it seems to be rare nowadays for the two to address each other by the appropriate kin terms; most likely, names would be used instead.

If a young man or woman marries, he or she changes from *homo-no* ‘unmarried-ADJ’ status to *oe op-no-ni* ‘woman husband-3SG.POSS-ADJ’ or *amna oe-no-ni* ‘man woman-3SG.POSS-ADJ,’ i.e.

‘woman with husband’ and ‘man with wife.’ A specific married couple is usually referred to using the name of one of the couple, usually the one who is more closely related to or associated with the speakers, and the couple associative plural term *oemna* (§4.1.3).

Unlike children, most adults are not addressed by their given names. Rather, an adult may be addressed and referred to using the name of one of his or her children, the name of his or her spouse if the couple is childless, or a descriptive nickname. The particular child whose name is used varies depending on context and seems to be based on which child is most familiar to the addressee or which child is most relevant to the discourse context. That is, *Kaila mak-no* ‘Kaila mother-3SG.POSS’ is the usual way to refer to and address the mother of the only child Kaila; *Kaila nan-no* ‘Kaila father-3SG.POSS’ is the usual way to refer to and address the father of Kaila, who also has another older child from a previous relationship. When the Towet man Gipson married a Yawan woman, most older Towet women in a *mam* ‘aunt’ relationship with Gipson referred to his wife as *Gipson oe-no* ‘Gipson woman-3SG.POSS,’ i.e. ‘Gipson’s wife,’ until the couple had their first child, at which point Gipson’s wife began to be referred to using the name of their baby. Around this time, I arrived to find that Gipson himself was now referred to by the new nickname *Medeng*, since he had worked in Madang. The Towet matriarch Irising is referred to by as *Towet oe* ‘Towet woman,’ i.e. ‘woman of Towet,’ although the origin of this nickname is still unclear to me. Towet elder Joshua (Dirian), who was instrumental in bringing the SDA religion to Towet, is widely known as *Lasta*, for the dreadlock hairstyle he used to have (*rasta* in Tok Pisin), despite the fact that nowadays his hair is closely cropped. People with church-given or government-given titles may be called by those titles or by the names of their children, i.e. *Pasto* ‘Pastor’, *Kaunsöli* ‘Councillor.’

A few people are regularly called by their given names, and this seems to mark disrespect. One woman in her fifties is childless, and people refer to her using her Christian name from baptism. Another old woman, seen as something of an eccentric character, is regularly called by her own name rather than by the name of one of her children or grandchildren. A third woman is considered lunatic, and although she has adult children, she is always referred to in her absence by her own name. In

directly addressing her, children and adults most often use kin terms such as *owi* ‘grandmother’ and *mam* ‘aunt.’

Many adults have an ‘old’ name and a ‘new’ or ‘church’ name. Some people have at least three names, i.e., an original ‘old’ name, given as a baby, a newer Lutheran name, taken from the Bible but not linked to SDA, and a third ultra-new name, from SDA.

The epithets *oe hinom* ‘woman INTENS’ and *oe taambong-o* ‘woman ancient-ADJ,’ both used to mean ‘old woman,’ are acceptably respectful as terms of both address and reference.

Some nouns with non-human referents may be used as terms of address in special registers of language. One of these is the occasional practice among girls to address a single, unrelated best friend using the name of a plant, the edible portion of which may grow in pairs. The implication is that the relationship between the two girls is so close that they are like a pair of Siamese banana fruits, or betelnuts, or peanuts, or sweet potatoes, or other specific varieties of foods, the fruits of which sometimes grow paired. Even when these food names are used as terms of address, they are usually followed by the 1sg possessive suffix, e.g. *giyöng* ‘betelnut,’ *giyöng-na* ‘my (dear) betelnut,’ that is, they have no marked vocative form. Matthew Taylor reports that in Nukna, girls have a single ‘betelnut,’ or ‘best friend,’ though he was not aware of the possibility of using other food terms beside ‘betelnut’ (personal communication 2012). It is possible that the practice as I observed it between daughters of a Towet family and the Kotet girls living with them to help with house- and farm-work is in fact imported from the Nukna area, since the mother of the Towet girls is a Nukna woman.

When modified by an adjective, body part terms may be used in insulting epithets, akin to English ‘bigmouth.’ These epithets are usually used to address the referent (in irritation or anger). Epithets are special because when marked for person and number via a pertensive suffix, they always index 3sg—even when used to address a second person. Standard expressions include: *kombör-o morö!* ‘stomach-3SG.POSS large,’ i.e. ‘glutton’; *kaag-o morö!* ‘head-3SG.POSS large,’ i.e. ‘stubborn,’ *kaag-o ondingo!* ‘head-3SG.POSS strong-ADJ,’ i.e. ‘tough-headed,’ and *kaak dan!* ‘head flat,’ i.e. ‘flathead.’ These may have literal or figurative meaning: a small child with a chronically swollen

belly was insulted for his malady using *kombör-o morö!* ‘stomach-3SG.POSS large,’ an epithet also used for gluttons who may have no physical swelling of the abdomen. A limited number of idioms use body parts to describe behavior or attitude, as in *to-ng dirong to-* ‘do-DEP hair do,’ which means ‘act out’ (see the end of §11.2.5, and 0:11 in Dialogue II, Appendix).

#### 13.5.4 Presenting a kin relation as distant from speaker

Speakers frequently refer to their kin, especially their own children, using the child’s kin relation to the addressee instead of to the speaker. This is usually pragmatically motivated and highlights the addressee’s relationship with the child, putting the speaker’s relationship with the child into the background. Especially among women, reference using the referee’s kin relation to the addressee seems to be the preferred way to refer to someone whose identity is known to both speaker and addressee. If the kin relation itself is not specific enough in the discourse context, i.e. if *daa-ya* ‘sister.of.female-2SG.POSS’ could refer to several different women in a particular context, second-best reference would be to use the name of the person’s child or spouse, e.g. *Stesi mak-no* ‘Stesi mother-3SG.POSS,’ i.e. ‘mother of Stesi.’ Third-best would be the person’s name, if not under strong taboo, i.e., the person’s ‘new’ or ‘Christian’ name, e.g. *Dewit* ‘David’ or *Lin* ‘Lynne,’ or Nungon language name if the person is not an in-law relation of the speaker, e.g. *Nusek*. It is not good form, it seems, to refer to a person using their kin relation to oneself, unless the referee is completely unrelated to the addressee, e.g. *mak-na* ‘mother-1SG.POSS’ or *bap-na* ‘mother’s.brother-1SG.POSS’ for deceased relatives who did not know the addressee. This general hierarchy of good-form reference terms may be upended in certain situations, e.g. when a person is describing his or her family and thus highlighting family members’ relationship to him- or herself.

A teenage girl who frequently quarrelled with her mother often spoke to her much-younger brother about their mother using the 2sg pertensive suffix, as seen in example (12.42) in Chapter 12.

The closeness-to-addressee (and sometimes distance-from-speaker) effect of referring to people using their relationship to the addressee, not the speaker, may be compared with the effect of another pragmatic device: using the 1du possessive suffix to express closeness both with the

addressee and the referee. That is, an adult may speak warmly to a child sometimes by including him- or herself in the child's relation to its mother, especially. The following is typical of an utterance using such a (false) statement of relationship to express a kindly solidarity with the child:

- 13.56) [Mak nori]<sub>s</sub> nain<sub>OBL</sub> it-ta-k?  
mother 1DU.POSS where be-PRES.SG-3SG  
'The two of our mother, where is she?'

### 13.5.5 The first person dual as generic person

In sermons, letters, speeches, and other formal statements, the first person dual is the preferred first person form, and, in fact, the preferred generic person form as well. That is, in a sermon describing a good or bad behavior with Behaver unspecified, verbs and other person-number-inflected elements inflect for first person dual. It seems that use of the first person dual is a strategy for expressing first person inclusivity—possible in Tok Pisin pronouns, but not in Nungon. This may be seen in example (8.74) in Chapter 8, from a sermon. The speaker addresses the entire congregation, but frames the sentence in the first person dual: 'the two of us.'

### 13.5.6 Answers to questions

There are various ways to respond to polar questions. These may be classed as affirmative, negative, non-committal, and argumentative. The non-committal and argumentative types of responses are less frequent with Polar questions of type I (§10.7.10) than with Polar questions of type II (§10.7.11).

Table 13.3. Polar question short answer types				
	affirmative	negative	non-committal	argumentative
verbal	<i>öö</i>	<i>muuno</i>	<i>ma=rom hi-t</i> 'I don't know'	<i>imbogo</i>
non-verbal	-nod (vertical) -raised, then lowered eyebrows -audible ingressive breath	-head-shake (horizontal)	-single shoulder shrug, head inclined toward raised shoulder -fingers lifted so palms face away from torso	-one or both hands shaken loosely at the wrist -wrinkled nose -pouting mouth (lower lip extended) -raised eyebrows
Nungon term for non-verbal motion	<i>bangan</i> <i>kondop to-</i> 'make the neck click,' or <i>bangan</i> <i>obö-</i> 'bend the neck'	<i>bangan aan</i> <i>to-</i> 'make the neck spin'	term extant, no record of it	no term known

There are several types of long answer possible with polar questions. Simple repetition of the question with appropriate polarity occurs in everyday interactions but is not favored in narrative. It is considered poor verbal artistry to simply repeat the question; instead, the interlocutor in narrative usually responds with some proof to support or refute the questioned information. A combination of these two types of responses repeats the question with some additional supporting information.

<b>Table 13.4. Polar question long answer types</b>		
	<b>affirmative</b>	<b>negative or argumentative</b>
<b>repetition</b> of question with appropriate polarity	repetition of question in same polarity	repetition of question in opposite polarity
<b>supplying of proof</b> for affirmation or negation	supplying of information that proves veracity of questioned information	supplying of information that proves non-veracity of questioned information
<b>repetition with supplying of proof</b>	repetition of question combined with new information	repetition of question combined with new information

Polar questions may be answered non-verbally or verbally. A non-verbal affirmative response would involve a nod, widened eyes, or raised and lowered eyebrows—or a combination of these. A non-verbal negative response would involve shaking the head. A non-committal response communicates that the speaker is unsure of the correct answer to the question, or chooses to refrain from giving an affirmative or negative response. Examples of these types of polar question responses from reported dialogue in texts are below.

