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A SKETCH GRAMMAR OF

MERYAM MIR.

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A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at the Australian National University.

September, 1989

Unless otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is the original work of the author.

Nick Piper

ABSTRACT.

Meryam Mir is a Papuan language spoken in the Torres Strait, that stretch of water which lies between Australia and Papua New Guinea. It has an A-O-V or S-V word order and an agglutinating morphology. Case inflections are suffixed to nominals to mark their syntactic role in the clause. Markers cross-referencing the syntactic arguments of the clause are affixed to the verb indicating number and, to some degree, person. In typological terms, the language can be regarded as a double-marking language.

The following study is a sketch grammar of the language. Chapter 1 deals with the phonology. Chapter 2 examines briefly the different word classes and nominal morphology. Chapter 3 looks at verbals and their morphology. In Chapter 4, the system of deictic markers is presented outlining some of its functions and meanings. In Chapter 5, basic features of the syntax are outlined.

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Mer le, náde ka bakyamuda Merem, kára gewm barki; ableglam ka no tebteb náwer. Wa kárim áwka mayem nakerda, wa kári ómar nakwarda. Kéwbu kepkep gerger tabarukda, ka sererge náwer, kára gewm báwmida. Awka eswaw wábim gayr lugem, upi atidarem; kára akepwar wábidoge áyparti. Able zyáwali pe irdi wábialam, nole kára mir dike, nole kára dorge, e wába mir dike, wába dorge. Awka eswaw.

I would also like to thank my supervisors, Professor Dixon and Dr. Koch, for all their helpful comments. My gratitude to all my friends, the 'Four Muskateers', Felix 'Mangro' Ameka, Andy 'Slippery' Butcher, Ian 'Perv' Green and Nick 'Tufty' Reid as well as Yoshiko Sheard and my dearest friend Françoise Dussart for all their support and assistance. There are too many to thank individually but each one helped and encouraged me. Finally, to my family, all my thanks and to Dotty, for making this last year very special.

Abbreviations.

- 1 = first person
2 = second person
3 = third person
A = subject of a transitive verb
Abl = ablative
Adj = adjective
Adv = adverb
All = allative
Ass = associative
SmbL = semblative
Conj = conjunction
Deix = deictic marker
Det = determiner
Excl = exclusive
Fut = future
Gen = genitive
Impf = imperfective
Incl = inclusive
Instr = instrumental
Intens = intensifier
intr. = intransitive
Intr = intransitiviser
Irr = irrealis
lit = literally
Loc = locative
N = noun
Neg = negation
n Pl = nonplural
n Pr = nonpresent
n Sg = nonsingular
O = object of a transitive verb
Pauc = paucal
Pf = perfective
Pl = plural
Pr = present
Priv = privative
Q = question
Quot = reported speech

Refl = reflexive

Rem = remote

Restrict = restrictive

S = subject of an intransitive verb

Sg = singular

Tag = tag question

tr. = transitive

vb. = verb

| | = discontinuous morpheme

* = ungrammatical sentence

Note to reader:

There is often no space bar between one morpheme and the next. This has been done in order to save on the length of gloss in relation to language examples cited directly above. However, the beginning of a morpheme can always be established as it will either be in italics or it will begin with a capital letter;

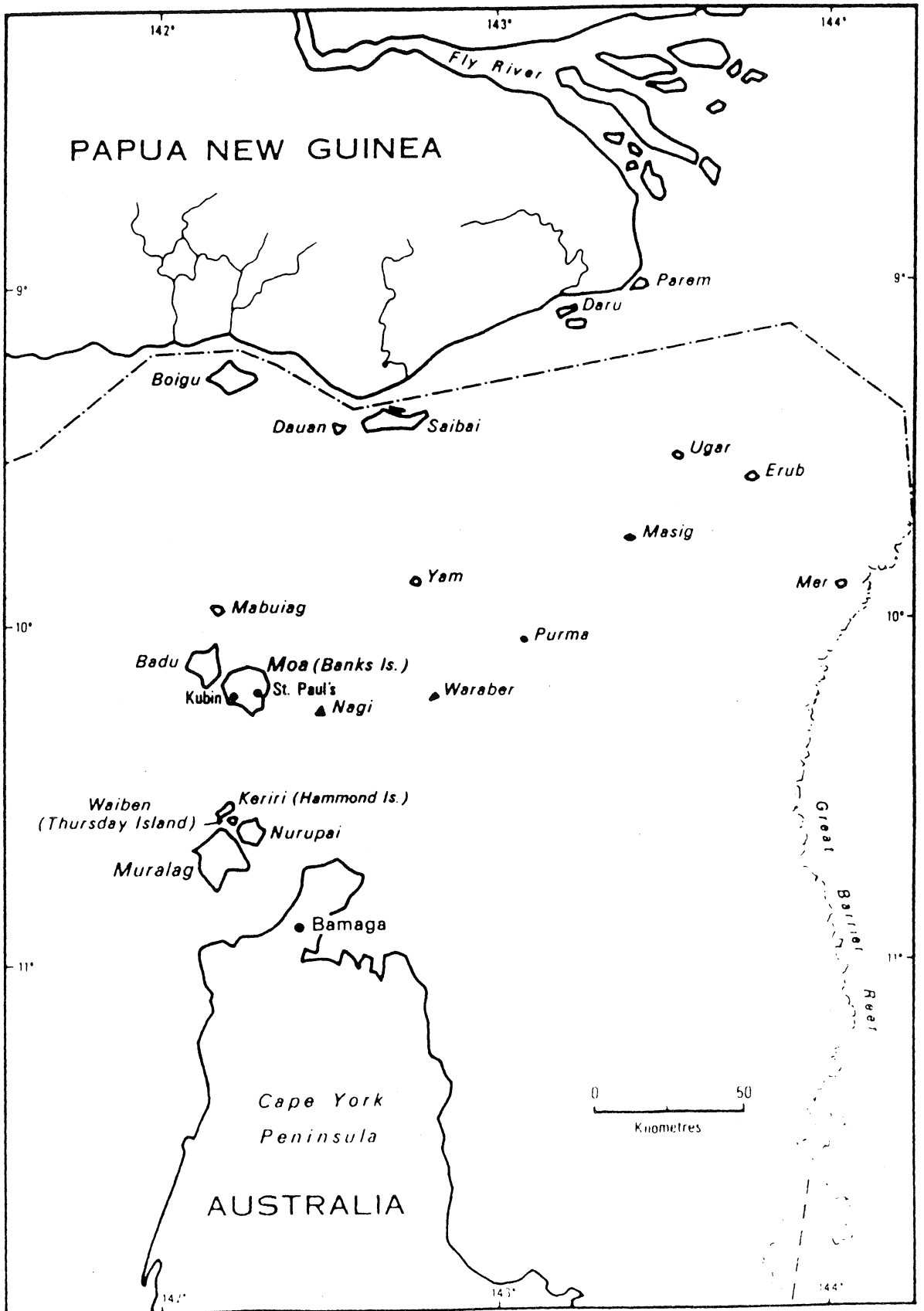
e.g. 3*n* SgS = 3rd person nonsingular subject of an intransitive verb

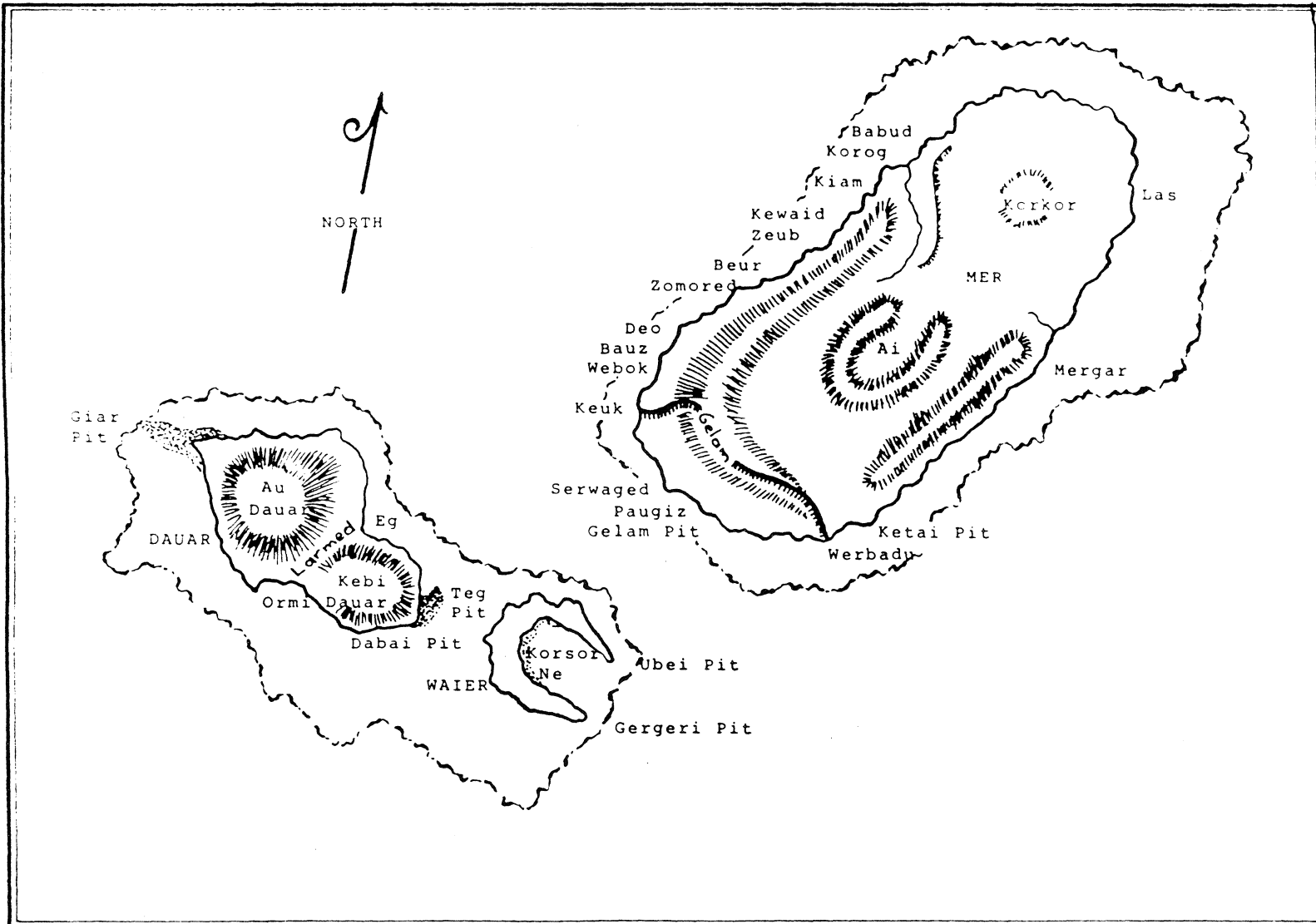
n PrImpfPauc = nonpresent imperfective paucal number

