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MORPHOSYNTAX OF KEWAPI

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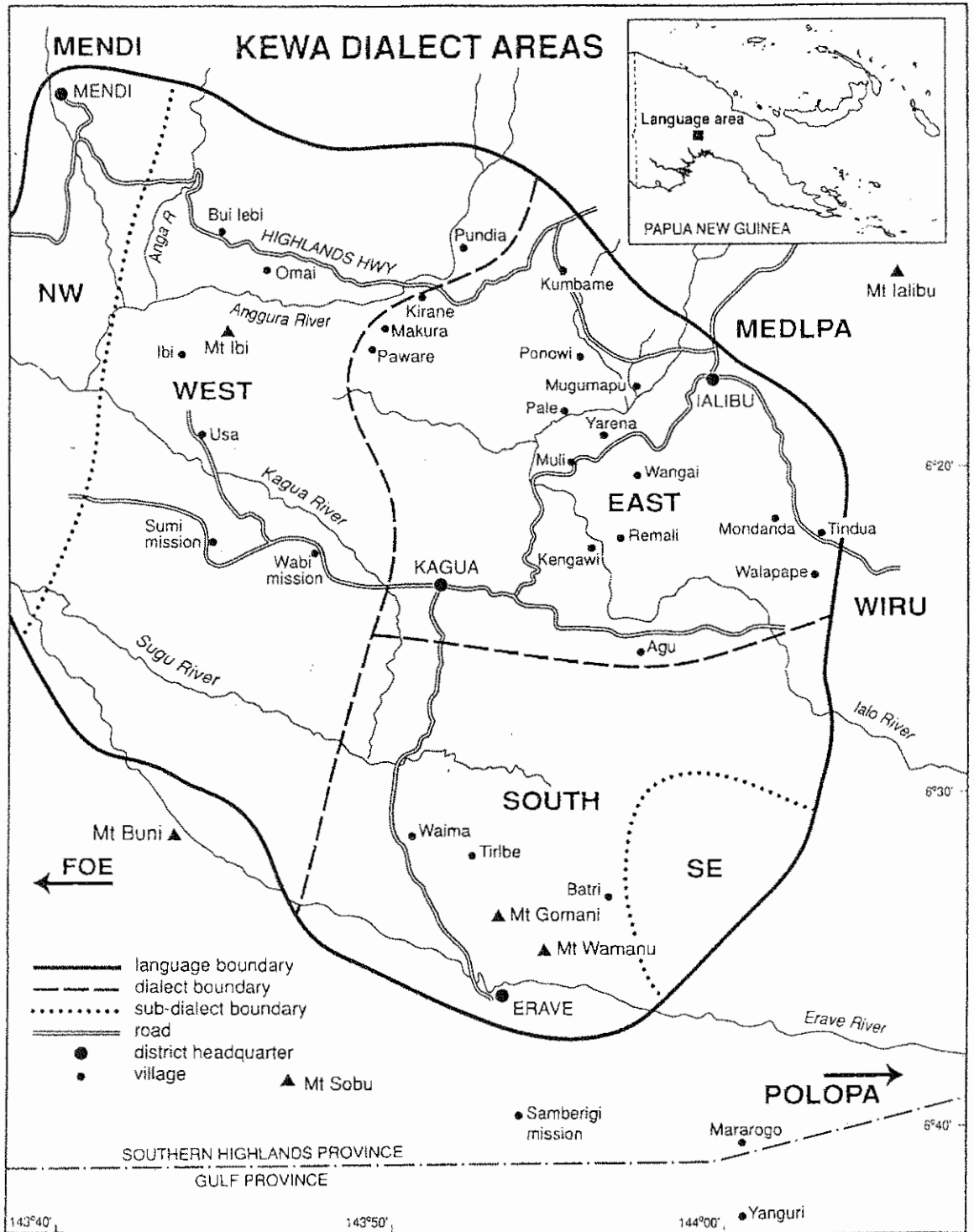
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Map Location of Kewa language and dialect areas

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	subject of transitive verb
Adj	adjective
AOV	subject-verb-object
ASP	aspect
AUG	augmentative mode
AVP	auxiliary verb phrase
BEN	benefactive
Ben	beneficiary
CASE	case
CAUS	causative
CDL	close downward location
CHL	close horizontal location
COMPL	completive aspect
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative aspect
CTV	complement-taking verb
CUL	close upward location
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite referent
DES	desiderative modality
DETR	detransitiviser
DHL	distant horizontal location
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional marker

DL	dual number
DOWN	downward direction
DS	different subject or switch reference
DUR	durative aspect
EMP	emphatic assertion marker
ERG	ergative marker
EVD	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
FDL	far downward location
FEM	feminine
FHL	far horizontal location
FOR	force (semantic role)
FUL	far upward location
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive marker
GER	gerundive marker
GRP	group (number)
ILL	illocutionary force
IMM	immediate command
IMP	imperative
INCEP	inceptive aspect
INCL	inclusion/listing
incl.	inclusive
INDF	indefinite referent
INST	instrumental case
INTERR	interrogative
intr	intransitive verb

IRR	irrealis status
IRT	indirect reported speech
KIN	kinship marker
lit	literal meaning
LOC	locative marker
MDL	mid downward location
MHL	mid horizontal location
MUL	mid upward location
N	noun
NDL	near downward location
NEG	negative
NF	nominal focus
NHL	near horizontal location
NOM	nominaliser
NON-IMM	non-immediate command
NON-SING	non-singular number
NP	noun phrase
NPT	near past tense
NSL	near speaker location
NSN	not seen evidence/event
NST	non-specific time
NUL	near upward location
O	object of transitive verb
Pat	patient
PAUC	paucal number
PERF	perfect aspect
PF	predicate focus
PL	plural

POS	possessor
POSS	possessed
PRG	present progressive tense
PT	participial verb
PUNCT	punctual aspect
PUR	purpose
Q	question
QR	quantifier
REALIS	realis status
Rec	recipient
REPORT	reporting clause
RHL	remote horizontal location
RPT	remote past tense
RQ	rhetoric question
RSN	reason
S	subject of intransitive verb
sec.	section
SEQ	sequence
SG	singular
SOV	subject-verb-object
SPN	split-action
SPR	simple present tense
SR	switch-reference
SS	same subject
SUB	subject
SUBJ	subjunctive
SV	subject-verb
SVCs	serial verb constructions

TIME	time
TNS	tense
TOP	topic
tr	transitive verb
UP	upward direction
V	verb
VP	verb phrase

Abstract

This thesis describes the morphosyntax of Kewapi dialect of Kewa, a language of the West-Central (Engan) Family of the Trans New Guinea Phylum.

Chapter 1 introduces the language, providing some basic information about dialect variation and about the geographic, demographic and sociocultural setting. It concludes with an outline of previous studies of Kewa and of the aim and scope of the present study.

In chapter 2 some aspects of the phonology of Kewapi are outlined to accompany the grammatical descriptions in chapters 3 to 8. Consonant and vowel phonemes are presented. Suprasegmental elements of stress and tone as described by the Franklins (1962, 1978) are briefly reviewed. Phonemic and orthographic conventions proposed by Karl Franklin (1992) are adopted for the present study.

The main task of chapter 3 is to sketch the morphosyntactic character of Kewapi. It presents an overview of the basic clause structure, deals with head-marking and dependent-marking morphosyntax, establishes word classes and distinguishes words, clitics and affixes.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed description of Kewapi clause level grammar. The grammatical relations subject, object and oblique are defined. Four grammatical mood clause types – declarative, imperative, subjunctive and interrogative – are distinguished. A morphophonemic account is given for the occurrence of two sets of subject-tense suffixes in declarative clauses. Verbs are classified according to their transitivity features. The chapter concludes with a description of predicate types: serial predicates, *be* predicates (or predicate nominal/adjectives) verb-less and realis predicates.

Chapter 5 presents fairly detailed description of descriptive, possessive and adverbial noun phrases, followed by a brief account of the formation of noun-noun, verb-noun and noun-adjective compounds and of categories of noun. The chapter concludes with a description of the types and grammatical functions of nominalisations.

Chapter 6 focuses on the structure of verbs and verb phrases in independent declarative and imperative clauses. Verbal categories of negation, causation, direction, split-action, aspect, tense, subject, evidence and speech act are identified and systematised. Finally the chapter describes ‘auxiliary verb phrases’.

Subordinate clauses - those that function as noun phrases (complement clauses), those which function as modifiers of nouns (relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases and clauses (adverbial subordinate clauses) - are dealt with in chapter 7. Complement clauses are predominantly object complement clauses. Relative clauses are predominantly prenominal relative clauses. Kewapi has five reason subordinators that are in complementary distribution. There are five semantic types of conditional clauses: Real, Unreal (hypothetical and counterfactual), Predictive and Concessive. The chapter concludes with a discussion of non-finite subordinate clauses, namely purpose and desiderative subordinate types.

The final chapter describes types of coordinate construction. Kewapi has coordinate independent and coordinate dependent constructions. The latter has two subtypes: (a) those that are not marked by verbal suffixes and (b) those that are marked by verbal suffixes, namely, same subject (SS) and different subject (DS) suffixes. The description of interclausal reference in Franklin (1971, 1983) and Yaraepa (2001) is reviewed. It is argued that in Kewapi a true switch-reference construction is one in which the coordinate dependent verb carries a subject suffix (which functions as a switch-reference marker) and is temporally or aspectually linked to a final clause.

Chapter One

Introduction: The Language and its Speakers

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the Kewapi language and its speakers. Section 1.1 describes the location of Kewa and its dialects, 1.2 the wider sociolinguistic context, 1.3 cultural notes, 1.4 beliefs and practices to do with social control, 1.5 previous research on the Kewa language, 1.6 present research, and 1.7 a sketch of Kewapi.

1.1 Location of Kewa and its dialects

Kewa¹ is spoken by over 70,000 people in Pangia, Ialibu, Kagua, and Erave districts of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. According to the 2000 National Census² figures, the number of Kewa speakers in Pangia, Ialibu, Kagua and Erave is 73,388, comprising 37,383 males and 36,005 females.

¹ Kewa is a language of the West-Central (Engan) Family of the Trans New Guinea Phylum (Franklin 1971, Wurm 1975, 1982, Foley 1986). Within the Enga family, consisting of Enga, Huli, Angal Mendi and Wiru sub-families (Wurm 1975:470), Kewa is a member of the Angal Mendi sub-family.

The Kewa language is known to outsiders as 'Kewa' (Franklin 1971), 'Kewapi' (Wurm and Laycock 1961 cited in Franklin and Franklin 1978:21, Yaraepa 1992) or 'Kewabe'. The latter appears in government records in Ialibu District to refer to a census division, when used in opposition to 'Imbonggu' (a dialect of Medipa) census division (Franklin 1978:3). The speakers of the East dialect of Kewa call their "language" 'Kewapi' and refer to the West and South dialects of Kewa as 'Kewa' (see Language Area Map on page xvi). The East dialect is the one described in this thesis. 'Kewapi' will be used to refer to the East dialect and 'Kewa' to refer to the language as a whole. Franklin (1978) states that variants of the term Kewa are common in the Southern and Western Highlands, occurring as Kewa, Hewa and Ewa. In the Kewa language area the term was originally used to refer to unfamiliar people or strangers. Later, it was used to refer to people who originated from the Kewa areas of Kagua and Erave.

² According to the 1990 National Census figures, the number of Kewa speakers in Pangia, Ialibu, Kagua and Erave was 60,527, comprising 32,393 males and 28,134 females. So the total number of Kewa language speakers has increased by 21% in the last decade (1990-2000).

Dr Karl Franklin and Mrs Joice Franklin have worked on the Kewa language since 1958 and have published extensively in linguistic, anthropological and literacy fields. Karl Franklin (1968) describes the dialects of Kewa. Based primarily on variation in phonology, grammar and lexicon, he distinguishes three regional dialects: East, South and West, and two sub-dialects: Southeastern and Northwestern (see Language Area Map on page xvi). He (1968:39) gives lexicostatistic agreements between the three dialects: East and South 88%, East and West 84%, and West and South 85%. In his final Kewa program report Franklin amends the lexicostatistical relationships of the dialects by stating, "East and West Kewa are lexically related by about 78 percent. East and South Kewa are much closer to each other than either is to West Kewa" (Franklin 1990:2). In informal observations of communication between the dialect speakers a Kewapi speaker tends to understand a South Kewa speaker more easily than a West Kewa speaker. However, formal tests of intelligibility would need to be done.

1.2 The wider sociolinguistic context

The languages that surround Kewa are Wiru to the east, Imbonggu (a dialect of Medlpa) to the north, Mendi to the northwest, Foe to the southwest and Polopa to the southeast. The languages known as Poroma and Mendi are not easily understood by Kewa speakers so they are considered here as falling outside the Kewa language area as defined here (see Language Area Map on page xvi).

1.2.1 Neighbouring languages and multilingualism

Research is required to determine the degrees of influence of the neighbouring languages and the official languages Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea pidgin) and English on Kewa speakers. The following notes are based on the current writer's observations as a native Kewapi speaker.

The people use *Kewa winyali* 'Kewa people' to distinguish themselves from other neighbouring language speakers, e.g. *Melepa winyali* 'Medlpa people', *Wiru winyali* 'Wiru people', or *Mendi winyali* 'Mendi people'. Kewa speakers living at the boundaries of Kewa and its neighbouring languages tend to be bilingual or multilingual, also speaking the neighbouring languages. For example, some Kewapi speakers in the Ialibu District speak Imbonggu and/or Wiru. A few Kewapi speakers speak Imbonggu, Wiru, Tok Pisin and English.

A good number of Kewa speakers speak Tok Pisin, having learnt it either in the coastal areas during their time as indentured labourers on coconut and cocoa plantations, in their daily interactions with government officials in the districts or in schools. Most if not all Kewa school children speak Tok Pisin more competently than English by the age of 10. A recent education reform in Papua New Guinea encourages the use of vernacular education in preschool to year 3 and this is likely to increase the use of Tok Pisin and Kewa languages because there are a good number of Kewa community (Primary) school teachers who are native speakers of Kewa teaching in schools in the Kewa areas.

1.2.2 Language viability

There has been an increase in the number of Kewa speakers from over 39,000 in 1965/6 (Franklin 1968) to over 70,000 in the 2000 National Census. Important transactions such as village courts, bride-price negotiations, land disputes, etc. are conducted in Kewa. However, having said that, the challenge to Kewa is from Tok Pisin. As mentioned, some Kewa school children are becoming creole speakers of Tok Pisin and some school leavers do not speak Kewa at all. For example, in my village of Mugumapu, the son of a retired Kewa Aid Post Orderly preaches in the local Lutheran Church in Tok Pisin, because he is not competent in Kewapi. His Tok Pisin sermons are translated into Kewapi for the predominantly Kewapi congregation.

1.2.3 Loan words

Loan words come mainly from Tok Pisin and English languages. They are marked on first appearance with a double asterisk. Tok Pisin-English borrowings, include the semantic domains of government, administration, religion, technology, economics and calendrical and time-telling words. Some examples are: ****kapomane** 'government', ****bisinisi** 'business', ****beke** 'bank' ****keaapo** 'kiap/administrator', ****baepolo** 'bible', ****betene** 'pray' (German), ****pilisi** 'plate', ****amaa** 'hammer', ****kaare** 'car', ****Tusede** 'Tuesday', ****tukiloko** '2 o'clock'. Further examples can be found in Texts 1-8 in the Appendices of this thesis. Older speakers with no knowledge of Tok Pisin or English understand and use some of the loan words quite frequently.

1.2.4 Genres

Kewa has a rich variety of genres according to spheres of activity. Some examples of narrative (legend and non-fictional), transaction, and description genres in Kewapi are given in the Appendices. Franklin (1972) describes a ritual pandanus language used in pandanus gathering expeditions particularly in the Mount Giluwe area of Ialibu District in the Southern Highlands Province.

1.3 Cultural notes

Cultural notes on social groups, marriage, economic activities, material culture and possession, perception of wisdom, knowledge of environment, psychology and spiritual influences, sorcery and poison, and restrictions relating to women follow.

1.3.1 Social groups

1.3.1.1 The family group³

³ The Kewa term for a social group is '*ruru*' (Franklin and Franklin 1978:385). The numeral marker *-repa* 'group' (see 5.3.4) is also used and is transparent in clan group names.

A nuclear family group consists of a man, his wife or wives and children. Polygamy is usually practised by men who can afford bride-price. There is no customary law in Kewa (or in the Papua New Guinea constitution) to prevent a man from marrying more than one wife, but it is not a customary practice for a woman to have more than one husband.

An extended family group usually consists of the nuclear families of the son(s), the father and mother⁴. The married daughter belongs to her husband's clan and therefore does not own her father's land or property in this patrilineal society.

1.3.1.2 The subclan group

A subclan is usually formed by people with a common ancestor. If the common ancestor is known by the members of a subclan they remain as members of this subclan. As the population grows new subclans are formed. Members of a subclan have portions of land in the same area. The land is portioned out to the sons by their father down the generations. The older son usually gets more land than his brothers. The subclan is a cohesive unit. Many cultural activities such as bride-price payments, feasts, economic activities, etc. are normally jointly undertaken and there is a recognised leader in the group. The leader is usually a good orator and is relatively wealthy, owning some acres of land, pigs, hard currency and sometimes several wives.

1.3.1.3 The clan group

The clan normally consists of several subclans and lives on customarily owned land in a village. Clan groups affiliated to the same clan name may live in different areas

⁴ Note that the sons of co-wives address each other as brothers, and not as step-brothers, as in English. If someone calls his step-brother a *step-brother*, in English, this would really offend his brother. There is no word for step-brother in Kewapi. There is a saying 'a brother is a brother; there is no half-brother'.

within a government district and such groups do not usually know their common ancestor. The population of a clan can vary from about a thousand to several thousand or more. For example, my clan is the Maarepa clan and lives in Mugumapu village. The village is situated about 8 kilometers south-west of Ialibu District and has a population of over 1,000 people. The origin of the Maarepa clan is not clear but the general belief is that the clan originated from the Kagua District. Other clan groups in the Ialibu District are the Perepa Rakili who live at the foot of Mount Ialibu, the Kipurepa, the Yarena Rakili, the Muli Ekerepa, the Koropa Lawagerepa, and the Nemola. The clan operates as a unit and works together on government projects. They elect a village councillor, a magistrate and a peace officer. These are officials of the national government at the village or local level. In traditional Kewa there are usually several leaders in economics and politics. It is not uncommon to find a person that is a leader in both of these areas. Such a man is known as a *madi kamo* 'chief/head man'.

1.3.2 Clothes and ornamentation⁵

Traditional wear for men include *kaako* 'a bark belt'; *konaapu* 'net apron made of woven string' that is passed over the *kaako* to cover the front area extending from the groin to about the knee; *aapu* 'victory leaves or leaves of plants' fastened to the *kaako* to cover the back. Ornaments include *duma* 'imported saucer' worn on foreheads; *ki ropa* 'arm band'; *aa ropa* 'ankle band'; *yapaapu* 'a decorative cowrie headband'; *rame* 'a bailer shell' worn over the neck to cover the chest area; *nu rubaa* 'a headcover made from string'; *yaarikabu* 'a decorative headdress' made from cassowary flumes.

⁵ The description of clothes and ornamentation has benefited from Franklin and Franklin (1978) whose Kewa dictionary provides English translations of Kewapi and Kewa clothes and ornament names.

Traditional wear for women is *kura* 'skirt' made from grass or *kogoraame* 'shirt' made from woven fibre. Ornaments include *rekere* 'pearl shell' worn around the front of the neck with strings; *kulubu* 'beads', stringed beads are worn around the neck area; *kaako* 'belt' woven from rattan cane.

In the contemporary Kewa society, there is an increase in the number of people wearing western clothes. However, traditional gear is still commonly worn in many remote parts, and during cultural festivals in areas where western clothes are used.

1.3.3 Marriage

In the traditional Kewa society, marriage within a clan or subclan was not practised (Franklin 1978:386), but in the contemporary Kewa society there are cases of such marriages and there is a growing tolerance for such practices. Marriage is negotiated by the prospective groom and brides' relatives, commonly fathers and older brothers when the man informs his parents that he wants to marry a particular woman. The prospective groom's family raise hard currency, pigs and mother-of-pearl shells for payment to the bride's family as bride-price, known in Kewa as *winya ele* 'woman's things = bride-price'. Pearl shells are beginning to lose their value. The bride's relatives also give things to the groom's people, known as *ragele* 'return things'. The exchange ratio is 3 or 4:1, i.e. for every PNGK 3/400 the groom's people pay, the bride's relatives return PNGK 100, or for every 3/4 pigs, 1 pig is returned by the bride's people. The amount of bride-price paid varies according to the demand of the bride's people. The average would be PNGK 1, 000 and 8 pigs from the prospective groom's people. The bride-price for a western-educated Kewa woman holding a job in government or business or a village chief's daughter would be considerably higher.

Divorce is not as common as in some developed countries, e.g. Australia. Where a divorce is initiated by the wife, village courts order the wife's relatives to

return some bride-price to the husband's people. If a wife leaves her husband because he marries another wife, who gives her a hard time, the first wife's people do not return any bride-price, but such cases are decided by the village courts.

1.3.4 Dominant economic activities

Pigs are an important commodity used for raising money to pay school fees, bride-price, compensation, settling personal debts and for slaughtering during cultural feasts (*yaawe*). Along with money, pigs are used to make investments. *Kepa* is an important customary investment activity whereby maternal relatives of a man give cash, pigs and food items to the man's paternal relatives to be paid back at an agreed time. The investors receive upon maturity twice the value of their investment if the items invested are cash and pigs. For food items, the investors only get the value of the food items at the time of investment. Pearl shells were used in the past, but now cash and pigs are used.

In modern Kewa society small trade stores, coffee in parts of Pangia, Kagua, Erave and Ialibu, the making of string bags and the weaving of baskets for sale, and the selling of food items, sometimes purchased from other areas such as Mt Hagen, are the scenes of business activity in the cash economy. The fastest growing activities in both towns and villages are the selling of cigarettes, betelnuts (brought in from the coast, i.e. Lae, Rabaul and Madang) and black market liquor. Alcohol consumption is only permitted in licensed clubs, which must offer food with liquor, but this condition is not adhered to by licencees because they trade beer in cartons without meals.

1.3.5 Material culture and possession

The saving of material things is central to the achievement of high status. The way to gain leadership or *kamo* 'headman' status in the villages is to possess acres of land,

pigs and money. A man must possess these things over time and share them with others to gain fame.

In traditional Kewapi society the possessor of a highly priced pearl shell (*yaba*) is known as a *kamo* 'headman'. Each clan has only one *yaba*. The subclan that possesses the *yaba* is the prestigious one. If a rival subclan wishes to gain prestige, it negotiates with the subclan that has the *yaba* and makes a bid that is higher than the total value of investment of the subclan that currently possesses it. If the bid is successful the *yaba* is passed to this subclan and so the cycle continues. In this way investors make interest on their investment. This important traditional commercial practice is not as active in the contemporary Kewapi society, especially with the young people who prefer to sell cigarettes, betelnuts and blackmarket liquor for fast money.

Pigs are sometimes given names and raised for a number of years. The man who possesses a lot of pigs and slaughters them during a traditional feast (*yaawe*) to pay back his pork debts or to give new pork credits is praised as a 'big man' of the area. If his pigs are big and have a lot of fat, he receives extra praise, i.e. the value of a slaughtered pig is determined by the thickness of fat it has - the fatter the pig, the more valuable it is.

1.3.6 Perception of wisdom

A person is said to be wise when he demonstrates care and tact in his thinking and work. He is called a *kone waru wi ali/winya* 'a man/woman who has a lot of wisdom or common sense'. For example, the smart way of chopping trees for use in constructions is to chop at the base and the stem and unused parts are covered with earth and decomposable material to facilitate decomposition for soil enrichment.

A wise person does not make hasty decisions on important matters. He considers the implications of issues by relating them to the past, present and future. He must also be aware of his responsibility in the issue and act lawfully.

A sound cultural knowledge is considered essential for making appropriate public speeches (*waipi*). A good speech is characterised by having a logical structure based on sequences of events which lead to a logical conclusion. The speaker must aim at peacemaking or at finding amicable resolutions and avoid biased thinking. However, he is not expected to let his people down, especially in interclan talks or politics.

1.3.7 Knowledge and use of environment

1.3.7.1 Land and soil care

The Kewapi people value their land and try to sustain it. Land that is cleared for building a house, a road or for making a garden is replanted with trees in the spaces not occupied by these projects. Trees are also planted on fallow land to improve the quality of the soil, and also for future use as building materials for houses, fences, bridges, etc. Birds that perch on these tree branches are not disturbed, because waste droppings are known to fertilise the soil and also contain tree seeds.

Gardens near the village are fenced to prevent pigs from destroying them but those far from the reach of pigs are not usually fenced. Gardens on hills or mountain slopes have walls (*rotopo*) of wood made across to prevent soil erosion.

The burning of bush for hunting or for making a garden is not common. A new garden land is cleared with bushknives, digging sticks and spades. Trash from land clearing is either used for compost (*kubura*) or burnt in designated sweet potato mound areas. Since bushfires can cause a great deal of damage to land and property, fires are controlled and heavy penalties are imposed on arsonists who set fire to

someone's property. Walkways through neighbouring land are negotiated amicably at land boundaries between land owners so as not to waste land by unnecessary or careless crossings.

1.3.7.2 Gardening

For the majority of Kewapi people who do not have formal employment, the dominant traditional activity is gardening. The people have several sweet potato gardens planted at different times to have sweet potato (the staple food) available for consumption on a daily basis. Food crops include sweet potato (*sapi/modo*), taro (*maa*), banana (*kaai*), sugar cane (*waali*), vegetables (cabbages (***kaapisu*), beans (*kabia*), onions (***aaneane*), water cress (*ipa kibita*), hill-side garden cress (*eke kibita*)), etc. These crops are sometimes sold at local markets for hard currency.

The basic procedures for gardening depend on the type of plant that is to be planted. For example, the following are the basic order of activities for preparing a new sweet potato garden.

1. A man clears the land by cutting down trees and wild canes with bush knives and axes.
2. After the drying of trash from the clearing, which can take a couple of weeks, he digs out the tree and cane stumps.
3. When step 2 is completed, he forms sweet potato mounds with the dry stumps and leaves.
4. After step 3 is completed, he burns the mounds of trash and digs up the soil around the mounds.
5. On fine days his wife and/or daughter(s) make sweet potato mounds in the designated mound areas by heaping finely grained soil of several layers until a woman's hand can sink into the mound without touching any burnt ash. Sweet potato runners are planted into the mound covering all angles.

6. After 8 to 9 months the mounds are filled with sweet potatoes which are ready to be harvested.

The Kewapi people have three main garden types: vegetable gardens (*ee*) on hill slopes, taro gardens (*maa maapu*) in swamp areas, and sweet potato, banana and sugar cane gardens (*modo maapu*) on flat land.

The average family does not consume meat on a daily basis. Occasionally people may have pork and chicken. (Note that pigs are slaughtered during big feasts (*yaawe*) every 4 or 5 years). Various wild food sources are used to supplement a diet of carbohydrates and greens. Edible insects and animals collected from underground include *kaaleamu* 'spiders', *matya* 'crickets', *pupu* 'earth grub', *yawiraa* 'earth beetles', *pakisa/sauaa* 'garden rats', dug out of burrows. Edible insects and animals living above the ground include *koboro* 'grasshoppers', *waba* 'a green grasshopper', *pámédá* 'wood/pandanus grub', *rodea kapaa* 'ant eggs', *alubi kapaa* 'bee/wasp eggs', *lusabo* 'beetles', *yapa* 'possums/marsupials/wallabies/giant rats', *yaa* 'birds', *kaima* (big) 'flying fox', *rumina* (small) 'bats', *repoto* 'tree rats'. Edible creatures in the rivers include *wena* 'fish', *kabutukaapo* 'river crabs', *aakena* 'eels', *kapetake* 'water rat', *kaluga* 'wild river duck', *kuri* 'frogs'. Fruits include *aga* 'pandanus nuts' both domesticated and wild types, *pai li* 'a type of hazelnut from a tree', *weau li* 'a peanut-like seed from a tree' and *rogema li* 'a soft and flat nut from a tree'. Various types of mushrooms are also consumed.

Traditionally, pregnant women are encouraged to consume these sources of food for the good health of the mother. Nowadays some people who can afford western foods consume rice, canned fish, and beef and frozen mutton from Australia and New Zealand.

1.3.7.3 Food preservation

Perishable food such as meat or pandanus nuts can be preserved for about two to four months. The procedure involves the following steps:

1. Wrap up the food in pandanus/banana leaves.
2. Block a stream and divert temporarily its causeway.
3. Dig a hole in the dry stream bed.
4. Place food (e.g. meat, pandanus nuts etc.) wrapped in leaves.
5. Place a stick in the pit to mark the spot and to allow a little water to seep down to cool the stored food.
6. Cover the pit with stones and then clay.
7. Allow the stream to flow as usual so that the buried food is in the earth under the stream.
8. Remove food when required after repeating steps 1 and 2.

1.3.7.4 Medicinal plants

Plants that have medical value are identified and used to treat sick people as well as to keep the body healthy. Stinging nettle (*raara*) is used to relieve pain, much like aspirin or panadol. A shrub juice (*ruku*) is used for toothache and for inducing the vomiting of poison. *Potaawe*, a kind of cordyline species, or tanget (Tok Pisin) is used for three reasons: (1) to prevent sore in the eyes, (2) to treat backache, and (3) to treat nmumonia. To treat animals' breathing difficulties or asthmatic conditions *masa yo* 'wild taro leaves' are used. The black dust from burnt edible taro leaves is rubbed on the eye lids of a person with red eyes with pus to remedy the infection.

The following is a list of medical conditions and their traditional medicine (*upipi*):

general pain relief: *raara* 'stinging nettle',

red eye: charcoal taro leaves are put around the eye lids,

stomach: gall stone removal: practitioner bites stomach and places nettles, causing the removal of gall stones from the stomach,

earache: no *upipi* 'medicine',

headache: *raara yaina* 'nettles applied with ritual songs',

toothache: mashed moss and roots of plants taken orally,

malaria: rats and meat offered to spirits of relatives,

conception: nil, in some areas (in the past) a man would urinate on his wife's food in the belief of causing pregnancy.

Note that in the present-day traditional medicine is practised where access to modern medicine is not available.

1.3.7.5 Bridges

For every river or creek bridges are built to allow safecrossing during floods due to frequent heavy rainfalls. Although motor vehicles have claimed the lives of drivers and pedestrians in the Kewapi area, loss of life in crossing flooded rivers is still greater than in motor vehicle accidents.

1.4 Beliefs and practices to do with social control

1.4.1 Appeasing ancestral spirits

Fear of losing control of oneself or one's property is a major psychological factor. Rituals to overcome this fear were an important part of life before the advent of missionaries and Christianity. Ancestral spirits were believed to influence outcomes in people's lives. For every major activity, a ritual was formed to appease spirits.

Men slaughtered pigs to offer to the healing spirits *kelekaai*, *ribu*, *payamo* and *robake* when someone was sick. There were spirit houses in which the pork was steamroasted and after ritualistic communication with the spirits, the meat was eaten by the people including the sick person.

Offerings were made to garden spirits to bless new gardens with bumper crops. The offerings consisted of *kuri maku* 'frog eggs', *buruminya* 'tadpoles', *koboli gomo* 'water lily', *masa yo* 'wild taro leaves' and *pakisa lo* 'rat stomach'. Before a harvest, a harvest offering was made to the garden spirits. The offering included rats, possums and fresh vegetables from new gardens. These were offered on a platform made from ferns.

1.4.2 Sorcery

Sorcery and poison are practised among enemy clans. Deaths are believed to be caused by sorcery or poison from rival clans. *Maalu* and *nebu* are common sorcery types. The former is believed to be practised by a *maalu* man who uses a round stone that is aimed at a victim. Severe headaches and backaches are believed to be caused by a *maalu* sorcery. The *maalu* sorcery targets only men because it is believed that women are not affected by this sorcery. *Nebu* sorcery involves the collection of a victim's garment, excrement, hair, etc. and disposing it in a lake near Batri in the Erave District. Malaria, fever, leukemia, etc. are believed to be caused by a *nebu* sorcery. Traditional poison (*romo*) obtained from lime stones or modern chemicals from dry batteries is used for poisoning food. Constipation and internal diseases which cause the swelling of bodies are believed to be caused by poison.

1.4.3 Restrictions relating to women

A woman's menstrual blood was believed to cause sickness. The symptoms were stomach swelling and the peeling of skin. A married woman notified her husband that she was going away to have her period in a hut (*kameaadaa*) built for this purpose. During this period, the man was responsible for all the domestic chores - cooking family meals, feeding pigs, attending to garden work, etc.

Due to the fear of sickness from menstrual blood, females were separated from males. There were separate houses for women and men. A man's house (*tapada*) was long and the common room did not often have a door. A woman's house (*winyada*) was small and had an oval shape - a symbol of femininity. A family's pigs were raised in the wife's house. A husband or son could go inside a *winyada* to feed pigs, but a female was not permitted to enter a *tapada* at any time. She could only go near the house and yell out to her man or son to give food, usually uncooked food.

A male person's belongings must never be walked over by a female. It was believed that a male would not grow normally, i.e. he would develop a disability if she did walk over the male's possessions. A female was punished by hitting and compensation was summarily imposed for this offence.

In contemporary Kewapi society in some areas men and women live in the same house. Even childbirth is witnessed by husbands. Traditionally a wife was separated from her husband during childbirth and up to 3 or 4 months. During this period she lived in a hut outside the village.

1.5 Previous research on the Kewa language

1.5.1 Research by the Franklins

The Kewa language has been researched extensively by Dr Karl Franklin and his wife Mrs Joice Franklin, working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)⁶. They have published materials in anthropological, linguistic and literacy fields (see Reference section of this study for references to their linguistic

⁶ Franklin and Franklin (1978:504-14) and Karl Franklin (1990) provide a bibliography of publications in Kewa in linguistics, anthropology, and literacy. The Franklins' research has been a valuable point of reference for the present study.

publications). Karl Franklin did his M.A. thesis on Kewa clause structure and his Ph.D. on Kewa grammar and Kewa dialects.

Karl Franklin and Joice Franklin studied East Kewa (Kewapi) from 1958 until 1963, then West Kewa from 1966 until 1973 (Franklin and Franklin 1978). Karl Franklin has described some aspects of East Kewa verbal morphology (Franklin 1964), clause markers (Franklin 1965) and sentence structure (Franklin 1967). However, his major grammatical description is on West Kewa (Franklin 1971). In a final report (Franklin and Franklin 1990) the Franklins summarise their work on Kewa language and culture between 1958 and 1990. A list of publications on Kewa, including those by other researchers, is given in this report.

1.5.2 Previous research by the present writer

The present writer, whose mother tongue is Kewapi, completed a M.Phil. at the University of Sydney in 1992 on 'Aspects of Kewapi grammar'. That study sketched parts of speech, basic verbal morphology and semantics, and clause and sentence structures of Kewapi.

1.6 Present research

1.6.1 Aims and scope

The focus of the present study is on the morphology and syntax of Kewapi. Although previous studies document many aspects of Kewa, they leave a number of gaps, which are addressed in this thesis, specifically concerning certain morphosyntactic features (chapter 3), clause structures (chapter 4), noun and noun phrase structures (chapter 5), verb and verb phrase structures (chapter 6), embedded and subordinate structures (chapter 7), and coordinate constructions (chapter 8).

Fieldwork for this study was done at different periods between 1995 and 1999: two weeks in September 1995, December 1996 to January 1997, November

1998 to March 1999. Data was taken mainly from the writer's village of Mugumapu in the Ialibu District of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea.

The analysis of Kewapi morphosyntax is based largely on natural discourse recorded during fieldwork. Transcriptions of eight spoken texts are presented in the Appendices. The writer has also drawn on his knowledge of Kewapi grammar as a native speaker to produce hypothetical examples.

1.6.2 Conventions

1.6.2.1 Orthography and text-marking conventions

The orthography proposed for Kewa by Franklin (see 2.3) is adopted in this thesis. Kewapi illustrative examples are segmented into morphemes and hyphens are used to mark morpheme boundaries, and glosses are assigned. The translated meaning(s) are indicated in open single quotation marks. In cases where the idiomatic (free) translations are far removed from the literal meanings, literal meanings are also provided.

1.6.2.2 Text references

Throughout the thesis examples of construction types drawn from the eight texts that form the Appendices are shown as [T2:5], etc. where T stands for Text and 2 refers to the Text number, which are numbered T1-8. The number following the colon refers to the sentence number in the text. So [T2:5] means sentence 5 from discourse text 2, etc.

1.6.2.3 Marking of embedded constructions

Embedded constructions are shown by square brackets, e.g. [*ali pe:PT*] *winya* ‘[man go:PT] woman = a woman [(that) has gone to a man] or a married woman’, etc.

1.6.2.4 References to parts of the thesis

Reference to sections of the thesis is shown as (see 5.3.4) where the first digit is the chapter number, and the following numbers refer to the section numbers of that chapter. This is a standard convention and needs no telling but it may be useful for readers not used to this convention.

1.6.2.5 Stress and tone marking on words

Stress and tone marking are shown only in Chapter 2 where these suprasegmentals are discussed. In the rest of the thesis stress or tone are not marked, except where they are crucial distinguishing features of grammatical categories. In cases where there are frequently used formally identical words like *ada* ‘house/village’ and *áda* ‘see’, *nógó* ‘further down’ and *nogo* ‘girl’, or *né-mé* ‘I-ERG’ and *ne-me* ‘you-ERG’, etc. the words bearing high tones are marked and low-tone words are unmarked.

1.7 A sketch of Kewapi

Kewapi shares some of the general morphosyntactic features of the larger Trans New Guinea (TNG) family.

The phonological systems of TNG languages are generally fairly simple (Foley 1986). Segmental phonemes show a dominance of central vowels (Foley 2000) in a system of usually five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ (Wurm 1982, Foley 1986). Fricatives are rare – often one fricative (Wurm 1982:77) and the basic consonants are /p, m, w, t, s, n, y, k, ?/ (Foley 1986:55). The proto consonants of the Engan family are: /p, k, b, g, f, s, g, m, n/ and vowels are: /i, u, e, o, ə, a/ (Franklin 2001:145). Kewapi has six vowels /i, e, ə, a, o, u/ and fifteen consonants /b, m, p, w, t, d, n, s, l, r, c, ñ, y, g, k/. Of the fifteen consonants three are fricatives: /p/, /s/ and /k/. On suprasegmentals both stress and tone are present in TNG languages (Foley 2000:369). Donohue (1997) did a short survey of tone systems in New Guinea. He proposes a classificatory system of pitch accent, word tone and syllable tone. Kewa has both stress and tone (Franklin 1971). Kewapi stress is rule governed. The language has a word tone system with both register and contour tone patterns. It contrasts high tone — *pú* ‘go’ and low tone *pù* ‘urine’. These level tones are realised

as high-low and low-high contours on monosyllabic words — *pû* ‘relative’ high-low (i.e. a falling tone) and *pũ* ‘liver’ low-high (i.e. a rising tone) respectively.

Morphological types in the languages of New Guinea differ. They include isolating, agglutinative, synthetic (e.g. many languages of the Trans New Guinea family) and polysynthetic languages (e.g. the Kiwai and Lower Sepik-Ramu language families (Foley 2000:370). Kewapi is more synthetic but it also possesses slightly polysynthetic features in the sense that a good number of its enclitics realise a fusion of grammatical categories, especially the enclitics *-me*, *-de*, *-da*, *-na*, *-pe* and *-re*. There are both enclitics and affixes. Most affixes are suffixes like many TNG languages (Wurm 1982:80). The only two prefixes are negative and causative prefixes. The morphology of nouns and verbs are complex, especially of verbs.

Nouns. Kewapi nominal categories that can be marked on the noun are kinship relation, definite/indefinite status, diminution/augmentation, quantity and case. Nouns can be specified for dual, paucal, and plural number, unlike many TNG languages that do not inflect for number (Foley 2000:371). The overt two-gender systems appearing in pronouns, adjectives and nouns and verb markers found in some TNG languages (Wurm 1982:80) are absent in Kewapi and generally the Engan family (Franklin 1997:188). The covert classification of nouns through the use of classificatory verbs in the West-Central TNG languages like Enga (Lang 1973, 1975) is present in Kewa (Franklin 1981). Kewapi uses the verbs *aa* ‘stand’, *pisa* ‘sit’ and *sa* ‘put’ as existential *be* verbs for classifying nouns, e.g. *winya* ‘woman’, *wena* ‘fish’, *ipa* ‘water’, etc. belong to one class in that they take the verb *pisa* ‘sit’, *repona* ‘tree’, *remo* ‘evil spirit’, *mena* ‘pig’, etc. take *aa* ‘stand’ and *kaana* ‘stone’, *su* ‘land’, *kaare* ‘car’, etc. take *sa* ‘put’. Nominals are case-marked *-me/mi* ‘ergative’ (subject), *-pora* ‘locative’, *-nane* ‘directive’, *-na* ‘genitive/benefactive’ and *-mi* ‘instrumental’. Kewapi uses the ergative marker to identify the subject of transitive verbs. The most actor-like role marked the ergative marker is selected as subject of a transitive verb.

Pronouns. Kewapi has nine free personal pronouns. Each pronoun has singular, dual and plural number. In addition there are verbal pronominal suffixes which distinguish first, second and third persons. Singular, dual and plural numbers are distinguished for the first and second persons but the third person *-na/-nya* does

not distinguish number. There are distinct suffixes for inclusive and exclusive, perhaps an idiosyncractic feature of Kewa. These pronominal suffixes function as switch-reference markers in coordinate medial clauses that are temporally or aspectually linked to the final clauses.

Verbs. Kewapi has ditransitive, transitive and intransitive verbs. Verbal categories that can be marked on the verb are negation, causation, direction, split-action, aspect, subject-tense, evidence and illocutionary act. The last two categories are marked by enclitics whereas the others are marked by affixes. Like most TNG languages (Foley 2000:377) Kewapi has subject agreement which is portmanteau with tense inflection in the declarative clause. Kewapi distinguishes morphologically five tenses – future, present, near past, remote past and simple present which covers simple present and habitual tenses. Habitual tense is indicated by durative suffixes or nominalised predicates that take the simple present tense. Subject-tense categories are morphologically distinct from directional and aspectual categories. The directional category contrasts upward and downward directions. The aspectual category contrasts complete, non-complete, durative and continuative aspects – all are morphologically distinguished. Like many TNG languages (Foley 2000:381) Kewapi verbs are morphologically marked for irrealis status and has realis verb forms. Verbs are also marked for intentional and desiderative modalities. Two valence increasing derivational processes are causative verb derivation and benefactive verb derivation. Both intransitive and transitive verb bases can be used to derive causative verbs by the derivational prefix *ma-* ‘CAUS’. Benefactive verbs are derived from both activity intransitive and transitive verbs. This derivation occurs through a morphophonemic change which alters the word-final vowels /a, i, u, or ə/ to /a:/, a long central vowel, to derive a benefactive verb. Some transitive verb’s valence can be reduced by one argument (subject) by the detransitivising suffix *-ba/bi*. Incorporation of nouns, adverbials and deictic elements on the verb commonly found in highly polysynthetic languages like Yimas (Foley 2000:381) is not found in Kewapi, showing that Kewapi is basically a synthetic language.

Syntax. Syntactically languages fall into left-headed (head + complement) and right-headed (complement + head) (Foley 2000:382). Kewapi is right-headed with SOV constituent order. In Nichols’ (1986) typology of head-marking and

dependent-marking morphosyntax, Kewapi has both head-marking and dependent-marking morphosyntax. In a possessive noun phrase, the possessor (dependent) is marked. In a transitive clause the subject nominal (dependent) is marked by the ergative marker and the verb (head) is marked by a subject agreement suffix. Clause chaining (which distinguishes independent and dependent clauses) and switch reference found in TNG languages is present in Kewapi but the switch-reference morphology is not as complex as those found in the Eastern Highlands languages (Scott 1978) where there are up to three sets of switch-reference subject agreement morphemes. Kewapi coordinate dependent verbs are marked for interclausal reference and temporal and aspectual relation with the independent clauses. The temporal and aspectual suffixes of dependent verbs are distinct from those of independent verbs. The dependent clause is at least dependent on the final clause's mood and tense (for declarative clauses). Negative polarity can be marked independently on dependent clauses. Apart from clause chaining, Kewapi has serial verb constructions (SVCs) and verbal adjuncts. Up to four verbs can occur in a series. Serial verbs are used to express durative aspect (the verb *pisa* 'sit' in the final position expresses durative aspect of the preceding verb), purpose (the preceding transitive verb becomes the purpose for the realisation of the following motion verb), manner (morphological causative verbs express manner of realisation of the preceding verb), etc. Verbal adjuncts consist of noun + generic or light verb, e.g. *kone sa* 'thought put = think'.

Discourse and genre. The study of discourse features is outside the scope of the present study. Discourse cohesion is established through tail-head linkages, the use of deictic elements plus subordinators, e.g. *go pea-daa* 'that do.it-because = because of that' and coordinators, e.g. *go pu-maa* 'that do-SEQ.SS = having done that' and the linker *ade* 'seen' mainly in narratives. In other words, as Foley (2000:357) states discourse structures are highly elliptical with the verbal morphology providing signals for the recovery of elided information and the cohesion of the text. Rhetorical questions occur predominately in explanatory or argumentative genres. The verbal structure *li-sa-na* 'say-3SG.RPT' is extensively used in narrative texts to mark the viewing of an event from the actor's viewpoint (see the Appendix of thesis where eight natural discourse texts of description,

explanation, and narration are provided to illustrate the use of the morphosyntax described in the thesis). As stated by Foley (2000:387) for New Guinea languages, information structure notions like topic and focus are superimposed upon the basic clause unit in Kewapi by the use of the enclitics *-re* 'TOPIC' and *-da* 'FOCUS'. As mentioned above, these enclitics realise other semantic categories, e.g. *-re* marks conditional clauses, topic-as-subject in verb-less constructions, backgrounded or reactivated structures, etc and *-da* marks indefinite nominals, predicate or clausal focus, contrastive focus clause in constructions with negative polarity, etc. Constituent order is used to signal topic (backgrounded nominals) and focus (foregrounded nominals). In the SOV word order the subject nominal coincides with topic (although subject is a morphosyntactic notion), and object coincides with focus. The subject nominal is under pragmatically marked focus status when it occupies the preverbal slot and the object nominal is topicalised by occupying the topic slot.

Chapter Two

A brief outline of Kewapi Phonology

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a brief description of aspects of Kewapi phonology to accompany the description of the grammar of Kewapi in Chapters 3 to 8. Kewapi consonant and vowel phonemes are outlined in sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 respectively. Section 2.2 is on the suprasegmental elements of stress and tone, and section 2.3 outlines the Kewa phonemic and orthographic conventions proposed by Franklin (1992 SIL data base at Ukarumpa).

2.1 Segmental phonemes

Kewapi has 21 segmental phonemes. It has two more phonemes than West Kewa.

2.1.1 Consonants

There are 15 consonant phonemes as presented in Table 2.1 (patterned after Franklin and Franklin 1962b:30, Franklin 1968:12). Voiceless consonants are raised and voiced consonants are lowered in each cell in the table.

Table 2.1 Consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Dental Alveolar	Palatal	Velar Backed velar
Stop	b	t d	c	g
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	
Fricative	p	s		k
Lateral		l		
Flap		r		
Semivowel	w		y	

As the Franklins (1978:17) state, the symbols used have traditional phonetic values. The phonemes /b/ and /d/ are prenasalised. However, in the area of the present study prenasalisation of these phonemes is not pervasive and tends to occur only word-medially. According to the Franklins /g/ is generally voiceless and backed, but in some areas of Ialibu District /g/ is oftened voiced and backed, at least in the dialect of the current writer, and /l/ is a voiced flapped lateral according to the Franklins but it is a voiced alveolar lateral in the dialect spoken in Mugumapu village and the surrounding hamlets, as presented in Table 2.1 above. The phonemes /ɲ/, a voiced alveopalatal nasal, and /c/, a voiceless alveopalatal stop, are unique to Kewapi within the Kewa dialect complex.

2.1.2 Vowels

Kewapi has six vowel phonemes as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	
Low		a	o

Franklin and Franklin (1962:30, 1971:11, 1978:19) propose a six-vowel system³. The following examples provide further evidence of minimal pairs which contrast six vowel phonemes:

i/e: əmi 'grease', əme 'kinship/brother'

o/u: rəbo 'time', rəbu 'game'

a/o: kapo 'cup', kopo 'wooden dish'

ə/a: sə 'put', sa '2DL', or kələ 'give', kəla 'give it to someone on someone's behalf', or kəmo 'headman', kəma 'outside'.

The phonotactic patterns are: CV, VCV, VVCV, but not CC or CVC. As the Franklins observe any consonant or vowel may occur as a syllable onset, except *yi and *wu. According to the Franklins (Franklin and Franklin 1978:17) the following combinations have not been observed: *CeCi, *CeCu, *CoCi and *CoCu. The following examples show that these combinations do occur in Kewapi.

³ It was incorrectly stated in the first version of this thesis that the Franklins did not recognise the phoneme /ə/, a mid central vowel. This observation was based on their early (Franklin and Franklin 1962:33) work on East Kewa. In their later works (Franklin 1971:11 and Franklin and Franklin 1978:19) they do recognise the mid central vowel as a distinct vowel phoneme in Kewa.

CeCi: ****bepi** '(from English/Tok Pisin word 'baby') a common name given to both males and females'

mebi 'wig headdress'

lesi 'a very small eye'

CeCu: *kepu* 'bamboo piece for lighting fire'

wemu 'a clan group'

rai segu 'a stone axe'

CoCi: *moki la* 'untie it'

****loli** 'lolly'

CoCu: *kobu* 'a ditch'

solunolu 'in disarray, of something'

2.2 Suprasegmental elements

The suprasegmental elements of Kewapi described briefly are stress and tone. The descriptions in the following subsections will be limited to discussion of the following questions: (1) How is stress realised and what are the stress rules?; (2) Is tone contour tone or register tone and what does tone do with minimal pairs?; and, (3) Is there a long vowel and germinate vowel distinction?

2.2.1 Stress

Stress has to do with the location of the prominent syllable(s) within the word. Kager (1995:367-8) outlines the following traditional categorisations of word stress systems: (1) one distinction is between fixed systems, where the location of stress is predictable (that is, rule governed), and free systems, where it is unpredictable (that is, distinctive); (2) a second distinction is that between systems where stress is governed purely by phonological factors such as distance from word edges, rhythmic factors, and syllable weight, and systems where it is governed by morphological factors, such as the distinction between roots and suffixes; and, (3) a third distinction is that between bounded systems, where stresses fall within limited distances from

each other and from word edges, and unbounded systems, where no constraints on interstress distance hold.

Stress in Kewapi² is predictable and is non-phonemic. The stressed syllable is longer in duration as well as higher in intensity than the unstressed syllable. Pitch is more closely associated with tone than stress, although there are possibly interactions between them. While tone pitch assimilates to adjacent syllables, stress naturally cannot. Stressed syllables can be enhanced or amplified by vowel lengthening, while stress-less syllables may be weakened by vowel reduction. In terms of the distinction between bounded and unbounded stress distribution systems, Kewapi has an unbounded system in which a phonological foot consists of a stressed syllable plus one or more unstressed syllables. While bounded feet contain no more than two syllables, unbounded feet are not subject to any restriction on size (Kager 1995:370).

The following are stress placement rules in Kewapi: (1) the first syllable is stressed for monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic words; (2) the second syllable is stressed for quadrisyllabic words; (3) the third syllable is stressed for words with

² The following are the Franklins' characterisations of stress in (East) Kewa:

1. "The phonological foot is a unit of stress placement; each foot has one obligatory stress which is the nucleus. Feet may have one to seven syllables" (Joice Franklin 1965:84).
2. Length is pertinent to the foot at the stress nucleus; stressed single vowels tend to be slightly longer than unstressed counterparts (Joice Franklin 1965:85).
3. The first syllable carries stress, except verbs where it may occur elsewhere (Franklin and Franklin 1962b:35). In polysyllabic feet any syllable but the final syllable may be stressed. Feet are bounded by pause (Joice Franklin 1965:84). "... a primary stress occurs on the first syllable of any noun stem of less than four syllables and on the second syllable of any stem over four" (Franklin and Franklin 1978:18).
4. Monosyllabic feet are also stressed; therefore monosyllabic feet have obligatory stress and length (Joice Franklin 1965: 85).
5. Geminate vowels are not longer when stressed than when unstressed. Because it is not perceptibly longer when stressed than when unstressed, the geminate cluster /aa/ functions as a sequence of two vowels (Joice Franklin 1965:85).
6. Stress is non-phonemic (Franklin and Franklin 1962b:35).

more than four syllables; (4) a secondary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of words over five syllables and this includes words with affixations and cliticisations; and, (5) when stress falls on a low tone bearing syllable, it tends to be longer than when it falls on a high tone syllable.

The above stress rules are illustrated below. The symbols used are: ' primary stress, ` secondary stress, . syllable division, ^ high-low tone, ˇ low-high tone, ´ high tone and low tone is unmarked. Syllables and their stress patterns are presented in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Stress patterns

Stress patterns	Samples
1	'a 'stand' versus 'á 'man' or 'pu 'urine' versus 'pú 'to go'
2	'ə.bi 'today' vs 'ə.bí 'quickly' or 'ə.də 'house' vs 'ə.dé 'to see'
3	'ə.bá.lé 'before' vs 'ə.bə.lə 'yesterday' or 'má.pú.á 'a dream' vs 'mə.pu.a 'young'
4	yá.'ré.pé.é 'to gather' vs yə.'re.pe.le 'gathered:PT' or kó.'ló.pé.é 'to go down' vs ko.'lo.pe.le 'go:PT down'
5	ká.ré.'pé.né.cé 'to break into pieces' vs ka.re.'pe.nə.li 'break:PT into pieces'
6	ná. é.'dí.si. 'mi.ya '(I heard that) they didn't see someone/thing.'
7	ná.é.'dí.si.mi.'ya.de '(I believe the report that) they didn't see someone/thing.'
8	ná.má.'mí.ńə.sa.ri.'pa.de '(I believe that) he didn't cause someone to lift something.'
9	ná.má.'mí.ńə.sa.ri.pə.'ya.de '(I believe the report that) he didn't cause someone to lift something.'
10	ná.má.'mí.ńə.sə.pa.ri.pə.'ya.de '(I believe the report that) he didn't cause

someone to complete lifting something.’

The stress placement rules are applicable to all word classes, as the stress patterns of words of different word classes show in Table 2.3. Verbs, for example, do not show stress patterns that are different to nouns, as the Franklins (Franklin and Franklin 1962b:35) seem to suggest “the first syllable carries stress, except verbs where it may occur elsewhere”. Stress rule 5 that the vowels of stressed low tone syllables appear longer than their stressed high tone counterparts is clear when the monosyllable contrasts presented above are uttered. That only tone is phonemic is obvious from the identical minimal pairs for monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic forms. In words of more than five syllables the penultimate syllable bears a secondary stress.

2.2.2 Tone

In their original study of tone in East Kewa (Kewapi)³ the Franklins (Franklin and Franklin 1962, 1978)⁴ establish two contrasting level tones: a high tone and a low tone, and four word tone patterns, High (H), Low (L), High Low (HL) and Low High (LH). While the Franklins (1978:41-43) provide examples of these basic tone patterns (of nouns and verbs) and the assimilation (perturbation) patterns to adjacent

³ Yip states, “A language is a ‘tone language’ if the pitch of the word can change the meaning of the word” (Yip 2002:1). In this respect tone is significant in Kewapi because some pairs of words are distinguished solely by this prosodic feature tone.

⁴ The following are the Franklins’ characterisations of tone in Kewa:

1. There are two contrastive tones - high and low (Franklin and Franklin 1962:34).
2. Words have inherent high and low tones and others assimilate or perturb from left to right (Ibid, p.34).
3. There are four tone patterns - High (H), Low (L), High-Low (HL), and Low-High (LH) (Franklin and Franklin 1978:27).
4. Tone is phonemic, i.e. the meaning of words with identical phonemic shape are distinguished by tone placement (Ibid p.27).

syllables and across syntactic boundaries or junctures (Ibid pp. 27-40)⁵ they do not contrast the tone patterns with phonemically identical minimal pairs/triplets and the four tone patterns are not demonstrated with monosyllabic words. The discussion of tone patterns of Kewapi will be limited to the presentation of the four tone patterns (Low, High, Low High and High Low) with monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic words and the contrasting of lexical tone patterns, especially of phonemically identical minimal pairs and triplets (where possible) to show that tone patterns can be better observed this way.

The tone patterns of Kewapi can be illustrated with monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic words, as in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Tone patterns

Pattern	Monosyllables	Disyllables	Trisyllables
Low	<i>pu</i> (L) 'urine'	<i>remo</i> (LL) 'devil'	<i>əbələ</i> (LLL) 'yesterday'
High	<i>pú</i> (H) 'to go'	<i>púñó</i> (HH) 'to raise, of pig'	<i>əbəlá</i> (HHH) 'before'
Low High	<i>pǔ</i> (LH) 'liver'	<i>ipú</i> (LH) 's/he'	<i>yərúá</i> (LHH) 'to stand it'
High Low	<i>pû</i> (HL) 'relative'	<i>ipu</i> (HL) 'to come'	<i>rákuə</i> (HLL) 'spread open a bag'

⁵ The Franklins tested disyllabic nouns in the frame *ábí ... =pe* 'now it is like ...' and found only three tone patterns, i.e. no L. They attributed this to perturbation. After H or LH *=pe* is L. After some HL words, *=pe* remains low, but after other HL words *=pe* is H. The Franklins infer that the latter category are underlying L as it surfaces as L when preceded by *abala* 'before'. See Franklin and Franklin (1978:27) below:

páda 'room' *ábí páda =pe* 'now it is like a room'
popo 'steam' *ábí popó =pe* 'now it is like steam'
túga 'ashes' *ábí túga =pe* 'now it is like ashes'
papa 'kin term' *ábí pápa =pé* 'now it is like (a relative)'
 abala pápa =pé 'before it was like a relative'

The IPA contour tone symbols ˇ rise and ^ fall used on the monosyllables show low-high and high-low contour tone patterns respectively. The high and low level tones are realised as high-low (i.e. a falling tone) and a low-high (i.e. a rising tone) on monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic words.

Further examples of the four tone patterns with words of different syllabic patterns follow.

Table 2.5 Monosyllabic tone patterns

Low	High	Low High	High Low
<i>e</i> ‘yes’	<i>é</i> ‘what?’	<i>ě</i> ‘garden type’	<i>ê</i> ‘no’
<i>a</i> ‘stand’	<i>á</i> ‘man’		<i>â</i> ‘leg’
<i>le</i> ‘eye’	<i>lé</i> ‘thing’		
	<i>má</i> ‘taro’	<i>mǎ</i> ‘neck’	
<i>ya</i> ‘bird’		<i>yǎ</i> ‘sky’	

Table 2.6 Disyllabic tone patterns

Low	High	Low High	High Low
<i>kəma</i> ‘always’	<i>kǎmá</i> ‘outside’		<i>kǎma</i> ‘only’
<i>mədə</i> ‘able to’	<i>mǎdǎ</i> ‘enough’		
		<i>kodǎ</i> ‘go in’	<i>kódǎ</i> ‘banana type’
<i>kodo</i> ‘scar’	<i>kódó</i> ‘sorry’		
<i>kutu</i> ‘grey’		<i>kutú</i> ‘lump’	<i>kútu</i> ‘river name’
	<i>ípú</i> ‘3DL’	<i>ípú</i> ‘3SG’	<i>ipu</i> ‘to come’

<i>əbi</i> ‘quickly’	<i>ábi</i> ‘today’		
<i>yəsə</i> ‘mushroom’	<i>yásə</i> ‘song’		<i>yásə</i> ‘to plant’
<i>repo</i> ‘three’	<i>répó</i> ‘burnt wood’		
<i>təpə</i> ‘you two say’	<i>təpə</i> ‘platform’		
<i>kəi</i> ‘cousin’	<i>kái</i> ‘dirt on skin’		
<i>kəbe</i> ‘wild cane’	<i>kábé</i> ‘buy:PT’		
<i>lorə</i> ‘spring water’			<i>lorə</i> ‘to cut’
<i>ədə</i> ‘house’	<i>ədə</i> ‘to see’		
<i>əbu</i> ‘yellow clay’			<i>əbu</i> ‘peelings’

Table 2.7 Trisyllabic tone patterns

Low	High	Low High	High Low
<i>məpua</i> ‘young’	<i>məpúá</i> ‘a dream’		<i>məpúá</i> ‘cause-go’
<i>ədəsə</i> ‘to find’	<i>ədəsə</i> ‘game meat’		
<i>lemogo</i> ‘pupil of eye’	<i>lemógó</i> ‘bird type’		
<i>ədələ</i> ‘to (purpose) see’		<i>ədələ</i> ‘to scold’	
<i>kariə</i> ‘bamboo’		<i>kariə</i> ‘to break off’	
		<i>wiñəlí</i> ‘people’	

Quadrissyllabic tone patterns

ətúbicə (HHHH) ‘to smash’ *médəlómə* (HHHH) ‘some’

kələbəcə (LLLL) ‘to trip’, *kəgəruki* (LLLL) ‘edible ground grub’

kírúbína (HHHL) ‘to completely burn off’ *lorópéə* (HHHL) ‘to ask’

nógonəne (HLLL) ‘down that way’, *nógonəné* (LHHH) ‘towards the girl’

ə'bələde (LLLL) '(I believe that) yesterday', *ə'bələde* (HHHL) '(I believe that) before or long time ago'

Polysyllabic tone patterns

pebe'takuə (LLLLL) 'small brown and white bird that flies in flocks'

yəki'puropə (LLLLL) 'arm band'

régé'pémiñá (HHHHH) 'to squeeze', *ápó'néárá* (HHHHH) 'further distance'

ege'kórómé (LLHHH) 'on a specific Saturday'

***poli'símánó* (LLHHH) 'the police'

***pili'sikápó* (LLHHH) 'eating utensils'

nápá'ripáde (HHHHL) '(I believe that) s/he has finished eating something.'

nápá'lipale (HHLLL) 'because we won't go'

As can be observed from the samples of monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and polysyllabic words, the pairs and triplets of words whose meanings must be distinguished by tone decreases with the increase in syllabic structure. Disyllables, monosyllables and trisyllables, in this order of frequency, rely on tone to establish meaning differences more than polysyllables.

There is an observable interaction between stress (primary) and tone. If the stressed syllable has a high or a low tone, this tone tends to assimilate to the adjacent syllable(s). This tendency seems to increase with the increase in the syllabic structure of words. For example, the chances of the high or low tone of the stressed polysyllabic word to assimilate to the adjacent syllables tend to be higher than disyllabic or trisyllabic words.

2.2.3 Geminate vowels and long vowels

In the present phonological analysis of Kewapi the ‘geminate vowels’⁶ found only in monosyllabic words (Franklin 1978:21, 27) are analysed as Low-High or High-Low contour tone patterns. Reconsider the tone patterns of monosyllabic words, given previously above in Table 2.5, represented as Table 2.8.

Table 2.8 Monosyllabic tone patterns

Low	High	Low High	High Low
<i>e</i> ‘yes’	<i>é</i> ‘what?’	<i>ě</i> ‘garden type’	<i>ê</i> ‘no’
<i>a</i> ‘stand’	<i>á</i> ‘man’		<i>â</i> ‘leg’
<i>le</i> ‘eye’	<i>lé</i> ‘thing’		
	<i>má</i> ‘taro’	<i>mǎ</i> ‘neck’	
<i>ya</i> ‘bird’		<i>yǎ</i> ‘sky’	

In the monosyllabic words above the vowels of the Low-High and High-Low tone patterns have been analysed previously by the Franklins (1978 and elsewhere) as geminate vowels. However, as the Franklins also state the geminate clusters occur

⁶ The Franklins (Franklin and Franklin 1978) distinguish geminate vowels and long vowels as follows:

1. “There are five geminate vowel clusters; however, four of these occur in monosyllabic words. The fifth geminate /*aa*/ has widespread occurrence in the language” (Franklin and Franklin 1978:21).
2. “A geminate cluster is one pulse (therefore complex nucleus) e.g. *toaá* ‘I will say’, *nuú* ‘string bag’. Geminate syllable have a smooth transition which contrast with two distinct pulses heard in *pa all* ‘just a man’ (Ibid p.25).
3. “Long vowels (except /*a*/) are restricted to monosyllabic rhythm units. Since they occur with diverse tones in this position, they are analysed as geminate vowel clusters” (Ibid p. 27).
4. In footnote 2 they state, “while the high-low tone pattern does not occur on geminate cluster monosyllables, it does occur on diverse cluster monosyllables” (Ibid p.26).

only in monosyllabic words. The tone patterns of the monosyllabic vowels are clearly the low-high and high-low contour patterns found in disyllabic and polysyllabic words in Kewapi.

The Franklins (1978:27) associate ‘long vowels’ with monosyllabic words too when they state, “Long vowels (except /a/) are restricted to monosyllabic rhythm units. Since they occur with diverse tones in this position, they are analysed as geminate vowel clusters.” In the present analysis it was observed that unstressed vowels bearing low tones appear to be longer than their stressed counterparts. This can be clearly observed in the recordings of monosyllabic minimal and triplet contrasts presented above. The vowel that is clearly a long vowel is /a:/, a long low central vowel. It occurs predominantly in derived verb bases and those verbs that select a Set II subject-tense suffix (see 4.2.1.1). When the long vowel is the verb base-final vowel it changes to become the diphthong /æ/ in its participial verb form (see Chapter 3 Appendix, for the morphophonemic account of this vowel). The long vowel contrasts with its short counterpart, /a/, as in *sa*: ‘leave it for someone’ contrasts with *sa* ‘we two’.

2.3 Phonemic and orthographic conventions

Franklin (1992 SIL data base at Ukarumpa) has devised an inventory of phonemic and orthographic conventions for Kewa as shown in Table 2.9.

Table 2.9 Phonemic and orthographic alphabet

Phonemes	a	ə	b	d	e	g	i	k
Small	aa	a	b	d	e	g	i	k
Capital	Aa	A	B	D	E	G	I	K
Phonemes	l	m	n	ñ	o	p	r	s
Small	l	m	n	ny	o	p	r	s
Capital	L	M	N	Ny	O	P	R	S
Phonemes	t	c	u	w	y			
Small	t	ty	u	w	y			
Capital	T	Ty	U	W	Y			

Phonemic symbols are used in Chapter 2 (where Kewapi phonology is presented) and Chapters 3 and 4 (where morphophonemic rules are given). In the rest of the thesis orthographic symbols are used to present language data.

Chapter Three

Morphosyntactic Features

3.0 Introduction

This chapter sketches the morphological character and morphosyntactic categories of Kewapi as an introduction for the following chapters which then develop some of the main themes discussed in the sections of this chapter. There are 4 sections: 3.1 summarises the basic clause structure presented in detail in Chapter 4, 3.2 deals with head-marking and dependent-marking morphosyntax, 3.3 outlines word classes or grammatical categories, and 3.4 distinguishes words, clitics and affixes.

3.1 Basic clause structure

The unmarked word order in Kewapi is SOV. The following clause types occur: SV, SOV, and SOOV (see 4.1.1 for the definitions of subject and object relations in Kewapi and for a classification of verbs see 4.3. These clause types are illustrated in the following subsections.

3.1.1 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses (SV) have verbs that have one argument that is either an actor or an undergoer. Such verbs express state, activity, event, or process (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997). Clause (3.1a) has an activity intransitive verb and (3.1b) has a stative intransitive verb.

(3.1a) *Ade naaki pa-sa.*
 the boy go-3SG.RPT
 'The boy went.'

(3.1b) *Naaki meda koma-lia.*
 boy a die-3SG.FUT

'A boy will die.'

In (3.1a) the actor is subject and in (3.1b) the undergoer is subject. The semantic difference between the actor and the undergoer is 'neutralised' (Foley and Van Valin 1984).

3.1.2 Monotransitive clauses

A monotransitive clause (SOV) has actor and undergoer arguments, as in (3.2a-b).

(3.2a) *Mena-me sapi ni-sa.*
 pig-ERG sweet potato eat-3SG.RPT
 'The¹ pig ate sweet potato.'

(3.2b) *[Ne-me pea-pe]-au makuaa-ripi.*
 [you-ERG do-IRR]-NOM know-2SG.NPT
 'You knew what to do.'