Supplying of proof without repetition:

- 13.57) {{Tep<sub>SR:O</sub>, i-no-go-t}}. {{ [[{Gok<sub>TOP</sub> [ngo-go-no<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]o  
MBC 3SG.O-tell-RP-1SG 2SG.PRO this-ADV-ADJ other  
ho-ng na-ng=it-ta-rok}} ha]<sub>SR:O?</sub> i-no-go-t}}.  
cook-DEP eat-DEP=be-PRES.SG-2SG QUES 3SG.O-tell-RP-1SG  
{I-no-wa-ya}, {[ai, ai, tep-na<sub>VOC</sub>]<sub>SR:O</sub>, yo-go-k}}.  
3SG.O-tell-DS.1SG-MV EXCL EXCL sister's.child-1SG.POSS say-RP-3SG  
{{ [[{[[{Nogon<sub>Pr</sub> arapp<sub>e</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> uung-o<sub>MOD</sub>]o k-ep-pa-rok}]]<sub>SR:O</sub>,  
1SG.PRO+GEN game taboo-ADJ SG.O-come-PRES.SG-2SG  
yo-go-k}}.  
say-RP-3SG  
“Uncle,” I told him. “You, do you sometimes cook something like this?” I told him. I  
having told him that, “Ai, ai, my nephew,” he said. “You have brought my true  
(favorite) meat,” he said.’ (Stanli tung hat 3:01)

Short verbal positive response:

- 13.58) {{Gogo<sub>TOPIC</sub> maa-ya<sub>VCS</sub> Bisarickec<sub>VCC</sub> ha?]<sub>SR:O</sub> i-n-un-a},  
2SG.PRO+FOC name-3SG.POSS Bisarickec QUES 3SG.O-tell-DS.3SG-MV  
{{öö<sub>SR:O</sub> i-no-go-c}}.  
yes 3SG.O-tell-RP-3SG  
‘He asking him: “You, is your name Bisarickec?” He told him: “Yes.”’ (Waasiöng  
inoin hat 12:10)

Like polar questions, content question answers may take reduced or elaborated forms.

Reduced forms entail straightforward supply of the requested information not in a complete final verbal or verbless clause, while elaborated forms are full final verbal or verbless clauses. A third type of response avoids supplying the requested information through polite demurral. Where this occurs in

Nungon texts, it is always a translation by the speaker of an original Tok Pisin conversation, so it is likely that the practice is not old in the Nungon speech community.

This last type of response to a content question shies away from directly supplying the information indicated by the content question word. This hedging may occur because the questioner is important or respected, or a stranger. Instead of answering the question immediately, the interlocutor instead responds with the nominal negator *muuno* ‘no, not,’ followed by an explanation of the entire situation.

Asked ‘why have you come?’ by strangers:

13.59)     {        {{Nungon=ta<sub>OBL</sub>        e-wa-ng}}<sub>SR.O?</sub> y-un-a},        {{muun<sub>SR.O</sub>,

                  what=BEN        come-PRES.NSG-2/3PL   say-DS.3SG-MV   no

i-no-go-mong}}.    {Laskölis        om-undo                i-i-ya}

3SG.O-tell-RP-1PL   raskol        downhill-LDEM.MID   be-DS.2/3PL-MV

{{wo-rok=ka        poto-ng        e-wa-mong}}.

that-SEMBL=BEN   desist-DEP        come-PRES.NSG-1PL

‘He saying: “Why have you come?” “No,” we told him. “Raskols being down there, we fled that (lit.: ‘objected and came’).”’ (Lin hawek amna 2:38)

Asked ‘where are you about to go?’ by a respected older relative:

13.60) { {{Nain<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-wang-na ta-a-rok}}<sub>SR:O?</sub> y-un-a},  
 where go-PROB.SG-DESID do-PRES-2SG say-DS.3SG-MV  
 {{muun<sub>SR:O</sub> i-no-go-t}}. {{Nok<sub>TOP</sub> irot, Mösbi<sub>OBL</sub>  
 no 3SG.O-tell-RP-3SG 1SG.PRO inside Moresby  
 ongong-gong=ka, to-ng orom hi-k ta-a-t}}, {{wo-rok  
 go-PART=BEN do-DEP understand-NMZ do-PRES-1SG that-SEMBL  
 ep-pa-t}}.

come-PRES.SG-1SG

‘He saying: “Where are you about to go?” “No,” I told him. “Within me, I think about going to Moresby, thus have I come.”’ (Gaus inoin hat 6:36)

### 13.5.7 Calling at distances

Conveying messages across distances is important in a place with no other means of quick communication. The practice of *iwani*- ‘turning’ things such as cloth or knives to signal to someone far away was discussed in §1.9.1, while the final-vowel alteration that characterizes calls to someone far away was introduced in §2.8.9. Here, some of the features of calls at distance, such as repetition of the final or key word, and use of hoots and wordless whoops are addressed. Finally, certain lexical items are only used in the context of calling at distance; these include exclamations, such as *hee!* and the expression *dimu dimu*, which signals across the Wep River that someone in the location from which the call is made has died.

The urgency of a call at distance may be reinforced by repetition of the final or key word in the call. For example, after calling *dimu dimu*, the bereaved family of someone who has just died may call out:

- 13.61) Amnas wo-rok omo-ha-k omo-ha-k!  
 man that-SEMBL die-PRES.SG-3SG die-PRES.SG-3SG  
 Karup e-warut e-warut!  
 quick come-IMM.IMP.2/3PL come-IMM.IMP.2/3PL  
 ‘A man has thus died, died! Quick: come, come!’ (Field notes)

Public community meetings are outdoors and attended by all community members, male and female, except small children. These meetings are usually announced throughout the village by one of a few male leaders who paces up and down the main village paths calling out the summons. The usual callers in Towet village are men who are acknowledged as community leaders and are in their twenties or thirties. Summons to meetings are characterized by repetition two times of key words or phrases and are often punctuated by whoops that feature falling pitch: *héè!* A typical summons to a meeting might be formed along the lines of the following:

- 13.62) Héè! Héè! Höan! Höan! Dudumang! Dudumang!  
 EXCL EXCL meeting meeting meeting meeting  
 [[Oe amna]<sub>HEAD</sub> ambarak<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> e-warut!  
 woman man all come-IMM.IMP.2/3PL  
 ‘Hey! Hey! Meeting! Meeting! Meeting [Kâte]! Meeting [Kâte]! All women and men, come!’

The repeated *höan* ‘meeting’ or its equivalent in Kâte, *dudumang*, may be punctuated by humorous or angry lines urging people to finish eating or whatever else they may be doing and come to the usual gathering place or another location specified by the caller. Note that the Towet elder Nongi related that before missionization, important meetings were conducted by men only, in the privacy of the men’s house, and were not announced by shouting. According to him, the concept of a public outdoor meeting open to all was introduced by the missionaries: hence the remaining practice of announcing public meetings with the Kâte word *dudumang*.

The morning of 25 March 2013, James of Towet village announced to the village that all Towet men must help demolish the old Wep bridge and build a new one that morning. He called out in the following way:

13.63)    Hee!    Hagam-no!                      Hee!    Hagam-no!                      Héé::::-èè!  
          EXCL   bridge-3SG.POSS            EXCL   bridge-3SG.POSS            EXCL  
          Héé::::-èè!  
          EXCL

‘Hey! (Its) bridge! Hey! (Its) bridge! Héy-èy! Héy-èy!’ (Field notes)

Use of the suffix *-no* here is striking, since a 3sg possessor of the communal *hagam* ‘bridge’ is hard to pinpoint. It may be the Uruwa River itself.

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- 0:06 L: Keket-navoc, {[babiya<sub>MOD</sub> bög-in<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ng-a mina},  
 boy-1SG.POSS paper house-LOC go-DEP-MV PERF.2SG  
 wo=ma-i,  
 that=SPEC-TOP  
 My boy, having gone away to school, as for that,
- 0:09 orog-o, {[böörong<sub>HEAD</sub> opmou<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> ga-mo-wa-ya}, {ongo-ng-a},  
 good-ADJ stone small 2SG.O-give-DS.1SG-MV go-DEP-MV  
 good, I having given you a little money, (you) going on,
- 0:12 böörong<sub>TOP</sub> wo=ma-i, {towi-ng-a},  
 stone that=SPEC-TOP arrange-DEP-MV  
 the money, as for that, carefully,
- 0:14 [nungon<sub>MOD</sub> tanak<sub>HEAD</sub>]=ka omo-ng-a),  
 what food=BEN die-DEP-MV  
 whatever food you are hungry for,
- 0:16 {tanak=ka hinom omo-ng towi-ng-a}=gon,  
 food=BEN INTENS die-DEP arrange-DEP-MV=RSTR  
 really hungering for food, just carefully,
- 0:18 {honggir-a} {{na-ng na-ng ti-rök}}.  
 grab-MV eat-DEP eat-DEP do-DEL.IMP.2SG  
 grabbing it, do eating.
- 0:20 {[Babiya<sub>MOD</sub> bök<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ong-i-rok-ma}},  
 paper house large=LOC go-IRR.SG-2SG-RF  
 You will go to the big school,
- 0:21 {[babiya<sub>MOD</sub> bök<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub>,  
 paper house large=LOC  
 at the big school,