1SgGen = 1st person singular genitive

fishO = fish is the object of the verb

Map of the Torres Strait Region (Shnukal, 1988; xiii):





Map of the islands of Mer, Dawar and Wayer (Teske and Passi, 1986):

INTRODUCTION

1. The Language and its Speakers.

Meryam Mir is one of three languages spoken in the Torres Strait, that stretch of water which lies between Australia and Papua New Guinea (see map on p. iv). The other two languages are Kala Lagaw Ya (also known as ^{Kalaw Kawaw Ya,} Kalaw Lagaw Langgus, Mabuiag or Yagar Yagar, see Kennedy 1985 and Ford and Ober 1987; 1), which is spoken on the Western islands, and Torres Strait Creole (also known as Broken, Pizin, Big Thap, Blaikman or Ailan Tok, see Shnukal, 1988; 3) which is the lingua franca of the region. Meryam Mir was spoken throughout the Eastern islands of Erub (Darnley Island), Ugar (Stephen Island) and Mer (Murray Island). However, with the ever-increasing use of Creole, Meryam Mir has been seriously impinged upon and, as a consequence, it is being spoken less and less in these communities. The number of speakers are estimated to be approximately 700 (Wurm, 1977; 328), which presumably includes Eastern Torres Strait Islanders living on other islands of the Torres Strait and on the mainland of Australia in cities such as Townsville, Cairns or Mackay.

The name itself, Meryam Mir, is drawn from the word *mir* meaning 'word, language' and from the name of one of the clans living on Mer, the Meryam people (from Mer 'Murray Island' and the morpheme *-(y)am* '(?)of a clan, of a place'). It frequently appears in the literature written as Miriam or Meriam (Mir) but to be consistent with the orthography used in this study, Meryam (Mir) is chosen.

Meryam Mir has an agglutinating morphology employing both prefixes and suffixes. Its word order is basically A-O-V or S-V with the verb always in word final position but with variation on the arguments' order depending on pragmatic features. It has an extensive system of cross-reference markers on the verb coding information about the number, person and syntactic nature of the arguments as well as case inflections suffixed on nouns to indicate their syntactic function within a clause. Thus, Meryam Mir can be regarded in typological terms as a double-marking language (Nichols 1986; 72).

2. Language Classification and Type.

Unlike its neighbour Kala Lagaw Ya, which is classified as an Australian Paman language, Meryam Mir is classified by Wurm (Ibid) as a Papuan language of the Trans-Fly stock with a close genetic relationship to the languages of the Eastern Trans-Fly Family, Bine, Gidra and Gizra.

Its phonology is relatively simple, comprising a three way distinction in point of articulation for oral voiced and voiceless stops (bilabial, alveolar and velar) and a two way distinction in point of articulation for nasal stops and glides

(bilabial and alveolar). The remaining consonants, a voiced and voiceless fricative, a lateral and a rhotic tap, are all produced at the alveolar point of articulation. The language has a five vowel system contrasting front and back vowels /i, e/ and /u, o/ with a low central vowel /a/. The pitch-accent is phonemically significant in the language, serving to distinguish certain lexical items. Every word bears a high pitch on either the first or second syllable with the majority of words carrying high pitch on the second syllable. The phonology is covered in Chapter 1.

The following word classes can be distinguished: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, deictics and interjections. Nouns and pronouns are inflected for syntactic and non-syntactic cases. The cases are: ergative, nominative, accusative, instrumental, allative (which includes some of the functions of dative in other languages), ablative, locative, associative (which could be labelled alternatively 'comitative') and genitive. There is a split case marking system with an ergative case pattern on nouns for subjects of transitive verbs and a nominative case pattern on pronouns for subjects of transitive or intransitive verbs. Within the noun category, a distinction can be drawn between common and proper nouns. With proper nouns, there is a three way split in the case marking system with distinct inflections for the subject of a transitive verb, the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb. Adjectives as well as possessors marked by the genitive immediately precede the noun which they modify and are thus syntactically dependent on the noun which is the head.

Pronouns distinguish between first, second and third person with a further distinction contrasting inclusion and exclusion for first person nonsingular. In addition, there are distinct forms for the singular versus non-singular. There is no gender distinction with third person. Word classes and nominals are covered in Chapter 2.

Verbs can be categorised into two classes: atelic stative and telic active. These classes are morphologically determined since the atelic stative verbs only include intransitive verbs which mark the subject by means of a prefix, whereas the telic active verbs mark either the transitive or intransitive subject predominantly by means of a suffix. The two verb classes are partially semantically motivated as suggested by the names atelic stative and telic active. Verbal cross-reference markers encode information about both number, distinguishing singular, dual, paucal and plural, and to some degree, person.

Time is divided up along the lines of present versus non-present where present refers to events that occurred any time on the same day as the utterance and non-present for events that occurred on another day or will occur following the utterance. There are also aspectual features such as the imperfective and the perfective. In addition, there is a mood marker, the irrealis non-committal,

which conveys the lack of commitment on behalf of the speaker to say whether something will happen or not. Temporal, aspectual and mood categories, cross-reference markers and other features of the verbal morphology are covered in Chapter 3. Included in this chapter is a brief survey of adverbs, their formation and function.

There is a rich and complex system of deixis in the language which is explored in Chapter 4. Deictic markers' forms are determined by the temporal occurrence of the event relative to the time of the utterance. Their function is to essentially focus on various elements in space, time and in discourse itself.

Existential/locational verbs, intransitive, transitive and di-transitive verbs form the basis of simple clauses. However, there are many events or states which are expressed by complex verbal phrases consisting of a noun and verb with nominals forming an essential part of the verbal's meaning. In such instances, the whole verb phrase must be regarded as a complex head. There are no valency changing operations except for an intransitiviser morpheme. A verb's valency is more or less fixed with some non-productive morphemes affecting the verb's transitivity and with periphrastic constructions for expressing inchoative and causative meanings. Basic sentence types, verbal and nominal phrases as well as some complex sentences are briefly examined in Chapter 5.

The following study is a sketch grammar of Meryam Mir with special attention to verbal morphology and the system of deixis.

3. Previous Research on the Language.

Earlier work on Meryam has been limited in quantity and quality. In 1893, Ray and Haddon published a study of vocabularies and grammatical notes drawn from various missionaries', explorers' and researchers' notes. Unfortunately, the study is subject to the contributors' spelling idiosyncracies, e.g. 'Maer' for Mer, to interpretations of the sort: 'I think the variation of initial vowel is only due to the influence of individual choice', and to dubious meanings because of personal beliefs, e.g. omare 'mercy'.

The most extensive study is that of Ray (1907) which provides some 40 pages of grammar, 30 pages of vocabulary and 30 pages of texts. Such a study provides the opportunity to compare earlier and later forms of the grammar.

A more recent work was undertaken by Bartos (1977), who provides a preliminary study of the sounds of the language, and a paper by McConvell (1983), who examines ergativity and verb agreement in the language to demonstrate that Meryam cannot be said to be fully ergative or accusative in its system.

In addition, there are a number of primary sources such as texts produced by Meryam students at the School of Australian Linguistics in the newsletter Ngali and field notes kindly made available by Rigsby.

Aside from the sources listed above, the material for this study was mainly drawn from data collected from 7 months' fieldwork on Mer (Murray Island) during the periods October 1987-January 1988 and from April-June 1988.

4. Ethnographic Notes.

Mer can only be described as a tropical paradise with swaying palms and deep crystal-blue coral sea. The two islands close-by to Mer are the islands of Dawar and Wayer, to which people often travel on the weekends in order to get away from the 'hustle and bustle' of the main island (see map on p. v). These islands are said to have been created when the wind blew up the nostrils of a mythological ancestor, Gílam, who then sneezed, throwing two seeds into the water which then became the islands. Gílam travelled across from Mówa Island inside the shape of a dugong which he had carved from wood in a desperate attempt to get away from his mother! When he came to Mer, he lay down on what became the hill of Gílam, flicked the left flipper of the dugong, which was filled with food, and created a rich and productive soil found especially on the eastern side of the island.