Clause (3.2a) has an activity transitive verb with 'agent'-as-subject (see 4.1.5 for a definition of 'agent' for nominals marked by the ergative marker) and patient-as-

¹ Kewapi offers a three-way distinction between a definite, an indefinite, and a zero article. For example, *ade mena* 'the pig', *mena meda* 'a pig' and *mena* 'pig' respectively. The zero-article marked nominal refers to a generic nominal which is non-specific but is an identifiable referent because the noun phrase requires the addressee to identify the semantic class designated by the lexical head. The nominal that is marked by the indefinite marker *-da*, e.g. *mena-da* 'a pig' is indefinite but specific. (Note that indefinite marker *-da* and the reason marker *-daa* have no relation in form or function). The nominal marked by *meda* is indefinite and non-specific. Finally the nominal marked by *-de* 'definite' is identifiable and is a specific referent. (See 3.3.3.4 for a full listing of Kewapi articles and 5.1.1.8 for a description of the modification functions of articles.) This study followed Lambrecht (1994:80-82) who draws a conceptual distinction between the formal distinctions in the grammatical category of definiteness and the 'cognitive' category of identifiability.

object arguments and (3.2b) has a stative transitive verb with experiencer-as-subject and a nominalised clause expressing irrealis mood as object argument.

3.1.3 Ditransitive clauses

A ditransitive clause (SOOV) has the semantic arguments actor, recipient and theme. The actor maps onto subject, and recipient and theme map onto object relations, as in (3.3).

- (3.3) *Né-mé Mapo kaana kala-wa.*
 I-ERG Mapo money give-1SG.NPT
 'I gave Mapo money.'

3.1.4 Benefactive and causative clauses

Other clauses with a subject and two object nominals are clauses that have either a benefactive verb or a causative of a ditransitive verb, as in the following examples.

- (3.4a) *Ne-me ni ada elaa-ripi.*
 you-ERG me house build for-2SG.NPT
 'You built me a house.'

- (3.4b) *Imu-mi Mapo-me naa eda ma-giaa-rimi.*
 they-ERG Mapo-INST us food CAUS-give-3PL.NPT
 'They got Mapo to give us food.'

As in (3.4a), benefactive verbs are derived from activity transitive verbs and such verbs have a beneficiary and theme nominals as object arguments. Clause (3.4b) has a causative of a ditransitive verb where there are three semantic arguments which map onto the grammatical relations subject and object as follows: agent is subject

and recipient and theme are object nominals (see 4.3.2 for a detailed discussion of transitive verb types).

3.1.5 Adjunct functions

A circumstantial adjunct function is expressed by an adverb, an adverbial phrase, or a postpositional phrase (see 5.1.3 for adverbial phrase types). Adjunct functions expressed by clauses are described in 7.3). Examples of adjunct functions follow.

- (3.5) *Imu ada-pora paawa puaa-me.*
 they house-LOC slowly go-3PL.NPT
 'They went slowly to the house.'

In (3.5) the adverbial function of location is expressed by the noun marked by the locative marker *-pora*. The manner of action is expressed by the adverb *paawa* 'slowly'. As in the examples (3.1-5), verbs are inflected for subject person-and-number agreement and tense. The verbal categories of subject person and number and tense are expressed by a portmanteau subject-tense suffix. It is possible in some cases to segment subject person-and-number suffix from tense suffix, e.g. *pa-li-ma* 'go-FUT-1PL = we will go'. In other cases subject person-and-number and tense are conflated, e.g. *pa-li* 'go-FUT.2SG = you will go'. Therefore it is convenient to treat subject person-and-number and tense as a portmanteau suffix called subject-tense, following Franklin (1971).

Declarative and immediate imperative mood clauses are not distinguished morphologically but are signalled indirectly by subject-tense and subject suffixes respectively, as in (3.6a-b) (see 4.2 for a discussion of independent mood clause types in Kewapi).

(3.6a) *Pa-lipi.*
 go-3DL.FUT
 'They dual will go.'

(3.6b) *Pu-lupa!*
 go-2DL
 'You dual go.'

Examples (3.6a-b) illustrate a declarative (3.6a), and an imperative mood (3.6b) clauses. In the imperative predicate the subject suffix *-lupa* (which occurs with intransitive verbs), marks both second person dual and plural, so the contrast in number is between singular and non-singular.

3.2 Head-marking and dependent-marking morphosyntax

Nichols (1986) distinguishes between head-marking and dependent-making languages according to whether they are head-marking or dependent-marking in their morphosyntax. Kewapi has both head-marking and dependent-marking morphosyntax. In a possessive noun phrase the possessor (dependent) is marked. In a transitive clause the subject nominal (dependent) is marked by an ergative marker and the verb (head) is marked by a subject agreement suffix. In sentences subordinate clauses (dependent) are marked by subordinating conjunctions (see 7.3).

3.2.1 Dependent-marking in possessive noun phrases

In a possessive noun phrase the possessor (dependent) is obligatorily marked by *-na* 'GEN' and the possessed (head) is unmarked, as in (3.7).

(3.7) *ne-na aapa* 'you-GEN father = your father'

The marking of the possessor (dependent) can be recursive resulting in multiples of possessors and the possessed objects, as in (3.8).

- (3.8) *ne-na* *aapa-na* *ame-na*
 you-GEN father-GEN brother-GEN
 si-na *were*
 son-GEN wife
 'your father's brother's son's wife'

3.2.2 Dependent-marking and head-marking in clauses

In a transitive clause the agent-subject nominal (dependent) is marked by *-me/mi*² 'ergative marker' and the verb (head) is also marked by a subject person-and-number suffix, as in (3.9).

- (3.9) *Imu-mi* *eda* *kiri-simi.*
 they-ERG food cook-3PL.RPT
 'They cooked food.'

In (3.9) the agent (dependent) is marked by the ergative marker *-mi* and the verb (head) is marked by the subject-tense portmanteau suffix *-simi*.

3.2.3 Dependent-marking and head-marking in sentences

In a subordinate sentence a subordinate (dependent) clause is marked by a subordinator to show its dependency relation with the superordinate clause (head), as in (3.10a-b).

² Note that *-mi* occurs when the preceding vowel is a high vowel (a case of vowel assimilation or harmony) and *-me* elsewhere.

(3.10a) *Pa-simi-daa, pa-si.*
 go-3PL.RPT-because, go-2SG.RPT
 'Because they went, you went.'

(3.10b) *Mena mu-la pu-e.*
 pig get-IRR go-2SG.NPT
 'You went to get the pig.'

In (3.10a) the subordinate clause, which is marked by *-daa* 'because', is the reason for the action of the main clause, and in (3.10b) the subordinate clause, which is marked by *-la* 'IRR', is the purpose for the action of the main clause.

3.3 Grammatical categories

The grammatical categories of Kewapi are nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, articles, adverbs, linkers, and interjections. In the following subsections these categories will be introduced. Adjectives, numerals, demonstratives and articles are grouped according to their syntactic category modifier.

3.3.1 Nouns

A prototypical noun in Kewapi has these distributional and structural properties: (1) it is head of a noun phrase; (2) it may refer to a participant in discourse; (3) it can function as a predicate in predicate nominal constructions; and, (4) it is case marked by the genitive *-na* 'GEN' and the ergative *-me* 'ERG'.

Nouns can be subgrouped as proper nouns and common nouns. Proper nouns are names of persons, places and things (e.g. names given to pearl shells or pigs). The article *ade* can premodify common nouns (3.11a), but it cannot modify a proper noun (3.11b).

(3.11a) *Ade nogo ipi-sa.*
 the girl come-3SG.RPT
 'The girl came.'

(3.11b) **Ade Mapo ipi-sa.*
 the Mapo come-3SG.RPT
 'The Mapo came.'

Common nouns can be further subgrouped as count or mass nouns. Mass nouns include *mu* 'sand', ***rasi* 'rice', *ipa* 'water', *rilipu* 'grass', etc. Count nouns may be marked by the plural suffix *-nu* (3.12a), but mass nouns cannot be pluralised (3.12b).

(3.12a) *sapi-nu* 'sweet potato-PL = sweet potatoes'

(3.12b) **ipa-nu* 'water-PL = waters'

3.3.1.1 Nominal categories

Categories for which nouns may be specified morphologically are: kinship, definiteness, diminution or augmentation, number and case. Kewapi does not specify gender as a nominal category. Even pronouns do not code gender, unlike some Papuan languages in the Trans New Guinea Group (Wurm 1982, Foley 1986, 2000). Only a noun that is a kinship term is specified for all of these nominal categories. The structure of such a noun is:

(3.13) STEM + (KIN) + (DEF) + (DIM or AUG) + (QR) + (CASE)

(3.13) shows both the order of the nominal categories: kinship (KIN), definiteness (DEF), diminutive (DIM) or augmentative (AUG), number (or quantifier (QR)) and case (CASE), and their obligatory or optional statuses. The augmentation function is marked an irrealis *-pe* 'IRR' status marker. The brackets indicate optionality. Consider example (3.14).

- (3.14) *ame-ya-de-si-lopo³-me*
 brother-KIN-DEF-DIM-DL-ERG
 'the two small brothers'

(3.14) is an example of a noun marked for all the possible categories specified in (3.13).

The co-occurrence conditions among the optional elements are the following.

(1) A kinship noun is obligatorily marked by the suffix *-ya* to express a kinship relation if dual number is specified, e.g. *ame-ya* 'brother-brother = two males in a brother-brother relation' (see 5.3.1 for a list of kinship terms). (2) The definite marker can optionally mark a kinship noun marked for a kinship relation, as in *ame-ya-de* 'the brothers'. It can mark the kinship term *ame* 'brother' in the absence of the suffix *-ya*, e.g. *ame-de* 'someone's (definite) brother'. 3. When the diminutive marker marks a definite kinship relational noun it must co-occur with the dual number marker because *ame-ya* means two brothers, as in *ame-ya-de-si-lopo* 'the two small brothers'. (4) The ergative marker is obligatory if the noun is to function as a subject argument of a transitive verb. Without it the noun would function either as an object argument or a subject argument of an intransitive verb, but not as an oblique argument. An oblique argument is marked for such a function by a postposition or an oblique case marker (see 4.1.2.2 and 5.1.3). Note that if the diminutive category was not specified, the ergative marker would follow the definite marker.

For a non-kinship noun the categories definiteness, diminutive or augmentative, quantifier and case are all optional, but if they are all specified they

³ In Kewapi the enclitic *-lopo* marks 'dual number, i.e. both, two of them' and *laapo* is a free form which means 'two'.

must occur in the following orders. The structures below are all possible for a common noun.

- (3.15a) STEM + (DEF) + (DIM or AUG) + (QR) + (CASE)
- (3.15b) STEM + (DEF) + (DIM or AUG) + (QR)
- (3.15c) STEM + (DEF) + (DIM or AUG)
- (3.15d) STEM + (DEF)
- (3.15e) STEM + (DEF) + (DIM or AUG) + (CASE)
- (3.15f) STEM + (DEF) + (CASE)
- (3.15g) STEM + (CASE)

The noun that is marked by the ergative marker includes a volitional actor. Object or subject nominals of intransitive verbs may be marked for the categories in (3.15b), (3.15c), and (3.15d).

An oblique nominal is marked for an adjunct function, as in (3.16).

- (3.16) ****Buku-de-pe-nu** ****tepolo madaa** *sa-me.*
 book-DEF-IRR-PL table on put-3PL.RPT
 'They put the huge books on the table.'

The object argument *buku* is specified for the categories definiteness, augmentation, and number. Each category is optional. The oblique nominal *tepolo* is marked by the postposition *madaa* for its location adjunct function.

The object nominal in (3.16) is marked by the indefinite marker *-da* in (3.17).

- (3.17) ****Buku-pe-nu-da** ****tepolo madaa**
 book-IRR-PL-INDF table on
 sa-me.
 put-3PL.RPT

Demonstratives are used mainly as modifiers of nominals. Thus they are discussed under their syntactic category as modifiers.

3.3.1.2.1 Personal pronouns

Free personal pronouns are presented in Table 3.1. In this system person and number are distinguished, but gender is not specified.

Table 3.1 Free personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>ní</i>	<i>sáá</i>	<i>naa</i>
2	<i>ne</i>	<i>ípi</i>	<i>ími</i>
3	<i>ipú</i>	<i>ipú</i>	<i>ímu</i>

Kewapi has a nine-member free pronoun system⁴. First, second and third person have singular, dual and plural pronouns. Dual and plural of second and third person means more of second and third person. The first person dual and plural are used both inclusively and exclusively, i.e. these pronouns either include or exclude the second person in the speech setting, as the following examples demonstrate.

- (3.19a) *Saa-me mena laapo tya-pa.*
 we dual-ERG pig two hit-1DL.NPT
 'We dual (incl.) slaughtered two pigs.'

- (3.19b) *Mapo saa-me mena laapo tya-pa.*

⁴ Kewapi third person singular and dual free pronouns are distinguished by contrastive tones, so that there is a nine-member free pronoun system. West Kewa has *ní* '1SG', *sáá* '1DL', *niáá* '1PL', *ne* '2SG', *nipi* '2DL', *nimi* '2PL', *nipú* '3SG/2DL', and *nimu* '3PL' (Franklin 1971:34). Later Franklin (1997:193) amends West Kewa free pronouns as: *ní* '1SG', *sáá* '1DL', *niáá* '1PL', *ne* '2SG', *nipi* '2DL', *ími* '2PL', *ipu* '3SG', *ímu* '3DL', and *ímu* '3PL'. West Kewa uses *ímu* for both 3DL and 3PL.

Mapo we dual-ERG pig two hit-1DL.NPT
 'Mapo and I (we dual excl.) slaughtered two pigs.'

(3.19c) *Mapo Rika ni naa yana-me*
 Mapo Rika me we plural dog-ERG
ni-sa.
 eat-3SG.RPT

'Mapo, Rika and I (we plural excl.) were bitten by a dog.'

In (3.19a) the first person dual pronoun *saa* 'we dual' is used inclusively and contrasts with (3.19b) where it is used exclusively. As in (3.19b-c), an exclusive use is signalled by the presence of third person referent(s), which precede the first person dual or plural pronoun.

Free pronouns function as subject (3.19a-b), object (3.19c), possessor or oblique nominals. Note that in (3.19c) a passive translation is given only to highlight the fronting of object NPs for topic status (see 4.1.4). Kewapi does not have a passive voice.

3.3.1.2.2 Interrogative pronouns

Table 3.2 presents interrogative forms with their meanings.

Table 3.2 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative	Translation	Meaning
<i>áápi</i>	who	human subject/object NP
<i>áápipora</i>	to whom	human obliqueNP
<i>áápinane</i>	through whom	human oblique NP
<i>áápińya</i>	whose	human possessor

<i>ááina</i>	which one's	nonhuman possessor
<i>áli</i> or <i>áké</i>	what	inanimate object NP
<i>aapora</i>	where	location
<i>apedaa</i>	why	reason
<i>apumaa</i>	how	manner
<i>aarobo</i>	when	time
<i>áái</i>	which one	generic referent

It is transparent that the interrogative pronouns are morphologically complex morphemes. The following are possible morphological analyses of these complex interrogative forms:

áápi 'who' (*aa* 'one' + *pi* 'do')

áápi-pora 'to whom' (*aa* 'one' + *pi* 'do' + *pora* 'location marker')

áápinane 'through whom' (*aa* 'one' + *pi* 'do' + *nane* 'direction marker')

áápi-nya 'whose' (*aa* 'one' + *pi* 'do' + *nya* 'possessor marker')

áli-pora 'what' (*ali* 'what' + *pora* 'location marker')

apedaa 'why' (*a* 'one' + *pe* 'do' + *daa* 'reason marker')

apumaa 'how' (*a* 'one' + *pu* 'do' + *maa* 'cause/sequence marker')

aarobo 'when' (*aa* 'one' + *róbo* 'when')

áái 'which one' (*a* 'one' + *ai* 'NOM')

In an interrogative construction with a question word (or an interrogative pronoun) the question word occurs immediately before the verb as in the following examples.

- (3.20a) *Ne áápi-mí tya-a?*
 you who-ERG hit-3SG.NPT
 'Who hit you?'

- (3.20b) *Ni Mapo-me tya-a.*
 I Mapo-ERG hit-3SG.NPT
 'Mapo hit me.'

In (3.20a) the information sought is the agent who hit the second person so the question word *áápi* 'who' occurs before the verb in the focus position. In the answer in (3.20b) the agent noun follows the topicalised object noun.

A question-word question is signalled by the presence of a question word and a rising (question) intonation, as in (3.20a) above, or by the presence of a question word and the question marker *-yaa*, as in (3.21a).

- (3.21a) *Né-mé áápi tya-wa-yaa?*
 I-ERG who hit-1SG.NPT-Q
 'Who did I hit?'

- (3.21b) *Ne-me naaki tya-e.*
 you-ERG boy hit-2SG.NPT
 'You hit a boy.'

3.3.2 Verbs

Verbs in Kewapi are forms that (1) take verbal categories and (2) encode actions and states. Examples (3.22a-d) illustrate.

In (3.22a) the predicate has a simple verb that is the head of the clause (in the sense of Nichols 1986). The verb is transitive and is specified for the verbal categories tense (near past), aspect (perfective), mood (declarative) and polarity (positive).

- (3.22a) *Imu-mi maapu mi-simi.*
 They-ERG garden get-3PL.RPT
 'They made a garden.'

In (3.22b) there is a complex verbal unit consisting of *puaa* and *mea* verbs occurring in a series (serial verbs) which share only the subject argument, tense and mood. The transitive verb *mea* 'get' takes the object nominal *mena* 'pig' (see 4.4.1 for a detailed characterisation of serial verbs).

- (3.22b) *Ipu mena puaa mea-a.*
 he pig go get-3SG.NPT
 'He went and got a pig.'

In (3.22c) the compound verb *rere-pea* 'crack-do' consists of *rere* (which is neither an adjunct nor a verb but may historically relate to *rele* 'split') and *pea* 'do'. The meaning of a compound verb is normally not the sum of the meanings of the verbs that form the compound, as in 3.22c (see 3.3.2.2.5 where compound verbs are distinguished from serial verbs).

- (3.22c) *Né-mé **botolo rere-pe-wa.*
 I-ERG bottle split-do-1SG.NPT
 'I cracked a bottle.'

As in (3.22d), verb bases (and also medial verbs) are reduplicated to emphasise the continuous event, especially in narratives. The verb *pisa* 'sit' functions as an auxiliary verb (see 6.2 for a description of auxiliary verb phrases).

- (3.22d) *Ipu pu pu pu piri-sa.*

he go go go sit-3SG.RPT

'He continued to go.' (lit.: He went, went, and went.)

In the following subsections verbal aspects introduced are: verbal categories in 3.3.2.1, verb forms in 3.3.2.2, realis and irrealis verbs in 3.3.2.3, and in 3.3.2.4 verbal adjuncts.

3.3.2.1 Verbal categories

Categories for which verbs may be specified include: direction, aspect, tense, subject and polarity, which are manifested morphologically. The structure of a verb varies according to its position in the clause or sentence. In an independent tensed clause a verb can be marked for the categories: negation (NEG), causation (CAUS), direction (DIR), aspect (ASP), subject-tense (SUB-TNS), evidence (EVD) and illocutionary force (ILL). They occur in the following order.

(3.23) NEG-CAUS-ROOT-DIR-ASP-SUB.TNS-EVD-ILL

(3.24) is a hypothetical construction showing the presence of all the verbal categories specified in (3.23). In discourse it is rather rare for all these categories to be selected by the speaker.

(3.24) *Ipu-mi ali-nu-mi ada*
 he-ERG man-PL-INST house
na-ma-elo-sa-pa-sa-yaa-de.

NEG-CAUS-build-UP-COMPL-3SG.RPT-NSN-DEF

'(I believe I heard that) He didn't get the men to complete building the house upwards.'

The subject-tense suffix is obligatory⁵ whereas the other categories are optional. Each of the optional categories is freely omitted, so one category is not dependent on another. (See 6.1 for a full description of verbal morphology of independent clauses).

A maximally marked finite subordinate verb has the structure in (3.25).

(3.25) NEG-CAUS-ROOT-DIR-ASP-SUB.TNS-EVD-CONJ

In (3.26) all the verbal categories specified in (3.26) are present.

(3.26) *Ipu-mi ali-nu-mi ada*
 he-ERG man-PL-INST house
na-ma-ela-sa-pa-sa-yaa-daa,
 NEG-CAUS-build-UP-COMPL-3SG.RPT-NSN-because,
kaana na-saa-lua.
 money NEG-put-1SG.FUT
 '(I heard that) Because he didn't get the men to complete building
 the house upwards, I will not put money for him.'

In (3.26) the subject-tense suffix and the subordinating conjunction are obligatory, whereas negation, causation, direction, aspect, and evidence are optional.

In a nominalised reason clause the verb has the structure in (3.27). The subject-tense suffix and the reason marker are obligatory, while the other categories are optional.

(3.27) NEG-CAUS-ROOT-DIR-ASP-SUB.TNS-EVD-DEF-GEN

In (3.28) all the verbal categories specified in (3.27) are present.

(3.28) *Ipu-mi ali-nu-mi ada*

⁵ Note that there are constructions without subject-tense agreement suffixes (see 4.4.4).

he-ERG man-PL-INST house
na-ma-ela-sa-pa-sa-yaa-de-ai-na,
 NEG-CAUS-build-UP-COMPL-3SG.RPT-NSN-DEF-GEN,
kaana na-saa-lua.
 money NEG-put-1SG.FUT
 '(I believe I heard that) For the reason that he didn't get the men to
 complete building the house upward, I will not put money for him.'

See 7.3.1.2 for a categorisation of reason subordinate construction types in Kewapi.

In a coordinate dependent clause without subject agreement marking, the verb has the structure in (3.29).

(3.29) NEG-CAUS-ROOT-DIR-ASP-SEQ.SS

The coreferential relation between the subject of the dependent or non-final clause and the subject of the final clause is obligatorily marked by a same subject (SS) suffix, as in (3.30).

(3.30) *Ipu-mi ali-nu-mi ada*
 he-ERG man-PL-INST house
na-ma-ela-sa-pa-maa pua-a
 NEG-CAUS-build-UP-COMPL-SEQ.SS go-3SG.NPT
 'He didn't get the men to complete building the house
 upwards and went.'

In a coordinate dependent clause with subject agreement marking, the verb has the structure shown in (3.31). The switch-reference suffix and the temporal suffix are obligatory.

(3.31) NEG-CAUS-ROOT-DIR-ASP-SUB.DS-SEQ

In (3.32) all the verbal categories specified in (3.31) are present.

- (3.32) *Ipu-mi ali-nu-mi ada*
 he-ERG man-PL-INST house
na-ma-ela-sa-pa-nya-lomaa pa-sa
 NEG-CAUS-build-UP-COMPL-3SG.DS-SEQ go-3SG.RPT
 'Hej didn't get the men to complete building the house
 upwards and hej went.'

In (3.32) the subject suffix *-nya* of the medial clause functions as a switch-reference marker when it occurs in a coordinate dependent clause that is temporally linked to a final clause (see 8.2.2.2 for a description of switch-reference constructions).

3.3.2.2 Verb forms

Verbs have the following variant forms: basic, participial (see 7.2.3 for their use in relative clauses), medial or non-final (see 8.2 for their use in coordinate sentences) and serial (see 4.4.1). Table 3.3 presents samples of verb forms.

Table 3.3 Verb forms

Basic stem	Participial verb form	Medial/Serial verb form
<i>pu</i> 'go'	<i>pe</i>	<i>pu</i>
<i>meə</i> 'take/get'	<i>mi</i>	<i>mu</i>
<i>na</i> 'eat'	<i>ne</i>	<i>no</i>
<i>ədə</i> 'see'	<i>ade</i>	<i>ado</i>
<i>cə</i> 'hit'	<i>li</i>	<i>lu</i>

Kewapi verb bases may be grouped into seven groups to account for their participial forms or six groups to account for their medial/serial forms. The verb bases in each group undergo the same morphophonemic changes to form the

participial and medial/serial forms (see Chapter 3 Appendix for morphophonemic rules which account for these verb forms).

3.3.2.2.1 Verb bases

Verb bases are those that occur as verb roots. Kewapi verb bases end in the vowels /ə/, /a/, /a:/, /i/ or /u/, but not with /e/ or /o/. The majority of verb roots have /ə/ as the final vowel of the verb base. A verb root form is clearly seen in the context of either 1SG or 2SG.PRG tense. For verbs that take inanimate (undergoer) subjects, their basic root forms are those in the 3SG.PRG form. The choice for the progressive tense in 1/2/3 SG for both active and stative verb enables the event described by the verb to be viewed as an on-going process, even for stative verbs, as in (3.33a-c).

- (3.33a) *Ni pu-lu.*
 I go-1SG.PRG
 ‘I am going.’
- (3.33b) *Agaale maraa-to.*
 talk forget-1SG.PRG
 ‘I am forgetting the message/talk.’
- (3.33c) *Kaai opa-la.*
 banana grow-3SG.PRG
 ‘The banana is growing.’

In (3.33a-c) the verb roots are respectively *pu* ‘go’, *maraa* ‘forget’ and *opa* ‘grow’.

3.3.2.2.2 Participial verbs

Participial verbs do not inflect for subject-tense or other verbal categories except for negation and occur as realis verbs. Semantically participial forms express the process or state denoted by the verb as having being realised, as in (3.34a-b). A participial verb occurs in a clause with a relative clause, as in (3.34a), and in a noun phrase where the head noun is premodified by a relative clause, as in (3.34b).

- (3.34a) *Naaki-mi nogo [pake mi] kaana*
 boy-ERG girl [steal get:PT] money
kali-sa.
 give-3SG.RPT
 ‘The boy gave the girl money which had been stolen.’

- (3.34b) *[Soko na-ne] ali* ‘[smoke NEG-eat:PT] man = a man who did
 not smoke = a non-smoker’

3.3.2.2.3 Medial verbs

Medial or non-final verbs occur predominantly in clauses that occur sentence-medially and are normally followed by sentence-final clauses, as in (3.35a-b).

- (3.35a) *Ipu mena mu-la pa-sa.*
 he pig get-IRR go-3SG.RPT
 ‘He went to get a pig.’

- (3.35b) *Ipu mena mu-maa pa-sa.*
 he pig get-SEQ.SS go-3SG.RPT
 ‘He got a pig and went.’

In (3.35a) the medial verb *mu* ‘get’ is marked by an irrealis marker *-la* ‘IRR’ and the semantic function of the medial clause is to express purpose and the action of the final verb that is inflected for subject-tense is done in order to realise the purpose (see 7.3.2.1 for a further presentation of purpose clauses. In (3.35b) the medial verb *mu* ‘get’ is suffixed by a temporal and same subject (SS) marker *-maa* ‘SEQ.SS’ (see 8.2 which describes the use of medial verbs in coordinate constructions).

3.3.2.2.4 Serial verbs

Serial verb forms are the same as medial verb forms but functionally they are dissimilar, i.e. they occur in different syntactic contexts. The verbs in a series form a complex verbal unit so that adverbs or linkers do not separate them. The final verb in the series is inflected for subject-tense in sentence-final predicates and the negation prefix *na-* has scope over all the verbs in the series, as in (3.36a-b).

- (3.36a) *Ipu-me* *mena na-puaa* *koyo*
 he-ERG pig NEG-go untie
madi ipi-sa.
 carry come-3SG.RPT
 ‘He didn’t go and untie a pig and carry it and come.’

- (3.36b) *Ipu-me* *mena na-puaa* *koyo-maa*
 he-ERG pig NEG-go untie-SEQ.SS
na-madi ipi-sa.
 NEG-carry come-3SG.RPT
 ‘He didn’t go and untie a pig and didn’t carry it and come.’

In (3.36a) the four verbs *puaa* ‘go’, *koyo* ‘untie’, *madi* ‘carry’ and *ipi* ‘come’ occur in a series and the negative prefix that marks the first verb in the series *na-puaa* ‘NEG-go’ has scope over all the verbs forming the complex verbal unit. The actions of the

verbs are realised sequentially by the same subject nominal. (3.36b) contains the same verbs in the series but divided into two clauses. The first clause is medial *Ipu-me mena na-puaa koyo-maa* ‘he didn’t go and untie a pig and..’ and the final clause is *na-madi ipi-sa*. ‘didn’t carry (it) and come.’ That they are two clauses is signalled by the sequential and same subject (SS) suffix *-maa* and the negation *na-* prefix. The negation prefix is a clausal or sentence-level negator so it negates both clauses in (3.36b) but can only negate either clause.

3.3.2.2.5 Compound verbs

Compound verbs appear to be formerly serial verbs that are now fully integrated into a single unit prosodically, formally and semantically. The following are the main differences between compound and serial verbs: (1) the morphophonemic shape of compound verb forms are distinct from serial verb form counterparts; (2) the meaning of the compound verb is different from the individual meanings of the verbs in the compound whereas a verb in a series generally retains its lexical meaning if it is not in auxiliary function; (3) a compound verb consists of no more than two verbs whereas in a serial verb complex up to four verbs can occur; and, (4) compound verbs have serial verb forms but the converse is not true.

Table 3.4 Compound versus serial verbs

Compound verbs	Serial verbs
<i>la-kala</i> ‘say-give = tell’	* <i>lo kala</i> ‘say and give’ [<i>lakalo</i>]
<i>la-gi</i> ‘say-give me = tell me’	* <i>lo gi</i> ‘say and give me’ [<i>lagu</i>]
<i>ada-mea</i> ‘see-get = meet or befriend’	* <i>ado mea</i> ‘see and get’ [<i>adamu</i>]
<i>ada-sa</i> ‘see-put = find’	* <i>ado sa</i> ‘see and put’ [<i>adasu</i>]
<i>ada-saa</i> ‘see-put = look up’	* <i>ado saa</i> ‘see and put’ [<i>adasao</i>]
<i>rere-pea</i> ‘split-do = crack’	* <i>rere pea</i> ‘split and do’ [<i>rerepe</i>]
<i>ada-pea</i> ‘see-do = wear’	* <i>ado pu</i> ‘see and do’ [<i>adapu</i>]

<i>yolo-nea</i> ‘pull-get = pull towards speaker’	<i>*yolo nea</i> ‘pull and get’ [<i>yolone</i>]
<i>yaru-tya</i> ‘stand-hit = copulate’, etc.	<i>*yaru tya</i> ‘stand and hit’ [<i>yarulu</i>]

Table 3.4 contrasts compound and serial verbs. The asterisks in the serial verb column show that compound verb meanings do not mean the same in serial verbs and that the forms in the square brackets in the serial column show the correct serial verb equivalents of the compound verbs. Below are contrastive constructions with a compound verb and a serial complex.

(3.37a) *Ipu-mi* *kaana* *ada-saa-ripa.*
 he-ERG money see-put-3SG.RPT
 ‘He found money.’

(3.37b) *Ipu-na* *kaana* *su* *piri-sa.*
 he-GEN money put sit.DUR-3SG.RPT
 ‘He was putting away (saving) his money.’

(3.37a) has a compound verb *ada-saa* ‘see-put = find’ and (3.37b) has a verbal complex with the verbs *su* ‘put’, which is a serial verb form of the verb *sa* ‘put’, and *piri* ‘sit’ occurring in a series. The final verb *piri* ‘sit’ is in auxiliary function expressing durative aspectual meaning and this tends to be the case when this verb occurs clause-finally in a serial construction (see 4.4.1 for a categorisation of verb serialisation patterns).

3.3.2.3 Status (realis and irrealis)

Foley defines status as “the actuality of the event, whether it has been realised or not” (Foley 1986:158). Few Kewapi realis verbs code the notion of past event in their verb form, i.e. these verbs are not inflected by subject-tense suffixes. Irrealis

pu tya 'do hit = to spoil someone's plan by doing something'

su tya 'soil hit = to allow a sweet potato space to grow big by removing others that are competing with it'

raa 'emit':

naare ra-la 'sun emit-it.PRG = The sun is shining'

eke ra-la 'moon emit-it.PRG = The moon is shining'

pu raa 'urine emit = to urinate'

i: raa 'excrement emit = to defecate'

kaima ra-la 'pus emit-it.PRG = to be emitting pus'

sa 'put':

mole sa-la 'mist put-it.SPR = it's misty'

kone sa 'thought put = to think'

maapu sa 'garden put = to make a garden'

patya 'sleep':

puri pale-a 'strength sleep-it.SPR = it's strong'

u: patya 'sleep (noun) sleep (verb) = to sleep'

kaana palea 'stone sleep = be stony (of underground)'

ipu 'come':

yai ipu-la 'rain come-it.PRG = it's raining'

yaapi ipu-la 'blood come-it.PRG = it's bleeding'

re ipu-la 'tears come-it.PRG = tears are coming= I feel like crying'

kaima ipula 'pus come-it.PRG = pus is coming'

mea 'take/get':

rumu mi-ta 'knee take-it.SPR = to be affected by a knee problem'

le mi-ta 'eye take-it.SPR = to be affected by eye problem'

pake mea 'steal take = steal'

pisa 'sit':

waiba pi-a 'snake sit-it.SPR = there are snakes'

winya pi-a 'woman sit = there are woman, or he has a wife'

status of verbs are morphologically signalled by the enclitics *-pe*⁶, which occurs in imperative and embedded contexts (see respectively 4.2.2 and 7.2.3); *-la*, which occurs in purpose subordinate clauses (see 7.3.2.1); and, *-lo*, which occurs in hypothetical and counterfactual conditional constructions (see 7.3.1.3.2-3). Consider the following constructions showing realis and irrealis statuses of verbs.

(3.38a) *[Ali pe] winya* ‘[man go:PT] woman = a woman who
has gone to a man = a married woman’

(3.38b) *Mena ege-ai ya-de.*
pig small-NOM be.REALIS-DEF
‘(I believe that) The pig was a small one.’

The verb forms *pe* ‘go:PT’ (participial) in (3.38a) and *ya* ‘be’ are realis verbs. The events they code are deemed to be real, and contrast with the following unreal events, i.e. those events which are yet to be realised or are unlikely to be realised.

(3.39a) *Wena kata pa-si*
fish give.IRR go-2SG.RPT
‘You went to give the fish.’

(3.39b) *Wena ado-la pa-si.*
fish see-IRR go-2SG.RPT
‘You went to see the fish.’

⁶ The irrealis marker *-pe* occurs in the followings contexts: (1) In imperative verbs, e.g. *na-pe* ‘eat-IRR = eat later’. (2) In NPs, e.g. *mena-pe* ‘pig-IRR = like a pig or an unbelievably huge pig, i.e. an augmented referent’. (3) In a relative clause, e.g. *pisa-pe le* ‘sit-IRR thing = something that can be sat on.’ (4) In a declarative clause, e.g. *la-lo-pe* ‘say-1SG.PRG-IRR’ = I am saying ..’, where it marks an emphatic assertion (see 6.1.9.1.3).

(3.39c) *Wena na-pe!*
 fish eat-IRR
 ‘(you) eat the fish later.’

(3.39d) *Ne wena ya-lo-re ipa-pora*
 you fish be-IRR-TOP water-LOC
pita pi-si.
 stay.IRR do-2SG.RPT
 ‘If you were a fish, you would have lived in the water.’

In (3.39a) the verb *kata* ‘give’ functions as an irrealis verb form expressing a yet-to-be-realised event. In (3.39b) the verb *ado-la* ‘see-IRR’ is marked as an irrealis verb expressing a yet-to-be-realised event. In (3.39c) the verb *na-pe* ‘eat-IRR’ is marked as an irrealis verb, i.e. its action is yet to be realised. In (3.39d) the verb *ya-lo* ‘be-IRR’ is marked as an irrealis verb whose event is not possible ‘if you were a fish’ and the verb *pita* ‘sit/stay’ is an irrealis verb whose state is also not possible ‘you would have lived in the water’. Note that the verbs *kata* ‘give’ in (3.39a) and *pita* ‘stay’ in (3.39d) occur in a series but the actions of the final verbs are realised ahead of the actions of the initial verbs. In these contexts where the iconic sequence of the verbs are violated the verbs function as irrealis verbs. Note also that both verbs have the morpheme *-ta* as the word-final syllable. This morpheme appears to function as an irrealis status marker. It is comparable to *-la* ‘IRR’, which is required by most other verbs in the same context to express irrealis status, as in (3.39b).

3.3.2.4 Verbal adjuncts

Kewapi, unlike some Papuan languages which have either serial verbs or verbal adjuncts (Foley 1986), has both serial verb and verbal adjunct constructions. A verbal adjunct construction uses a combination of a nominal adjunct and a verb as a predicate to describe actions, processes and states. The nominal is called an adjunct

because it is not an argument of the verb that it is associated with. (Verb-plus-verb adjuncts, e.g. *pake mi* 'steal get:PT = something that has been stolen', etc. have the capacity to take their own objects.) Verbs commonly used as generic verbs are: *pea* 'do', *tya* 'hit', *la* 'say', *sa* 'put', *raa* 'emit', *patya* 'sleep', *ipu* 'come', *mea* 'take' and *pisa* 'sit'. The following are some examples.

pea 'do':

pala pi-a 'fear do-it.SPR = be afraid'

kogo pi-a 'cold do-it.SPR = be cold'

kodo pi-a 'sorry do-it.SPR = be sorry'

yapi pi 'blood do = be bloody'

upaa pea 'dream do = to dream'

naga pea 'stone file do = to sharpen (of axe with stone file)

yainya pea 'healing ritual do = to perform a healing ritual'

pomo pi-a 'breathe do-it.SPR = be exhausted by walking or doing something or an asthmatic condition'

la 'say':

po ta 'wind say = be windy' = it's windy'

beta la 'burp say = to burp'

waipi la 'public speech say = to give a public speech'

agaale la 'talk say = to speak'

kunanaa la 'song say = to sing'

remaa la 'story say = to tell a story'

kaage la 'legend say = to tell a legend'

tya 'hit':

kaalu tya 'head hit = to have a headache'

kaari tya 'mountain hit = to be thundering'

si tya 'son hit = to be budding (of plants)'

gira tya 'sneeze hit = to sneeze'

yaru tya 'stand hit = to have sexual intercourse'

ipa pi-a 'water sit-it.SPR = there's water'

Franklin (1981) describes the use of the lexical verbs *pisa* 'sit', *aa* 'stand' and *sa* 'put' in their copula *be* (stative) use, i.e. *pia* 'be it', *aya* 'be it' and *wia* 'be it' as existential verbs. Chapter 4 section 4.4.2 will describe *be* predicate types.

3.3.3 Modifiers

Grammatical categories expressing modification functions are descriptive adjectives, number, demonstratives, and articles. Each of these categories is systematised in the following subsections.

3.3.3.1 Adjectives

There is a morphologically distinct class of adjectives in Kewapi that function as modifiers in noun phrases (see 5.1.1 for a description of modifiers of noun phrases). For example, properties of verbs in Kewapi include (1) ability to take verbal categories and (2) ability to encode actions and states. Properties of nouns include (1) ability to take a plural marking and (2) ability to head noun phrases that take articles, modifiers and quantifiers (which occur as postmodifiers). Adjectives in Kewapi have none of these properties. They must first be nominalised to take on the properties of nouns but cannot be marked by verbal categories. The genitive *-na*, which marks the possessor noun (as in (3.40a), cannot mark an adjective (as in (3.40b)) but a nominalised adjectival noun (as in (3.40c)).

(3.40a) *mena-na kope* 'pig-GEN rope = pig's rope'

(3.40b) **adaa-na* 'big-GEN'

(3.40c) *ada-ai-na kope* 'big-NOM-GEN rope = the big one's rope.'

Another example is with the irrealis marker *-pe*, which can mark either a noun or a verb, but not an adjective unless the marked adjective is taken to function as noun.

- (3.41a) *ali-pe* ‘man-IRR = someone like a man’
 (3.41b) *na-pe!* ‘eat-IRR = eat later’
 (3.41c) **ege-pe* ‘small-IRR’
 (3.41d) *pobere-pe* ‘black-IRR’ = (a) huge black (one)

In (3.41a) the irrealis marker codes two possible senses concerning the noun *ali* ‘man’: (1) the person is not a real man, but someone who is virtually a man, or (2) if he is a real man, he is not real (from the speaker’s viewpoint) because he is unusually big, i.e. an augmented noun. In (3.41b) the irrealis marker signals a yet-to-be-realised event, i.e. an unreal event. As (3.41c) shows, the irrealis marker does not mark an adjective, and if it does mark one, as in (3.41d), then that adjective is taken to function as a noun in very restricted contexts like a situation where the speaker is viewing some coloured objects like pigs in a field of pigs.

Dixon (1977:31) characterises adjectives as falling into seven semantic types: Dimension, Physical property, Colour, Human propensity, Age, Value and Speed. In languages with a closed class of adjectives, the adjectives fall into four types: Dimension, Colour, Age and Value. Kewapi adjectives⁷ appear to fall into this category as the monomorphemic adjectives in Table 3.5 show.

⁷ The Edolo language of the Bosavi family in the Southern Highlands is somewhat like Kewapi. It has both monomorphemic adjectives of the same semantic categories as Kewapi and also predicate adjectives (see Gossner 1994:59-63).

Table 3.5 Monomorphemic adjectives

Dimension:	Age:
<i>adaa</i> 'big/large'	<i>goe</i> 'old people'
<i>oge</i> 'small/little'	<i>kebo</i> 'old female animals'
<i>adalu</i> 'long'	<i>go</i> 'old house'
<i>rudu</i> 'short'	<i>mapuaa</i> 'young adults'
Colour:	<i>piri</i> 'old bag/garment'
<i>pobere</i> 'black/dark'	<i>kaga</i> 'fresh/raw/new garment, house'
<i>kaake</i> 'white'	<i>pore</i> 'ripe banana, pandanus'
<i>kutu</i> 'grey'	Value:
<i>kade</i> 'brown'	<i>epe</i> 'good/nice/kind'
<i>abu</i> 'yellow clay'	<i>koe</i> 'bad/unkind'

Age adjectives tend to collocate with certain nouns as shown in Table 3.5. The colour term *abu* 'yellow' has a specific object referent, a yellowish clay type. Other objects with that colour are described as *abu pi* 'yellow do/be = yellow/ish'. A few other Colours, Physical property, Human propensity and Speed are expressed by predicate adjectives, as shown in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Predicate adjectives

Physical property:	Speed:
<i>keda pi</i> 'heavy do/be = heavy'	<i>wage-pu pe</i> 'swing-do go = fast'
<i>kogo pi</i> 'cold do/be = cold'	<i>pawa pe</i> 'slow go = slow'
<i>rabale pi</i> 'soft do/be = soft/weak'	Human propensity:
<i>yapa pi</i> 'light do/be = light/not heavy'	<i>loko kome</i> 'anger die/be = angry/jealous'
<i>koto pi</i> 'dirt do/be = dirty'	<i>rana kome</i> 'happy die/be = happy'

<i>pugu pi</i> 'smell do/be = smelly'	<i>kone wi</i> 'thought put/be = clever/wise'
<i>puri pale</i> 'strength sleep/be = strong'	<i>pedo pi</i> 'pride do = proud/boastful'
Colour:	<i>wasu ne</i> 'look for eat = poor'
<i>kutu pi</i> 'grey do/be = grey/ish'	<i>katyabo le</i> 'rough say/be = aggressive'
<i>abu pi</i> 'like yellow clay = yellow/ish'	
<i>kaga reke le</i> 'raw stand up say/be = green/ish'	
<i>yaapi pi</i> 'blood do/be = red'	

The range of adjectival meanings that can be expressed for Physical property and Human propensity is more compared to Colour and Speed. In general predicate adjectives are potentially more than those semantic categories expressed by monolexemic words. The attributive functions of descriptive modifiers will be described in detail in Chapter 5. Colour, dimension and value adjectives premodify the noun head, whereas age adjectives are postmodifiers, as in (3.42a-b).

(3.42a) *Epe adaa pobere yana komi-sa.*
 good big black dog die-3SG.RPT
 'A good, big, black dog died.'

(3.42b) *Nogo mapuaa-me nu piri*
 girl young-ERG string bag old
kiti-a.
 burn-3SG.FUT
 'The young girl will burn an old string bag.'

Participial verb forms that are used as copula include *pi* 'do:PT', *wi* 'put:PT', *pe* 'go:PT', *le* 'say:PT', etc. These are verbs that generally function as generic or light

verbs. Predicate adjectives function as relative clauses premodifying head nouns, as in (3.43a-f).

- (3.43a) *abu pi **kaare*
 yellow do:PT car
 ‘car that is yellow = a yellow car’
- (3.43b) *keda pi mena*
 heavy do:PT pig
 ‘pig that is heavy = a heavy pig’
- (3.43c) *mogalu pi ada*
 round do:PT house
 ‘house that is round = a round house’
- (3.43d) *kone wi ali*
 thought put:PT man
 ‘man that puts thought = a clever man’
- (3.43e) *wage pu pe **kaare*
 swing do/be go:PT car
 ‘car (that) goes like the swing (of a hand) = a fast car’
- (3.43f) *kaga-reke le maminya*
 raw-stand up say:PT cloth
 ‘clothe that is green = a green clothe’

Predicate adjectives can be nominalised by *-ai* ‘NOM’, e.g. *mogalu pi-ai* ‘round do-NOM = one that is round’, etc.

3.3.3.2 Number

3.3.3.2.1 Cardinal numbers

Cardinal numerals in Kewapi are a distinct word class and function as posthead modifiers of nouns. As Franklin and Franklin (1962) state for Kewa, Kewapi number is a base-four system. Numbers over the base are expressed by numeral possessive phrases in which the units one, two, and three function as head and the first base-four word functions as possessor or prehead modifier if there are subsequent groups of four. The cardinal numbers from 1-20 are:

pameda 'one'

laapo 'two'

repo 'three'

ki 'four' or 'hand'

kode 'five' or *ki-na kode (pameda)* 'four-GEN= four's one extra'

kode laapo 'six' or *ki-na kode laapo* 'four's two extra'

kode repo 'seven' or *ki-na kode repo* 'four's three extra'

ki laapo 'eight' or 'four twos'

ki laapo-na kode (pameda) 'nine' or 'four two's one extra'

ki laapo-na kode laapo 'ten' or 'four two's two extra'

ki laapo-na kode repo 'eleven' or 'four two's three extra'

ki repo 'twelve' or 'four threes'

ki repo-na kode (pameda) 'thirteen' or 'four three's one extra'

ki repo-na kode laapo 'fourteen' or 'four three's two extra'

ki repo-na kode repo 'fifteen' or 'four three's three extra'

ki malaa 'sixteen' or 'four fours'

ki malaa-na kode (pameda) 'seventeen' or 'four four's one extra'

ki malaa-na kode laapo 'eighteen' or 'four four's two extra'

ki malaa-na kode repo 'nineteen' or 'four four's three extra'

ki su 'twenty' or 'four fives'

The word *kode* (stative) 'be extra' comes from the verb *kodea* 'be missing or extra'. The word for thumb is *su* or *ki su* 'thumb of hand' (Franklin and Franklin 1978).

Kewapi has an older system of counting based on body parts, from which the base-four system appears to have been derived, beginning with the fingers of one hand and moving along points on the hand up to the shoulder, face and to the other side of the face down to the other hand's fingers (see Franklin and Franklin 1978). In this system the terms for the fingers are *kegali* 'little finger', *kegali yame* 'ring finger', *adaa ki* 'middle finger', *malaa* 'index finger', and *su* 'thumb'. In the base-four system the word *malaa* 'index finger/four' and *su* 'thumb/five' are borrowed from the body-part or tally system. The word *ki* means 'a hand' or 'four'. *ki* is understood to mean 'four' and not 'hand' in the base-four system. For twenty the phrase *ali repona pameda* 'man wood one = one whole person', which refers to the number of fingers and toes on a person's body, is also used, especially to count in twenties using the four-base system.

In contemporary Kewapi the base-four cardinal system is fading away and is being replaced by the Tok Pisin counting system borrowed from English. Many western educated Kewapi speakers cannot count using the base-four system. The most they can count is one to five and then they borrow from Tok Pisin or English counting systems.

3.3.3.2.2 Ordinals

Ordinal numbers⁸ are derived by nominalising a predicate (cardinal) number, e.g. *laapo pea* 'two do/be = be two' when nominalised by *-ai* 'NOM' becomes *laapo pea-*

⁸ Franklin (1968:31) refers to the four-base system as cardinal numbers and the body-part system as ordinal numbers. In Kewapi the four-base system is described as a cardinal number system and ordinal numbers are those formed by nominalisation of the four-base system.

ai 'second one'. Numbers in the base-four system serve as predicate heads, and derivation by nominalisation is productive, except for 'first', which is formed by nominalising a temporal adverb *abala* 'before/first'.

abala-ai 'first one'

laapo pea-ai 'second one'

repo pea-ai 'third one'

ki pea-ai 'fourth one'

ki-na kode pea-ai 'four's extra one = fifth one', etc.

Ordinal numbers function as nominals in constructions.

3.3.3.2.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a closed subclass of number. Quantifiers function as posthead modifiers in noun phrases. The suffix *-pu* derives quantifiers from other morphemes, e.g. from adjectives *ege* 'small' and *adaa* 'big', it derives *egepu* 'a small amount' and *adapu* 'a large amount' and from the interrogative pronoun *aai* 'which one' it derives *aaipu* 'how many of them?'. Free form quantifiers are *medaloma* 'some of them', *rayo* 'all of them', and *yalo* 'each one'. Grammatical quantifiers of nouns are *-lopo* 'dual', *-abo* 'paucal', *-repa* 'a (non-individuated) group of', and *-nu* 'plural'.

3.3.3.2.4 Fractions

Paki 'half' and *mudi* 'quarter' are in a subclass of their own. Fraction words function as posthead modifiers of noun phrases and nouns. Examples follow.

- (3.44a) *Imu-mi saa mena paki gia-me.*
 they-ERG we pig half give-3PL.NPT
 'They gave us (dual) half of a (slaughtered) pig.'

- (3.44b) *Aga mudi ria ipu-lu.*
 pandanus quarter carry come-1SG.PRG

'I am bringing [carry and come] a quarter of a pandanus fruit.'

In (3.44a-b) the fraction words *paki* 'half' and *mudi* 'quarter' function as posthead modifiers. As in these examples, these words are used commonly in the portioning of food items.

In the sentence (3.45), the fraction word *paki* functions as a noun.

(3.45) *Go robo o-de ali werepe*
 that when here-DEF man later
raitya-ma raitya-ma
 follow-SEQ.SS follow-SEQ.SS
pe-loa-ra "paki ya"
 do-DUR-SIM.SS "half call"
li-sa, "wa" lo-ma lo-ma
 say-3SG.RPT, "yes" say-SEQ.SS say-SEQ.SS
pi-sa, o ri-sa-ai-mi.
 do-3SG.RPT, here carry-3SG.RPT-NOM-ERG

'Later that man kept following her and calling, "half": The part that she was carrying continued to say, "yes".' [T3:20]

Words like *rukili* or *relepaa* 'a piece of something' are not included as fraction words because there is no conscious measurement for the purpose of portioning something, as is the case with the fraction words.

3.3.3.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives specify the spatial orientation of the speech act, locating objects in relation to the speech act and its participants (Foley 1986:75). Kewapi chooses the spatial position of the speech act, whereby the position of the speaker is basic.

Objects are located in the area of the speaker or away from it. There are thirteen demonstratives that constitute the Kewapi demonstrative system⁹, as shown in Table 3.7.

⁹ In West Kewa (Franklin 1971:36) there are six demonstratives: *so* 'up', *mo* 'distant', *no* 'down', *go* 'specific (seen)' *o* 'neutral' and *apo* 'general (unseen)'. Later (Franklin 1994:2-3) he includes the vertical and horizontal demonstratives but does not show clearly the relative distances among the close, mid and far vertical and horizontal demonstratives. He makes two adjustments: *go* is now 'close' and *apo* is now 'remote'. So Franklin does not appear to consider the importance of the speaker's position as basic for the understanding of the Kewa demonstrative systems. West Kewa has twelve demonstratives, one less than Kewapi.

Table 3.7 Demonstratives

	Speaker's position	Away	Away
Relative distance	close	mid	far
close	<i>gó</i> 'here/this' (specific location) <i>o</i> 'here/this' (generic location)	<i>go</i> 'there/that' (specific location) <i>apo</i> 'there/that' (generic location)	<i>sopo</i> 'there/that' (upward) <i>mopo</i> 'there/that' (horizontal) <i>nopo</i> 'there/that' (downward)
mid			<i>sogo</i> 'there/that' (upward) <i>mogo</i> 'there/that' (horizontal) <i>nogo</i> 'there/that' (downward)
far			<i>só</i> 'there/that' (upward) <i>mó</i> 'there/that' (horizontal) <i>nó</i> 'there/that' (downward)

Table 3.7 shows the general orientation of spatial positions with respect to the speech act position where the speaker is. The vertical and horizontal spatial positions are further away from the speaker's positions and the positions immediately away from the speaker's positions.

The discourse functions of the demonstratives are the following.

1. *gó* is used to refer to a specific location of an object in the speaker's position.
2. *o* is used to refer to a generic location of an object in the speaker's position.
3. *go* is used to refer to a specific location of an object away from the speaker's position.
4. *apo* is used to refer to a generic location of an object away from the speaker's position.
5. The vertical and horizontal orientations are used to refer to generic locations within their respective relative locations as shown in Table 3.7.
6. The objects referred to by the spatial deixis may or may not be visible to the participants of the speech act. The speaker locates objects close to himself or away from himself so objects can be visibly close or invisible as in the text internal-universe of discourse, such as in non-fictional narratives (see Texts 3-8) or in fictional narratives (see Text 2).

Note that the specific locations: close to the speaker *gó* 'here/this' and away from the speaker *go* 'there/that' are distinguished by contrastive high and low level tones respectively.

The grammatical functions of the demonstratives are the following.

1. Adjunct (location): Demonstrative + Predicate.
2. Determiner (modifier): Demonstrative + Nominal.
3. Pronominal (anaphora): (Antecedent (object or event)) + Demonstrative + Predicate.

Note that in function 3 the antecedent does not necessarily precede the pronominal function of the demonstrative (as the structure might be taken to mean). It simply indicates that the demonstrative is used to refer back to an object or event that had been introduced previously in discourse, as in (3.46a-b).

(3.46a) Waba:
 Apo-ai-ri *apo* *ta-ma-da*.

that-NOM-TOP that say-1PL.PRG-INDEF

‘As for that one, we are saying that.’ [T5:61]

(3.46b) Waba:

Go-de-ai *ya-de.*

That-DEF-NOM be.REALIS-DEF

‘(I believe that) That was the one.’ [T6:25]

In the context of (3.46a) both mentions of *apo* ‘that’ refer to the theme of the possibility of Kasa coming up to Mugumapu village to live there. In the context of (3.46b) *go* ‘that’ refers to the tree that was chopped down for house posts. Note that a demonstrative may be nominalised, as in (3.46b) (see also 5.4.2). After it has been nominalised, it can be marked by the ergative *-me*, instrumental *-mi* and genitive *-na* case markers. Some markers like the locative *-pora*, directive *-nane/-ne*, topic *-re*, etc. do not require the demonstrative to be nominalised first before marking it. The modifying role of demonstratives will be described in 5.1.1.7.

3.3.3.4 Articles

Kewapi has definite and indefinite articles¹⁰ as shown in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8 Kewapi articles

Free form	Enclitic
Definite: <i>ade</i> ‘the’	Definite: <i>-de</i> ‘the’

¹⁰ Lynch (1998:170) states, "Articles are virtually nonexistent in Papuan languages". Franklin (1994:16) identifies *ade* ‘the’ as a true determiner in West Kewa and describes *-de* as completive aspectual marker after predicates. Franklin does not identify *ade* ‘the’, *-de* ‘the’, *meda* ‘a’, and *-da* ‘a’ as forming a system of articles in West Kewa.

Indefinite: <i>meda</i> 'a' (non-specific)	Indefinite: <i>-da</i> 'a' (specific)
---	--

The free definite article precedes nouns and the free indefinite article follows nouns, and thus functions as a quantifier, so it can be translated 'an indefinite one'. Chapter 5 section 5.1.1.8 describes the functions of Kewapi articles in noun phrases.

3.3.4 Adverbs

Any word with semantic content that is not a noun, a verb or an adjective is often put in a "catch-all category" adverb (Payne 1997:69, Schachter 1985). Words that are referred to as adverbs cover a range of semantic concepts and have wide distributions such as in phrases, clauses, sentences, or in discourse. In the following subsections classes of adverbs are enumerated according to the semantic categories of manner, time, location, direction, and evidential or epistemic mode.

3.3.4.1 Manner

Manner adverbs include: *paawa* 'slowly', *paawa-si* 'slowly-DIM = very slowly', *abi* 'quickly', *wage-pu* 'formed by the combination of the verbs *wageaa* 'to swing' and *pea* 'to do' = do as quickly as the swing of a hand', *rekeleme* 'swiftly or suddenly', *gupa* 'likewise/like that', *pode* 'almost', *máda* 'enough', *waru* 'well', *pururu-keda* 'shake-heavy = extremely frightened' (see Text 2:8), *pélótyála* 'come out suddenly' (see Text 2:9), *pílityábá* 'go hastily' (see Text 2:16), *kíkau labánya* ((expression) 'continue to act rapidly' (see Text 2:17), *rú-ágálásá* 'carry-throw down heavily = to throw something that is carried down heavily' (see Text 2:24), *ae-pale* 'stand-sleep = be with' (see Text 1:4). Some morphologically complex forms like *péló tyá lá* 'shoot-hit-say = come out suddenly', *pili tyá-bá* 'shoot hit-PUNCT = shot through or go hastily', etc. are obviously composed of serial verbs which express adverbial meanings.

3.3.4.2 Time

Temporal adverbs that are used to refer to events in terms of days, weeks, months or years include: *abi* 'today', *gupisa* 'speech moment', *abala* 'yesterday', *abane* 'two days ago', *burika* 'tomorrow', *rudane* 'two days in future', ***saarere* 'week' (from English 'Saturday'), *koro* 'week', *eke* 'moon means month', ***girisimaasi* 'year' (from English 'christmas').

A reference to an indefinite day is expressed by *kóró-médáá* (a temporal compound) 'week-one = one day' and an indefinite week is expressed by *koro meda* (temporal phrase) 'week one = one week' respectively.

Other temporal adverbs include: *wala-la-la* 'again-say-say = often', *medaloma kora* 'some week = sometimes', *ábálá* 'before/already/first', *wérépé* 'later/after', *ráná-méyó* 'outside-get = closer in time' (see Text 3:2), *wálá* 'again/later', *kamaa* 'always'.

3.3.4.3 Direction

Directional adverbs include *yolo-nea* 'pull-get = bring by pulling something towards the speaker', *yolo-nene* 'pull-DIR = bring from different locations to the speaker's location' (see Text 3:3), *madaa* 'up or on top', *só-né* 'up-DIR = upward direction', *só-né nó-né* 'up-DIR down-DIR = up and down', *mágíó* 'side', *néné* 'repeated action towards the speaker' (see Text 2:17). The demonstratives *so* 'up', *no* 'down', *mo* 'horizontal', etc. (see 3.3.3.3, Table 3.7 above) can also be used as directional adverbs.

3.3.4.4 Location

Locational adverbs are used to locate objects and events. These include: *kámáá* 'outside' *médáá-léná* 'same-LOC = at the same place' *meda-lena* 'one-LOC = on an indefinite location', *pane* 'be out of hiding/cover' (see Text 2:28). Other locations are

expressed by postpositional words or postpositions marked by the locative *-pora* and directive *-nane* markers and occur with their specific object referents. These include: *ada gale* 'house near = near or around the house', *ipa repale-pora* 'river bank-LOC = near or around the river bank', *ada ru-nane* 'house shade-DIR = inside the house', *pora repale* 'road junction = at the junction or on the road', etc.

3.3.4.5 Modal adverbs

A few examples are *palea* 'be sleeping = may/might' (follows an independent finite predicate), *titi* 'might' (occurs between predicates), and *mada* 'able to'. For a discussion of bound morphemes which signal evidential information, see 6.1.8.

3.3.4.6 Other adverbs

Other adverbs include *pa* 'just', *kámaa* 'only', *pege* 'even', *abuna* 'including', *adele* 'presumed known referent', *día* 'not', *ora* 'really', etc. These forms can be called participles but they have stable meanings as shown here.

3.3.5 Linkers

The three types of linkers in Kewapi are subordinate, coordinate and discourse linkers. Discourse linkers are more like clausal linkers. Coordinate linkers consist of independent sentence linkers (or conjunctions) and coordinate dependent clause linkers (or interclausal reference markers) which generally link sentences and subordinate linkers link a subordinate clause to the main clause.

3.3.5.1 Subordinators

Subordinate linkers are either bound or free forms. These include: *robo* 'when', *pege* 'even if', *-pulu* 'because', *-daa/-le* 'because', *-re* 'if', etc. Note that the reason subordinators have various distributions (see 7.3.1.2 where the syntactic and semantic functions of these subordinators are described).

3.3.5.2 Coordinators

Independent sentence coordinators are *pere* 'but', and *-pa* 'or'. Coordinate dependent clause linkers include: *-maa* 'SEQ.SS', *-ri* 'SIM.SS', *-lomaa* 'SEQ', etc. (see 8.1-2 for a full description of coordinators).

3.3.5.3 Discourse linkers

Discourse linkers are clauses which generally have in common the structure:

go 'that' + (predicate) + a subordinate or a coordinate linker. Such linkers have in common the anaphoric element *go* 'that' that generally refers back to a previously introduced nominal or an event to enable discourse continuity. Discourse linkers include *go robo* 'that time = at that time', *go pea robo* 'that do time= when that happens', *go-re* 'that-TOP = as for that', *gu-pa* 'that-do = like that', *gu-pu-ma* 'that-do-SEQ.SS= having done that', *go pea-pulu* 'that do-it because = because that happens', *go pea pere* 'that do-it but = that happens but', *go ya pere* 'that be but = that is so but', and *go pea-daa* 'that do-it-because = because of that', etc. The free form *ade* functions as an anaphoric linker when it precedes predicates (see Text 3).

3.3.6 Interjections

Some morphemes that may be categorised as interjections include: *ee* 'yes' (see Text 3:17), *ee?* 'pardon?' (see Text 5:42), *apea* 'that's right' (see Text 4:13), *epê* 'surprise' (see Text 5:17), *o* 'I see/agree' (Text 4:34, 73), *á* 'disbelief' (Text 4:96), and *aiya* 'on the contrary' (Text 5:59).

3.4 Words, clitics and affixes

Words, clitics and affixes can be distinguished in Kewapi. Words may occur as utterances and generally bear accent. Clitics occur as bound morphemes which are phonologically dependent on a phrasal or a clausal host. Affixes are elements in the phonological structure of a word other than a root.

3.4.1 Words

A word is a free morpheme which is either a root or a stem. Examples of words mentioned in section 3.3 include nouns, verbs, adjectives, articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, etc.

3.4.2 Clitics

That bound clitics have more freedom to attach to various morphosyntactic categories (Zwicky 1977, 1985) is generally true of Kewapi clitics. Their sequence is determined by the morphosyntactic categories to which they attach. In other words, the scope of the clitic determines its point of attachment with respect to its host and other clitics.

Kewapi clitics are enclitics. They express clause or sentence-level functions such as linkers, modal markers, etc. and phrasal functions such as quantifiers (*-lopo*, *-nu*, *-repa*), diminutive, definiteness, etc. Some of the common enclitics include: *-me* 'ergative', *-re* 'if', *-de* 'definite', *-da* 'indefinite', *-si* 'diminutive', *-ya* 'question marker' or *-pa* 'or', etc. Clitics can encliticise to hosts and they can have other clitics attached to them. The order of the enclitics appears to be generally determined by the functional roles they play in a structure. The topicaliser *-re/ri* functions to link structures - whether it is a nominal to a predicate, a clause to a clause or a preceding discourse to the following. So it naturally occurs finally. For instance, in *epa-lia-daa-re* 'come-3SG.FUT-reason-if = if s/he comes' it occurs finally in this causative predictive conditional subordinate structure (see 7.3).

The enclitics in Table 3.9 have a range of meanings according to their contexts of occurrences. Since they have core meanings, they are treated as polysemous morphemes.

Table 3.9 Enclitics and their semantic functions

Enclitics and their core meanings	Distributions	Semantic functions
-me/-mi 'ERG'	a subject nominal of a transitive verb, e.g. <i>ne-me ni tya-e</i> 'you-ERG I hit-2SG.NPT = You hit me.'	Agent-as-subject
-me/-mi 'INST'	a nominal as oblique nominal, e.g. <i>ne-me ni roto-me tya-e</i> 'you-ERG I stick-INST hit-2SG.NPT = You hit me with a stick.'	Instrument
	a temporal nominal, ** <i>sarere-me</i> 'Saturday-INST = on Saturday'	Specific time
	a subordinate predicate, e.g. <i>Ialibu pa-lua-me pu-lu</i> 'Ialibu go-1SG.FUT-INST go-1SG.PRG = I am going with the intention of going to Ialibu.'	Intentional action
-na 'GEN'	a nominal as possessor in a possessive NP, e.g. <i>ne-na mena</i> 'you-GEN pig = your pig'	Possessor
	a nominal as a beneficiary, e.g. <i>mena ne -na meaa-ripu</i> 'pig you-GEN get for-1SG.NPT = I got the pig for you.'	Beneficiary
	a free personal pronoun, e.g. <i>ne-na mea-e</i> 'you-GEN get-2SG.NPT = You got it yourself.'	Possessive pronoun
	an oblique nominal, e.g. <i>balasu-na epa</i>	Location 'on/in'

	<i>wa</i> ‘plane-GEN come-1SG.NPT = I came on a plane.’	
	a temporal noun, e.g. <i>go eke-na</i> ‘this month-GEN = sometime this month’	Non-specific time
	a <i>be</i> predicate, e.g. <i>epa-li ya-na</i> ‘come-2SG.FUT be-GEN = You will have come.’	Future perfect tense, inferred future event
	a non-future predicate, e.g. <i>ipi-si-na</i> ‘come-2SG.RPT-GEN = You had come.’	Past perfect tense, event inferred as realised, i.e. inferred evidential mode
	a nominalised subordinate predicate, e.g. <i>ipi-si-ai-na..</i> ‘come-2SG.RPT-NOM-GEN = For the reason that you had come..’	An inferred reason nominal
- <i>pe</i> ‘IRR’	a nominal, e.g. <i>mena-pe</i> ‘pig-IRR = a huge pig’	An augmented referent
	a medial predicate, e.g. <i>pora loba-pe ya</i> ‘door open-IRR be.REALIS = The door can be opened.’	An irrealis status
	a final imperative predicate, e.g. <i>pora loba-pe</i> ‘door open-IRR = Open the door later!’	An imperative mood
	a final declarative predicate, e.g. <i>pora lobi-sa la-lo-pe</i> ‘door open-3SG.RPT say-1SG.PRG-IRR = I am saying, he opened the door.’	An emphatic assertion

<i>-de</i> 'DEF'	a nominal in a NP, e.g. <i>mena-de</i> 'pig-DEF = the pig'	A definite referent
	a personal pronoun, e.g. <i>ipu-de lopi-sa</i> 'he-DEF fall-3SG.NPT = He fell down.'	A reactivated definite referent
	a demonstrative, e.g. <i>o-de winya</i> 'here-DEF woman = this/the woman' or just <i>o-de</i> 'here-DEF = Definite location'	A definite nominal as identified by a definite location
	a final predicate, e.g. <i>pora lobi-sa ya-de</i> 'door open-3SG.RPT be.REALIS-DEF = It is definite that he opened the door.'	A speaker's belief assertion
<i>-da</i> 'INDF'	a nominal, e.g. <i>mena-da</i> 'pig-INDF = a pig'	An indefinite nominal
	a person name, e.g. <i>Apoi-da</i> 'Apoi-INDF = the thing that you don't know about Apoi'	A contrastive focus referent
	an adverb, e.g. <i>pawaa-da na-ipi-si</i> 'slow-INDF NEG-come-2SG.RPT = You didn't come slowly.'	A contrastive manner of action focus
	a final predicate, e.g. <i>go ipu-la-da</i> 'there come-3SG.PRG-INDF = There it comes.'	An indefinite event or a focus predicate
<i>-re/ra</i> 'TOP'	a nominal, e.g. <i>mena-re ipu-la</i> 'pig-TOP come-3SG.PRG = As for the pig, it is coming.'	A topicalised or reactivated topic referent
	a subordinate predicate, e.g. <i>epa-lia-re..</i> 'come-3SG.FUT-TOP = If he comes..'	A conditional event
	a final predicate, e.g. <i>ipi-sa-ra</i> 'come-	Topic assertion

	3SG.RPT-TOP = He came.'	
	a nominal, e.g. <i>mena-ra?</i> 'pig-TOP = What about the pig?'	Topic question

The case-like enclitics are *-me/-mi* 'ergative', *-me/-mi* 'instrumental', *-na*, 'genitive', *-pora* 'locative' and *-nane* 'directive'. The instrumental marker is formally identical to the ergative marker but they are distinct morphemes.