- 0:22 wo=ma-i, torok<sub>TOP</sub>, [maa-no maa-no]<sub>O</sub>  
 that=SPEC-TOP manner name-3SG.POSS name-3SG.POSS  
 as for that, (their) manner, various things
- 0:23 [siing-o siing-o] ma=to-ng=ir-a-ng }.  
 weak-ADJ weak-ADJ NEG=do-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 they don't do weakly.
- 0:25 Torok<sub>TOP</sub>, {[hatdek hatdek]<sub>ADV</sub> to-ng=ir-a-ng }.  
 manner much much do-DEP=be-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 The manner, they do very much.
- 0:27 Wo=ma-i, {y-a-i-ya}, {ketket<sub>A</sub> nug-a-i<sub>APPOS:A</sub>  
 that=SPEC-TOP 3NSG.O-see-DS.2SG-MV boy friend-2SG.POSS-PL  
 As for that, you having seen them, the boys, your friends,
- 0:29 [yamuk<sub>HEAD</sub> onding<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> na-ng-a},  
 water strong eat-DEP-MV  
 drinking alcohol,
- 0:30 {wo-go-no<sub>O</sub> t-u-ya}, {yu=rot<sub>OBL</sub> ir-a} hu  
 that-ADV-ADJ do-DS.2/3PL-MV 3PRO=COMIT be-MV DUB  
 they having done like that, (you) being with them, perhaps,
- 0:32 {[yamuk<sub>HEAD</sub> onding<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> na-ng-a} hu,  
 water strong eat-DEP-MV DUB  
 drinking alcohol, perhaps,
- 0:33 {to-ng ku-i-ya} {böörong-a<sub>O</sub>  
 do-DEP SG.O.take.away-DS.2SG-MV stone-2SG.POSS  
 yoo-ng-a mina}, {[yamuk<sub>HEAD</sub> onding-<sub>O</sub>MOD]=ha<sub>OBL</sub>  
 NSG.O.take-DEP-MV PERF.2SG water strong-ADJ=BEN  
 to-ng-a},  
 SG.O.take-DEP-MV  
 this continuing, you having taken up your money, taking it for alcohol,

- 0:36 {umö-ng-a}, {yo-i burer-a} hu,  
 buy-DEP-MV NSG.O.take.CAUS-2SG be.finished-MV DUB  
 buying it, you having made it finish, perhaps,
- 0:39 {ongo-ng-a} {[ketket<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]s yo-ng-a} {{hawek  
 go-DEP-MV boy other say-DEP-MV thievery  
 to-na}}<sub>SR</sub> hu,  
 do-IMM.IMP.1PL DUB  
 going on, other boys saying “Let’s commit thievery,” perhaps,
- 0:40 {{{wo-go wo-go to-na}}}<sub>SR:O</sub> y-u-ya},  
 that-ADV that-ADV do-IMM.IMP.1PL say-DS.2/3PL-MV  
 they having said “Let’s do this and that,”
- 0:42 wo=ma-i wo-go-no<sub>TOP</sub> wo=ma-i {{t-i-rog-a}},  
 that=SPEC-TOP that-ADV-ADJ that=SPEC-TOP do-IRR.SG-2SG-PROH  
 as for that, like that, as for that, don’t do it,
- 0:45 wo-rok, {[muuno, [muuno<sub>HEAD</sub> hinom<sub>INTENS</sub>]]<sub>SR:O</sub> ga-no-ha-t}},  
 that-SEMBL no no INTENS 2SG.O-tell-PRES.SG-1SG  
 ketket-navoc.  
 boy-1SG.POSS  
 that is, no, truly no, I tell you, my boy.
- 0:47 {Ongo-ng-a}, {towi-ng-a ir-a},  
 go-DEP-MV arrange-DEP-MV be-MV  
 Going on, carefully existing,
- 0:48 {[nungon<sub>MOD</sub> maa<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>CA:O</sub> [Ø] {{ga-no-ha-t}} ha  
 what speech 2SG.O-tell-PRES.SG-1SG QUES  
 {{ga-no-ng=it-ta-t}}]=ma,  
 2SG.O-tell-DEP=be-PRES.SG-1SG=REL  
 whatever speech I tell you or am (always) telling you,

- 0:51 {towi-ng-a}, {oro hi-ng-a} {to-ng  
 arrange-DEP-MV understand put-DEP-MV SG.O.take-DEP  
 irur-a-NOBL hi-ng-a ir-a},  
 inside-2SG.POSS-LOC put-DEP-MV be-MV  
 carefully, hearing, be taking and putting into your heart,
- 0:54 {ongo-ng-a mina}, {[babiyamod böginHEAD]OBL ong-i-rok-ma}},  
 go-DEP-MV PERF.2SG paper house-LOC go-IRR.2SG-RF  
 going on, you will go to the school,
- 0:55 ma, {orog-o=gonOBL ongo-ng-a mina} {aa-ng-a},  
 LINK good-ADJ =RSTR go-DEP-MV PERF.2SG see-DEP-MV  
 so, going on only well, seeing (that),
- 0:57 {[babiyamod bökHEAD]O/S orog-oADV t-i burer-un-a},  
 paper house good-ADJ do.CAUS-2SG be.finished-DS.3SG-MV  
 you having finished school well,
- 0:58 {[youthHEAD moröMOD imbangeMOD] auMOD]o to-ng-a  
 work large wonderful other do-DEP-MV  
 i-i-rok-ma}}.  
 be-IRR.SG-2SG-RF  
 you will be doing other big wonderful work.
- 1:01 J: MakVOC, [irotHEAD orog-oMOD hinomMOD].  
 mother inside good-ADJ INTENS  
 Mother, thank you very much.
- 1:03 {[[MaaMOD nongoruHEAD]HEAD imbangeMOD]o na-mo-ha-rok}}.  
 speech law wonderful 1SG.O-give-PRES.SG-2SG  
 You have given me wonderful advice.

END



- 0:11 J: {[To-ng dirong]<sub>o</sub> to-ng ka-m-ang-ka-t]}=ma=ha,  
do-DEP hair do-DEP 2NSG.O-give-PROB.SG-NF-1SG=REL=BEN  
{oro hi-ng-a},  
understand put-DEP-MV  
Since (otherwise) I will give you trouble, understanding that,
- 0:13 {[karup karup]<sub>ADV</sub> ho-ng na-m-uny-a} {{na-wa}}!  
quick quick cook-DEP 1SG.O-give-DS.2/3DU-MV eat-IMM.IMP.1SG  
quick quick cook and give me that I may eat!
- 0:15 L: {[To-ng dirong]<sub>o</sub> to-wang-ka-rok} hu { [{{unga  
do-DEP hair do-PROB.SG-NF-2SG DUB now  
na-na}}]<sub>SR:O</sub> i-no-wa-ya}  
eat-IMM.IMP.1PL 3SG.O-tell-DS.1SG-MV  
Maybe you'll do trouble; if I tell him 'let's eat now,'
- 0:17 {{get wondot hi-wang-ka-k} hu  
2SG.O.beat plant.in.ground put-PROB.SG-NF-3SG DUB  
maybe he'll beat and plant you in the ground,
- 0:18 {{kaag-as ta-wang-ka-k} hu!  
head-2SG.POSS split-PROB.SG-NF-3SG DUB  
maybe your head will split!
- 0:19 W: {{Gok<sub>A</sub> maa<sub>o</sub> ma+rom hi-ng=it-ta-rok}}=ma,  
2SG.PRO speech NEG+understand put-DEP=be-PRES.SG-2SG=REL  
Since you don't heed speech,
- 0:20 {{unga wo-rok get-dang-ka-mok}}!  
now that-SEMBL 2SG.O.beat-DU.PROB-NF-1DU  
now then we'll beat you!
- 0:22 L: {{Wet-ti}}! {{Wet-ti}}!  
3SG.O-beat-IMM.IMP.2SG 3SG.O-beat-IMM.IMP.2SG  
Beat him! Beat him!

- 0:23 {{To-ng dore dore wo-go-rok=gon to-ng=it-ta-k}}.  
do-DEP acting.out that-ADV-SEMBL=RSTR do-DEP=be-PRES.SG-3SG  
He's always acting out like that.
- 0:24 J: {{Ta-arun}}. {{Böörong=ko<sub>A</sub> irom {{kowira-in  
do-IMM.IMP.2/3DU stone=FOC free outside-LOC  
oo-wang-ka-t}}=ma  
descend-PROB.SG-NF-1SG=REL  
Do it. It's a rock that, when I go outside,
- 0:27 bök=dek<sub>OBL</sub> maa-noo yo-wang-ka-k}}.  
house=LOC sound-3SG.POSS say-PROB.SG-NF-3SG  
will make noise on the house.
- 0:28 L: Bök<sub>TOP:O</sub> {gok hai-ng h-e-ng-a}  
house 2SG.PRO cut-DEP NSG.O-come-DEP-MV  
{{to-ng=it-ta-rog}}-an, {{unga kaag-as ta-wang-ka-k}}.  
do-DEP=be-PRES.SG-2SG-LOC now head-2SG.POSS split-PROB.SG-NF-3SG  
The house: since you always cut and bring (wood for it), now your head will split.
- 0:32 {{[Eer-a obu-ya]<sub>s</sub> maa-ng-gang-ni<sub>ADV</sub> e-eng-ka-k}} hu.  
leg-2SG.POSS arm-2SG.POSS chop-DEP-PART-ADJ be-PROB.SG-NF-3SG DUB  
Maybe your legs and arms will stay chopped up.
- 0:34 W: Gok<sub>VCS</sub> maya-k-ni<sub>VCC</sub>. {{Gari-ko to-ng to-ng ongo-ng=it-ta-rok}}.  
2SG.PRO idle-NMZ-ADJ play-NMZ do-DEP do-DEP go-DEP=be-PRES.SG-2SG  
You are lazy. You go around playing.
- 0:36 {Goks tanag-a<sub>OBL</sub> bög-in<sub>OBL</sub> ngo-nd<sub>OBL</sub> e-ng-a}  
2SG.PRO food-2SG.POSS house-LOC here-LDEM.NEAR come-DEP-MV  
Coming home here (for) your food,
- 0:38 {{tanako ma=na-ng na-ng t-i-rok}},  
food NEG=eat-DEP eat-DEP do-IRR.SG-2SG  
you won't eat food ever again,

0:39 urop, {to-ng ga-n-a-ya}, [boop<sub>HEAD</sub> mee<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ng-a,  
 enough do-DEP 2SG.O-tell-DS.1SG-MV forest behind go-DEP-MV  
 [boop<sub>HEAD</sub> mee<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> i-i-rok-ma.  
 forest behind be-IRR.SG-2SG-RF  
 enough, I have told you, going outside, outside will you stay.