The fertile volcanic soil and dense coral reef surrounding the islands provide the people of Mer with ample food supplies such as fish, sardines, turtles and many different types of yams, cassava, bananas, coconuts, mangoes, pawpaws, bellfruit, wild almonds and countless others.

The people are Melanesian with their own distinctive language and culture although there have been, and continue to be, strong influences from contact with other Torres Strait Islanders, Europeans, South Pacific Islanders (at least in former times), and many other peoples. In the late nineteenth century, Europeans became interested in the area for evangelistic reasons and for commercial reasons as it is rich in marine resources. The widespread effects of this contact on the culture and language are evidenced, for example, in songs and dances. Meryam people, however, pride themselves on their retention of the original songs and dances of Mer which they appropriately call **kab-kar** 'true dance' (lit: dance-intensifier).

Ceremonies, both religious and secular, draw people together at various times of the year, especially around Christmas when many people return home to see family and friends. There will be feasts, singing and dancing sometimes lasting all through the night for several consecutive evenings. At such times, two groups of dancers will playfully compete with each other as to who can dance the best and the longest. The two groups are named after two clan names, Péybri and Kómet, although members are not exclusively from these clans.

Island life appears idyllic but there are pressures exerted on the community. These come from family and community who have a strong desire to develop

the island, to establish a standard of living comparable to that enjoyed by mainland Australians and to make a better future for their children.

5. Sociolinguistic Notes.

A special form of the language is used for grieving or expressing sympathy for an individual. This speech style is called **nas+nas mir** 'sorry talk' (lit: sad Adj word) and only affects verbs by either changing the first vowel to /o/ or /u/ or by inserting a bilabial glide between the initial consonant and vowel; e.g. **dáli** 'be PrImpf' ---> **dwáli** 'be PrImpf in sorry talk'; **digem** 'walk' ---> **dogem** 'walk in sorry talk' (see the section in Phonology on glides p. 10).

Whilst all Meryam speakers on Mer can talk some Creole, it is not the case that all Creole speakers can talk Meryam. For this reason, community affairs are generally conducted in Creole. For example, when council candidates were giving their election speech during my stay, only one out of six candidates delivered their speech in Meryam.

Furthermore, even with Meryam speakers, there is code-switching depending upon the topic and addressee. In the family home, parents often address their children in Creole, switching to Meryam when they want to discuss something which does not concern them. However, many younger people in their twenties and below, only have a passive knowledge of Meryam and, consequently, always converse in Creole. It is only speakers in their mid-thirties and above, with a sufficient grasp of Meryam, who can converse in it.

The language of education is English with Creole used informally in the classroom for giving instructions or explaining difficult concepts. Meryam is taught for only half an hour or an hour a week in the school and is funded by the Commonwealth government.

The Creole spoken on Mer (and on the other Eastern Islands, see Shnukal 1988) does have a high proportion of Meryam lexical items. Similarly, speakers of Meryam also employ Creole words although the proportion may vary enormously from speaker to speaker and topic to topic. There are sometimes preferences for words from a particular language and meanings can differ from one language to another. For example, the Creole kinship terms **sísi** 'sister' and **bála** 'brother' are used far more frequently than the Meryam term **berbet** 'sibling'. An example of semantic shift is the instance of two children from one family who use Creole terms **mami** 'mummy' and **dadi** 'daddy' for their parents and the Meryam terms **ama** 'mother' and **bab** 'father' for their grandparents instead of the Meryam term **kayed** or **ata** for 'grandparent'.

Not all speakers of Meryam have the same command and knowledge of the language and future research must aim at documenting the range and differences in forms, functions and meanings comparing conservative Meryam and Creole.

CHAPTER ONE

PHONOLOGY

1.1.1 Chart of Consonant Phonemes.

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar
Oral Stops	voiceless	p	t	k
	voiced	b	d	g
Nasal Stops		m	n	
Fricatives	voiceless		s	
	voiced		z	
Lateral			l	
Tap			r	
Glides		w		y

1.1.2 Allophones and their Environments.

<p>/p/-----> Ch /#-</p> <p>/t/ [aspirated]</p> <p>/k/</p>		<p>phagás 'upper arm'</p> <p>thiríg 'tooth'</p> <p>khephér 'puddle, pool'</p> <p>ayphús 'basket'</p> <p>uthéb 'place'</p> <p>khoskhír '(married) female'</p> <p>esphí 'urine'</p> <p>arthí 'octopus'</p> <p>kherkhér 'fish with eggs'</p>
<p>-----> C /-C</p>	<p>/V(C)-V</p>	<p>ákmey 'immerse'</p> <p>atkhópar 'decorated'</p> <p>abkhórep 'as previously'</p>
<p>-----> Ch~ C /elsewhere</p>		<p>marép 'thick bamboo'</p> <p>khurúp 'fruit'</p> <p>sárik 'gun, bow'</p> <p>phaphékh 'mat'</p> <p>míphud 'thin bamboo'</p> <p>áthi 'journey'</p>

Comments.

The allophones and environments given above differ in part to those proposed by Bartos (1977) who postulated allophones for each stop (voiced or voiceless) distinguishing heavy aspiration word finally, light aspiration word initially and in some cases, word medially, and non-aspiration 'elsewhere'. With the current corpus, aspiration was found to be obligatory only at the beginning of a syllable.

There are counter-examples to the analysis proposed by Bartos, notably examples of non-aspirated stops in word final position, e.g. *kurúp* 'fruit', *sárik* 'gun, bow'. Whilst there are instances of something that might be perceived as 'heavy aspiration', this may be due to the emphasis placed on certain syllables within words or within larger segments of discourse. For example, the following lexical item was elicited with word-final aspiration:

thuph 'sardine'

Within an utterance, the item may have its final stop joined onto the next syllable of the following word if it begins with a vowel:

ka na- bá thúpatmár- em
 1Sg Fut1-go sardine#scoop-All
 'I am going to scoop sardines.'

The example demonstrates that the phenomenon is not necessarily a feature of the phoneme but rather a feature of external sandhi. This would account for the use of 'heavy aspiration' found in words collected in elicitation where the speaker might emphasize the particular item. One way of verifying this would be to collect lexical items in isolation as well as in context.

/k/

/g/

Bartos proposes 3 different allophones for velar stops that are produced with the dorsal part of the tongue: palatal-velar [<k][<g], velar [k] [g] and back velar [>k][>g]. The environments can be summarized as follows:

/k/	----->	<k	/#-i,e	/g/	----->	<g	/#-i,e
			/i,e-i,e				/i,e-i,e
	----->	>k	/#-a,o		----->	>g	/#-o
			/a,o-a,o				/o-o
			/a,o-#				/a,o,u-#
	----->	k	/elsewhere		----->	g	/elsewhere

The allophones and environments given are plausible although the environments given by Bartos for the allophones [>k] and [>g] are not identical. However, the current corpus of data does not reveal any significant differences in the point of articulation of these stops. There may be slight fronting of the velar stop when it is followed by a front vowel and slight backing when it is followed

by a non-front vowel. This is evidenced by the high degree of friction or hissing sound that can occur upon the stop's release. However, the change at the point of articulation is minimal.

/r/

/r/-----> ɹ (continuant) ~ r (tap) / C-

izɹúm 'ant sp.'

asɹí 'hear Pf'

isfí 'drag out of water Pf'

bázɹeɹ 'writhe Impf'

etɹúm 'come down'

dámɹiki 'flog Pf'

~ dámɹiki

darátkapɹida 'tie 2 things together'

~ darátkapɹida

gaɹóm 'fish sp.'

urút 'year'

orwáy 'image, shape'

erép 'cut'

kimyár '(married) male'

newɹ 'girl, (unmarried) female'

ebúr 'animal'

ar tí 'octopus'

igár di 'take someone Pf'

gergér 'day, daylight'

perpér 'light'

-----> r / V-V

-----> r ~ r / elsewhere

Optional Rule of Rhotic Harmony:

Rhotic-----> ɹ / ɹV(V)-

asɹéɹ 'hear n PrImpf'

dekétɹeɹ 'peep n PrImpf'

dikɹí(y)eɹ 'sing n PrImpf'

~dikɹí(y)eɹ

gerér 'pandanus'

-----> r / rV(V)-

This is more of a tendency than a rule given that the following items occur in the data:

dekétɹeɹ 'peep n PrImpf'

dikásɹeɹ 'cook n PrImpf'

Comments.

The reader should note that the allophones along with their environments are based on a sample of speech of generally older, possibly more conservative speakers whilst others appear to use, to a greater degree, the

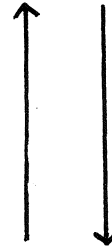
continuant. (This has been confirmed by Rigsby p.c. having worked with an informant who only used the continuant). No taped or elicited material has been collected for specifically documenting this and comments are based on casual observation. It is at least suggestive, however, that the variation between the tap and continuant is the result of diachronic change reflected in a synchronic study. This may be an influence from English.