3.4.3 Affixes

Affixes are bound morphemes which do not have the syntactic freedom that clitics have. Stems and affixes cannot be separated except by other affixes nor does the order of elements tend to vary (Matthews 1997).

There are only two inflectional prefixes; the negative prefix *na-* and the causative prefix *ma-*. Inflectional affixes are predominantly suffixes and they function as interclausal reference markers (see 8.2), direction, aspect, and subject-tense suffixes (see 4.2.1.1 and 6.1.2).

Appendix to Chapter Three: Morphophonemics of verb form variations

Kewapi verb bases may be grouped into seven groups to account for their participial forms or six groups to account for their medial/serial forms, discussed in 3.3.2.2. The verb bases in each group undergo the same morphophonemic changes to form the participial and medial/serial forms.

The morphophonemic changes that verb bases undergo to become participial verb forms are governed by the following seven morphophonemic (MP) rules. The general trend is that the final vowels of the verb bases change to front vowels (i.e. vowel fronting) in their participial forms.

Bases		Participles
Group A	MP Rule 1	/a/ → [e] / ___#
[na]	‘eat’	[ne]
[ra]	‘burn’	[re]
[rá]	‘be caught in a trap’	[ré]
Group B	MP Rule 2	/a:/ → [æ] / ___#
[ədoa:]	‘wait’	[ədoæ]
[ədoba:]	‘look after’	[ədobæ]
[əgəla:]	‘throw’	[əgəlæ]
[wea:]	‘throw/send’	[weæ]
[wəra:]	‘touch’	[wərəæ]
[kaleya:]	‘form alliance’	[kaleyæ]
[mara:]	‘forget’	[maræ]
[bebola:]	‘mix’	[bebolæ]

The word-final long vowel /a:/ of Group B verb bases becomes the diphthong /æ/ in the participial verb forms.

Group C	MP Rule 3	/ə/ → [e] / ___#
[lə]	‘say’	[le]

[kəbə]	'buy'	[kəbe]
[pəgə]	'listen'	[pəge]
[opə]	'grow'	[ope]
[wələ]	'show'	[wəle]
Group D	MP Rule 4	/ə/ → [i] / ___#
[rumə]	'climb'	[rumi]
[əbulə]	'repay'	[əbuli]
[peə]	'do'	[pi]
[meə]	'take'	[mi]
[wəruə]	'make'	[wəri]
[pəmuə]	'go around'	[pəmi]
[cə]	'hit'	[li]
[giə]	'give me'	[gi]
[ədəpeə]	'wear'	[ədəpi]
[sə]	'put'	[wi]
[yəriə]	'plant'	[yəri]
[relepeə]	'split'	[relepi]
[məcə]	'carry'	[məde]
[pisə]	'sit'	[piri]
[riə]	'carry on head/shoulder'	[ri]
[kisə]	'cook/burn'	[kiri]
[peremeə]	'grab it from s.o.'	[peremi]
[ədəmeə]	'befriend'	[ədəmi]

Group D verb bases undergo further morphophonological changes apart from that in MP Rule 4. First, vowels, other than /i/ preceding /ə/ are deleted in the participial

verb forms. Second, if /ə/ follows /i/, it is deleted in the phonetic representation of the participial forms. Finally, consonants of the verb bases undergo the following changes:

/c/ → [t] / __ i

/c/ → [d] / v __ v

/s/ → [w] / __ i

/s/ → [r] / i __ i

The word-final mid central vowel /ə/ of the verb bases becomes a high front vowel /i/ in the participial verb forms. As for consonants, the /c/ palatal stop become alveodental stop /d/ and lateral /l/ and alveodental fricative /s/ becomes bilabial /w/ and alveodental flap /r/.

Group E	MP Rule 5	/ə/ → [e] / __ #
[alepeə]	'cut open'	[alepele]
[wəreə]	'peel'	[wərele]
[yərepeə]	'gather'	[yərepele]
[rodopeə]	'break'	[rodopele]
[werepeə]	'twist'	[werepele]
[pakeə]	'miss'	[pakele]
[koyə]	'untie'	[kole]
[kogeɣə]	'ask'	[kogele]
[kolopeə]	'go down'	[kolopele]
[apeə]	'scoop out'	[apele]
[biyə]	'fly'	[bile]

The rule which deletes /y/ of the verb base is:

/y/ → ø / v __

Group F	MP Rule 6	/ə/ → [li] / ___ #
[ədɪə]	‘tie’	[ədili]
[pɪrɪbiə]	‘break off food’	[pɪrɪbili]
[karepenəcə]	‘break into pieces’	[karepenəli]
[rətə]	‘chase’	[rəli]
[pətə]	‘sleep’	[pəli]
[kunəpəcə]	‘be stranded’	[kunəpəli]
[wəsə]	‘search for’	[wəli]
[əlupɪə]	‘dig out’	[əlupɪli]
[kasə]	‘emit food from mouth’	[kali]
[kácə]	‘break nuts with teeth’	[káli]
[ətubiə]	‘break into pieces’	[ətubili]
[ariə]	‘carry child on shoulder’	[arili]
[dipiə]	‘count’	[dipili]
[liripiə]	‘tear’	[liripili]
[yərucə]	‘copulate’	[yəruli]

The following are further rules for Group F verb bases for consonants occurring in the word-final syllables:

$/t/ \rightarrow [l] / v _ v$

$/c/ \rightarrow \emptyset / v _$

$/s/ \rightarrow \emptyset / v _$

Note that Group C and D verb bases undergo basically the same morphophonemic changes as Group E and F verb bases respectively, except that in the latter groups (E and F) their participial forms have an excrescence of //.

Group G	MP Rule 7	/u/ → [e] / ___ #
[pu]	‘go’	[pe]

[*pupu*] ‘pass or come-go’ [*pope*]

There are very few Group G verb bases as the number of examples indicate.

The morphophonemic changes that verb bases undergo to become medial and serial verb forms are governed by the following six MP rules. The general trend is that the final vowels of the verb bases either change to back vowels or are deleted in their medial and serial forms. There are no semantic differences between the verb bases and their medial or serial counterparts and there are almost no formal differences between the medial and serial verb forms. An asterisk following a serial verb form means that the verb cannot serialise so the serial form given is a default one, which is the same as the medial form. The frames for determining the medial and serial verb forms are: *pua* + ____ + *-ma* + *pisa* ‘go + verb + -SEQ + sit down’ and *pua* + ____ + *pisa* ‘go + verb + sit down’ respectively.

Bases		Medials/Serials
Group A	MP Rule 1	/a/ → [o] / __ #
[<i>na</i>]	‘eat’	[<i>no</i>]
[<i>ra</i>]	‘burn’	[<i>ro</i>]
[<i>rá</i>]	‘be caught in a trap’	[<i>ró</i>]
Group B	MP Rule 2	/a:/ → [əo] / __ #
[<i>mara:</i>]	‘forget’	[<i>marəo</i>]
[<i>bebola:</i>]	‘mix’	[<i>beboləo</i>]
[<i>ədoa:</i>]	‘wait’	[<i>ədəo</i>]
[<i>ədoba:</i>]	‘look after’	[<i>ədobəo</i>]
[<i>əgəla:</i>]	‘throw’	[<i>əgələo</i>]
[<i>wea:</i>]	‘throw/send’	[<i>weəo</i>]
[<i>wəra:</i>]	‘touch’	[<i>wərəo</i>]
[<i>kaleya:</i>]	‘form alliance’	[<i>kaleyəo</i>]

The word-final long vowel /a:/ of Group B verb bases becomes the diphthong /əo/ in the medial and serial verb forms.

Group C	MP Rule 3	<i>/ə/ → [o] / ___#</i>
[lə]	‘say’	[lo]
[kəbə]	‘buy’	[kəbo]
[pəgə]	‘listen’	[pəgo]
[opə]	‘grow’	[opo]
[wələ]	‘show’	[wəlo]
Group D	MP Rule 4	<i>/ə/ → [u] / ___#</i>
[rumə]	‘climb’	[rumu]
[əbulə]	‘repay’	[əbulu]
[peə]	‘do’	[pu]
[meə]	‘take’	[mu]
[wəruə]	‘make’	[wəru]
[pəmuə]	‘go around’	[pəmu]
[cə]	‘hit’	[lu]
[giə]	‘give me’	[gu]
[ədəpeə]	‘wear’	[ədəpu]
[sə]	‘put’	[su]
[yəriə]	‘plant’	[yəru]
[relepeə]	‘split’	[relepu]
[məcə]	‘carry’	[mədu]
[pisə]	‘sit’	[piru]

[riə]	‘carry on shoulder’	[ru]
[kiə]	‘cook/burn’	[kiru]
[peremeə]	‘grab it from s.o.’	[peremu]
[ədəmeə]	‘befriend’	[ədəmu]

Additional rules to account for MP changes from verb bases to medial or serial verb forms are:

/e/ → ø / C ___ u	e.g. <i>pu</i> ‘do’, <i>mu</i> ‘get’
/ə/ → ø / u ___	e.g. <i>wəru</i> ‘make’, <i>pəmu</i> ‘go around’
/i/ → [u] / g ___	e.g. <i>gu</i> ‘give me’
/i/ → ø / ___ u	e.g. <i>yəru</i> ‘plant’
/c/ → [d] / V ___	e.g. <i>mədu</i> ‘carry’
/c/ → [l] / ___ u	e.g. <i>lu</i> ‘hit’
/s/ → [r] / V ___	e.g. <i>kiru</i> ‘cook/burn’

Group E	MP Rule 5	/ə/ → ø / ___ #
[alepeə]	‘cut open’	[alepe]
[wəreə]	‘peel’	[wəre]
[yərepeə]	‘gather’	[yərepe]
[rodopeə]	‘break’	[rodope]
[werepeə]	‘twist’	[werepe]
[pakeə]	‘miss’	[pake]
[koyə]	‘untie’	[koyo]
[kogeyə]	‘ask’	[kogeyo]
[kolopeə]	‘go down’	[kolope]
[apeə]	‘scoop out’	[ape]
[biyə]	‘fly’	[biyo]

An additional rule to account for medial or serial verbs ending with *-yo* is:

$/ə/ \rightarrow [o] / y ___$ e.g. *koyo* ‘untie’, *biyo* ‘fly’, etc.

Group F	MP Rule 6	$/ə/ \rightarrow \emptyset / ___ \#$
[ədiə]	‘tie’	[ədi]
[piribiə]	‘break off food’	[piribi]
[karepenəcə]	‘break into pieces’	[karepenəlu]
[rətə]	‘chase’	[rəlu]
[pətə]	‘sleep’	[pəlu]
[kunəpəcə]	‘be stranded’	[kunəpəlu]
[wəsə]	‘search for’	[wəsu]
[əlupiə]	‘dig out’	[əlupi]
[kasə]	‘emit food from mouth’	[kasu]
[kácə]	‘break nuts with teeth’	[kálú]
[ətubiə]	‘break into pieces’	[ətubi]
[ariə]	‘carry child on shoulder’	[ari]
[dipiə]	‘count’	[dipi]
[liripiə]	‘tear’	[liripi]
[yərucə]	‘copulate’	[yərulu]

The following two rules account for MP changes in the word-final syllables of a number of medial and serial verb forms.

$/c/ \rightarrow [l] / ___ u$ e.g. *kálú* ‘break nuts with teeth’, etc.

$/ə/ \rightarrow [u] / ___ \#$ e.g. *kasu* ‘emit food from mouth’, *rəlu* ‘chase’, etc.

Group G verbs are few in number and their verb bases do not generally appear to undergo morphophonemic changes as do other verb groups (A-F above) as the following examples show.

[<i>pu</i>]	‘go’	[<i>pu</i>]	[<i>pua</i>]
[<i>pupu</i>]	‘pass or come-go’	[<i>pupu</i>]	[<i>pupu</i>]*

The serial form *pua* ‘go’ has an epenthesis of /a/. The majority of, if not all, active verbs consistently reveal their true verb base forms in the first or second person singular (1/2 SG)-present progressive (PRG) tense (see 4.2.1.1 for further examples with verb bases that select either a Set I or a Set II subject-tense suffix). For example, for *pu* ‘go’ the 1/2 SG PRG forms are *pu-lu* and *pu-li* respectively, and for *pupu* ‘pass’ the 1/2SG PRG forms are *pupu-lu* and *pupu-li* respectively. A rare exception is the verb form *gi* ‘give me’ whose true verb base form is *giə* ‘give me’ according to its 1/2SG PRG forms, i.e. the 1/2SG PRG forms are *giə-lo* and *giə-le* respectively.

Chapter Four

Clause Structure

4.0 Introduction

This chapter describes Kewapi clause structure. Section 4.1 deals with case-marking and functions of core and oblique arguments, constituent order, and the pragmatic functions of topic and focus. This is followed in 4.2 by a description of grammatical mood clause types. In 4.3 verbs are classified according to their transitivity features and 4.4 deals with clauses with serial predicates, *be* predicates, verb-less predicates, and realis predicates.

4.1 Grammatical relations

4.1.1 Subject and object relations

To signal the grammatical relations subject and object Kewapi employs subject person-and-number agreement suffixes on the verb, nominal case marking and constituent order. Following Dixon 1994, S is subject of intransitive verb and A is subject of transitive verb and O is object of transitive verb. S/A are in the same category; both are case marked by verbal cross-referencing. O is in another category; it is not verbally cross-referenced. Consider examples (4.1a-b).

In (4.1a) S argument of the intransitive verb is cross-referenced in the verb and in (4.1b) the A argument of the transitive verb is also cross-referenced in the verb through subject person-and-number and tense (portmanteau) suffixes. In (4.1b) the object argument is not verbally cross-referenced.

(4.1a) *Naaki pa-sa.*

boy go-3SG.RPT

‘The boy went.

- (4.1b) *Naaki-mi yana li-sa.*
 Boy-ERG dog hit-3SG.RPT
 ‘The boy hit a dog.’

4.1.2 Case marking of core and oblique nominals

Oblique nominals are case-marked. Of the core nominals S, A and O, the latter is not case-marked, as in (4.1b). The S nominal of an intransitive verb is unmarked, as in (4.1a). As it is the only argument in the clause interlocutors can readily identify its function. The A nominal is obligatorily marked by the ergative case marker *-me/-mi*, as in (4.1b) above and (4.2) below.

- (4.2) *Nogo-me nu ili-sa.*
 Girl-ERG string bag weave-3SG.RPT
 ‘The girl wove a string bag.’

4.1.2.1 Ergative case marking of subject nominal

All transitive verbs require the subject nominal to be marked by the ergative marker¹. In addition to activity verbs, perception verbs like *ado* ‘see’, *paga* ‘hear’, stative verbs such as *pala koma* ‘be afraid’ and cognitive verbs like *kone sa* ‘think’ all have their subject nominal ergatively case-marked, as in the following examples.

¹ In the Enga language Li and Lang (1979:321) state, “all verbs that take a direct object require the subject to be marked by the ergative marker”. This is generally the case in Kewapi.

In (4.3) *-me* marks the subject nominal of the activity verb *kiaa* ‘slice’. The semantic role of the subject NP is agent, a volitional instigator of the action.

- (4.3) *Na aapa-me mena kiaa-ripa.*
 my father-ERG pig slice-3SG.NPT
 ‘My father sliced a piece of pork.’

In (4.4) *-me* marks the subject nominal whose semantic role is force.

- (4.4) *Kariyapa-me repona pili-sa.*
 lightning-ERG tree shoot-3SG.RPT
 ‘The lightning struck a tree.’

In (4.5) *-me* marks the subject nominal of the cognitive verb *kone sa* ‘think’, whose semantic role is experiencer.

- (4.5) *Né-mé [ne pa-inya]*
 I-ERG [you go-2SG]
kone sa-lo.
 thought put-1SG.SPR
 ‘I think, “you must go”.’

In (4.6-7) the subject nominals of the perception verbs *paga* ‘listen/hear’ and *pala koma* ‘to fear’ are marked by the ergative marker.

- (4.6) *Naa rayo-me agaale pagi-sima.*
 we all-ERG talk hear-1PL.RPT
 ‘We all heard the talk.’

- (4.7) *Go winya goe-me remo pala*
 that woman old-ERG devil fear
kome-a.
 die/be-3SG.SPR

‘That old woman fears the devil.’ [T4:55]

So Kewapi morphosyntax treats the different semantic roles agent, force, experiencer, etc. as agent for the grammatical purpose of marking the subject of all transitive verbs.

Kewapi is morphologically ergative but syntactically accusative (S/A versus O). The accusative pattern is expressed by subject agreement marking in the verb. The difference between an undergoer and actor arguments of an intransitive verb is neutralised. The ergative marking has no syntactic relevance² because the syntactic pivot [S/A] controls interclausal reference, as the following sentences (4.8a-d) demonstrate.

In sentences (4.8a-c) the syntactic pivot [S/A] controls interclausal reference. In (4.8a) in the absence of subject-marking on the verb in the subordinate clause, the control rule requires a same subject interpretation.

² Li and Lang (1979) and Van Valin (1981) make the same observation that the ergative marking has no syntactic relevance in the Enga language, which is a closely related neighbour of Kewapi (Franklin 1975:263-275, 1994:16, 1997:185-217).

- (4.8a) *Mena mu-la pa-limaa.*
 pig get-IRR go-1PL.FUT
 'We will go to get the pig.'

In (4.8b) the subject nominal of the coordinate-dependent clause is not marked on the dependent verb. Only the sequence and same subject (SS) suffix *-maa* indicates a coreferential relation between the subjects of the dependent and the independent verbs.

- (4.8b) *Mena mu-maa pa-limaa.*
 pig get-SEQ.SS go-1PL.FUT
 'We will get the pig and go.'

In (4.8c) the coordinate-dependent verb *mea* 'get' is marked by the subject suffix *-inya* '2SG.DS' to indicate that the subject of the following clause is different.

- (4.8c) *Mena mea-inya-lomaa kaana gi-lima.*
 pig get-2SG.DS-SEQ money give-1PL.FUT
 'You will get the pig and we (excl.) will give you money.'

In (4.8d) the relativised object nominal (indicated by \emptyset) that is deleted in the relative clause (shown by the square brackets) is coreferential with the agent nominal marked by *-me*. Any grammatical relation is relativisable in Kewapi (see 7.2.2). So the syntactic process of relativisation is not particularly sensitive to an accusative pattern, i.e. it lacks a definable syntactic pivot, unlike subordinate and coordinate constructions which have [S/A] syntactic pivot.

- (4.8d) [\emptyset *paake mi*] *mena-me ni*
 [\emptyset steal get:PT] pig-ERG me

ni-sa.

eat-3SG.RPT

'The pig which had been stolen bit me.'

4.1.2.2 Case marking of oblique nominals

Oblique nominals are marked by case-like enclitics. The main ones are *-me/-mi* 'INSTrumental', *-na* GENitive, *-pora* 'LOCative' and *-nane* 'DIRective', as in (4.9a-c).

In (4.9a) the oblique nominal *rai* 'axe' is case-marked by the instrumental marker *-mi*. The agent nominal *ipi* 'you two' carries the ergative marker *-mi*. The instrumental marker *-me/-mi* is formally identical to the ergative marker *-me/-mi* but is not the same morpheme.

- (4.9a) *Ipi-mi rai-mi repona poa-sipi.*
 you-ERG axe-INST tree chop-2DL.RPT
 'You two chopped a tree with an axe.'

In (4.9b) the oblique nominal *ada* 'house' is marked by the locative case *-pora*. As object nominals *mena* 'pig' and *eda* 'food' are unmarked.

- (4.9b) *Ada-pora mena eda kala-wa.*
 house-LOC pig food give-1SG.NPT
 'I gave the pig food in the house.'

In (4.9c) the oblique nominal *maapu* 'garden' is marked by the directive marker *-nane*.

- (4.9c) *Winya-me naaki maapu-nane ma-puaa-ripa.*

Woman-ERG boy garden-DIR CAUS-go-3SG.NPT

‘The woman caused the boy to go in the direction of the garden.’

4.1.3 Constituent order

The order of constituents in the clause typically is S + OBLique + V in intransitive clauses, A + OBL + O + V in transitive clauses and A + OBL + O + O + V in ditransitive, derived benefactive and causative clauses. The order in intransitive and transitive clauses is illustrated in (4.1a-b) above. The positions of the core nominals in ditransitive, benefactive and causative clauses are illustrated in (4.10a-c) below.

In (4.10a) the core nominals of the ditransitive verb *kala* ‘give’ are the A nominal *né-mé* ‘I-ERG’ (semantically the agent), and the O nominals *yana-de* ‘the dog’ (semantically the recipient) and *eda* ‘food’ (semantically the theme), i.e. recipient and theme nominals map onto the object grammatical relation.

(4.10a) *Né-mé yana-de eda kala-wa.*

I-ERG dog-DEF food give-1SG.NPT

‘I gave the dog food.’

In (4.10b) the core nominals of the derived benefactive verb *elaa* ‘build for someone’ are the A nominal *na awa-me* ‘my uncle-ERG’ and the O nominals *ni* ‘me’ (semantically the beneficiary) and *ada* ‘house’ (semantically the theme). Both the beneficiary and the theme nominals map onto the object grammatical relation.

(4.10b) *Na awa-me ni ada elaa-ripa.*

My uncle-ERG me house build.for-3SG.NPT

‘My uncle built me a house.’

Finally in (4.10c) the core nominals of the derived causative verb *ma-na* ‘CAUS-eat’ are the A nominal *Mapo-me* ‘Mapo-ERG’ and the O nominals *Nagia* (semantically the causee) and *eda* ‘food’ (semantically the patient), i.e. the causee and the patient nominals map onto the object grammatical relation.

(4.10c) *Mapo-me Nagia eda ma-na-sa.*

Mapo-ERG Nagia food CAUS-eat-3SG.RPT

‘Mapo made Nagia eat food.’

In constructions where verbal cross-referencing does not show up or cannot distinguish person agreements and nominal case markings are not present, word order sorts out at least the subject relation. Consider examples (4.11a-d).

In (4.11a) the copula realis verb *ya* ‘be’ is not inflected for subject-tense agreement (although the verb can be inflected, e.g. *ma-ada ya-lua* ‘CAUS-big be-1SG.FUT = I will make it to become big’). Word order helps identify the subject, which is the first nominal *mena* ‘pig’ because it is the left-most. The second nominal *ada-ai* ‘big-NOM’ is a subject complement or a predicate nominal.

(4.11a) *Mena adaa-ai ya-de.*

pig big-NOM be.REALIS-DEF

‘(I believe) The pig was a big one.’

In (4.11b) neither the irrealis verb *loba-pe* ‘open-IRR’ nor the copula realis verb *ya* ‘be’ is inflected for subject-tense but the nominal *pora* ‘door’ is understood to be the subject of both verbs because of the slot it occupies.

(4.11b) *Pora loba-pe ya.*
 door open-IRR be.REALIS
 ‘The door can be opened.’

In (4.11c) there is no verb present in this predicate nominal construction. Word order determines the first NP as the subject and the second nominal as predicate.

(4.11c) *Na apa Sabu*
 my father Sabu
 ‘My father (is) Sabu.’

In (4.11d), which is a predicate adjective construction, the nominal *mena* ‘pig’ is the subject and the following adjective is the predicate adjective constituent.

(4.11d) *Mena ege*
 pig small
 ‘The pig (is) small.’

4.1.4 Word order and pragmatic statuses of topic and focus

Topic has to do with old information that is backgrounded and focus has to do with new information that is foregrounded. A nominal, a predicate or a clause may have

topic or focus status. In Kewapi constituent order the unmarked topic position is the left-most position and the unmarked focus position is the preverbal position. In transitive constructions movement towards the left increases topichood status of an object or an oblique nominal and movement towards the right increases focushood status of a subject or an oblique nominal constituent. The subject nominal coincides with the topic position and object nominal coincides with the focus position. However, the subject notion is a (morpho)syntactic notion in Kewapi, as mentioned in section 4.1.2.1 above.

Below is a series of examples showing the contrast between the unmarked (standard) constituent order in each of the several types of transitive construction and pragmatically marked alternative orders. Of the three orders shown for each transitive construction (a) is the unmarked order and (b) and (c) are pragmatically marked to give either topic or focus status.

A basic transitive clause: A + OBL + O + V (unmarked word order)

(4.12a) *Ali-mi ipa-pora wena mi-sa.*

Man-ERG water-LOC fish get-3SG.RPT

‘The man caught a fish in the river.’ (A topic, O focus)

OBL + O + A + V (marked word order)

(4.12b) *Ipa-pora wena ali-mi mi-sa.*

Water-LOC fish man-ERG get-3SG.RPT

‘It was the man that caught the fish in the river.’

(OBL topic, A focus)

O + A + OBL + V (marked word order)

(4.12c) *Wena ali-mi ipa-pora mi-sa.*

fish man-ERG water-LOC get-3SG.RPT

‘It was in the river that the man caught the fish.’ (O topic, OBL focus)

In the pragmatically altered word orders in (4.12b-c) the nominal occupying the preverbal slot must be case-marked to show that it is not an object nominal. The ergative marking of the A nominal is obligatory in both the marked and unmarked word-order constructions.

Further pragmatic alternations of word order follow, signalling marked topic and focus nominals with constructions with two object nominals, namely, ditransitive, derived benefactive and causative constructions.

A ditransitive clause: A + O_{Rec} + O_{Theme} + V (unmarked word order)

(4.13a) *Nagia-me Nebo mena kali-sa.*

Nagia-ERG Nebo pig give-3SG.RPT

‘Nagia gave Nebo a pig.’ (A topic, O_{Theme} focus)

O_{Rec} + O_{Theme} + A + V (marked word order)

(4.13b) *Nebo mena Nagia-me kali-sa.*

Nebo pig Nagia-ERG give-3SG.RPT

‘It was Nagia that gave Nebo the pig.’ (O_{Rec} topic, A focus)

O_{Theme} + A + O_{Rec} + V (marked word order)

(4.13c) *Mena Nagia-me Nebo kali-sa.*

pig Nagia-ERG Nebo give-3SG.RPT

‘It was Nebo that Nagia gave the pig to.’ (O_{Theme} topic, O_{Rec} focus)

In a ditransitive construction, as in (4.13a-c), the two O nominals (whose semantic roles are recipient and theme) are unmarked for case. As in (4.13a-c), the A nominal is obligatorily case-marked by the ergative marker.

A derived benefactive clause: A + O_{Ben} + O_{Theme} + V (unmarked word order)

(4.14a) *Awa-me ne kaana meaa-ripa.*

Uncle-ERG you money get.for-3SG.NPT

‘Uncle got you money.’ (A topic, O_{Theme} focus)

O_{Ben} + O_{Theme} + A + V (marked word order)

(4.14b) *Ne kaana awa-me meaa-ripa.*

You money uncle-ERG get.for-3SG.NPT

‘It was uncle that got you money.’ (O_{Ben} topic, A focus)

O_{Theme} + A + O_{Ben} + V (marked word order)

(4.14c) *Kaana awa-me ne-na meaa-ripa.*

money uncle-ERG you-GEN give.for-3SG.NPT

‘It was for you that uncle got the money.’ (O_{Theme} topic, O_{Ben} focus)

In (4.14a-c) the A nominal is ergative case-marked and the theme nominal is unmarked. The recipient nominal must be genitive case-marked in preverbal slot, as in (4.14c).

A derived causative clause: A + O_{Caus} + O_{Pat} + V (unmarked word order)

- (4.15a) *Nebo-me Nagia mena ma-tyaa-ripa.*
 Nebo-ERG Nagia pig CAUS-hit-3SG.NPT
 ‘Nebo got Nagia to slaughter a pig.’ (A topic, O_{Pat} focus)

O_{Caus} + O_{Pat} + A + V (marked word order)

- (4.15b) *Nagia mena Nebo-me ma-tyaa-ripa.*
 Nagia pig Nebo-ERG CAUS-hit-3SG.NPT
 ‘It was Nebo who got Nagia to slaughter the pig.’
 (O_{Caus} topic, A focus)

O_{Pat} + A + O_{Caus} + V (marked word order)

- (4.15c) *Mena Nebo-me Nagia-me ma-tyaa-ripa.*
 pig Nebo-ERG Nagia-INST CAUS-hit-3SG.NPT
 ‘It was Nagia who Nebo got to slaughter the pig.’
 (O_{Pat} topic, O_{Caus} focus)

In (4.15a) the O (causee) nominal cannot be case-marked because it occupies the second unmarked O nominal slot but in (4.15c) it must be case-marked because it occupies the preverbal focus slot which is the unmarked slot for the O (patient) nominal.

In information questions the constituents in focus status are those that provide the information requested:

- (4.16a) Question: *Apea?* ‘What happened?’

- (4.16b) Answer: *Mapo-me Nagia tya-a.*
 Mapo-ERG Nagia hit-3SG.NPT
 ‘Mapo hit Nagia.’ (whole clause focus)
- (4.17a) Question: *Mapo-me apea?*
 Mapo-ERG what.do
 ‘What did Mapo do?’
- (4.17b) Answer: *Mapo-me Nagia tya-a.*
 Mapo-ERG Nagia hit-3SG.NPT
 ‘Mapo hit Nagia.’ (predicate focus)
- (4.18a) Question: *Nagia aapi-mi tya-a?*
 Nagia who-ERG hit-3SG.NPT
 ‘Who hit Nagia?’
- (4.18b) Answer: *Nagia Mapo-me tya-a.*
 Nagia Mapo-ERG hit-3SG.NPT
 ‘Mapo hit Nagia.’ (subject focus)
- (4.19a) Question: *Mapo-me aapi tya-a?*
 Mapo-ERG who hit-3SG.NPT
 ‘Who did Mapo hit?’
- (4.19b) Answer: *Mapo-me Nagia tya-a.*

Mapo-ERG Nagia hit-3SG.NPT

‘Mapo hit Nagia.’ (object focus)

(4.20a) Question:

Mapo-me Nagia aa-pora tya-a?

Mapo-ERG Nagia where-LOC hit-3SG.NPT

‘Where did Mapo hit Nagia?’

(4.20b) Answer:

Mapo-me Nagia ada-pora tya-a.

Mapo-ERG Nagia house-LOC hit-3SG.NPT

‘Mapo hit Nagia in the house.’ (location focus)

Oblique question words occur with oblique case marking (see Table 3.2 in 3.3.1.2.2).

Api ‘who’ can be case-marked for A function by *-mi* ‘ERG’ and unmarked for O function. Nonhuman (subject, object or oblique) functions can be case-marked on the question word *áli* ‘what’.

4.2 Grammatical mood clause types

Kewapi has four grammatical mood clause types: declarative, imperative, subjunctive and interrogative. The declarative, imperative and subjunctive clauses have their own subject agreement suffixes. The interrogative clauses use the same subject suffixes as the declarative clauses.

4.2.1 The declarative clause

The discussion in section 4.1 gave examples of declarative clauses. An important feature of Kewapi (also West Kewa) declarative clauses is that there are two sets of subject-tense suffixes. Verbs select one set or the other depending on the morphophonemic shape of their verb bases. This will be described below.

4.2.1.1 Subject-tense suffix variations

Franklin (1971:38-40) distinguishes two sets of subject-tense suffixes as a ‘Set I subject-tense suffix and a Set II subject-tense suffix’. According to him, “...Set I, which occurs only with active verb bases, mark egocentric benefaction; ... Set II, which occurs with either stative or derived verb bases, marks altrocentric benefaction. It is important to note that the *set* marks either of the categories of benefaction, although the individual affixes mark some other grammatical category as well” (Ibid p.38).

Franklin’s (1971:38-40) statement that the declarative clause selects either a Set I subject-tense suffix when its verb base is active and a Set II subject-tense suffix when its verb base is either a stative or a derived verb does not hold for Kewapi in all cases. On the contrary, the following are the facts: (1) both active and stative verb bases select Set I subject-tense suffixes; (2) active as well as stative and derived verb bases select Set II subject-tense suffixes; (3) a beneficiary argument is derived by a valency derivation process similar to the causative verb derivation process which derives a causer argument so that even imperative clause verbs, whose subject suffixes are different (see 4.2.2 below), can derive benefactive verb forms. Thus Set I and Set II subject-tense as a set do not encode benefaction³.

³ The marking of the beneficiary of a verb is a typological feature in a number of Papuan languages of Papua New Guinea (Wurm 1975). In Selepet, of Morobe Province, there are bound benefactive pronouns according to person and number which follow the verb stem (McElhanon 1970:22). In Enga, Kewapi’s close relative, the noun is optionally marked with a benefactive suffix (-*nyɑ*), which also marks the genitive, and the verb obligatorily takes a suffix that indicates a beneficiary and whether the

The selection of a Set I or a Set II subject-tense suffix is determined by a morphophonemic factor. Verb bases (whether active, stative or derived) that have the long low central vowel /a:/ as their word-final vowel select Set II subject-tense suffixes and those verb bases that do not have this vowel word-finally select Set I subject-tense suffixes.

The following Tables show active, stative and derived verb bases and their selections of either Set I or Set II subject-tense suffixes. Subject person-and-number and tense is treated as a portmanteau suffix following Franklin (1971).

Table 4.1 Verb base *peə* 'do' selects Set I subject-tense suffixes.

Person and Number	Future (FUT)	Progressive (PRG)	Near Past (NPT)	Remote Past (RPT)	Simple Present (SPR)
1SG	<i>pu-lua</i>	<i>peə-lo</i>	<i>peə-wə</i>	<i>pu-kə</i>	<i>pe-e</i>
2SG	<i>pi-li</i>	<i>peə-le</i>	<i>peə-e</i>	<i>pi-si</i>	<i>pe-le</i>
3SG	<i>pi-lia</i>	<i>pi-ə</i>	<i>pea-ə</i>	<i>pi-sə</i>	<i>pe-ə</i>
1DL	<i>pi-lipa</i>	<i>pi-pə</i>	<i>pea-pə</i>	<i>pi-sipə</i>	<i>pe-pə</i>
2/3DL	<i>pi-pi</i>	<i>pi-pi</i>	<i>pea-pe</i>	<i>pi-sipi</i>	<i>pe-pe</i>
1PL	<i>pi-lima</i>	<i>pi-mə</i>	<i>pea-mə</i>	<i>pi-simə</i>	<i>pe-mə</i>
2/3PL	<i>pi-limi</i>	<i>pi-mi</i>	<i>pea-me</i>	<i>pi-simi</i>	<i>pe-me</i>

speaker or the hearer is included or not (Li and Lang 1979:22). Again the benefactive suffix immediately follows the verb. Kewapi seems to be unique in that benefactive verbs are derived from certain activity verbs and the derivation process increases the valence of the benefactive verb by one argument, the beneficiary. The beneficiary NP benefits from the realisation of the action of the derived benefactive verb, rather than the agent or actor who does the action.

The forms of the verb base *peə* ‘do’ in the context of Set I subject-tense suffixes can be accounted for by the following morphophonemic (MP) rules.

MP Rule 1: /e/ → [u, i] / __ [FUT]; *-li* ‘FUT’ in 2/3DL is deleted. The verb base-final vowel /ə/ is deleted. The rule shows that the mid front vowel /e/ changes to high vowels /u/ and /i/.

MP Rule 2: /e/ → [i] / __ [PRG]; elsewhere except 1/2 SG.

MP Rule 3: /ə/ → [a] / __ [NPT]; elsewhere except 1/2SG where the verb base form is retained. In 3SG the subject-tense suffix is completely deleted (shown by the symbol \emptyset) and the zero marks 3SG.NPT.

MP Rule 4: /e/ → [u, i] / __ [RPT]. The verb base-final vowel /ə/ is deleted.

MP Rule 5: /e/ → [i] / __ [SPR]. The verb base-final vowel /ə/ is deleted, i.e.

/ə/ → [\emptyset] / __ [SPR].

Table 4.2 Verb base *lə* ‘say’ selects Set I subject-tense suffixes.

Person and Number	Future (FUT)	Progressive (PRG)	Near Past (NPT)	Remote Past (RPT)	Simple Present (SPR)
1SG	<i>to-a</i>	<i>lə-lo</i>	<i>lə-wə</i>	<i>lu-kə</i>	<i>le-e</i>
2SG	<i>te-e</i>	<i>lə-le</i>	<i>lə-e</i>	<i>li-si</i>	<i>le-le</i>
3SG	<i>te-a</i>	<i>tə-\emptyset</i>	<i>la-\emptyset</i>	<i>li-sə</i>	<i>le-ə</i>
1DL	<i>te-pa</i>	<i>tə-pə</i>	<i>la-mə</i>	<i>li-sipə</i>	<i>le-pə</i>
2/3DL	<i>te-pe</i>	<i>tə-pe</i>	<i>la-pe</i>	<i>li-sipi</i>	<i>le-pe</i>
1PL	<i>te-ma</i>	<i>tə-mə</i>	<i>la-mə</i>	<i>li-simə</i>	<i>le-mə</i>
2/3PL	<i>te-me</i>	<i>tə-me</i>	<i>la-me</i>	<i>li-simi</i>	<i>le-me</i>

The forms of the verb base *lə* ‘say’ in the context of Set I subject-tense suffixes can be accounted for by the following MP rules.

MP Rule 1a: // → [t] / __ [FUT or PRG (except 1/2SG)]; a change from alveodental lateral to alveodental stop.

1b: /ə/ → [e] / __ [FUT]; except in the 1SG where /ə/ → [o] / __ [FUT]. The tense suffixes are deleted, leaving only subject person-and-number suffixes. Note that although the subject-tense suffixes are generally treated as portmanteau or conflated suffixes, as has been mentioned, it is possible in some cases to distinguish tense suffixes from subject person-and-number suffixes, which follow tense suffixes.

In the context of the progressive tense the only notable change is the deletion of the subject-tense suffix in the 3SG.

MP Rule 2: /ə/ → [a] / __ [NPT]; except in 1/2SG where the base vowel /ə/ is retained. In the 3SG the subject-tense suffix is deleted.

MP Rule 3a: /ə/ → [i] / __ [RPT]; except in the 1SG where the verb base vowel

3b: /ə/ → [u] / __ [RPT].

MP Rule 4: /ə/ → [e] / __ [SPR].

Table 4.3 Verb base *cə* 'hit' selects Set I subject-tense suffixes.

Person and Number	Future (FUT)	Progressive (PRG)	Near Past (NPT)	Remote Past (RPT)	Simple Present (SPR)
1SG	<i>tu-a</i>	<i>cə-lo</i>	<i>cə-wə</i>	<i>lu-kə</i>	<i>li-ø</i>
2SG	<i>ti-ø</i>	<i>cə-le</i>	<i>cə-e</i>	<i>li-si</i>	<i>li-li</i>
3SG	<i>ti-a</i>	<i>cə-ø</i>	<i>ca-ø</i>	<i>li-sə</i>	<i>li-ə</i>

1DL	<i>ti-pa</i>	<i>cə-pə</i>	<i>ca-pə</i>	<i>li-sipə</i>	<i>li-pə</i>
2/3DL	<i>ti-pi</i>	<i>cə-pe</i>	<i>ca-pe</i>	<i>li-sipi</i>	<i>li-pi</i>
1PL	<i>ti-ma</i>	<i>cə-mə</i>	<i>ca-mə</i>	<i>li-simə</i>	<i>li-mə</i>
2/3PL	<i>ti-mi</i>	<i>cə-me</i>	<i>ca-me</i>	<i>li-simi</i>	<i>li-mi</i>

The forms of the verb base *cə* ‘hit’ in the context of Set I subject-tense suffixes can be accounted for by the following MP rules.

MP Rule 1a: /*c*/ → [*t*] / __ [FUT]; the verb base consonant /*c*/, a voiceless palatal stop, changes to a voiceless alveodental stop /*t*/.

1b: /*ə*/ → [*i*] / __ [FUT]; except in the 1SG where /*ə*/ → [*u*] / __ [FUT]. The future tense morphemes are deleted, retaining only the subject person-and-number morphemes and in the 2SG the subject-tense suffix is deleted completely.

In the context of the progressive tense the verb base form is retained. In the 3SG the subject-tense suffix is deleted.

MP Rule 2: /*ə*/ → [*a*] / __ [NPT]; except in the 1/2SG where the verb base vowel /*ə*/ is retained. In the 3SG the subject-tense suffix is deleted.

MP Rule 3: /*ə*/ → [*i*] / __ [RPT or SPR]; except in the 1SG in the remote past tense where /*ə*/ → [*u*] / __ [RPT]. In the 1SG in the simple tense the subject-tense suffix is completely deleted.

In summary, it can be stated that morphophonemic rules to account for the phonetic shape of verb bases in the context of Set I subject-tense suffixes tend to be idiosyncractic for each verb base type, regardless of their verb base-final vowel,

because both consonants and vowels (both the penultimate and word-final vowels) undergo morphophonemic changes. In contrast the morphophonemic variations of verb bases occurring in the context of Set II subject-tense suffixes can be accounted for by a set of general rules, which are presented below.

Table 4.4 Verb base *mara:* ‘forget’ selects Set II subject-tense suffixes.

Person and Number	Future (FUT)	Progressive (PRG)	Near Past (NPT)	Remote Past (RPT)	Simple Present (SPR)
1SG	<i>mara:-lua</i>	<i>mara:-to</i>	<i>mara:-ripu</i>	<i>marə-kuə</i>	<i>marə-yo</i>
2SG	<i>mara:-li</i>	<i>mara:-te</i>	<i>mara:-ripi</i>	<i>marə-si</i>	<i>marə-ele</i>
3SG	<i>mara:-lia</i>	<i>mara:-tə</i>	<i>mara:-ripə</i>	<i>marə-sə</i>	<i>marə-yə</i>
1DL	<i>mara:-lipa</i>	<i>mara:-tepə</i>	<i>mara:-pə</i>	<i>marə-sipə</i>	<i>marə-epə</i>
2/3DL	<i>mara:-lipi</i>	<i>mara:-tepe</i>	<i>mara:-pe</i>	<i>marə-sipi</i>	<i>marə-epe</i>
1PL	<i>mara:-lima</i>	<i>mara:-temə</i>	<i>mara:-rimə</i>	<i>marə-simə</i>	<i>marə-emə</i>
2/3PL	<i>mara:-limi</i>	<i>mara:-teme</i>	<i>mara:-rimi</i>	<i>marə-simi</i>	<i>marə-eme</i>

The MP rules to account for the morphophonemic variation of verb bases which end with a long low central vowel /a:/ (and this includes both stative verb bases like *mara:* ‘forget’ or active verb bases like *bebola:* ‘mix’) in the context of Set II subject-tense suffixes are:

- MP Rules: 1a: /a:/ → [a:] / __ [FUT/PRG/NPT]
 1b: /a:/ → [ə] / __ [RPT/SPR]

Table 4.5 Benefactive verb bases (derived from the verb base *kəbə* ‘buy’) select Set II subject-tense suffixes.

Person and Number	Future (FUT)	Progressive (PRG)	Near Past (NPT)	Remote Past (RPT)	Simple Present (SPR)
1SG	<i>kəba:-lua</i>	<i>kəba:-to</i>	<i>kəba:-ripu</i>	<i>kəbə-kuə</i>	<i>kəbə-yo</i>
2SG	<i>kəba:-li</i>	<i>kəba:-te</i>	<i>kəba:-ripi</i>	<i>kəbə-si</i>	<i>kəbə-ele</i>
3SG	<i>kəba:-lia</i>	<i>kəba:-tə</i>	<i>kəba:-ripə</i>	<i>kəbə-sə</i>	<i>kəbə-yə</i>
1DL	<i>kəba:-lipa</i>	<i>kəba:-tepə</i>	<i>kəba:-pə</i>	<i>kəbə-sipə</i>	<i>kəbə-epə</i>
2/3DL	<i>kəba:-lipi</i>	<i>kəba:-tepe</i>	<i>kəba:-pe</i>	<i>kəbə-sipi</i>	<i>kəbə-epe</i>
1PL	<i>kəba:-lima</i>	<i>kəba:-temə</i>	<i>kəba:-rimə</i>	<i>kəbə-simə</i>	<i>kəbə-emə</i>
2/3PL	<i>kəba:-limi</i>	<i>kəba:-teme</i>	<i>kəba:-rimi</i>	<i>kəbə-simi</i>	<i>kəbə-eme</i>

Benefactive verbs can be derived from active verb bases ending in the vowels /ə/ (e.g. *kəbə* ‘buy’), /u/ (e.g. *pu* ‘go’ or *pupu* ‘come.go = pass’), /i/ (e.g. *gi* ‘give me’) or /a/ (e.g. *na* ‘eat’ or *ra* ‘emit vomit or excrement’). No Kewapi verb base ends with the vowels /e/ or /o/. Benefactive verbs cannot be derived from verb bases ending in the long central vowel /a:/, e.g. *mara:* ‘forget (stative)’, *ədoa:* ‘wait (stative)’, *ədoba:* ‘look after (stative)’, *bebola:* ‘mix’ (active), *wea:* ‘throw/send’ (active), *wəra:* ‘touch’ (active), *əgəla:* ‘throw’ (active), *kaleya:* ‘form alliance’ (active), etc. The benefactive verb derivations rules in the context of Set II subject-tense suffixes are:

- MP Rules:
- 1: /ə, u, i, or a/ → [a:] / __ [FUT, PRG or NPT]
 - 2: /ə, u, i, or a/ → [ə] / __ [RPT or SPR]

Table 4.6 Causative verb forms (derived from the verb base *na* ‘eat’) select Set II subject-tense suffixes.

Person and Number	Future (FUT)	Progressive (PRG)	Near Past (NPT)	Remote Past (RPT)	Simple Present (SPR)
1SG	<i>mə-na:-lua</i>	<i>mə-na:-to</i>	<i>mə-na:-ripu</i>	<i>mə-nə-kuə</i>	<i>mə-nə-yo</i>
2SG	<i>mə-na:-li</i>	<i>mə-na:-te</i>	<i>mə-na:-ripi</i>	<i>mə-nə-si</i>	<i>mə-nə-ele</i>
3SG	<i>mə-na:-lia</i>	<i>mə-na:-tə</i>	<i>mə-na:-ripə</i>	<i>mə-nə-sə</i>	<i>mə-nə-yə</i>
1DL	<i>mə-na:-lipa</i>	<i>mə-na:-tepə</i>	<i>mə-na:-pə</i>	<i>mə-nə-sipə</i>	<i>mə-nə-epə</i>
2/3DL	<i>mə-na:-lipi</i>	<i>mə-na:-tepe</i>	<i>mə-na:-pe</i>	<i>mə-nə-sipi</i>	<i>mə-nə-epe</i>
1PL	<i>mə-na:-lima</i>	<i>mə-na:-temə</i>	<i>mə-na:-rimə</i>	<i>mə-nə-simə</i>	<i>mə-nə-emə</i>
2/3PL	<i>mə-na:-limi</i>	<i>mə-na:-teme</i>	<i>mə-na:-rimi</i>	<i>mə-nə-simi</i>	<i>mə-nə-eme</i>

Causative verbs can be derived from all verb bases. Derived verb bases cannot undergo another derivation process. For instance, derived benefactive verb bases cannot undergo causative verb derivation nor can derived causative verb bases undergo benefactive verb derivation because of valency derivation constraints. Semantically, the beneficiary of both the derived benefactive and derived causative verbs are referents other than the agents who initiate the processes. The causative verb derivation rules in the context of Set II subject-tense suffixes are:

- MP Rules: 1: /ə, u, i, a, or a:/ → [a:] / __ [FUT, PRG or NPT]
 2: /ə, u, i, a, or a:/ → [ə] / __ [RPT or SPR]

Note that the vowel of the causative prefix *mə-* ‘CAUS’ does not perturb the final vowels of the verb bases, as can be seen from the above subject-tense suffixes. The

MP rules are somewhat similar for verb bases ending with /a:/ and derived verbs in the context Set II subject-tense suffixes. So derived verbs and verb bases with the word-final vowel /a:/ select Set II subject-tense suffixes and verb bases that have the vowels /ə/, /u/, /i/ or /a/ as their word-final vowel select Set I subject-tense suffixes.

4.2.2 The imperative clause

Only activity verbs have imperative verb forms. Immediate imperative, non-immediate imperative and negative imperative are types of imperative clauses whose subject suffixes are presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7 Subject suffixes of imperative clauses

Immediate imperative	Non-immediate imperative	Negative imperative
Singular: Verb stem	Singular: V- <i>pe</i> ⁴	Singular: <i>na</i> -‘NEG’ + V- <i>pe</i>
Non-singular: V-(<i>le</i>) <i>pa</i> (tr.) V-(<i>lu</i>) <i>pa</i> (intr.)	Non-singular: V-(<i>le</i>) <i>pa-pe</i> V-(<i>lu</i>) <i>pa-pe</i>	Non-singular: <i>na</i> - ‘NEG’ + V-(<i>le</i>) <i>pa-pe</i> <i>na</i> - ‘NEG’ + V-(<i>lu</i>) <i>pa-pe</i>

Second person singular subject of an imperative clause is not marked on the verb. Non-singular subjects are marked. Dual and plural number are not distinguished. Examples of these types of imperative clauses appear below.

	Singular	Non-singular
(4.21a)	<i>Pu!</i>	<i>Pu-lupa.</i>
	go	go-DL/PL
	'(You) go (now).'	'You dual/plural go (now).'

⁴ In West Kewa *-pe* marks an immediate imperative clause (Franklin 1971:39).

(4.21b)	<i>Po-pe.</i>	<i>Pu-lupa-pe.</i>
	go-IRR	go-2DL/PL-IRR
	'(You) go (later).'	'You dual/plural go (later).'
(4.21c)	<i>Na-po-pe.</i>	<i>Na-pu-lupa-pe.</i>
	NEG-go-IRR	NEG-go-2DL/PL-IRR
	'(You) don't go (now).'	'You dual/plural don't go (now).'

The irrealis marks a non-immediate imperative clause, as in (4.21b), and an immediate negative imperative clause, as in (4.21c). Nouns and free pronouns are used to distinguish dual and plural number in imperative constructions. See 6.1.9.3 for a discussion of how discourse context determines the distinction between an immediate polite command and a non-immediate command.

The verb *pu* 'go' has the subjunctive variant *ba* that is used to express a range of speech acts, as the following paradigmatic set shows.

- (4.22a) *ba!* 'let us dual go!' (exclusive) a command
- (4.22b) *bá?* 'shall we dual go?' (inclusive) a request
- (4.22c) *ba-i?* 'shall we plural go?' (inclusive) a request
- (4.22d) *ba-na* 'we two should go' (exclusive) an obligation
- (4.22e) *ba-ne* 'let us dual go!' (inclusive) a command
- (4.22f) *ba-inya* 'we plural should go' (inclusive) an obligation
- (4.22g) *ba-lepa* 'let us plural go!' (inclusive) a command

In (4.22a), (4.22b) and (4.22g) the verbs have imperative verb forms. In (4.22c), (4.22d), (4.22e) and (4.22f) the verbs are suffixed by subjunctive verb subject suffixes (see 8.2.2.2). The imperative predicates generally express commands, except

(4.22b), which expresses a request that is signalled prosodically by a question intonation and the subjunctive predicates generally express obligation (or perhaps modulated commands), except (4.22e), which expresses a command. The subject suffix *-ne* is perhaps derived from *-na* ‘3SG’, a subjunctive subject suffix.

Franklin (1971:113) has a similar paradigmatic set. Those forms unique to Kewapi are (4.22a) and (4.22e). The speech act interpretations are those of the present writer, except that of (4.22g), which is the same as Franklin’s. Franklin and the present writer differ on the analyses of person-and-number and inclusion and exclusion of the second person in the predicates of the paradigmatic set.

4.2.3 The interrogative clause

A yes-no interrogative clause is formed by marking a declarative clause (4.23a) with a question marker, as in (4.23b).

- (4.23a) *Naaki-de* *ipi-sa.*
 boy-DEF come-3SG.RPT
 ‘The boy came.’
- (4.23b) *Naaki-de* *ipi-sa-yaa?*
 boy-DEF come-3SG.RPT-Q
 ‘Did the boy come?’.

Information questions are formed by using question words (see 4.1.4 above).

4.2.4 The subjunctive clause

The following are characterisations of the subjunctive mood in recent literature.

- (a) “Mood, especially in European languages, whose central role is to mark a clause

as expressing something other than a statement of what is certain” (Matthews 1997:360).

(b) “A term used in the grammatical classification of sentence types, and usually seen in contrast to INDICATIVE, IMPERATIVE, etc., MOODS. It refers to VERB forms or sentence/CLAUSE types used in the expression of many kinds of uncertainty” (Crystal 1997:370).

(c) “The label subjunctive is applied somewhat differently in different languages, but we can identify two opposite poles of use, with an area of mixing and overlap between them. One pole is the grammatical one of syntactic subordination, i.e. subjunctive verb forms show that a verb is in a subordinate clause. The other pole is semantic, where the subjunctive marks language specific types of irrealis mood, and is thus used for wishes, beliefs, exhortations, and commands, etc.” (Saeed (1997:129).

(d) “Considered cross-linguistically, there is evidence of a relation between the *subjunctive* and *imperative* or related moods. When subjunctive forms are used in main clauses, they have an *imperative* function .. and/or a *hortative* function. The marking of subjunctive parallels that of indicative or imperative in most languages (Bybee 1985:186-7).

The Kewapi subjunctive clause has in common the cross-linguistic characterisations in (a-d). The following are specific characterisations of the Kewapi subjunctive clause.

(1) The subjunctive verb is marked for subject agreement but not tense. It is similar in this respect to the imperative verb, but the subjunctive and the imperative clauses have distinct subject agreement suffixes. (2) As an independent clause, the subjunctive clause expresses deontic modality (obligation, permission, prohibition, etc.). The clause can be marked by extra morphology to express types of deontic modalities. (3) Syntactically the subjunctive clause occurs in subordinate (embedded) contexts. In coordinate sentences it is used as a coordinate-dependent clause that is

temporally or aspectually linked to the final clause. In such a construction the subject suffixes that mark the subjunctive verb function as switch-reference markers (see 8.2.2.2).

Examples (4.24a-d) give a flavour of some of the uses of the subjunctive clause. As in (4.24a), when the subjunctive clause is used as an in subordinate clause it expresses deontic modality.

- (4.24a) *Ne pa-inya.*
 you go-2SG
 ‘You should/must go.’

As in (4.24b), the presence of the interrogative marker *-ya* marks the subjunctive clause as expressing a question or seeking permission.

- (4.24b) *Naaki ada-pora pe-na-ya?*
 boy house-LOC go-3SG-Q
 ‘Can the boy go to the house?’

As in (4.24c), the subjunctive clause occurs as object complement clause in subordinate (embedded) constructions.

- (4.24c) *Né-mé [ne pa-inya] la-wa-de.*
 I-ERG [you go-2SG] say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 ‘(I believe) I said that you must go.’

As in (4.24d), the subjunctive clause is employed as a coordinate-dependent clause in a switch-reference construction.

- (4.24d) *Naaki pe-na-lomaa nogo ipi-sa.*
 boy go-3SG.DS-SEQ girl come-3SG.RPT
 ‘After the boy had gone, the girl came.’

4.3 Verb classes

Verbs in Kewapi may be classified in respect of transitivity as intransitive, transitive, ditransitive and derived transitive. Monovalent verbs are intransitive, bivalent verbs are transitive, and trivalent verbs are ditransitive. In the following intransitive verbs appear in Table 4.8 and transitive verbs in Table 4.9. Note that /a/, /aa/ and /aa:/ are the Kewapi orthographic symbols representing the phonemes /ə/, /a/ and /a:/ respectively.

4.3.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs may be divided into activity verbs and non-activity verbs (stative, spontaneous, process, etc.). Table 4.8 presents some examples of intransitive verbs that take actor and undergoer subjects.

Table 4.8 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs	
Actor	Undergoer
<i>i raa</i> ‘to defecate’	<i>abu pea</i> ‘to be yellow’
<i>ipu</i> ‘to come’	* <i>aya</i> ‘to cause oneself to be standing’
<i>kope naa</i> ‘to attempt suicide by hanging’	<i>ebelea</i> ‘to be bent’
<i>pu</i> ‘to go’	<i>gipia</i> ‘to be tired’
<i>pu raa</i> ‘to urinate’	<i>kalaa wia</i> ‘to be put/be spacious, or to have space, of clothes, room’
* <i>aa:</i> ‘to stand’	
* <i>adanyaa:</i> ‘to look down’	<i>komea</i> ‘to be sick’

* <i>adasaa</i> : ‘to look up’	<i>kupa pea</i> ‘to be cold’
<i>ala</i> ‘to open one’s mouth’	<i>kodo pea</i> ‘to be sorry’
<i>biya</i> ‘to fly’	<i>kuru pea</i> ‘to be worn out, of garment’
* <i>kawareaa</i> : ‘to limp’	<i>kusa-ba a-ya</i> ‘to be stuck fast, of stick in the mud’
<i>koda</i> ‘to go inside’	<i>kuya-ba a-ya</i> ‘to be erect, as the tail of a dog, or penis’
<i>liraa</i> : ‘to stop an activity, e.g. to stop talking’	<i>lereaa</i> ‘to be well’
* <i>makeaa</i> : ‘to act crazy’	<i>lobea</i> ‘to be cracked open, as ground’
<i>pisa</i> ‘to sit’	<i>lomea</i> ‘to recede, of water’
<i>wepo la</i> ‘to whistle’	<i>lopa</i> ‘to have fallen’
* <i>yadasaa</i> : ‘to lay face up on the back’	* <i>maaraa</i> : ‘to be forgetful’
* <i>kalabatyaa</i> : ‘to trip oneself’	<i>midi pea</i> ‘to be tough, as wood’
*selects a Set II subject-tense suffix	<i>po lea</i> ‘to expand, of a decomposing body’

Examples (4.25a-e) show intransitive verbs with actor, experiencer and undergoer subject NPs. (4.25a) has a verb-verb adjunct realising a motion-intransitive verb that has an actor-as-subject.

(4.25a) *Naaki alo pa-sa.*
 boy run go-3SG.RPT
 ‘The boy ran.’

In (4.25b) the subject nominal is an experiencer. The verb *la* ‘say’ is used as an intransitive verb when it occurs with the verbal adjunct *beta* ‘to burp’. When the subject nominal is marked by the ergative marker the adjunct *beta* ‘burp’ becomes an object nominal of the verb *la* ‘say’ as in *Yomo goe-me beta li-sa* ‘man old-ERG burp

say-3SG.RPT = 'The old man said burp', a type of reported speech construction (see 7.1.1).

- (4.25b) *Yomo goe beta li-sa.*
 man old burp say-3SG.RPT
 'The old man burped.'

In (4.25c) the subject nominal is undergoer, that is, it is undergoing the process of growing.

- (4.25c) *Kaai-de opa-la.*
 banana-DEF grow-3SG.PRG
 'The banana is growing.'

The subject nominal in (4.25d) is in a state and is therefore an undergoer. The verb *aa* 'stand' functions as a copula *be* verb (see 4.4.2 for a discussion of *be* predicates).

- (4.25d) *Repona ada gale a-ya.*
 tree house near stand-3SG.SPR
 'The tree is near the house.'

The subject nominal in (4.25e) is undergoer of the spontaneous process of becoming broken.

- (4.25e) *Megaalo atubi tya-bi-sa.*
 bamboo break hit-PUNCT-3SG.RPT
 'The bamboo became broken.'

In (4.25e) the verbs *atubi* ‘break’ and *tya* ‘hit’ form a serial causative predicate and the suffix *-bi* ‘PUNCT’ functions as detransitiver (see 4.3.2.5).

4.3.2 Transitive verbs

There are monotransitive, ditransitive, benefactive and causative transitive verbs. Monotransitive and ditransitive verb stems are basic, while benefactive and causative verb stems are derived. As mentioned in 4.2.1.1, a benefactive verb can only be derived from activity verbs because people undertake activities to benefit themselves or others. Non-activity verbs like stative verbs can never occur as benefactive verbs. Activities done for others are morphologically coded in the verb by changing the final vowel of the derived verb base to /a:/, a long low central vowel. This final vowel change also applies to derived causative verb bases and such derived verb bases select Set II subject-tense suffixes. Table 4.9 presents some examples of transitive verb types.

Table 4.9 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs			
Monotransitive verbs	Ditransitive verbs	Benefactive verbs	Causative verbs [causative verbs are derived potentially from all verb classes]
<i>Madaa</i> : ‘to meet s.o.’	<i>gi</i> ‘to give me s.th.’	<i>adiaa</i> ‘to tie or fasten, as a pig, bag for s.o.’	<i>maliraa</i> ‘to stop s.o. from talking’
* <i>Maraa</i> : ‘to wear s.th.’	<i>kala</i> ‘to give s.o. s.th.’	for s.o.’	<i>makawareaa</i> ‘to cause s.o. to limp’
<i>naa</i> ‘to eat’	* <i>weaa</i> : ‘to (give) ‘to send s.o. s.th.’	<i>amege-peaa</i> ‘to straighten, or	<i>malaa</i> ‘to cause s.o. to talk, to play a tape or a radio’
* <i>kiaa</i> : ‘to slice as when butchering a pig’	<i>wala</i> ‘to show s.o. s.th.’	organise s.th. for s.o.’	<i>mana</i> ‘to cause s.o. to eat’, etc.
* <i>weaa</i> : ‘to throw’ s.o. down’	* <i>moyaa</i> : ‘to send s.th. to s.o. through s.o.’	<i>aawaa</i> ‘to dig, or to string a bow for s.o.’	

<p><i>*waraa:</i> ‘to touch’ <i>tya</i> ‘to hit’ <i>adia</i> ‘to hang s.th.’ <i>ratya</i> ‘to chase’ <i>liripia</i> ‘to tear’ <i>yarepea</i> ‘to gather’</p>	<p><i>*lariaa:</i> ‘to teach s.o. s.th.’ <i>*rumaa:</i> ‘to share s.th. with s.o.’</p> <p>Key: s.o. = someone s.th. = something</p>	<p><i>yasaa</i> ‘to plant s.th. for s.o.’ <i>yawaa</i> ‘to put grass on the roof of a house, or to steamroast s.th. in an earth oven for s.o.’ <i>elaa</i> ‘to build s.th. for s.o.’ <i>riaa</i> ‘to carry, as wood for s.o.’</p>	
<p>*Selects Set II subject-tense suffixes</p>			

4.3.2.1 Monotransitive verbs

As mentioned in 4.1.1, a monotransitive verb takes a subject and object arguments and that the subject nominal is marked by the ergative marker *-me/-mi*, as in examples (4.26a-c).

(4.26a) *Yana-me eda ni-sa.*
dog-ERG food eat-3SG.RPT
‘The dog ate food.’

(4.26b) *Eda aapi-mi ni-sa?*
food who-ERG eat-3SG.RPT
‘Who ate the food?’

(4.26c) *Eda yana-me ni-sa.*
food dog-ERG eat-3SG.RPT
‘The dog ate the food.’

In (4.26a), a normal SOV structure, the subject nominal *yana* ‘dog’ is case-marked and the object nominal *eda* ‘food’ is unmarked. In (4.26b), an information-question construction (OSV), the object nominal is fronted as presupposed information (a topic) and the subject nominal occupies the focus position because the question seeks the identity of the subject-agent. (4.26c), another OSV construction, is an answer for the question in (4.26b). Here the information sought is provided, revealing the identity of the subject-as-agent nominal.

4.3.2.2 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs have the semantic arguments agent, theme and recipient. Agent maps onto subject function and theme and recipient map onto object function. As in the examples (4.27a-c), the unmarked word order for a ditransitive clause is AO_{Rec}O_{Theme}V.

(4.27a) *Né-mé ade yana eda kala-wa.*
 I-ERG the dog food give-1SG.NPT
 'I gave the dog food.'

(4.27b) *Ipu-mi ipu-na rai ni gi-sa.*
 he-ERG he-GEN axe me give-3SG.RPT
 'He gave me his axe.'

(4.27c) *Aaraa-me ne-nane si kaana*
 father-ERG you-DIR son money
moyaa-ripa.
 send-3SG.NPT
 'The father send his son money through you.'

Although the unmarked position of the recipient nominal is preceding the theme nominal, as in (4.27a) and (4.27c), it is possible for the theme to precede the recipient, as in (4.27b). In (4.27c) the directive case marker *-nane* marks the pronoun as a peripheral argument.

4.3.2.3 Benefactive verbs

The semantic arguments of a benefactive verb are agent, theme and beneficiary. In terms of the mapping of semantic roles to grammatical functions, agent functions as subject and theme and beneficiary as object. The following examples (4.28a-d) illustrate constructions with non-benefactive and benefactive transitive verbs.

The verb in (4.28a) does not code benefaction. The actor built the house.

- (4.28a) *Ne-na awa-me ada eli-sa.*
 you-GEN uncle-ERG house build-3SG.RPT
 'Your uncle built a house.'

In (4.28b-c) the verbs codes benefaction. In addition the beneficiary nominal *ne* 'you' is present in the clauses. While it is true that verbs that can be marked for benefaction always end with the vowel /aa:/ in their derived bases in the future, present, near past for all persons (i.e. first, second and third), this does not apply in the remote past, as (4.28c) shows (or in the simple present tense). In (4.28c) the word-final vowel of the verb base is /a/, a mid central vowel, and because the verb base codes benefaction it selects a set II subject-tense suffix. The MP rules to account for the phonetic shape of derived benefactive bases are in 4.2.1.1 above.

- (4.28b) *Ne-na awa-me ne ada elaa:-ripa.*
 you-GEN uncle-ERG you house build.for-3SG.NPT
 'Your uncle built you a house.'

- (4.28c) *Ne-na awa-me ne ada ela-sa.*
 you-GEN uncle-ERG you house build.for-3SG.RPT
 'Your uncle built you a house.'

The beneficiary nominal is unmarked in its core argument function, as in (4.28b) or (4.28c) above. However, it is possible for the beneficiary nominal to be marked by the genitive marker *-na*, as in (4.28d).

- (4.28d) *Ne-na awa-me ada ne-na*
 you-GEN uncle-ERG house you-GEN
ela-sa.
 build.for-3SG.RPT
 'Your uncle built you a house.'

In (4.28d) the beneficiary nominal occupies the preverbal position, which is the unmarked position for the most patient-like object nominal. The beneficiary therefore has to be marked to signal that it is not the theme nominal, which is the most patient-like nominal in the clause (see also 4.1.4 above, for a discussion of pragmatically-altered word orders).

4.3.2.4 Causative verbs

Comrie (1989) distinguishes three types of causative constructions: analytical, lexical and morphological. Kewapi has the three, as (4.29a-c) show.

In (4.29a), an analytical causative construction, the verbs in series *atubi* 'break' and *tya* 'hit' together function as an analytical causative verb.

- (4.29a) *Winya-me pe atubi tya-a*

woman-ERG pot break hit-3SG.NPT

‘The woman smashed a pot.’

In (4.29b), a lexical causative construction, the verb *rali* ‘pull out’ is the lexical causative verb.

(4.29b) *Ali-mi paape rali-sa.*
 man-ERG fence pull out-3SG.RPT
 ‘The man pulled out the fence.’

In (4.29c), a morphological causative construction, the causative verb derivational prefix *ma-* ‘CAUS’ derives the morphological causative verb *ma-lopaa* ‘cause to fall’.

(4.29c) *Ipu-mi yana ma-lopaa-ripa.*
 he-ERG dog CAUS-fall-3SG.NPT
 ‘He caused a dog to fall.’

Analytical, lexical and morphological causatives are now discussed in relation to their grammar and semantics. The relevant grammatical parameters are formal structure and valence and semantic parameters are direct/indirect causation and the degree of control retained by the patient (DeLancey 1984, Comrie 1989).

4.3.2.4.1 Analytical causatives

Analytical causatives tend to be serialised verbs (see 4.4.1 for a further discussion of serial verbs) that have the verb *tya* ‘hit’ as a final member in the series. There is no change in valence. In terms of the semantic parameter of direct/indirect causation, the agent (causer) directly affects the patient, as in (4.29a) above and (4.30a-b) below.

(4.30a) *Naaki-mi **botolo rerepe li-sa.*
 wman-ERG bottle crack hit-3SG.RPT
 ‘The boy cracked a bottle.’

(4.30b) *Ipu-mi **balumu bula ti-a*
 he-ERG balloon explode hit-3SG.FUT
 ‘He will explode a balloon.’

4.3.2.4.2 Lexical causatives

Lexical causative verbs tend to be those transitive verbs that occur with the verb *tya* ‘hit’ when they are detransitivised (see 4.3.2.5 below), as in (4.31a).

(4.31a) has the lexical causative verb *rodopea* ‘break off’ (which was probably originally a serial predicate *rodo pea* ‘break off do’ but *rodo* is now neither a full verb nor an adjunct), so the serial verb has become a compound verb.

(4.31a) *Ne-me waali rodopea-le.*
 you-ERG sugar cane break-2SG.PRG
 ‘You are breaking off sugar cane.’

(4.31b) is the detransitivised version or counterpart of (4.31a).