0:41 L: {Ongo-ng-a}, {[ketket nug-a-i<sub>APPOS</sub>]<sub>s</sub> ittongo-ni-ng-ma}},  
 go-DEP-MV boy friend-2SG.POSS-PL go.around-IRR.PL-2/3PL-RF  
 Going on, the boys, your friends, who may go around,

0:43 {y-a-i-ya}, {ho-ng ga-m-u-ya}, {{na-hi}}!  
 3NSG.O-see-DS.2SG-MV cook-DEP 2SG.O-give-DS.2/3PL-MV eat-IMM.IMP.2SG  
 you seeing them, they cooking and giving (food) to you, eat!

0:44 J: {{Nok<sub>s</sub> unga ngo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> hon-ot<sub>OBL</sub>  
 1SG.PRO today here-LDEM.NEAR 2NSG.PRO-COMIT  
 ma=duo-i-t}}!  
 NEG=sleep-IRR.SG-1SG

Today, I won't sleep by you here!

0:46 {{Usandu<sub>OBL</sub>, [[nandu=ma au]=ho<sub>Pr</sub> bög-in<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> du-wang-ka-t}}.  
 somewhere some=SPEC other=FOC house-LOC sleep-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
 I'll sleep somewhere, in somebody else's house.

0:48 L: {{Ongo-i}}, {numa=ho<sub>A</sub> goga<sub>OBL</sub> hato ya-a-k}}.  
 go-IMM.IMP.1SG who=FOC 2SG.PRO+BEN story say-PRES-3SG  
 Go, who will tell a story about you.

0:50 W: {Gok<sub>s</sub> ongo-ng-a}, {wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> duo-ng duo-ng  
 2SG.PRO go-DEP-MV that-LDEM.NEAR sleep-DEP sleep-DEP  
 to-ng-a},  
 do-DEP-MV  
 Going on, sleeping here and there,

0:52 {{goks [gungak<sub>HEAD</sub> orog-<sub>OMOD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> ma=hönggor-i-rok.  
2SG.PRO child good-ADJ NEG=emerge-IRR.SG-2SG  
you will not become a good child.

END

## A2. Narratives

### Narrative I: The Old Kâte Language School at Boksawin

The Towet grandmother Gosing is one of the cohort of Nungon-speaking elders who attended the Kâte-language school at Boksawin in the 1960s. Gosing still remembers the Kâte language, which she and others who had learned it in school or church used to communicate with people in the Yupna area on a later church-related excursion in adulthood. Gosing recalls her school days with anger here. The children from the upper Uruwa valley villages boarded in Boksawin, and she recounts that no one helped take care of them. Further, they were given hard labour as punishment in school. Finally, she rails against the Kâte language, which she considers useless and a backwoods language.

- 0:00 Non<sub>TOP</sub> wo-rok  
 1NSG.PRO that-SEMBL  
 We, thus,
- 0:01 {[babiy<sub>MOD</sub> bök<sub>HOUSE</sub>]<sub>S</sub> ng-ey<sub>OBL</sub> ma=ir=it-do-k}].  
 paper house here-LDEM.FAR NEG=be=be-RP-3SG  
 a school here didn't used to exist.
- 0:03 {[Om-emo<sub>OBL</sub> Boksawin=ton<sub>Pr.S</sub> it-do-k}].  
 downhill-LDEM.FAR Boksawin=GEN be-RP-3SG  
 Down there, Boksawin's existed.
- 0:05 {I-in-a},  
 be-DS.3SG-MV  
 (That) being,
- 0:06 wo-rok {[yoo-ng Boksawin<sub>OBL</sub> hi-gu-ng}].  
 that-SEMBL NSG.O.take-DEP Boksawin put-RP-2/3PL  
 thus, they took them, and put them at Boksawin.

- 0:08 {Boksawin<sub>OBL</sub> n-ö-u-ya}  
 Boksawin 1.O-place-DS.2/3PL-MV  
 They having brought us up (to school) in Boksawin,
- 0:10 {{w-ondo<sub>OBL</sub> [babiya<sub>MOD</sub> bög-in<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> öö-ng-a it-do-mong}}.  
 that-LDEM.NEAR book house-LOC ascend-DEP-MV be-RP-1PL  
 there we were going up to school.
- 0:12 {{Öö-ng-a ir=it-do-mong}}!  
 ascend-DEP-MV be=be-RP-1PL  
 We used to be going up (to school)!
- 0:14 {{Ir=it-do-mong}},  
 be=be-RP-1PL  
 We stayed (thus),
- 0:15 {{ir=it-do-mo:::ng}}, {ir-o motnaina},  
 be=be-RP-1PL be-MVII PERF.1PL  
 we stayed for a while, we having stayed,
- 0:18 {ir-o motnaina} wo-rok, {e-ng-a}  
 be-MVII PERF.1PL that-SEMBL come-DEP-MV  
 having existed, thus, coming,
- 0:20 {{[Höan<sub>MOD</sub> Urong<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> duo-ng-a ir=it-do-mong}}.  
 meeting ridge sleep-DEP-MV be=be-RP-1PL  
 We used to sleep at Meeting Ridge [place name in the Boksawin area].
- 0:22 {Duo-ng-a ir-o mot-nai—}  
 sleep-DEP-MV be-MVII PERF.1PL  
 We having been sleeping—
- 0:23 tanak=kavcs mööp<sub>VCC</sub>!  
 food=BEN lack  
 for food, want!

- 0:24 [Noni-win<sub>Pr</sub>                    dong<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub>      noni=ha=gon<sub>VCC</sub>!  
 1PL.PRO.EMPH.GEN      support              1PL.PRO=BEN=RSTR  
 Our own support only for ourselves!
- 0:26 {{Ir-it-do-mong}}.  
 be=be-RP-1PL  
 (Thus) we existed.
- 0:27 Tanak=kav<sub>CS</sub>      mööp<sub>VCC</sub>,  
 food=BEN      lack  
 For food, lack,
- 0:28 {it      tot-na                    ma=s-un-a},                    {ongo-ng-a},  
 be      do.CAUS-1PL      NEG=come.to.fruition-DS.3SG-MV              go-DEP-MV  
 ganang-e<sub>ADV</sub>!  
 inside-ADJ  
 staying to no avail, going on, inside (the forest, for food)!
- 0:30 {Ganang-e<sub>ADV</sub>      w-eyo<sub>OBL</sub>                    ongoing-a},      {sigeto tana-ng-a},  
 inside-ADJ      there-LDEM.FAR              go-DEP-MV      fern.sp pluck-DEP-MV  
 Going on there inside (the forest), picking *siget* ferns,
- 0:32 {tana-ng-a}      {to-ng-a},      {h-e-ng-a},  
 pluck-DEP-MV      do-DEP-MV      NSG.O-come-DEP-MV  
 doing the picking, bringing them,
- 0:34 {ho-ng                    na-ng-a},      {{ir=it-do-mong}}.  
 cook-DEP              eat-DEP-MV      be=be-RP-1PL  
 we used to be cooking and eating.
- 0:36 {It      tot-na                    ma=s-un-a}—  
 be      do.CAUS-1PL      NEG=come.to.fruition-DS.3SG-MV  
 We staying (thus) to no avail—

- 0:37 {{{[mak noni] [nan noni]]<sub>A</sub> tanak<sub>O</sub> ma=to-ng  
 mother 1PL.POSS father 1PL.POSS food NEG=do-DEP  
 hu-ng ni-mo-ng=it-du-ng}}}.  
 NSG.O.take.away-DEP 1NSG.O.give-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
 our mothers and our fathers were not bringing and giving us food.
- 0:39 Mööp<sub>OBL</sub> ir=it-do-mong.  
 lack be=be-RP-1PL  
 We existed in lack.
- 0:41 Mööp<sub>OBL</sub> ir-a, [babiya<sub>MOD</sub> bög-in<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ng=it-do-mong,  
 lack be-MV book house-LOC go-DEP=be-RP-1PL  
 Being in lack, we used to be going to school,
- 0:43 {aus wegar-a} {poto-ng-a}, {{w-ey<sub>OBL</sub> ir=it-do-mong}}.  
 other disperse-MV refuse-DEP-MV that-LDEM.FAR be=be-RP-1PL  
 or else dispersing, refusing, we would be over there.
- 0:45 {W-ey<sub>OBL</sub> ir-a},  
 there-LDEM.FAR be-MV  
 Being over there,
- 0:47 {ir-a} {ongo-na-ya}, wo-rok  
 be-MV go-DS.1PL-MV that-SEMBL  
 being and we having gone, thus
- 0:48 {ongo-na-ya}, wo-rok,  
 go-DS.1PL-MV that-SEMBL  
 we having gone, thus,
- 0:49 karambusi<sub>OBL</sub> böörongo yoo-ng  
 jailhouse stone NSG.O.take-DEP  
 (as if in the) jailhouse, taking rocks

- 0:50 [yaruk noni]=dek<sub>OBL</sub>.  
 shoulder 1PL.POSS=LOC  
 on our shoulders.
- 0:52 {[Yaruk noni]=dek<sub>OBL</sub> hi-u-ya}, {{humbor-a  
 shoulder 1PL.POSS=LOC put-DS.2/3PL-MV bear.on.shoulder-MV  
 ir=it-do-mong}},  
 be=be-RP-1PL  
 They having placed (the rocks) on our shoulders, we used to be bearing them on our  
 shoulders;
- 0:54 {humbor-a it-da-ya}—  
 bear.on.shoulder-MV be-DS.1DU-MV  
 as we were bearing them on our shoulders—
- 0:56 {[babiyam<sub>MOD</sub> bök<sub>HEAD</sub>]s burer-un-a}, wo-rok,  
 book house be.finished-DS.3SG-MV that-SEMBL  
 school having finished, thus,
- 0:58 {yoo-ng hi-ng-a} {öö-ng-a}, {{öö-ng=it-do-mong}}.  
 NSG.O.take-DEP put-DEP-MV ascend-DEP-MV ascend-DEP=be-RP-1PL  
 taking them and putting them (on our shoulders), ascending, we used to go up.
- 1:00 {Ongong-o motnaina},  
 go-MVII PERF-1PL  
 Going on,
- 1:01 {{e-ng=it-do-mong}}. {{Benno-n ongo-ng duo-ng=it-do-mong}}-a,  
 come-DEP=be-RP-1PL afterward-LOC go-DEP sleep-DEP=be-RP-1PL-ATT  
 we used to come. Then going on, we used to sleep,
- 1:03 {{dombisum<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ng=it-do-mong}}.  
 morning go-DEP=be-RP-1PL  
 in the morning we used to go (out).