The change may be as follows. For some speakers, the tap has weakened to a continuant when preceded by a consonant that occurs at the same point of articulation, ie. an alveolar. Rather than producing the alveolar sound then bringing the tongue back to the same place of articulation for the tap, it is easier and faster to weaken the tap to an approximant. The change, which may have started only in these types of clusters, ^{it has spread} is spreading. For some conservative speakers, ~~to~~ most non-alveolar clusters but not to peripheral voiced oral stops for some reason. Thus in the data collected, there are no examples of peripheral voiced stops followed by a continuant:

detágrɪ 'say Pf'	?detagɹi
ábra '3SgGen'	?abɹa

Elsewhere (word finally and in non-clusters), the tap still occurs. However, for other speakers, the continuant is being used more and more. The diachronic change can be very tentatively schematised as follows:

- (i) r / everywhere
- (ii) r / C [peripheral voiced oral stop] -
- (iii) ɹ / C [alveolar] -
- (iv) ɹ / C -
- (v) ɹ / everywhere



The arrows are an attempt to show a dynamic process of change rather than a static state. More conservative speakers move down the scale while less conservative speakers move up the scale. The former will call the language **Meɹyam Miɹ** and the latter will call it **Meɹyam Miɹ**.

The distinction between a trill versus a tap may be erroneous as the rhotic is never really trilled. What occurs in most instances is a tap or a continuant. It does appear that in words ending in a rhotic such as **berdér** 'mud', the sound produced is often a tap followed by a voiceless alveolar fricative whereby the tongue is not actually hitting the roof of the mouth but the air is passing through in a series of bursts suggestive that the speaker is at least approximating to a trill. On the other hand, this may be the result of the high pitch accent occurring on that syllable and what is being heard is air turbulence produced by a large amount of energy. In words where the rhotic occurs in non-final position, the sound produced is a tap or a continuant and elsewhere, it may be a tap or trill.

/s/

/z/

The voiced and voiceless fricatives are produced with the apex of the tongue positioned close to the alveolar ridge in order to create air turbulence.

/l/

/l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral which can sometimes sound quite 'dark' or velarized when it occurs at the end of a word or syllable:

/l/	----->ɫ / - #	meɫpál 'black sea snake'
	C	Gálɫaɫ 'nickname for Gáliga'
		Buɫbúɫ 'place name'
		mányapuɫ 'pawpaw'
		abál 'pandanus fruit'
	----->l /elsewhere	lam 'leaf'
		golí 'squid sp.'
		nálu 'what?'

/m/

/n/

The voiced nasal stops are produced by air passing through the nasal cavity with the lips pressed together for the bilabial stop and the tongue pressed against the alveolar ridge for the alveolar stop. Note that the nasal stops correspond to the point of articulation of the bilabial and apical stops although there is a gap in the system as there is no nasal corresponding to the velar oral stop.

/w/

/y/

The glides include the bilabial continuant /w/ and the palatal continuant /y/. It is not clear-cut as to whether these are phonemically consonants or vowels and the following discussion raises some of the reasons for considering each analysis in preference to the other.

Arguments for considering the glides as underlying vowels:

- (i) There is a speech style called **nasnás mir** 'sorry talk' which is used by the speaker to convey sympathy/grief for the topic (which might also be the addressee). The phonetic change that takes place only affects verbs and more specifically the initial vowel or vowel plus glide sequence in the verb. If the initial vowel is /a/, then a glide /w/ is prefixed to it. If it is any other vowel or vowel plus glide, these are deleted and a back vowel /u/, /o/ or /w/ is inserted:

#V[+high,+front] C V[+high,+front] ----> #u C V[+high,+front]

#(C) á ----> #(C) wá

elsewhere -----> #(C) o

For example:

dá-li -----> **dwáli** 'n PLS be(person) PrImpf'

digém -----> **dogém** 'walk'

eró -----> **oró** 'eat'

irí -----> **urí** 'smoke, drink'

When there is a vowel plus glide sequence, both phones are deleted and replaced by a back vowel:

éwpamaret-----> **ópamaret** 'jump'

This provides some evidence that these are underlying vowels for the fact is that the replacement by the vowel affects both vowel and glide if there is one. This suggests that glides could be part of the vowel system as rules affecting vowels also affect them.

On the other hand, it is generally regarded that glides do share features in common with vowels and hence their frequent label as semi-vowels. The above phonetic changes can simply be regarded as evidence of features in common between vowels and glides.

(ii) There is an example of a word that has the sequence glide plus vowel and when it is abbreviated, the glide becomes syllabic which suggests it must be underlyingly a vowel:

negwám -----> **negú** 'cousin' (i.e. w --> u)

Conversely, one can state the change in terms of a glide becoming syllabic when there is no other vowel in the syllable.

(iii) There is morphophonemic evidence that at least some verbs have as their underlying form a vowel sequence rather than a vowel plus glide sequence:

b-ós 'pl S be born'

é-wsmer 'n PLS be born' (i.e. underlyingly eo)

parallel to:

bá-wm 'pl S die'

é-wmi 'nonpl S die' (i.e. underlyingly ew)

The use of the glide symbol in the word **éwsmer** obscures the morphophonemic relationship between the sequence /ew/ and /o/ whereas if one represents it as a vowel sequence /eo/ (with rules that apply later and transform the sequence eo --->ew, the change is more transparent and easier to account for. However, the relationship between the two forms is not always as clear. If one considers the following examples where the future 1st person is marked by the infixation of the vowel /a/, in the first example, i--->aw whilst in the second example, i---->ay:

díski 'open Sg/DualO'

dáwskilu 'open Sg/DualO Fut1'

dími 'close Sg/DualO'

dáymilu 'close Sg/DualO Fut1'

Thus, the rule can only be formulated very generally stating that an accented vowel will become a vowel plus glide sequence when an affix (prefix or infix) is attached. Is it appropriate to use morphology to prove something in the domain of phonology? Whilst it is the linguist's task to assemble data from all areas and assess these in relation to each other, it does not necessarily follow that an analysis in one area justifies a particular analysis in a different area.

(iv) There are examples in the data where the vowel plus glide sequence sounds like a complex rather than a single peak; it sounds like two syllables rather than a single syllable. Examples contrasting single and complex peaks follow:

péybri~péíbri 'name of a clan, moiety(?)'(3syll) peym 'dream'(1syll)

báwr~ báúr 'spear'(2syll)

baw 'enter'(1syll)

Béwr~ Béúr 'village name'(2syll)

Dew 'village name'(1syll)

Note that if the examples in the first group were transcribed with the extra syllable (e.g. eyi), then there could be no claim that the underlying forms were a monophone vowel sequence as they would represent a sequence of two syllables with the glide marking a syllable boundary. On the other hand, if these were transcribed as a single syllable (e.g. eyC), the task would remain to account for why the first group of words sound different to the second group and if these are phonetically as opposed to phonemically distinct.

There are two complex peaks in the following environments:

(i) There is an accented vowel /e/ and palatal glide followed by a voiced consonant cluster, e.g. péybri [péibri] 'clan name', éyrsida [éírsida] 'SgS moored (Pf)'. Contrast with: neys [neys] 'two', peym [peym] 'dream', deyb [deyb] 'swelling, mound'.

(ii) There is a front accented vowel and bilabial glide followed by a consonant, e.g. éwmida [éúmida] 'SgS die (Pf)', gewm [géúm] 'fear', íwri [íúri] ~ éwri [éúri] 'SgS weave (Pf)', newr [néúr] 'unmarried female', newd [néúd] 'parrot fish', éwsmida [éúsmeda] 'SgS come out (Pf)', éwtmer [éútmer] 'ask'. Contrast with: new [new] 'ripe', Dew [dew] 'village name'.

(iii) There is an accented vowel and glide followed by a voiced consonant /r/, e.g. toyr [tóir] 'fat', gayr [gáir] 'many', wawr [wáúr] 'type of wind', báwr [báúr] 'spear', teyr [téir] 'decorated'. Contrast with: ays [ays] 'bring Pauc/PIO', Kóyti [kóyti] 'name of person', waw [waw] 'yes', Bawz [báwz] 'name of village', áwmkep [áwmkep] 'type of cloud', áydir+áydir [áydir+aydir] 'lie Adj'.

The same data could be examined reaching the conclusion that a vowel sequence is a valid analysis. Glides do share features with vowels and their

ability to become syllabic or maybe make the syllable sound longer is a consequence of one such feature.

Arguments for considering the glides as underlying consonants.

(i) There are only sequences of vowel plus glides or glides plus vowels within the one syllable. Other vowel sequences always occur over two syllables with a glide intervening although it may not be very prominent, e.g. **kayéd** 'grandparent', **keyár** 'crayfish', **éyu** 'type of grass', **íyu** 'tears Instr', **Mówa** 'island name'. Phonotactically, the glide occurs in a position typically occupied by a consonant and thus, could be regarded as part of the consonant system.

(ii) With some lexemes, there are examples of two glides and a vowel within the one syllable:

syaw 'sneeze'

bway 'kinspeople'

way 'seed inside the coconut'

yey 'large blind shark'

waw 'yes, hole'

If glides are analysed as underlying vowels, then an account must be made in the phonotactics of a possible sequence of three vowels- a somewhat unusual phenomenon amongst languages of the world. If, however, the glides are analysed as underlying consonants, then a sequence CVC can be hypothesized- a pattern which can be found elsewhere in the language.