(4.31b) *Waali rodope tya-bi-sa.*
 sugar cane break hit-PUNCT-3SG.RPT
 ‘The sugar cane became broken.’

4.3.2.4.3 Morphological causatives

In morphological causative constructions, there is an increase in valence by one argument (the causer). The verbal prefix *ma-* derives morphological causative verbs and this operation is productive. The causer of morphological causative verbs are obligatorily ergative case-marked by *-me* 'ERG'.

DeLancey (1984) states that the agent and patient share responsibility in realising the action of the derived causative of a transitive verb and there is a lack of intentionality, semantic features associated with intermediate or mediated cause. In Kewapi in morphological causatives derived from intransitive and monotransitive verbs, the causee is unmarked, i.e. treated as patient. It is left to the context to provide clues about control. Consider (4.32-3).

In the context of clause (4.32) the father causes his son (a toddler) to walk by walking him on the road. If the situation were to change so that the man's son is a young adult who the causer persuaded to go, causation would be indirect and the son would retain some responsibility in realisation the action.

- (4.32) *Araa-me si pora ma-puaa-ripa*
 father-ERG son road CAUS-go-3SG.NPT
 'The father got his son to walk on the road.'

In (4.33) the two interpretations ('his wife did/did not have control over being fed') are possible depending on the situational context.

- (4.33) *Nebo-me were eda ma-naa-ripa.*
 Nebo-ERG wife food CAUS-eat-3SG.NPT
 'Nebo caused his wife to eat food.' or
 'Nebo fed his wife food.'

In causative constructions derived from ditransitive verbs the causee is obligatorily marked by the instrumental marker, as (4.34).

- (4.34) *Agi-mi nogo-me imu eda*
 mother-ERG girl-INST they food
ma-kala-sa.
 CAUS-give-3SG.RPT
 'The mother got the girl to give them food.'

In (4.34) both the agent and the causee share responsibility in realising the action of the derived causative verb.

Responsibility can be attributed to a causer but intentionality may not, as in (4.35).

- (4.35) *Ali-mi were ma-koma-sa.*
 man-ERG wife CAUS-die-3SG.RPT
 'The man caused his wife to die.'

In (4.35) the man is responsible for his wife's death, but there is no formal evidence that he intentionally caused his wife's death.

Intentionality is formally signalled when the enclitic *-me* encliticises a predicate (see 8.2.2.1.2) or a verbal adjunct, as in (4.36). In (4.36) the agent's intentional action that causes a patient's change of state is expressed by the adjunct *kone* 'thought' marked by the instrumental marker *-me*.

- (4.36) *Ali-mi were kone-me ma-koma-sa.*
 man-ERG wife thought-INST CAUS-die-3SG.RPT

'The man intentionally made his wife to die.' [lit.: 'The man with his thought caused his wife to die.']

4.3.2.5 Detransitivised verbs

Detransitivised verbs⁵ are those suffixed by the punctual aspectual suffix *-ba* (for all tenses) or *-bi*, (for remote past), which functions as a detransitiviser, reducing the transitive verbs' valence by one argument (the agent). Verbs undergoing detransitivisation may be simple, compound or analytical transitive verbs. In the following pairs of sentences (4.37-4.40) the first contains a transitive verb and the second a detransitivised verb.

- (4.37a) *Naaki-mi kope kepe-ta.*
 boy-ERG rope unwind-3SG.PRG
 'The boy is unwinding a rope.'

- (4.37b) *Kope kepe tya-ba-la*
 rope unwind hit-PUNCT-3SG.PRG
 'The rope is becoming unwounded.'

- (4.38a) *Ne-me repona rele pi-si.*

⁵ Payne (1997:218) refers to detransitivised constructions where the subject is the patient as 'middle constructions'. Middle refers to the voice distinctions (active/middle/passive) whereby middle verbs focus on the process whereas passive verbs focus on the action. He further states (p.218) that sometimes morphological middle constructions are called anti-causatives. In such constructions instead of starting with a non-causative verb and adding a morpheme to make it causative, a middle construction starts with a causative verb and results in a non-causative. In Kewapi causative transitive verbs (both analytical and lexical causatives) are detransitivised by the punctual aspectual suffix *-ba/-bi* when it functions as a detransitiviser.

you-ERG wood split do-2SG.RPT

‘You split the wood.’

(4.38b) *Repona rele pu tya-bi-sa.*

wood split do hit-PUNCT-3SG.RPT

‘The wood became split.’

(4.39a) *Ali-mi megaalo atubi ti-a.*

man-ERG bamboo break hit-3SG.FUT

‘The man will smash [break and hit] a bamboo.’

(4.39b) *Megaalo atubi tya-ba-lia.*

bamboo break hit-PUNCT-3SG.FUT

‘The bamboo will become broken.’

(4.40a) *Winya-me taga-pora sapi*

woman-ERG ash-LOC sweet potato

kuli-sa.

Cook-3SG.RPT

‘The woman baked a sweet potato in the ashes.’

(4.40b) *Taga-pora sapi kusa-ba*

ash-LOC sweet potato cook-PUNCT

a-sa.

stand.DUR-3SG.RPT

‘The sweet potato was baking in the ashes.’

In (4.37-4.40), (4.37a) has a lexical causative verb; (4.38a) has an auxiliary serial verb; (4.39a) has an analytical causative verb; and, (4.40a) has a non-causative

transitive verb. In (4.37b-40b) the valence of the transitive verbs marked by the suffix *-ba/-bi* 'PUNCT' is reduced by one argument (the agent-as-subject).

So lexical causative verbs such as *pakea* 'miss/avoid', *rasa* 'pull out', *kepea* 'unwind', *apea* 'scoop out', etc., compound causative verbs such as *rodo-pea* 'break off-do', *rere-pea* 'crack-do', *liri-pia* 'tear-do', etc. or analytical causative verbs such as *bula tya* 'explode hit', *atubi tya* 'break hit', etc. require the verb *tya* 'hit' when they are detransitivised. Non-causative transitive verbs such as *kusa* 'cook/bake', *mudiaa* 'hang', *kisa* 'cook/burn' etc. do not require the verb *tya* 'hit'. They are detransitivised by *-ba/-bi* 'PUNCT' when it suffixes the lexical verb head in an aspectual auxiliary verb phrase (see 6.2 for a description of auxiliary verb phrase types), as in (4.40b) above.

4.4 Predicate types

Predicate types described in the following subsections are serial verb constructions (SVCs), *be* predicates, verb-less predicates and tense-less predicates. Construction types in which these predicate types occur are illustrated and in some cases characterised or defined.

4.4.1 Serial verb constructions

The following are some cross-linguistic defining features of SVCs (Foley and Olsen 1985, Crowley 1987, 1990, Pawley and Lane 1998).

- (i) There is no contrast between verbs in the marking for categories such as tense, mood, person/number of subject, transitivity or negation, or in the selection of adjunct arguments.
- (ii) Negation is marked on one verb in the series but has scope over the entire series.
- (iii) Serial verbs are not separated by adverbs or clause linkers.
- (iv) The verb series is spoken in a single intonation contour, i.e. without internal pause.

(v) There are restrictions on core arguments (actor and undergoer) according to two main patterns. Either all actors are identical, or the undergoer of one verb becomes the actor of the next.

In addition to the above, prototypical SVCs in Kewapi also exhibit the following characteristics.

- (vi) In a series of juxtaposed verb stems only the final verb inflects for subject-tense agreement.
- (vii) Usually the linear order of verbs reflects the order of events represented by these verbs. (This is not true in every case.)
- (viii) Verbs tend to retain their lexical meanings.
- (ix) Kewapi verbs have distinct forms when they occur as serial or medial verbs (see 3.3.2.2.4).

James (1983:26-75) describes verb serialisation in Siane. She draws her data from the Komongu dialect spoken in the Watabung area of the Eastern Highlands Province. The three functions of SVCs in Siane are: (1) auxiliary serialisation - certain verbs are used as aspectual, deontic or valence-increasing auxiliaries with most verbs of the language; (2) progressional serialisation - the use of motion verbs and other verbs to indicate movement or change from one location to another, etc.; and, (3) lexical serialisation - the combination of verb stems which have a composite meaning which goes beyond the sum of the meaning of individual verbs in the series.

The serialisation patterns found in Siane are present in Kewapi as the following examples demonstrate.

Auxiliary serialisation

verb stem	lexical meaning	auxiliary function
<i>pea</i>	'do'	subject-tense, mode marking

<i>aa</i>	‘stand’	durative aspect
<i>pisa</i>	‘sit’	durative aspect
<i>sa</i>	‘put’	durative aspect (see 4.4.2.2)
<i>tya</i>	‘hit’	causative, purpose (see (4.42c))
<i>ba</i>	‘go’	punctual aspect
<i>mea</i>	‘take’	completive aspect
<i>ádá</i>	‘see’	conative modality (see (4.42d))

For instance, the verb *aa* ‘stand’ functions as an auxiliary denoting durative aspect in *imu eda no aa-rimi* ‘they food eat stand.DUR-3PL.NPT = they plural were eating food.’ The auxiliary function of the other verbs above are described in the following sections: *pea* ‘do’ in 6.2 under auxiliary verb phrases, *pisa* ‘sit’ in 6.1.7.1, *tya* ‘hit’ in 4.3.2.4.1, *ba* ‘go’ in 6.1.7.2.1, and *mea* ‘take’ in 6.1.7.2.2.

Progressional serialisation

The verbs which occur initially in progressive serialisation include *puaa* ‘go’, *epaa* ‘come’, *maa* ‘take’, *madi* ‘carry’, *yolo* ‘pull’, *pane* ‘out’. These verbs indicate movement or change from one location to another. Table 4.11 presents examples of verbs in progressive serialisation.

Lexical serialisation

In Kewapi verb compounds resulting from lexical serialisation occur as compound verbs. Such verbs are fully integrated phonologically, formally and semantically and have their own serial forms (see 3.3.2.2.5). Some examples of Kewapi SVCs follow.

In (4.41a) the verb series consists of two intransitive verbs. The motion verb *epaa* ‘come’, which is a serial verb form of the verb base *ipu* ‘come’, precedes the posture verb *pisa* ‘sit’.

- (4.41a) *Ni ada-pora epaa pisa-wa.*
 I house-LOC come sit-1SG.NPT
 'I came and sat in the house.'

Of the four verbs that occur in a series in (4.41b), the first and last are intransitive verbs of motion and the middle two being transitive. It is possible to omit *puaa* 'come' and still have a grammatical construction. However, while *koyo* 'untie' can occur as an independent verb, in (4.41b) it collocates with *madi* 'carry'.

- (4.41b) *Mena na-puaa koyo madi ipi-si.*
 pig NEG-go untie carry come-2SG.RPT
 'You didn't go and untie the pig and bring (carry and come) it.'

In (4.41c), the serial complex consists of two transitive verbs *maa*⁶ 'take' and *ruba* 'throw'. Both verbs share the same subject and object nominals and tense.

- (4.41c) *Repona maa ruba-me.*
 wood take throw-3PL.NPT
 'They took the wood and threw it away.'

(4.41a-c) are examples of proessional serialisation. In (4.41b) the complex verbal unit consists of three transitive verbs, which share the same subject and object nominals and tense. Note that in all the examples in (4.41a-c) the serial verbs retain their lexical meanings and occur in an iconic order but as the following examples

⁶ The verb *maa* 'take/get' is a serial verb form of the verb base *mea* 'take/get', which alternates with *mu* 'get', e.g. *eda puaa mu pisa* 'food go get stay = go and get food and stay'. The latter is also used as a medial verb form, e.g. *eda puaa mu-maa pisa* 'food go get-SEQ.SS sit = go and get food and stay.'

(4.42a-e) show, serial verbs can lose their lexical meanings and their order of occurrence is not always iconic.

Examples of progressional serialisation in Kewapi are presented in Table 4.10, listed under the first verb in the series.

Table 4.10 Progressional serialisation

<i>puaa</i> 'go'	<i>epaa</i> 'come'	<i>maa</i> 'take'	other verbs
<i>puaa patya</i> 'go and sleep'	<i>epaa ada</i> 'come and see'	<i>maa gi</i> 'take and give'	<i>madi ipu</i> 'carry and come'
<i>puaa ada</i> 'go and see'	<i>epaa maa gi</i> 'come and get and give me'	<i>maa kala</i> 'take and give'	<i>madu sa</i> 'carry and put'
<i>puaa koya</i> 'go and untie'	<i>epaa pisa</i> 'come and sit down'	<i>maa pu</i> 'take and go'	<i>madu epaa sao</i> <i>epaa</i> 'bring and leave'
<i>puaa mea</i> 'go and get'	<i>epaa la</i> 'come and say'	<i>maa ipu</i> 'take and come (bring)'	<i>yolo mea</i> 'pull and get'
<i>puaa koyo madi ipu</i> 'go and untie and bring'	<i>epaa saa *pisa</i> 'come and hold.DUR'	<i>maa pea</i> 'take and do'	<i>yolo ria</i> 'pull it and carry it'
<i>puaa ripinya</i> 'go and hold'	<i>*the verb pisa</i> functions here as a durative aspect marker.	<i>maa wea</i> 'take and throw'	<i>pane ipu</i> 'come out'
<i>puaa adasu mea</i> 'go and find and get'			<i>pane mea</i> 'get it out'

Examples (4.42a-e) illustrate auxiliary serialisation involving two-verb series in which the one verb retains its full lexical meaning while the other verb takes on a sense different from that which it has as an independent verb.

In (4.42a) *yolo* 'pull' retains its lexical meaning but the final verb *mi*, whose independent meaning is 'get', indicates the direction of action of the initial verb.

- (4.42a) *Repona yolo mi-si.*
 wood pull get-2SG.NPT
 'You pulled the wood (towards you).'

In (4.42b) *no* 'eat' retains its lexical meaning but in reading (a) the final verb *pisa* 'sit' marks durative aspect. In reading (b), which is inappropriate, the eating and sitting are simultaneous acts, not in sequence.

- (4.42b) *Ni eda no pisa-wa.*
 I food eat sit.DUR-1SG.NPT
 (a) 'I was eating food.' but not (b) 'I was sitting and eating food.'

In (4.42c) *tya* 'hit' functions as a purpose subordinate verb and the final verb *epaa* 'come' functions as the main verb. The act denoted by the final verb occurs before that of the initial verb.

- (4.42c) *Ialibu mena tya epaa-me.*
 Ialibu pig hit come-3PL.NPT
 'They came to slaughter a pig at Ialibu.'

In (4.42d) *reko* 'wake' retains its lexical meaning and *áda* 'see' has a sense of 'try to'. Foley (1986:152) describes the sense of the final verb as 'conative modality' in Papuan languages. The event realised by the final verb occurs ahead of the event of the initial verb.

- (4.42d) *Naaki reko ádá-a.*
 boy wake see-3SG.NPT
 'The boy tried to wake up.'

In (4.42e) *pu* 'do' retains its lexical meaning but the final causative verb does not have its lexical meaning 'cause to die'. Instead it expresses a manner-adverbial meaning 'very well, to a high degree'.

- (4.42e) *Ipu-mi kogono pu ma-komaa-ripa.*
 he-ERG work do CAUS-die-3SG.NPT
 'He did the work very well.'

4.4.2 *be* predicate types

Kewapi has *be* clause types that express identification, attribution, location, and existence relations⁷. These clauses have in common a *be* verb which is semantically bleached, and the semantic content is expressed by the element that is predicate, i.e. usually a nominal or an adjective. Lexical verbs employed as *be* verbs include *aa* 'stand', *pisa* 'sit', *pea* 'do', *tya* 'hit', *sa* 'put' (active), *wia* 'be put/left' (stative), *raa* 'emit', *la* 'say', *patya* 'sleep'. The subsections that follow describe attributive, locational, and existential clause types.

⁷ Halliday (1985:112) describes the English equivalents of Kewapi *be* clause types as relational clause types. Payne (1997:111) discusses relational clauses under *Predicate nominal and related constructions*. For West Kewa, Franklin (1971:73, 75) describes *be* clause types under *Complement clause types* and *Equation clauses*. Franklin (1981:151-172) describes locational, possessive and existential clauses as existential clauses, whereby entities exist as existents. In this study the focus is on the relationships between elements in *be* clauses so an attempt is made to differentiate attributive, locational and existential clause types.

4.4.2.1 Attributive clauses

Attributive clauses express an attributive relation between a nominal and an adjective or a nominal. The relation is: x is an attribute of y, where y is attributant. In Kewapi the attributant is subject and the attribute is complement. Various verbs such as *pea* 'do', *pisa* 'sit', *la* 'say', *patya* 'sleep', *aa* 'stand' are employed as *be* verbs in attributive clauses. The following (4.43a-d) are some examples.

(4.43a) ***Kaare abu pe-a.*
 car yellow do-3SG.SPR
 'The car is yellow.'

(4.43b) *Ne-na wane epe nogo piti-a.*
 you-GEN daughter good girl sit-3SG.FUT
 'Your daughter will become a good/pretty girl.'

(4.43c) *Sapi ko li-sa.*
 sweet potato bad say-3SG.RPT
 'The sweet potato was bad.'

(4.43d) *Repona puri pale-a.*
 tree strong sleep-3SG.SPR
 'The tree is strong.'

Clauses (4.43a-d) have subject and tense marking on the *be* verbs.

4.4.2.2 Locational clauses

Locational clauses express a locational relation: x be at y, where x is a subject nominal and y is a location nominal. The subject occurs before the location. The

verbs *sa* 'put', *pisa* 'sit', and *aa*⁸ 'stand' are commonly used as *be* verbs in locational relational constructions, as in (4.44a-e).

(4.44a) ***Buku **tepolo madaa wi-a.*
 book table on put-3SG.SPR
 'The book is on the table.'

(4.44b) *Naaki ada-pora piri-sa.*
 boy house-LOC sit-3SG.RPT
 'The boy was in the house.'

(4.44c) *Ali **sitoa ada gale a-sa.*
 man store house near stand-3SG.RPT
 'The man was near the store.'

(4.44d) *Winya **sitoa-pora a-ya.*
 woman store-LOC stand-3SG.SPR
 'The woman is in/at the store.'

(4.44e) *Na ada Mugumapu a-ya.*
 my house Mugumapu stand-3SG.SPR
 'My house is at Mugumapu village.'

As examples (4.44a-e) demonstrate, there is no tense restriction with *be* verbs in subject-tense agreement. Note that the simple present tense (SPR) covers both the

⁸ Following Lang's (1975) description of Enga existential verbs, Franklin (1981) describes these verbs as existential verbs and constructions with these verbs in *be* function as existential clauses. In this study a distinction is drawn between locational clauses with the relational structure *x is at y*, and existential clauses with the structure *X exists*.

habitual and the normal simple present tense. The difference between these tenses is that habitual tense is expressed by durative aspectual verbs that are inflected by the simple present tense. In Franklin (1971, 1981) the term 'perfective' tense is used to cover both simple present and the habitual tenses. However, it is necessary to differentiate simple present tense when used as a normal simple present tense, as in (4.44a-e), from habitual tense. The habitual tense version of (4.44d) is: *Winya **sitoa-pora aa wa-ya* 'woman store-LOC stand put.DUR-3SG.SPR = The woman is habitually in the store.', or for (4.44a): ***Buku** tepolo madaa su aa-ya* 'book table on put stand.DUR-3SG.SPR = The book is habitually on the table.' Note that the last verb in the auxiliary serialisations, namely, the verbs *wa* 'put' and *aa* 'stand' respectively function as auxiliary verbs expressing durative aspect or the habitual sense.

4.4.2.3 Existential clauses

An existential clause expresses the existence of an entity: *x* exists, where *x* is the subject nominal. The main characteristic features of existential clauses in Kewapi are: (1) the existent nominal occupies the preverbal slot and (2) the optional occurrence of existent-as-subject nominal with the indefinite marker *meda* or the occurrence of unmarked generic existent-as-subject nominals. The main verbs used as existential verbs *pisa* 'sit', *aa* 'stand' and *sa* 'put' are also used with locational clauses. These verbs are used as stative predicates to express the existence of an entity, i.e. as *pi-a* 'sit-3SG.SPR', *a-ya* 'stand-3SG.SPR' and *wi-a* 'put-3SG.SPR' (see Franklin 1981:153).

(4.45a-b) are examples of existential clauses in which the existent nominals are postmodified by the indefinite marker *meda*.

- (4.45a) *Mugumapu ada mena meda a-ya.*
 Mugumapu village pig a stand-3SG.SPR

'There is a pig in Mugumapu village.'

- (4.45b) *Koro-medaa winya mapuaa meda*
 one-time.INDF woman young a
piri-sa.
 sit-3SG.RPT

'Once upon a time there was a young woman.'

In the following pairs of examples (4.46a-b) and (4.47a-b), (a) is an existential clause and (b) is a locational clause⁹.

- (4.46a) *Mugumapu ada mena a-ya.*
 Mugumapu village pig stand-3SG.SPR
 'In Mugumapu village there are pigs.'

- (4.46b) *Mena Mugumapu ada a-ya.*
 pig Mugumapu village stand-3SG.SPR
 'The pig is in Mugumapu village.' * '(The) pigs are in Mugumapu village.'

- (4.47a) *Poragape-pora meda a-ya.*
 door-LOC one.INDF stand-3SG.SPR
 'At the door there is someone.'

⁹ Cross-linguistically the contrast between locational and existential constructions is summed up by the following views. Hengeveld states that the "... existential construction is simply a locative construction in which the location is left unspecified" (Hengeveld 1992:96-7). Lyons states that "It can be argued that, in fact, that existence is but limiting case of location in an abstract, deictically neutral, space ... (Lyons 1977:723).

- (4.47b) *Meda poragape-pora a-ya.*
 one.INDF doorway-LOC stand-3SG.SPR
 'Someone is at the doorway.'

In (4.46a) and (4.47a) the existent-as-subjects occupy the preverbal slots and the location adjuncts occupy the topic slots. In the locational clauses in (4.46b) and (4.47b) the location adjuncts occupy the preverbal slots and the subject nominals occupy the topic slots.

4.4.3 Verb-less predicates

Kewapi has verb-less clauses. Such clauses occur as identifying, attributive, question and topic constructions.

Identifying clauses express an identifying relation between two entities: x identifies y. The nominal 'Identifier' (Halliday 1985) or predicate follows the 'Identified', the subject nominal, as in (4.48a-b).

- (4.48a) *Sabu na aapa*
 Sabu my father
 'Sabu (is) my father.'

- (4.48b) *Na su Mugumapu.*
 my land Mugumapu
 'My land (is) Mugumapu.'

An identifying clause (where x identifies y) can be distinguished from an attributive clause (where x is an attribute of y). In Kewapi verb-less clauses expressing attributive relations have predicate adjectives, as in (4.48c).

- (4.48c) *Mena adaa.*
 pig big
 'The pig (is) big.'

A predicate adjective (attributive) construction has the structure: noun (topic-as-subject) + adjective, and this structure contrasts with a noun phrase structure: adjective + noun (head), see 5.1.1.

Verb-less clauses are also used to express topicalised constructions, as in (4.49a-b).

- (4.49a) *Ni-ri ali*
 I-TOP man
 'I (am) a man.'

- (4.49b) *Ali-ri ni.*
 man-TOP I
 'Man I (am) one.'

In (4.49a-b) the predicate nominals follow the subject nominals. In (4.49b) the second nominal *ni* 'I', whose grammatical function in (4.49a) is subject, is the predicate nominal.

The topic marker *-ra* 'TOP' marks a nominal (as in (4.50)) or a predicate (see 6.1.9.1.2) to signal that it is a potential discourse topic. When it marks a nominal, as in (4.50), the marked structure has the force of a 'topical question'.

- (4.50) *Ali-ra?* 'man-TOP = (Where is) the man?'

4.4.4 Realis predicates

As mentioned in 3.3.2.3, Kewapi has constructions in which past events of verbs are signalled by realis verb forms rather than by subject-tense suffixes. The following clauses are examples of predicates with realis verbs.

As in (4.51a), the realis verb *yaa* ‘be’ encodes a past event.

- (4.51a) *Oge-ai yaa-de.*
 small-NOM be.REALIS-DEF
 ‘(I believe) It was a small one.’

In (4.51b) the realis verb *ya* follows a verb marked for irrealis status to express the possibility of the door being opened.

- (4.51b) *Pora loba-pe ya.*
 door open-IRR be.REALIS
 ‘The door can be opened.’

(4.51c) is an imperative clause whose object nominal is premodified by a relative clause with a realis verb *re* ‘scorch:PT’ (see 7.2.3 for a description of relative clauses).

- (4.51c) [*Naare-me re*] *waali na-pe.*
 [sun-ERG scorch:PT] sugar cane eat-IRR
 ‘Chew the sugar cane that had been scorched by the sun.’

Chapter Five

Noun Phrase Structures

5.0 Introduction

This chapter describes noun phrase structures. Section 5.1 deals with three noun phrase structures: (1) descriptive noun phrases, (2) possessive noun phrases, and (3) adverbial noun phrases. Section 5.2 looks at noun formation through noun-noun, verb-noun and noun-adjective combinations. Section 5.3 discusses grammatical categories of nouns. Finally section 5.4 outlines types of nominalisation and the grammatical functions of derived nominals.

5.1 Noun phrase structures

A noun phrase (NP) in Kewapi is a structural unit in which a noun is modified by at least another element. Noun phrases are formed by clauses (see 7.2 on relative clauses), words (described in this section) and clitics (see 5.4 below). The following subsections describe descriptive, possessive, and adverbial noun phrases.

5.1.1 Descriptive noun phrases

A descriptive noun phrase has a head noun that is modified by elements which describe the head in the following terms: quality, size, colour, age, and quantity. Demonstratives and articles also modify the noun head. These classes can be distinguished in terms of their order in the noun phrase. It is possible for all these modifiers to occur in a descriptive noun phrase and in such a case their order is: Determiner + Quality + Size + Colour + Head noun + Age + Quantifier, as in (5.1).

- (5.1) *Sogo, koe, rudu, pobere, ali*
 those, bad, short, black, man
mapuaa laapo-me ne tyaa-pe.
 young two-ERG you hit-3DL.NPT

'Those, two, bad, short, dark, young men hit you.'

(5.1) shows a possible range of modifiers and their modification slots with respect to the head noun. In natural speech speakers tend to use no more than three modifiers in a noun phrase. The determiner slot can be filled by either a demonstrative or an article. In the following subsections these categories of noun modifiers are described in some detail.

5.1.1.1 Quality

The range of quality adjectives are more limited than other adjectives such as colour or quantifiers (see 3.3.3.1 for a listing of adjective types).

Quality adjectives are prehead modifiers which evaluate nouns in terms of their quality or positive or negative attributes, as in (5.2a-b).

(5.2a) *Epe naaki komi-sa.*
 good boy die-3SG.RPT
 'A good boy died.'

(5.2b) *Koe **kaare kabaa-me.*
 bad car buy-3PL.NPT
 'They bought a bad car.'

5.1.1.2 Size

Size adjectives are prehead modifiers which describe the size of an entity, as in (5.3a-d).

(5.3a) *oge mena* 'small pig'

(5.3b) *adaa ada* 'big house'

(5.3c) *rudu yaari* 'short cassowary'

(5.3d) *adalu winya* 'tall woman'

The inverse order of size + head (attributive structure) is head + size (predicative structure), as in (5.4a-d).

(5.4a) *Mena oge*. 'The pig (is) small.'

(5.4b) *Ada adaa*. 'The house (is) big.'

(5.4c) *Yaari rudu*. 'The cassowary (is) short.'

(5.4d) *Winya adalu*. 'The woman (is) tall.'

Note that in the attributive structures in (5.3a-d) the head noun is generic but in the predicate adjective structures in (5.4a-d), where a copula verb is understood to be present but is deleted, the head noun is definite and referential, i.e. the left-most nominals are unmarked topic nominals which are normally presupposed in discourse.

A predicate adjective construction may have an overt verb functioning as copula *be* verb, as in (5.5a-b).

(5.5a) *Mena oge te-a*.
 pig small say-3SG.FUT
 'The pig will become small.'

(5.5b) *Ada adaa li-sa*.
 house big say-3SG.RPT
 'The house became big.'

5.1.1.3 Colour

Kewapi distinguishes the colours *pobere* 'black', *kaake* 'white', *kutu* 'grey', and *kade* 'brown' with monolexemic¹ words. Colour adjectives are prehead modifiers, as in (5.6a-c).

- (5.6a) *kutu mena* 'grey pig'
 (5.6b) *pobere yana* 'black dog'
 (5.6c) *Epe, adaa, kutu mena mi-simi.*
 good, big, grey pig get-3PL.RPT
 'They got a good, big, grey pig.'

(5.6c) is a sentential example in which the colour adjective occurs with quality and size adjectives.

5.1.1.4 Head noun

The head noun of a descriptive noun phrase is a general noun. When quality, size, colour and quantity adjectives co-occur, as in (5.7), the order is: Quality + Size + Colour + Head noun + Quantifier.

- (5.7) *Epe, oge, pobere, rai laapo kabi-sa.*
 good, small, black, axe two buy-3SG.RPT
 'He bought two, good, small, black axes.'

¹ Predicate adjectives express the following colours: *abu pi* 'yellow do = be yellow', *kagareke le* 'green say = be green', *yaapi pi* 'blood do = be red', and *paa pi* 'light do = be light'. There is no colour term for blue or purple but the idea of something being that colour can be expressed by a phrase *kinaako* 'a purplish plant used for dying string bags and women's grass shirts', e.g. '*kinaako aki pi* 'purplish plant coated do = be coated with the colour of *kinaako*.' Predicate adjective constructions also describe the physical property of nouns and these include *keda pi* 'heavy do = be heavy', *yapa pi* 'light weight do = be light weight', *rabaale pi* 'soft do = be soft', *kobe le* 'short say = be short and fat', *puri pale* 'strength sleep = be strong'. Within a NP the syntactic structure of a predicate adjective is a relative clause (see 3.3.3.1 for other adjectives).

Temporal nouns may occur as heads, but they cannot be modified by all the general noun modifiers, as in (5.8a-b).

In (5.8a) the temporal noun head *yapi* is premodified by the quality adjective *koe* 'bad'.

- (5.8a) *Abi-ri koe yapi ya-pe.*
 today-TOP bad day be.REALIS-IRR
 'Today seems to be a bad day.'

In (5.8b) the temporal noun head ***saarere* is postmodified by the quantifier *repo* 'three'.

- (5.8b) ***Saarere repo po-pa-de.*
 week three go-3SG.NPT-DEF
 'Definitely three weeks have gone by.'

5.1.1.5 Age

There are a number of near synonyms for 'old' and 'young', each collocating with a different set of head nouns, e.g. *piri* 'old' is used for old garments and things made of fibre, *go* 'old' is used for old houses, etc. The adverbs *ábálá* 'before/old', *penaa* 'not yet/young' are used to describe the age of several different referents such as the age of humans and pigs. Some noun phrases illustrating age adjectives + head noun collocations are:

Old age:

winya goe ‘an old lady’, *yomo goe* ‘an old man’, *yana kebo* ‘an old mother dog’, *nu piri* ‘an old string bag’, *ada go* ‘an old house’, *ábálá winyali* ‘quite old people’.

Young age:

winya mapuaa ‘a teenage girl’, *ali mapuaa* ‘a teenage boy’, *yana si* ‘a baby dog’, *kagaa nu* ‘a new string bag’, *kagaa ada* ‘a new house’, *penaa winyali* ‘reasonably young people’

The order of age adjective and head noun is: noun + adjective but the structure adjective + noun is possible, especially with temporal adverbs used as age modifiers. Examples follow.

(5.9a) *Winya goe ada go-pora pi-a.*
 woman old house old-LOC sit-3SG.SPR

‘The old woman is in an old house.’

(5.9b) *Penaa winya komi-sa.*
 quite young woman die-3SG.RPT

‘A quite young woman died.’)

(5.9c) *Ábálá mena tya-me.*
 old pig hit-3PL.NPT

‘They slaughtered an old pig.’

The age adjectives *goe* and *go* in (5.9a) postmodify the heads, whereas in (5.9b-c) *penaa* and *ábálá* are prehead age modifiers.

5.1.1.6 Quantity

Kewapi uses cardinal, free and enclitic quantifiers as posthead modifiers. Table 5.1 presents these quantifiers.

Table 5.1 Kewapi quantifiers

Cardinals	Quantifiers	Quantifiers (enclitics)
<i>pameda</i> ² ‘one’	<i>yaalo</i> ‘each’	<i>-lopo</i> ‘dual’
<i>laapo</i> ‘two’	<i>medaloma</i> ‘some’	<i>-abo</i> ‘paucal’
<i>repo</i> ‘three’	<i>rayo</i> ‘all’	<i>-nu</i> ‘plural’ (a coherent group)
<i>ki</i> ‘four’		<i>-repa</i> ‘collective’ (multiple noun randomly distributed in space)
<i>kode</i> ‘five’, etc.		

The enclitic quantifiers specify the number of nouns and so are constituents of noun structure (see 5.3.4 below). Examples follow.

- (5.10a) *Rekere ki wi-a.*
 pearl shell four put-3SG.SPR
 ‘He has four pearl shells.’

- (5.10b) *Nogo rayo ipu-lumi.*
 girl all come-3PL.PRG
 ‘All the girls are coming.’

- (5.10c) *Mena-abo lu yawa-me.*
 pig-PAUC hit steam.roast-3PL.NPT

² Franklin (1971:86) glosses *pameda* as ‘one’ and *meda* as ‘another’ in West Kewa. In Kewapi *meda* means ‘an indefinite one’. It can mean ‘another indefinite one’ when it occurs with the adverb *wala* ‘again/return’, e.g. *wala meda gi* ‘another one give = give me another one’. However, in Kewapi *meda* ‘a’ functions as a postmodifying article in a NP like age adjective postmodifiers.

‘They slaughtered and steam-roasted a few pigs.’

Mass nouns are not modified by quantifiers, as the ungrammaticality of (5.11a) or the acceptability of (5.11b) demonstrates.

(5.11a) ***Raasi pameda sa-pe!*
 rice one put-IRR
 *‘Leave one rice for me.’

(5.11b) *Raasi sa-pe!*
 rice put-IRR
 ‘Leave rice for me.’

(5.11c) *Raasi meda sa-pe!*
 rice a put-IRR
 ‘Leave (a plate of, a sack of, etc.) rice for me.’

As in (5.11c), when the indefinite article *meda* is used to modify a mass noun it is understood as meaning a measured quantity of the mass noun. Note that *meda* ‘a’ does not mean ‘another’ in (5.11c).

5.1.1.7 Demonstratives

Kewapi has thirteen demonstratives (see 3.3.3.3), which function as prehead modifiers, as the following examples illustrate.

(5.12a) *Nógó nogo na wane.*
 that (distant) girl my daughter
 ‘That distant girl (is) my daughter.’

- (5.12b) *Mogo-de ada ela-e.*
 that-DEF house build-2SG.NPT
 'You built that distant house.'

In (5.12a) *nógó* 'that' premodifies the head noun *nogo* 'girl' and in (5.12b), *mogo-de* 'that-definite' has the function of referring to a referent via a definite location.

5.1.1.8 Articles

Kewapi uses definite and indefinite articles to identify nominals (see 3.3.3.4). The form *ade* 'definite'³ is used following a previously seen or introduced referent and the enclitic *-de* 'definite' is used when the identity of a referent is presupposed to be known or accessible in the context of situation or context of text, as in (5.13a-b).

- (5.13a) *Ade ali pa-sa.*
 the man go-3SG.RPT
 'The (previously seen or introduced) man went.'

- (5.13b) *Ali-de pa-sa.*
 man-DEF go-3SG.RPT
 'The man (I presume you know) went.'

There are two semantically contrastive indefinite articles: *-da* 'specific' and *meda* 'non-specific', i.e. the enclitic *-da* is used when the noun is indefinite and specific and *meda* is used when the noun is indefinite and non-specific. Consider the following examples.

³ Note that because *ade* 'definite' has anaphoric function, i.e. it is used to refer back to referents (objects and events) previously seen or introduced in discourse, it naturally functions as an anaphoric discourse linker, e.g. *Ade awa-maa..* 'linker stay-SEQ.SS.. = Having stayed (where they had built the hunting house..)' [T2:2]

- (5.14a) *Kaare meda wasa-lo.*
 car one.INDF look-1SG.PRG
 ‘I am looking for a non-specific car.’

- (5.14b) *Kaare-da wasa-lo.*
 car-INDF look-1SG.PRG
 ‘I am looking for a specific car.’

- (5.14c) *Kaare wasa-lo.*
 car look-1SG.PRG
 ‘I am looking for a specific/non-specific car.’

In (5.14c) the noun *kaare* ‘car’ may be interpreted as either definite and specific referent if the addressee knows that the speaker has a car. If the addressee knows that the speaker does not own a car, the noun is interpreted as indefinite and non-specific.

5.1.2 Possessive noun phrases

A possessive noun phrase has a possessed entity as head noun. The possessor is marked by the genitive marker *-na* and the possessed is unmarked. The following examples illustrate attributive possessive constructions.

- (5.15a) *Imu-na ada-pora puua-me.*
 they-GEN house-LOC go-3PL.NPT
 ‘They went to their house.’

- (5.15b) *Imu-na ada-pora imu-na*
 they-GEN house-LOC they-GEN
puua-me.

go-3PL.NPT

'They went to their house themselves.'

As in (5.15a), the possessor noun precedes the possessed noun. Possessive pronouns are those free personal pronouns (see 3.3.1.2.1) encliticised by *-na* and they occur in the preverbal slot, as in (5.15b). So the same pronoun encliticised by *-na* can be subject-like (possessor) if it precedes a noun, as in (5.15a-b), or object-like if it precedes a verb, as in (5.15b).

The possessor noun (typically animate but prototypically human) is specified for nominal categories (see 3.3.1.1) by enclitics and the possessed noun is modified by descriptive modifiers, as in (5.16).

- (5.16) *Aara-ya-si-lopo-da-na* *koe,*
 father-KIN-DIM-DL-INDF-GEN *bad,*
adaa, kake mena-me maapu
 big, white pig-ERG garden
puri, laapo mi-sa.
 old, two get-3SG.RPT
 'A father-and-son's big, bad, white pig destroyed two, old gardens.'

In (5.16), a manufactured example, the possessor noun is specified for kinship relation, diminution, number, and indefiniteness, and the possessed noun is premodified by quality, dimension, and colour, and the object nominal *maapu* 'garden' is postmodified by age and number adjectives.

5.1.3 Adverbial phrases

The two types of adverbial phrases are temporal and postpositional phrases⁴. Temporal noun phrases are modified by quantifiers and demonstratives and in postpositional phrases postposition heads are modified by nouns.

5.1.3.1 Temporal phrases

In a temporal phrase a temporal head is postmodified by a quantifier which is marked by the instrumental case marker *-me* to indicate a specific time frame, as in (5.17).

- (5.17) *Kogono yapi laapo-me peaa-me.*
 work day two-INST do-3PL.NPT
 'They did the work within two days.'

A duration within which an event takes place may be expressed by a quantifier and a postposition, mostmodifying the temporal head, as in (5.18).

- (5.18) *Eke repo runane yaina su-ka.*
 month three inside sick put-1SG.RPT
 'I was sick for three months.'

In (5.18) the temporal head *eke* 'month' is postmodified by the quantifier *repo* 'three'. The quantifier is marked by the postposition *runane* 'inside' whose function is to indicate a period within which the state of sickness occurred.

When the time frame is not specific the demonstratives *go* 'this' or *mo* 'that' premodify the temporal head which is marked the genitive *-na* to indicate a non-specific time, i.e. *-na* must co-occur with the demonstrative, as in (5.19).

⁴ In West Kewa Franklin (1971:94-95) describes as 'axis-relator phrases' what is described here as adverbial phrases.

- (5.19) *Kogono go eke-na pu-lua.*
 work this month-GEN do-1SG.FUT
 'I will do the work sometime this month.'

The genitive can also mark nominalised demonstrative forms such as *mo* to express a non-specific time or a time of extended duration, as in (5.20).

- (5.20) *Mo-ai-na epa-limi.*
 that-NOM-GEN come-3PL.FUT
 'They will come sometime in the future.'

In (5.20) the demonstrative *mo* is nominalised by *-ai* and the nominal is marked by the genitive to indicate a non-specific time in the future (see 5.4 for an explication of grammatical categories that can be nominalised).

5.1.3.2 Postpositional phrases

Common noun phrases are signalled for their grammatical function as oblique or adjunct nominals by postpositions and enclitics. Examples follow.

- (5.21a) *Ne ada runane pua-e.*
 you house inside go-2SG.NPT
 'You went inside a house.'

- (5.21b) *Ne maapu-pora pua-e.*
 you garden-LOC go-2SG.NPT
 'You went to a garden.'

(5.21a) has the postpositional phrase *ada runane* 'inside a house', where the postposition *runane* 'inside' is head and the noun *ada* is the object of the postposition. (5.21b) has a noun marked by the location enclitic *-pora*. In both (5.21a) and (5.21b) the noun is marked for adjunct function by the postposition and the location enclitic, respectively.

In a postpositional phrase the postposition is head and the noun functioning as object of the postposition precedes the postposition head, as in (5.22a-c).

(5.22a) *Saa ada gale piti-pa.*
 we house near sit-1DL.FUT
 'We two will sit near the house.'

(5.22b) *Imi **kaare madaa pu-lupa!*
 you truck on go-2PL
 'You plural go on the truck.'

(5.22c) *Imu pora kepaale mada-si.*
 they road intersection meet-2SG.RPT
 'You met them at the intersection of the road.'

Other postpositions are *peralepora* 'near, of a house', *rolopora* 'under', *runane* 'inside', *kamaa-nane* 'outside', *repale* 'at the bank, of rivers, creeks, etc. Note that in a number of these postpositions the enclitics *-pora* and *-nane* combine with other forms (which are meaningless on their own) to form postpositions.

5.2 Compounding

In Kewapi nouns formed by noun-noun, verb-noun or noun-adjective combinations, i.e. compounds, are distinguished from phrases by the following phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria⁵.

1. Phonological criteria. Apart from the articulation of a compound as a phonological word, a compound word copies the stress pattern of a word with the same number of syllables as the compound. There is also modification and fusion (sandhi) of vowels across the boundaries of the combining elements when the final vowel of the first element and the first vowel of the second element is the same vowel. For example, *winya-ali* 'woman-man' becomes '*wi.nya.li* 'people'. Here the compound now has 3 syllables so the first syllable is stressed, according to the stress rules in Chapter 2. As for sandhi, one of the mid central vowels /a/ at the boundaries of the compound is deleted.

2. Morphological criteria. Compounds can be distinguished from phrases by the genitive *-na*, which marks a possessor in a possessive noun phrase. For example *repo'na-yogale* 'tree-skin = bark' or *mena-'yogale* 'pig-skin' is a compound, but *re'pona-na 'yogale* 'tree-GEN bark = a tree's bark' or '*mena-na 'yogale* 'pig-GEN skin = a pig's skin' is a phrase.

3. Syntactic criteria. Compound structure is [N+ N], [V+ N] or [N + Adj] whereas phrase structure is [possessor + object (possessed) (possessive noun phrase)], [N + V (verb phrase)] or [Adj + N (descriptive noun phrase)].

4. Semantic criteria. Interpretation of compounds may be related to component parts such as whole-part, part-part, etc. or may be vaguely or metaphorically relatable whereas phrases are interpreted according to the compositional parts.

Noun-noun compounding is dominant. Verb-noun and noun-adjective compounds are less common. Some examples follow.

[N-N]_N compounds:

⁵ Compounding is a word formation operation whereas phrase structuring is a syntactic operation (Anderson 1985).

ya'gaa-iri 'chin-hair=beard', *po'ra-kuli* 'road-bone=trail/track', *no'go-naaki* 'girl-boy=children', *'le-aga* 'eye-mouth=face', *me'na-yana* 'pig-dog=domesticated animals', *repo'to-pakisa* 'bush rat-garden rat=wild animals', *kewa-ali* => '*kewali*' foreign-man=expatriate', *'i-tapa* 'excrement-platform=toilet', *tapa-ada* => 'tapada' platform-house=men's house', *winya-ada* => '*winyada*' woman-house=women's house', *'su-aga* 'land-pandanus=land with property', *reke're-mena* 'pearl.shell-pig=wealth', *ko'pe-ada* 'rope-house=prison', *ra'i-kede* 'axe-handle=handle of axe', *repo'na-yogale* 'tree-bark=bark of tree', *rode'a-kapaa* 'ant-egg=rice'.

[V-N]_N compounds:

pa'ke-ali 'steal-man=thief', *pa'ke-naaki* 'steal-boy=son of a bitch', *koma-ada* => '*komada*' die-house=funeral'.

[N-Adj]_N compounds:

repo'na-kapu 'tree-dry=firewood'

Examples of clauses with compound nouns follow.

(5.23a) *Pake-ali meda kope-ada pa-sa.*
steal-man a **rope-house** go-3SG.RPT
'A thief went to prison.'

(5.23b) *Repona-me na su-aga ri-sa.*
fire-ERG my **land-pandanus** burn-3SG.RPT
'Fire burnt my land with property.'

(5.23c) *Nagia were-na koma-ada*
Nagia wife-GEN **die-house**
na-pa-sa.
NEG-go-3SG.RPT
'Nagia didn't go to his wife's funeral.'

In (5.23a-c) compounds nouns are modified by various nominal modifiers to form noun phrases: postmodified by the indefinite article *meda* in (5.23a), preceded by the clitic possessive form *na* in (5.23b), and premodified by the possessor noun in (5.23c).

5.3 Grammatical categories of nouns

As introduced in Chapter 3, in Kewapi, nouns are specified for nominal categories number, diminution or augmentation, definiteness and kinship relations. The structure of a noun specified for all these categories is:

STEM + (KIN) + (DEF) + (DIM or AUG) + (NUM)

In the following subsections each of these grammatical categories of nouns is discussed in some detail.

5.3.1 Kinship relations

The enclitics *-ya* 'dual' and *-lu* 'plural' indicate kinship relation between a kinship noun that is named and other members, as in the following:

aara-ya 'father.son or daughter-KIN = father-son/daughter kinship relation'

aara-lu 'father.children-KIN= father-children relation'

agi-aya 'mother.son or daughter-KIN = mother-son or daughter relation'

agia-lu 'mother.children-KIN = mother-children relation'

amea-ya 'brother.brother-KIN = brother-brother relation '

amea-lu 'brother.brother (PL)-KIN = brothers' relation'

batya-ya 'brother.sister-KIN = brother-sister relation'

batya-lu 'brother.sisters/brothers-KIN = sibling relation'

aakia-ya 'sister.sister-KIN = sister-sister relation'

aakia-lu 'sister.sister (PL)-KIN = sisters' relation'

kasa-ya 'cousin.cousin-KIN = cousin-cousin relation'

kasa-lu 'cousin.cousin (PL)-KIN = cousins' relation'

aapa-ya 'uncle.nephew or niece-KIN = uncle-nephew or niece relation'

aapa-lu 'uncle.nephews or nieces-KIN = uncle-nephews or nieces' relation'

kudipa-ya 'wife.wife-KIN = co-wife relation'

kudipa-lu 'wife-wife (PL)-KIN = co-wives' relation'

repa-ya 'husband.wife-KIN = husband-wife relation'

repa-lu 'husband.wives-KIN = husband-wives relation'

The term *aapaa* refers only to maternal uncle of a person and does not include a paternal uncle who is called a *mae* 'step-father'. This term includes one's father's brother or aunty's (both maternal and paternal) husband.

In a polygamous marriage a wife refers to another co-wife as *kudipa*, and someone outside this relation refers to the relationship between the two wives as *kudipa-ya*, or if there are more than two wives as *kudipa-lu*.

5.3.2 Definiteness

As discussed in 5.1.1.8, a general noun is specified for definite status by the free form *ade* or the enclitic *-de* and indefinite status by the free form *meda* or the enclitic *-da*.

5.3.3 Diminution and augmentation

5.3.3.1 Diminution of nominals

The enclitic *-si* 'DIM' has the general sense 'a small, unimportant, or lesser-quality nominal'. As mentioned briefly in 3.3.1.1 on nominal categories, the literally-small size of a nominal can be indicated by the enclitic *-si*, as in (5.24).

- (5.24) *Ali-si ipu-la.*
 man-DIM come-3SG.PRG
 'A small man is coming.'

With the age adjective *oge* 'small' the diminutive encliticises the last constituent of the NP, as in (5.25a-b), to indicate a very small size.

(5.25a) *Oge ali-si ipu-la.*
 small man-DIM come-3SG.PRG
 'A very small man is coming.'

(5.25b) *Ali oge-si.*
 man small-DIM
 'A man (is) very small.'

(5.25a-b) demonstrate that *-si* is a phrasal enclitic.

In contexts where the diminutive does not literally refer to the small size of a nominal referent, it functions to indicate a devalued nominal, as in the hypothetical construction (5.26).

(5.26) *Ali-de-si kodo pi-a.*
 boy-DEF-DIM sorry do-3SG.SPR
 'I am sorry for the man.' [lit.: 'The man sorry do.']

In (5.26) *ali-de-si* 'man-DEF-DIM' means that 'the man is devalued or belittled in some physical or socio-economic respect'.

The diminutive is also used to indicate inclusion or listing of belittled people's names, as in (5.27).

(5.27) *Paga-sí, Waimi-sí, ee Oge-sí, ne-na*
 Paga-DIM, Waimi-DIM, yes Oge-DIM, you-GEN

aarabali-re Opa-sí, o Meke-sí, Maarepa
 relative-TOP Opa-DIM, yes Meke-DIM, Maarepa
Wage-sí, Lawa-sí, Makodoli-sí, go
 Wage-DIM, Lawa-DIM, Makodolo-DIM, that
Maarepa Kiwa-sí, Maarepa Yokea-sí,
 Maarepa Kiwa-DIM, Maarepa Yokea-DIM,
ne-na aarabali-nu-re na-na awa-sima.
 you-GEN relative-PL-TOP we-GEN live-1PL.RPT
 'People like Paga, Waimi, Oge, your relatives, Opa, Meke, Maarepa
 Wage, Lawa, Makodoli, Maarepa Kiwa, Maarepa Yokea, your
 relatives, we (excl.) lived together ourselves.' [T8:41]

5.3.3.2 Augmentation of nominals

When the irrealis marker *-pe* attaches to a general noun it has two uses: (1) to augment the size of a nominal, and (2), in contexts where a large size cannot literally be attributed to a referent, to express someone's distaste for that referent, as in (5.28a) and (5.28b) respectively.

(5.28a) *Pobere mena-pe tya-me.*
 black pig-IRR hit-3PL.NPT
 'They slaughtered a huge black pig.'

(5.28b) *Gó álí-pé ádá-mínyá péa!*
 this man-AUG see-1PL do
 'Your/His action is distasteful.'
 (lit.: 'Let us (incl.) look at this man!')

In (5.28a) *mena-pe* can be interpreted as indicating a huge pig in the absence of formal or contextual clues to the contrary. In (5.28b) the following formal and

prosodic clues are present. (1) The structure consists of juxtaposed subjunctive clause *Go ali-pe ada-minya* 'Let us see this huge man' and an imperative clauses *pea* 'do'. This structure is typically used for expressing exhortative mood. (2) The high tone (intonation) pattern is one that is normally used to express distaste. Given these contexts, the augmentative marker appears to function as a modal device for enhancing the speaker's expression of dislike for the man. Thus context (syntactic, prosodic and situation) is relevant in the interpretation of the function of the irrealis marker *-pe*, when it attaches a noun.

5.3.4 Number

5.3.4.1 Count nouns

Count general nouns are specified for number, as in (5.29a-d). Kewapi distinguishes morphologically four numbers. The enclitics *-lopo* 'dual', *-abo* 'paucal', *-nu*⁶ 'plural' and *-repa* 'a collective group' contrast with *pamedá* 'one' in (5.29a).

(5.29a) *naaki pamedá* 'boy one = one boy'

(5.29b) *naaki-lopo* 'boy-DL = two boys'

(5.29c) *kaai-abo* 'banana-PAUC = a few bananas'

(5.29d) *repona-nu* 'tree-PL = trees'

(5.29e) *nogónaaki-repa* 'children-GRP = a group of children'

The paucal marks three or four. More than four is marked by the plural. A collective group expressed by *-repa* is used mainly for human referents and refers simply to multiple noun randomly distributed in space. It is also used in clan names, e.g. *Maa-repa* 'Maarepa clan', *Eke-repa* 'Ekerepa clan', *Lawage-repa* 'Lowagerepa clan', etc.

⁶ Franklin (1971:55) refers to the plural enclitic *-nu* as expressing 'collective' number. However, he does not systematise the number distinctions: *-lopo* 'dual', *-abo* 'paucal', *-repa* 'a collective group' and *-nu* 'plural'. Languages that have a dual number also have a plural number (Greenburg 1966:94, Anderson 1985:175).

In juxtaposed names of people the last name is specified for number, as in (5.30a-c).

- (5.30a) *Mapo, Nagia-lopo* 'Mapo, Nagia-DL = Mapo and Nagia'
 (5.30b) *Mapo, Nagia, Nebo-abo* 'Mapo, Nagia, Nebo-PAUC =
 Mapo, Nagia and Nebo'
 (5.30c) *Mapo, Nagia, Nebo, Rika, Sukili-nu* 'Mapo, Nagia,
 Nebo, Rika, Sukili-PL = Mapo, Nagia, Nebo, Rika and Sukili'
 (5.30d) *ali-repa* 'man-GRP = a group of men'

Dual, paucal and plural refer to individuated number, as in (5.30a-c), in contrast to non-individuated number, i.e. a collective group, as in (5.30d).

5.3.4.2 Mass nouns and generic nouns

A noun not specified for number is either a mass noun (5.31a), or a generic noun (5.31b).

- (5.31a) *Ipa gi!*
 water give
 'Give me water.'

- (5.31b) *Ne-na aapa-me mena li-a.*
 you-GEN father-ERG pig hit-3SG.SPR
 'Your father slaughters pigs.'

A context in which the noun *mena* in (5.31b) would indicate plural number is when it refers to an habitual practice of the actor who slaughters a lot of pigs during a pig-slaughtering festival known in Kewapi culture as *mena yaawe* 'pig festival'.

If a mass noun is pluralised, it means that the mass noun is in some countable form, such as in containers, as in (5.31c).

- (5.31c) *Ipa-mu gi!*
 water-PL give
 'Give me the containers or bottles of water.'

Existential nouns usually have generic reference and mean plural, although this fact is not grammaticalised, as in (5.31d).

- (5.31d) *Lama-pora repona a-ya.*
 bush-LOC tree stand-3SG.SPR
 'There are trees in the bush.'

As for relational categories of nouns, core arguments are generally unmarked, except for the subject nominal of a transitive verb. Oblique nominals are marked by postpositions and location or direction markers (see 5.1.3.2 above).

5.4 Nominalisation

This section describes nouns and noun phrases formed by nominalisation. The discussion will focus on types of nominalisation strategies for deriving NPs from adjectives, demonstratives, predicates and nouns, and the grammatical functions of derived NPs. The common nominalisers are *-ai*, and *-au*. These enclitics can only derive nominals from non-verb roots, as the impossibility of (5.32a) and the possibilities of (5.32b-c) demonstrate.

- (5.32a) **pisa* 'sit' → *pisai*

- (5.32b) *pisa-e* 'sit-2SG.NPT' → [*pisa-e*]-*ai* 'something you sat on = a stool.'

- (5.32c) *pisa-pe* 'sit-IRR → [*pisa-pe*]-*ai* 'something for sitting on = a stool.'

5.4.1 Adjectival nominals

An adjectival nominal is formed by the nominaliser *-ai*, as in (5.33a-b).

- (5.33a) *adaa* 'big' → *ada-ai* 'one that is big'
 (5.33b) *pobere* 'black' → *pobere-ai* 'one that is black'
 (5.33c) *mapuaa* 'young' → *mapuaa komi-sa* 'the young one die.3SG.NPT
 = one that was young died.'
 (5.33d) *repo* 'three' → *repo komi-simi* 'three die-3PL.RPT'

Age (as in (5.33c)) and number (as in (5.33d)) adjectives can be used as nouns so they cannot be nominalised.

5.4.2 Demonstrative nominals

Like adjectives, demonstratives can be nominalised, as in (5.34a-b).

- (5.34a) *gó* 'this' → *gó-ai* 'one that is here'
 (5.34b) *gó ali* 'this man' → [*ali gó*]-*ai* 'man that is here'
 (5.34c) *Go la-e-de.* → [*go la-e-de*]-*ai* 'that which you said'
 that say-2SG.NPT-DEF
 '(I believe) You said that.'

In (5.34a) the demonstrative form is nominalised by *-ai*. In (5.34b) the NP *go ali* 'that man' becomes a predicate demonstrative *ali go* 'man (be) here/that' before it is nominalised to form a derived clausal nominal. In (5.34c) the clause is nominalised to form a clausal nominal.

5.4.3 Undergoer nominalisation

Undergoer or patient nominalisation refers to the undergoer or patient of the nominalised predicate (Payne 1997:227). In Kewapi the nominalisation of a clause results in undergoer or patient nominalisation. A declarative or an imperative clause may be nominalised by *-ai/-au* 'NOM'. Nominalised predicates retain their full verbal inflections. Consider the following examples.

A declarative clause with a stative verb (5.35a) is nominalised by *-ai* in (5.35b). In (5.35b) the nominalised clause is object nominal in the main clause. The pattern of nominalisation of finite predicates is generally the same as in (5.35b), regardless of whether the verb is stative or active.

(5.35a) *Yana-de komi-sa-de.*
 dog-DEF die-3SG.RPT-DEF
 '(I believe) The dog died.'

(5.35b) *Imu-mi [yana-de komi-saa-de]-ai*
 they-ERG [dog-DEF die-3SG.RPT-DEF]-NOM
tapa pi-simi.
 burial do-3PL.RPT
 'They buried the dog that died.'

The imperative clause in (5.36a) is nominalised by *-ai* in (5.36b). In (5.36b) the imperative clause that is nominalised functions as an undergoer-as-subject. Its semantic role is Existent.

(5.36a) *Kogono pea-pe!*
 work do-IRR
 '(You) do the work.'

- (5.36b) *[Kogono pea-pe]-ai wi-a.*
 [work do-IRR]-NOM put/be-3SG.SPR
 'There is work that is to done.' (lit.: 'Work to be done is there.')

Agent nominalisation is derived from patient nominalisation by the ergative marker *-mi*, as in (5.37).

- (5.37) *[Ni yana gi-sa]-ai-mi ne ni-sa.*
 [I dog give.3SG.RPT]-NOM-ERG you eat-3SG.RPT
 'The dog that someone gave me bit you.'

5.4.4 Abstract noun formation

5.4.4.1 State of being noun

Nouns are marked by the enclitic *-au* to express 'the state of being x where x is represented by a noun' (Comrie and Thompson 1985). For example, the enclitic *-au* marks *ali* 'man' to derive *ali-au* 'man-NOM = becoming a man'. Other examples follows.

- (5.38a) *Naaki ali-au te-a.*
 boy man-NOM say-3SG.FUT
 'The boy will become a man.'
- (5.38b) *Winya ali-au li-sa.*
 woman man-NOM say-3SG.RPT
 'The woman became a man.'

In (5.38a-b) the nominalised elements are predicate nominals, where the verb *la* 'say' functions as copula verb. In (5.38a) the boy's becoming man in time is true in a real

world, but in (5.38b) the woman being a man is possible in a non-real world, i.e. in legends, or in cultural festivals, where women become men by dressing as men.

5.4.4.2 Nominalisation of possessor nominal

A noun marked by the genitive marker *-na* 'GEN' to signal possessor role is nominalised by *-ai* 'NOM' to become a predicate nominal. Such a predicate is used to express a cordial greeting address if the marked noun is a kinship term, as in (5.39a), or to highlight a pronominal referent, as in (5.39b).

(5.39a) *Si-na-ai, ki epaa gi!*
 son-GEN-NOM, hand come give
 'Being my son, come and shake hands.'

(5.39b) *Ipu-na-ai koe rupa lopi-sa.*
 he-GEN-NOM bad manner fall-3SG.RPT
 'Being himself, he fell badly.'

In (5.39b) the pronoun *ipu* 'he' is marked by the genitive and the nominaliser to highlight the foolish action of the referent of the pronoun.

5.4.5 Functions of derived noun phrases

The following subsections deal with the grammatical relations of nominalised structures in the main and subordinate clauses and in noun phrases.

5.4.5.1 Subject and object nominals

As has been evident in the preceding discussion, subject and object nominals are formed by nominalisation. Consider further the following examples.

In (5.40a) the nominalised predicate is the subject and in (5.40b), it is the object, in their main clauses. In (5.40c) the nominalised predicate marked by the ergative marker *-mi* is subject of the main clause.

(5.40a) [*Ne-me mena gi-si-de*]-*ai*
 [you-ERG pig give-2SG.RPT-DEF]-NOM
ipu-la.
 come-3SG.PRG
 'The pig that you gave me is coming.'

(5.40b) [*Ne-me mena gi-si-de*]-*ai*
 [you-ERG pig give-2SG.RPT-DEF]-NOM
ne gia-wa.
 you give-1SG.NPT
 'I gave you the pig that you gave me.'

(5.40c) [*Mena gi-si-de*]-*ai-mi*
 [pig give-2SG.RPT-DEF]-NOM-ERG
ni ni-sa.
 me eat-3SG.RPT
 'The pig that you gave me bit me.'

As in (5.40c), agent-as-subject nominalisation is derived in Kewapi when the subject nominal of a transitive verb is marked by *-mi* 'ERG'. Nouns formed this way are broadly comparable to English agentive nouns like *builder*, *singer*, *hearer*, etc. However, these English nominals typically refer to habitual roles (Comrie and Thompson 1985, Payne 1997) rather than simply the performer of an activity which has been completed or is continuing, as in Kewapi.

5.4.5.2 Instrument nominals

An instrument nominal or a noun phrase is formed when the nominaliser *-ai* and the instrumental marker *-mi* mark a predicate. Clause (5.41a) is used to form an instrument nominal in (5.41b).

(5.41a) *Ne kaana mea-e.*
 you money get-2SG.NPT
 'You got money.'

(5.41b) [*Ne kaana mea-e*]-*ai-mi*
 [you money get-2SG.NPT]-NOM-INST
ada kaba-li.
 house buy-2SG.FUT
 'You will buy a house with the money you got.'

5.4.5.3 Manner nominals

Manner nominals are derived from irrealis predicates by the nominaliser *-au*, for example, *po-pe* 'go-IRR' when nominalised becomes [*po-pe*]-*au* 'go-IRR-NOM = a means of going.' As in (5.42a-b), manner nominals function as subject nominals in existential clauses.

(5.42a) [*Ro-na po-pe*]-*au* *pea.*
 [bridge-GEN go-IRR]-NOM do.3SG.SPR
 'There is a means of going on the bridge.' [lit.: 'A means of going on the bridge is there.']

(5.42b) [*Ipa kena-pe*]-*au* *pi-sa.*
 [river cross-IRR]-NOM do-3SG.RPT

'There was a means of crossing the river.' [lit.: 'A means of crossing the river was there.']

5.4.5.4 Location nominals

A locational nominal is formed when the locative marker *-pora* marks a clause, as in (5.43b-c).

(5.43a) is nominalised in (5.43b) and the derived nominal is a location adjunct in the main clause. In (5.43c) an irrealis predicate is nominalised and it functions as object of the matrix verb *maraa* 'forget'.

(5.43a) *Ipu ada-pora pisa-pe.*
 they house-LOC sit-3DL.NPT
 'They (dual) sat in the house.'

(5.43b) *Ne [ipu ada pisa-pe]-pora pua-e.*
 you [they house sit-3DL.NPT]-LOC go-2SG.NPT
 'You went to the house where they (dual) sat.'

(5.43c) *Ipu-me [ne su po-pe]-pora maara-sipi.*
 they-ERG [you place go-IRR]-LOC forget-3DL.RPT
 'They dual forgot the place where you were to go.'

5.4.5.5 Reason nominals

When a nominalised clause is marked by the genitive *-na*, it is a reason subordinate nominal of the main clause, as in (5.44a-b).

In (5.44a) a declarative clause is marked by the nominaliser *-ai* and the genitive *-na* and in (5.44b) an irrealis clause is nominalised and then marked by the

genitive. In each construction the nominalised clause marked by the genitive functions as a reason subordinate nominal.

- (5.44a) *[Saa kogono pea-pa]-ai-na*
 [we work do-1DL.NPT]-NOM-GEN
ipu-mi saa kaana gi-ta.
 he-ERG we money give-3SG.PRG
 'He is giving us money for the work we did.'
- (5.44b) *[Ialibu po-pe]-ai-na ta-me.*
 [Ialibu go-IRR]-NOM-GEN say-3PL.PRG
 'They are talking about going to Ialibu.'

Chapter Six

Verb and Verb Phrase Structures

6.0 Introduction

Chapter 6 describes verb and verb phrase structures of independent declarative and imperative clauses. Section 6.1 presents the verbal morphological categories negation, causation, direction, aspect, tense, subject, evidence, and speech act. This order of enumeration of the verbal categories necessarily reflects the order in which each category occurs if they are all present in the verbal morphology. Each category is identified, systematised and explained. Section 6.2 deals with three types of auxiliary verb phrases, namely, desiderative verb phrases, irrealis verb phrases and aspectual verb phrases. Each verb phrase is named according to the semantic category of the lexical verb head.

6.1 Verbal morphology

6.1.1 Verbal categories of independent clauses

Table 6.1 shows the morphological categories that occur in independent declarative, and imperative clauses, specifying the relative order of morphemes with respect to the verb stem.

Table 6.1 Verbal categories of independent clauses

Verbal categories								
Decl	Decl.	Decl	Decl	Decl	Decl	Decl	Decl	Decl1
Imp	Imp	Imp	Imp	Imp	Imp	Imp	Imp	Imp 2
NEG	CAUS	stem	DIR	SPN	ASP	SUB	EVD	ILL
<i>na-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	verb	<i>-saa</i> UP <i>-nyaa</i> DOWN	<i>-lapa</i> SPN	<i>-agaa</i> INCEP <i>-ba</i> PUNCT <i>-paa</i> COMPL <i>-la</i> CONT	See ch.4 sec. 4.2.	<i>-na</i> GEN <i>-yaa</i> NSN <i>-da</i> INDF	1- <i>de</i> DEF 1- <i>ra</i> TOP 1- <i>pe</i> IRR 2- <i>pe</i> IRR 1- <i>yaa?</i> Q/RQ

Abbreviations

ASP	aspect	INDF	predicate focus
CAUS	causative	IRR	inferred evidence, irrealis mood, emphatic assertion
COMPL	completive aspect	NEG	negative
DECL	declarative clause	NSN	not seen evidence
DEF	speaker's belief assertion	PUNCT	punctual aspect
DIR	direction	Q	question
DOWN	downward direction	RQ	rhetorical question
EVD	evidence	sec.	section
HZD	horizontal direction	SPN	split-action
ILL	illocutionary force		

IMP	imperative clause	SUB	subject
INCEP	inceptive aspect	TNS	tense
		UP	upward direction

An independent declarative verb may be marked by the verbal categories negation, causation, direction, split-action, aspect, tense, subject, evidence, and illocutionary force, as in (6.1). Since tense and subject categories tend to conflate so that these categories are signalled by a suffix, they are analysed as being expressed by a portmanteau suffix called a ‘subject-tense’ suffix.

- (6.1) *Repona na-ma-mu-saa-lapa-paa-rimi-yaa-de.*
 wood NEG-CAUS-take-UP-SPN-COMPL-3PL.NPT-NSN-
 DEF
 '(I believe I heard) They didn't cause two people to each complete
 taking the wood up.'

In (6.1) the verb *mu* 'take' is prefixed by *na-* 'negative' and *ma-* 'causative', suffixed by *-saa* 'upward direction', *-lapa* 'split-action', *-paa* 'completive aspect', and *-rimi* 'subject-tense' and encliticised by *-yaa* 'not-seen evidence', and *-de* 'speaker's belief assertion'. The obligatory suffix of the verb of the declarative clause is subject-tense. In the following subsections these categories will be developed by systematising them.

6.1.2 Subject suffixes

Person-and-number of the subject nominal of a clause is expressed by a suffix which is obligatory. Such an inflection characterises the grammatical clausehood status of an inflected verb. As seen in Chapter 4, Kewapi's grammatical mood clauses include the declarative and the imperative, each with its own subject agreement (in person-and-number) suffixes. Examples (6.2a-b) stand as independent clauses.

(6.2a) *pa-lipi*
 go-2DL.FUT
 'You two will go.'

(6.2b) *pu-lupa!*
 go-2DL
 'You two go.'

(6.2a) is a declarative clause with subject-tense inflection and (6.2b) is an imperative clause, inflected for non-singular second person. See 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.2 for a complete paradigm of subject suffixes for these clause types.