- 1:04 {E-ng duo-ng-a}.  
 come-DEP sleep-DEP-MV  
 Coming and sleeping (in the evening again).
- 1:06 {{Ongo-ng=it-do-mong}}=ma wo-i:.....  
 go-DEP=be-RP-1PL=REL that-TOP  
 That we used to go, as for that,
- 1:08 {öö-ng-a=gon it-na-ya}, tanak=kavcs mööp<sub>VCC</sub>,  
 ascend-DEP-MV=RSTR be-DS.1PL-MV food=BEN lack  
 we were just going up (to school) in lack for food,
- 1:10 {{w-ey<sub>OBL</sub> tanak<sub>O</sub> ma=ni-mo-ng=it-du-ng}}.  
 there-LDEM.FAR food NEG=1NSG.O-give-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
 over there they didn't use to give us food.
- 1:12 {Tanak ni-mo-ng-a} au {to-ng hat ni-i-ng-a}  
 food 1NSG.O-give-DEP-MV other do-DEP change.state 1NSG.O-bite-DEP-MV  
 au {{ma=to-ng=it-du-ng}}.  
 other NEG=do-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
 Either giving us food or helping us, they didn't use to do.
- 1:15 Irom, [noni-win<sub>Pr</sub> dong<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub> noni=ha=gon<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 free 1PL.PRO.EMPH-GEN support 1PL.PRO.EMPH=BEN=RSTR  
 Just our own support for ourselves.
- 1:17 {{{[mak noni] [nan noni]]<sub>A</sub> tanak<sub>O</sub> ma=to-ng  
 mother 1PL.POSS father 1PL.POSS food NEG=do-DEP  
 hu-ng ni-mo-ng=it-du-ng}}.  
 NSG.O.take.away-DEP 1NSG.O-give-DEP=be-RP-2/3PL  
 our mothers and our fathers were not bringing and giving us food.
- 1:20 Irom, [Kote<sub>MOD</sub> maa<sub>HEAD</sub>]=dek=gon.  
 free Kâte speech=LOC=RSTR  
 Just in the Kâte language.

1:22 [Kote<sub>MOD</sub> maa<sub>HEAD</sub>]=dek<sub>OBL</sub>, wo-i, irom {{nongot<sub>OBL</sub>  
 Kâte speech=LOC that-TOP free ignorance  
 wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> öö-ng=it-do-mong}}.  
 there-LDEM.NEAR ascend-DEP=be-RP-1PL

Just in the Kâte language, that is, just in ignorance were we going up (to school).

1:25 Irom, nongot.  
 free ignorance  
 Just in ignorance.

1:26 {[Wok=ko hu wok=ko hu]<sub>SR:O</sub> yo-ng-a}, {{ma=rom  
 that=FOC DUB that=FOC DUB say-DEP-MV NEG=understand  
 hi-ng=it-do-mong}}, {{irom, nongot<sub>OBL</sub> öö-ng=it-do-mong}}.  
 put-DEP=be-RP-1PL free ignorance ascend-DEP=be-RP-1PL

Saying ‘like this, perhaps, like this, perhaps,’ we weren’t understanding it, just in ignorance were we going up (to school).

1:30 Unga, wo-i,  
 now that-TOP  
 Now, as for that,

1:31 [[[babiya<sub>MOD</sub> bök<sub>MOD</sub>] [orog-o orog-o]<sub>MOD</sub>]  
 book house good-ADJ good-ADJ  
 very good schools

1:33 honggir-a ir-o), {{honggit ku-a-ng}},  
 grab-MV be-MVII grab SG.O.take.away-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 do they have, they keep having,

1:35 {{{[bök noni-n]<sub>OBL</sub> honggir-a-ng}}, {{[bök<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]=tin<sub>Pr:OBL</sub>,  
 house 1PL.POSS-LOC grab-PRES.NSG-2/3PL house other-EMPH.GEN  
 au=tin<sub>Pr:OBL</sub>,  
 other-EMPH.GEN

they have them in our village, in other villages near and far,

- 1:37 [[babiya<sub>MOD</sub> bök<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> [imbange imbange]<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>O</sub> honggir-a-ng } }.  
 book house wonderful wonderful grab-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 very wonderful schools do they have.
- 1:40 Oro, { {non=to<sub>S</sub> wo öö-ng=it-do-mong } }=ma,  
 well 1NSG.PRO=FOC that ascend-DEP=be-RP-1PL=REL  
 Well, as for us there where we were going up (to school),
- 1:42 wo-i, muuno, otok-ni<sub>TOP</sub>, {otok-nio to-ng-a  
 that-TOP not pity-ADJ pity-ADJ do-DEP-MV  
 ir-o motnaina },  
 be-MVII PERF.1PL  
 that is, no, being in a state of pitifulness,
- 1:44 { {öö-ng=it-do-mong } }.  
 ascend-DEP=be-RP-1PL  
 were we going up (to school).
- 1:46 Wo-i, {unga, Ingalisi<sub>O</sub> yo-ng-a}, { {orom hi-wa-ng } },  
 that-TOP today English say-DEP-MV understand put-PRES.NSG-2/3PL  
 That is, today, speaking English, they understand,
- 1:49 { {nons wo-go-no<sub>O</sub> ma=rom hi-go-mong } },  
 1NSG.PRO that-ADV-ADJ NEG=understand put-RP-1PL  
 We weren't understanding such things,
- 1:50 nongot-no<sub>TOP</sub>, { [[ [boop, ganang-e<sub>APPOS</sub>]=hon<sub>Pr</sub> maa<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>O</sub>  
 ignorance-ADJ forest inside-ADJ=GEN speech  
 ignorant people's, the forest, deep inside (the forest)'s language
- 1:53 orom hi-ng=it-do-mong } }.  
 understand put-DEP=be-RP-1PL  
 were we understanding.

END

## Narrative II: Recollection of Becoming Temporarily Insane

The Towet elder Jio is popularly known as *Söpaman* ‘Superman’ because of the episode he recounts here. He lost his senses after falling while cutting trees with his wife. The label ‘Superman’ was applied because his insanity gave him superhuman strength: as he recounts, even when several men tied him down, he was able to break his bonds and run loose again. Jio recorded this story in June of 2012.

One idiosyncratic feature of Jio’s speech in this narrative is appended oblique locational argument, usually local nominal demonstratives, following Medial verbs. This may be seen at 0:05, 0:12, 1:34, and 3:29.

0:00 [Hat<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>TOP:O</sub> wo=ma-i,  
story other that=SPEC-TOP

Another story, as for it,

0:02 {{naga=ha<sub>OBL</sub> yo-wang-ka-t}}.  
1SG.PRO.EMPH=BEN say-PROB.SG-NF-1SG

I will tell about myself.

0:03 {{Bumbum yo-go-t}}=ma=ha<sub>APPEN:OBL</sub>.  
crazy say-RP-1SG=REL=BEN

About (when) I went crazy.

0:04 {Oe-na=to<sub>OBL</sub>,  
wife-1SG.POSS=COMIT

Along with my wife,

0:05 ongo-ng-a} om-emo<sub>OBL</sub>,  
go-DEP-MV downhill-LDEM.FAR

going down there,

0:06 [Worin=to<sub>Pr</sub> ha-in<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub>, boik=dek<sub>OBL</sub>.  
Worin=FOC area-LOC landslide=LOC

in Worin’s area, by the landslide.

- 0:07    {{[Boik<sub>HEAD</sub>    morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub>    der=it-ta-g}}-an.  
 landslide    large    hit=be-PRES.SG-3SG-LOC  
 Where the big landslide always strikes.
- 0:09    {{Wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub>,    wo-rok,    eep<sub>O</sub>    hai-go-mok}}.  
 that-LDEM.NEAR    that-SEMBL    tree    cut-RP-1DU  
 There, then, we cut down trees.
- 0:11    {Öön<sub>O</sub> to-ng-a}.  
 farm    do-DEP-MV  
 (While) making a farmplot.
- 0:12    {Oe-na<sub>A</sub>    daweng<sub>O</sub>    goni-ng-a}    om-emo,  
 wife-1SG.POSS    Chinese.taro    dig-DEP-MV    downhill-LDEM.FAR  
 My wife having dug up taro down there,
- 0:13    {{ho-ng-a    it-do-k}}.  
 cook-DEP-MV    be-RP-3SG  
 She was cooking it.
- 0:14    {Nok<sub>S</sub>    on-eno<sub>OBL</sub>    horogon<sub>OBL</sub>    öö-ng-a},  
 1SG.PRO    uphill-LDEM.FAR    above    ascend-DEP-MV  
 {eep<sub>O</sub>    hai-ng-a},    {{obö-go-t}}.  
 tree    cut-DEP-MV    break-RP-1SG  
 I going up above there, cutting a tree, I broke it.
- 0:16    {Hai-ng-a},    {{obö-ng-a    it-do-t}}=ma    wo-rok,  
 cut-DEP-MV    break-DEP-MV    be-RPD-1SG=REL    that-SEMBL  
 The one that I having cut it, was breaking it, then,
- 0:18    {eep=po    obö-ng-a},    {{to-ng    yii=dek<sub>OBL</sub>    mon-do-k}}.  
 tree=FOC    break-DEP-MV    SG.O.take-DEP    vine=LOC    throw-RP-3SG  
 (that) tree breaking, it threw (me) into a vine.