The analysis of glides as consonants will still require further specification in the phonotactic outline of the language because the only clusters that are permitted word initially are those of a consonant plus glide type.

(iii) Glides will have to be postulated to account for their use across morpheme boundaries:

tutú-em~tutúw-em 'type of doll-all'

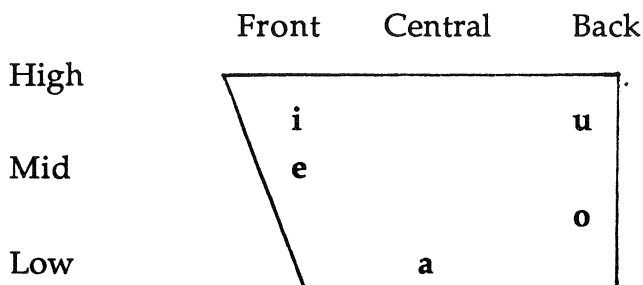
í-u~íy-u 'tears-instr'

ó+o~ów+o 'courageous' (lit: liver+liver)

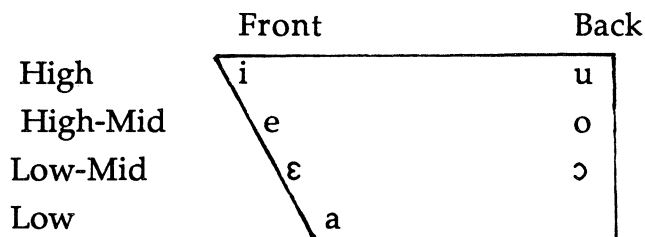
le-ém~ley-ém~le-m 'person-all'

The decision as to whether glides are part of the consonant system or part of the vowel system cannot be made at this stage of the analysis. More data and evidence needs to be collected. In this analysis, glides will be presented as part of the consonant system although this is only tentative.

1.2 Chart of Vowel Phonemes.



Compare to the cardinal vowels (Catford, 1982; 179):



The analysis of Meryam Mir vowels remains to be undertaken and what follows is more of an informal discussion. The high vowels /i,u/ do not sound like cardinal high vowels and hence have not been placed in the far corners of the vowel chart but in slightly lower and more central positions ie. they sound more like [ɨ] and [ɯ]. In addition, the high vowels can be said to have neutral lip articulation for the front vowel /i / and only partial lip-rounding for the back vowel /u/. Note that the non-high front vowel /e/ is a mid-vowel on the vowel chart and is articulated somewhere in between [e] and [ɛ]. The non-high back vowel /o/ is articulated more like cardinal vowel [ɔ] but as there is no phonemic contrast between [o] and [ɔ], the symbol /o/ can be used. There is a central vowel /a/. A full description of the vowels' allophones will not be undertaken in this study.

There is a non-contrastive length distinction with all vowels tending to be longer when they occur in accented initial syllable non-monosyllabic phonological words. For example:

- í:tmer 'ask'
- í:ter 'sink'
- á:kmey 'immerse'
- á:bu 'go down'
- ó:mar 'good feeling'
- ó:ger 'go up *n* PrImpf'
- ú:t eydi 'go to sleep' (lit: sleep lie)
- é:rwer 'teach'

Contrast the above with the following monosyllabic words:

- is 'pull out PLO'

a conjunction

op 'face, front'

ut 'sleep'

ep 'carry SgO'

Parallel to this are words beginning with a consonant which may or may not be lengthened when the accent is on the first syllable:

kí:kem ~ kíkem 'afternoon'

tá:bo ~ tábo 'neck'

t-ó:ger ~ t-óger 'come up *n* PrImpf'

Likewise with words in which the accented vowel is followed by a voiced consonant, the vowel may or may not be lengthened:

ir+í:r 'soupy Adj'

lu gíz 'ancestor' (lit: thing, tree-trunk, base)

erá:r 'tiredness'

i:z 'groper' (compare with is 'take out PlO')

Compare:

dirsír 'prepare'

bar+bár 'crooked'

idím 'morning'

wag-ém 'for wind' (lit: wind-All)

purúd 'cover, shelter'

og+óg 'dirty'

The generalization can be formulated as follows: Accented vowels in word initial position for non-monosyllabic words can be lengthened. Elsewhere the accented vowel can be lengthened when followed by a voiced consonant.

There are several lexical items where the front vowels /i, e/ appear to be in free alternation in unstressed position. This may be that there is some variation in their realisation when they do not contrast and consequently there is no risk of confusion. Hence, the varying orthography between **Meryam** and **Miryam**.

Consider also:

omáskir~ omásker 'children'

mikír~mekír 'almond tree'

kirím~kerím 'head'

kila(r)+kila(r) 'strong'; kelar 'strength'

gilar~gelar 'law'

Nonetheless, one would not want to consider these as a single phoneme as there are minimal pairs where they do contrast:

gim 'illness'

gem 'body'

mir 'word, language'

Mer 'Murray Island'

wit 'wrong-doing'

wet 'instrument used for skinning coconuts'

li 'faeces'

le 'person'

Furthermore, even when these are unaccented they can contrast:

etkír 'undress Plclothes' itkír 'rub off'

etrúm 'come down' itrúm 'bring down'

emrí 'sit down' imrí 'seat'

1.3 Pitch-Accent.

Accent is distinctive in the language as words are contrasted according to the particular syllable on which accent is placed. There are a number of minimal pairs which contrast solely through accent placement. In the following examples, the first set of disyllabic words have the accent on the first syllable whilst the second set have it on the second syllable:

Ṽ - V

tábo 'snake'

kíkem 'afternoon'

ú ni 'coconut juice'

díkayr 'wait'

ísi 'take out Pauc/PIO perf'

báger 'type of spear'

V - Ṽ

tabó 'neck'

kikém 'initially, firstly'

uní 'fish sp.'

dikáyr 'leave alone'

isí 'centipede'

báder 'PLS land'

What exactly is meant by 'accent'? There is no consensus amongst linguists who have worked on the language as to what feature or bundle of features mark the 'accent'. Bartos (1977) refers to the feature as 'stress' but fails to characterize or define it. McConvell (1983) refers to it as 'pitch-accent' with the accented syllable being the one carrying high tone/stress on it. Rigsby (p.c) maintains that an accented syllable may but need not have high tone.

In the current corpus of data, isolated lexical items collected through elicitation have the accented syllable bearing high pitch:

ómar 'good feeling'

umár village name

zyáwali 'book'

apkórep 'habit, manner'

íperedi 'be lying'

imíredi 'be sitting Pr'

dírsi 'be moored'

dirsír 'prepare'

dóbdob 'fat'

kepkep 'few'

dátrum 'cut n PIO'

itrúm 'bring down'

However, when certain inflections or clitics are added or simply within discourse, the accented syllable can shift place or the previous accent bearing syllable will no longer carry high pitch:

ex. le - gíze

person-PIA

'people (A)'

>Wayér pit le - gize
 place point person-PIA
 [- - - - -]

'people of Wayer point'

ex. **kirgír** 'youth', **makrém** 'unmarried man'

>kirgír makrem
 [- - - _]

'male youth'

ex. **erég** 'eat flesh'

>ká ablé lár irg- i
 1SgA Det fishO eat flesh-Pf
 [- - - - -]

'I ate the fish'

Should the definition of accent be altered to include these alternations or should the definition of accent remain correlated with high tone with details given elsewhere as to its interaction with other features such as intonation? It would seem more useful in a descriptive work to keep accent as a discrete linguistic category specifying elsewhere the alternations.

Accent placement is restricted to the first or second syllable of a phonological word. Thus, in disyllabic or polysyllabic words, there is a fall in the pitch following the accented syllable:

ex. **bakyámu**
 [- - _]

'Go!'

ex. **e bakyámu-da**
 [- - - - _]

'(He/she) went.'

ex. **wi bakyámu-daryey**
 [- - - - - _]

'They (2) went.'

ex. **wi ábi etómert-idere**
 [- - - - - - _]

'They (few) showed him.'

Note that the syllable in which the pitch falls from mid to low may be significant. It could be signalling what is sometimes referred to as secondary stress, i.e. high pitch = primary accent, falling pitch = secondary accent. Further research is required in this area.

It is not the case that the secondary accent corresponds to a morphological boundary. For example:

bodómolam 'exchange, payment'

[- - - -]

(contrast with, for example, **bakyamuda**)

There are several monosyllabic homophonous pairs whose accent placement differs when an inflection is added. McConvell (1983) noted that the lexical item **pim** 'finger, grasshopper' carried different accent placement when the ergative inflection was added:

pim-íde 'fingerA'

pím-ide 'grasshopperA'

McConvell also points out the difference in the vowel quality (í, i). The variations in accent placement cannot be the result of the vowel given similar alternations in the accent placement when inflections are added with the item **lag** 'mosquito, smell':

lag-íde 'smellA'

lág-ide 'mosquitoA'

McConvell proposes a morphophonemic notation by transcribing those items retaining accent placement on the root with the accent diacritic:

lág 'mosquito' **lag** 'smell'

pím 'grasshopper' **pim** 'finger'

This proposal seems more like a 'trick' than a solution as both types have high pitch when there are no inflections:

ex. **debé lág** **pé** **dike**
good smells Deix *n* PLS be(name?)
'That is a nice smell.'

ex. **ká** **ablé lág** **asó- li**
1SgA Det mosquitoO hear-PresImpf
'I am listening to the mosquito.'