6.1.3 Tenses

Tense locates events with respect to the speech moment (Chung and Timberlake 1985). Kewapi grammaticalises five tense distinctions: (1) near past, for events up to two days before the speech moment; (2) remote past, for events more than two days before the speech moment; (3) present, for events continuing at the speech moment; (4) future, for events that will take place after the speech moment; and, (5) simple present, for events that occur habitually or for universal or existential statements. Table 6.2 presents subject-tense paradigms using the verb root *pu* 'go'.

Table 6.2 Subject-tense paradigms

Person No.	Future (FUT)	Present Progressive (PRG)	Near Past (NPT)	Remote Past (RPT)	Simple Present (SPR)
1SG	<i>pa-luaa</i> go-1SG.FUT	<i>pu-lu</i> go-1SG.PRG	<i>pua-wa</i> go-1SG.NPT	<i>pa-kua</i> go-	<i>pe-e</i> go-1SG.SPR

	‘I will go.’	‘I am going.’	‘I went.’	1SG.RPT ‘I went.’	‘I go.’
2SG	<i>pa-li</i> go-2SG.FUT ‘You will go.’	<i>pu-li</i> go-2SG.PRG ‘You are going.’	<i>pua-e</i> go-2SG.NPT ‘You went.’	<i>pa-si</i> go- 2SG.RPT ‘You went.’	<i>pe-le</i> go-2SG.SPR ‘You go.’
3SG	<i>pa-liaa</i> go-3SG.FUT ‘S/he/it will go.’	<i>pu-la</i> go-3SG.PRG ‘S/he/it is going.’	<i>pu-aa</i> go-3SG.NPT ‘S/he/it went.’	<i>pa-sa</i> go- 3SG.RPT ‘S/he/it went.’	<i>pe-a</i> go-3SG.SPR ‘S/he/it goes.’
1DL	<i>pa-lipaa</i> go-1DL.FUT ‘We two will go.’	<i>pu-lupa</i> go-1DL.PRG ‘We two are going.’	<i>puaa-pa</i> go-1DL.NPT ‘We two went.’	<i>pa-sipa</i> go- 1DL.RPT ‘We two went.’	<i>pe-pa</i> go-1DL.SPR ‘We two go.’
2/3 DL	<i>pa-lipi</i> go- 2/3DL.FUT ‘You/they two will go.’	<i>pu-lupi</i> go- 2/3DL.PRG ‘You/they two are going.’	<i>puaa-pe</i> go- 2/3DL.NPT ‘You/they two went.’	<i>pa-sipi</i> go- 2/3DL.RP T ‘You/they two went.’	<i>pe-pe</i> go- 2/3DL.SPR ‘You/they two go.’
1PL	<i>pa-lima</i> go-1PL.FUT ‘We plural will go.’	<i>pu-luma</i> go-1PL.PRG ‘We plural are going.’	<i>puaa-ma</i> go-1PL.NPT ‘We plural went.’	<i>pa-sima</i> go- 1PL.RPT ‘We plural	<i>pe-ma</i> go-1PL.SPR ‘We plural go.’

				went.'	
2/3 PL	<i>pa-limi</i>	<i>pu-lumi</i>	<i>puaa-me</i>	<i>pa-simi</i>	<i>pe-me</i>
	go-	go-	go-	go-	go-
	2/3PL.FUT	2/3PL.PRG	2/3PL.NPT	2/3PL.RPT	2/3PL.SPR
	'You/they	'You/they	'You/they	'You/they	'You/they
	plural will	plural are	plural went.'	plural	plural go.'
	go.'	going.'		went.'	

The verb base *pu* 'go' undergoes morphophonemic changes in the context of the subject-tense categories to derive the verb roots shown in Table 6.2. The intention of Table 6.2 is to demonstrate subject-tense inflections and their variation according to subject-tense categories and not to show variations for different verb types or for benefaction. See 4.2.1.1 for a detailed description of subject-tense suffixes with different verb types.

6.1.4 Negation

The prefix *na-* is a clausal negator. The following examples illustrate the scope of negation in a simple predicate (6.3a), a complex or a serial predicate (6.3b), a purpose predicate (6.3c), and subordinate and matrix predicates (6.3d).

In a simple clause the verb is negated by the negative prefix, as in (6.3a).

- (6.3a) *Naaki ada-pora na-ipi-sa.*
 boy house-LOC NEG-come-3SG.RPT

'The boy didn't come to the house.'

The first verb in a serial verb construction is prefixed by the negator whose scope includes all the verbs in the series, as in (6.3b).

- (6.3b) *Ne eda na-epa ni-si.*
 you food NEG-come eat-2SG.RPT
 'You didn't come and eat food.'

In a construction with a purpose predicate, as in (6.3c), the negation prefix prefixes the verb of the purpose predicate and the scope of negation includes the main predicate. So the structural relation between the purpose and the main predicates is more like a VP rather than like a subordinate-main predicate relationship. Thus Franklin (1971:97) describes the purpose + the main predicates as forming a 'purpose VP'.

- (6.3c) *Mena na-mu-la pua-me.*
 pig NEG-get-IRR go-3PL.NPT
 'They didn't go to get the pig.'

In a subordinate conditional sentence, either or both the subordinate and the main clauses can be negated, as in (6.3d), where both the predictive subordinate and the matrix verbs are negated.

- (6.3d) *Na-epa-limi-daa-re, na-po-pe.*
 NEG-come-3PL.FUT-RSN-if, NEG-go-IRR
 'If they don't come, don't go.'

6.1.5 Causation

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the prefix *ma-* derives morphological causative verbs from all verb types, including the copula verb *ya* 'be', as in (6.4a-c).

The causative affix prefixes: a predicate adjective in (6.4a), an intransitive verb in (6.4b) and a ditransitive verb in (6.4c). There is an increase in valence by one argument – the causer-as-subject argument. The causer NP is obligatorily marked by the ergative marker *-me/-mi*, as in (6.4a-c).

(6.4a) *Né-mé mena ma-adaa ya-lua.*
 I-ERG pig CAUS-big be-1SG.FUT
 'I will make the pig become big.'

(6.4b) *Ipu-me ne ma-puaa-ripa*
 he-ERG you CAUS-go-3SG.NPT
 'He made you go.'

(6.4c) *Agi-mi nogo-me imu eda ma-kala-sa.*
 mother-ERG girl-INST they food CAUS-give-3SG.RPT
 'The mother made the girl give them food.'

6.1.6 Directionals and split-action

Kewapi has verbal affixes for marking direction of action and split-action (SPN). A directional suffix precedes a split-action suffix. Table 6.3 presents directional and split-action suffixes.

Table 6.3 Directional and split-action suffixes

Directional suffixes	Split-action suffix
<i>-saa</i> 'up'	<i>-lapa</i> 'SPN'
<i>-nyaa</i> 'down'	

6.1.6.1 Directionals

Directional marking grounds situations in space (Payne 1997:248-9). Kewapi verbal directionals indicate whether an action is done upwards or downwards from a deictic centre (Franklin 1971:50)¹. The deictic centre is usually, but not necessarily, the location of the speaker at the time of speaking.

(6.5a) describes a situation in which the men did some road-work up a slope, so vertical direction includes elevated situations of action.

- (6.5a) *Ali-nu-mi kogono pu-saa-rimi.*
 man-PL-ERG work do-UP-3PL.NPT
 'The men did some work upwards.'

Actions that are perceived to take place in a downward direction are indicated by the suffix *-nyaa*, as in (6.5b).

- (6.5b) *Winya-nu-mi maminya-nu pegepu-nyaa-rimi.*
 woman-PL-ERG clothe-PL press-DOWN-3PL.NPT
 'The women pressed the clothes down.'

6.1.6.2 Split-action

A verb can be marked to signal whether two actors are jointly undertaking an activity or each actor is undertaking the same activity separately. The latter will be described as split-action 'SPN'. Joint-action is unmarked or marked by a zero morpheme whereas split-action is marked by the verbal suffix *-lapa* 'SPN'.

¹ West Kewa has the vertical directional suffixes *-niaa* 'downward motion' and *-saa* 'upward motion'. Franklin (1971:50) describes them as directional aspects and the directional enclitic *-nane* is called a direction marker (page 95).

A joint-action of two participants is not marked by a verbal suffix, as in (6.6a).

- (6.6a) *Nogo-lopo-me sapi-nu kuli-sipi.*
 girl-DL-ERG sweet potato-PL cook-3DL.RPT
 ‘The two girls baked some sweet potatoes.’

A split-action of two participants is marked by the verbal suffix *-lapa* ‘SPN’, as in (6.6b).

- (6.6b) *Nogo-lopo-me sapi-nu kusu-lapa-sipi.*
 girl-DL-ERG sweet potato-PL cook-SPN-3DL.RPT
 ‘The two girls baked some sweet potatoes each.’ or ‘The two girls each baked some sweet potatoes.’

Construction (6.6c) shows the split-action suffix’s slot in the verbal morphology with respect to other verbal categories.

- 6.6c) *Ipi-mi ada elo-saa-lapa-toa-sipi-yaa-de.*
 you-ERG house build-UP-SPN-DUR-2DL.RPT-NSN-DEF
 ‘(I believe I heard) You two were each building a house upwards.’

In (6.6c) the directional suffix *-saa* ‘UP’ is followed by the split-action suffix *-lapa* ‘SPN’, which is then followed by the durative aspectual suffix *-toa* ‘DUR’, subject-tense suffix *-sipi* ‘2DL.RPT’, the unseen evidential enclitic *-yaa* ‘NSN’, and the speaker’s believe assertion enclitic *-de* ‘DEF’. If all of these verbal categories occur, they must occur in the order shown in (6.6c).

6.1.7 Aspects

Aspect expresses the internal temporal structure of events, whether completed or extended (Foley 1986:143), as opposed to tense, which locates events with respect to speech moment, as present, past, or future (Matthews 1997:27). Since both aspect and tense are defined by reference to time these categories sometimes interact in Kewapi. However, the majority of aspectual distinctions in Kewapi are morphologically expressed by verbal suffixes, which are distinct from subject-tense suffixes. Before presenting aspectual suffixes, tense-aspect interactions will be discussed.

6.1.7.1 Tense-aspect

There are two perfective progressive tense-aspectual distinctions - near past perfect and remote past perfect progressive, which are expressed by serial predicates with the verb *pisa* 'sit' functioning as an auxiliary verb with a durative aspectual sense and marked by the genitive *-na*. The genitive functions as an inferred event marker, (see 6.1.8.1 below) i.e. it indicates a sense of a past event as having relevance at the speech moment² (present perfect), or at a point in the past (past perfect or pluperfect). Table 6.4 presents tense-aspect distinctions.

Table 6.4 Tense-aspect distinctions

Tense-aspect paradigms				
Markers	∅	<i>-na</i> 'GEN'	<i>pisa</i> 'sit.DUR'	<i>pisa-na</i> 'sit.DUR- GEN'
Simple Present	<i>pe-a</i> 'go- 3SG.SPR			

² The perfect is marked by the genitive marker *-na*. In discourse the speaker infers the 'current relevance' (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:46) of a past event by observing some material evidence or information.

	= he goes'			
Simple Future	<i>pa-lia</i> 'go- 3SG.FUT = he will go'			
Simple Near Past	<i>pu-aa</i> 'go- 3SG.RPT = he just went'			
Simple Remote Past	<i>pa-sa</i> 'go- 3SG.RPT = he went'			
Present Progressive	<i>pu-la</i> 'go- 3SG.PRG = he is going'			
Future Progressive			<i>pu piti-a</i> 'go sit.DUR- 3SG.FUT = he will be going'	
Near Past Progressive			<i>pu pisa-a</i> 'go sit.DUR- 3SG.NPT = he was going'	
Remote Past Progressive			<i>pu piri-sa</i> 'go sit.DUR-	

			3SG.RPT = he was going'	
Near Present Perfect		<i>pu-a-na</i> 'go- 3SG.NPT- GEN = he has gone'		
Future Perfect		<i>pa-lia ya-na</i> 'go- 3SG.FUT be-GEN = he will have gone'		
Remote Past Perfect		<i>pa-sa-na</i> 'go- 3SG.RPT- GEN = he had gone'		
Near Present Perfect Progressive				<i>pu pisa-a-na</i> 'go- sit.DUR-3SG.NPT- GEN = he has been going'
Future Perfect Progressive				<i>pu piti-a ya-na</i> 'go sit.DUR-3SG.FUT be- GEN = he will have been going'
Remote Past Perfect				<i>pu piri-sa-na</i> 'go sit.DUR-3SG.RPT-

Progressive				GEN = he had been going'
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The genitive marker *-na* appears to be formally identical with *-na* '3SG/PL.DS' but the latter suffixes a coordinate-dependent verb that is never inflected for tense. The construction *ipu pa-lia ya-na* 'he go-3SG.FUT be.REALIS-GEN = he will have gone' has two juxtaposed clauses – the first is a tensed clause and second is a realis clause that is not inflected for subject-tense category. The function of the realis clause is to encode the notion of past in which the future is grounded, i.e. the notion of past-in-future is expressed. The presence of the genitive marker is to encode the perfect-in-future tense-aspect notion.

Kewapi simple present covers habitual actions and states and universal or existential statements. A statement may be expressed in the normal simple present tense, as in (6.7a).

- (6.7a) *Ipu sukili pe-a.*
 he school do-3SG.SPR
 'He goes to school.'

(6.7a) may be reconstructed to encode an habitual sense employing a serial verb whose last member is the verb *pisa* 'sit', which functions as an auxiliary verb expressing durative aspect, as in (6.7b).

- (6.7b) *Ipu **sukili pu pi-a.*
 he school do sit.DUR-3SG.SPR
 'He habitually goes to school.'

The simple present is also used for universal statements such as:

- (6.8) *Kaaleamu kidipa ki laapo a-ya.*
 spider legs four two stand-3SG.SPR
 'Spiders have eight legs.'

Events occurring at the speech moment are expressed in the present progressive, as in (6.9).

- (6.9) *Ipu sukili ada pu-la.*
 he school house go-3SG.PRG
 'He is going to school.'

Speakers may switch between tenses, as in (6.10a-c).

- (6.10a) *Winya-ali-nu pa-simi.*
 woman-man-PL go-3PL.RPT
 'The people went.'
- (6.10b) *Maarepa winya-ali-pora le.*
 Maarepa woman-man-LOC say.1SG.SPR
 'I mean [say] Maarepa (tribal) people.'
- (6.10c) *Maarepa winya-ali-pora la-lo.*
 Maarepa woman-man-LOC say-1SG.PRG
 'I am talking about Maarepa (tribal) people.'

The statement (6.10a) is set in the remote past tense. Once set in the past, the speaker can comment on this event in the simple present, as in (6.10b), or in the present progressive tense, as in (6.10c).

Performative declarations may be expressed in the simple present (6.11a) or in the present progressive (6.11b).

(6.11a) *Go su Mugumapu le.*
 this land Mugumapu say.1SG.SPR
 'I name this land Mugumapu.'

(6.11b) *Go su Mugumapu la-lo.*
 this land Mugumapu say-1SG.PRG
 'I am naming this land Mugumapu.'

The following subsections will deal with aspectual distinctions expressed by suffixes. Table 6.5 presents suffixes marking completive and non-completive aspects.

Table 6.5 Completive and non-completive aspectual suffixes³

Completive aspects	Non-completive aspects
<i>-ba</i> 'punctual'	<i>-agaa</i> 'inceptive'
<i>-paa</i> 'eventual completive'	<i>-la</i> 'continuative'

6.1.7.2 Completive aspects

The two types of morphologically-marked completive aspects are punctual and eventual completive.

³ For West Kewa Franklin (1971:49) states the following aspectual distinctions: *-ba* 'inceptive', *-pa* 'completive', and *-la/-ta* 'prolonged'. In Kewapi the aspectual distinctions are: *-ba* 'punctual', *-paa/-pa* 'eventual completive', *-agaa* 'inceptive' and *-la* 'continuative'. West Kewa's *-la/-ta* 'prolonged aspect' may be equivalent to Kewapi's *-la* 'continuative aspect'.

6.1.7.2.1 Punctual aspect

The suffix *-ba/-baa/-bi* (depending on tense type) signals punctual aspect, i.e. it indicates that the action or event is realised ‘instantly, sooner than expected or without delay’. This type of aspect is usually described as ‘punctual’ aspect in the literature (e.g. Crystal 1997, Payne 1997:241), so this term is adopted here. Most activity verbs can be specified for punctual aspect. Consider the following constructions.

- (6.12a) *Eda na-bi-simi.*
 food eat-PUNCT-3PL.RPT
 ‘They ate the food without delay.’

- (6.12b) *Megaalo atubi tya-ba-lia.*
 bamboo break hit-PUNCT-3SG.FUT
 ‘The bamboo will become broken.’

In (6.12a-b) *-bi* and *-ba* respectively signal punctual aspect. In (6.12b) *atubi tya* ‘break hit’ is a serial verb whose subject nominal *megaalo* ‘bamboo’ will undergo the process of becoming broken instantly. Note that the punctual aspect suffix also functions as an intransitive verb derivational suffix, as in (6.12b), see 4.3.2.5 for further examples and discussion.

6.1.7.2.2 Eventual completive aspect

The aspectual suffix *-paa* (non-remote past tense) or *-pa* (remote past tense) marks eventual completive aspect on verbs whose activities/events is finally brought to completion, as in (6.13a-b).

- (6.13a) *Kogono pu-paa-rimi.*
 work do-COMPL-3PL.NPT
 'They eventually completed the work.'

- (6.13b) *Yai ipu-paa-lia.*
 rain come-COMPL-3SG.FUT
 'It will eventually finish raining.'

In (6.13b) note that although a heavy-rain fall can take hours before it ceases, it is not normally expected to last days or weeks, so the process of raining takes the *-paa* suffix.

Those verbs whose activities require longer duration before completion, for instance, the building of a house or a bridge, express eventual completive aspect by serial constructions. Such serial predicates have the verb *mea* 'get/take'⁴ in auxiliary function, as in (6.13c).

- (6.13c) *Ada elo mi-simi.*
 house build get-3PL.RPT
 'They finally completed building the house.'

6.1.7.3 Non-completive aspects

6.1.7.3.1 Inceptive aspect

The inceptive suffix *-agaa* (non-remote past tense) or *-aga* (remote past tense) marks actions that are started or are to be started, and will remain incomplete when the

⁴ When the verb *mea* 'take/get' occurs as a final verb in a series, it can function as an eventual completive aspect marker, as in (6.13c).

agent ceases the activity temporarily. This aspectual suffix occurs with all activity transitive verbs including those that denote prolonged activities like building a bridge or a house, making a garden, etc., as in (6.14a-b).

- (6.14a) *Ro elo-aga-limi.*
 bridge build-INCEP-3PL.FUT
 'They will start building the bridge.'

- (6.14b) *Maapu mu-aga-sa.*
 garden get-INCEP-3SG.RPT
 'He started making the garden.'

For detransitivised activity verbs incomplete aspect is expressed by serial verb constructions, as in (15).

- (6.15) *Sapi taga-pora kusa-ba*
 sweet potato ashes-LOC bake-PUNCT .
aa-ripa.
 stand.DUR-3SG.NPT
 'The sweet potato was baking in the ashes.'

In the predicate of (6.15) the first verb (a transitive activity verb) is suffixed by the punctual aspect suffix which functions as a detransitivising suffix and the final verb *aa* 'stand' expresses durative aspect. The event of the serial verb is pending completion.

6.1.7.3.2 Continuative aspect

The suffix *-la* marks continuative aspect. Continuative aspect and durative aspect in Kewapi contrast in that durative does not denote or imply a pause, i.e. it is perceived

as an ongoing state, whereas continuative aspect implies that the activity is regular but intermittent, i.e. occurs from time to time. The continuative aspectual suffix requires the verb *pea* 'do' as an auxiliary verb for marking subject-tense agreement, as in (6.16a-b).

- (6.16a) *Kuri agaale la-la pi-sa.*
 frog talk say-CONT do-3SG.RPT
 'The frog continued to croak.'

- (6.16b) *Yana eda na-la pi-lia*
 dog food eat-CONT do-3SG.FUT
 'The dog will continue to eat food.'

Continuative activities contrast with habitual activities in that the latter is marked by the nominaliser *-ai*, as in (6.17a-c).

- (6.17a) *Mena eda kata-ai peaa-ma.*
 pig food give-NOM do-1PL.NPT
 'We habitually gave the pig food.' [lit.: 'We did pig food giving.']

- (6.17b) *Lotu ta-ai pi-simi.*
 church service say-NOM do-3PL.RPT
 'They habitually went to church service.' [lit.: 'They did church service saying.']

- (6.17c) *Yana eda no-la-ai pi-lia*
 dog food eat-IRR-NOM do-3SG.FUT
 'The dog will habitually eat food.' [lit.: 'The dog will do food eating.']

(6.17c) is clause (6.16b) reconstructed as a clause expressing habitual action.

6.1.8 Evidentials

Evidentiality has to do with referencing information source (Willett 1988), or "how languages express relative certainty of truth" (Payne 1997:251). Kewapi makes three evidential distinctions: seen, inferred, and not-seen or hearsay evidentials⁵.

6.1.8.1 Inferred evidence

The genitive marker *-na* functions as an inferred evidence marker when it marks a predicate. There is some material evidence, 'result' (Willett 1988), or information which leads the speaker to draw an inference concerning an event, as in (6.18b-c).

An event seen or experienced by the speaker is unmarked (or is marked by a zero morpheme), as in (6.18a).

- (6.18a) *Eda naa-pe.*
 food eat-3DL.NPT
 'They two ate food.'

⁵ West Kewa has *-na* 'as reported seen action', and *-ya* 'as reported unseen action' (Franklin 1964:112, 1971:50). In Kewapi Yaraepa (1992, 1993) describe six evidential types: *-ha* 'seen evidence', *-de* 'seen, heard, known evidence', *-na* 'material evidence', *-ra* 'recall evidence', *-ya* 'hearsay' and *-da* 'assumed evidence'. However, this position is now amended, so that there are only two grammaticalised evidentials: 'inferred evidence' expressed by the genitive marker *-na* and 'reported unseen evidence' signalled by *-yaa*. Enga, Kewa's closely related neighbour, also has inference *lámo* and hearsay *-pyáá* evidentials (Lang 1973).

If an event is not seen but inferred to have occurred, as in (6.18b), the predicate is marked the genitive marker *-na*. The inference in (6.18b) may be drawn from stained utensils, or food morsels.

- (6.18b) *Eda naa-pe-na.*
 food eat-3DL.NPT-GEN
 '(I infer that) They two have eaten food.', i.e. 'They two have evidently eaten food.'

In (6.18c) the inferred event in the subordinate clause is the reason for the action in the main clause.

- (6.18c) *Ipi-simi-na-daa pu-li.*
 come-3PL.RPT-GEN-because go-2SG.PRG
 'Because they had come, you are going.'

The tense-aspect reading of sentences with inferred evidence meaning is either a Near Past Perfect, as in (6.18b), or a Remote Past Perfect, as in (6.18c), see 6.1.7.1 above.

6.1.8.2 Reported unseen evidence

The bound morpheme *-yaa* marks either a reported event that had not been seen by the speaker, as in (6.19a), or a reported (hearsay) event reported by the speaker, as in (6.19b). In both contexts the marker is glossed as 'not seen' (NSN).

In (6.19a) neither of the events marked by *-yaa* had been seen by the speaker (the woman in the narrative legend text) at the time of the event and she is reporting it for the first time. Note that *aya* 'amend' is used in discourse to signal that the speaker is going to amend a previous proposition or an assumption. The contrastive

linker *pere* ‘but’ can sometimes be interpreted as an additive ‘and’ linker when there is no clear contrast between the clauses linked, as in (6.19a), or also as a dramatic event marker (see T2:7).

(6.19a)	<i>Ade</i>	<i>li-sa</i>	<i>robo,</i>	<i>aya</i>
	DEF	say-3SG.RPT	when,	amend
	<i>go-rupa</i>	<i>na-na</i>	<i>aali-mi</i>	<i>kono</i>
	like-this	I-GEN	husband-ERG	trap
	<i>ma-aa-ripa-yaa-pora</i>			<i>epaa</i>
	CAUS-stand-3SG.NPT-NSN-LOC			come
	<i>ra-a-yaa</i>		<i>pere,</i>	<i>gó</i>
	catch-3SG.NPT-NSN		but,	here
	<i>epaa</i>	<i>yawa-wa</i>		<i>li-sa.</i>
	come	steam.roast-1SG.NPT		say-3SG.RPT

‘When he (the evil man) said that, she said like this: where her husband had set a trap the pig was caught in it, and I have already steam-roasted it here.’ [T2:10]

In (6.19b), taken from Text 3 about Lapua’s pig, the event marked by *-yaa* had not been seen by the speaker (Apoi). It had been reported to him (by Mapo, the prospective buyer of Apoi’s truck).

(6.19b)	..** <i>paipo</i>	** <i>adarete</i>	** <i>kinaa</i>	<i>kamaa</i>
	..five	hundred	kinaa	only
	<i>maako</i>	<i>saa-me-yaa.</i>		
	mark	put-3PL.NPT-NSN		

‘..They put a limit of five hundred kina (for withdrawal at the bank.’ [T3:53]

6.1.9 Marked speech acts

In this section morphologically marked speech acts in declarative and imperative constructions are outlined.

6.1.9.1 Marked assertions

The Kewapi declarative clause is an unmarked assertion. The definite *-de* 'DEF', topic *-ra* 'TOP', and irrealis *-pe* 'IRR' markers mark a sentence-final predicate to indicate respectively belief assertion, topical assertion, and emphatic assertion.

6.1.9.1.1 Belief assertion

When the speaker believes that an event is true and wants the listener to believe it, the predicate is marked by the definite marker *-de*, as in (6.20a-c).

- (6.20a) *Kogono pu-paa-ripa-de.*
 work do-COMPL-3SG.NPT-DEF
 '(I believe) He eventually completed the work.' or 'Definitely he eventually completed the work.'

- (6.20b) *Epa-me-yaa-de.*
 come-3PL.NPT-NSN-DEF
 '(I believe the hearsay report) They came.'

- (6.20c) *Abi-ri repo yaa-de.*
 today-TOP three be-REALIS-DEF
 '(I believe) today is Wednesday.'

If the speaker was absolutely certain about the events of (6.20a-c), the predicates would not be marked by the definite marker. (6.20c) would be reconstructed as a predicate adjective *abi-ri repo* ‘today-TOP three = today (is) Wednesday’.

6.1.9.1.2 Topical assertion

The topic marker *-ra* ‘TOP’ marks a predicate as a potential topic of discourse. Consider the following exchange, taken from Text 4 sentences 15-16.

In (6.21a), where Kasa asks a question, *apo-re* ‘there/that-TOP’ is used to refer to an activated topic referent (a tape recorder) located away from the speaker.

- (6.21a) Kasa: *Apo-re mi-ta?*
 that-TOP get-3SG.PRG
 ‘Is that (tape recorder) recording [getting] it?’ [T4:15]

In (6.21b) the predicate is marked by *-ra* to indicate that it is a topical assertion.

- (6.21b) Apoi: *Apea. Mi-ta-ra.*
 That’s right. get-3SG.PRG-TOP
 ‘Yes.’ ‘It is recording it.’ [T4:16]

In (6.22a-b) *-ra* marks negative clauses as topical assertions.

- (6.22a) *[Pi-simi]-au na-ada-kua-ra.*
 [do-3PL.RPT]-NOM NEG-see-1SG.RPT-TOP
 ‘I didn’t see what they did.’

- (6.22b) *Nogo maapu na-pua-a-na-ra.*

girl garden NEG-go-3SG.NPT-GEN-TOP

'(I infer) The girl has not gone to the garden.'

In (6.22b) an inferred negative event is asserted as a potential topic assertion.

6.1.9.1.3 Emphatic assertion

A construction-final predicate marked by the irrealis marker *-pe* 'IRR' functions as an emphatic assertion marker. It indicates that the preceding event or referent should be taken as an emphasised constituent or assertion. As previously described in 5.3.3.2, the irrealis marker is used as augmentative marker of nominals so its function as emphatic marker of utterances is not surprising.

In the following exchange, taken from Text 4 sentences 47-52, given below as (6.23a-f), Rami is talking about her sister Rimapu who lives with Kasa. Rami and Rimapu are Kasa's sisters. The final predicates marked by *-pe* function as emphatic assertion markers in (6.23c), (6.23e) and (6.23f).

(6.23a) Rami: *Mo winya goe ne-lopo*
 that lady old you-DL
pale-pe?
 sleep-2DL.SPR
 'Is that old lady staying with you?' [T4:47]

(6.23b) Kasa: *Sa-na pi-pa.*
 we-GEN sit-1DL.SPR
 'We stay ourselves.' [T4:48]

(6.23c) Rami: *Rimapu la-pe.*
 Rimapu say-IRR

'I am talking about **Rimapu**.' [T4:49]

- (6.23d) Kasa: *Sa-na piru ae-pa.*
 we-GEN sit stand.DUR-1DL.SPR
 'We live together ourselves.' [T4:50]

- (6.23e) Rami: *Remo pala kome-a*
 devil fear die-3SG.SPR
la-e-de-pili la-pe.
 say-2SG.NPT-DEF-because say-IRR
 'I am saying (that) **because you said she is afraid of the devil**.' [T4:51]

- (6.23f) Kasa: *Remo pala kome-a la-me-pe.*
 devil fear die-3SG.SPR say-3PL.NPT-IRR
 'I am saying **she is afraid of the devil**.' [T4:52]

In (6.23a) Rami asks Kasa if the old lady (Rimapu) is with him. Kasa replies that she is staying with him. In (6.23c) Rami uses *la-pe* 'say-IRR' to highlight her previous referent Rimapu. Kasa states that Rimapu stays with him. In (6.23e) Rami emphasises the utterance preceding the emphasis-marking formula *la-pe* 'say-IRR'. Note that the proposition 'That Rimapu is afraid of the devil' is believed by Rami to have been previously stated by Kasa. Finally in (6.23f) Kasa uses the predicate formula *la-me-pe* 'say-3PL.NPT-IRR' to emphasise Rami's previous statement 'That Rimapu is afraid of the devil'. Note that *la-me-pe* 'say-3PL.NPT-IRR' is a speech formula, i.e. its subject-tense suffix is fixed, it cannot be changed. The referents of the subject agreement suffix *-me* 3PL are impersonal, i.e. they are not participants in the discourse.

The predicate formula *la-pe* ‘say-IRR’ can also be used to emphasise a command. Consider another exchange, taken from Text 5 sentences 1-4, given below as (6.24a-d). In the following exchange, the speaker Waba, is telling a story about a teenage male who tried to seduce a girl related to him. Rekainya is an old woman who is listening to Waba.

(6.24a) Waba: *Rekainya, Kapoi-na wane-re*
 Rekainya, Kapoi-GEN daughter-TOP
Leme-na si-mi koge-ya-yaa
 Leme-GEN son-ERG ask-3SG.NPT-NSN
la-wa-de.
 say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 ‘Rekainya, I said, “Kapoi’s daughter was seduced
 [asked] by Leme’s son”!’ [T5:1]

(6.24b) Rekainya: *Go-re pagaa-ripu-de-le..*
 that-TOP hear.for-1SG.NPT-DEF-so..
 ‘I heard that for you so..(not happy about the high
 pitched tone).’ [T5:2]

(6.24c) Waba: ***Bekeme waru pea-pe.*
 reply (Tok Pisin) properly do-IRR
 ‘Do reply properly.’ [T5:3]

(6.24d) Waba: *O [gó lagia-lo]-ai-ri*
 agree [here tell-2SG.PRG]-NOM-TOP
ne-me ni waru abula-la
 you-ERG me properly respond-CONT

pea-pe la-pe.

do-IRR say-IRR

'I am saying you respond properly to what I am telling you here.' [T5:4]

In (6.24d) Waba uses the predicate formula *la-pe* 'say-IRR' to emphasise her previously uttered command in (6.24c).

6.1.9.2 Question types

Interrogative clauses are formed from declarative clauses by a question intonation and/or by a question marker. Apart from intonation and WH-questions described in Chapter 3, two other question types expressed morphologically by the same question marker *-yaa/-ya* are yes-no questions and rhetorical questions.

6.1.9.2.1 Yes-no questions

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the question enclitic *-yaa* marks WH-question words and clauses. In (6.25a) the question marker marks a WH-question word. (6.25b) provides the information sought.

(6.25a) Waba: *Ne-na ada-re aapora-yaa?*

I-GEN village-TOP where-Q

'Where (is) your village?' [T8:1]

(6.25b) Suli: *Pagipuro la-wa-de.*

Pagipuro say-1SG.NPT-DEF

'(I believe) I said, "Pagipuro".' [T8:2]

When the question marker *-yaa* 'Q' marks the predicate of a sentence without a WH-question word, it functions as a yes-no question marker, as in (6.26a).

(6.26a) *Naaki-lopo epa-pe-yaa?*
 boy-DL come-3DL.NPT-Q
 ‘Did the two boys come?’

(6.26b) *Dia, abi na-epe-pe.*
 no, yet NEG-come-3DL.SPR
 ‘No, they (dual) haven’t come yet.’

In the answer in (6.26b) just *dia* ‘no’ would be an acceptable answer.

6.1.9.2.2 Rhetorical question

The same question marker *-yaa/-ya* signals a rhetorical question in speech contexts where the speaker uses an interrogative clause to make a statement, as in (6.27).

In (6.27) Apoi is asking a rhetorical question relating to Lapua’s pig. Rhetorical questions are commonly used as a rhetoric device in expository discourse (see Text 3) and also for highlighting important points.

(6.27) *Mogo mena go-ai luabu suruba-lima-ya?*
 that pig that-NOM whole wait-1PL.FUT-RQ
 ‘We won’t wait that long (to pay) for that pig.’ [lit.: RQ: ‘Will we wait that long (to pay) for that pig?’] [T3:62]

6.1.9.3 Irrealis mood types

A construction-final predicate marked by the irrealis marker *-pe* ‘IRR’, depending on the context (of structure or situation), indicates one of the following meanings or speech acts: (1) a non-immediate command (6.28a), (2) a polite command (6.28b),

(3) a negative command (6.28c), and (4) a conventional leaving-taking meaning (6.28d).

In (6.28a), a non-immediate imperative clause, the temporal noun *alebo* ‘afternoon’ enhances a non-immediate command interpretation of the irrealis-mood-marked clause.

(6.28a) *Alebo maminya-nu ada runane mea-pe!*
 afternoon cloth-PL house inside get-IRR
 ‘In the afternoon, get the clothes inside the house.’

In some contexts a non-immediate imperative clause can be interpreted as a polite command. Consider (6.28b).

(6.28b) *Maiyaa, eda na-pe!*
 father, food eat-IRR
 ‘Father, eat the food.’

In (6.28b), if the father had been served a meal, the likely interpretation is a polite immediate command.

Negative commands are formed by the negative prefix and the irrealis mood maker as obligatory markers, as in (6.28c).

(6.28c) *Ali meda-na winya paake*
 man one-GEN wife steal
na-na-pe!
 NEG-eat-IRR
 ‘You shall not commit adultery.’

(lit.: 'Do not steal [eat] a man's wife.')

In (6.28c) whether or not the negative command is to be realised immediately or at an indefinite time in future depends on the situational context. If the addressee was known to be seducing someone's wife, the command would take immediate effect, but if (6.28c) was spoken in a church sermon, it would be interpreted as a generic command to be obeyed in the future.

Again the context of situation would determine whether (6.28d) is to be interpreted as a non-immediate command or a conventional leaving-taking meaning.

(6.28d) *Paita-pe!*
 sleep-IRR
 'Sleep later!' or 'Goodbye!'

If one utters (6.28d) while waving a hand to someone, the appropriate interpretation would be 'goodbye'.

6.2 Auxiliary verb phrases

Auxiliary verb phrases (AVPs)⁶ in Kewapi involve at least two verbs forming a VP. The preceding verb provides the lexical content and the following verb functions as an auxiliary verb. Adverbs can precede the lexical verb but cannot occur between the

⁶ Franklin (1971:95-99) describes three verb phrases in West Kewa: possessive verb phrases, purposive verb phrases, and gerundive verb phrases. James (1983:26-75) describes verb serialisation in Siane and refers to serial verbs whose last member functions as an auxiliary as 'auxiliary serialisation'. Franklin's gerundive VPs are actually auxiliary serialisations. In this study of Kewapi morphosyntax the focus is on those VPs with auxiliary verbs. One feature which distinguishes auxiliary VPs from progressional serial verbs (see 4.4.1) is that the valence of the verbs in the auxiliary VPs, as described here, is determined by the lexical verb head of the auxiliary VP, whereas this is not the case for progressional serial verbs. In the latter serial verbs, each verb in the series retains its valence.

lexical and the auxiliary verbs. An auxiliary verb is usually marked for subject-tense, aspect and mode, and loses its lexical meaning. The verb *pea* ‘do’ commonly functions as an auxiliary verb. Other verbs that function as auxiliary verbs in AVPs include *pisa* ‘sit’, *aa* ‘stand’, and *ya* ‘be’.

The three types of auxiliary verb phrases are desiderative, irrealis, and aspectual. These types are named according to the semantic category of the non-final verb in AVPs.

6.2.1 Desiderative verb phrases

In a desiderative AVP the desiderative verb *yaa* ‘want’ functions as the lexical verb and the verb *pea* ‘do’ as an auxiliary verb, as in (6.29). The desiderative verb provides the lexical content and the auxiliary verb is used for marking subject-tense agreement.

- (6.29) *Kaana kata yaa pea-me.*
 money give want do-3PL.NPT
 ‘They wanted to give the money (to someone).’

The desiderative verb *yaa* ‘want’ has the preceding verb *kata* ‘give’ as its complement.

6.2.2 Irrealis verb phrases

Irrealis verb phrases occur in conditional sentences (see 7.3.1.3 where conditional sentence types are described), as in (6.30a-b).

In (6.30a) both the subordinate and the main clauses have irrealis AVPs. The verb marked for irrealis status is followed by the verb *pea* ‘do’ in auxiliary function.

- (6.30a) *Ne epo-la pi-si-ri,*
 you come-IRR do-2SG.RPT-if,
rai gu-la pu-ka.
 axe give-IRR do-1SG.RPT
 ‘If you had come, I would have given you an axe.’

In (6.30b) the subordinate clause has a predicate nominal *yaa* ‘bird’ and the copula verb *ya* in auxiliary function is marked for irrealis status. In the main clause the irrealis verb *bita* is lexical verb, and *pea* ‘do’ is auxiliary.

- (6.30b) *Ni yaa ya-lo-re, bita pea-wa.*
 I bird be-IRR-if, fly.IRR do-1SG.NPT
 ‘If I were a bird, I would have flown.’

6.2.3 Aspectual verb phrases

An aspectual AVP has the lexical head marked by an aspectual marker and it is followed by an auxiliary verb, as in (6.31a-b).

In (6.31a) the lexical verb *la* ‘say’ is marked for continuative aspect, and the auxiliary verb *pea* ‘do’ is marked for subject-tense and mood (i.e. declarative mood).

- (6.31a) *Kuri agale la-la pi-sa.*
 frog talk say-CONT do-3SG.RPT
 ‘A frog continued to croak.’

In (6.31b) the lexical verb is *pago* ‘listen’, and the verb *pisa* ‘sit’ is in auxiliary function, expressing durative aspectual meaning. The transitive verb *paga* ‘listen’ is detransitivised by the punctual aspect suffix *-ba* (see 4.3.2.5).

- (6.31b) *Naaki-na agaale pago-ba piri-sima.*
 boy-GEN talk listen-PUNCT sit.DUR-1PL.RPT
 ‘We were listening to the boy’s talk.’

So in an aspectual AVP, as in (6.31a-b), the valence of a transitive lexical verb is reduced by one argument, i.e. the object argument. The aspectual suffix marking the lexical verb head functions as a valence-reducing suffix.

Chapter Seven

Embedded and Subordinate Structures

7.0 Introduction

This chapter describes embedded and subordinate construction types. Section 7.1 presents complement constructions and section 7.2 deals with relative clauses. Finally, section 7.3 describes types of adverbial subordinate clause constructions. As far as possible, examples are drawn from the eight natural texts which form the appendices of this thesis. Embedded clauses, namely, complement and relative clauses are shown in square brackets.

7.1 Complement construction types

A complement clause is one that functions as a core argument of a clause (Noonan 1985, Dixon 1995). Kewapi has predominantly object complement constructions. Subject complements are restricted to *be* verbs. Object complement-taking verbs occur in sentence-medial and sentence-final clauses.

In the following subsections reported speech/thought complement clauses, complements clauses with complementisers, and subject complement constructions will be presented.

7.1.1 Reported speech complement clauses

Kewapi distinguishes reported direct and indirect speech. The following are the distinguishing features.

- (1) The presence of third person free pronoun, which is cross-referenced as first person subject in the verb of the quoted clause signals an indirect speech quote. Conversely the absence of pronoun shift signals a direct speech quote.
- (2) A direct or an indirect quote may either precede the quoting verb or be introduced by a quotation formula, either *talo* or *toame*.

The speech quoting verb is *la* ‘say’ and thought quoting verb is *kone sa* ‘think’. Speech quotations are more frequent than thought quotation constructions.

There are four quotation complement construction types whose structures are: (1) a direct quotation complement clause + matrix clause, (2) an indirect quotation complement clause + matrix clause, (3) a quotation formula + a direct quotation complement clause + matrix clause, and (4) a quotation formula + an indirect complement clause + matrix clause. Each of these reported speech complement construction types is exemplified using a manufactured example.

A direct quote consists minimumly of the quoted predicate and maximumly of the object and/or oblique nominals of the predicate. A first person free pronoun referring to the quoted speaker does not occur in a direct quote for two reasons: (1) to avoid ambiguity in reference between the quoted speaker and the reporter, and (2) to allow for a third person free pronoun to occur to form an indirect quote, which results in a pronoun shift from first person (direct quote) to third person (indirect quote).

In (7.1a) the direct quote appears in direct quotation marks as an object complement of the matrix verb *li* ‘say’. The first singular subject-tense agreement suffix *-kua* ‘1SG.RPT’ of the verb *pa-kua* ‘go-1SG.RPT’ of the quoted clause indicates that the complement clause is a direct quotation.

- (7.1a) *Nogo-me* [*“ada-pora pa-kua”*] *li-sa*
 girl-ERG [*“house-LOC go-1SG.RPT”*] say-3SG.RPT
 ‘The girl said, “I went to the house”.’

(7.1b) is an indirect quote version of (7.1a). The significant structural difference is the presence of the third person singular free pronoun *ipu* ‘she’ inside the quoted clause. In other words there is a pronoun shift from first person (still indicated by the first person subject-tense agreement suffix) to third person (indicated by the third person free pronoun). If the subject agreement of the quoted clause was changed to agree with the pronoun *ipu* ‘she’, the actor of the quoted clause would change to third person instead of the quoted first person and that would be a different construction altogether. The subject-tense agreement suffix *-kua* ‘1SG.RPT’ of the quoted predicate *pa-kua* ‘go-1SG.RPT’ in (7.1b) refers to *ipu* ‘she’ who is the speaker of the quoted clause and this is basically how indirect speech is constructed in Kewapi.

(7.1b) *Nogo-me* *[ipu ada-pora pa-kua]*
 girl-ERG [she house-LOC go-1SG.RPT]
li-sa
 say-3SG.RPT
 ‘The girl said she went to the house.’

In (7.2a) the direct quote is introduced by the irrealis predicate formula *ta-lo* ‘say-IRR’. The formula is used to introduce a complement verb whose action is in the non-past, mainly in the irrealis mood (imperative or subjunctive (as in (7.2a))).

(7.2a) *Nogo-me* *ta-lo* *[“ada-pora po-no”]*
 girl-ERG say-IRR [“house-LOC go-1SG”]
li-sa
 say-3SG.RPT
 ‘The girl said, “I should go to the house”.’

(7.2b) is an indirect quote version of (7.2a). Again the third person pronoun *ipu* ‘she’ signals an indirect quote.

(7.2b) *Nogo-me ta-lo [ipu ada-pora po-no]*
 girl-ERG say-IRR [she house-LOC go-1SG]
li-sa
 say-3SG.RPT
 ‘The girl said she should go to the house.’

In (7.3a) the direct quote is introduced by the predicate formula *to-a-me* ‘say-3SG.FUT-INST’. The subject agreement of the predicate formula changes in person-and-number of the quoted person but the future tense and intentional meaning expressed by the instrumental marker is fixed. Thus this finite predicate formula is used to introduce a complement verb whose action is in the non-future, as in (7.3a).

(7.3a) *Nogo-me to-a-me [“ada-pora pa-kua”]*
 girl-ERG say-3SG.FUT-INST [“house-LOC go-1SG.RPT”]
li-sa
 say-3SG.RPT
 ‘The girl intended to say: “I went to the house”.’

(7.3b) is an indirect quote version of (7.3a). The presence of the third person pronoun *ipu* ‘she’, which is coreferential with the speaker of the quoted clause as expressed by the first person subject agreement suffix, signals an indirect quote complement construction.

(7.3b) *Nogo-me to-a-me*
 girl-ERG say-3SG.FUT-INST
[ipu ada-pora pa-kua] li-sa.

[she house-LOC go-1SG.RPT] say-3SG.RPT

‘The girl intended to say: she went to the house.’

The following examples from natural discourse illustrate: a direct quote, an indirect quote, a direct introduced by a quotation predicate formula and an indirect quote introduced by a quotation predicate formula.

(7.4a) is a direct quotation complement construction. It contains a direct quote in which the quoted speaker is referred to by the first person singular subject agreement suffix *-yo* ‘1SG’ of the verb *ma-aa-yo-le..* ‘CAUS-stand-1SG.SPR-because..’ of the quoted clause.

(7.4a) [*Repona re-pora kono meda go*
 [‘tree base-LOC trap one.INDF there
ma-aa-yo-le..,
 CAUS-stand-1SG.SPR-because...,
puaa ádá] *li-sa.*
 go see.IMP”] say-3SG.RPT

‘He said, “because I have set a trap at the base of the tree, go and see (it)”.’ [T2:4]

(7.4b) is an indirect quotation complement construction. In Text 2 sentence 14 the quoted speaker is the woman character and her addressee is the evil man who are cross-referenced in the quoted verb *na-pa-lipaa-le* ‘NEG-go-1DL.FUT-because’. The first pronoun denoting the speaker shifts to the third person pronoun *ipu* ‘she’ to signal indirect quote.

(7.4b) [*Dia ipu na-pa-lipaa-le*
 [no she NEG-go-1DL.FUT-because
ne-na puaa ádá] *li-sa*

you-GEN go see] say-3SG.RPT

‘She said no, because she won’t go him, he must go and see (it) himself.’

[T2:14]

(7.5a) contains a direct quotation complement clause that is introduced by the irrealis predicate quotation formula *ta-lo* ‘say-IRR’. The actor of the quoted clause is non-first person and in non-past tense.

(7.5a) ..*o-de* *winya-pora* ***ta-lo***,
 NSL-DEF woman-LOC **say-IRR**,
 [“*puaa ádá*”], *li-sa*.
 [“go see”], say-3SG.RPT

‘He said to the woman, [“go and check (the traps)”].’ [T2:3]

(7.5b) contains an indirect quotation complement clause that is introduced by the irrealis predicate quotation formula *ta-lo* ‘say-IRR’. The third person singular free pronoun *ipu* ‘he’ refers to the evil man in Text 2 who is the quoted speaker.

(7.5b) ..*mo-de* *ali-mi* ***ta-lo***
 ..FHL-DEF man-ERG **say-IRR**
 [*go-re* *epe* *pea-e-le*,
 [that-TOP good do-2SG.NPT-because,
mo *koya-e-lena* *kamaa-re*
 FHL untie-2SG.NPT-LOC only-TOP
ipu *maa* *wala-inya* *ba-na]* *li-sa*.
he take show-2SG go-1DL] say-3SG.RPT

'..The man said that because it was fine she did that, she should come with him (and) show him the place where she removed the pig from the trap.' [T2:11]

7.1.2 Complement-taking verbs

The main complement-taking verbs (CTVs) are *la* 'say', *kone sa* 'think' and *yaa* 'want'. They commonly occur both as sentence-medial and sentence-final CTVs. Of these CTVs, only *yaa* 'want' does not occur by itself as a sentence-final CTV. It must occur in an auxiliary verb phrase in which the verb *pea* 'do' is the auxiliary verb. Examples with *la* 'say' and *kone sa* 'think' are given first and are then followed by *yaa* 'want' constructions.

The medial verb *lo* 'say' takes direct speech object complement clauses and occurs as a coordinate-dependent verb which is linked by a temporal and same subject suffix *-maa* 'SEQ.SS' to the final clause, as in (7.6a-b).

(7.6a) Kasa:

[*"Tya-no gi-pa"*] *lo-maa ipu maa*
 ["hit-1SG give-2PL"] *say-SEQ.SS he take*
lu pia-ya-de.

hit do-3SG.SPR-DEF

'He says, "I should slaughter it (so) give it to me", and takes it and slaughters it (pig).' [T4:84]

In (7.6b) there are two complement clauses of the medial verb *lo* 'say' and the final verb *la* 'say'.

(7.6b) Kasa:

[*"..kamó abala a-sa"*],

["grey hair already stand-3SG.RPT"],

lo-maa ["loko pai

say-SEQ.SS ["anger do.extreme

pi-a] *la-lo-pe.*

do-3SG.SPR"] say-1SG.PRG-IRR

'I am saying, "I already have grey hair", and "I am extremely angry".' [T5:31]

The medial structure *kone su-maa* (as in (7.7)) is structurally similar to the medial structure *lo-maa* seen in (7.6a-b). Both these medial verbs take object complement clauses, have the same subject (SS) as the sentence-final verb and are followed by finite verbs.

(7.7) Waba:

Koda so Ialibu ipi-si robo-re

one day FUL Ialibu come-3SG.RPT when-TOP

["ne-re alerepa winya ya polo"]

["you-TOP which tribe woman be what"]

kone su-maa ne loropi

thought put-SEQ.SS you ask

la-lo-pe.

say/be-1SG.PRG-IRR

'One day when you came up there to Ialibu I wondered, "which clan group does this woman belong to?", and I am asking you.' [T8:65]

Another construction type involving the CTV *lo* 'say' has the sentential structure: [complement clause] + *lo* + *gupa* + finite verb of saying. The form *gupa*

'like that/this' refers back to the event of the complement clause of *lo* and reiterates it, as in (7.8a-b).

- (7.8a) *Agaa ope-a robo-re, gore, ["gó*
 teeth grow-3SG.SPR when-TOP, then, ["this
mena ima-pe-da"] lo, gupa le-ma.
 pig big-IRR-INDF"] say, like that say-1PL.SPR
 'When the teeth grow, then, we say, "this pig is a huge one", we
 say like that.' [T1:15]

- (7.8b) [*..agaale gó la-lo-da"]*
 ["talk here say-1SG.PRG-INDEF"]
lo, gupa la-lo-pe.
 say, like that say-1SG.PRG-IRR
 'I am saying, "I am talking here", I am saying like that.' [T3:35]

The verb *yaa* 'want' occurs as a non-final verb (as in (7.9)) and requires the auxiliary *pea* 'do' when it is used as a final verb, as in (7.10). Its desiderative function in subordinate constructions is described in 7.3.2.2 below.

- (7.9) *Go pe-a robo, [kolawi ne-na]*
 that do-3SG.SPR when, [worm eat-3SG]
yaa kama-nane weae-ma.
 want outside-DIR send-1PL.SPR
 'When that happens, we want [it (the pig) to eat worms] (so) we
 send it outside (of the house where it is kept).' [T1:11]

As in (7.9), the subject of *yaa* 'want' is different from the subject of its complement

clause. That is, the complement clause has its own subject suffix¹ while the sentence-final verb has the subject-tense suffix of a declarative mood clause. When the subject of the desiderative verb is the same as the subject of the complement clause, an irrealis complement clause with subject deletion is used, as in (7.10). In (7.10) the verb *yaa* is the lexical verb and *pi* 'do' is the auxiliary verb, forming a desiderative verb phrase.

- (7.10) *Nogo* [****buku** *ado-la*] *yaa* *pi-sa*.
 girl [book see-IRR] want do-3SG.RPT
 'The girl wanted [to read a book].'

7.1.3 Complementisers

Apart from *la* 'say', most other verbs like *lakala* 'tell/report', *loropea* 'ask/request' *makuaa* 'know', *maraa* 'forget', etc. commonly occur with the complementisers *polo* 'question enclitic' and *pi* 'talk/message'.

7.1.3.1 *polo* 'question enclitic'

The morpheme *polo* means 'whether or not, which one'. The speaker uses it to seek an answer. Structurally it functions as a complementiser, as in (7.11a-b).

- (7.11a) [*Naaki* *epa-lia*] *polo*
 [boy come-3SG.FUT] whether
loropu-lua.
 ask-1SG.FUT

¹ Franklin (1971, 1983) describes the subject suffixes of the embedded subjunctive complement clauses as switch-reference markers. In 8.2.2.2 it is proposed that the syntactic context under which these subject suffixes function as switch-reference markers in Kewapi is in temporally and aspectually linked coordinate dependent constructions only. In embedded complement clauses they simply function as subject suffixes of subjunctive verbs and outside the context of embedded constructions, it is interpreted as expressing deontic meaning.

‘I will ask whether [the boy will come].’

(7.11b) Waba:

Koda so Ialibu ipi-si robo-re,
 one day up there Ialibu come-3SG.RPT when-TOP,
[ne-re alerepa winya ya polo] kone
 [you-TOP which tribe woman be **which**] thought
su-maa, ne loropi la-lo-pe.
 put-SEQ.SS, you ask say/be-1SG.PRG-IRR

‘One day when you came up to Ialibu I wondered (thought), [which clan does this woman belong to?], and now I am asking you.’

[T8:64]

As in (7.11a-b), the complementiser *polo* follows a complement clause and is followed by the verb *loropea* ‘ask’. In the context of sentence (7.11a) *polo* can be translated as ‘whether’ whereas in (7.11b) ‘which’ is the more appropriate gloss.

7.1.3.2 *pi* ‘talk’

The free morpheme *pi*, which can be translated in English as ‘talk’ or sometimes as ‘message’ functions as a complementiser, as in (7.12a-b). The verb *la* ‘say’ commonly follows *pi* ‘talk’, as in (7.12a-b).

In (7.12a) the verb *le* is the simple present tense form of *la* ‘say’.

(7.12a) *Go robo, [mo-de ali-mi rai-mi*
 that time, [FHL-DEF man-ERG axe-INST
pege abala maa lora-no] pi pege
 even first take cut-1SG] **talk** even
na-le, pa ado-ba a-sa.

NEG-say, just see-PUNCT stand.DUR-3SG.RPT

‘At that time, without even saying the talk (that) [I must first get an axe and cut it], the man just kept looking at it.’ [T2:25]

In (7.12b) the predicate *ta-pe* is an irrealis predicate. Note that *polo* ‘what’ occurs sentence-finally and has the immediately preceding embedded clause ‘they will say’ as its clausal complement. The interrogative pronoun *ake* ‘what’ functions as an object argument of the irrealis predicate *ta-pe* ‘say-IRR’ so it is not a complementiser like *polo* as it seems in the translation.

(7.12b) ..[*o mena ipu-na agi*
 ..[NSL pig it-GEN mother
aara-lopo-me ta-pe]
 father-DL-ERG say-IRR]
pi paga-pona-wa-ra,
 talk hear-1DL-EXCL-TOP,
ake [ta-pe] polo.
 what [say-2DL.PRG] what

‘.. Let us listen exclusively to the talk (that) [the pig's parents (owners) have to say], we must listen to what [they will say].’
 [T3:19]

7.1.4 Subject complement clauses

The complement constructions in 7.1.1-3 above have been object complement clause constructions. Subject complement clause constructions occur only as complements of the verb *pea* ‘do’ when it is used as a copula *be* verb, as in (7.13a-b).

(7.13a) [*Go repona ruma-pe]*
 [this tree climb-IRR]

rada pi-sa.

hard do-3SG.RPT

‘[To climb this tree] was hard.’ or ‘[Climbing this tree] was hard.’

(7.13b) [*Ne-na ame-lopo winya-lopo*

[you-GEN brother-DL woman-DL

mi-sipi-re], epe pi-sipi.

.get-3DL.RPT-TOP], good do-3DL.RPT

‘[That your brothers got married] is good.’

(lit.: ‘[Your brothers got wives], good they did.’)

As in (7.13a), a subject complement clause can be an irrealis clause that is not marked for subject agreement. In such a construction *-pe* ‘IRR’ is an irrealis marker because in embedded clauses such as in complement and relative clauses the events of the verbs that it marks are yet to be realised. As in (7.13b), subject complement clauses can occur with their own subjects. In such constructions the complement clause tends to be topicalised by *-re* ‘TOP’.

7.2 Relative clauses

A relative clause functions as a nominal modifier (Keenan 1985, Dixon 1995). The following are the main features of Kewapi relative clauses⁴.

1. Kewapi has restrictive relative clauses whose position in relation to the head noun is pronominal. The coreferential nominal of the relativised clause is then deleted.
2. Any grammatical relation can be relativised as a pronominal relative clause.
3. Relative clauses have realis and irrealis predicates.
4. Kewapi has no relative clause markers like relative pronouns in English.

⁴ In West Kewa Franklin (1971:77-82) describes a relative clause as a “clause embedded in subject, object, complement and adjunct positions”. He does not use the term ‘relative clause’, but it is clear that he is describing the NP modification function of a relative clause.

7.2.1 Prenominal relative clauses

The prenominal relative clause, indicated by the square brackets, in (7.14) is clause (7.15), which is relativised by being inserted before the subject NP of the main clause (7.16). The coreferential NP *nogo* ‘girl’ is deleted (indicated by \emptyset) from the relativised clause.

- (7.14) *[Waiba-me \emptyset ni-sa]*
 [snake-ERG \emptyset eat-3SG.RPT]
 nogo-me waiba li-sa.
 girl-ERG snake hit-3SG.RPT
 ‘The girl that the snake bit hit the snake.’
 (lit.: ‘The girl the snake bit hit the snake.’)

- (7.15) *Waiba-me nogo ni-sa.*
 snake-ERG girl eat-3SG.RPT
 ‘A snake bit a girl.’

- (7.16) *Nogo-me waiba li-sa.*
 girl-ERG snake hit-3SG.RPT
 ‘The girl hit the snake.’

7.2.2 Grammatical relations relativisable

In prenominal relative clauses both core and oblique nominals may be relativised. The following constructions demonstrate that subject (7.17a-b), object (7.18), recipient-as-object (7.19a) beneficiary-as-object (7.19b), oblique nominals (7.20a-b)) and possessor NP (7.21) can be relativised.

- (7.17a) [*∅ winya mena kali-sa*]
 [*∅ woman pig give-3SG.RPT*]
ali komi-sa.
 man die-3SG.RPT
 ‘The man that gave the woman the pig died.’
- (7.17b) [*∅ ni ni-sa*]
 [*∅ me eat-3SG.RPT*]
naapi-mi ne ni-sa.
 knife-INST you eat-3SG.RPT
 ‘The knife that cut me cut you.’
- (7.18) [*Ali-mi winya ∅ kali-sa*]
 [*man-ERG woman ∅ give-3SG.RPT*]
mena kaba-lima.
 pig buy-1PL.FUT
 ‘We will buy the pig that the man gave the woman.’
- (7.19a) [*Ali-mi ∅ mena kali-sa*]
 [*man-ERG ∅ pig give-3SG.RPT*]
winya na-na ada ipi-sa.
 woman we plural-GEN house come-3SG.RPT
 ‘The woman that the man gave the pig to came to our house.’
- (7.19b) [*Ne-me ∅ ada elaa-ripi*]
 [*you-ERG ∅ house build-2SG.NPT*]
ali-mi ne kaana gi-lia.
 man-ERG you money give-3SG.FUT
 ‘The man for whom you built the house will give you money.’

- (7.20a) [Ipu-mi ø ni awi-sa]
 [he-ERG ø me stab-3SG.RPT]
 naapi-mi ne awa-a.
 knife-INST you stab-3SG.NPT
 ‘He stabbed you with the knife which he stabbed me with.’

- (7.20b) [Na aapa ø pi-a] ada-pora
 [my father ø sit-3SG.SPR] house-LOC
 pa-lua.
 go-1SG.FUT
 ‘I will go to the house where my father is.’

- (7.21) [ø mena komi-saa-de]
 [ø pig die-3SG.RPT-DEF]
 winya ada-wa.
 woman see-1SG.NPT
 ‘I saw the woman whose pig died.’

7.2.3 Irrealis and realis statuses of verbs in relative clauses

In a relative clause a verb can be marked for irrealis status by *-pe* ‘IRR’ and realis status is signalled by a distinctive participial (PT) form, as the following examples show.

The verbs in (7.22a-b) are marked by *-pe*.

- (7.22a) [Ipi ø pea-pe]
 [you dual ø do-IRR]
 kogono na-pea-pe.

work NEG-do-2DL.NPT

‘You two haven’t done the work that you two should have done.’

(7.22b) *[Gupisa gia-pe] kaana*
 [this moment give-IRR] money
dia ta..
 no say/be-3SG.SPR

‘There isn’t money that can be given this moment.’

In both (7.22a-b) the actions of the relative clauses are unrealised actions. In (7.22a) the action of the relative clause is one that was expected to be done but was not done. In (7.22b) the action of the relative clause cannot be done because there is no money to give to someone at the time of speech.

Realis verbs occur as participial verbs³ which premodify nouns in noun phrases, much like adjectives in function, as in (7.23a-b), and also premodify head nouns in relative clauses, as in (7.24a-b).

(7.23a) *pake ne:PT winya*
 steal eat woman

‘a woman who steals = a thief or, in some contexts, a prostitute’

(lit.: ‘steal eat woman = a woman [steals and eats]’)

(7.23b) *ali na-pe winya*
 man NEG-go:PT woman

‘a woman who is never married = a spinster’

(lit.: ‘man not-go woman = a woman [had not gone to a man].’)

³ Participial verbs are like realis verbs which describe a state of affairs that actually exists or existed (Givón 1984 cited in Taylor 1995:195).

- (7.24a) [Naaki-mi pake mi:PT] kaana
 [boy-ERG steal take] money
 nogo kala-me.
 girl give-3PL.NPT
 ‘They gave the girl money that the boy had stolen.’

- (7.24b) [Soko ne:PT] ali komi-sa.
 [smoke eat] man die-3SG.RPT
 ‘A man who had smoked died.’ or ‘A smoker died.’

7.3 Adverbial subordinate construction types

Kewapi adverbial subordinate constructions may be categorised according to the presence or absence of tense inflections in the subordinate clauses as finite or non-finite constructions respectively. Finite subordinate sentences will be described first in 7.3.1 followed by non-finite sentences in 7.3.2. Adverbial subordinate clauses are shown in bold face.

7.3.1 Finite subordinate clauses

The subordinators that occur in finite adverbial subordinate constructions can and do occur in non-finite constructions. However, the majority occur more frequently in finite than in non-finite constructions.

7.3.1.1 *robo* ‘time’

A subordinate clause which expresses a time relation with the main clause is marked by the free morpheme *robo*, as (7.25) shows.

The subject of a temporal adverbial subordinate clause tends to be different from that of the main clause. This difference is expressed by the subject suffixes of declarative clauses. In (7.25) there are two temporal adverbial clauses marked by *robo* ‘when’.

- (7.25) *Si oge wekili-si-lopo*
 piglet small tiny-DIM-DL
raita made-a robo,
 both carry-3SG.SPR when,
go mena made-a-ai-ri
 that pig carry-3SG.SPR-NOM-TOP
surake meda-me mo mena
 uncastrated male one.INDF-ERG FHL pig
yawele-a robo,
 on heat-3SG.SPR when,
madaa pe-a.
 on top do-3SG.SPR

‘When the sow gives birth to two tiny piglets, the one (female) that is born is mated by a male when it is on heat.’ [T1:2]

7.3.1.2 Reason subordinate construction types

Kewapi has five subordinating bound morphemes *-daa*, *-le*, *-pulu*, *-na* and *-pili* that generally express a reason-result (or cause-effect) relation between the subordinate and the main clause. In a study of East Kewa verb morphology, Franklin (1964:122) glosses *-daa* ‘reason with object’, *-le* ‘reason with cause’, and *-pulu* ‘reason with motive’. Later Franklin (1971: 114, 118-119) translates *-ga*, the East Kewa equivalent of *-le*, as ‘because’, and *-pulu* as ‘so, since’ for West Kewa. Yarapea (1993:152-153) translates *-daa* as ‘because’, *-pulu* as ‘since’ and *-le* as ‘so’. The subordinators are not semantically different types of reason-result constructions, as

the previous studies of East Kewa and West Kewa seem to suggest. Instead all the five subordinators are reason subordinators that occur in complementary contexts. Thus four of the subordinators (*-daa*, *-le*, *-pulu* and *-pili*) can be translated in English as ‘because’ and *-na* as ‘for the reason that’. Note that *-na* is the genitive marker that is used to mark a nominalised clause as a reason subordinate nominal (see 5.4.5.5 above or 7.3.1.2.5 below).

A survey of eight natural discourse texts with an average of 50 sentences (see the thesis appendices for the texts) in Kewapi was done to determine the frequency of use of the five subordinators and their distributions. In 73 occurrences of all the five subordinators, the following frequencies and percentages of use were observed: *-daa* (32/73 =44%), *-le* (23/73 =31%), *-pulu* (11/73 =15%), *-na* (5/73 =7%) and *-pili* (2/73 =3%) (see the appendix to Chapter 7 for the survey data). The subordinators have the following distributions:

-le occurs when the matrix (result) clause is in the imperative or sometimes in the subjunctive, both irrealis mood types.

-na marks a nominalised clause and such a structure functions as a reason nominal clause. Both the subordinate and the main clauses select non-future tenses.

-pulu marks a reason clause that always selects the non-future tense and the result clause is always in the future tense or future subjunctive.

-pili occurs in a more restricted context and formally appears to be an allomorph of *-pulu* above. The matrix predicate is interpreted in the present progressive tense and is marked by the irrealis marker *-pe* ‘IRR’ which functions to indicate an emphatic assertion.

-daa has the widest distribution and occurs elsewhere.

The following sections illustrate each of the five reason subordinators. All the illustrative examples are taken from the natural discourse texts which appear in the appendices of this thesis. Subordinate clauses are shown in the bold face.

7.3.1.2.1 *-daa* ‘because’

-daa marks any causal relation between the subordinate and the main event, as in (7.26). In (7.26) the reason subordinate clause that is marked by the reason subordinator *-daa* has an embedded complement clause of the verb *la* ‘say’.

- (7.26) *Palu-maa ele-nu epaa*
 sleep-SEQ.SS thing-PL come
ada-lepape la-me-daa,
 see-2PL.IMP say-3PL.NPT-because,
ele-nu ado-la pa-limi.
 thing-PL see-IRR go-3PL.FUT.

‘Because they said, “you plural come and see things (bride-price) the next day after staying overnight [sleep-and]”, they will go to see things.’ [T3:8]

7.3.1.2.2 *-le* ‘because’

The matrix clause expresses the action commanded by the speaker because of the reason expressed in the subordinate clause marked by *-le*, as in (7.27a-b). Sentences (7.27a) and (7.27b) both have object complement clauses of the matrix verb *li* ‘say’, which occurs in each sentence. The object complement clauses of (7.27a-b) contain two subordinate clauses each.

In (7.27a) there are two juxtaposed subordinate clauses which express the speaker’s reasons, i.e. the setting of a trap to catch bush game and the speaker’s prediction of the possibility of a catch in a certain trap, namely, the one at the base of

the tree. The main clause expresses the action the speaker directs the addressee to undertake.

- (7.27a) [*Repona re-pora kono meda*
 ["tree base-LOC trap one.INDF
go ma-aa-yo-le,
 there CAUS-stand-1SG.SPR-because,
go-pora-re ora epaa ra-lia
 that-LOC-TOP really come catch-3SG.FUT
kone sa-lo-le,
 thought put-1SG.SPR-because,
puaa ádá"] li-sa.
 go see"] say-3SG.RPT

'He said, "because I have set a trap at the base of the tree, and because I think it (game) will really become trapped there, you go and see (it)".' [T2:4]

In (7.27b) a *-daa* subordinate clause and a *-le* subordinate clause occur in juxtaposition. In the main clause of the embedded object complement clause the speaker directs an action to be done by the addressee, namely, to carry the steam-roasted pig and go away.

- (7.27b) [*Go-re, o kono-pora ra-a-daa,*
 ["that-TOP, here trap-LOC catch-3SG.NPT-because,
yawe-e-le,
 steam.roast-1SG.SPR-because,
ne-na matyaa pa-inya"]
 you-GEN carry go-2SG"]
li-sa.

say-3SG.RPT

'She said, "as for that, because it (the pig) got caught in the trap and because I have steam-roasted it, you must carry it and go yourself".'