- 0:20 {Yii=dek<sub>OBL</sub> mor-un-a},  
vine=LOC throw-DS.3SG-MV  
It having thrown (me) into a vine,
- 0:22 {Omo-ng-a}, {{wo-ndo it-do-t}}, eep=dek.  
Die-DEP-MV there-LDEM.NEAR be-RP-1SG tree=LOC  
fainting, there I stayed, in the tree.
- 0:23 {[Ewek<sub>HEAD</sub> hot<sub>ADJ</sub> ngo-go to-ng-a it-do-t]}.  
snake like here-ADV do-DEP-MV be-RP-1SG  
I was doing like a snake, like this.
- 0:25 {E-e-ya}, wo-rok, irot-na<sub>OBL</sub>, urop,  
be-DS.1SG-MV that-SEMBL inside-1SG.POSS enough  
I having stayed, then, (in) my insides, then,
- 0:27 {{tuktuk yo-ng torok<sub>O</sub> to-go-t}},  
clear say-DEP test do-RP-1SG  
I made an attempt at being clear.
- 0:28 {t-un-a}, {{ [[{nain=don ongo-wang-ka-t}]]<sub>SR:O</sub>, yo-go-t}}.  
do-DS.3SG-MV where-LOC=RSTR go-PROB.SG-NF-1SG say-RP-1SG  
That having happened, ‘Just where will I go?’ I said.
- 0:30 {To-ng-a}, {au=dek<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a}, {to-ng au=dek<sub>OBL</sub> mon-do-k}}.  
do-DEP-MV other=LOC put-DEP-MV do-DEP other=LOC throw-RP-3SG  
Doing (so), doing putting to the other (side), it threw (me) to the other (side).
- 0:32 {Mor-un-a}, {wo-ndo=gon<sub>OBL</sub> ir-a}, {ir-a}, {ir-a},  
throw-DS.3SG-MV that-LDEM.NEAR=RSTR be-MV be-MV be-MV  
It having thrown (me), staying, staying, staying just there,
- 0:34 {iwar-a}, {{om-emo<sub>OBL</sub> oo-go-t}}. Ben-no-n.  
turn-MV down-LDEM.FAR descend-RP-1SG afterward-3SG.POSS-LOC  
turning, I descended down there. Afterward.

- 0:36 [Eep<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]. Ma=to-k~to-k-no.  
tree large NEG=do-NMZ:RED-3SG.POSS  
A large tree. Not done [cut].
- 0:38 {Wo=dek<sub>OBL</sub> oo-ng-a} {oo-ng-a} {oo-ng-a},  
that=LOC descend-DEP-MV descend-DEP-MV descend-DEP-MV  
Descending, descending, descending there,
- 0:40 {{gurok=dek<sub>OBL</sub> oo-go-t}}.  
ground=LOC descend-RP-1SG  
I descended to the ground.
- 0:42 {Gurok=dek oo-wa-ya},  
ground=LOC descend-DS.1SG-MV  
I having descended to the ground,
- 0:43 {{{gowik nungon}<sub>TOP</sub> wo=ma-i ganang-e<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ng=dup to-go-k}}.  
knife what that=SPEC-TOP inside-ADJ go-DEP=COMPL do-RP-3SG  
the knife and whatnot, as for that, it had all gone deep inside (the foliage).
- 0:45 {{Eep<sub>O</sub> hai-go-t}}=ma.  
tree cut-RP-1SG=REL  
That I cut the tree (with).
- 0:46 {Oo-ng-a}, {gurok=dek e-e-ya}, wo-rok,  
descend-DEP-MV ground=LOC be-DS.1SG-MV that-SEMBL  
Descending, I being on the ground, then,
- 0:49 {{oe-na=hos yo-go-k}}.  
wife-1SG.POSS=FOC say-RP-3SG  
it was my wife who spoke.
- 0:50 {{Dawengo na-hi}}!  
Chinese.taro eat-IMM.IMP.2SG  
‘Eat taro!’

- 0:51 Muuno.  
no  
'No.'
- 0:52 {{Noks urop, wo-rok, bumbum yo-go-t}}.  
1SG.PRO enough that-SEMBL crazy say-RP-1SG  
That's it, then, I was crazy.
- 0:53 Urop, wo-rok, {bumbum yo-ng-a}, {nongot<sub>OBL</sub> e-e-ya},  
enough that-SEMBL crazy say-DEP-MV ignorance be-DS.1SG-MV  
That's it, then, I being crazy, being ignorant,
- 0:55 wo-rok, {{oe-na<sub>A</sub> daweng<sub>O</sub> ho-ng-a it-do-k}}.  
that-SEMBL wife-1SG.POSS Chinese.taro cook-DEP-MV be-RP-3SG  
then, my wife was cooking taro.
- 0:59 {{Ho-ng hago-ng hi-go-k}}=ma, wos urop,  
cook-DEP scrape-DEP put-RP-3SG=REL that enough  
yo-wa hat-do-k}}.  
NSG.O.CAUS-1SG change-RP-3SG  
The one that she had cooked and scraped, that one, that's it, I left behind.
- 1:00 Mi run!  
[Tok Pisin]  
I ran!
- 1:01 {{Ongo-go-t}} {{ongo-go-t}} {{ongo-go-t}} {{ongo-go-t}} {{ongo-go-t}}  
go-RP-1SG go-RP-1SG go-RP-1SG go-RP-1SG go-RP-1SG  
{{oe-na<sub>A</sub> nan-do-k}}.  
wife-1SG.POSS 1SG.O.follow-RP-3SG  
I went, I went, I went, I went, I went; my wife followed me.
- 1:03 {Bumbum yo-ng-a} {{ongo-go-t}}.  
crazy say-DEP-MV go-RP-1SG  
Being crazy, I went.

- 1:04 {Oe-na<sub>A</sub> nar-a},  
 wife-1SG.POSS 1SG.O.follow-MV  
 My wife following me,
- 1:05 {[yu=hon<sub>Pr</sub> bin<sub>Pe</sub>, gowik<sub>Pe</sub>, korowasi<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>O</sub>,  
 3.PRO=GEN skirt knife axe  
 her skirt, knife, axe,
- 1:08 wo-rok, yot-da hat-do-k } }.  
 that-SEMBL NSG.O.CAUS-1DU change-RP-3SG  
 thus, we left behind.
- 1:09 {[Bin-nos wot dee-k dee-k to-go-k } }.  
 skirt-3SG.POSS beat rip-NMZ rip-NMZ do-RP-3SG  
 Her skirt became ripped up.
- 1:10 {Nar-a=gon i-in-a}, {[Worin=top<sub>Pr</sub> ha-in<sub>Pe</sub>]<sub>OBL</sub>  
 1SG.O.follow-MV=RSTR be-DS.3SG-MV Worin=FOC area-LOC  
 [boik<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>S</sub> det-do-k } }, {w-eyo<sub>OBL</sub> öö-ng  
 landslide large hit-RP-3SG there-LDEM.FAR ascend-DEP  
 ongo-go-t } }.  
 go-RP-1SG  
 She being just following me, Worin's area (where) the large landslide struck, (from) there I  
 ascended and went.
- 1:14 {Ongo-ng-o:::}  
 go-DEP-MVII  
 Going on...
- 1:16 {on-en<sub>OBL</sub> öö-ng ongo-wa-ya},  
 uphill-LDEM.FAR ascend-DEP go-DS.1SG-MV  
 I having ascended and gone up there,

- 1:17 {{amnas hōngkop-bo-k}}=ma, {{nok<sub>O</sub> honggit-do-k}}=ma,  
 man emerge-RP-3SG=REL 1SG.PRO grab-RP-3SG=REL  
 wo=ma-i, wo-rok,  
 that=SPEC-TOP that-SEMBL  
 a man who appeared, who grabbed me, as for that, then,
- 1:20 dirong-o<sub>TOP:VCS</sub>, wo=ma-i, wo-rok,  
 hair-3SG.POSS that=SPEC-TOP that-SEMBL  
 his hair, as for that, then,
- 1:21 [högök=kon<sub>Pr</sub> dirong-op<sub>e</sub>]<sub>HEAD</sub> bom-mo<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 white=gen hair-3SG.POSS like-3SG.POSS  
 was like a white person's hair.
- 1:23 Yangam-o<sub>TOP:VCS</sub> wo=ma-i wo-rok,  
 face-3SG.POSS that=SPEC-TOP that-SEMBL  
 His face as for that, then,
- 1:25 {[amna oruk-na<sub>APPOS</sub>]<sub>S</sub> omo-go-k}}=ma<sub>VCS</sub>, og-u-rok<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 man brother-1SG.POSS die-RP-3SG=REL same.level-MID-SEMBL  
 like the man, my brother, who died, over there.
- 1:26 {Wo-rok kore-ng-a} wo-rok, {{nok<sub>O</sub> honggit-do-k}}.  
 that-SEMBL hide-DEP-MV that-SEMBL 1SG.PRO grab-RP-3SG  
 Thus concealed thus, he grabbed me.
- 1:28 [Au=ma]<sub>VCS</sub>, wo=ma-i, moin-no<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 other that=SPEC-TOP bad-ADJ  
 As for the other, as for him, (he was) ugly.
- 1:30 [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
 man large  
 A big man.