The retention or loss of the root accent when suffixed by an inflection may be due to an historical development.

1.4 The Syllable.

The syllable remains inadequately defined in linguistics. Attempts have been made to correlate it with acoustic and physical properties such as a chest pulse (Ladefoged, 1975; 220) or by asking the speaker (Ibid; 218). Other attempts have focussed on the different types found within the phonological or phonotactic system appealing to features such as onset, nucleus and coda (Clements and Keyser, 1983; 11) as well as rules generating a set of possible syllabic types for any given language (Kahn, 1980; 39). None of these approaches prove to be entirely satisfactory when attempting to isolate just what is a syllable in a given language.

In this study, the syllable has been arbitrarily selected as corresponding to the following types. A syllable must minimally consist of a vowel:

V o 'liver' VG aw 'big' GV wi '3n Sg' GVG way 'coconut seed'
 CV pi 'dust' CVG pew 'wing' CGV Pyu name CGVG syaw 'sneeze'
 VC op 'face' VGC Awm name GVC wir 'coal' GVGC ways 'take Fut3'
 CVC pit 'nose' CVGClayp 'ear' CGVCnyap 'thirst'CGVGC (no examples)

Some elaboration is required. The glides, at least with regard to the syllable structure, need to be distinguished from consonants as glides can occur with consonants in a word-initial and word-final cluster whereas a consonant cluster (i.e. with no glides) is not possible in these positions. Consequently, I have chosen to treat them as a distinct class in order to preserve phonotactic generalizations. However, note that glides and consonants share features as one would expect and it is sometimes arbitrary to label a sound sequence such as *pew* 'wing, flipper' of the type CVG rather than CVC. For reasons given above, the distinction is best maintained. Any phonemic sequence that is longer than the sequences listed is regarded as non-monosyllabic. Consider, for example:

wáy.su 'vagina'
má.yu 'golden trevally'
mwéy.ni 'woven mat for scooping things'
mak.rém ~ ma.krém 'unmarried male'
kim.yár ~ ki.myár 'married male'
i.kós 'spear (verb)'
is.mí ~ i.smí 'cut Sg/DualO'

It is sometimes difficult to determine where the boundary lies between two syllables. In such instances, ambisyllabicity must be assigned. This is the case when there is a consonant cluster of two consonants or a consonant plus glide. When there is a glide and consonant cluster, the glide is assigned to the previous syllable and the consonant to the following syllable. If there is a single consonant or glide, then it is typically perceived as belonging to the syllable following.

In addition, affixed morphemes affect the type of syllable structure permitted. To illustrate, consider the following sequence /ks/ found in *sek+sék* 'wrong, bad' (from the reduplicated form *sek?*). Compare this to the verb *iski* 'spear Pf' which is derived from the root *ikos* suffixed with the perfective marker -i triggering final vowel deletion (parallel to the verb *dirpi* 'sweep Pf' derived from the verb root *dirup*). Thus, reduplication allows different consonant clusters to those found at other morpheme boundaries.

1.5.1 Phonotactics.

The phonotactic structure of the language may be very generally stated as follows. All single consonants, vowels or glides, can occur in word-initial and final position except /r/, which cannot occur word-initially (see discussion below).

There are no consonant clusters that can occur word-initially or word-finally although as mentioned in the previous section, consonant plus glide clusters can occur word-initially, and glide plus consonant clusters can occur word-finally.

The types of consonant clusters which can occur in word-medial position are not restricted and gaps in their occurrence are likely to be due to the paucity of data rather than actual restrictions. This apparent freedom in cluster types is the result of nouns and verbs formed into complex stems, processes such as reduplication and vowel deletion with certain conjugations and affixation of certain morphemes. The examples given in the section on syllables indicated that an analysis which relies on the occurrence of phoneme sequences alone, i.e. a phonotactic study, will fail to predict why some consonant clusters are acceptable whilst others are not (such as consonant clusters at word boundaries). It was suggested that a closer examination of the internal structure of the syllable might be a more profitable way of looking at the data. An alternative approach would be to examine whether clusters differ within a word root as opposed to at a morpheme boundary. It is not always, however, apparent where the root boundaries are.

This study will restrict itself to giving examples and listing the consonant clusters that have been collected.

The basic phonotactic structure of a word is as follows:

$(C_1)V(CC_2V)(C_3)^*$

where

V= any vowel

u 'coconut (tree)'

e '3SgA/S'

i 'tears', deictic marker

a conjunction

o 'liver'

C1= all consonants (glides are included in this category) can occur word initially except /r/

One word has been collected starting with /r/ namely **rom** 'type of dark cloud which appears out at sea'. However, this word only appears in a song and may have been borrowed from Kalaw Lagaw Ya or some other language.

pi 'dust'

mi 'clam'

si 'goanna'

lom 'mould'

wi '3n Sg A/S'

* Note that at a morpheme boundary, a *vv* sequence is possible, i.e. ama-em 'to mother', or an epenthetic vowel can be inserted, i.e. ama-y-em. 20

yáko deictic marker

The reader should note that it is only a handful of words that have been collected commencing with the palatal glide /y/.

All consonants (except n and l) can be followed by a bilabial glide in word-initial or medial position subject to the general phonotactic conditions of the language; e.g. the tap cannot occur in word-initial position.

• consonant + w

pw	pwar 'type of vine'
bw	bway 'kinspeople'
tw	twábuki 'return '
dw	dwáli 'sorry talk: be(person) PrImpf'
kw	ikwár 'give'
gw	gway 'frog'
mw	mwéyni 'type of woven mat for scooping things'
sw	eswáw 'thank-you'
zw	izwi 'cry tears Pf'
rw	orwáy 'image, replication, picture'

All consonants (except t, d and l) can be followed by a palatal glide and are subject to the same general phonotactic constraints of the language (see phonotactic constraint above).

• consonant + y

py	Pyádaram name of clan
ky	Kyam place name
gy	Gyar place name
my	kimyár '(married) male'
ny	nyáyem 'forever' (lit: a long time-All)
sy	syaw 'sneeze'
zy	zyáwali 'book'
ry	Iryámuris name of mythical ancestor

The reader should note that there is no sequence /by/ given in any of the examples. This is probably just a gap within the data rather than a restriction as all the other consonants occurring with the velar glide include the voiced and voiceless counterpart.

C3= All consonants (including glides) can occur word-finally:

mut	'sound'
un	'pimple'
is	'take out PIO'
iz	'groper'

tul 'flipper (of dugong)'
gur 'sea water'
Dew name of mythical character and village name
bey 'palm leaf'

All consonants (except n and l) can occur preceded by a bilabial glide word-medially and word-finally:

- w + consonant
- wp** **irwápawp** 'hammerhead shark'
wb **kewb-** 'afterwards'
wt **detawt** 'say'
wd **ewd** 'deadly'
wk **máwki-mawki** from the saying:
tag máwkimawki tetér máwkimawki 'hands off, feet off (my land)'
wg **bawg** 'PLS open'
wm **gewm** 'fear'
ws **awsmer** 'birthing N'
wz **áwzi** 'caterpillar'
wr **kawr** 'island'

There are two examples in the data of the sequences /wn/ and /wl/ which might suggest that all consonants can occur with the bilabial glide preceding. However, both of the examples (and there is only one example of each) are obvious English loan words:

tawn English town
pawl English fowl

More examples could be collected at a later date which could refute the claim that these are non-permissible sequences.

All consonants (except l) can occur preceded by a palatal glide:

- y + consonant
- yp** **kayp** 'shell type often used for scraping things'
yb **deyb** 'shallow, hollow'
yt **epáy**t 'pour Pauc/PIO'
yd **út eydi** 'sleep'
yk **páykay** 'end'
yg **náyger** 'nor'easter'
ym **kéymer** 'eldest, right (as opposed to left)'
yn **geyn** 'oyster'
ys **neys** 'two'
yz **béyzam** 'shark'
yr **gayr** 'many'

C2= any consonant can occur word-medially:

ápu 'mother'
abál 'pandanus fruit'
itú 'shave'
ídag 'put down Pauc/PIO'
akáy 'Sg/DualS do'
igár 'talk'
ámi 'put on *n* Pl garment'
nonór 'nostril'
así 'ache'
arí 'drink (N)'
ilúm 'cuttlefish'
awá 'mother's brother'
máyu 'golden trevally'

The following consonant clusters occur word-medially:

• stop + stop

pt **tep+téb** 'alone' (b-->p/- C[voiceless])
tp **ditpí** 'blow Pf'
pk **epkédi** 'be sticking onto something'
kp **pek+pék** 'sided' i.e. something with sides to it
tk **etkéti** 'sew'
kt **tulik+tulik** 'with a knife' (example collected by Rigsby)
bd **baráb-da** 'broken' (p-->b/-C[voiced])
db **nédbi** 'dusk, twilight'
bg **dábger** 'call out'
gb **buzí(g)+buzi(g)** 'rotten, overripe Adj'
dg **adgé** 'outside'
gd **dikmériгда** 'put down resting on something Sg/DualO Pf'

The following generalizations can be drawn. The same voicing distinction must be maintained within the cluster, i.e. voiced+voiced, voiceless+voiceless, *voiced+voiceless, *voiceless+voiced.