[T2:12]

Sentences (7.27a-b) are cases where the speaker directs certain actions to be done by the addressees. In (7.28) the speaker is the one who is to undertake the action.

- (7.28) *Abi-ri **tukilako pea-a-na-le,*
 now-TOP two o'clock do-3SG.NPT-GEN-because,
po-no.
 go-1SG
 'Because it has become two o'clock, I should go.' [T4:4]

7.3.1.2.3 *-pulu* 'because'

The subordinator *-pulu* marks a reason clause that expresses a non-future event or situation and the result clause always expresses a future consequence, as in (7.29a-b).

In (7.29a) an inferred past event is the reason for the predicted event in the main clause, namely, they might want to take their pig back.

- (7.29a) *O-de ni loko ma-pea-simi robo,*
 NSL-DEF me angry CAUS-do-3PL.RPT when,
mena pa yolonene pu-ka robo,
 pig just pull toward do-1SG.RPT time,
kaana-de meda wea-limi
 money-DEF one.INDF send-3PL.FUT
lo-maa maa ipu-ka-de robo-re,

say-SEQ.SS take come-1SG.RPT-DEF time-TOP,
epaa sa pisa-no
 come keep sit-1SG.DS
abi-ri sarere laapo apo koma-la robo,
 today-TOP week two that die-it.PRG time,
o repa-ya gó
 NSL husband-wife-KIN here
epa-pe-na-pulu,
 come-3DL.NPT-GEN-because,
ipu-na mena wala ratya yaa pale
 they-GEN pig later withdraw want might
pi-pi-ra,
 do-3DL.PRG-TOP,
epa-pe-na kone sa-lo.
 come-3DL.NPT-GEN thought put-1SG.SPR

‘When they made me angry here (in Mugumapu village) I just brought in pigs, thinking that they will send money (to buy the pigs); as of today, I have been keeping (the pigs) for two weeks; because this man and woman (couple) are here, (I think) they might want to take their pig back; I think they might want to withdraw their pig (from my possession).’ [T3:3]

A subordinate clause can occur sentence-finally as afterthought, as in (7.29b). In (7.29b)’s main clause, the speaker Lapua is undertaking *to give a pig that he will receive as bride-price to John and Apoi* and the subordinate clauses express the reasons *because I have already given the previous pig to you two, because we have done the pig-sale deal.*

(7.29b) ..o-ne mu-lua-ai

..here-DIR get-1SG.FUT-NOM
pege ora maa ma-aa-lua.
 even really take CAUS-stand-1SG.FUT]
abala gia-wa-pulu,
before give-1SG.NPT-because,
abala pea-ma-pulu.
before do-1PL.NPT-because.

'The one (pig) that I will get (as return bride-price), I will really get it and let it stay for you two, because I have already given (the previous pig) to you two, or because we have done (it - the pig-sale deal).' [T3:74]

7.3.1.2.4 *-pili* 'because'

The subordinator *-pili* marks a clause that expresses a non-future event or situation and the matrix verb is marked as an irrealis predicate. The matrix predicate *la-pe* 'say-IRR' (first person form) or *ta-pe* 'say-IRR' (third person form), which does not inflect for subject-tense category, is interpreted in the present progressive tense. The irrealis marker *-pe* 'IRR' functions as an emphatic assertion marker. The event of the subordinate clause is the reason for the emphatic assertion in the main clause.

The subject nominal *Rami* of the irrealis matrix predicate of (7.30a), which is unmarked but recoverable from the speech context, is the speaker of utterance (7.30a).

(7.30a) ***Remo pala kome-a***
devil fear die-3SG.SPR
la-e-de-pili,
say-2SG.NPT-DEF-because,
la-pe.

say-IRR

'I am saying (that) because you said she (Rimapu) is afraid of the devil.' [T4:51]

The subject nominal *Kasa* of the irrealis matrix predicate of (7.30b), which is unmarked but recoverable from the speech context, is Rami's brother Kasa. Rami is the speaker of utterance (7.30b).

(7.30b) *Go la-wa-de-pili,*

that say-1SG.NPT-DEF-because,

ta-pe.

say-IRR

'He is saying (that) because I said that (you should have sent a message instead of coming here).' [T4:37]

7.3.1.2.5 *-na* 'for the reason that'

The genitive marker *-na* marks a nominalised clause to form a genitive-marked reason subordinate nominal, which expresses the reason for the event of the main clause, as in (7.31a-b).

(7.31a) *Ipu-na mena*

he-GEN pig

gi-a-de-ai-na,

give-3SG.NPT-DEF-NOM-GEN,

Lapua pege go epaa pi-a.

Lapua also here come sit-3SG.SPR

'For the reason that he gave us his pig, Lapua has come and is here.'

[T3:1]

- (7.31b) .. *Makuaa-ripu-ai-na-re,*
 ..**know-1SG.NPT-NOM-GEN-TOP,**
gó eke-na la-me.
 this month-GEN say-3PL.NPT
 ‘For the one (money from Lae) I knew about, they said (they will send it) sometime this month.’ [T3:45]

7.3.1.3 Conditionals

A conditional clause is signalled by the subordinating enclitic *-re* ‘if’, which is formally identical to the topic marker *-re* ‘TOP’. Franklin (1971:119-120) describes constructions described here as conditional sentences as ‘thematic sentences’, which consist of Topic-Comment structures but have conditional interpretations. It is not surprising that a topic marker (which backgrounds information as given) is extended functionally to signal a conditional construction. Haiman (1978) describes a conditional construction as a kind of topic construction for this same reason.

Kewapi has five semantic types of conditionals⁴: real conditionals, unreal conditionals - hypothetical and counterfactuals, predictive conditionals, and concessive or ‘even if’ conditionals. Each of these conditional types is described in the following subsections.

7.3.1.3.1 Real conditionals

Real conditionals describe real events in present, habitual and past tenses, as in the made-up examples (7.32a-c). In sentences (7.32a-c) the subordinate clauses are marked by *-re* ‘if’, the conditional clause marker. The subject-tenses of the subordinate clauses are the same as the subject-tenses of the main clauses.

⁴ The semantic types of conditionals - real conditionals, unreal conditionals, predictive conditionals and concessive conditionals – described in Kewapi are semantically similar to those presented by Thompson and Longacre (1985).

- (7.32a) *Lae pe-me-re sukili ta pe-me.*
 Lae go-3PL.SPR-if school say go-3PL.SPR
 ‘If they go to Lae, they go to attend school.’

- (7.32b) *Yai ipu-la-re,*
rain come-3SG.PRG-if,
na maminya-nu kago-ta.
 my clothes-PL wet-3SG.PRG
 ‘If it’s raining, my clothes are getting wet.’

(7.32c) would be used when the speaker has reason to doubt that the addressee did actually go to the garden as he claims. He would use the conditional clause as a probing or interrogating device.

- (7.32c) *Ne maapu pua-e-re,*
you garden go-2SG.NPT-if,
ne-na were ádá-e.
 you-GEN wife see-2SG.NPT
 ‘If you went to the garden, you saw your wife.’

7.3.1.3.2 Hypothetical conditionals

In a hypothetical conditional sentence if the conditional subordinate event occurred, the main event would have occurred. Both the subordinate and main clauses must have irrealis verbs or verb phrases whose auxiliary verbs (see 6.2. above) are marked by subject-tense suffixes, as in (7.33a-b).

- (7.33a) *Kalo ado-la pea-wa-re,*
Karl see-IRR do-1SG.NPT-if,

Kewapi ta peaa-pa.

Kewapi talk do-1DL.NPT

‘If I saw Karl, we two would haven spoken Kewapi.’

(7.33b) *Ialibu po-la pi-simi-re,*

Ialibu go-IRR do-3PL.RPT-if,

loketa ada-la pi-simi.

doctor see-IRR do-3PL.RPT

‘If they had gone to Ialibu, they would have seen the doctor.’

7.3.1.3.3 Counterfactual conditionals

In a counterfactual conditional sentence both the conditional subordinate and the main events did not happen or could not happen. Counterfactual constructions are similar in structure to hypothetical conditional constructions in that both employ irrealis verb phrases in the subordinate and main clauses. However, the additional presence of the irrealis verb *ya-lo* ‘be-IRR’ in the subordinate structure marked by the conditional clause marker *-re* in a counterfactual construction formally distinguishes a counterfactual conditional from a hypothetical conditional.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, verbs are marked as irrealis by the enclitics *-la* or *-lo* and *-pe*. Verbs marked by *-pe* occur in embedded clauses such as complement and relative clauses and imperative clauses, those marked by *-la* occur in purpose VPs, and those marked by *-lo* occur with medial verbs not inflected for subject-tense suffixes, as in (7.34a-c).

(7.34a) *Abala mu-la pea-pe*

first get-IRR do-2DL.NPT

ya-lo-re,

be-IRR-if,

gore, kaana-me pege kaana
 then, money-INST also money
gu-la pea-pe-ai-mi
 give-IRR do-2DL.NPT-NOM-INST
ipu-na ragele mena rado
 he-GEN exchange pig different one
puaa kokea pu-la pea-wa
 go buy do-IRR do-1SG.NPT
la-a-pe.
 say-3SG.NPT-IRR

‘He is saying, “if you two had bought [got] it (the pig) first, then, with the money you two had given me, I would have gone and bought another [different one] bride-price exchange pig”.’ [T3:11]

- (7.34b) *Kalo ado-la pea-wa*
Karl see-IRR do-1SG.NPT
ya-lo-re,
be-IRR-if,
Kewapi ta pea-pa.
 Kewapi talk.IRR do-1DL.NPT
 ‘If I had seen Karl, we would have spoken Kewapi.’

- (7.34c) *Ne yaa ya-lo-re,*
you bird be-IRR-if,
bita pea-e.
 fly.IRR do-2SG.NPT
 ‘If you had been a bird, you would have flown.’

7.3.1.3.4 Predictive conditionals

A predictive conditional expresses the speaker's prediction about what will be. Kewapi has causative and non-causative predictive conditionals. A causative predictive conditional clause is marked by a combination of the causal subordinator *-daa* 'because' and the conditional subordinator *-re* 'if'. This combination expresses a predicted cause-effect relation. In predictive conditional sentences both the subordinate and main clauses have future tenses.

Sentences (7.35a-b) are of the causative predictive conditional type. The causal relation marker *-daa* 'reason (RSN)' is present in the subordinate conditional clauses and the main clauses express result.

- (7.35a) *Winya epe te-a-daa-re,*
woman good say-3SG.FUT-RSN-if,
winya ma-kato-a..
 woman CAUS-give-1SG.FUT

'If the bride-price negotiation is successful, I will get it (the pig) and give it to the bride to take it to the groom's family.' (lit.: 'If it says that the woman will be good, I will get it (the pig) and give it to her.') [T3:10]

- (7.35b) *Winya-da puua ko te-a-daa-re,*
woman-INDEF go bad say-it.FUT-RSN-if,
gore, ipi-na mi-lipinya la-a-de.
 then, you-GEN get-2DL say-3SG.NPT-DEF

'He said, "if the bride-price negotiation is not successful, then, you two can get it (the pig)".' (lit.: 'He said, "if the woman is bad, then you two can get it (the pig) for yourselves".') [T3:11]

In a non-causative predictive conditional, there is no causal relation between the subordinate and the main clause, as in (7.35c). Thus the absence of the reason subordinator signals a non-causative predictive conditional construction.

- (7.35c) *Winya ko te-a-re,*
woman bad say-3SG.FUT-if,
mena wala pane na-mu-lua.
 pig later out NEG-get-1SG.FUT
 'If the bride-price for the woman is bad, I will not get the pig back.'
 [T3:67]

7.3.1.3.5 Concessive conditionals

The free form subordinator *pege* marks an 'even if' concessive conditional, when it follows a subordinate clause. The main clause is asserted in spite of the assumption or the presupposition to the contrary expressed in the subordinate clause, as in (7.36).

- (7.36) “*O mena wala maa pa-lia pege,*
 “NSL pig back take go-3SG.FUT even if,
go mena pu kaana pu pu-maa
 that pig do money do do-SEQ.SS
mena mada puaa mu-lua”
 pig top go get-1SG.FUT”
ta-a.
 say-3SG.PRG
 'He is saying, “even if he takes the pig here back, I will give that pig and money, and go and get a bigger pig”.' [T3:13]

In a simple sentence the adverb *pege* has the meaning 'also or, even'.

7.3.2 Non-finite subordinate clauses

Apart from the finite subordinate constructions described above, Kewapi also has non-finite subordinate clauses. These are not marked for tense. Intended-purpose and causal desiderative subordinate clauses are expressed by non-finite verb phrases.

7.3.2.1 Intended-purpose subordinate clauses

An intended-purpose subordinate sentence has the structure: purpose irrealis predicate + intention finite predicate. The subordinate structure expresses the intended-purpose and the main clause expresses the action done to realise the intended-purpose, as in (7.37a-b).

- (7.37a) *Go robo mo-de ali-mi*
 that time FHL-DEF man-ERG
li-sa-na,
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN,
ipu-mi ado-la pa-lua-me
 he-ERG see-IRR go-3SG.FUT-INST
ya-daa-wa li-sa-na,
 be-because-EXCL say-3SG.RPT-GEN,
ipu-de rikaana epaa maa rele
 he-DEF centre come take split
pi-sa.
 do-3SG.RPT

'Then because the man intended to go and see (the trap), he came and split himself down the middle (to become two halves).' [T2:15]

In (7.37b) the intended-purpose subordinate clause occurs sentence-finally as afterthought. The serial predicate *pili tya-ba* ‘shoot hit-PUNCT’, an intransitive verb, expresses the adverbial meaning ‘to go very quickly’.

- (7.37b) *Rele pu-maa li-sa-na,*
 split do-SEQ.SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN,
medane-de mo-de winya pa
 one side-DEF FHL-DEF woman just
surubu pa piri-nya-lomaa,
 guard just sit-3SG.DS-SEQ,
ipu-de mo medane li-sa-na,
 he-DEF FHL one side say-3SG.RPT-GEN,
ipu maa pili tya-ba pa-sa,
 he take shoot hit-PUNCT go-3SG.RPT,
no-de kono ado-la pa-lua-me.
 FDL-DEF trap see-IRR go-3SG.FUT-INST

'Having split himself into two halves, he left one half to guard the woman, the other half, went down very quickly with the intention to see the trap.' [T2:16]

7.3.2.2 Causal desiderative subordinate clauses

In a causal desiderative sentence, the subordinate clause expresses the desire (cause) and the main clause expresses the realisation of that desire. Kewapi has three causative desiderative construction types according to verbs that can occur in each type, as in (7.38a-c).

Some verbs like *na* ‘eat’, as in (7.38a), must first be marked as irrealis predicates before they can occur in desiderative subordinate clauses. Other verbs like *kala* ‘give’, as in (7.38b-c), occur as irrealis verb forms in desiderative subordinate

clauses. In the subordinate clause of (7.38a) the irrealis predicate *no-la* ‘eat-IRR’ is the complement of *yaa* ‘want’. The desiderative subordinate clause expresses the desire and action of the finite matrix clause is undertaken to realise it. The causal relation is implicit, i.e. it is not formally marked.

(7.38a) *Naaki ipa no-la yaa*
boy water eat-IRR want
ipaa pa-sa.
 river go-3SG.RPT

‘Because the boy wanted to fetch water, he went to the river.’

or ‘The boy wanted to fetch water (so) he went to the river.’

In (7.38b) the desire is expressed by the desiderative verb *yaa* ‘want’ and its complement verb *kata* ‘give’ is irrealis. The causal relation between the desiderative subordinate and the main finite clause is again unmarked.

(7.38b) *Ali-mi were mena kata yaa*
man-ERG wife pig give want
mena kote-a.
 pig untie-3SG.FUT

‘Because the man wants to give his wife the pig, he will untie it.’ or

‘The man wants to give his wife the pig (so) he will untie it.’

The causal relation can be formally marked by the causal subordinator *-daa* ‘because’, as in (7.38c).

(7.38c) *Ali-mi were mena kata yaa-daa*
man-ERG wife pig give want-because
mena kote-a.

pig untie-3SG.FUT

'Because the man wants to give his wife the pig, he will untie it.'

Appendix to Chapter Seven: The frequency and distribution of reason subordinators

The data below shows the frequency and distribution of the five reason subordinators in Kewapi described in 7.3.1.2 above. The discourse text references like [T2:5] refers to Text 2, Sentence 5, etc. The structures like FUT + NPT mean that the reason clause is in the future tense and the result clause is in the near past tense, etc. The texts are in the Appendices of this thesis.

-daa (32/73=44%)

[T2:5] FUT-*daa* + NPT, [T2:12] PAST-*daa* + FUT, [T2:15] FUT-*daa* + NPT, [T3:6] FUT-*daa* + NPT, [T3:8] NPT-*daa* + PRG, [T3:9] PRG-*daa* + NPT, [T3:10] FUT-*daa* + FUT or FUT subj-*daa*, [T3:17] NPT-*daa* + NPT, [T3:19] NPT-*daa* + NPT, [T3:43] desid FUT-*daa* + NPT, [T3:46] desid-subj-*daa* + NPT, [T3:47] RPT-*daa* + RPT, [T3:50] NPT-*daa* + NPT, [T3:52] NPT-*daa* + NPT, [T3:63] NPT-*daa* + NPT, [T4:1] SPR-*daa* + PRG, [T4:20] SPR-*daa* + NPT, [T4:39] be-*daa* + NPT, [T4:55] SPR-*daa* + NPT, [T5:56] be SPR:fut-*daa* + NPT, [T5:58] be-*daa* + NPT, [T6:10] SPR-*daa* + PRG, [T6:16] NPT-*daa* + PRG, [T7:1] RPT-*daa*+ NPT-*daa* + NPT, [T7:45] RPT-*daa* + RPT, [T8:17] RPT-*daa* + NPT, [T8:34] want-*daa* + RPT, [T8:70] be-*daa* + RPT, [T8:73] be-*daa* + RPT, [T8:81] be-*daa* + RPT, [T8:82] be-*daa* + NPT, [T8:85] RPT-*daa* + RPT.

-le (23/73=31%),

[T2:4] PRG-*le* + IMP, [T2:11] NPT-*le* + SUBJ & IMP, [T2:12] NPT-*le* + SUBJ, [T2:13] SUBJ-*le* + IMP, [T2:14] FUT-*le* + IMP, [T3:15] SPR-*le* + IMP/SUBJ, [T3:19] NPT-*le* + SUBJ, [T3:30] FUT-*le* + IMP, [T3:37] SUBJ-*le* + IMP, [T3:75] SPR-*le* + FUT (rhetorical question), [T4:17] SPR-*le* + IMP, [T4:22] NPT-*le* + IMP, [T7:32] SPR-*le* + IMP, [T7:45] PRG-*le* + V-*maa* + V-*maa* + RPT, [T7:33] PRG-*le* + IMP, [T7:4] NPT-*le* + NPT, [T7:8] IMP + SPR-*le*, [T4:3] be-*le* + IMP, [T4:4] NPT-

le + SUBJ, [T4:12] *be-le* + SUBJ, [T4:14] SPR-*le* + IMP, [T4:60] SPR-*le* + IMP, [T5:14] PRG-*le* + IMP.

-pulu (11/73=15%)

[T3:3] NPT-*pulu* + desire FUT event, [T3:69] NPT-*pulu* + FUT, [T3:74] NPT-*pulu* + FUT, [T4:12] SPR-*pulu* + FUT SUBJ, [T4:41] SPR-*pulu* + FUT, [T4:91] SPR-*pulu* + past-in-FUT, [T5:34] SPR-*pulu* + FUT, [T5:44] NPT-*pulu* + FUT, [T5:47] SPR-*pulu* + FUT SUBJ, [T5:59] SPR-*pulu* + FUT, [T8:80] SPR-*pulu* + FUT.

-na (5/73=7%)

[T3:1] NPT-*na* + NPT, [T3:45] NPT-*na* + NPT, [T3:47] RPT-*na* + NPT, [T3:52] NPT-*na* + NPT, [T4:57] SPR-*na* + SPR.

-pili (2/73=3%)

[T4:37] NPT-*pili* + PRG-IRR, [T4:51] NPT-*pili* + PRG-IRR.

Note: That only the co-occurrence of the subordinate structures *-daa* + *-le* and *-pulu* + *-le* is possible.

Chapter Eight

Coordinate Constructions

8.0 Introduction

In Chapter 7 subordinate constructions (complement, relative and adverbial) constructions were described. In this chapter coordinate constructions will be addressed. Section 8.1 looks at coordinate independent constructions and section 8.2 deals with constructions with coordinate dependent clauses.

The definition of a coordinate clause adopted in the following description is from Foley (1986:177). A coordinate clause is one which does not function as an argument of the main clause and is not an embedded part within a whole, but is one which is in a coordinate relation with the initial or final clause.

Foley (1986) draws a distinction for Papuan languages between coordinate independent - those sentences in which each independent clause selects core and peripheral arguments, tense and mood - and coordinate dependent (or co-subordinate) constructions, which depend for some or all of these elements on their specification in another clause, usually the sentence-final clause.

Kewapi has two categories of coordinate sentences: (1) a sentence consisting of coordinate independent clauses and (2) a sentence consisting of a coordinate dependent and a coordinate independent clauses. The latter type has two conjoined subtypes (1) coordinate dependent clauses with no verbal suffixes and (2) coordinate dependent clauses marked by interclausal reference suffixes.

The following examples contrast the various coordinate constructions. (8.1), a coordinate independent construction, contrasts with (8.2-4), coordinate dependent constructions.

In a sentence with two coordinate independent clauses both the initial and the final clauses select core and peripheral arguments, tense and mood independently. In (8.1), the initial coordinate independent clause has the intransitive verb *epa* ‘come’, which is suffixed by a third person singular subject agreement and near present tense suffix *-a* and is followed by the coordinate linker *pere* ‘but’. The final coordinate independent clause of sentence (8.1) has another intransitive verb *aa* ‘stand/stay’ and is suffixed by a third person singular and near present tense suffix *-ripa*. The subject referents of the initial and the final independent clauses are different persons. The initial and the final clauses also select their own peripheral NPs (*ada* ‘house’ and *Mendi* respectively). Although both the initial and final coordinate independent clauses in this example select the same tense (near past tense) and mood (declarative), these categories may be different in other sentences with coordinate independent clauses.

- (8.1) *Ali ada epa-a pere,*
 man house come-3SG.NPT but,
 were Mendi pa aa-ripa.
 wife Mendi just stay-3SG.NPT

'The man came home, but his wife just stayed at Mendi.'

(8.2) is a sentence consisting of a sequence of coordinate dependent clauses and a coordinate independent clause. The sequence of coordinate dependent clauses *ali-mi ada elo, maapu su* and *winya lamu* depends on the final finite clause for subject, tense and mood, but each clause selects its own object nominal *ada* ‘house’, *maapu* ‘garden’ or *winya* ‘woman’. The scope of the verb *pi* ‘do’ includes all the verbs, i.e. it is the main verb on which the rest depend.

- (8.2) *Ali-mi ada elo*
 man-ERG house build
maapu su
 garden put
winya lamu pi-sa.
 woman marry do-3SG.RPT

'The man built a house, made a garden, and married a wife.'

(8.3) is a sentence with a coordinate dependent clause marked by a temporal and same subject (SS) suffix and a coordinate independent clause. The coordinate dependent clause is marked by a simultaneous SS suffix *-ri*, which indicates that the actions of the initial and the final clauses are realised simultaneously by the same actor (or subject). In a sentence with a coordinate dependent clause the temporal suffix that indicates temporal relation of the dependent and final clauses also signals same subject (SS) relation with the final clause (see Franklin 1971, 1983 and Yaraepa 2001).

- (8.3) *Nogo agaale la-ri, epi-sa.*
 girl talk say-SIM.SS, come-3SG.RPT
 'As the girl was talking, she came.'

(8.4) is a sentence with a coordinate dependent clause which is marked by a switch-reference marker and a temporal suffix. It contrasts with (8.2) and (8.3) because it has switch reference. The coordinate dependent clause selects its own subject, but it is dependent on the final clause for tense and mood. The suffix *-loma* 'SEQ' links the coordinate dependent and the coordinate final clauses. In such a construction the subject suffix of the coordinate dependent clause signals that the subject of the following or sentence-final clause is different from the subject of the coordinate dependent clause (see 8.2.2.2 below).

- (8.4) *Winya pe-na-lomaa, nogo epi-sa.*
 woman go-3SG.DS-SEQ, girl come-3SG.RPT
 'The woman had gone, and then the girl came.' or After the woman
 had gone, the girl came.'

In the following sections each of the above coordinate construction types introduced in 8.0 will be described in some detail. Section 8.1 will illustrate and discuss sentences with coordinate independent clauses and section 8.2 will describe coordinate dependent construction types.

8.1 Coordinate independent constructions

As illustrated in (8.1), Kewapi has coordinate sentences with coordinate independent clauses. Such clauses are limited to those linked by the conjunctions *pere* 'but' and *-pa* 'or'. These conjunctions form a unit with the preceding clause, not the following clause. It appears to be a general characteristic of verb-final languages that an interclausal conjunction forms a unit with the previous clause, whereas it forms a unit with the following clause in verb-final languages like English (see Longacre 1985:239, Payne 1997:338).

8.1.1 *pere* 'but'

As in (8.1), *pere* 'but' functions as a coordinator, which denotes contrast between propositions. It signals that the marked clause is in a coordinate relation with the following clause, as exemplified in (8.1). The coordinator may also be used as a discourse linker, as in (8.5).

- (8.5) *Go li-sa pere,*
 that say-3SG.RPT but,
Kiwai-mi to-a-me ya-daa

Kiwai-ERG say-3SG.FUT-INST be-RSN

dia li-sa.

no say-3SG.RPT

‘She said that, but Kiwai said no.’ [T8:80]

In (8.5) *go* ‘that’ refers back to an ellipsed clause. It substitutes the elided clause and functions as an object argument of the initial coordinate verb. The coordinator *pere* ‘but’ links the initial coordinate clause to the following clause. In the context of (8.5) the ellipsed clause presents the proposition that Kiwai and Suli cannot get married because they are related (Thesis), but Kiwai said no, i.e. Kiwai said that he will marry Suli despite the fact that they are relatives (Anithesis). Franklin (1971:115) calls such sentences “Antithetical sentences”.

8.1.2 *-pa* ‘or’

A sentence whose initial clause is marked by *-pa* ‘or’ is semantically an alternative coordinate construction because both clauses in such a construction express alternative events. The mood of such a construction is interrogative, which is signalled either formally by an interrogative marker *-ya* or prosodically by a rising question intonation. Consider the following hypothetical examples.

In sentence (8.6a) the speaker is seeking either a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’ answer. The interrogative mood of the sentence is marked formally by the interrogative mood marker *-ya*.

- (8.6a) *Ne pa-li-pa*
 you go-2SG.FUT-or
na-pa-li-ya?
 NEG-go-2SG.FUT-Q
 ‘Will you go or will you not go?’

It is possible to abbreviate or shorten sentence (8.6a) by only uttering the first clause, as in (8.6b). The ellipsed negative alternative clause is replaced by the copula verb *ya* ‘be’, to which is attached the alternative clause marker *-pa*. The negative meaning is understood in the context of the construction because the expected answer to the question in (8.6b) is either a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’.

- (8.6b) *Ne pa-li ya-pa?*
 you go-2SG.FUT be-or?
 ‘Will you go or not?’

In predicate nominal constructions the alternative marker *-pa* (or its variants *-paa* or *-pae*) is attached to the verb *ya* ‘be’, as in (8.7a-c). These constructions are structurally similar, but semantically dissimilar. Note that in (8.7a) the mood of the sentence is signalled formally, whereas in (8.7b-c), it is expressed by a question intonation. By asking the question (8.7a), the speaker is seeking confirmation that what the speaker is seeing at a distance is indeed a pig.

- (8.7a) *Mogo-re, mena ya-paa*
 that-TOP, pig be-or
áli-ya?
 what-Q
 ‘As for that, is it a pig or what?’

When the form *yapa(a)* is recursive in a predicate nominal construction, as in (8.7b), or any other construction, this tends to signal that the speaker does not have any preconception about the validity of the range of alternative possibilities.

- (8.7b) *Mogo-re, mena ya-paa*
 that-TOP, pig be-or
áí ya-pa?
 what be-or
 ‘As for that, is it a pig or what is it?’

The speaker normally requires an answer for an alternative question like (8.7b), whereas an answer is not normally required for a construction like (8.7c). In (8.7c) the speaker is really expressing uncertainty, i.e. he is not certain about the possible events of the predicates. This meaning is formally signalled by *-pae*. Note that the vowels *ae* in *-pae* is the diphthong /æ/.

- (8.7c) *Mogo-re, mena ya-paa*
 that-TOP, pig be-or
áí ya-pae?
 what be-or
 ‘As for that, is it a pig or what can it be?’

Sentence (8.8) is another construction with the first alternative clause marked by *-paa* and the final clause marked by *-pae* to express the speaker’s uncertainty.

- (8.8) *Roto-me ta-a-paa*
 stick-INST hit-3SG.NPT-or
áí-mí ta-a-pae?
 what-INST hit-3SG.NPT-or
 ‘Did s/he hit someone/thing with a stick or what did s/he hit her/him/it with?’

The predicate *yapa* can be used recursively to link a number of clauses when the speaker presents several possible events, as (8.9), taken from Text 4, shows. In the discourse context of Text 4 in (8.9) the speaker (Kasa, my late maternal uncle) is saying that he did not bring me a pig because he does not have a big one. This point is expressed somewhat indirectly by stating the undesired alternative possibilities, namely, ‘..what should I bring or, should I bring children or, should I bring food or,..’ The appropriate alternative action is ‘an uncle should give his nephew a huge pig’.

- (8.9) ..*abi-ri* *áli* *maa* *epa-no* *ya-pa?*,
 now-TOP what take come-1SG be-or,
nogo-naaki kupi ríaa epa-no ya-pa?,
 girl-boy hug carry come-1SG be-or,
sapi-waali *maa* *epa-no* *ya-pa?*
 kaukau-sugar cane take come-1SG be-or
lo, go rupa ta epa-wa-de.
 say, that like say come-1SG.NPT-DEF
 ‘..now, what should I bring or, should I bring children or, should I
 bring food or?’”, I came to speak thus.’ [T4:39]

In (8.9) *yapa* is used three times following the sequence of coordinate dependent clauses expressing alternative possibilities. These clauses occur as object complement clauses of the verb *lo* ‘say’. The clause following the complement-taking verb occurs as a rephrased clause where *go* ‘that’ refers back to the preceding clause whose matrix verb is *lo* ‘say’.

8.2 Coordinate dependent constructions

As introduced in section 8.0, a coordinate dependent construction clause has two subtypes (1) conjoined coordinate dependent clauses with no verbal suffixes and (2) a coordinate dependent clause marked according to whether its subject is the same as

or different from the subject of the following clause. Each of these subtypes will be discussed in some detail in the following sections but first the distinctive features of coordinate dependent verbs in Kewapi are outlined.

Verbs of coordinate dependent clauses have been referred to as medial verbs in Kewa (see Franklin 1971, 1983) because they not only occur sentence-medially or non-finally but importantly because they share certain grammatical categories of the sentence-final clauses. A coordinate medial verb in Kewapi can be characterised as one that:

- (1) lacks tense marking;
- (2) shares the mood (and tense in declarative clauses) of the following or sentence-final clause; and/or,
- (3) is marked according to whether its subject is the same as or is different from the subject of the following clause.

In the following discussion of coordinate constructions the mention of a coordinate dependent clause will assume the presence of its coordinate independent clause counterpart to reduce repetitive mention of this pairing. On occasions the use of the phrases 'medial clauses or verbs' and 'final (finite) clauses or verbs' will refer to the same members of the pairing of a coordinate dependent clause and a coordinate independent clause.

8.2.1 Conjoined coordinate dependent clauses

Conjoined coordinate dependent clauses share subject, tense and mood categories with those of the following or final clauses. Furthermore, the final verb of conjoined dependent clauses that are not marked by verbal suffixes is always the verb *pea* 'to do', as in (8.10), previously given as (8.2).

In (8.10) the sequence of medial verbs depends on the final clause for subject, tense and mood. The actions of the medial verbs are realised by the same actor but the medial verbs have their own object nominals *ada* ‘house’, *maapu* ‘garden’ and *winya* ‘woman’ respectively.

- (8.10) *Ali-mi ada elo*
 man-ERG house build
maapu su
 garden put
winya lamu pi-sa.
 woman marry do-3SG.RPT

‘The man built a house, made a garden, and married a wife.’

A series of ‘coordinated’ activities done by different actors may be expressed by medial clauses, as in (8.11). In (8.11) there are three medial clauses preceding the final finite clause. These medial verbs are not marked for subject, tense and mood and so are dependent on these categories on the final clause. All the medial verbs have different subject and object nominals. The subject nominals of the medial verbs are cross-referenced in the final verb by the third person plural subject agreement suffix *-simi*. (8.11) is not a switch-reference marking construction. The medial clauses are conjoined (but not embedded) under the main verb *pi* ‘do’ as indicated by the subject-tense suffix *-simi* ‘3PL.RPT’.

- (8.11) *Nogo-me kaai ware*
 girl-ERG banana peel
naaki-mi repona rele-pu
 boy-ERG wood split-do
winya-me repona kiru
 woman-ERG wood burn

ali-mi mena lu pi-simi.
 man-ERG pig hit do-3PL.RPT

‘The girl peeled bananas, the boy split wood, the woman burned the wood, and the man slaughtered a pig].

8.2.2 ‘Switch-reference’ constructions

A coordinate dependent clause is marked to indicate whether the subject referent of the following or sentence-final coordinate clause is the same (SS) or is different subject (DS) referent. In other words, a coordinate dependent clause is marked for “interclausal” reference (Franklin 1983). The term switch-reference will be reserved for DS constructions.

Section 8.2.2.1 and 8.2.2.2 will describe respectively SS and DS constructions.

8.2.2.1 ‘Same-subject’ constructions

A coordinate dependent clause can be marked for either a simultaneous or a sequential temporal relation with the final clause. A ‘simultaneous’ temporal relation means that the period of duration of the two actions must overlap, either partially or fully (see Foley 1986:180). Sequential actions are those in which there is no temporal overlap. The temporal suffixes also signal same subject (SS) reference with the following or sentence-final clause so they are referred to as ‘temporal SS’ suffixes. Table 8.1 presents temporal SS suffixes of Kewapi.

Table 8.1 Kewapi temporal SS suffixes

Suffix	Temporal relation	Verbal context
<i>-ri</i>	simultaneous	transitive
<i>-ra</i>	simultaneous	intransitive
<i>-maa</i>	sequential	intransitive/transitive
<i>-loma</i>	sequential	with intentional mode

The simultaneous SS and the sequential SS suffixes each attach to a medial verb that is not marked for subject.

8.2.2.1.1 Simultaneous suffixes

The simultaneous temporal SS suffixes *-ri* and *-ra* suffix coordinate dependent verbs. The former is suffixed to transitive verbs and the latter is suffixed to the intransitive verb *aa* ‘stand’ in an aspectual verb phrase (6.2.3 above) as exemplified in the following.

In (8.12) the actions of the verb-verb adjunct *pake na* ‘steal eat = steal’ and *pamu* ‘go around/travel’ are simultaneously accomplished by the same actor, as signalled by *-ri* ‘SIM.SS’.

- (8.12) *Go naaki-mi pake na-ri,*
 that boy-ERG steal eat-SIM.SS
pamu-la.
 go around-3SG.PRG
 ‘That boy is stealing, as he is going around.’ [T5:29]

While *-ri* ‘SIM.SS’ suffixes a coordinate medial transitive verb, as in (8.12 above), *-ra* ‘SIM.SS’ suffixes the coordinate medial intransitive verb *aa* ‘stand’, as in (8.13a-c).

In (8.13a) the coordinate medial predicate *epa aa-ra* ‘come stand-SIM.SS’ is a serial predicate in which each verb retains its lexical meaning. The simultaneous and same subject suffix *-ra* links the coordinate medial predicate to the final clause.

- (8.13a) *Gu pu-maa li-sa-na*
 that do-SEQ.SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN
meda-lena epaa aa-ra
 one.INDF-LOC come stand-SIM.SS
ta-lo paki ya li-sa.
 say-IRR half call say-3SG.RPT.
 ‘Having done that, as he came and stood at a place he would call,
 “half”.’ [T2:23]

In (8.13b) the coordinate medial predicate is a serial predicate *maa tya-lo aa-ra* ‘get hit-CONT stand-SIM.SS’. The first member *maa* ‘get’ functions to indicate change of location of the object nominal (a pig) and the second member *tya-lo* that is marked for continuative aspect provides the lexical content and the last member *aa* ‘stand’ functions as an auxiliary verb for marking simultaneous and subject relation with the final verb.

- (8.13b) *Ne-na ama-na mena laapo*
 you-GEN mother-GEN pig two
maa tya-lo aa-ra
 take hit-CONT stand-SIM.SS

"*imi pu-lupa!*" *lo-maa*
 you plural go-2PL" say-SEQ.SS
lu rali-sa-ya.
 hit chase-3SG.RPT-NSN..

'As (he) was slaughtering your mother's two pigs (he) said, "you plural go away", and he chased you plural away...' [T7:37]

In (8.13c) the coordinate medial predicate is an aspectual verb phrase formed by a serial predicate *pu-lu aa-ra* 'go-CONT stand-SIM.SS'. Again the last member is suffixed by *-ra* 'SIM.SS' to indicate the simultaneous and same subject relation with the final clause.

- (8.13c) *Ipu ada pu-lu aa-ra,*
 he house go-CONT stand-SIM.SS,
ni rai-de gi-sa.
 I axe-DEF give-3SG.RPT
 'As he was going to the house, he gave me the axe.'

8.2.2.1.2 Sequential suffixes

The two sequential SS suffixes *-maa* and *-loma* are in complementary distribution. The latter is obligatorily followed by the instrument marker to indicate intentional action, i.e. semantically the action of the marked clause is intentionally done in order to realise the action of the following clause (as in (8.15a-b) and the former occurs elsewhere, as in (8.14).

In (8.14) *no-ma pu-maa-re* 'eat-CONT do-SEQ.SS-TOP' is an aspectual VP where *no* 'eat' is the lexical verb and *pu* 'do' is the auxiliary verb marked by the sequential SS suffix and the topic marker. The action of the VP and the state expressed by *le* 'say/be' occur in a sequence and involve the same subject referent (a

piglet). Note that *-ma* in *no-ma* ‘eat-CONT’ signals continuative aspect rather than sequential relation with the following verb *pu* ‘do’.

- (8.14) *Go robo-re, adu no-ma pu-maa-re,*
 that time-TOP, milk eat-CONT do-SEQ.SS-TOP,
oge-si adaa le-a.
 small-DIM big say-3SG.SPR
 ‘At that time it continues to feed on (its mother’s) milk and it becomes a bit bigger.’ [T1:5]

As in (8.15a-b), *-loma* and its infrequent variant *-toma* suffix medial verbs that are not marked for subject. The medial verbs share the subject and tense of the immediately following finite clauses, which in both cases is *li-sa-na*. The subject suffix refers to the actor in the narrative that the narrator is narrating. The subject referent of the finite clause in (8.15a) is the woman character and in (8.15b) it is the evil man. In the context of (8.15a) the woman character in the legend intentionally picks up the other half of the evil man that is guarding her, when he does something. The intentional action sense of the medial verb marked by *-toma* ‘SEQ.SS’ is much clearer in sentence (8.15b). Here, according to the legend text, the evil man (the villain) combines its two halves in order to kill and eat the woman and her husband (the victims).

- (8.15a) *Ade maa mata-loma-me li-sa-na,*
 DEF take carry-SEQ.SS-INST say-3SG.RPT-GEN,
o-de ipu-de paki lu
 here-DEF he-DEF half hit
wi-sa-de-ai pa wi-nya na-pe
 put-3SG.RPT-DEF-NOM just leave-3SG NEG-go
li-sa-na, maa madi-sa..

say-3SG.RPT-GEN, take carry-3SG.RPT

'After carrying the pork, the other half of himself that the evil man had left behind to guard the woman, was not left behind, she took it and carried it....' [T2:18]

- (8.15b) *Ade kirita-toma-me*
 DEF combine-SEQ.SS-INST
li-sa-na-re,
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN-TOP,
ade winya ali-lopo-re
 the woman man-DL-TOP
go lu ni-sa-na-da.
 there hit eat-3SG.RPT-GEN-INDF
 'After combining the two halves, the evil man killed and ate the woman and man.' [T2:27]

8.2.2.2 'Different-subject' constructions

There is no dedicated different subject (DS) suffix (or a set of suffixes) in Kewapi. However, there is a morphologically complex set of markers that always signals DS in certain syntactic contexts but these apparent DS subject markers also occur in other contexts where they do not signal DS. This complexity is resolved by the following explanations.

- (1) It is the combination of the DS suffix plus a temporal or an aspectual marker (including an aspectual verb) that signals switch reference in a coordinate construction.
- (2) In contexts where there are no temporal or aspectual markers present, the 'DS' suffixes do not signal switch reference. In such contexts deontic mood is marked or implied.

The set of ‘DS’ suffixes is presented in Table 8.2 below.

Table 8.2 ‘Different-subject’ suffixes of Kewapi

Number	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Singular	<i>-no</i>	<i>-inya</i>	<i>-na</i> or <i>-nya</i>
Dual	<i>-pono</i> (excl.)	<i>-lipinya</i>	<i>-na</i> or <i>-nya</i>
Plural	<i>-mono</i> (excl.)	<i>-liminya</i>	<i>-na</i> or <i>-nya</i>
	Inclusive		
	Dual: <i>-pona</i> ‘1SG/2SG’		
	Plural: <i>-minya</i> ‘1/2PL’		

The first and second person have singular, dual and plural numbers. The first person has dual and plural exclusive and inclusive suffixes. The third person does not code number.

Table 8.3 presents temporal and aspectual suffixes which obligatorily mark the DS marked coordinate-dependent verbs to signal switch reference.

Table 8.3 Kewapi temporal and aspectual suffixes

Temporal suffix	Aspectual suffixes	Verbal contexts
<i>-lomaa</i> ‘sequential’	<i>-lo</i> ‘continuative’	Transitive verb + <i>-lo</i> + <i>aa</i> ‘stand’ or <i>pisa</i> ‘sit’
	<i>-lu</i> ‘continuative’	Intransitive verb + <i>-lu</i> + <i>aa</i> ‘stand’ or <i>pisa</i> ‘sit’

The choice of the posture verbs *aa* ‘stand’ and *pisa* ‘sit’ depends on the speaker’s perception of the actor’s posture in realising the event of the aspectual verb

phrase in which the continuative aspectual suffixes: *-lo* and *-lu* occur. While this observation holds in most cases, it is also possible for activities done standing to occur with *pisa* ‘sit’, e.g. [T4:2] *no pu-lu pisa-no gae te-a* ‘down there go-CONT sit-1SG.DS dark say/be-3SG.FUT = As I am going down there, it will get dark.’ In cases like this, the activity is perceived to be done at a slow pace.

As stated above, a switch-reference construction is one in which the coordinate dependent verb is suffixed by both a DS subject suffix and a temporal or an aspectual suffix. A temporal or an aspectual suffix is necessary to link the coordinate dependent clause to the following or sentence-final coordinate independent clause. Consider the following constructions showing temporal and aspectual marking of the switch-reference marking clauses.

The only temporal suffix that may be suffixed to the switch-reference marking clause is *-lomaa* ‘SEQ’, seen in (8.16a-b). Note that this suffix, which is equivalent to West Kewa *-loa* ‘seq’, is distinct from the sequential SS suffixes *-maa* and *-loma* in Table 8.1 above. In (8.16b), the DS suffix *-nya*, whose referent is the one half of the evil man that guards the woman in the narrative Text 2 signals that the subject referent of the immediate verb *li* ‘say’ is different. The subject referent of *li* ‘say’ is the other half of the evil man that goes away hastily.

(8.16a) *Winya pe-na-lomaa, nogo ipi-sa.*
 woman go-3SG.DS-SEQ, girl come-3SG.RPT
 ‘The woman had gone, and the girl came.’

(8.16b) *..mo-de winya pa*
 ..FHL-DEF woman just
surubu pa piri-nya-lomaa
 guard just sit-3SG.DS-SEQ

ipu-de mo medane li-sa-na,
 he-DEF FHL one half say-3SG.RPT-GEN,
ipu maa pili tya-ba pa-sa.
 he take shoot hit-PUNCT go-3SG.RPT..

‘..one half stayed to guard the woman and the other half went down
 hastily (to go as an arrow that had been shot).. .’ [T2:16]

A coordinate-dependent serial predicate (described as aspectual verb phrase in 6.2.3 above) is suffixed by a DS suffix to signal switch reference, as in (8.17a-b).

In (8.17a) the coordinate-dependent serial predicate consists of *po rele pea-lo aa-liminya* ‘chop split do-CONT stand-2PL.DS = while you plural were chopping and splitting the tree’. The first verb *po* ‘chop’ and the second verb *rele* ‘split’ provide the lexical meanings. The third verb *pea* ‘do’ functions as an auxiliary verb expressing continuative aspect and the final verb *aa* ‘stand’ also functions as an auxiliary verb for marking the DS suffix *-liminya* ‘2PL.DS’, which signals that the subject referent of the final clause is different, i.e. *-wa* ‘1SG’.

- (8.17a) *Ni-ri po rele pea-lo aa-liminya,*
 I-TOP, chop split do-CONT stand-2PL.DS,
epa-wa-de.
 come-1SG.NPT-DEF
 ‘As for me, I came while you were chopping and splitting the tree.’
 [T6:23]

In (8.17b) the coordinate-dependent serial predicate consists of *pu-lu piri-nya* ‘go-CONT sit-3SG.DS’. The lexical content comes from *pu* ‘go’ and *piri* ‘sit’ is in auxiliary function so it is suffixed by the DS suffix *-nya* ‘3SG.DS’.

- (8.17b) *Ipu ada pu-lu piri-nya ádá-pe.*
 he house go-CONT sit-3SG.DS see-2DL.NPT
 ‘As he was going home, you two saw him.’

In the presence of the temporal sequence suffix *-loma* and an aspectually marked serial predicate a DS suffix signals that the subject referent of the following or sentence-final clause must be a different subject referent from itself. Even the two halves of something, like the evil man in the narrative Text 2 in (8.16b) above, are treated as different referents by the DS suffix. The DS suffix does not specify the person and number of the following subject referent which it signals. All it does is simply signal that the following subject is to be considered a different referent from itself.

Another type of switch reference construction is one in which the coordinate dependent verb is a stative verb and is marked by a DS suffix in a coordinate construction. Consider (8.18a-c).

- (8.18a) *Ne aa-inya ni epa-wa.*
 you stand-2SG.DS I come-1SG.NPT
 ‘As you were standing, I came.’

- (8.18b) *Ni pisa-no ipu eda ni-sa*
 I sit-1SG.DS he food eat-3SG.RPT
 ‘While I was sitting, he ate food.’

- (8.18c) *Wi-nya pu.*
 leave-3SG.DS go
 ‘Leave it and go.’

In (8.18a-c) the coordinate dependent verbs are all stative: *aa* ‘stand’ in (8.18a), *pisa* ‘sit’ in (8.18b) and *wi* ‘leave’ in (8.18c). These stative verbs retain their lexical meanings and also code durative aspectual meanings, i.e. they are aspectual verbs. When they are marked by the DS suffixes they signal switch reference. The difference between these stative verbs and the aspectually marked serial predicates is that in a serial verb lexical meaning is expressed by one or two members, aspectual meaning is marked on another member and the switch reference is marked on the last member of the serial predicate, as in (8.17a-b).

8.2.2.2.1 Non-switch reference constructions

There are various circumstances in which a ‘DS’ subject suffix occurs alone, i.e. without a tense or aspectual suffix/verb, and in such contexts there is no obvious syntactic reason to believe that the marked clauses occur as switch-reference signalling clauses. These circumstances are:

- a) appositional and alternative constructions;
- b) embedded constructions; and,
- c) independent clause constructions.

It is the case that (a), (b) and (c) form a semantic set: they all entail deontic modality, except in (b) where desiderative modality is expressed when the ‘DS’ marked clause is the complement clause of the verb *yaa* ‘want’ (see (8.20c) and (8.21) below).

The ‘DS’ marked clause occurs as an independent clause. Such a clause has been described as a ‘subjunctive mood clause’ (see 4.2.4). So the ‘DS’ marked clause will henceforth be referred to as a subjunctive clause in contexts where switch reference is not signalled by the ‘DS’ suffix to differentiate DS constructions from non-switch-reference constructions.

8.2.2.2.1.1 Juxtaposed constructions

In circumstances where two or more clauses are in juxtaposition or alternation, the subjunctive clause marked by the ‘DS’ suffix but not by a temporal or aspectual suffix or verb does not signal switch reference but expresses deontic modality, as (8.19a-c) show.

In (8.19a) there are two subjunctive clauses in juxtaposition and both encode deontic modality. The ‘DS’ suffix in each clause does not signal switch reference.

- (8.19a) *Ne sapi na-inya gia-no.*
 you sweet potato eat-2SG give-1SG
 ‘You should eat sweet potato (so) I should give it to you.’

In (8.19b) the initial subjunctive clause is in apposition with the final imperative clause. The ‘DS’ suffix of the initial clause does not signal switch reference but expresses deontic modal meaning.

- (8.19b) *Ne sapi na-inya pu.*
 you sweet potato eat-2SG go
 ‘You should eat sweet potato (so) go.’

In (8.19c) the three subjunctive clauses (shown in bold face), which occur as alternative clauses, all express deontic modality.

- (8.19c) *..abi-ri áli maa epa-no ya-pa?,*
 now-TOP what take come-1SG. be-or,
 nogo-naaki kupa ríaa epa-no ya-pa?,
 girl-boy hug carry come-1SG be-or,
 sapi-waali maa epa-no ya-pa?

kaukau-sugar cane take come-1SG be-or
lo go rupa ta epa-wa-de.
 say that like say come-1SG.NPT-DEF
 ..now, what should I bring or, should I bring children or, should I
 bring food or?’, I came to say like that.’ [T4:39]

8.2.2.2.1.2 Embedded constructions

In embedded constructions the subjunctive clause marked by the ‘DS’ suffix also expresses deontic modality, except with the complement-taking verb (CTV) *yaa* ‘want’ where desiderative modality is expressed. The common embedded construction types are complement clauses of the four main CTVs *la* ‘say’ (as in (8.20a)), *kone sa* ‘think’ (as in (8.20b)), *yaa* ‘want’ (as in 8.20c)), and *paga* ‘listen’ (as in (8.20d)).

(8.20a) *Né-mé* [*ni po-no*] *la-wa-de.*
 I-ERG [I go-1SG] say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 ‘I said, “I should go”.’

(8.20b) *Né-mé* [*ne pa-inya*]
 I-ERG [you go-2SG]
kone sa-wa-de.
 thought put-1SG.NPT-DEF
 ‘I thought, “you should go”.’

(8.20c) ***Bob-me* [***Mary pe-nya*]
 Bob-ERG [Mary go-3SG]
yaa pi-a
 want do-3SG.SPR
 ‘Bob wants Mary to leave.’

- (8.20d) [...*agi* *araa-lopo-me* *ta-pe* *pi*]
 [mother father-DL-ERG say-IRR what]
 paga-pona...
 listen-1DL [T3:19]
 ‘We should listen to what the parents are going to say.’

As in (8.20d), the CTV *paga* ‘listen’ occurs with the complementiser *pi* ‘what’. Note that, as in (8.20c), when the desiderative verb *yaa* ‘want’ takes a subjunctive clause as its complement clause the deontic sense of the subjunctive clause is suppressed by the desiderative meaning.

The CTV *yaa* ‘want’ that takes a subjunctive clause as its complement clause may be marked by the causal subordinator *-daa* ‘because’ to form a subordinate clause, as in (8.21).

- (8.21) *Ne* *pa-inya* *ya-daa* *la-lo*.
 you go-2SG want-because say-1SG.PRG
 ‘Because I want you to go, I am saying it.’

Only the subordinator *-le* ‘because’ may mark a subjunctive clause to form a subordinate clause and the matrix clause may be either an imperative clause (as in (8.22a)), or a subjunctive clause (as in (8.22b)), but not a declarative or an interrogative clause.

- (8.22a) *Ne* *pa-inya-le* *ipu*.
 you go-2SG-because come
 ‘Because you should go, come.’

- (8.22b) *Ne pa-inya-le rai mea-inya.*
 you go-2SG-because axe get-2SG
 ‘Because you must go, you should get the axe.’

In (8.22a-b) the subordinate subjunctive clauses retain their deontic meanings.

8.2.2.2.1.3 Independent constructions

As in appositional, alternative and embedded constructions, the subjunctive clause as an independent clause expresses deontic modality, as in (8.23a), or in (8.23b), where the subjunctive clause is a matrix clause.

- (8.23a) *Ne pa-inya.*
 you go-1SG
 ‘You should go.’

- (8.23b) *Abi-ri tukiloko pea-a-na-le*
 now-TOP two o’clock do-3SG.NPT-GEN-because
po-no.
 go-1SG
 ‘Because it is two o’clock, I should go.’

To conclude, it is stated that subjunctive clauses that are marked by distinctive subject suffixes hitherto referred to as ‘DS’ suffixes only signal switch reference when the clauses are also marked by either temporal or aspectual markers (including aspectual verbs) in coordinate constructions. In most other constructions such as appositional, alternative, and embedded constructions the subjunctive clause expresses deontic modality, which is the meaning that is expressed when a subjunctive clause occurs as an independent clause. Thus the present account of switch reference in Kewapi differs from Franklin’s (1971, 1983) account of switch

reference in Kewa or West Kewa. In Franklin's accounts the 'DS' suffixes signal switch reference, whether explicitly or implicitly, in all syntactic contexts. This is clearly not the case, at least in Kewapi.

THE EIGHT NATURAL DISCOURSE TEXTS IN THE THESIS APPENDICES

Purpose and conventions:

1. The purpose of presenting the eight lengthy natural discourse texts that form the appendices of the thesis is to provide the reader the discourse contexts in which the morphosyntax described in the body of the thesis operator and also because the many examples in the thesis come from these texts .
2. As unedited texts, the texts contain falsestarts, afterthoughts, repetitions and complex thought units. The texts were not edited to allow the reader to experience natural Kewapi discourse and to leave discourse information in tact.
3. Falsestart, afterthought and inappropriate constructions are shown by double concave brackets, i.e. ((...)), explicated implicit meanings are shown in single concave brackets, i.e. (...), literal translations are shown in square brackets with lit., i.e. [lit:], and embedded structures are shown in square brackets, i.e. [....].
4. A sentence terminates with a falling intonation leading to a pause. Dependent structures carry either a terminal rising intonation (subordinate) and a fall-rise (apposition). Structurally a sentence ends with an independent clause or a clausal substitute.
5. Complex chunks of utterances are shown in thought units, rather than as strings of unrelated utterances or simple sentences.
6. Simple present includes habitual tense but habitual tense is signalled by a durative aspectual verb phrase. e.g. *ipu ada pi-a* 'he house sit-3SG.SPR = he is at the house' (simple present) versus *ipu ada piru aa-ya* 'he house sit.DUR stand-3SG.SPR = he habitually stays at the house'.

Appendix A

Text 1: Kilua's description of pig raising and use

Text 1 is a monologic text whose communicative purpose is to describe Kewapi cultural practice of raising pigs and using them for important cultural occasions.

This text was recorded on the 20th of September 1995 by the present writer. The speaker, Kilua Kauga (who passed away in 1999), was asked to describe a pig and its use in Kewa culture as if he was describing it to a foreigner who knows nothing about raising pigs. Kilua was over 55 years at the time of recording. He had extensive experience in raising pigs and organising big feasts for slaughtering pigs to pay debts to clansmen, consolidate tribal friendships, and reconcile tribal enemies.

The place of recording was at Ialibu district of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, about 8 kilometers from Mugumapu village, the village of the speaker and this writer. So the description is reflective, i.e. removed from the physical sight of pigs. There was a small audience of a few young men and boys.

<i>Mena-re,</i>	<i>mena kebo pamedame</i>	<i>inya</i>	<i>mena ru</i>
pig-TOP,	pig mother one-ERG	sow	pig boar
<i>mena-lopo</i>	<i>laapo made-a-ai-re</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>oge-si</i>

pig-DL two carry-3SG.SPR-NOM-TOP piglet small-DIM
made-a.
 carry-3SG.SPR

'As for pig, a sow gives birth to a male and a female pig, two of them, the one that is born is a very small piglet.' [T1:1]

Note: In the last line the interlinear gloss for *made-a* is appropriate. The verb root is *made* 'carry' in the context of 3SG.SPR. MP Rules for Set I verbs are highly idiosyncratic.

Si oge wekili-si-lopo raita made-a robo, go
 piglet small tiny-DIM-DL both carry-3SG.SPR when, that
mena made-a-ai-ri surake meda-me
 pig carry-3SG.SPR-NOM-TOP uncastrated male one.INDF-ERG
mo mena yawele-a robo madaa pe-a.
 FHL pig on heat-3SG.SPR when on top do-3SG.SPR

'When the sow gives birth to two tiny piglets, the one (female) that is born is mated by a male when it is on heat (i.e. when the sow is mature to have piglets).' [T1:2]

Madaape-a robo-re, si oge-si made-a.
 on top do-3SG.SPR when-TOP, piglet small-DIM carry-3SG.SPR
 'When it mates (it), a very small piglet is born.' [T1:3]

((*Oge-si made-a-ai-re maa*
 ((small-DIM carry-3SG.SPR-NOM-TOP take
surube-me robo-re)) kaale-si oge-si
 look after-3PL.SPR when-TOP)) ear-DIM small-DIM
aepale made-a, kidipaa-si oge-si
 be.with carry-3SG.SPR, toe-DIM small-DIM
aepale made-a, mena keke-si oge-si
 be.with carry-3SG.SPR, pig tongue-DIM small-DIM
aepale made-a, agaa oge-si
 be.with carry-3SG.SPR, mouth small-DIM
aepale made-a.
 be.with carry-3SG.SPR

'((The one that is born is very small (and) when they look after it)) ... it is born with very small ears, very small toes, a very small tongue, and a very small mouth.' T1:4]

Go robo-re, adu no-ma pu-maa-re,
 that time-TOP, milk eat-CONT go-SEQ.SS-TOP,
oge-si adaa le-a.
 small-DIM big say-3SG.SPR

'At that time, it continues to feed on milk and it becomes a bit bigger.' [T1:5]

Go adaa le-a robo-re, adu no-maa
 that big say-3SG.SPR when-TOP, milk eat-SEQ.SS
lira-ya robo-re, sapi kale-ma.
 stop-3SG.SPR when-TOP, sweet potato give-1PL.SPR

'When it becomes big, and when it stops feeding on milk, we give it sweet potatoes.' [T1:6]

Sapi kale-ma robo-re, go-re kaale epaa
 sweet potato give-1PL.SPR. when-TOP, that-TOP ear come
adaa le-a, kidipaa epaa adaa le-a,
 big say-3SG.SPR, toe come big say-3SG.SPR,
lo adaa le-a, pea epaa adaa le-a,
 stomach big say-3SG.SPR, snout come big say-3SG.SPR
aapu pege adaa le-a, kaale pege adaa le-a.
 tail also big say-3SG.SPR, ear also big say-3SG.SPR

'When we give it sweet potatoes, the ears become big, the toes become big, the stomach becomes big, the snout becomes big, the tail also becomes big, and the ears also become big.' [T1:7]

Gupa adaa le-a robo-re, sapi karepenalu
 like that big say-3SG.SPR when-TOP, sweet potato break into pieces
kale-ma robo, go-au-nu pe-a.
 give-1PL.SPR when, that-NOM-PL do-3SG.SPR

'When it becomes big like that, and when we break sweet potatoes into pieces (usually by the teeth of the feeder) and give it, it does all that.' [T1:8]

Sapi adaa-ai pa maa ne-a robo-re,
 sweet potato big-NOM just take eat-3SG.SPR when-TOP,
ora adaa-ai popa a-ya.
 really big-NOM come.go stand-3SG.SPR

'When it takes a sweet potato which is a big one and eats it (without much effort), it really becomes a big one.' [T1:9]

Adaa-ai popa a-ya robo-ri,
 big-NOM come.go stand-3SG.SPR when-TOP,
go-re, ora kale-pe-nu adaa yo,
 that-TOP, really ear-IRR-PL big be,
aa-pe-nu adaa yo,
 leg-IRR-PL big be,
ora olele adaa yo-ma
 really everything big be-CONT
pu piaa-ya,
 go do-3SG.SPR,
mena yogole kiti pe-a
 pig skin tight do-3SG.SPR

'When it becomes a big one, then, its ears really become big, legs become big, everything really becomes big, (and) the pig's skin becomes tight.' [T1:10]

Go pea robo, pili/kolawi ne-na
 that do.it when worm eat-3SG
yaa kama-nane wea-ema.
 want outside-DIR send-1PL.SPR

'When that happens, we want it (the pig) to eat worms (so) we send it outside (of the house where it's kept).' [T1:11]

Kamaa *pe-a* *robo-re,* *pili* *no* *a-maa*
 outside go-3SG.SPR when-TOP, worm eat stand-SEQ.SS
epe-a *robo-re,* *runane wala* *maa* *adili-ma*
 come-3SG.SPR when-TOP, inside later take tie-1PL.SPR
ki-para *kope* *mara-maa* *maa* *adi-lima.*
 hand-LOC rope fasten-SEQ.SS take tie-1PL.SPR

'When it goes outside, and when it comes back after eating worms, we fasten a rope on one leg (hand) and tie (it to its platform).' [T1:12]

Kutapape *pu-maa* *maa* *adi-lima-pora-re* *runane*
 enclosure do-SEQ.SS take tie-1PL.SPR-LOC-TOP inside
epaa *kode-a-pora-re* *winya-nu-mi* *sapi*
 come get into-it.SPR-LOC-TOP woman-PL-ERG sweet potato
madu *kale-me.*
 carry give-3PL.SPR

'When it comes and gets into the enclosure we make to tie the pig, the women bring sweet potatoes and feed it (the pig).' [T1:13]

Sapi *madu* *kale-me* *robo-re,* *agaa-pe*
 sweet.potato carry give-3PL.SPR when-TOP, teeth-IRR
ope-a *kabulu-pora* *runane,* *agaa-pe* *ope-a.*
 grow-3SG.SPR lips-LOC inside, teeth-IRR grow-3SG.SPR
 'When they bring sweet potatoes and feed it, big teeth grow, inside the lips, big teeth grow.' [T1:14]

Note: As in *agaa-pe* 'teeth-IRR' in [T1:14], nominals or predicates marked by the irrealis marker indicate augmentation of the marked nominal or event.

Agaa *ope-a* *robo-re,* *gore* *gó*
 teeth grow-3SG.SPR when-TOP, then this
mena *ima-pe-da* *lo* *gupa* *le-ma.*
 pig huge-IRR-INDF say like that say-1PL.SPR
 'When the teeth grow, we say that this pig is a huge one.' [T1:15]

((*Gupa* *le-ma* *robo-re,*)) *mogo-na-ai,*
 ((like that say-1PL.SPR when-TOP)), that-GEN-NOM,
pea-si *epaa* *rudu* *le-a.*
 nose-DIM come short say-3SG.SPR
 '((When we say like that, that huge thing)), the snout becomes short.' [T1:16]

Go *rudu* *yo-maa-re,* *mena* *mogo* *na-pe-pe*
 that short be-SEQ.SS-TOP, pig that eat-IRR-IRR
ipi *li-a.*
 come say/be-3SG.SPR

'Having become short, that pig has become big for eating.' [T1:17]

Note: The irrealis marker *-pe* occurs twice in *na-pe-pe* 'eat-IRR-IRR = for eating' to indicate first the verb's yet-to-be realised (irrealis) status and second, to indicate augmentative status of the state of the event.

Na-pe-pe ipi li-a-re, winya-me
 eat-IRR-IRR come say/be-3SG.SPR-TOP, woman-ERG
surube-a robo pe-a.
 look after-3SG.SPR when do-3SG.SPR
 'It becomes big for eating, when women look after it (the pig).' T1:18]

Aгаа-pe opo-maa na-pe le-a
 teeth-IRR grow-SEQ.SS eat-IRR say/be-3SG.SPR
robo-re, yawe-robo li-ma.
 when-TOP, feast-when kill-1PL.SPR
 'When the teeth has grown and it becomes ready for eating, we slaughter it when there is a feast.' [T1:19]

Appendix B

Text 2: Popeke's legend

Text 2 is a legend narrative text. Payne describes such texts as mythology, "which typically deal with explanations for the current state of the world" (Payne 1997:359). The communicative purpose of the *kage* 'legend' text is to explain the origin of evil spirits.

The narrator is Popeke Ubi, a male in the mid forties from Mugumapu village. He is a former village councillor from the Nomarepa subclan of the Yadali subclan of the Mugumapu Maarepa clan. There is an audience of about ten people including the present writer. The place of recording of Popeke's *kage* is Mugumapu village and the time of recording is December 1996. It was recorded during the day. In Kewapi culture legends are told as entertainment stories. Scary legends are narrated in the night to enhance drama and suspense effects. The art of narration is mastered only by a few people who use the genre-specific rhetorical structures and language skillfully. To discourage people from the misuse of *kages* there is a traditional belief that the sky would fall or that something nasty will happen to the daring teller.

Go-re, winya ali-lopo laapo awa-sipi pere,
 that-TOP, woman man-DL two live-3DL.RPT but,
ipu-na yapa-sa-daa ((ada rupa)) raa-pora
 they-GEN possum-game-house ((house as)) bush-LOC
((ada)) puua pu wi-sipi, ((yapa-sa-daa))
((house)) go do put-3DL.RPT, ((possum-game-house))
 'As for that, a couple lived, they went and built their possum-game (hunting) house in the bush.' [T2:1]

Notes:1. *pere* 'but' is not an appropriate linker because the linked clauses are not contrastive. 2. *yapa-sa-daa* 'possum-game house' is a compound noun formed possibly by combining the nouns *yapa* 'possum' *sa* is possibly an abbreviated form of *adasa* 'game' and *ada* 'house'. 3. possum-game house is a house that is built and used in a hunting area. This house will be referred to as a 'hunting house'.

Ade *awa-maa* *li-sipi-na,* *yapa-sa-daa*
 DEF live-SEQ.SS say-3DL.RPT-GEN possum-game-house
pu *wi-sipi-pora,* *ipu-de* *mo-de* *ali*
 do put-3DL.RPT-LOC, he-DEF FHL-DEF man
kono *ma-a-maa* *li-sa-na* *ipu-na* *yapa-nu*
 trap CAUS-stand-SEQ.SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN he-GEN possum-PL
lu *yawo* ((*kono ma-a-sa-pora-nu*
 hit steamroast ((trap CAUS-stand-3SG.RPT-LOC-PL
lu *yawa-la*)) *pu* *a-sipi.*
 hit steam-roast-CONT)) do stand.DUR-3DL.RPT
 'Having stayed where they built the hunting house, ((the man set up traps and caught
 and steam-roasted possums where he had set up traps,)) they continued to kill and
 steamroast possums.' [T2:2]

Notes: 1. *ade* 'one/the seen' functions as a clause linker when it precedes a clause and as a premodifier of noun in a NP. 2. The formula *li-sipi-na* or *li-sa-na* is used by the narrator to present parts of the narrative preceding the formula as events 'inferred' by the narrator (which is formally marked by the genitive marker *-na* to indicate an inferred event). Inferred segments of narratives contrast with segments that are presented as 'observed' by the narrator (which are formally unmarked) or segments presented as 'hearsay' reports (which are marked by the 'not-seen evidential marker *-yaa*'). In other words, the narrator views segments of the events from the participants' viewpoint, from the narrator's viewpoint and from a third person's viewpoint, respectively. 3. Pronouns are marked by the definite referent or event marker *-de* to indicate a reactivated definite referent, as in [T2:2] above.

Ade-pora *koro-meda* *mo* *ali* *ipu* *pa* *pi-tua-me*
 DEF-LOC one day FHL man he just sit-3SG.FUT-INST
li-sa-na, *o-de* *winya-pora* *ta-lo*
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN NSL-DEF woman-LOC say-IRR
 [*puaa ada*] *li-sa.*
 [go see] say-3SG.RPT
 'There one day the man intended to stay back (so) he said to the woman, "go and
 check (the traps)".' [T2:3]

Note: The instrumental case marker *-me* marking a predicate indicates intentional mode.