1:32 {Wo-rok t-un-a}, {bumbum yo-ng-a} {it  
that-SEMBL do.DS.3SG-MV crazy say-DEP-MV be  
to-ng ongo-ng-a} {e-ng-a}, {e-ng-a}, {e-ng-a},  
do-DEP go-DEP-MV come-DEP-MV come-DEP-MV come-DEP-MV  
{wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> e-wa-ya},  
that-LDEM.NEAR come-DS.1SG-MV  
wo-rok.  
that-SEMBL

He having done thus, being crazy, going around and coming, coming, coming, I having come  
there, then.

1:34 On-ondo<sub>OBL</sub>, Worin<sub>OBL</sub>.  
uphill-LDEM.NEAR Worin  
Up there, Worin.

1:36 {Worin<sub>OBL</sub> e-ng-a}, {{wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub>, duo-ng-a ir=it-do-t}}.  
Worin come-DEP-MV that-LDEM.NEAR sleep-DEP-MV be=be-RP-1SG  
Coming to Worin, there, I used to sleep.

1:38 Wo-ndo<sub>TOP:OBL</sub>, {oeo w-eyo<sub>OBL</sub> to-ng-a},  
that-LDEM.NEAR woman there-LDEM.FAR do-DEP-MV  
There, having taken a woman from there,

1:40 {wo-nd-o<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a}, wo-rok,  
that-LDEM.NEAR put-DEP-MV that-SEMBL  
coming from there, then,

1:42 {{{wo-ndo<sub>HEAD</sub> muuno<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>SR:O</sub>, yo-go-k}}, oe-na=ho<sub>A</sub>,  
that-LDEM.NEAR no say-RP-3SG wife-1SG.POSS=FOC  
‘Not there,’ she said, it was my wife who (said it).

1:43 {{ [[{om-emo<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-ra}]]<sub>SR:O</sub>, yo-go-k}}.  
downhill-LDEM.FAR go-IMM.IMP.1DU say-RP-3SG  
‘Let’s go down there,’ she said.

- 1:44 {Oe-nao hai-ng, wees yo-nga}, {{dondon yo-go-t}}.  
 wife-1SG.POSS cut-DEP wound say-DEP-MV obstinate say-RP-1SG  
 Cutting my wife, making a wound, I spoke obstinately.
- 1:47 {To-wa-ya}, wo-rok,  
 do-DS.1SG-MV that-SEMBL  
 I having done that, then,
- 1:49 {to-ng-a}, {ngo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> e-un-a},  
 do-DEP-MV here-LDEM.NEAR come-DS.3SG-MV  
 doing it, she having come here [to Towet],
- 1:49 {{amna=ho<sub>A</sub> [eet-na obu-na]<sub>O</sub>,  
 man=FOC leg-1SG.POSS arm-1SG.POSS  
 it was men who, my legs and arms,
- 1:51 henet=dup to-gu-ng}}.  
 tie.up=COMPL do-RP-2/3PL  
 tied them up completely.
- 1:53 Obu-nao h-oo-ng mee-na-n<sub>OBL</sub>.  
 arm-1SG.POSS NSG.O-descend-DEP back-1SG.POSS-LOC  
 My arms lowered to my back.
- 1:54 {Eet-nao henet, to-ng-a}, {hi-u-ya}, {{it-do-t}}.  
 leg-1SG.POSS tie.up do-DEP-MV put-DS.2/3PL-MV be-RP-1SG  
 My legs tied up, they having picked me up and placed me down, I stayed (there).
- 1:57 {Ir-a}, {nok<sub>S</sub> wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a}, urop,  
 be-MV 1SG.PRO that-LDEM.NEAR put-DEP-MV enough  
 Staying, I, from there, that's it,

- 1:59 yii<sup>TOP.OBL</sup> wo, {[amna<sup>HEAD</sup> moin-no<sup>MOD</sup>]<sub>A</sub> wo  
vine that man bad-ADJ that  
nok<sub>O</sub> honggit-do-k}},  
1SG.PRO grab-RP-3SG  
the twine, as for it, the ugly man, he grabbed me,
- 2:00 {nogo<sub>A</sub> karat<sub>O</sub> to-wa-ya}, {[yii nungon]<sub>s</sub> dee-ng=dup  
1SG.PRO+FOC bone do-DS.1SG-MV vine what rip-DEP=COMPL  
to-go-k}}.  
do-RP-3SG  
I making my bones (strong), the twine and what-not snapped completely.
- 2:03 {Dee-ng=dup t-un-a}, {hata-ng-a} {bumbum  
rip-DEP=COMPL do-DS.3SG-MV turn.away-DEP-MV crazy  
yo-ng-a}, {[horogon=don<sub>OBL</sub> ongo-go-t}}.  
say-DEP-MV above=RSTR go-RP-1SG  
It having snapped completely, returning, being crazy, I went on up above.
- 2:06 {Wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a}, [Homon<sup>MOD</sup> Urong<sup>HEAD</sup>].  
that-LDEM.NEAR put-DEP-MV Homon Ridge  
From there, Homon Ridge.
- 2:08 {[Homon<sup>MOD</sup> Urong<sup>HEAD</sup>]<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a}, boop<sub>OBL</sub> on-eno<sub>OBL</sub>.  
Homon Ridge put-DEP-MV forest uphill-LDEM.FAR  
From Homon Ridge, the forest up there, just up above.
- 2:11 {E-ng-a}, {e-ng-a}, ben-no-n,  
come-DEP-MV come-DEP-MV afterward-3SG.POSS-LOC  
Coming, coming, afterward,
- 2:12 [Haanggo<sup>MOD</sup> Bö<sup>HEAD</sup>]<sub>OBL</sub> on-eno<sub>OBL</sub>.  
Haanggo Peak uphill-LDEM.FAR  
Haanggo Peak up there.

- 2:13 {E-ng-a}, {{w-ey<sub>OBL</sub> hönggop-bo-t}}.  
 come-DEP-MV there-LDEM.FAR emerge-RP-1SG  
 Coming, there I appeared.
- 2:15 {[Oruk-na, domi-na]<sub>TOP</sub>, wos w-ey<sub>OBL</sub>  
 brother-1SG.POSS brother's.wife-1SG.POSS that there-LDEM.FAR  
 it-do-morok}}.  
 be-RP-2/3DU  
 My brother, my sister-in-law, they were there.
- 2:17 {I-iny-a} {y-aa-ng-a}, {wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a},  
 be-DS.2/3DU-MV 3.O-see-DEP-MV there-LDEM.NEAR put-DEP-MV  
 ben-no-n,  
 afterward-3SG.POSS-LOC  
 They being there, I seeing them, from there, afterward,
- 2:21 {{ [Biyö<sub>O</sub> na-m-uny-a}, {{na-wa}}, {{tanak<sub>O</sub>  
 tobacco 1SG.O-give-DS.2/3DU-MV eat-IMM.IMP.1SG food  
 na-m-arun}}]<sub>SR:O</sub>, yo-no-go-t}}.  
 1SG.O-give-IMM.IMP.2/3DU 3NSG.O-tell-RP-1SG  
 ‘You two having given me tobacco, let me consume it, give me food,’ I told them.
- 2:23 {Yo-wa-ya}, wo-rok,  
 say-DS.1SG-MV that-SEMBL  
 I having said it, then,
- 2:24 [Tanak ng-ey<sub>OBL</sub>, [Morot<sub>MOD</sub> asap<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>VCS</sub> nayev<sub>VCC</sub>]<sub>SR?</sub>  
 food here-LDEM.FAR Morot path where  
 [tanak<sub>VCS</sub> muuno<sub>VCC</sub>]<sub>SR:O</sub>, yo-go-morok}},  
 food not say-RP-2/3DU  
 ‘Food hereabouts; where is the Morot path?’ There’s no food,’ they said,

- 2:27 [{{biyömo ga-mo-ra}}]SR.  
tobacco 2SG.O-give-IMM.IMP.1DU  
'let us give you tobacco.'
- 2:27 {Biyömo na-m-uny-a}, {na-ng-a},  
tobacco 1SG.O-give-DS.2/3DU-MV eat-DEP-MV  
They having given me tobacco, eating it,
- 2:29 {wo-ndoOBL hi-ng-a}, wo-rok, {{ng-eyOBL ep-bo-t}}.  
there-LDEM.NEAR put-DEP-MV that-SEMBL here-LDEM.FAR come-RP-1SG  
from there, then, I came to this area.
- 2:31 {{{MorotMOD asapHEAD} nayeVCC}SR:O, yo-no-go-t}=ma,  
Morot path where 3NSG.O-tell-RP-1SG=LINK  
'Where is the path to Morot?' that I had told them,
- 2:33 [om-emo, om-o, Towet.]SR  
downhill-LDEM.FAR downhill-MDEM.NEAR Towet  
'down there, down there, Towet.'
- 2:34 {Y-uny-a}, {oo-ng e-ng-a} urop, wo-rok,  
say-DS.2/3DU-MV descend-DEP come-DEP-MV enough that-SEMBL  
They having said that, descending and coming, that's it, then,
- 2:37 {on-ondoOBL e-ng-a}, {[arapHEAD auMOD]o na-mo-go-k}}.  
uphill-LDEM.NEAR come-DEP-MV game other 1SG.O-give-RP-3SG  
coming up there, he gave me another animal.
- 2:39 {To-ng-a}, {{wet na-mo-go-k}}.  
SG.O.take-DEP-MV 3SG.O.beat 1SG.O-give-RP-3SG  
Picking it up, he killed it and gave it to me.
- 2:40 Arap. Gurok=dek=ma.  
game ground=LOC=SPEC  
An animal. A ground-dwelling one.