• stop + lateral or tap

pl **épli** 'carry PrImpf'
bl **ablé** determiner
tl **detáwtli** 'say PrImpf'
dl **dídli** 'rock in water PrImpf'
kl **emárikli** 'send PrImpf'
gl **lag+lág** 'want, desire'
pr **esápri** 'cook in earth Pauc/PIO Pf'
br **ábra** '3SgGen'

tr	itrí 'sink Pauc/PIO Pf'
dr	út weydrer 'n PIS be asleep Fut3 n PrImpf'
kr	dikrí 'throw away Pauc/PIO, sing'
gr	egrémar 'scan, peruse'
	• lateral or tap + stop
lp	modólpin kaba 'banana sp.' (3 examples only of this consonant cluster)
lb	Bulbúl place name (2 examples only)
lt	kaltóni kaba 'banana sp' (1 example only)
lk	kalkal 'a fowl' (1 example only obtained from Ray)
lg	malgóy 'nice thing' (1 example only)
rp	irp-í 'cut off vegetable matter(?) Pf'
rb	irbí 'punt a vessel Pf'
rt	irtí 'sow Pf'
rd	irdíredi 'n PIS be located Pr'
rk	erkép 'eye'
rg	irgí 'eat flesh Pf'

Judging by the number of examples collected in the data, the frequency of the lateral plus stop cluster is very low. These clusters (i.e. lateral plus consonant) may be the result of borrowing as of the eight examples collected, two refer to names of bananas- a source of potential word loan as different types of bananas were/are exchanged, possibly resulting in the name being introduced into the language from the banana supplier/linguistic group.

The lack of lateral plus voiced alveolar cluster, i.e. /ld/, is probably just a gap. For the cluster /lk/, only one example was obtained from Ray's dictionary.

• oral stop + nasal

tm	ítmer 'ask'
dm	badmírik 'run away'
km	ákmeý 'immerse Sg/DualO'
gm	igmédi 'n PIS be lying still (of liquid)'
pn	op nór 'Barrier Reef' (?compound: op 'face, upper' nor 'reef')
tn	út naydilu 'n PIS sleep fut1sg'
kn	kokní 'knee' (?>kok 'joint' + knee from English)
gn	zegnáypul 'turtle sp.'

Note that amongst the stop plus nasal clusters, there is no /pm, bm, bn, dn/ and the examples with /pn, tn/ are the only ones collected.

• nasal + oral stop

mp	páym+paym 'mad'
mb	bam+bám 'yellow' (< N. bam 'tufneric')
mt	mut+mút 'noisy of non-person made thing'
md	amdár 'slump over'
mk	kem+kém 'pregnant' (< N. kem 'belly')

- mg **emgédi** 'n PIS be lying still (of liquid)' (note: **emgedi~ igmedi**)
- np **wánpun** 'gecko'
- nb **sánbar** loan word from English: sandbar
- ng **Wáybenge** 'on Thursday Island'

There is no /nt/ or /nd/ cluster and only one example of each nasal cluster occurs in the corpus of data.

- fricative + stop

- sp **espí** 'urine'
- sk **miskúrup** 'banana sp.'
- zb **dázboli** 'boil' (English loan?)
- zd **zíz dero** 'make into equal length'
- zg **ázgi** 'put inside Pauc/PIO Pf'

No examples occur where there is a voicing contrast in the cluster. The fact that it is the same restriction as with a stop plus stop cluster suggests this is a semi-generalized rule.

- stop + fricative

- ps **sop+sóp** 'food cooked in banana leaves'
- ts **sabí(t)+sabid** 'food cooked in coconut milk'
- ks **sek+sék** 'wrong, bad'
- gz **giz-méb** 'full moon'

There are too few examples to be able to make any generalizations. Furthermore, only one example of each cluster type has been collected.

- nasal + fricative

- ms **damsi** 'request Pf'
- ns **akánsi** word from a song whose meaning is unknown

No examples have been collected of the sort /mz/ or /nz/. Whilst there are a few examples of /ms/, there is only the single example of /ns/ and this item appears in a song where the singing character is reported to be singing in his own language.

- fricative + nasal

- sm **ismí** 'cut down Pauc/PIO Pf'
- sn **wasnár** 'boat'
- zm **ezmír** 'blow'

No example of the sequence /zn/ is in the data.

- lateral or tap + fricative

- rs **epársir-** 'hit, punch'
- rz **za(r)zér+za(r)zer** 'white'

- fricative + lateral or tap

- sl **áysli** 'carry Pauc/PIO PrImpf'
- zl **Báwzlam** 'from (the village) Bawz'
- sr **asrér** 'listen n PrImpf'

zr **bazrér** 'writhe in pain *n* PrImpf'

- nasal + lateral or tap

ml **digémli** 'walk PrImpf'

mr **emrí** 'sit'

nl **Wáybenlam** 'from Thursday Island'

No /nr/ cluster occurs in the data.

- tap + nasal

rm **irmí** 'pierce, stick into Pf'

rn **nawr+nawr** 'bird sp.' (example collected from Ray)

No lateral plus nasal cluster /lm/ or /ln/ occurs in the data. There is only one example of /r n/ which was collected by Ray.

- nasal + nasal

mm **mamá+mamam** 'red' (reduplication < mam 'blood')

mn **nem+ném** 'with head-lice'(?)

No /nm/ cluster has been collected.

- lateral or tap + tap or lateral

rl **pasérlam** 'from the hill'

No cluster /lr/ has so far occurred in the data. The reader should note that in verbs where the root is suffixed with a morpheme marker commencing with /d/ or /l/, the verb will omit the final /r/ if it has one, e.g. **dekétir** 'take a quick look, glance' -> **dekéti-da** Pf, *deketir-da; **etómer-** 'show' -> **a-tóme-lu** Fut1Sg, *a-tómer-lu. This suggests that a distinction needs to be made between verbs and non-verbs when examining the phonotactic structure of the language.

1.5.2 Summary Table of Consonant Clusters.

The table given below summarizes the clusters collected to date in word-medial position.

(where '-' indicates the absence of the cluster and
'X' indicates the occurrence of the cluster)

C2:	p	t	k	b	d	g	m	n	s	z	l	r
C1:												
p	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	X	X
t	X	-	X	-	-	-	X	X	X	-	X	X
k	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	X	-	X	X
b	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X
d	-	-	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	X	X
g	-	-	-	X	X	-	X	X	-	X	X	X
m	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	-	X	X
n	X	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	X	-	X	-
s	X	-	X	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	X	X
z	-	-	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	X	X
l	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
r	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	-	-

1.6 Orthography.

Consonants:

p t k
 b d g
 m n
 s
 z
 l
 r

Glides:

w y

Vowels:

i u
 e o
 a

Pitch-Accent:

The high pitch mark will only be marked if it occurs on the first vowel in the utterance or phrase. Otherwise, the reader can assume that it is on the second vowel of the utterance or phrase.

CHAPTER TWO

NOMINALS

In this chapter, the different parts of speech will be briefly examined before looking at nominals.

2.1 Parts of Speech.

The following parts of speech need to be distinguished:

Nouns

Verbs

Adjectives

Pronouns

Adverbs

Deictic Markers

Clause Relators

Exclamations/Interjections

Nouns.

Nouns are an open word class including both concrete or abstract nouns. Concepts such as hunger, thirst, fatness and width are expressed in the language as nouns; for example, *ómar* 'good feeling', *weku* 'anger', *werer* 'hunger', *nyap* 'thirst', *dob* 'fatness', *deg* 'width', *piri* 'height', *new* 'ripeness, blister', *kiris* 'rawness'. This class of words is inflected for case through suffixes. Within this class, a distinction needs to be drawn between common nouns, which inflect by distinguishing A from S/O, and proper nouns, which inflect differently for all three cases. There are many compound nouns formed with either two nouns, e.g. *kerim le* 'boss' (*kerim* 'head' and *le* 'person'), or a nominalized verb and noun, e.g. *aro+aro tup* 'sardines' (< *ero* 'eat'+ *tup* 'sardine').

Verbs.

Verbs are an open class of words which refer to either states, e.g. *ut ipe* 'be asleep', processes, e.g. *esk* 'flow', *edug* 'burn', or events, e.g. *éwmi* 'die', *ero* 'eat'. The verb has inflections carrying aspectual/temporal information as well as number/person agreement cross-referencing syntactic arguments. These markers provide the formal characteristics that permit verbs to be categorised into two classes. These two classes have some semantic correlation dividing atelic statives from telic process verbs although class membership can be purely formal. For example, an event such as *ikase* 'go along' is classified, at least morphologically, as an intransitive atelic stative verb, i.e. 'be going along'.

There are a number of existential/locational verbs whose choice is determined by features such as animacy, shape and location of the subject.

Adjectives.

Adjectives are essentially a closed class. These include: **aw** 'big', **kebi** 'little, young', **debe** 'good', **adud** 'bad'. Also included in this class are determiners and quantifier words such as **netat** 'one', **neys** 'two', **kep+kep** 'few', **wáder** 'several', **mitkar** 'alot', **gayr** 'many'. As these items are the most representative of adjectives cross-linguistically, it seems plausible that these are the basic adjectives with others being derived from nouns or verbs. Words which function as adjectives modify a noun in some way or are used attributively in a predicative construction. Their position in the sentence is either before the noun which they modify, or preceding an existential verb when they are used with an ascriptive function.

Pronouns.