[*Repona* *re-pora* *kono* *meda* *go*
 [tree base-LOC trap one.INDF there
ma-aa-yo-le, *go-pora-re* *ora*
 CAUS-stand-1SG.SPR-because, that-LOC-TOP really
epaa ra-lia *kone* *sa-lo-le,*
 come catch-3SG.FUT thought put-1SG.SPR-because,
puaa ádá] *li-sa.*
 go see] say-3SG.RPT
 'He said, "because I have set up a trap at the base of a tree, and because there I think
 it (game) will really become trapped there, go and see".' [T2:4]

Ade-de *kono-pora* *ada-lua-me* *ya-daa* *pawa*
 DEF-DEF trap-LOC see-3SG.FUT-INST want-because slowly
no *pa-sa* *robo,* *mena* *kade* *pameda* *epaa*
 FDL go-3SG.RPT when, pig brown one come
rai *pili-sa-yaa,* ((*no-de* *kono-pora*)),

trap shoot-3SG.RPT-NSN, ((FDL-DEF trap-LOC))

((yapa kono ma-a-sa-pora)).

((possum trap CAUS-stand-3SG.RPT-LOC))

'When she went down slowly because she intended to check the trap, a huge brown pig become trapped, ((down in the trap, where he (the man) had set the possum trap)).' [T2:5]

Notes: 1. *pili* is the 3SG.RPT form of the verb base *pia* 'shoot'. It functions as an auxiliary verb with a 'be' sense. 2. In [T2:5] the NP *ade-de kono-pora* 'DEF-DEF trap-LOC = the reactivated definite trap' note that *ade* is the free form definite marker while *-de* is the bound form definite marker, which functions to indicate a reactivated definite referent, namely, *kono* 'trap'.

Ade epaa rai pili-sa-yaa robo-re, o-de
 DEF come trap shoot-3SG.RPT-NSN when-TOP, NSL-DEF
winya-me li-sa-na, puua koyo-maa
 woman-ERG say-3SG.RPT-GEN, come remove-SEQ.SS
li-sa-na, so-de pawa ipu-maa
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN, FUL-DEF slowly come-SEQ.SS
li-sa-na, repona epaa rele pu
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN, wood come split do
li-sa-na, imu-na mo kibitya yoko,
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN they-GEN FHL greens pull out,
li-sa-na, ((repona-de rele rele pu)) li-sa-na,
 say-3SG.RPT-GEN, ((wood-DEF split split do)) say-3SG.RPT-GEN,
ade mena iri so-ne no-ne epaa
 DEF pig hair FUL-DIR FDL-DIR come
kisa-loma-me epaa yawo pia-sa.
 burn-SEQ.SS-INST come steam-roast do-3SG.RPT

'When it became trapped, the woman went and remove it from the trap and came up slowly and split wood, pulled out greens, split the wood into pieces, burned off the pig's hair upward and downward with the intention to steam-roasted it in an earth oven.' [T2:6]

Note: In [T2:6] in the construction initial structure *Ade epaa rai pili-sa-yaa* 'DEF come trap shoot-3SG.RPT-NSN' the form *ade* 'DEF' indicates that the following event is definite, i.e. presupposed and so the known utterance segment is linked to the new utterance segments that follow. In other words, *ade* functions as a discourse linker when it precedes a predicate structure.

Epaa yawo pia-maa piri-nya mo-de
 come steam-roast do-SEQ.SS sit-3SG.DS FHL-DEF
pa-sa-de pora-nane magia ((mo mena puua koli-sa
 go-3SG.RPT-DEF road-DIR side ((FHL pig go remove-3SG.RPT
magia)) ali meda li-sa-na esu li-sa
 side)) man one.INDF say-3SG.RPT-GEN pig call say-
 3SG.RPT
pere mena mo egeyo-maa ipu a-sa.
 but pig FHL call-SEQ.SS come stand.DUR-3SG.RPT

'Having come and steamroasted the pig in an earth oven, and as she was staying, in the direction of the road where she had gone and brought the pig, a man came calling for a pig there.' [T2:7]

Note: 1. *pere* 'but' does not function as a contrastive but additive coordinate marker in [T2:7]. 2. When the definite marker *-de* marks a predicate (as in [T2:7]), it indicates the speaker's belief that the marked event did definitely take place.

Ade mena egeyo-ma ipu a-sa robo,
 DEF pig call-CONT come stand.DUR-3SG.RPT when,
o-de nu ipu pururu keda komo-maa piri-sa.
 NSL-DEF woman she fear heavy die-SEQ.SS sit-3SG.RPT
 'When he came calling the pig, the woman was very frightened [lit.: died by weight of fear].' [T2:8]

Ade pi-sa robo li-sa-na-re,
 DEF do-3SG.RPT when say-3SG.RPT-GEN-TOP
iri-nu tonalanala po-pe kapokalado, iri kaati-nu
 hair-PL disarray come-go evil man, hair brown-PL
lapa lapa li-sa pere ali pameda pelo tya-la
 fall fall say-3SG.RPT but man one pull hit-CONT
ipu-maa li-sa-na [gó winya, na mena
 come-SEQ.SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN [this woman, my pig
ada-e] li-sa.
 see-2SG.NPT] say-3SG.RPT
 'When she was in the state of fear, an evil man with brown hair that was in disarray, and falling all over his head, came out suddenly and said, "this woman, did you see my pig?" .' [T2:9]

Note: words like *tonalanala* 'untidy as eaten by something' (*to* 'skin', *na-la* 'eat-CONT, *na-la* 'eat-CONT) cannot be meaningfully segmented as such. Others include *lapalapa* 'falling sound of long hair', *pelo tya-la* 'pull out hit-CONT = come out suddenly into the clear' are better considered as formulaic or conventional idiomatic expressions.

Ade li-sa robo aya gorupa [na-na
 DEF say-3SG.RPT when amend like this [I-GEN
aali-mi kono ma-aa-ripa-yaa-pora epaa
 husband-ERG trap CAUS-stand-3SG.NPT-NSN-LOC come
ra-a-yaa pere gó abala epaa
 catch-NPT.3SG-NSN but here before come
yawa-wa] li-sa.
 steamroast-1SG.NPT] say-3SG.RPT
 'When he said that, she said, "where my husband had set a trap the pig was caught in it, and (but) I have already steam-roasted it here".' [T2:10]

[Go pea-wa] li-sa robo, mo-de ali-mi ta-lo
 [that do-1SG.NPT] say-3SG.RPT when, FHL-DEF man-ERG say-IRR
[go-re epe pea-e-le, mo koya-e-lena
 [that-TOP good do-2SG.NPT-because, FHL untie-2SG.NPT-LOC
kamaa-re ipu maa wala-inya ba-na] li-sa.
 only-TOP he take show-2SG go-1DL] say-3SG.RPT
 'When she said, "I did that", the man said that because it was fine she did that, she should come with him (and) show him the place where she removed the pig from the trap".' [T2:11]

[*Go-re, o kono-pora ra-a-daa,*
 [that-TOP, NSL trap-LOC catch-3SG.NPT-because,
yawe-e-le, ne-na matya pa-inya]
 steamroast-1SG.SPR-because, you-GEN carry go-2SG]
li-sa.
 say-3SG.RPT

'She said, "about that, because it got caught in a trap, I have steam-roasted it, (so) you should reclaim it [lit.: carry it yourself and go]".' [T2:12]

[*Dia-le ipu no ra-a-pora kamaa-re*
 [no-because he FDL catch-3SG.NPT only-TOP
ada-no-le ipu abala maa pu] li-sa.
 see-1SG-because he first take go] say-3SG.RPT

'He said that because the answer is no, and because he should see where it (the pig) was caught, she must take him down there first.' [T2:13]

Note: The embedded quote is indirect as the shift to third person pronoun *ipu* 'he' instead of *ni* 'I' signals.

[*Dia ipu-re na-pa-lipa-le, ne-na puaa ada]*
 [no she-TOP NEG-go-1DL.FUT-because, you-GEN go see]
li-sa,
 say-3SG.RPT, ((*no repona rolo-pora*
 ("FDL wood under-LOC
ra-a-yaa-le.))
 catch-3SG.NPT-NSN-because))

'She said no, because she will not go with him, he must go and see it himself. ((because it was caught down there (distant location) under a fallen tree.))' [T2:14]

Go robo mo-de ali-mi li-sa-na ipu-mi
 that time FHL-DEF man-ERG say-3SG.RPT-GEN he-ERG
ado-la pa-lua-me ya-daa-wa li-sa-na
 see-IRR go-3SG.FUT-INST want-because-EXCL say-3SG.RPT-GEN
ipu-de rikana epaa maa rele pi-sa.
 he-DEF centre come take split do-3SG.RPT

'Then because the man intended to go and see the trap, he came and split himself in the middle (to become two halves).' [T2:15]

Rele pu-maa, li-sa-na medane-de mo-de
 split do-SEQ.SS, say-3SG.RPT-GEN one side-DEF FHL-DEF
winya pa surubu piri-nya-lomaa,
 woman just guard sit-3SG.DS-SEQ,
ipu-de mo medane li-sa-na ipu maa
 he-DEF FHL one side say-3SG.RPT-GEN he take
pili tya-ba pa-sa, ((no-de kono
 shoot hit-PUNCT go-3SG.RPT, ((FDL-DEF trap
ado-la pa-lua-me.))
 see-IRR go-3SG.FUT-INST))

'Having split himself into two halves, he left one half to guard the woman, the other half, went down hastily [lit.: shot through], ((with the intention to see the trap)).'
[T2:16]

Ade pi-sa robo, mo-de puaa ada-lo piri-nya
DEF do-3SG.RPT when, FHL-DEF go see-CONT sit-3SG.DS
o-de winya-me li-sa-na ade mena
NSL-DEF lady-ERG say-3SG.RPT-GEN DEF pig
kamaa-re kikao la-ba-na kikao kikao
only-TOP swiftly say/be-PUNCT-3SG swiftly swiftly
li-sa pere ade mena yoko nene
say-3SG.RPT but DEF pig take out from earth oven toward actor
pu mo-de nu-pora rayosi maa madi-sa.
do FHL-DEF string bag-LOC all of them take carry-3SG.RPT
'When the man did that, and while he was seeing the trap, the woman swiftly took
out the pork from the earth oven and put all of them into the string bag.' [T2:17]

Ade maa matya-loma-me li-sa-na
DEF take carry-SEQ.SS-INST say-3SG.RPT-GEN
o-de ipu-de paaki lu wi-sa-de-ai pa
NSL-DEF he-DEF half hit put-3SG.RPT-DEF-NOM just
wi-nya na-pe li-sa-na maa madi-sa,
put-3SG.DS NEG-go say-3SG.RPT-GEN take carry-3SG.RPT,
(*mo ali-mi adua meda pi-sa robo*
(FHL man-ERG something one.INDF do-3SG.RPT when
ade paki abuna mada maa lu ri-sa)).
DEF half also on top take hit carry-3SG.RPT))
'Having carried the pork, the other half that the evil man had left behind to guard the
woman, was not left behind; she took it and carried it ((when the half man did
something she took it and carried it on top of her head above the string bag)).'
[T2:18]

Maa pili tya-bi-sa ((go wi-sa pora-lu
take shoot hit-PUNCT-3SG.RPT ((there put-3SG.RPT road-along
kamaa-re, pa pa pa ipu pa-sa)).
only-TOP, go go go she go-3SG.RPT)).
'She went hastily [lit.: shot off] ((along the only road that was there and continued
going quickly)).' [T2:19]

Go robo, o-de ali werepe ratya-ma
that time, NSL-DEF man later follow-CONT
ratya-ma pea-lo aa-ra [paaki ya] li-sa;
follow-CONT do-CONT stand-SIM.SS [half call] say-3SG.RPT
[wa] lo-ma lo-ma pi-sa,
[yes] say-CONT say-CONT do-3SG.RPT,
(*o ri-sa-ai-mi*)).
(here carry-3SG.RPT-NOM-ERG))
'At that time, as the man continued to follow the woman he called to his other half,
"half" and the half that she was carrying continued to reply, "yes".' [T2:20]

Note: *-ma* ‘CONT’ marks continuative aspect and *-maa* ‘SEQ.SS’ marks sequential SS relation with the main clause.

Rubu pi-au pege na-pi pa ru pia-maa
 throw do-NOM even NEG-do just carry do-SEQ.SS
kamaa pu piri-sa.
 only go sit.DUR-3SG.RPT

‘She didn’t even (think of) throwing it away, and she just continued to carry it and go.’ [T2:21]

Rubu pia-lua robo-re, ipu lu na-lia;
 throw away do-1SG.FUT time-if, she hit eat-3SG.FUT;
o-de paaki pa ru pi-au pu piri-sa.
 NSL-DEF half just carry do-NOM go sit.DUR-3SG.RPT

‘If she throw it away, it will kill and eat her (she thought); she continued to carry it and go.’ [T2:22]

Gu-pu-maa li-sa-na meda-lena
 that-do-SEQ.SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN one.INDF-LOC
epaa aa-ra ta-lo
 come stand-SIM.SS say-IRR

[*paaki ya*] *li-sa; wa la-la pi-sa.*
 [half call] say-RPT.3SG;yes say-CONT do-3SG.RPT

‘Having done that, as he_j came to a place he_j would call his other half, and he_j continued to reply.’ [T2:23]

Note: The subject nominal of the final verb *li* ‘say’ is the half of the evil man that is following the woman, while the subject nominal of the verb *pi* ‘do’ is the other half the woman is carrying. The disjoint reference is expressed by the subject suffixes of the declarative clauses.

Ria ria pu piru-maa li-sa-na,
 carry carry do sit-SEQ.SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN,
ora no-de ali-de a-sa-de le-si-na,
 really FDL-DEF man-DEF stand-3SG.RPT-DEF thing-DIM-GEN
 ((*mo-de yapa-nu mo-de*
 ((FHL-DEF possum-PL FHL-DEF
mena koyo matya yapa koyo matya epa-lia
 pig remove carry possum remove carry come-3SG.FUT
lo-maa puua surubaa a-sa robo))
 say-SEQ.SS go wait stand-3SG.RPT when))
 [*na epe ali ne-na kono ma-aa-ripi-ya-de-pora*
 [my good man you-GEN trap CAUS-stand-2SG.NPT-NSN-DEF-LOC
mena epaa raa pi-a-yaa robo,
 pig come be caught do-3SG.NPT-NSN when,
ele meda gó maa ria ipu-lu-da]
 something one.INDF here take carry come-1SG.PRG-INDEF”]
li-sa pere epaa ru agala-sa.
 say-RPT.3SG but come carry throw.heavily-3SG.RPT

‘Having continued carrying the load, she really came to where the man was ((her husband was waiting for the possums she will bring)) and said, “my good man,

where you set the trap a pig become trapped in it and I am bring it here with something else”, and she dropped the load heavily on the ground.’ [T2:24]

Go robo, [mo-de ali-mi rai-mi pege abala
 that time, [FHL-DEF man-ERG axe-INST even first
maa lora-no] pi pege na-le pa ado-ba.
 take cut-1SG] talk even NEG-say just wait-PUNCT
a-sa
 stand.DUR-3SG.RPT

'At that time, the man didn't even say, "I must get an axe and chop the half-man", he just kept looking at it.' [T2:25]

Ade pi-sa robo, o-de paaki ya pi nopo
 DEF do-3SG.RPT when, NSL-DEF half call say CDL
epaa lo-maa li-sa-na pa rekeleme
 come say-SEQ. SS say-3SG.RPT-GEN just suddenly
ipu-luma-me li-sa-na-re ade paki-lopo
 come-SEQ.SS-INST say-3SG.RPT-GEN-TOP DEF half-DL
ratya medaa-pora go epaa maa kuritya-sa.
 both same-LOC there come take combine-3SG.RPT

'When that happened, having called his other half close (behind the couple) and come with an intention, the half man (that was following the woman) came suddenly and combined the two halves.' [T2:26]

Ade kuritya-toma-me, li-sa-na-re ade
 DEF combine-SEQ.SS-INST, say-3SG.RPT-GEN-TOP DEF
winya ali-lopo-re go lu ni-sa-na-da.
 woman man-DL-TOP there hit eat-3SG.RPT-GEN-INDEF
 'Having intentionally combined the two halves, the evil man killed and ate the woman and man there.' [T2:27]

Note: *-toma-me* follows *-ta*, the final syllable of verb root, as in *kirita-toma-me* and *-loma-me* occurs elsewhere, as in *mea-loma-me*. So *-ta* assimilates with */t/*. Thus *-toma* and *-loma* are in complementary distribution.

*Go robo-re, mo-de kapokalado le-me-de **masalai*
 that when-TOP, FHL-DEF evil spirit say-3PL.SPR-DEF evil spirit
o winya-ali pamu na-ri pame-a
 NSL people go around eat-SIM.SS go around-3SG.SPR
le-me-de; go-re mogo pu-maa go lu
 say-3PL.SPR-DEF; that-TOP MHL do-SEQ.SS there hit
ni-sa-na-da; go reki-sa-na-da
 eat-3SG.RPT-GEN-INDEF; there wake-3SG.RPT-GEN-INDEF
 ((pane)).

come into being

'At that time, that evil spirit they call masalai (borrowed for Tok Pisin for evil spirit); they say it goes around eating people; that is how it began killing and eating people; it came out into being an evil spirit there and then.' [T2:28]

Appendix C

Text 3: Lapua's pig

Text 3 is a dialogic expository text about the sale of Lapua's pig. The discourse purpose is to amicably negotiate the sale and purchase of Lapua's pig.

Context: The interactants are John, Lapua, and Apoi. Lapua is the owner of the pig and comes from a hamlet about 10 kilometers away from Mugumapu village where John and Apoi live. Lapua tries to sell his pig as soon as he can in a tactful manner while the prospective buyers try to make the point that they intent to buy the pig but need some time to put the money together. The exchanges are conducted in formal business-like manner by employing polite but persuasive language and strategies by both parties. As an unedited text there are repetitions of some themes. There is an audience of four people. The place of discourse is outside Apoi's house in Mugumapu village in the Ialibu District of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It was recorded in January 1997 by Apoi.

John (1-19):

Ipu-na mena gi-a-de-ai-na, Lapua pege gó
 he-GEN pig give-NPT.3SG-DEF-NOM-GEN, Lapua even here
epaa pi-a.
 come sit-3SG.SPR

'For the reason that he gave us his pig, Lapua has come and is here.' [T3:1]

O-de kaanali-da pege meda abala ranameyo
 NSL-DEF coin.money-INDF even one.INDF before closer
mi-lipa lo-maa robo, mena-de apo puaa pa koyo
 get-1DL.FUT say-SEQ.SS time, pig-DEF there go just untie
ria ipu-ka.
 carry come-RPT.1SG

'When I thought that we dual will get money sooner, I came there and just brought the pig.' [T3:2]

O-de ni loko ma-pea-simi robo, mena pa
 NSL-DEF me angry CAUS-do-3PL.RPT when, pig just
yolo-nene pu-ka robo, [kaana-de meda wea-limi]
 pull-DIR do-1SG.RPT time, [money-DEF one.INDF send-3PL.FUT]
lo-maa maa ipu-ka-de robo-re, epaa saa
 say-SEQ.SS take come-1SG.RPT-DEF time-TOP, come put
*pisa-no abi-ri **saarere laapo apo koma-la robo,*
 sit-1SG.DS today-TOP week two there die-3SG.PRG time,
o repa-ya gó epa-pe-na-pulu, ipu-na
 this husband-wife-KIN here come-3DL.NPT-GEN-because, they-GEN
mena wala ratya yaa pale pi-pi-ra,
 pig later withdraw want might do-3DL.PRG-TOP,
 (([epa-pe-na]
 (([come-3DL.NPT-GEN] thought put-1SG.SPR))

'Here when they made me angry, I just brought in pigs; I thought that they will send money; I brought (pigs), and as of today, I have been keeping (the pigs) for two weeks, and because this couple are here, they might want to take their pig back ((I think they might want to withdraw their pig)).' [T3:3]

[*Ipu-na mena wala maa pa-lipa*] *la-pe-de.*
 [they-GEN pig back take go-3DL.FUT] say-3DL.NPT-DEF
 'They said that they will take their pig and go back.' T3:4]

[*Ribareko ni pisa-wa-pora ipu-maa gupa*
 [morning I sit-1SG.NPT-LOC come-SEQ.SS like that
epaa] *la-pe-de.*
 come] say-3DL.NPT-DEF
 'In the morning they came to where I was sitting and said like that.' [T3:5]

((*Ipu pege mena ipi-mi na-mi-lipi-daa-re,*))
 ((they even pig you-ERG NEG-get-2DL.FUT-RSN-if,))
 [*Kati wane ali-na ada-nane abala paitya*
 [Kati daughter man-GEN house-DIR yesterday sleep
puaa] *la-a-de,* ((no *Pale*)).
 come] say-3SG.NPT-DEF, ((FDL *Pale*))
 '((He said that if you two won't get the pig, yesterday)) Kati's daughter went to sleep at a man's house, down at Pale village (so they might give the pig to Kati's daughter to give it to her prospective groom's people as exchange bride-price).' [T3:6]

[*Pale paitya yaa pu-a-yaa-ai-ri ali-na ada*
 [Pale sleep want go-3SG.NPT-NSN-NOM-TOP man-GEN house
paitya yaa pu-ame-yaa] *ta,* ((*winya-nu,*
 sleep want go-3PL.NPT-NSN] say.3SG.PRG, ((woman-PL,
ipu-na were mapago)).
 he-GEN wife including))
 'He is saying that her wanting to go to sleep at Pale village was (because) they wanted to go to (sleep at) a man's house.' [T3:7]

[[*Palu-maa ele-nu epaa ada-lepape*] *la-me-daa*
 [[sleep-SEQ.SS thing-PL come see-2PL] say-3PL.NPT-because
ele-nu ado-la pa-limi]] ta-a-pe.
 thing-PL see-IRR go-3PL.FUT]] say-3SG.PRG-IRR
 'He is saying, "because they said after sleeping come and see things (bride-price), they will go to see things".' [T3:8]

Note: As in *ta-a-pe* 'say-3SG.PRG-IRR', the irrealis marker marks the finite CTV verbs *la* 'say' and *kone sa* 'think' to indicate that their complement-clause events are unrealised and contrasts with *ado-la* 'see-IRR', which is a non-finite verb marked by the irrealis status marker to indicate that the event is yet to be realised. .

Wala laapo-me, mo-ai-na laapo-me, go-re o-ne
 later two-ERG, that-NOM-GEN two-INST, that-TOP NSL-DIR
ragele le-nu epaa ada-limi, ((*ragele*
 exchange bride-price thing-PL come see-3PL.FUT, ((exchange
mena epaa ada-lima ta-me-daa,

pig come see-1PL.FUT say-3PL.PRG-because,
*gó **Tuside-me **dedalani la-a-de.))*
 this Tuesday-INST deadline say-3SG.NPT-DEF))
 'He said that next week on Tuesday they will come to this village to see bride-price exchange things ((because they said that we will come and see exchange pigs, this Tuesday is the deadline)).' [T3:9]

Note: Instrumental case marked temporal nouns indicate specific time while temporal nouns marked by the genitive indicate non-specific time.

[*Winya epe te-a-daa-re winya*
 [woman good say-3SG.FUT-RSN-if woman
ma-kato-a, winya-da puua ko te-a-daa-re
 CAUS-give-1SG.FUT, woman-INDF go bad say-3SG.FUT-RSN-if
gore ipi-nya mi-lipinya] la-a-de.
 then you-GEN get-2DL] say-3SG.NPT-DEF
 'He said, "if the woman will be good, I will get it (the pig) and give it to her, if the woman will be bad, then you two can get it (the pig) yourselves".' [T3:10]

Note. successful bride-price negotiations are described as 'the woman (bride) being good' and unsuccessful negotiations are described as 'the woman being bad' in the Kewapi bride-price culture.

[*Abála mu-la pea-pe ya-lo-re gore*
 [before get-IRR do-2DL.NPT be-IRR-if then
 ((*kaana-me pege*)) *kaana gu-la pea-pe-ai-mi*
 ((money-INST even)) money give-IRR do-2DL.NPT-NOM-INST
ipu-na ragele mena rado puua kokea
 he-GEN exchange pig different one go buy
pu-la pea-wa] la-a-pe.
 do-IRR do-1SG.NPT] say-3SG.NPT-IRR
 'He said, "if you two would have got (bought) it (the pig), then with the money you two would have given me, I would have gone and bought another [different] bride-price exchange pig".' [T3:11]

[*Go kaana pu mena pu pu-maa mena*
 [that money do pig do do-SEQ.SS pig
adaa-ai puua mu-lua] ta.
 big-NOM go get-1SG.FUT] say.3SG.PRG
 'He is saying, "I will give that money (from the sale of his pig) and a pig and go and get a pig that is a big one from the bride-price exchange".' [T3:12]

((*O mena wala maa pa-lia pege*)) [*go mena pu*
 ((NSL pig back take go-3SG.FUT even if)) [that pig do
kaana pu pu-maa mena mada puua
 money do do-SEQ.SS pig top go
mu-lua] ta.
 get-1SG.FUT] say.3SG.PRG
 '((Even if he will take back the pig here)) he is saying, "I will give that pig and money, and go and get a bigger pig".' [T3:13]

(No Kati wane ragele kato-a-me.)
 (FDL Kati daughter exchange give-1SG.FUT-INST)
 'With the intention to give Kati's daughter an exchange bride-price.' [T3:14]

[Go robo-re meda-re puaa ko le-au puaa
 [that time-TOP one.INDF-TOP go bad thing-NOM go
 pea-a-de-le, pa sa-na ada kamaa
 do-it.SPR-DEF-because, just we dual-GEN village only
 a-ya-le, ele pa puaa ádá-pe] la-wa-de;
 stand-it.SPR-because, thing just go see-IRR] say-1SG.NPT-DEF;
 (([ele ado ragele pege pa maa walo,
 (([thing see exchange bride-price even just take show,
 go-au-nu pa pea-inya] la-wa-pe.))
 that-NOM-PL just do-2SG] say-1SG.NPT-IRR))

'I said, "because when that is the case sometimes things do become bad, and because it (the pig) is at our village, you go and see things (bride-price)" ((I said, "you see things and also take and show exchange things, you should do all those things"))'. [T3:15]

[O kaanali meda abala mu-lua] lo-maa
 [NSL coin.money one.INDF before get-1SG.FUT] say-SEQ.SS
 pisa-a-ai na-wea-simi robo pa pi-a.
 sit-2SG.NPT-NOM NEG-send-3PL.RPT time just sit-3SG.SPR
 'When they didn't send the money that he thought (said) he would get [lit.: will get and waited], he doesn't have money [lit.: is just staying]'. [T3:16]

Ee, wala abi kaanali meda mo-de kare piri-na
 yes, later today coin.money one.INDF FHL-DEF truck old-GEN
 meda gi-lima la-me-daa go-ai
 one.INDF give-1PL.FUT say-3PL.NPT-because that-NOM
 maa gu-lua kone sa-wa-de pere o
 take give-1SG.FUT thought put-1SG.NPT-DEF but NSL
monemone su la-pe su su-ma pu-la
 further away put say-IRR land put-SEQ.SS do-3SG.PRG
 robo-re, [ne-na mena wala maa pa-inya]
 time-TOP, [you-GEN pig back take go-2SG]
 la-wa-de, ((mo la-le rupa mo ****Tusete-me.**))
 say-NPT.1SG-DEF, ((there say-2SG.PRG like FHL Tuesday-INST))
 'Yes, later today because they said, "we will give you money for that old truck", I thought, "I will take that and give it to you", but when they are not giving it, I said, "you should take your pig back", ((as you are saying there, next Tuesday))'. [T3:17]

Note: The structure in the bold face is a conventional expression to mean 'nothing has changed'.

Ni-pora-re gupi la-a robo mo abala
 I-LOC-TOP this talk say-3SG.NPT when FHL before
 la-pa-le, ((ribareko la-ri epa-a-yaa.))
 say-1DL.NPT-because, ((morning say-SEQ.SS come-3SG.NPT-NSN))
 'Because when he said this talk to me there, we talked about it earlier ((as he was saying that in the morning, as he came))'. [T3:18]

Go pe-a-daa ipu-na mena eda ipu-na
 that do-3SG.SPR-because they-GEN pig food they-GEN
kata-ai pi-pape le rupa abi pege ipu-na
 give-NOM do-2DL say as today also they-GEN
mena eda madu epaa sao epa-pe-yaa pere, ipu
 pig food carry come put come-3DL.NPT-NSN but, they
so lotu ta pu-lupa la-pe-de; wala ne
 FUL church say go-2DL say-2DL.NPT-DEF, later you
pi-li-pora pege apo epaa pisa-pe-na-le, o
 sit-2SG.PRG-LOC even there come sit-3DL.NPT-GEN-because, NSL
mena ipu-na agi aara-lopo-me ta-pe pi
 pig it-GEN mother father-DL-ERG say-2DL.PRG talk
paga-pona-wa-ra, ((ake ta-pe polo.))
 hear-1DL-EXCL-TOP, ((what say-2DL.PRG what))
 'Because of that, as I tell them to come and give food to the pig [lit.: do pig food giving], today, they carried the pig's food and came and left it; but they said that they were going up for church service; now because they are there where you are, let us listen solely to what the pig's parents [lit.: owners] have to say, ((what they are going to say)).' [T3:19]

Lapua (20-23):

Go-re, naa-re pa meda aponeaara pege
 that-TOP, we-TOP just one.INDF further even
dia ya-pe.
 not be-IRR

'It seems that we are further away from each other (in terms of genealogical distance).' [lit.: 'As for that, we are not even further away from each other.'] [T3:20]

Na-na rai edali na-pu ((naa)) na-adame-ma-pe.
 we-GEN axe bow NEG-do ((we)) NEG-befriend-1PL.SPR-IRR

'We don't trade our goods and socialise with each other [lit.: 'We don't trade our axe and bow, and we don't befriend each other.'] [T3:21]

[Kiwai pege, ne pege, Apoi pege, ora naa
 [Kiwai also, you also, Apoi also, really we
medaa-pora ope-ma] kone wi.
 same-LOC grow-1PL.SPR] thought put.1SG.SPR

'I think, "Kiwai, you (John), Apoi, and I come from the same place (genealogical location)".' [T3:22]

Na-na maiya-abo pege.
 we-GEN father-PAUC even

'Even our fathers (come from the same place).' [T3:23]

John:

Ora la-le.
 truth say-2SG.PRG

'You are telling the truth.' [T3:24]

Lapua (25-41):

Ora nopo Ponawili pi-mi-nu-mi pege naa
 really CDL Ponawili sit-3PL.SPR-PL-ERG even we
na-madu wi-mi-pe.
 NEG-carry put-3PL.SPR-IRR

'We don't even really come from those (people) that live down there at Ponowili village.' [lit.: 'Those (people) living down at Ponowili village didn't really carry and put us.'] [T3:25]

Ora naa-re no Adayali-repa-me no madu
 really we-TOP FDL Adayali-GRP-ERG FDL carry
wi-mi-da.
 put-3PL.SPR-INDEF

'We are really related by birth to the Adayali clan group down there.' [lit.: 'The Adayali clan group down there really carried and put us.'] [T3:26]

[Sopo Walipi] kone sa-lo-pe, ((go-pora-re
 [CUL Walipi] thought put-1SG.SPR-IRR, that-LOC-TOP
medaa-repa-me madu wi-mi, ali-ri.))
 same-GRP-ERG carry put-3PL.SPR, (man-TOP)

'I think, "Walipi up there ((is related by birth to that same clan group))".' T3:27]

So ((adele)) Yaako si-repa Modo, Waru,
 FUL ((seen thing)) Yaako son-GRP Modo, Waru,
Waka go-repa.
 Waka that-GRP

'Up there (distant) Yaako's sons Modo, Waru, Waka, that group.' [T3:28]

Ora medaa-si-pora.
 really same-DIM-LOC

'(We are) really very closely (related).' [T3:29]

Abi ne-na ama-me te-a-le, paga-pe.
 now you-GEN mother-ERG say-3SG.FUT-because, listen-IRR
 'Now because your mother will tell you, listen (to her).' [T3:30]

Go pe-a pere, naa rai edali na-ne-ma-pora
 that do-3SG.SPR but, we axe bow NEG-eat-1PL.SPR-LOC
((go-pora mea-ma-pora)) go-ai abala
 ((that-LOC get-1PL.NPT-LOC)) that-NOM before
pu-la pea-ma-re meda ora.
 do-IRR do-1PL.NPT-if one.INDF fine

'That is so, but where we do not trade things [lit.:eat axe and bow there we got it (the pig)]; [lit.: that one] if we had done that before that would be fine.' [T3:31]

[Pa ipi gó le-na gia-lo] lo-maa
 [just you dual this thing-GEN give-1SG.PRG] say-SEQ.SS
gu-la pea-wa pege ora.
 give-IRR do-1SG.NPT even fine

'If I said, "I am giving it (the pig) to you two for this specific thing, and gave it to you", that would be even fine.' [T3:32]

[*Pa na-na **makete rupa, kamaa*
 [just I-GEN sell like, open
makete rupa, pi] lu-ka robo,
 sell like, do] say-1SG.RPT when,
 [*ne-de epaa ado-maa] la-a-de*
 [you-DEF come see-SEQ.SS] say-3SG.NPT-DEF
rupa wi ta] kone su-ka-pe,
 like call say] thought put-1SG.RPT-IRR,
 ((*o-de wi li-si robo.*))
 ((NSL-DEF call say-2SG.RPT when))

'When I said, "I am selling my pig", you came and saw it and said (that you will buy it); when you called me I thought, "you were calling me (to buy the pig) [like that]".'
 [T3:33]

Go robo-re, o-de ali pege epa-lia;
 that time-TOP, NSL-DEF man even come-3SG.FUT;
o-de mena madi ipu epaa ma-aa-ripu-de pere,
 NSL-DEF pig carry come come CAUS-stand-1SG.NPT-DEF but,
 [*pu-ma pu-ma pu-maa pi-lipinya] pi*
 [go-CONT go-CONT do-SEQ.SS do-2DL] talk
na-le, winya no ali-na ada puua
 NEG-say, woman FDL man-GEN village go
*pale-a, ((winya ele **apo le-nu-da*
 sleep-3SG.SPR, ((woman thing some thing-PL-INDF
wi-pora puua pale-a.))
 put.3SG.SPR-LOC go sleep-3SG.SPR))

'At that time, (thinking that) the man here (Apoi) will come, I brought the pig and came and left it, and so I should let [say] you two continue your efforts and pay me later, but the woman has gone and is down there at the man's village ((where there are some ((bride-price) things))).' [T3:34]

Go robo go-pora ni pea-pe-au mara-la
 that time that-LOC I do-IRR-NOM know-1SG.SPR
robo, wala ipi pisa-pe-pora epaa agale gó
 when, later you dual sit-2DL.NPT-LOC come talk here
la-lo-da ((lo gupa la-lo-pe)).
 say-1SG.PRG-INDEF ((say like that say-1SG.PRG-IRR))

'Then [at that time] when I didn't know what to do in that situation [there], I have come back to where you two are and am saying (that I will take my pig back) [this talk] ((like that here)).' [T3:35]

Go winya-nu puua palu-maa epa-me,
 that woman-PL go sleep-SEQ.SS come-3PL.NPT,
 ((*no ali-na ada Koropa-nu-na ada*)).
 ((FDL man-GEN village Koropa-PL-GEN village))

'Those women went and slept at that man's village and returned ((down at the man's village, at the Koropa clan's village)).' [T3:36]

*Go robo-re [**sarere-me wala runane*
 that time-TOP [Saturday-INST later inside
epa-liminya-le, abi imu ele-nu wasa-mono-le,

come-2PL-because, now they thing-PL look for-1PL-because,
pu-lupa] la-me robo gó epa-me-yaa
 go-2PL] say-3PL.NPT when here come-3PL.NPT-NSN
 ((*robo, **Made-me-re no ele-nu epaa*
 ((time, Monday-INST-TOP FDL thing-PL come
ada-lepape la-me-na)).
 see-2PL say-3PL.NPT-GEN))

‘Then [at that time] when they (the groom’s relatives) said, “because you plural (the bride’s relatives) can come back on Saturday and because we must now look for bride-price [things]”, they came back [here] ((and they have said that on Monday you plural come and see things (bride-price) down there)).’ [T3:37]

[***Tude-me-re imu wala one epaa ragele mena*
 [Tuesday-INST-TOP they later back come exchange pig
ada-lima] la-me-na.
 see-1PL.FUT] say-3PL.NPT-GEN

‘They have said, “on Tuesday we will come here and see exchange pigs”.’ [T3:38]

Go la-me robo-re ipi pisa-pe-pora
 that say-3PL.NPT when-TOP you dual sit-2DL.NPT-LOC
gó epa-wa-de lo gupa la-lo-pe.
 here come-1SG.NPT-DEF say like that say-1SG.PRG-IRR
 ‘When they said that I came here to where you two were, I am saying like that.’ [T3:39]

[*Agaale-nu ipi-na pale-a] la-wa-de.*
 [talk-PL you-GEN sleep/be-3SG.SPR] say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 ‘I said “you two tell me your stories”.’ [lit.: ‘I said, “talks are yours”.’] [T3:40]

[*Agaale te-maa]-ai-nu ipi-na wi-a.*
 [talk say-1PL.FUT]-NOM-PL you-GEN put/be-3SG.SPR
 ‘You two are to say what we will decide.’ [lit.: ‘The talk that we will say is yours.’] [T3:41]

Apoi (42-66):

((*Abi o gó ni **olede-na gó **tarapolo mu-lua*
 ((now NSL this I holiday-GEN this trouble get-1SG.FUT
kone na-su-maa pa na-na olede-na gó
 thought NEG-put-SEQ.SS just I-GEN holiday-GEN this
kogono pu-lua lo-maa, epu-ka-ai-na;))
 work do-1SG.FUT say-SEQ.SS, come-1SG.RPT-NOM-GEN)),
pora kaba-lua lo-maa, madi ipu-ka
 way buy-1SG.FUT say-SEQ.SS, carry come-1SG.RPT
kaanali no bebola-ripu.
 coin.money eat mix-1SG.NPT

((‘Now, during this holiday, I didn’t think that I will get into this trouble, because I said I will come for holidays to do this work;)) I spent [mix] the money I brought to pay for my travel expenses.’ [T3:42]

Gupumade o kogono pea-no ya-daa-wa,
 having done that NSL work do-1SG want-because-EXCL,

nopo Lae-pora kaanali gi-lima,
 FDL Lae-LOC coin money give-1PL.FUT,
*laa-me-ai gita-me titi **rini pea-wa pere,*
 say-3PL.NPT-NOM give-3PL.PRG might ring do-1SG.NPT but,
*[go-da go **naba **wane eke-na*
 [this-INDF this number one moon-GEN
pea-lima] laa-me.
 do-1PL.FUT] say-3PL.NPT

‘Having done that, because they wanted me to do this work, down there at Lae they said that we will give you money, the money that they said they would give, I thought they might give it to me, and I rang to check, but they said that they will process it sometime in the first month of this year.’ [T3:43]

Kaana ware-me ali-nu pege imu
 money make-3PL.SPR. man-PL even they
***olede, **lipi-na puaa-me.*
 holiday, leave-GEN go-3PL.NPT
 ‘Even the men who work in the bank [make money] went for leave.’ [T3:44]

Go pe-a-pora, makuaa-ripu-ai-na-re,
 that do-3SG.NPT-LOC, know-1SG.NPT-NOM-GEN-TOP,
gó eke-na la-me.
 this month-GEN say-3PL.NPT
 ‘Where that happened, as for the one I knew, they said (they will send the money) sometime this month.’ [T3:45]

Gó kogono pea-no ya-daa-wa gi-lima
 this work do-1SG want-because-EXCL give-1PL.FUT
la-me-ai na-gia-me.
 say-3PL.NPT-NOM NEG-give-3PL.NPT
 ‘They didn’t give me the one (money) they said they will give me, because they wanted me do this work.’ [T3:46]

*Suruba-pe **tame dia li-sa-daa ni*
 wait-IRR time no say-3SG.RPT-because I
ipu-ka; pa waru-maa buku-na sate-pape
 come-1SG.RPT; just make-SEQ.SS book-GEN put-2PL
lo-maa ipu-ka-ai-na wala ádá-wa pere,
 say-SEQ.SS come-1SG.RPT-NOM-GEN later see-1SG.NPT but,
aapa pi na-la-a la-wa-de.
 father talk NEG-say-3SG.NPT say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 ‘I said that because there was no time for waiting I came; I said just process the payment and leave it in my passbook, and because I said that and came, I checked later, but it did not materialise.’ [T3:47]

Note. The translation ‘it did not materialise’ is expressed by the idomatic expression *aapi pi na-la-a* ‘it did not say father’ (literally).

*[Gó eke-na] laa-me, ((**naba **wane eke-na)).*
 [this month-GEN] say-3PL.NPT ((number one moon-GEN))
 ‘They said, “sometime this month”, ((sometime in the first month)).’ [T3:48]

Ni no Lae kogono pu-maa ya pere,
 I FDL Lae work do-SEQ.SS be but,
*wala **Aseralia puaa pi.*
 later Australia go sit.1SG.SPR
 'I work down at Lae, but am now in Australia.' [T3:49]

*Lae puru-maa **pepa meda ta-wa-ai-ri*
 Lae sit-SEQ.SS paper one.INDF hit-1SG.NPT-NOM-TOP
*gupa ádá-limaa laa-me-daa **rini*
 like that see-1PL.FUT say-3PL.NPT-because ring
*pea-wa pere, **girisimasi-na **redi na-peaa-tema*
 do-1SG.NPT but, christmas-GEN ready NEG-do-1PL.PRG
*laa-me, (**naba **wane eke-na wala*
 say-3PL.NPT, ((number one month-GEN later
epaa ádá-pe laa-me.))
 come see-IRR say-3PL.NPT))
 'I stayed at Lae and wrote the paper and because they said that they will see it, I rang to check, but they said that they are not getting it ready for me for Christmas ((they said, "check later sometime in the first month").)' [T3:50]

*Apo-ai-na apo **pasi pea-a.*
 that-NOM-GEN that shut do-3SG.NPT
 'For that one, that is closed.' [T3:51]

((Go naai-nu-na mogo Nagia-si. go kare)) Mapo-me
 ((that boy-PL-GEN MHL Nagia-INCL that truck)) Mapo-ERG
mu-lua la-a-daa-wa pa ni ratya-pe
 get-1SG.FUT say-3SG.NPT-because-EXCL just me dismiss-IRR
lo-maa go-ai-na pamua-wa-ai-na-re,
 say-SEQ.SS that-NOM-GEN go around-1SG.NPT-NOM-GEN-TOP,
Mapo pege abane no Mendi pua-wa pere,
 Mapo even two days ago FDL Mendi go-1SG.NPT but,
***bege-pora kaana dia yaa la-a-de.*
 bank-LOC money not be say-3SG.NPT-DEF
 '((These boys that Nagia and that truck)) because Mapo said that he will get it, I said that you just pay me off and for going around for that reason, (I checked with Mapo) but Mapo said that he went to Mendi, but there was no money in the bank.' [T3:52]

*Gupuma **paipo **adarete **kinaa kamaa*
 having done that five hundred kinaa only
***maako sa-me-yaa, ((ali rayo-si,*
 mark put-3PL.NPT-NSN, ((man all-INCL,
kaana wi-mi-ai-nu.))
 money put-3PL.SPR.-NOM-PL))
 'Having done that, they put a limit of five hundred kina ((for withdrawal at the bank, for those people who have money in the bank)).' [T3:53]

Abala-de pege ipu pamu raitya-wa pere,
 yesterday-DEF even he go around follow-1SG.NPT but,
na-gi-a.

NEG-give-3SG.NPT

'Even yesterday I followed him around, but he didn't give me (money for the truck).'
[T3:54]

Go-lopo kamaa makua-ba pisa-wa,
that-DL only know-PUNCT sit-1SG.NPT,
((no Lae-pisa)).
((FDL Lae-INCL))

'I was thinking only about those two ((including the one down at Lae)).' [T3:55]

*Ni-ri piri-au-re no **Aseralia piru-maa ipu-maa*
I-TOP sit-NOM-TOP FDL Australia sit-SEQ.SS come-SEQ.SS
*o **tarapolo mea-wa-de.*
NSL trouble get-1SG.NPT-DEF

'As for staying, I was in Australia and came and got into this trouble.' [T3:56]

*Gó **wiki-na pa-lua.*
this week-GEN go-1SG.FUT
'I will go sometime this week.' [T3:57]

Mopo go ipu-la egekoro-me.
MHL that come-3SG.PRG Saturday-INST
'This coming Saturday.' [T3:58]

Abi-ri, repo yaa-de.
today-TOP, Wednesday be-REALIS-DEF
'As for today, it is Wednesday.' [T3:59]

Burika pa piru-maa morudane pa-lua.
tomorrow just sit-SEQ.SS three days in future go-1SG.FUT
'Tomorrow I'll just stay and in three days from now I will go.' [T3:60]

Gupuma-re gó nogo-na aara-me pege ni
having done that-TOP this girl-GEN father-ERG also me
kaana adapu gi-a-pora go rudu pege
money a lot give-3SG.NPT-LOC that debt even
abu-tua.

repay-1SG.FUT

'Having done that, this girl's father gave me a lot of money and I will even repay that debt.' [T3:61]

Mogo mena go-ai luabu suruba-lima-ya?
MHL pig that-NOM whole wait-1PL.FUT-RQ
'We won't wait that long (to pay) for that pig.' [lit.: 'Will we wait that long (to pay) for that pig?'] [T3:62]

Ne pege no apo ade-le pea-a-daa
you even FDL that see-thing do-3SG.NPT-because
epa-e-le..
come-2SG.NPT-because..

'Because it happened like that you came and because for that reason, (even you cannot wait for the payment for your pig.)' [T3:63]

Na-suruba-lima la-lo-pe.

NEG-wait-FUT-1PL say-1SG.PRG-IRR

'I am saying, "we cannot wait (for the payment for your pig)"!' [T3:64]

Pora go na-epe ta.

way there NEG-good say.3SG.SPR

'There is no way for paying the pig.' [lit.: 'Way there is not good.'] [T3:65]

Kaana pora-na mogo mada la-wa-de.

money way-GEN MHL enough say-1SG.NPT-DEF

'On the ways of (getting) money (to pay for the pig) I said enough about that.' [T3:66]

Lapua (67-69):

Winya ko te-a-re mena wala

woman bad say-3SG.FUT-if pig later

pane na-mu-lua.

out NEG-get-1SG.FUT

'If the bride-price for the woman is bad, I will not withdraw the pig.' [T3:67]

Winya epe te-a-re gupa mena

woman good say-FUT.3SG-if like that pig

yago na-a-ya?.

replacement NEG-stand-3SG.SPR-RQ

'If the bride-price for the woman is good, there will be a pig to replace (the pig) [lit.: isn't there a pig to replace it?].' [T3:68]

Go pege ora maa gu-lua,

that even really get give-1SG.FUT,

((o abala la-ma-pulu)).

((NSL before say-1PL.NPT-because))

'Even in that case I will get a pig and give it to you two, ((because we have already talked (about the sale of the pig) here)).' [T3:69]

Apoi:

Gupisa gia-pe-ai apo

this moment give-IRR-NOM there

dia ta la-lo-pe.

no say-3SG.SPR say-1SG.PRG-IRR

'I am saying, "there isn't one (money) to give this moment"!' [T3:70]

John (71-75):

Ipu no winya kisa-pe-ai-mi

he FDL woman burn-IRR-NOM-INST

pi-a ta-a-pe.

do-3SG.SPR say-3SG.PRG-IRR

'He is saying that that he has to give a pig as bride-price to the woman down there is the concern.' [T3:71]

Wala pane-re na-mu-lua ta-a-pe.
 later out-TOP NEG-get-1PL.FUT say-3SG.PRG-IRR
 'He is saying, "I won't get it back"!' [T3:72]

Winya ko te-a-re, pa
 woman bad say-3SG.FUT-if, just
aa-lia ta-a-pe.
 stand-3SG.FUT say-3SG.PRG-IRR
 'He is saying, "if the bride-price for the woman is bad, it (the pig) will remain here"!' [T3:73]

***Ok ra-lia-re, gore o-ne mu-lua-ai pege*
 okay burn-3SG.FUT-if, then NSL-DIR get-1SG.FUT-NOM even
ora maa ma-aa-lua ta-a-pe, ((abala
 really take CAUS-stand-1SG.FUT say-3SG.PRG-IRR, ((before
gia-wa-pulu, abala pea-ma-pulu.))
 give-1SG.NPT-because before do-1PL.NPT-because))
 'He is saying, "if the bride-price negotiation is successful, then even the one that I get I will really give it to you, because I already gave the pig to you" ((or because we did the pig-sale deal)).' [T3:74]

Gore, epe ta-a-le ake pi-lia-ya?
 Then, good say-3SG.SPR-because what do-3SG.FUT-RQ
 'Then, that is good because nothing will happen.' [lit.: 'Then, it's good so what will happen?'] [T3:75]

Apoi:
Mogo dia ta.
 MHL not say.3SG.SPR
 'That is all.' [lit.: 'That be not.'] [T3:76]

Appendix D

Text 4: Kasa cannot give his nephew Apoi a pig.

In Text 4, a dialogic conversation text, Kasa (Apoi's late maternal uncle) explains his reasons for not giving a pig promised by Apoi's cousin (Kasa's son). Rami (Apoi's mother's non-Christian name) comments on parts of the conversation. The place of discourse is inside Apoi's house in Mugumapu village in Ialibu District of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It was recorded in January 1997 by Apoi.

Kasa(1-4):
*Apo **tukiloko pi-a-daa, abi-ri gó*
 there two o'clock do-3SG.SPR-because, now-TOP here
pu-lu-ra.

go-1SG.PRG-TOP

'Because it is two o'clock there, here now I am going.' [T4:1]

No pu-lu pisa-no gae te-a robo,
 FDL go-CONT sit-1SG.DS dark say-3SG.FUT when,
ni pora-kepale kuna patya-pe ya-de;
 I road-LOC stranded sleep-IRR be.REALIS-DEF;
 ((*kuna patya-pe yaa no-ne no-ne*
 ((stranded sleep-IRR want FDL-DIR FDL-DIR
pu pitu-a adalu-re, no-de Pale po-pe
 go sit.DUR-1SG.FUT long-TOP, FDL-DEF Pale go-IRR
ya-de.))
 be.REALIS-DEF)

'When it will gets dark while I am going down there, I would be stranded along the roadside, ((as I will be traveling further down; I don't want to be stranded; I would have to go down to Pale village)).' [T4:2]

Pare wadio, Yolo puua kenao, Apoma puua kenao,
 Pare pass, Yolo go cross, Apoma go cross,
Kapolame puua agulao, Ripu wadia-maa Rala
 Kapolame go climb over, Ripu pass-SEQ.SS Rala
wadia-maa so Pale wadia-maa so Kea
 pass-SEQ.SS up Pale pass-SEQ.SS up Kea
kaana-pora po-pe ya le.
 stone-LOC go-IRR be say:PT

'It is the case that I would pass Pare village, cross Yolo river, cross Apoma creek, climb over Kapolame mountain, pass Ripu village and pass Rala village and pass Pale up there and I would have to go to Kea.' [T4:3]

Note: I would say that *wadio*, *kenao*, *agulao*, etc. with *-o* are a type of juxtaposed medial verbs that take their own oblique arguments but have the same subject argument.

*Abi-ri **tukilako pea-a-na-le, po-no.*
 now-TOP two o'clock do-3SG.NPT-GEN-because, go-1SG
 'Because it has become two o'clock now, I must go.' [T4:4]

Apoi: *Pale abala pa-li ya-na.*
 Pale first go-2SG.FUT be-GEN
 'You will have gone first to Pale village.' [T4:5]

Note: The genitive *-na* functions as inference marker which yields a perfect tense interpretation. In the case of [T4:5] it is future perfect.

Rami: *Ipu-re Pale pi-a kone sa-pe.*
 he-TOP Pale sit-3SG.SPR thought put-IRR
 'You must know that he lives at Pale village.' [T4:6]

Kasa: *Pale abuna wadia-maa pa-lua.*
 Pale also pass-SEQ.SS go-1SG.FUT
 'I will also pass Pale village and go.' [T4:7]

Apoi:

O Pale abuna wadia-maa so Ripu
 agree Pale also pass-SEQ. SS FUL Ripu
pa-lia la-pe.
 go-3SG.FUT say-IRR

'I am saying, "he will also pass Pale village and go up to Ripu village"!' [T4:8]

Kasa: *Ripu-re pora-nane ya-de.*
 Ripu-TOP road-DIR be.REALIS-DEF
 'Ripu village is on the way (to Pale village).' [T4:9]

Apoi: *Rakiada.* 'Rakiada place.' [T4.10]

Kasa (11-12): *Rakiada ya-de.*
 Rakiada be.REALIS-DEF
 'It is Rakiada.' [T4:11]

*Go pea-a-pulu, **tukiloko ya-le, po-no*
 that do-3SG.SPR-because, two o'clock be-because, go-1SG
la-wa-de, ((abi-ri ni no puua
 say-1SG.NPT-DEF, ((now-TOP I FDL go
kuna patyu-a-le, porakepa.))
 stranded sleep-1SG.FUT-because, on the way))
 'Because that happens, I said, "because it's two o'clock, I should go" ((now, because I will go and become stranded on the way)).' [T4:12]

Apoi (13-14): *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T4:13]

Go-re adalu-pora ya-le, abi pu-ra.
 that-TOP long-LOC be-because, quickly go-TOP
 'Because that's a long way, go quickly.' [T4:14]

Kasa: (silence)

Mi-ta, apo-re?
 get-3SG.PRG, that-TOP
 'Is it recording, there?' [T4:15]

Apoi (16-18): *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T4.16]

Adalu-pora ya-le, pu, la-pe.
 long-LOC be-because, go, say-IRR
 'I am saying, "because it's a long way, go"!' [T4:17]

Pu-ri, mogo la-e-de ((mo...))
 go-TOP, MHL say-2SG.NPT-DEF ((that..))
 'About going, you said that.' T4:18]

Kasa: *Mo la-wa-de.*
 FHL say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 'I said that.' [T4:19]

Apoi: *Ege-si ya-daa, dia la-e-de, ee?*
 small-DIM be-because, no say-2SG.NPT-DEF, yes?
 'Because it is very small, you said no, is that right?' [T4:20]

Kasa (21-22):

[*Pa la-a la-wa-de.*
 [just say-3SG.NPT] say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 'I said, "he just said it (without much consideration)".' [T4:21]

Winyali-pisa rome pu-la lo-re na le-da
 people-with deal do-IRR want-if my thing-INDF
apo gia-wa-de-le, na-abula-le-pa
 there give-1SG.NPT-DEF-because, NEG-repay-2SG.PRG-or
ta-lo ora le kale-me-de ya-pe.
 say-IRR real thing give-3PL.SPR-DEF be-IRR
 'If they want to do deals with people, to say that I gave you my (valuable) thing there, so aren't you repaying it?, people give real (valuable) things.' [T4:22]

Rami (23-24):

Apea, ora la-le la-me-pe.
 that's right, truth say-2SG.PRG say-3PL.NPT-IRR
 'That's right, I am saying. "you are telling the truth".' [T4:23]

Note: The predicate *la-me-pe* 'say-3PL.NPT-IRR' is an impersonal, i.e. third person, variant structure replacing *la-lo-pe* 'say-1SG.PRG-IRR = I am saying ...'.

Gupa le-da moke na-pea-a,
 like that thing-INDF share NEG-do-3SG.SPR
 ((*Kasa-da*)).
 ((*Kasa-INDEF*))
 'A thing like that is not shared, by Kasa.' [T4:24]

Note: In [T4:24] in *Kasa-da* 'Kasa-INDEF' the indefinite marking of the person name *Kasa* indicates contrastive focus referent, i.e. newsworthy information about the person.

Kasa:

Ni-ri koe le-da moke na-pe-e-de
 I-TOP bad thing-INDF share NEG-do-1SG.SPR-DEF
ya-pe.
 be.REALIS-IRR
 'I don't share a valueless [bad] thing.' [T4:25]

Rami:

Adaa-ai ge-a-de ((abala pege)).
 big-NOM give-3SG.SPR-DEF ((before even))
 'He gives a big one, ((even before)).' [T4:26]

Kasa (27-28):

Pa piru aa-lua, koe le sa pi.
 just stay stand.DUR-1SG.FUT, bad thing put sit.DUR-SPR.1SG

'(If) I don't say something [just stay], I have [put] something valueless [bad].'
[T4:27]

Epe le-da sa pitu-a, gore ni no
good thing-INDF put sit.DUR-1SG.FUT, then I FDL
a-ya-le, gó le gia-pe, go le gia-pe,
stand-3SG.SPR-because, this thing give-IRR, that thing give-IRR,
gupa gupa, abala gia-nya, werepe gia-nya,
like this like that first give-2SG, later give-2SG,
pa go rupa ya-de, ya-pe.
just that like be.REALIS-DEF, be.REALIS-IRR

'(If) I have [put] something good then because I have something down there, give me this thing or give me that thing, like this like that, you have to give it to me first, or you have to give it to me later, it's just like that.' [T4:28]

Apoi: *Apea*. 'That's right.' [T4:29]

Rami:

Go pea-a-na le-na yaa pi le.
that do-3SG.NPT-GEN say-3PL want do:PT thing

'Things that should be done are those that people will want to praise.' [lit.: 'They should want to say he has done that.'] [T4:30]

Kasa:

Ni koe le-da-me rome na-pe, ((oge le-si-mi))
I bad thing-INDF-INST deal NEG-do, ((small thing-DIM-INST))
'I don't do a deal with a small thing, ((with a very small thing)).' [T4:31]

Rami:

Gó pea-a-de pi-pora la-a.
here do-3SG.SPR-DEF talk-LOC say-3SG.NPT

'He was talking about what he does here.' [T4:32]

Kasa:

Gupili abi pege awa na-epa-a-na;
because of that now even uncle NEG-come-3SG.NPT-GEN;
((kone su)) ele-da sa piri ipu-na le
((thought put)) thing-INDF put sit.DUR he-GEN thing
riti pea-a-na te ya, agale-me
save do-3SG.NPT-GEN say be, talk-INST
gupa lapokea-la epa-wa-de.
like this speak out-IRR come-1SG.NPT-DEF

'Because of that even now you might say uncle hasn't come; he has something and has saved his thing; I came to speak out on it by word.' [T4:33]

Apoi: *O!* 'I see.' [T4:34]

Rami (35-37):

Ne-me-re apeaa epa-a-pa la-wa-de.
I-ERG-TOP why come-3SG.NPT-or say-1SG.NPT-DEF
'I said, "why did he come or"?' [T4:35]

Mo Agapala-pora gupa dia yaa lo gupa
 FHL Agapala-LOC like this not be say like that
la-pe-re.
 say-IRR-TOP
 'He could have told Agapala like this that there is none.' [T4:36]

Go la-wa-de-pili ta-a-pe.
 that say-1SG.NPT-DEF-because say-3SG.PRG-IRR
 'He is saying, "because I said that".' [T4:37]

Kasa (38-41):
Agapala ipu wala na-pa-lua la-a.
 Agapala he again NEG-1SG.FUT say-3SG.NPT
 'Agapala said that he will not go again.' [T4:38]

Ipu Pare mone pa pi-tua
 he Pare there just sit-1SG.FUT
la-a robo-re, gore abi-ri o Apoi
 say-3SG.NPT when-TOP, then now-TOP here Apoi
epaa pi-a pi pago-maa-re o
 come sit-3SG.SPR talk hear-SEQ.SS-TOP here
kamaa epa-lua ya-na-pora, wala mo
 always come-1SG.FUT be-GEN-LOC, later FDL
na-epa-re na-pu-lua ya-na pere, o
 NEG-come-TOP NEG-do-1SG.FUT be-GEN but, here
ele dia ya-daa-wa abi-ri ali
 thing not be-because-EXCL now-TOP what
maa epo-no ya-pa, nogonaaki kupi ria
 take come-1SG be-or, children hug carry
epa-no ya-pa. sapiwaali maa epa-no ya-pa, lo
 come-1SG be-or, food take come-1SG be-or, say
go rupa ta epa-wa-de, ((wala pa-lua-me)).
 that like say come-1SG.NPT-DEF, ((later go-1SG.FUT-INST))
 'When he said he will just stay there at Pare village, then after hearing that Apoi has come and is here, I will have come here, but solely because there is nothing, should I bring children or should I bring food, I came to say like that , ((with intention to go back)).' [T4:39]

Pali-au-ri, na-pati-ma ((no
 sleep-NOM-TOP, NEG-sleep-1PL.FUT ((FDL
agurapo pale-e-pulu)).
 alone sleep-1SG.SPR-because))
 'As for sleeping, we will not sleep, ((because I sleep alone down there)).' [T4:40]

*Apo **tukiloko ya-na-pulu mada pa-lua.*
 there two o'clock be-GEN-because able go-1SG.FUT
 'Because it has become two o'clock there, I will be able go in time.' [T4:41]

Apoi: **Tukilako pi-a.
 two o'clock do-3SG.PRG

'It is two o'clock.' [T4:42]

Kasa:

**Tu *pu-maa-re* **paipu *pu-lua* *pi-a?*
two do-SEQ.SS-TOP five do-3SG.FUT do-3SG.PRG
'Will it be two o' clock and then be five o' clock?' [T4:43]

Apoi (44-45): *Apea*. 'That's right.' [T4:44]

**Tu *pu-maa-re* **tere *pu-maa* **po
two do-SEQ.SS-TOP three do-SEQ.SS four
pu-maa **paipo *pi-lia*.
do-SEQ.SS five do-3SG.FUT
'It will be two and then be three and then be four and then be five o' clock.' [T4:45]

Kasa:

Gore tu-na-re *mada pa-lua*.
then two-GEN-TOP able go-1SG.FUT
'Then about two o'clock, I will be able to go.' [T4:46]

Rami: *Mo winya goe ne-lopo pale-pe?*
FHL lady old you-DL sleep-2SG.SPR
'Is that old lady with you?' [T4:47]

Kasa: *Sana pi-pa*.
ourselves sit-1DLSPR
'We stay ourselves.' [T4:48]

Rami: *Rimapu la-pe*.
Rimapu say-IRR
'I mean Rimapu.' [T4:49]

Kasa: *Sa-na piru ae-pa*.
We dual-GEN sit stand.DUR-1DL.SPR
'We habitually stay ourselves.' [T4:50]

Rami:

[*Remo pala kome-a la-e-de-pili*]
[devil fear die-3SG.SPR say-2SG.NPT-DEF-because]
la-pe.
say-IRR
'I am saying, "because you said she fears the devil".' [T4:51]

Kasa: [*Remo pala kome-a*] *la-me-pe*.
[devil fear die-3SG.SPR] say-3PL.NPT-IRR
'I am saying, "she is afraid of the devil".' [T4:52]

Rami (53-54): *Na-na pale-e-de* ((*go-pora-re*)).
I-GEN sleep-1SG.SPR-DEF ((here-LOC-TOP))
'I sleep by myself, ((here)).' [T4:53]

Mo-de naaki-si po-la lo dai le-a, pu.
 that-DEF boy-DIM go-IRR want insist say-3SG.SPR, go
 'That small boy insists he wants to go, (I say) go.' [T4:54]

Kasa:

O-re agale lo pa patya-minya na-pi
 here-TOP talk say just sleep-1PL NEG-do:PT
go winya goe-me remo pala kome-a-daa
 that woman old-ERG devil fear die-3SG.SPR-because
la-wa-de.

say-1SG.NPT-DEF

'We should be talking and sleeping here, (but) because that old woman fears the devil I said it (that I will go back).'

 [T4:55]

Rami (56-58): *Ni-na pale-e-ra.*
 I-GEN sleep-1SG.SPR-TOP
 'I sleep by myself.' [T4:56]

Winyali gó kepa poa-e-sa-ai-na pege
 people here platform chop-3SG.SPR-NOM-GEN even
*ni **wari-da na-pe.*
 I worry-INDEF NEG-do

'I don't worry even about dead people that are laid on platform nearby.' [T4:57]

Pale-e-de.

sleep-1SG.SPR-DEF

'I sleep.' [T4:58]

Apoi: *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T4:59]

Kasa (60-61):

Mo-de abala kome-me-de winyali
 FHL-DEF before die-3PL.SPR-DEF people
ibi na-ta-pape le-a-de, ((ipu pala
 name NEG-say-2PL say-3SG.SPR-DEF, ((she afraid
pi-a-le)).

do-1SG.SPR-because))

'She says don't call the names of the people that die, ((because she is afraid)).' [T4:60]

Kome-me winyali-ri imaniti pea-a-de,
 die-3PL.SPR people-TOP forbid do-3SG.SPR-DEF,
((ibi na-lo-maa)).
 ((name NEG-say-SEQ.SS))

'She forbids naming people who die, ((by not calling their names)).' [T4:61]

Rami:

*Go pea-a robo-re **betene pu-maa ni*
 that do-3SG.SPR when-TOP pray do-SEQ.SS I
ero kone su gia-maa pale-e.

anger thought put refuse-SEQ.SS sleep-3SG.SPR
 'When that happens, I pray and refuse to be bothered with and go to sleep.' [T4:62]

Apoi: *Apea*. 'That's right.' [T4:63]

Rami (64-67):

Mena ya lu ria pa-limi-ya?
 pig be kill carry go-3PL.FUT-RQ
 'Am I a pig that they will kill and carry it away?' [T4:64]

Gó-de-pora pa lu na pa sa-pe-ai-de-re
 here-DEF-LOC just kill eat just put-IRR-NOM-DEF-TOP
ero kone su-maa pale-e-le.
 refuse thought put-SEQ.SS sleep-1SG.SPR-because
 'Because I think that I would be killed, eaten and just left behind here, I refuse to think about it (being afraid of the devil).' [T4:65]

Koro palu-maa ipu-ka-ai la-pe,
 long time sleep-SEQ: SS come-1SG.RPT-NOM say-IRR,
 ((*ora mogo-pora o-nene*)).
 ((really MHL-LOC NSL-DIR))
 'I saying that I have come a long way sleeping (by myself).' [lit.: 'I having slept and come over a long time, ((really from there to here))].' [T4:66]

Abi-ri iga pea-a-ra.
 now-TOP finish do-3SG.SPR-TOP
 'Now it (the fear of devil) is finished.' [T4:67]

Kasa: ((*Winya-na-re nogonaaki-si-nu-da-me ne-me.*))
 ((woman-GEN-TOP child-DIM-PL-INDEF-ERG eat-3PL.SPR))
 ((For woman, something children get [eat] as bride-price..)) [T4:68]

Note: Kasa attempts to introduce a new topic of bride-price.

Apoi: *Apea*. 'That's right.' [T4:69]

Kasa: ((*Mo-neara maminya-nu kabo kale-e-nu-da*
 ((FHL-DIR cloth-PL buy give-3SG.SPR-PL-INDF
maa kala-la pe-ma-de.))
 take give-CONT do-1PL.SPR-DEF))
 (('We give those further away (genealogically) who buy clothes..')) [T4:70]

Apoi: *Apea*. 'That's right, ee. 'Yes.' [T4:71]

Kasa:
 ***Sopo kabo kale-e-nu mena alo kala-la*
 soap buy give-3SG.SPR-PL pork piece give-CONT
pe-e-nu maa kala-la pe-ma
 do-3SG.SPR-PL take give-CONT do-1PL.SPR
gupa-ai-ri gore ele-da sa pi-ma
 like that-NOM-TOP then thing-INDF put sit-1PL.SPR

pi-da *na-le-ma-de* *ya-pe.*
 talk-INDF NEG-say-1PL.SPR-DEF be.REALIS-IRR
 'Those that buy soap, give a piece of pork continually, like those ones, we do not say we have something (to give).' [T4:72]

Note: The implicit contextual meaning is that *Kasa* has a small pig – like those that are given to those who buy soap, give a piece of pork occasionally, etc. to a young woman to receive a share of bride-price when she gets married – so he cannot give it to his nephew *Apoi*.

Apoi: *O!* 'Agree.' [T4:73]

Kasa: *Ora winyali epaa koma-pe-de gupa ya-de.*
 really people come die-IRR-DEF like that be.RALIS-DEF
 'Something that people would really accept as bride-price.' [lit.: 'Like that (thing) people would come and die.'] [T4:74]

Note: In Kewapi bride-price negotiation discourse, if someone is satisfied with his bride-price, he will say 'that bride-price is causing me to die'.