- 2:42 {Wo-roko t-un-a},  
that-SEMBL do-DS.3SG-MV  
He having done thus,
- 2:43 {{ {{Wo-i<sub>TOP</sub>, nungon=dek<sub>OBL</sub> ho-wang-ka-t}}}<sub>SR.O</sub>, i-no-go-t}}.  
that-TOP what=LOC cook-PROB.SG-NF-1SG 3SG.O-tell-RP-1SG  
'So, in what shall I cook it?' I told him.
- 2:47 [Amna<sub>HEAD</sub> moin-no<sub>MOD</sub> wo<sub>MOD</sub>].  
man bad-ADJ that  
That ugly man.
- 2:49 {I-n-a-ya}, {{ [orog-o, {{nogo<sub>A</sub> eepi<sub>O</sub> ga-m-ang-ka-t}}]<sub>SR.O</sub>,  
3SG.O-tell-DS.1SG-MV good-ADJ 1SG.PRO+FOC fire 2SG.O-give-PROB.SG-1SG  
na-no-go-k}}.  
1SG.O-tell-RP-3SG  
I having told him that, 'Good, it is I who will give you fire,' he told me.
- 2:53 {T-un-a}, {oo-ng e-ng-a}, {{Ketket-na=ho<sub>Pr</sub> öön<sub>Pe</sub>}<sub>OBL</sub>  
do-DS.3SG-MV descend-DEP come-DEP-MV boy-1SG.POSS=FOC farm  
{{böko ta-a-k}}=ma=dek<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a}, wo-rok,  
house do-PRES-3SG=REL=LOC put-DEP-MV that-SEMBL  
He having done that, descending and coming, from where, thus,
- 2:56 {{eepio na-mo-go-k}}.  
fire 1SG.O-give-RP-3SG  
he gave me fire.
- 2:58 In<sub>VCS</sub>, [eep=dek horogon]<sub>VCC</sub>.  
3SG.PRO.EMPH tree=LOC above  
He himself (being) in the trees above.
- 2:59 {Öö-ng-a}, {horogon=don<sub>OBL</sub> e-ng-a},  
ascend-DEP-MV above=RSTR come-DEP-MV  
Ascending, coming up above,

- 3:00 {eep=dek<sub>OBL</sub> horogon=don<sub>OBL</sub> e-ng-a}, {{eep=dek<sub>OBL</sub> yoop-bo-mok}}.  
tree=LOC above=RSTR come-DEP-MV tree=LOC NSG.O.take-RP-1DU  
coming up above in the trees, we took (firewood) in the trees.
- 3:02 {Eep=dek<sub>OBL</sub> horogon<sub>OBL</sub> yoo-ng-a it-da-ya},  
tree=DEK above NSG.O.pick-DEP-MV be-DS.1DU-MV  
We picking them in the trees above,
- 3:04 {oo-ng-a}, {{ [[{arap=pa<sub>OBL</sub> ho-i}]]<sub>SR:O</sub> na-no-go-k}}.  
descend-DEP-MV game=BEN cook-IMM.IMP.2SG 1SG.O.tell-RP-3SG  
he descending, ‘Light it [literally, ‘cook it’] for that animal,’ he told me.
- 3:07 {Na-n-un-a},  
1SG.O.tell-DS.3SG-MV  
He having told me,
- 3:07 {oo-ng-a}, [[{arap<sub>TOP:O</sub>, nungon=to maa-wang-ka-t}]]<sub>SR:O?</sub>  
descend-DEP-MV game what=INSTR chop-PROB.SG-NF-1SG  
descending, ‘The animal, with what shall I cut it up?’
- 3:09 {Yo-wa-ya}, {{ [[{Obu-ya<sub>TOP:O</sub>, ngo-go to-i}]]<sub>SR:O</sub>  
say-DS.1SG-MV hand-2SG.POSS this-ADV do-IMM.IMP.2SG  
yo-go-k}}.  
say-RP-3SG  
I having said it, ‘Your hand, move it like this,’ he said.
- 3:12 {{Obu-ya=ho<sub>OBL</sub> ngo-go maa-hi}}.  
hand-2SG.POSS=INSTR this-ADV chop-IMM.IMP.2SG  
‘With your hand, cut it up like this.’
- 3:13 { [Oro, eepi]<sub>SR:O?</sub> yo-wa-ya}, {{eepi<sub>O</sub> na-mo-go-k}}.  
well fire say-DS.1SG-MV fire 1SG.O.give-RP-1SG  
‘Okay, and fire?’ I having said, he gave me fire.

- 3:16 {{Katnango na-mo-go-k}}.  
bamboo 1SG.O-give-RP-3SG  
He gave me bamboo [for stuffing the meat inside].
- 3:17 {T-un-a}, {wo<sub>O</sub> ho-ng-a},  
do-DS.3SG-MV that cook-DEP-MV  
He having done so, thus cooking,
- 3:18 {wo-nd<sub>OBL</sub> hi-ng-a-i}, wo-rok,  
that-LDEM.NEAR put-DEP-MV-TOP that-SEMBL  
coming from there, then,
- 3:20 {{ [[{Omör-o<sub>O</sub> na-iro-g-a}]]<sub>SR:O</sub> na-no-go-k}}.  
intestine-3SG.POSS eat-IRR.SG-2SG-PROH 1SG.O-tell-RP-3SG  
'Do not eat its intestines,' he told me.
- 3:21 {{Yoo-ng mor-irök}}.  
NSG.O.take-DEP throw-DEL.IMP.2SG  
'Take them and throw them away.'
- 3:23 {{Bori-no=gon<sub>O</sub> eet-ti}}.  
fruit-3SG.POSS=RSTR insert-IMM.IMP.2SG  
'Pack only its body (in the bamboo).'
- 3:25 {T-un-a}, {eer-a}, {ho-ng-a e-e-ya}, wo-rok,  
do-DS.3SG-MV insert-MV cook-DEP-MV be-DS.1SG-MV that-SEMBL  
{{[amna<sub>HEAD</sub> moin-no<sub>MOD</sub>]O wet hi-go-t}}=ma,  
man bad-ADJ 3SG.O.beat put-RP-1SG=LINK  
{{wo-go-n ep-bo-t}}.  
that-ADV-LOC come-RP-1SG  
He having done that, I packing it (in the bamboo), cooking it, then, I beat and laid down the  
ugly man, that's how I came.

- 3:29 {Emo-ng-a} on-ondo.  
fight-DEP-MV uphill-LDEM.NEAR  
Fighting up there.
- 3:30 Eep=dek.  
tree=LOC  
In the trees.
- 3:31 [Eet<sub>MOD</sub> ami<sub>HEAD</sub>]vcs kowiravcc.  
foot bed outside  
Footprints (were) (all around) outside.
- 3:32 {{Eeps {{Ø<sub>O</sub> möng-go-t}}=ma öö-ng-a it-ta-k}}.  
tree plant-RP-1SG=REL ascend-DEP-MV be-PRES.SG-3SG  
The tree that I planted is coming up.
- 3:33 Wo=dek.  
that=LOC  
There.
- 3:34 {Wo-go to-ng-a}, {oo-ng e-wa-ya},  
that-ADV do-DEP-MV descend-DEP come-DS.1SG-MV  
I doing like that, descending and coming,
- 3:37 {{ng-ondo<sub>OBL</sub> ben-no-n, honggit henet-du-ng}}.  
here-LDEM.NEAR afterward-3SG.POSS-LOC grab tie.up-RP-2/3PL  
here afterward, they grabbed (me) and tied (me) up.
- 3:38 {Amnas dawi-ng-a}.  
man search.for-DEP-MV  
The men, searching.
- 3:39 {Honggit hener-u-ya} {ir-a},  
grab tie.up-DS.2/3PL-MV be-MV  
They having grabbed (me) and tied (me) up,

- 3:41 {öö-wa-ya}, wo-rok,  
ascend-DS.1SG-MV that-SEMBL  
I having ascended, thus,
- 3:42 [[döktä<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>] Finsapen=ma<sub>MOD</sub>], [Finsi=ma<sub>MOD</sub>].  
doctor other Finschafen=SPEC Finschafen=SPEC  
another doctor, of Finschafen, of Finsch.
- 3:46 {{Wo-rok=ko<sub>A</sub> wo-rok,  
that-SEMBL=FOC that-SEMBL  
It was that one who, thus,
- 3:47 guram<sub>O</sub> to-ng na-mo-go-k}}.  
medicine SG.O.take-DEP 1SG.O-give-RP-3SG  
took medicine and gave it to me.
- 3:48 {Guram<sub>O</sub> to-ng na-m-un-a,  
medicine SG.O.take-DEP 1SG.O-give-DS.3SG-MV  
He having taken and given me medicine,
- 3:50 {wo-ndo<sub>OBL</sub> e-ng-a}, {[aap<sub>HEAD</sub> morö<sub>MOD</sub>]o wer-a  
there-LDEM.NEAR come-DEP-MV song large 3SG.O.beat-MV  
i-i-ya},  
be-DS.2/3PL-MV  
coming there, they singing much music,
- 3:52 {[biksa<sub>HEAD</sub> au<sub>MOD</sub>]o na-m-un-a}, wo-rok,  
picture other 1SG.O-give-DS.3SG-MV that-SEMBL  
he having given me another picture, then,
- 3:54 {aa-ng-a}, {e-e-ya}, wo-rok,  
see-DEP-MV be-DS.1SG-MV that-SEMBL  
seeing it, I being, then,

- 3:55 {böörong=k<sub>OBL</sub> nagao ongeyok ongeyok to-ng-a},  
stone=INSTR 1SG.PRO.EMPH periphery periphery do-DEP-MV  
they putting stones around and around myself,
- 3:57 {parang=dek<sub>OBL</sub> waga-un-a}, {horok yo-ng-a},  
plank=INSTR beat-DS.3SG-MV surprise say-DEP-MV  
he having beaten (me) with a plank, I waking with a start,
- 3:59 {[him<sub>HEAD</sub> moin-n<sub>MOD</sub>]/s/o omo-r-a hat-do-k}}.  
illness bad-ADJ follow-DS.1SG-MV change.state-RP-3SG  
I left behind the bad illness. [Literally: ‘the bad illness was left behind by me’]
- 4:02 Urop, wo-rok.  
enough that-SEMBL  
That’s it, thus.

END