Rami: *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T4:75]

Kasa:
 ((*Abala epaa gu-ka-de-ai pege*))
 ((previously come give-1SG.RPT-DEF-NOM even))
abala-re ora mena epaa gu-ka-de pere.
 previously-TOP true pig come give-1SG.RPT-DEF but..
 (('Even the one I came and gave you previously,)) previously I came and gave you the right [true] pig but..' [T4:76]

Rami:
Mo-de ali-mi ipu tya-lo aa-nya
 RHL-DEF man-ERG he hit-CONT stand-3SG.DS
Minya ipu koe remo ipi-sa-de.
 Minya she bad spirit come-3SG.RPT-DEF
 'While that man (*Minya*'s former husband) was slaughtering the pig, *Minya* came without material goods.' [lit.: 'Minya she came as a bad spirit .'] [T4:77]

Kasa: *Minya no koe rupa ipi-sa-de.*
 Minya FDL bad as come-3SG.RPT-DEF
 'Minya came down there in bad way .' [T4:78]

Rami: [*Koe remo ipi-sa-de*] *la-pe.*
 [bad devil come-3SG.RPT-DEF] say-IRR
 'I am saying, "she came without material goods".' [lit.: 'I am saying, "she came as a bad devil"'.] [T4:79]

Kasa (80-81):

Abala ne-na ama-me punu piri susu
 previously you-GEN mother-ERG raise sit.DUR foreign
mena pege, e mena Duma pege, ne-na

pig even, yes pig Duma even, you-GEN
mena ya pere, ne no a-si robo,
 pig be but, you FDL stand-2SG.RPT when,
Suka-me ipu maa li-sa-de yaa-pe.
 Suka-ERG he take hit-3SG.RPT-DEF be.REALIS-IRR

'Previously even the non-native pig that your mother was raising, yes, even Duma pig, it was your pig but when you were down there (in Port Moresby) Suka took it and slaughtered it.' [T4:80]

Suka-me-re ne-na mena ne-na le
 Suka-ERG-TOP you-GEN pig you-GEN thing
 ***paweleme kamaa pea-a-pe.*
 deceit always do-3SG.SPR-IRR

'Suka deceitfully uses your pig and things for his own use.' [T4:81]

Rami: *Pa maa lu pi-sa-de,*
 just take hit do-3SG.RPT-DEF,
 ((*ni so Ialibu aa-no.*))
 ((I FUL Ialibu stand.DUR-1SG.DS))
 'He just took it and slaughtered it, ((while I was up there at Ialibu)).' [T4:82]

Apoi: *Go pe-a-ra.*
 that do-3SG.SPR-TOP
 'He does that.' [T4:83]

Kasa (84-87):

[Tya-no gi-pa] lo-maa ipu maa
 [kill-1SG give-2PL] say-SEQ.SS he take
lu pia-ya-de.
 hit do-3SG.SPR-DEF

'He says, "give it to me" 'and takes it and slaughters it.' [T4:84]

Ne-re, mena laapo rupa ge-e-pe.
 you-TOP, pig two like give-1SG.SPR-IRR
 'You, I have given something like two pigs already.' [T4:85]

Abala Duma mena Suka-me
 previously Duma pig Suka-ERG
ipu li-a, ((ne no puaa
 he kill-3SG.SPR, ((you FDL go
a-le robo.))
 stand-2SG.SPR when))

'Previously Suka slaughtered Duma pig ((when you are down there)).' [T4:86]

Abane pege mena meda koyo
 two days ago even pig one.INDF untie
gia-wa pere..
 give-1SG.NPT but..
 'Even two days ago I gave you a pig but..' [T4:87]

Apoi: *Minya-me koyo ria pa-sa-de.*
 Minya-ERG untie carry go-3SG.RPT-DEF
 'Minya untied it brought it away.' [T4:88]

Kasa: *Minya-me koyo ria pa-sa-de.*
 Minya-ERG untie carry go-3SG.RPT-DEF
 'Minya untied it and brought it away.' [T4:89]

Rami: *Tya-lo a-nya epa-a-de*
 hit-CONT stand-3SG.DS come-3SG.NPT-DEF
la-pe.
 say-IRR
 'I saying, " while he was killing it (pig), she came"'. [T4:90]

Kasa: *Ne-re mena laapo rupu ge-e-pulu*
 you-TOP pig two like give-1SG.SPR-because
abi gu-la pea-wa-re repo rupa
 now give-IRR do-1SG.NPT-if three like
gu-la pea-wa pere, ni mena
 give-IRR do-1SG.NPT but, I pig
na-sa-ba pi.
 NEG-put-PUNCT sit.1SG.SPR
 'Because I have given you something like two pigs, if I were to give you one
 now it would be something like three pigs, but I am not keeping pigs.'
 [T4:91]

Apoi: *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T4:92]

Kasa (93-95): *Na-pone-e ane.*
 NEG-raise-1SG.SPR son
 'I don't raise (pigs), son.' [T4:93]

Komo kubura a-ya
 die in heapstand-3SG.SPR
 'It (they) die(s) in heaps.' [T4:94]

Komo kubura a-ya robo
 die heap stand-3SG.SPR when
winya goe le rami-nu-da pege watu-a
 woman old eye be sore-PL-INDF even look for-1SG.FUT
lo-maa go maa sa pi,
 say-SEQ: SS there take put sit-1SG.SPR,
mena epaa ma-komo kubura a-la
 pig come CAUS-die in heaps stand-CONT
pe-a robo go na-wali-da.
 do-3SG.SPR when there NEG-look for.1SG.SPR-INDEF
 'When it (pig generic) dies in heaps, I say that I will look for an old woman (with
 sore eyes) and take pigs and keep them there and when the pigs die in heaps there I
 don't look for a woman to marry (for his son).' [T4:95]

Apoi: (silence) *Aa!* 'Expresses a surprise'. [T4:96]

Kasa: *Apo-re mi-ta?*
 there-TOP get-3SG.PRG
 'Is that (tape recorder) recording it?' [T4:97]

Apoi (98-99): *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T4.98]

Mi-ta-ra.
 get-3SG.PRG-TOP
 'It is recording (it).' [T4:99]

Kasa: *Gupuma-re pawa te-a?*
 having done that-TOP later say-3SG.FUT?
 'Having done that (recording), will it replay later?' [T4:100]

Apoi: *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T4:101]

Kasa: *Né-mé [gó la-lo-ai abala le-na]*
 I-ERG [this say-1SG.PRG-NOM first say-3SG]
kone sa-lo.
 thought put-1SG.SPR
 'I think it should repay this one I am saying first.' [T4:102]

Apoi: *Aa! 'surprise' go dia yaa?* 'that not be = Is that all?' [T4:103]
 (Surprised at not getting a commitment from uncle Kasa about giving a pig to him).

Kasa: *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T4:104]

Appendix E

Text 5: Waba's recount of an attempted rape event

In Text 5, Waba recounts an attempted rape event at Riada area of Mugumapu village. Rekainya (Apoi's mother's christian name), Kasa (Apoi's maternal uncle) and Apoi comment on parts of Waba's story. The place of discourse is inside Apoi's house in Mugumapu village in Ialibu District of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It was recorded in January 1997 by Apoi.

Waba: *Rekainya, Kapoi-na wane-re Leme-na*
 Rekainya, Kapoi-GEN daughter-TOP Leme-GEN
si-mi koge-ya-ya la-wa-de.
 son-ERG ask-3SG.NPT-NSN say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 'Rekainya, I said that Kapoi's daughter was seduced (asked) by Leme's son.' [T5:1]

Rekainya: *Go-re pagaa-ripu-de-le..*
 that-TOP hear-1SG.NPT-DEF-so..
 'As for that, I heard you.' [lit.: 'I heard it for you.'] [T5:2]

Waba (4-5): ***Bekeme waru pea-pe.*

reply (Tok Pisin) properly do-IRR
'Reply properly.' [T5:3]

O gó lagia-lo-ai-ri ne-me ni waru
agree this tell-2SG.PRG-NOM-TOP you-ERG me properly
abula-la pea-pe la-pe.
respond-CONT do-IRR say-IRR
'I am saying that this one I am telling you, you continue to respond to me properly.'
[T5:4]

Apoi: *Leme si-ri aapi-mi ya-pa ? la*
Leme son-TOP who-ERG be-or say.1SG.SPR
'Who is Leme's son?, I say.' [T5:5]

Rekainya (6-7): ***Kogilinya agaale la-le-pa?*
metaphor talk say-2SG.PRG-or
'Are you speaking metaphorical talk or?' T5:6]

Note: ****kogilinya** is a borrowed word from Imbonggu language (a dialect of Medlpa) of Ialibu area.

Ni-ri kogilinya agaale-re makua-yo.
I-TOP metaphor talk-TOP know-2SG.SPR
'I know metaphorical talk.' [T5:7]

Apoi: *Ora remaa ta-a.*
true story say-3SG.PRG
'She is telling a true story.' [T5:8]

Rekainya. *Ora remaa la-le?*
true story say-2SG.PRG
'Are you telling a true story?' [T5:9]

Waba (11-13): *Ora rema la-lo.*
true story say-PRG.2SG
'I am telling a true story.' [T5:10]

O-ne epaa ta-me-ai ne lagia-lo.
NSL-DIR come say-3SG.PRG-NOM you tell-2SG.PRG
'I am telling you the one they are coming and telling me.' [T5:11]

Ne-me ni waru abula-pe.
you-ERG me well respond-IRR
'You respond to me well.' [T5:12]

((*Gupuma-re,*)) *waru na-abuta-a-ra.*
((having done that-TOP,)) well NEG-respond-3SG.PRG-TOP
'((Having done that, ...)) she is not responding well.' [T5:13]

Apoi. *La, naa rayo-me pago-ba pi-ma-le.*
say, we all-ERG listen-PUNCT do-PRG.1PL-because

'Tell (the story), because we are all listening.' [T5:14]

Waba (16-17):

Gupuma-re, *abala* *mopo-de* *mali-na-re*
 having done that-TOP, before CHL-DEF year-GEN-TOP
nogo-na *adu* *puaa* *mi-sa-ya,*
 girl-GEN breast go get-3SG.RPT-NSN,
 ((*mo naaki-mi.*))
 ((FHL boy-ERG))

'Having done that, sometime last year that boy touched the girl's breast.' [T5:15]

Guma, *gia-maa* *pa* *awa-rima* *robo-re,*
 having done that, forget-SEQ. SS just stay-1PL.RPT when-TOP,
wala abi-ri *maapu* *kuni* *pi-sa-pora*
 later now-TOP garden edge of sit-3SG.NPT-LOC
pu-maa-re *ipu* *lo* *puaa koge-ya-ya.*
 go-SEQ.SS-TOP come say go ask-3SG.NPT-NSN

'Having done that, we forgot it and when we just stayed, later now he went to the edge of the garden where she was and seduced (asked) her.' [T5:16]

Apoi: *Epe!* 'Expression of alarm.' [T5:17]

Waba (18-19):

Go robo-re *mo* *nogo* *pu-maa-re* *mo* *naaki-na*
 that time-TOP RHL girl go-SEQ. SS-TOP RHL boy-GEN
rai puaa peremea-loma-me *la-a-na-re* *ada*
 axe come grab-SEQ. SS-INST say-3SG.NPT-GEN-TOP house
go-de-ai *po-maa* *ape-maa*
 that-DEF-NOM chop-SEQ.SS make holes-SEQ.SS
wi-a *la-a-de.*
 put-3SG.SPR say-3SG.NPT-DEF

'He said, "at that time that girl went and grabbed that boy's axe with intention and chopped the house making holes through it".' [T5:18]

Note: The speaker in [T5:18] uses the formula *la-na-re* 'say-3SG.NPT-GEN-TOP' to view the events preceding this formula from the viewpoint of the actor in the events, i.e., in the time of the event.

Re la-lo *a-ra-re* *mo* *naaki*
 cry say-CONT stand-SIM.SS-TOP RHL boy
agia-ya-na *ada-re maa* *po-perere*
 mother-KIN-GEN house-TOP take chop-all round
pea-a *la-a-de.*
 do-3SG.NPT say-3SG.NPT-DEF

'He said, "she was crying, she chopped all round that boy and his mother's house".' [T5:19]

Rekainya:

Naaki agia-ya-re *Kurumanyu* *agia-ya-ya?*
 boy mother-KIN-TOP Kurumanyu mother-KIN-Q
 'Boy and his mother, do you mean Kurumanyu and her son?' [T5:20]

Waba: *Kurumanyu agia-ya.*
 Kurumanyu mother-KIN
 'Kurumanyu and her son.' [T5:21]

Rekainya: *Adaa ali-de-me-pora la-e,*
 big man-DEF-ERG-LOC say-2SG.NPT,
 ((Kurumanyu si))?
 ((Kurumanyu son))
 'Are you talking about the big man, ((Kurumanyu's son))?' [T5:22]

Waba: *Wala no-neara-de, ((go adaa ali*
 later RDL-DIR-DEF, ((that big man
koau-nane naaki-de.))
 back-DIR boy-DEF))
 'The one further down, ((the one at the back of that big man)).' [T5:23]

Apoi: *Adele Warea-na koau-nane.*
 seen thing Warea-GEN back-DIR
 'The one at the back of Warea.' [T5:24]

Waba (25-29): *Ee, Yakili-mi.* 'Yes, Yakili-ERG= Yes, by Yakili.' [T5:25]

Sono-na modo pege pake tya-a-de.
 John-GEN sweet potato even steal hit-3SG.NPT-DEF
 'He even stole John's sweet potatoes.' [T5:26]

Go-de naaki-mi.
 that-DEF boy-ERG
 'That boy.' [T5:27]

Ipu ibi koe-ai abala pi-a.
 he name bad-NOM already sit-3SG.SPR
 'He already has a name that is a bad one.' [T5:28]

Go naaki-mi pake na-ri pamu-la.
 that boy-ERG steal eat-SIM. SS go around-3SG.PRG
 'That boy is going around stealing (things).' [T5:29]

Rekainya:
Apo imi pege a-la-ai pi-pa-ra,
 that you plural even stand-CONT-NOM do-2PL.SPR-TOP,
 ((so Riadaa maapu-re)).
 ((FUL Riadaa garden-TOP))
 'Those of you plural don't go often to Riadaa garden.' [lit.: 'Even those of you plural do continue staying, ((up there at Riadaa garden)).'] [T5:30]

Kasa (31-32):
Ama naaki pa aa-la pu-ka-re ni
 mother boy just stand-IRR do-1SG.RPT-if I
nopo-pora aa wa-yo rupa one awa-minya
 CDL-LOC stand put.DUR-1SG.SPR like here stay-1PL

epa-pe le, kamo abala aa-sa
 come-IRR thing, grey hair already stand-3SG.RPT
lo-maa loko pai pi-a la-lo-pe.
 say-SEQ.SS anger extreme do-3SG.SPR. say-1SG.PRG-IRR
 'I am saying, "my mother (exclamation) if I was still a boy, like I say down there (in my village) I should be coming (and) we should be staying here, (but) seeing [saying] (that) I already have grey hair, I am extremely angry".' [T5:31]

Epe-au-re gó pe-me pere..
 good-NOM-TOP here do-3PL.SPR but..
 'They do the thing that is good here but..' [T5:32]

Waba (33-34):
Epa-li. 'come-2SG.FUT = You will come.' [T5:33]

Winya goe-nu pege adapu piru
 woman old-PL also many sit
aa-me-pulu, mada epa-li.
 stand.DUR-3PL.SPR-because, able come-2SG.FUT
 'Because there are many old women here, you will be able to come (to talk to them).'
 [T5:34]

Apoi: *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T5:35]

Waba: [*Mada pi-tima*] *la-pe.*
 [able sit-1PL.FUT] say-IRR
 'I am saying, "we'll be able to stay".' [T5:36]

Kasa: *Abi-ri o-ne epa-lua.*
 now-TOP NSL-DIR come-3SG.FUT
 'Now I'll come here.' [T5:37]

Waba. *Pa patya-minya.*
 just sleep-1PL
 'You should just spend the night with us.' [T5:38]

Note: The context of the subjunctive clause is *Ne-me [ne pa paita-minya] kone sa-lo* 'I think [you should just spend the night with us].'

Kasa: *Dia, eke meda o-ne aa-minya.*
 no, month one.INDF NSL-DIR stand-1PL
 'No, I'll be with you plural here for a month.' [T5:39]

Waba (40-42): *Go pege mada.*
 that also enough
 'That is also fine.' [T5:40]

Ne-na yago-nu meda wasa-inya-le,
 you-GEN similar-PL one look for-2SG-because,
 ((*winya goe-nu.*))
 ((woman old-PL))

gupu-nai-da *maa* *yolo* *ru-maa* *mo*
 like that-AUG-INDF take pull carry-SEQ.SS FHL
naaki ipu pogolo *piaa-ripa* *robo-re*
 boy he ran away do-3SG.NPT when-TOP
ratya ratya pu-la *la-a-de.*
 chase chase go-3SG.PRG say-3SG.NPT-DEF

'She said that having done that, the girl's father (uncle) Kaluda is carrying a huge grassknife and when that boy ran away he is following him.' [T5:54]

Note. [T5:54] is a normal construction. The medial clause *ru-maa* 'carry-SEQ.SS' can be followed by a temporal element.

Ti-a-daa-re, *mogo* *naaki* *ti-a-re,* *gore*
 hit-3SG.FUT-RSN-if, MHL boy hit-3SG.FUT-if then
gó wala ta epa-lua *la-a-de.*
 here later tell come-3SG.FUT say-3SG.NPT-DEF

'She said that if he hits him, if he hits that boy, then I will come here and report it.' [T5:55]

[*Ripinya-maa* *maa* *pa-lia* *pege* ***polisi-mi*
 [catch-SEQ.SS take go-3SG.FUT even if police-ERG
ne-me *madi* *pa-inya* *ya-daa* *wala epaa*
 you-ERG carry go-2SG want-because later come
mi-lima-me-daa ***toko sawe* *pi]*
 get-1PL.FUT-INST-because report (Tok Pisin) do.1SG.NPT]
la-a-de.
 say-3SG.NPT-DEF

'She said, "even if he catches him and takes him to the Ialibu police, because we intentionally want the village police to take the boy to Ialibu police we are reporting the matter".' [T5:56]

Guma, *no* *la-lo* *a-ya* *la-pe.*
 having done that, FDL say-CONT stand-3SG.PRG say-IRR
 'Having done that, I am saying, "she is reporting the matter".' [T5:57]

Kasa:

Mugumapu epe-au-da *pe-me* *lo-maa*
 Mugumapu good-NOM-INDF do-3PL.SPR say-SEQ.SS
so-ne *so-ne* *rasa* *ba-ina* *la-ma*
 FUL-DIR FUL-DIR migrate go-1PL say-1PL.NPT
pere Koropa Lawage-repa rayo, *wala o* *emapu*
 but Koropa Lawage-GRP all, later here garden
sa-rima-pa *lo-maa* *wala*
 put-1PL.NPT-or say-SEQ.SS later
na-epo-la *pi-ma-ra,* *((naa rea-me*
 NEG-come-IRR do-1PL.NPT-TOP, ((we hunger-INST
epaa koma-pe ya-daa)).
 come die-IRR want-because

'Having said that they do good things here in Mugumapu village, we said we, all of Koropa and Lawege tribal group, should migrate up here, but later having said that

we do not have gardens here, we won't come ((because we would not want to be dying of hunger)).' [T5:58]

Waba:

Aiya pa epa-limi,
amend just come-2PL.FUT,
*o **perene te-ma winya-nu-mi mada*
here friend say-1PL.FUT woman-PL-ERG able
madu gia-limi ya-pulu.
carry give-3PL.FUT want-because

'On the contrary, you plural will just come because the women we will befriend here will be able to give them (food) to you plural.' [T5:59]

Apoi: *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T5:60]

Waba: *Apo-ai-ri, apo ta-ma-da.*
that-NOM-TOP, that say-1PL.PRG-INDEF
'As for that one, we are saying that.' [T5:61]

Appendix F

Text 6: Waba recounts a tree-chopping event

In Text 6, Waba recounts a tree-chopping event. Rekainya, Kasa and Apoi comment on parts of Waba's story. The place of discourse is inside Apoi's house in Mugumapu village in Ialibu District of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It was recorded in January 1997 by Apoi.

Waba (1-4):

*Remaa meda-re, polo **tere-re, gupi le*
story one-TOP, gum tree-TOP, like say
aa li-pe-da maa po yaru-ai
stand thing-AUG-INDEF take chop stand-NOM
pia-rima, ((mo Mugumapu kámaa.))
be-3PL.NPT, FHL Mugumapu field

'Another story, a gum tree, one that was a huge one was chopped down, ((at that Mugumapu field)).' [T6:1]

Rele relerele relerele relerele pu pu ao-re,
split splitsplit splitsplit splitsplit do do stand.DUR-TOP,
saa-me pameda luminu-maa ria-pa-de.
we dual-ERG one share-SEQ.SS carry-1DL.NPT-DEF
'Having split the tree into pieces for a long while, we two carried the same piece.'
[T6:2]

Pameda kamáá luminu-maa ritya-pa.
one only share-SEQ.SS carry-1DL.PRG
'We two are carrying on our heads only one piece of wood at a time.' [T6:3]

Ali-nu-mi-ri *maa* *abuluru-maa* *ru* *sa-la* *sa-la*
 man-PL-ERG-TOP take carry-SEQ.SS carry put-CONT put-CONT
kamáá *ipu-maa,* *epaa rui*
 always come-SEQ.SS, come carry
pia-te-me ((*mo-lena*)).
 do-3PL.PRG ((FHL-LOC))

'The men are coming and putting the wood down there, after continuing to carry them and put them down to rest along the way.' [T6:4]

Rekainya: *Mo* *ada* *epaa* *ru* *wi-mi?*
 FHL house come carry put-3PL.NPT
 'Did they come and leave the wood there at the house?' [T6:5]

Waba (6-7): *Mo* *ada.*
 FHL house
 'There at the house.' [T6:6]

Ma-dia *yo* *pia-rima.*
 CAUS-not be do-1PL.NPT
 'We have finished carrying the wood.' [T6:7]

Rekainya: *Kiwai-na* *repona* *poa-me?*
 Kiwai-GEN tree chop-3PL.NPT
 'Did they chop Kiwai's tree?' [T6:8]

Waba: *Kiwai-na* *repona* *po* *pia-ma.*
 Kiwai-GEN tree chop do-1PL.NPT
 'We chopped Kiwai's tree.' [T6:9]

Rekainya (10-11):
Apo *Kiwai-na* *repona-re* *go-pora* *a-ya-daa*
 that Kiwai-GEN tree-TOP that-LOC stand-3SG.SPR-because
la-lo.
 say-1SG.PRG
 'I am saying (asking) because that is where Kiwai's tree is.' [T6:10]

Apo *ipu-na* *aara* *ipú-na* *ada*
 that he-GEN father they dual-GEN house
kolo *go-pora.*
 hole that-LOC
 'That is where his father's house used to be.' [T6:11]

Waba: *Ee.* 'Yes.' [T6:12]

Rekainya: *Ipu* *apo* *go-pora* *madi-e-ai.*
 he there that-LOC carry-3SG.RPT-NOM
 'He is one that was born there.' [T6:13]

Waba (14-18): *Ee.* 'Yes.' [T6:14]

To *repo* *rayo-pe-re* *abala* *ria* *epaa-ma.*

piece three all-IRR-TOP before carry come-1PL.NPT
 'We have already carried three huge pieces.' [T6:15]

Gupuma, *abi-ri* *to* *laapo pa*
 having done that, now-TOP piece two just
ipi-li-a-ai-ri *meda relerele* *pu-maa*
 come-hit-3SG.SPR-NOM-TOP one splitsplit. do-SEQ.SS
meda relerele *pu pu* *ao-re* *go-re*
 one splitsplit do do stand.DUR-TOP that-TOP
abala tapala-ripa-daa *no ada pa* *sa-lema.*
 before stress-3SG.NPT-because FDL house just put-1PL.PRG
 'Having done that, now the two pieces that are remaining, having split one and
 continuing to split another, because we are stressed already we are leaving them
 down there at the house.' [T6:16]

Gumaa, *rele* *pu* *rele* *pu-maa*
 having done that, split do split do-SEQ.SS
pare *pu-maa* *wala* *ada* *kele* *padalo-maa*
 to shape do-SEQ.SS later house post sharpen-SEQ.SS
epaa gi-nya *yaa-daa.*
 come give-3PL want-because
 'Having done that, because we want them to split and shape and later sharpen and
 come and give them (wood pieces) to us..' [T6:17]

Pa ru ao *wi-ma,* *((no-lena)).*
 just carry stand.DUR put-1PL.NPT, ((FDL-LOC))
 'Having continued carried them, we just put them, ((down there)).' [T6:18]

Rekainya: *Kodo pi-a.*
 sorry do-3SG.SPR
 'I am sorry.' [T6:19]

Waba:
*Kogono **atawaku* *adaa-ai-da* *pu-maa*
 work hard work (Tok Pisin) big-NOM-INDF do-SEQ.SS
ipu-luma.
 come-1PL.PRG
 'We did a big hard work and are coming.' [T6:20]

Rekainya: *Kodo pi-a,* *la-pe.*
 sorry do-3SG.SPR, say-IRR
 'I am saying, I am sorry.' [T6:21]

Waba: *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T6:22]

Kasa (23-24):
Ni-ri po *rele* *pea-lo* *aa-liminya* *epa-wa-de.*
 I-TOP chop split do-CONT stand-2PL.DS come-1SG.NPT-DEF
 'I came while you were chopping and splitting the tree.' [T6:23]

Po agala-maa kobekabe pu
 chop throw down-SEQ.SS chop into pieces do
 ((*rele pea-lo aa-liminya*)).
 ((split do-CONT stand-2PL.DS))
 'It was chopped down and chopped and split into pieces (and) ((while you were
 splitting it)), (I came).' [T6:24]

Waba (25-28): *Go-de-ai yaa-de.*
 that-DEF-NOM be.REALIS-DEF
 'That was the one.' [T6:25]

Mo-de repona pege ege-ai-da
 FHL-DEF tree even small-NOM-INDF
dia yaa-de.
 not be.REALIS-DEF.
 'That tree wasn't even a small one.' [T6:26]

Adaa-na-ai-pe yaa-de.
 big-GEN-NOM-IRR be.REALIS-DEF
 'It was a huge one.' [T6:27]

Ma-dia yaa pia-rima-de,
 CAUS-not be do-1PL.NPT-DEF,
 ((*go-de-ai-ri, pali-yada-me*)).
 ((that-DEF-NOM-TOP, sleep-fight-ERG))
 'We made it to finish, ((that one, by many of us)).' [T6:28]

Rekainya:

Mo-ne-re Kede-repa-na yaa-de,
 FHL-DIR-TOP Kede-GRP-GEN be.REALIS-DEF;
no-ne-re mo koma-a-de;
 FDL-DIR-TOP FHL die-3SG.NPT-DEF;
Pareali-na yaa-de; go-pora-re Kiwai
 Pareali-GEN be.REALIS-DEF; that-LOC-TOP Kiwai
aara-ya-na Nasu aara-nu-na ada yaa-de.
 father-KIN-GEN Nasu father-PL-GEN house be.REALIS-DEF
 'Further away is Kede group's area; down that way is that Pareali who died; in the
 centre is Kiwai and his father's, Nasu and his father and brother's area.' [T6:29]

Waba: *O, ee.* 'Agree, yes.' [T6:30]

Rekainya: *Go-lena-re.* 'that-LOC-TOP = At that place.' [T6:31]

Waba:

Abala imu-na ada waru piri-lena yari repona.
 before they-GEN house make stay-LOC plant tree
 'The tree that had been planted at the place where they built their house and stayed.'
 [T6:32]

Rekainya (33-34): *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T6:33]

Aara-me yari repona.
 father-ERG plant tree
 'The tree that his father planted.' [T6:34]

Waba: *Go-ai.* 'that-NOM = That is the one.' [T6:35]

Rekainya:
Agiara-nu-na ada kolo-na yaa-de.
 mother-father-PL-GEN house space-GEN be.REALIS-DEF
 'It's somewhere at the place where his parents built their house.' [T6:36]

Waba (37-39):*Apea.* 'That's right.' [T6:37]

Go-ai poa-lema.
 that-NOM chop-1PL.PRG
 'That is the one we are chopping.' [T6:38]

Gumaa, ma-dia ya pia-rima-de,
 that do-SEQ.SS CAUS-not be do-1PL.NPT-DEF,
 ((abi-ri))
 ((now-TOP))
 'Having done that, we have caused it to finish, ((now)).' [T6:39]

Rekainya: *Ee.* 'Yes.' [T6:40]

Kasa: *Kamukamu ree-pe pege poa-me?*
 completely stump-IRR even chop-1PL.NPT
 'Did you completely chop the huge stump?' [T6:41]

Waba (42-44):*Ee.* 'Yes.' [T6:42]

Kamukamu ree-pe-re go rele
 completely stump-IRR-TOP now split
pea-lo aa-nya ipu-luma.
 do-CONT stand-3PL.DS come-1PL.PRG
 'While they are now completely splitting the huge stump, we are coming.' [T6:43]

Kamukamu ma-dia yo pia-ma.
 completely CAUS-not be do-1PL.NPT
 'We completely caused it to be not there.' [T6:44]

Rekainya: *Kodo pi-a la-pe.*
 sorry do-3SG.SPR say-IRR.
 'I am saying, I am sorry.' [T6:45]

Waba: *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T6:46]

Apoi: *Ali-nu pa aa-rimi-na,*
 man-PL just stand-3PL.NPT-GEN,
 ((no-lena))?

((down-LOC))

'Are the men still standing, ((down there))?' [T6:47]

Waba (48-54)

Ali-nu pa pabo ae-me.

man-PL just fill stand-3PL.SPR

'The men are still standing in the area.' [T6:48]

***Atewoku kale-da pu pabo ae-me.*

hard work (Tok Pisin) red-INDF do fill stand-3PL.SPR

'They are busy in the area, working hard.' [T6:49]

Bulo rai meda la-la pago-lo a-nya
 sound axe one say-CONT stuck-CONT stand-3SG.DS
ya pere, ne aapi ya-pa lo-maa maa relerele
 be but, you who be-or say-SEQ.SS take splitsplit
pu-maa, kuria-pisa kuria-pisa pu-maa...
 do-SEQ.SS, stick-with stick-with do-SEQ.SS..

'Axes are getting stuck in the wood one after another, but we are saying who are you and with stick as lever (we are splitting the wood.) [T6:50]

Mo repona-pe-me rai-nu-ri ege le-si.

FHL tree-IRR-INST axe-PL-TOP small thing-DIM

'With that tree being so big axes are very small things.' [T6:51]

Mogo rika-si-nani pago-la pu-la-ai-nu-ri
 MHL middle-DIM-DIR stuck-IRR go-3SG.PRG-NOM-PL-TOP

kabu-me pa maa rupilu pia pia pu-maa
 stick-INST just take smash do do do-SEQ.SS

maa bula la-la pu pia-ta la-pe.
 take smash say-CONT do do-3SG.PRG say-IRR

'I am saying, the ones that are going to get stuck in the middle are smashed by a heavy stick and are being split into pieces.' [T6:52]

Go-ai ritya-me, la-pe.

that-NOM carry-3PL.PRG say-IRR.

'I am saying, they are carrying that one.' [T6:53]

O-ne pege ali aa-ra pado te-a
 NSL-DIR even man be-SIM.SS sharpen say-3SG.FUT

((*mo repona-re o ru sa-lema-ai pege*)).

((FHL wood-TOP here carry put-1PL.PRG-NOM even)).

'Even here a lot of men is needed to sharpen that wood, ((even the ones we are carrying and leaving here)).' [T6:54]

Appendix G

Text 7: Kasa and his brother-in-law

Text 7 is a non-fictional narrative about Kasa's past experience with his brother-in-law. Kasa is the narrator and Rami (his elder sister) provides comments on various themes. The place of discourse is inside Apoi's house in Mugumapu village in Ialibu District of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It was recorded in January 1997 by Apoi.

Kasa (1-11):

Ni oge-si pisa-no, oge naaki-si, gó Kiwai-na
 I small-DIM sit-1SG.DS, small boy-DIM, this Kiwai-GEN
naaki nono pi pisa-no, [ne-na ama-re kitya
 boy like be sit-1SG.DS, [you-GEN mother-TOP burn
puaa-me] li-simi.
 go-3PL.NPT] say-3PL.RPT

'I was very small, a small boy, I was like this Kiwai's son, they said they went to get bride-price for your mother.' [T7:1] [lit: '..they said they went to burn/cook your mother.']

Note: *kitya* 'burn' functions as a purpose subordinate verb.

Kitya puaa-me li-simi-daa repona
 burn go-3PL.NPT say-3PL.RPT-because fire
legaa-pora kitya puaa-me-daa la-me-na
 amber-LOC burn go-3PL.NPT-because say-3PL.NPT-GEN
kone su-ka, ((ni oge-si pisa-no))
 thought put-1SG.RPT, ((I small-DIM sit-1SG.DS))

'Because they said they went to burn her, I thought they said that because they went to burn her in the fire ((while I was very small)).' [T7:2]

Go robo-re, Awa Lobe-lopo-me rekere laapo
 that time-TOP, Awa Lobe-DL-ERG pearlshell two
mu-ma ipu puaa kiri-sipi-yaa, ((no
 get-SEQ.SS they go burn-3DL.RPT-NSN, ((FDL
Pepeale yawe robo)).
 Pepeale festival time)).

'At that time, Awa and Lobe got two pearl shells and they went and married (her to Apoi's father) during a festival ((down there at Pepeale village)).' [T7:3]

Awa-pora [Rami-de na-epa-a-le,
 Awa-LOC [Rami-DEF NEG-come-NPT.3SG-because,
aapora pua-a-pa?] lu-ka robo,
 where go-3SG.NPT-or] say-1SG.RPT time,
[ali pua-a-de] li-sa.
 [man go-3SG.NPT-DEF] say-3SG.RPT

'When I said to Awa "because Rami didn't come, where did she go?", he said, " she got married [she went to a man]".' [T7:4]

Go robo so Nemola Maarepa-nu-na ada
that time FUL Nemola Maarepa-PL-GEN house
pa-kua robo, Yareali si-mi ta-lo
go-1SG.RPT when, Yareali son-ERG say-IRR
[apo ipu-la naaki-si-ri aapinya
[there come-3SG.PRG boy-DIM-TOP whose
naaki ya-pa?] li-sa.
boy be-or] say-3SG.RPT

'That time when I went up to Nemola and Maarepa tribe's house, Yareali's son said, "whose boy is coming there"?' [T7:5]

Aiya ne-na ama-me ta-lo [na-na
amend you-GEN mother-ERG say-IRR [I-GEN
baali naaki-si ade piri-nya
brother boy-DIM DEF sit-3SG.DS
epa-wa-de-ai epa-a-na] li-sa.
come-1SG.NPT-DEF-NOM come-3SG.NPT-GEN] say-3SG.RPT

'Your mother said, "my brother the one I left behind and came has come"!' [T7:6]

Go robo-re mena kako, no Pepeale yawe-na
that time-TOP pig chest, FDL Pepeale festival-GEN
li mena kako sogo raluba-pora pitya-simi-yaa
hit pig chest MUL shelf-LOC hang-3PL.RPT-NSN
mena kako ma-gi-sa, ((paase-me.))
pig chest CAUS-give-3SG.RPT, ((brother-in-law-ERG))

'Then a pig's chest, a chest of a pig that was slaughtered for the Pepeale festival that was hang up there in the shelf above the fireplace was given to me, ((by my brother-in-law)).' [T7:7]

Guma, [na Mugumapu waru-la
having done that, [my Mugumapu make-IRR
pa-lua robo-re, saa-na awa-pona epa-pe]
go-1SG.FUT when-TOP, we-GEN stay-1DL.DS come-IRR]
li-sa, ((gó-re re-na ada
say-3SG.RPT, ((here-TOP somebody else-GEN village
pi-li)).

sit.1SG.SPR-because)).

'Having done that, he said, "when I go to build my Mugumapu village, come and we'll stay ourselves, ((because here I am at somebody else's village))".' [T7:8]

Go robo-re Mugumapu epaa wari-simi robo-re
that time-TOP Mugumapu come make-3PL.RPT when-TOP
ni go ipu-ka.
I here come-1SG.RPT

Then when they came and built Mugumapu village I came here.' [T7:9]

Guma, Yareali si-mi gó madi-sa
having done that, Yareali son-ERG here carry-3SG.RPT

robo gó awa-sipa.
when here live-1DL.RPT

'Having done that, when Yareali's son looked after me here we lived here (in this village).' [T7:10]

Guma, na-na adasa-kua
having done that, I-GEN find-1SG.RPT
le-nu-re ne-na ama ne-na
thing-PL-TOP you-GEN mother you-GEN

maiya-lopo kámaa epaa kalu-ka.
father-DL only come give-1SG.RPT

'Having done that, the things that I had [found] I came and give them to your mother and father.' [T7:11]

Rami: *Mena-nu-pora la-a-pe, ((ipu-na mena*
pig-PL-LOC say-3SG.NPT-IRR, ((he-GEN pig
mu-maa.))
get-SEQ.SS))

'He is talking about pigs, (((Yarepea) got Kasa's pig and)).' [T7:12]

Kasa (13-20):

Gu pu-ka pere, imi le, Nadame le
that do-1SG.RPT but, you.PL thing Nadame thing

pege na-gi-sa, ((Suka le pege
even NEG-give-3SG.RPT, ((Suka thing even

na-gi-sa, o Raitawa le pege na-gi-sa)).

NEG-give-3SG.RPT, yes Raitawa thing even NEG-give-3SG.RPT)).

'I did that, but he didn't give me things for you plural, a thing for Nadame, ((a thing for Suka, and a thing for Raitawa)).' [T7:13]

Note: In [T7:13] my maternal uncle Kasa is saying that my father didn't repay his things with an extra thing for the children – Nadame, Suka, Raitawa, etc. that my mother gave my father – a traditional practice in Kewa culture.

Mena yago pamedá kamáá gi-sa robo
pig repayment one always give-3SG.RPT when
re la-lo piri ne-na ama-me gapi kamáá
cry say-CONT sit you-GEN mother-ERG axe always
maa gi-sa; yapaapu kamáá maa gi-sa;
get give-3SG.RPT; cowrie shell always get give-3SG.RPT;
kasada apo gó kale-pora adi li-sima le-da
ear ring there here ear-LOC hang hit-3PL.RPT thing-INDEF

kamáá maa gi-sa robo-re,
always get give-3SG.RPT when-TOP,

go gia pia-maa ni pa-kua.
there let go do-SEQ.SS I go-1SG.RPT.

'When he gave me only a repayment pig, your mother continued to cry and give me an axe, a cowrie shell, a ear ring (a thing that we used to hang on this ear), and when she did that I banded him and went away.' [T7:14]

Go robo-re wala Raitawa komi-sa robo-re,
 that when-TOP later Raitawa die-3SG.RPT when-TOP,
go-re ((gó mena))na-na gó mena Rakua
 that-TOP ((this pig)) I-GEN this pig Rakua
kalu-ka; o go mena Duma kalu-ka.
 give-1SG.RPT; yes this pig Duma give-1SG.RPT
 'Then later when Raitawa died then I gave my Rakua and Duma pigs.' [T7:15]

Lobe-me go mena kali-sa.
 Lobe-ERG this pig give-3SG.RPT
 'Lobe gave a pig.' [T7:16]

Laima mena gawa kali-sa.
 Laima pig cow give-3SG.RPT
 'Lawa gave a cow.' [T7:17]

Kabisimi-pisa Lobe-lopo-me mena gawa kali-sipi.
 Kabisimi-with Lobe-DL-ERG pig cow give-3DL.RPT
 'Kabisimi with Lobe gave a cow.' [T7:18]

Lobe Kabisimi-lopo-na mena gawa abi pege pa a-ya.
 Lobe Kabisimi-DL-GEN pig cow now even just stand-3SG.SPR
 'Even now Lobe and Kabisimi's cow debt is still there.' [T7:19]

Abi pege rudu pa a-ya.
 now even debt still stand-3SG.SPR
 'Even now the debt is still there.' [T7:20]

Rami (21-25):

[Mena rudu kitya epa-wa] lo-maa
 [pig debt burn come-1SG.NPT] say-SEQ.SS
no Lae aa-maa ipu-ka robo,
 FDL Lae stand-SEQ.SS come-1SG.RPT when,
go ipi-sa-yaa.
 here come-3SG.RPT-NSN

'He said, "I came to collect his pig debt", and he came here when I stayed in Lae and came.' [T7:21]

Guma-re, gó-pora epaa a-sa.
 Having done that-TOP, here-LOC come stand-3SG.RPT
 'Having done that, he came and stood here.' [T7:22]

Gó-ne magio o-ne ipu-maa.
 this-DIR side NSL-DIR come-SEQ.SS
 'Having come towards my side.' [T7:23]

[Mena rudu kitya epa-wa] li-sa.
 [pig debt burn come-1SG.NPT] say-3SG.RPT
 'He said, "I came to collect my pig debt". [T7:24]

Apedaa epa-wa kone sa-li-li.

why come-1SG.NPT thought put-2SG.FUT-reason
 'In case you will wonder why I came.' [T7:25]

Apoi: *Remo-me?*
 evil spirit-ERG?
 'The devil?' [T7:26]

Rami:
*Ni-ri **pikisa gu-ae-me-ra ((gó ni*
 I-TOP picture give-DUR-3PL.SPR-TOP ((here me
kome-e-ai-nu pege))
 die-1SG.SPR-NOM-PL even))
 'They give me visions, ((even about the health problems that I have here)).' [T7:27]

Kasa (28-30):
Guma, mo mena gawa-na-re go-re ora
 having done that, FHL pig cow-GEN-TOP that-TOP really
***koso te-pe ((Lobe Kabisimi-lopo rata-me.))*
 court say-3DL.FUT ((Lobe Kabisimi-DL both-ERG))
 'Having done that, for that cow they will really bring it to court, ((by both Lobe and Kabisimi)).' [T7:28]

Lobe-me na mena la pale koma-a;
 Lobe-ERG my pig say sleep die-3SG.NPT;
Kabisimi-mi na mena la-ba pi-a.
 Kabisimi-ERG my pig say-PUNCT sit.DUR-3SG.SPR
 'Lobe kept talking about (the repayment of) his pig up to his death; Kabisimi keeps talking about (the repayment of) his cow.' [T7:29]

Go-pora-re mo-de wasupa-me kose te-me
 that-LOC-TOP FHL-DEF spirit-INST court say-3PL.SPR
le-me-de rupa te-a-re go-re
 say-3PL.SPR-DEF like that say-3SG.FUT-if that-TOP
Suka-si-ri ora koso te-me, ((mo aapa-lopo-pisa-re)).
 Suka-DIM-TOP really court say-3PL.FUT, ((FHL uncle-DL-with-TOP))
 'In that situation, as they say within the spirit world debtors and creditors will have court cases about unsettled debts in their earthly lives, if that is the case, then, with people like Suka they will really have a court case ((with his two uncles)).' [T7:30]

Rami (31-34):
Suka saa-re Kapolame ratya none kolope-maa,
 Suka we dual-TOP Kapolame cliff downward climb-SEQ.SS,
rana meda palu-ka robo, no Ripu pa-sipa.
 day one sleep-1SG.RPT when, FDL Ripu go-1DL.RPT
 'Suka and I climbed down Kapolame cliff, when I dreamt one night, and went down to Ripu village.' [T7:31]

Ripu Lobe-me pi la-a pere repona
 Ripu Lobe-ERG do say-3SG.NPT but wood
kobe kita pu pu ao-re [Suka agia-ya-na

chop burn do do stand.DUR-TOP [Suka mother-KIN-GEN
repona go-pora kisa-yo-le, repona
 fire here-LOC burn-1SG.SPR-because, fire
epaa ada-lepa] li-sa.
 come see-2DL] say-3SG.RPT

'He said he was Ripu Lobe who was doing this, he continued to chop wood and built a big bonfire, and he said, "because I am making a bonfire for you plural here, Suka you and your mother come and warm yourselves here". [T7:32]

[*Gupi ta-a-le né-mé kaana meda*
 [this talk say-3SG.PRG-because I-ERG money one.INDF
ábi kala-ponapea] lu-ka, ((na-pagi-sa-de)).
 quickly give-1DL do] say-1SG.RPT, ((NEG-listen-3SG.RPT-DEF))
 'I said, "because he is saying this let us him give some money quickly" ((he didn't listen to me)).' [T7:33]

Go-re abi-ri sá-na puua ado-la
 that-TOP now-TOP we-GEN go see-IRR
pi-pa-ra.
 do-1DL.SPR-TOP

'As for that, now we two will go ourselves to see it (the consequences).' [T7:34]

Kasa:

Guma-re, ne-na ama-na mena
 having done that-TOP, you-GEN mother-GEN pig
maa tya-lo a-ra-re imi
 get hit-CONT stand-SIM.SS-TOP you plural
lu rali-sa-ya robo-re no Ripu
 hit send-3SG.RPT-NSN time-TOP FDL Ripu
na-na saba piru-ka-pe.
 I-GEN keep sit.DUR-1SG.RPT-IRR

'Having done that, when he was slaughtering your mother's pig and he send you away, I looked after you myself down at Ripu.' [T7:35]

Rami: *Mena laapo la!*

pig two say
 'Say two pigs.' [T7:36]

Kasa (37-38):

Ne-na ama-na mena laapo maa
 you-GEN mother-GEN pig two get
tya-loa-ra-re [imi pu-lupa]
 hit-CONT stand-SIM.SS-TOP [you plural go-2PL]
lo-maa lu rali-sa-yaa, ((paase-me)).
 say-SEQ.SS hit chase-3SG.RPT-NSN, ((brother-in-law-ERG))

'He said, "you plural go", as he was slaughtering your mother's two pigs and he chased you away ((by my brother-in-law)).' [T7:37]

Go robo-re, na-na sa-ba piru-ka.
 that time-TOP, I-GEN put-PUNCT sit-1SG.RPT

'When that happened, I looked after you plural myself.' [T7:38]

Rami: ((*Go-re wala mena meda tya-o.*))
 ((that-TOP later pig one.INDF hit-BEN))
 (('Then later a pig was slaughtered for some people.)) [T7:39]

Kasa:

Ee, rana meda lu rali-sa-yaa robo-re,
 yes, day one hit chase-3SG.RPT-NSN when-TOP,
Wage si-mi so Kea-nane maa sa piri-sa.
 Wage son-ERG FUL Kea-DIR get put sit-3SG.RPT
 'Yes, one day when he chased you away Wage's son got you and looked after you plural at Kea.' [T7:40]

Rami (41-42): *Kea la!*
 Kea say
 'Say Kea.' [T7:41]

Ipu pege makua-ya, ((oge-si robo)).
 he even know-3SG.SPR, ((small-DIM when))
 'He even knows ((when he was very small)).' [T7:42]

Kasa (43-45): *Kea-nane.*
 Kea-DIR
 'In the direction of Kea village.' [T7:43]

Wala rana meda lu rali-sa robo-re, gore
 later day one hit chase-3SG.RPT when-TOP, then
na-na maa sa piru-ka-pe.
 I-GEN get put sit.DUR-1SG.RPT-IRR
 'Later another time when he chased you away then I got you and looked after you myself.' [T7:44]

Go robo o-re na-na paase-me
 that when here-TOP I-GEN brother-in-law-ERG
ni-ri waru madi-sa-daa sa-na awa-sipa
 I-TOP really carry-3SG.RPT-because we-GEN stay-1DL.RPT
pere, [nogonaaki-nu-na ora ele-da na-gia-le]
 But, [children-PL-GEN really thing-INDF NEG-give-2SG.PRG]
lo-maa ora gia pia-maa ni pa-kua.
 say-SEQ.SS really let go do-SEQ.SS I go-1SG.RPT
 'That time here because my brother-in-law looked after me really well we stayed, but I said you are not really giving me things for the children and I left him and went away.' [T7:45]

Appendix H

Text 8: Suli's clan history

Text 8 is a conversation text. The macro theme is Suli's clan history. The main interactants are Suli (female), Waba (female), and Kasa (male). Suli and Waba are married woman from Mugumapu village and Kasa is from Pale village (see Language Area Map for the location of these villages). The place of discourse is inside Apoi's house in Mugumapu village in Ialibu District of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It was recorded in January 1997 by Apoi.

Waba: *Ne-na* *ada-re* *aapora* *ya?*
 I-GEN village-TOP where be
 'Where is your village?' [T8:1]

Suli: *Pagipuro* *la-wa-de.*
 Pagipuro say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 'I said Pagipuro.' [T8:2]

Waba: *Aa-nane* *masa ya?*
 Which-DIR side be
 'On which side is it?' [T8:3]

Suli: *Mo-nane* *magia.*
 FHL-DIR side
 'On that side.' [T8:4]

Apoi: *Mo-nane* *magia la-ai* *pia-ya-le..*
 FHL-DIR side say-NOM do-3SG.SPR-because..
 'I think she should tell us a specific location.' [lit: 'Because she did the saying on that side.'] [T8:5]

Suli (6-8): *Mo-nane* *magia.*
 that-DIR side
 'That side.' [T8:6]

Barara *rikale* *go-ne* *magia-re*
 road middle that-DIR side-TOP
go-re *na* *bali* *meda-na* *ya-pe.*
 that-TOP my brother one-GEN be.REALIS-IRR
 'On the middle side of the road, that is one of my brother's.' [T8:7]

Go-nane *magia-re* *na-ai-na.*
 this-DIR side-TOP we-NOM-GEN
 'On this side is ours.' [T8:8]

Waba (9-10): *Naapu* *puti-pe* *aa-ya-lena.*
 casuarina group-IRR stand-3SG.SPR-LOC

'Where the large group of casuarina tree are.' [T8:9]

Ne-na ada-re go.
you-GEN village-TOP there
'Your village is there.' [T8:10]

Suli: *Ee.* 'Yes.' [T8:11]

Kasa (12-14): *Maarepa-na su te-a.*
Maarepa-GEN land say-3SG.FUT
'It will be Maarepa clan's land.' [T8:12]

Sopo-de Pagipuro-de.
CUL-DEF Pagipuro-DEF
'That (up there) Pagipuro.' [T8:13]

Kubame Maarepa-nu-na.
Kubame Maarepa-PL-GEN
'Kubame Maarepa clan's (land).' [T8:14]

Suli (15-16): *So madaa-re go-re Kobali ya-de.*
FUL on top-TOP that-TOP Kobali be.REALIS-DEF
'Up on top, that is Kobali place.' [T8:15]

No katupi-pora go-re sukili ada go wi-a-de.
FDL valley-LOC that-TOP school house there put-3SG.SPR-DEF
'Down there at the valley that is the school.' [T8:16]

Waba:

Ni koro.meda ipu-ka pere
I day one come-1SG.RPT but
ada meda aa-sa robo Suli-na ada
house one.INDF stand-3SG.RPT when Suli-GEN house
li-simi-daa la-wa-de.
say-3PL.RPT-because say-1SG.NPT-DEF
'I said that because when I came one day there was a house (and) they said it was Suli's house.' [T8:17]

Suli (18-19): *Go-re na ada-re go ya-ra.*
that-TOP my house-TOP that be.REALIS-TOP
'As for that, that is my house.' [T8:18]

No ipa po-pea-a-re ipa Pagipu, ((go-da)).
FDL river come-go-3SG.SPR-TOP river Pagipu, ((that-INDF))
'The river that flows down there, that is Pagipu River.' [T8:19]

Kasa (20-21):

Moi Kale rai-me po-maa ne-na
Moi Kale axe-INST chop-SEQ.SS you-GEN
araa-bali-nu no Agalerepa-na ada imu pa-simi.

father-brother-PL FDL Agalerepa-GEN village they go-3PL.RPT
 'Your relatives murdered [axed] Moi Kale and went to Agalerepa clan's village.'
 [T8:20]

Go-nu imu wala ada waru epaa pi-mi.
 that-PL they later village make come sit-3PL.SPR
 'Those later made a village and came and live (there).' [T8:21]

Suli: *Apea apea go ada-repa.*
 that's right that's right that village-GRP
 'That's right, that's right, that village-group.' [T8:22]

Kasa:
Moi Kale rai-me po-ma no
 Moi Kale axe-INST chop-SEQ.SS FDL
Mamapi-nane no-ne pa-simi.
 Mamapi-DIR FDL-DIR go-3PL.RPT
 'They chopped Moi Kale with an axe and they went down that direction to Mamapi.'
 [T8:23]

Waba:
Gopuma, wala pena epaa warua-me ada.
 having done that, later recently come make-3PL.NPT village
 'Having done that, it's a village that they later came and recently built.' [T8:24]

Suli (25-26): *Ee.* 'Yes.' [T8:25]

Penaa epaa warua-me ada.
 recently come make-3PL.NPT village
 'It's a village they recently came and built.' [T8:26]

Waba (27-28): *Go lo-maa la-wa-de.*
 that say-SEQ.SS say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 'I think [say] that and said it.' [T8:27]

So repona wai-nu pa puri
 FUL tree for planting-PL just strong
na-pale-a-daa meda-pora-nu-da
 NEG-sleep-3SG.SPR-because one-LOC-PL-INDF
pu-maa yari nono pi-a-ai a-ya.
 go-SEQ.SS plant seems like be-3SG.NPT-NOM stand-3SG.SPR
 'Because those trees are not old, it seems that they have gone somewhere and have come and planted them.' [T8:28]

Suli:
Mala piru-maa penaa epaa yasa-me ((repona-nu))
 Mala live-SEQ.SS recently come plant-3PL.NPT ((tree-PL))
 'They lived at Mala and came and planted (something), ((trees)).' [T8:29]

Waba: *Yadataa pale pa-simi-na.*
 away from tribal warfare might go-3PL.RPT-GEN

'They might have gone away from tribal warfare.' [T8:30]

Suli: *Yadataa pu-maa.*
away from tribal warfare go-SEQ.SS
'After going away from tribal warfare.' [T8:31]

Waba: *Ale-repa-nu-mi lu rali-simi-pae?*
which-group-PL-ERG hit chase-3PL.RPT-or
'I wonder which group of people chased them away?' [T8:32]

Suli (33-36):

Na-na aapa-me Kubame ipu-na
I-GEN father-ERG Kubame he-GEN
ame ali meda wala li-sa-yaa.
brother man one.INDF again hit-3SG.RPT-NSN
'My father at Kubame village killed one of his own brothers.' [T8:33]

Go robo-re aapa tya-lo yaa-daa
that time-TOP father hit-IRR want-because
pi-simi-yaa robo-re Mala pogola pa-sa-yaa.
do-3PL.RPT-NSN time-TOP Mala run away go-3SG.RPT-NSN
'Then because they wanted to kill my father he ran away to Mala village.' [T8:34]

Mala pogola puua piri-maa-re wala go Mala
Mala run away go stay-SEQ.SS-TOP later that Mala
ali-nu-pisa yada pu-maa-re wala sone ipi-sa-yaa.
man-PL-with fight do-SEQ.SS-TOP later up come-3SG.RPT-NSN
'After going to Mala village, later he fought with those men at Mala, and later he came up.' [T8:35]

Pagipuro epaa ada waru-ma-re go piri-sa-yaa.
Pagipuro come village make-SEQ.SS-TOP there sit-RPT.3SG-NSN
'At Pagipuro he came and built the village and lived there.' [T8:36]

Waba (37-38):

O, imu-na pami rupa pamua-me-na.
yes, they-GEN travel:PT like travel-3PL.NPT-GEN
'Yes, they have travelled as they are used to their travelling around.' [T8:37]

Abala yada pogola no-ne puu-la so-ne
before fight run away FDL-DIR go-CONT FUL-DIR
puu-la pu epaa piri rupa epa-me-na
go-CONT do come live like come-3PL.NPT-GEN
la-lo-pe.
say-1SG.PRG-IRR

'I am saying, they have come and lived after they have been going back and forth continually.' [T8:38]

Suli: *Imu-na pami rupa epaa pi-mi.*
they-GEN travel:PT like come live-3PL.SPR.
'They are used to their travelling and have come and are there now.' [T8:39]

Kasa:

Paga-si, Waimi-si, ee Oge-si, ne-na
 Paga-DIM, Waimi-DIM, yes Oge-DIM, you-GEN
aarabali-re Opa-si, o Meke-si, Maarepa Wage-si,
 relative-TOP Opa-DIM, yes Meke-DIM, Maarepa Wage-DIM,
Lawa-si, Makodoli-si, go Maarepa Kiwa-si,
 Lawa-DIM, Makodolo-DIM, that Maarepa Kiwa-DIM,
Maarepa Yokea-si, ne-na aarabali-nu-re na-na
 Maarepa Yokea-DIM, you-GEN relative-PL-TOP we-GEN
awa-sima.

live-1PL.RPT

'People like Paga, Waimi, Oge, your relatives, Opa, Meke, Maarepa Wage, Lawa, Makodoli, Maarepa Kiwa, Maarepa Yokea, your relatives, we (excl.) lived together ourselves.' [T8:40]

Suli (41-45): *Ni-ri Lawa wane gó-da.*
 I-TOP Lawa daughter here-INDEF
 'As for me, I am Lawa's daughter here.' [T8:41]

Lawa wane, ((ni-ri)).
 Lawa wane, ((I-TOP))
 Lawa's daughter, ((I am)).' [T8:42]

Kodopea, Wanu si-ri, Kodopea-re pa pi-a.
 Kodopea, Wanu son-TOP, Kodopea-TOP just sit-3SG.SPR
 'Kodopea, Wanu's son, Kodopea is still alive.' [T8:43]

Kodopea-pisa Waimi-lopo-re komaa-pe.
 Kodopea-with Waimi-DL-TOP die-3DL.NPT
 'Kodopea and Waimi died.' [T8:44]

Yokea la-le-re, na maiya-na aara.
 Yokea say-2SG.PRG-TOP, my father-GEN father
 'You are saying Yokea, he is my grandfather [father's father].' [T8:45]

Kasa: *Ne-na kakua.* 'You-GEN grandfather = Your grandfather.' [T8:46]

Suli: *Ee, na-na kakua.* 'yes I-GEN grandfather = Yes, my grandfather.' [T8:47]

Kasa: *Ni adu-ka ali rayo ya-ra, ((apo-re)).*
 I see-1SG.RPT man all be-REALIS-TOP, ((those-TOP))
 'I saw all of the men, ((as for those)).' [T8:48]

Suli: *Ni-ri Lawa wane.*
 I-TOP Lawa daughter
 'I am Lawa's daughter.' [T8:49]

Kasa:

Ni Pale yada tya so-ne popu-ka robo

I Pale fight hit FUL-DIR move-1SG.RPT when
na-na awa-sima, ((ali-nu)).
 we-GEN stay-1PL.RPT, ((man-PL))
 'When I moved up from Pale village away from tribal warfare we stayed ourselves,
 ((those men)).' [T8:50]

Suli; *Ee.* 'Yes.' [T8:51]

Kasa: *Na-na ame ali Laima-na agira.*
 I-GEN brother man Laima-GEN mother's relatives
 'My brother Laima's mother's relatives.' [T8:52]

Suli (53-56): *Go-re na-na maiya-nu.*
 that-TOP I-GEN father-PL
 'Those are my fathers.' [T8:53]

Paga Waimi-lopo-re koma-pe.
 Paga Waimi-DL-TOP die-3DL.NPT
 'Paga and Waimi died.' [T8:54]

Kodopea-re pa pi-a.
 Kodopea-TOP just sit-3SG.SPR
 'Kodopea is still alive.' [T8:55]

Ee, Oge-re komi-sa-yaa.
 yes, Oge-TOP die-3SG.RPT-NSN
 'Yes, Oge was reported to have died.' [T8:56]

Kasa:
Moi Kale rai-mi po-maa, abala Wage romo-me
 Moi Kale axe-INST chop-SEQ.SS before Wage poison-INST
li-simi-daa, so ada-pora, imu-na
 hit-3PL.RPT-because FUL village-LOC, they-GEN
Agalerepa-nu-pisa no-ne kalaya-la pa-simi, ((ne-na
 Agalerepa-PL-with FDL-DIR side-IRR go-3PL.RPT, you-GEN
aara-bali go ruru-ri)).
 father-brother that clan-TOP))

'Moi Kale was chopped by axe, and before because Wage was killed by poison, up there in the village, they went down to side with their Agalerepa clan, ((your relatives, that clan)).' [T8:57]

Suli (58-61): *Apea.* 'That's right.' [T8:58]

Go puaa piri-simi-yaa-de.
 there go live-3PL.RPT-NSN-DEF
 'They went and lived there.' [T8:59]

Go puaa piru-maa penaa epaa poa-me repona
 there go live-SEQ.SS recently come plant-3PL.NPT tree
wai-si-nu penaa opa-la.

seed-DIM-PL recently grow-3SG.PRG
 'After going and living there the trees that they planted recently are growing.' [T8:60]

Penaa ada waru penaa epaa pi-mi.
 recently village make recently come sit-3PL.SPR
 'They have made the village recently and have recently come and lived (there).'

Waba: *Su penaa epaa warua-me-na.*
 land recently come make-3PL.NPT-GEN
 'They have recently come and developed the land.' [T8:62]

Suli: *Ee, su penaa waru-maa epaa pi-mi.*
 yes, land recently make-SEQ.SS come sit-3PL.SPR
 'Yes, they recently developed the land and have come and lived there.' [T8:63]

Waba:
Koda so Ialibu ipi-si robo-re
 one day FUL Ialibu come-2SG.RPT when-TOP
ne-re alerepa winya ya polo kone
 you-TOP which tribe woman be what thought
su-maa ne loropi la-lo-pe.
 put-SEQ.SS you ask.1SG.PRG say-1SG.PRG-IRR
 'I am saying, one day when you came up to Ialibu I wondered (thought) "which clan does this woman come from", and now I am asking you.' [T8:64]

Suli: *Ni-ri Maarepa winya lu-ka-de.*
 I-TOP Maarepa womansay-1SG.RPT-DEF
 'I said, "I am a woman from the Maarepa clan".' [T8:65]

Kasa:
O pege Maarepa-me Maarepa yago wala pisa-pe.
 here even Maarepa-ERG Maarepa same again sit-2DL.NPT
 'Even here a person from Maarepa clan married someone from the same Maarepa clan again.' [T8:66]

Suli (67-69): *Ee, apea.* 'Yes, that's right.' [T8:67]

Na-na ama-re sopo go Mebiri sopo rudu ada-si
 I-GEN mother-TOP MUL there Mebiri MUL hill place-DIM
go madi-simi-na-da.
 there carry-3PL.RPT-GEN-INDEF
 'My mother was born somewhere up there at that Mebiri hill place.' [T8:68]

Note: 1. The bold face shows the predicate in focus that is signalled by *-da* 'INDEF'. 2. The suffix *-simi* '3PL.RPT' has generic reference.

Go robu-ri ama-me ((to-a-me ya-daa
 that time-TOP mother-ERG ((say-FUT.3SG-INST want-RSN
gupa li-sa)) Kiwai-pora to-a-me
 like this say-3SG.RPT)) Kiwai-LOC say-3SG.FUT-INST

ya-daa ne-re alerepa ya-pa li-sa robo
 want-because you-TOP which group be-or say-3SG.RPT time
go rupa Yaki-na si li-sa.
 this like Yaki-GEN son say-3SG.RPT
 'Then when my mother intended to ask him, "which clan do you belong to", he said,
 "(I am) Yaki's son".' [T8:69]

Waba: *Ne-na ama-me?* 'You-GEN mother-ERG? = By your mother?' [T8:70]

Suli (71-73):

Ee, na-na ama-me Kiwai-pora to-a-me.
 yes, I-GEN mother-ERG Kiwai-LOC say-3SG.FUT-INST
 'Yes, my mother intended to say to Kiwai (what is reported in [T8:69]).' [T8:71]

Go robu-ri Kiwai-pora to-a-me ya-daa-re
 that time-TOP Kiwai-LOC say-3SG.FUT-INST be-RSN-TOP
ipu pege Yaki-na bali-na wane li-sa.
 she also Yaki-GEN sister-GEN daughter say-3SG.RPT
 'Then she said to Kiwai that she is also Yaki's sister's daughter.' [T8:72]

Go li-sa.
 that say-3SG.RPT
 'She said that.' [T8:73]

Waba: *Yaki-na wane-na si li-sa-le?*
 Yaki-GEN daughter-GEN son say-3SG.RPT-Q
 'Did you say she said Yaki's daughter's son?' [T8:74]

Suli: *Bali-na si.* 'sister-GEN son = Sister's son.' [T8:75]

Waba:

((Yaki-na si-ri Yaki-ri)) na-na ama-re
 ((Yaki-GEN son-TOP Yaki-TOP)) I-GEN mother-TOP
winya-na-ai, ee la-a, Kiwai-re
 woman-GEN-NOM, yes say-3SG.NPT, Kiwai-TOP
ali-na-ai.
 man-GEN-NOM
 '((Yaki's son, Yaki,)) Suli's mother and Kiwai's father are in a brother-sister relation.'
 [T8:76]

Suli: *Ee, kasa-ya li-sa.*
 yes, cousin-KIN say-3SG.RPT
 'Yes, she said they are cousins (Kiwai and Suli).' [T8:77]

Waba: *Ee, go rupa la-pe.*
 yes, that like say-IRR
 'Yes, I am saying, you say like that.' [T8:78]

Suli (79-81):

Go pe-a-pulu ipi-da mada

that do-it.SPR-because you dual-INDF able
 ***na-mariti pi-lipi li-sa.*
 NEG-marry do-2DL.FUT say-3SG.RPT
 'She said, "because of that you two won't be able to get married".' [T8:79]

Go li-sa pere, Kiwai-me to-a-me
 that say-3SG.RPT but, Kiwai-ERG say-3SG.FUT-INST
ya-daa dia li-sa.
 want-RSN no say-3SG.RPT
 'She said that, but Kiwai said no.' [T8:80]

Ipu-na ora winya mu-lua-me ya-daa-wa
 he-GEN really woman get-1SG.FUT-INST want-because-EXCL
epa-wa li-sa.
 come-1SG.NPT say-3SG.RPT
 'He said that because he really wanted to get the woman, he came.' [T8:81]

Waba: [*Ora mu-lua*] *li-sa.*
 [really get-1SG.FUT] say-3SG.RPT
 'He said, "I will really marry her".' [T8:82]

Suli: *Ee, guma ora madi ipi-sa,* ((ni)).
 yes, having done that really bring come-3SG.RPT, ((me))
 'Yes, having done that, he really brought, ((me)).' [T8:83]

Kasa:
Rana pi-sa-daa [ora na winya
 happy do-3SG.RPT-because [really my woman
ora na-na mu-lua] li-sima.
 really I-GEN get-1SG.FUT] say-1PL.RPT
 'Because we were happy, we said, "the woman is really mine, I will really marry her for myself".' [T8:84]

Suli: *Ee, [ora na mu-lua] li-sa.*
 yes, [really my get-1SG.FUT] say-3SG.RPT
 'Yes, he said, "I will really marry her for myself".' [T8:85]

Kasa (86-90): *Pamu li-sima pi ya-ra,* ((apo-re)).
 travel say-1PL.RPT talk be-REALIS-TOP, ((that-TOP))
 'It is a talk that we went around saying, ((that)).' [T8:86]

Note: *pamu* is medial form and *pami* is participial form of *pamea* 'go around/travel'.

Winya mu-la lo-re agi abala
 woman get-IRR want-if mother before
loropi-sima-pe.
 ask-1PL.RPT-IRR
 'If we wanted to get a woman, we asked her mother first.' [T8:87]

((*Agi-mi ne ora gia-lo*)) *agi-mi [na*
 ((mother-ERG you really give-1SG.PRG)) mother-ERG [my

wane ne ora gia-lo] li-sa
 daughter you really give-1SG.PRG] say-3SG.RPT
robo-re, pu na-aa-e le pami-sima.
 time-TOP, liver NEG-stand-3SG.SPR thing go around-1PL.RPT
 'When the mother said, "my daughter I am really giving her to you", we went around like a thing without a liver, i.e. they were extremely happy.' [T8:88]

[Ne-na ali-ra?] li-sima robo, [na ali-mi
 [you-GEN man-TOP] say-1PL.RPT when, [my man-ERG
adua na-te-a), madi agi-mi [ne ora
 something NEG-say-3SG.FUT", carry mother-ERG [you really
gia-lo] li-sa robo-re,
 give-1SG.PRG] say-3SG.RPT when-TOP,
naa ora yame le pamu-maa naa
 we really proud thing go around-SEQ.SS we
ora rana pai pi-sa-ai yaa-pe.
 really joy extremely do-3SG.RPT-NOM be.REALIS-IRR
 'When we said, "what about your husband", and when she said, "my man will not say anything", as the mother who raised her, "I am really giving her to you", then we went around like a happy thing and we were really full of joy.' [T8:89]

Apo go rupa agaale li-sa la-wa-de.
 there that like talk say-3SG.RPT say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 'I said he talked like that there.' [T8:90]

Suli: (91-92): *Go li-sa la-wa-de.*
 that say-3SG.RPT say-1SG.NPT-DEF
 'I said he said that.' [T8:91]

Go mada.
 that enough
 'That's all.' [T8:92]

Note

aiya is used to amend a previous proposition or an assumption. In some contexts it seems to signal the speaker's intention to report some event.

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