Included in this class are personal, interrogative and indefinite pronouns. Personal pronouns are a closed class of shifters. The interrogative and indefinite pronouns differ from personal pronouns syntactically in that the former, interrogatives and indefinites, inflect for case like nouns; the latter, personal pronouns, inflect for case by opposing A/S to O, i.e. on a nominative-accusative pattern.

Adverbs.

Words in this class serve to modify the verb in some way either in manner, e.g. **dudum+dudum** "quickly", or in time, e.g. **mena** 'continue, remain, still', etc. They are a closed class of words but it is possible through derivation to extend this class from other word classes. Adverbs do not bear any inflections and occur in a position preceding the verb.

Deictic Markers.

This is a closed word class in which items occur as phonologically independent units but do not constitute independent utterances by themselves. Their forms are determined by the time of the event relative to the time of the speech act utterance. Aspects of their meaning involve place, e.g. here/there; time, e.g. now/then; referent, e.g. this one, that one; logical relations, e.g. but, instead, what has been said, what is about to be said.

Clause Relators.

Items in this closed class serve to link two syntactic elements together. These might be two phrases or two clauses (and in the case of the conjunction **a**,

this can also be two words). Little can be said about relators without a full study of the types of clause linkage. There will be no discussion about them and they are simply listed with an example of each in the chapter on basic syntax. Note that deictic markers are also used in this category or rather exploited in this category to link two syntactic units together.

Exclamations/Interjections.

Within this class of words are items which have no syntactic value and which can occur as a complete utterance. Examples include **waw** 'yes', **nole** 'no', **way** (~**wey**) 'alas, poor one, dear one', **megiyem** 'yuk' (lit: vomit-All), **mayem** 'welcome', **erarem** 'boring' (lit: tired-All), **ákame~ákasi** 'to express surprise, incredulity', **no bes mimi** 'see you later' (lit: Restr lie wander), **baru** 'okay'. Items in this class need not belong exclusively to this class. Thus, an item such as **mena**, which was discussed earlier as an adverb meaning 'keep on, remaining still', may also be used as an interjection meaning 'hang on, wait'. This class will not be discussed further.

2.2 Noun Morphology.

Nouns, whether functioning as syntactic or local arguments of the verb, must be suffixed with a case inflection. The choice of inflection is determined by the case frame of the verb and the type of nominal; that is whether it is a common or proper noun.

2.2.1 Case Inflections

The case inflections are suffixed with the following forms:

Case Markers	Common Nouns	Proper Nouns
Ergative (A)	-(i)de/-gize	-(i)de
Nominative (S only)		-ø
Accusative (O)	-ø	-i
Locative	-ge	-idog(e)
Instrumental	-u	
Allative		-em/-im
Ablative	-lam	-ilam
Genitive		-(i)ra ~ -i
Associative	-kem	-(ip)kem
Privative	-kak	-itkak

Throughout this study, the terms A, S and O will be used to refer to the subject of a transitive verb (A), the subject of an intransitive verb (S) and the object of a transitive verb (O) as employed by Dixon (1979; 61).

The reader should note that in the case marking of nominals there is a three-way distinction for proper nouns between A, S and O whilst for common nouns, only a two-way distinction between the A and S/O. In contrast to both of these, personal pronouns have a two-way distinction between A/S and O.

1. The ergative case marker **-(i)de/-gize** is used to mark the A of a transitive verb. The suffix **-ide** is used for an A argument unmarked for number whilst **-gize** is used for a non-singular A.

- (2.1) **able wag- ide no ad- em yába nar etkamrik- i**
 Det wind-A Restr out-All 3n SgGen boatO make drift-Pf
 'The wind only drifted their boat further out.' (Déwmer, p208, section4)
- (2.2) **ábi ama- de yába ur- im wá- yg- li**
 3SgGen mother-A 3n SgGen fire-All RemPast-roast Pauc/PIO-PrImpf
 'His mother roasted their's (fish) in the fire for them.'
- (2.3) **lamar-ide kári na- ge- li**
 spirit- A 1SgO 1/2SgO-frighten-PrImpf
 'A ghost has been frightening me.'
- (2.4) **koskir- gize yábi na- wer- da**
 (married) female-PIA 3n SgO 3n SgO-weave-PfPI
 'The women wove them (the mats).'

In addition, there exists another ergative case ending **-et** which occurs far less frequently than the forms given above and whose meaning is not fully explicated. It always has singular reference and most frequently occurs with animate common nouns. It cannot occur with proper nouns. Thus:

- (2.5) **ábi werm-et abab- ise dikepar-er lamar koskir**
 3SgGen child- SgA former-Smbl think- n PrImpf spirit femaleO
 'Her son like before thought (it was) a female ghost / The son thought that she (was) a female ghost.'

(Note the contraction from **werem** 'child'+ **et** 'SgA' ---> **wermet**)

- (2.6) **kári berbet-et dorge ike- li idim- lam...**
 1SgGen sibling-SgA workO make-PrImpf morning-Abl
 'My brother has been working since this morning...'
- (2.7) ***Kinor-et ábi eparsi-da**
 K.- SgA 3SgO punch-PfSg
 'Kinor punched him.'

It can only occur with the A of a transitive verb. It cannot be suffixed to the S of an intransitive verb as in the following example:

- (2.8) ***able apuw- et ut ípe- redi**
 Det mother-SgA sleepN n PIS be lying-Pr
 'The mother is sleeping.'

There is one example of this case occurring with an inanimate common noun, namely *nar* 'boat':

- (2.9) **nar- et lu t- ikawert- i**
 boat-SgA thingO Deix-transport-Pf
 'The boat brought it.'

The above example (2.9) need not be contradictory to the animacy classification of the marker. Speakers might regard boats as having a certain amount of independency and hence, animacy; i.e. they float by themselves, they propel themselves by the wind and not human agents. Furthermore, it is the only apparent counter-example to the animacy hypothesis. However, speakers do not state that the contrast between the ergative case markers *-ide* and *-et* is based on an animacy distinction and nouns which can be marked by the suffix *-et* can also be marked by *-ide*; this demonstrates that such categories are not mutually exclusive. It may be that the ergative case marker *-et* marks nouns as overtly singular given the ungrammaticality with nonsingular nouns, e.g. **neys nar-et* 'two boats (A)', and hence, it has been glossed as 'SgA'. Contrast this with the grammaticality of the marker *-ide* with nonsingular nouns, e.g. *neys nar-ide* 'two boats (A)'.

There are morphophonological alternations:

- ide* -> *-de* / V+ ex. **ama-de** mother-A
-ide / elsewhere ex. **bab-ide** father-A

2. The \emptyset case marker is used with proper nouns to mark the S of an intransitive verb:

- (2.10) **Mesnare- \emptyset ta- bakyamu- da**
 M.- S Deix-Sg/DualS go-PfSg
 'Mesnare came.'

- (2.11) **Kosir- \emptyset út ipe- redi**
 K.- S sleepN. *n* PLS be lying-Pr
 'Kosir is sleeping.'

(Note that the \emptyset marker is not overtly marked elsewhere in this study. For example:

- (2.12) **Kosir út ipe- redi**
 K. S. sleepN. *n* PLS be lying-Pr
 'Kosir is sleeping.')

3. The *-i* case marker is used with proper nouns to mark the O of a transitive verb:

- (2.13) **ka Mer-i dásmer-i mi ebur- ge**
 1SgA M.- O see- Pf sky animal-Loc
 'I saw Murray Island from the plane.'

(Note that **ebur**, meaning basically 'animal', can be extended to cover the object 'aeroplane'.)

- (2.14) **e Eydyana-y etapert-i**
3SgA E.- O growl- Pf
'He growled Eidiana.'

There are also morphophonological alternations:

- i -> -y / V+ - ex. **Selayna-y** 'Selaina (O)'
-Ø / y+ - ex. **Pomoy-Ø** 'Pomoy (O)'
-i / elsewhere ex. **Kinor-i** 'Kinor (O)'

4. The **-ø** case inflection is also used with common nouns to mark both the S of an intransitive verb and the O of a transitive verb, i.e. an absolutive case pattern:

- (2.15) **able aw le- Ø áb- i**
Det big person-S fall-Pf
'The old man fell.'

- (2.16) **able kebi lel- ut aw le- Ø eparsi-da**
Det little person-SgA big person-O hit- PfSg
'The youth punched the old man.'

5. The locative case inflection (**-ge / -idoge**) is used to mark the place where the event occurs or the end point of a verb of motion:

- (2.17) **ka meta- ge b- á- dari**
1SgS house-Loc Intr-put in Sg/DualO-PfSg
'I entered into the house.'

- (2.18) **e lewer t- ero-li taba uteb- ge**
3SgA foodO Deix-eat-PrImpf 3Gen place-Loc
'He is eating at his place.'

The form **-idoge** is used to mark the Locative case with proper nouns:

- (2.19) **Léz-idoge**
L.- Loc
'at Les''
***Lez-ge**

It can also be used with a proper noun to indicate the possessor's place, i.e. the person's place at which the event occurs:

- (2.20) **ka ut éydi- da Eydyana-ydoge**
1SgS sleepN. n PLS lie down-PfSg E.- Loc
'I slept at Eidiana's place.'

(The example given above might also be possible to interpret with a comitative meaning although this has to be checked.)

The locative case is also used with a secondary meaning with animate nouns to convey the meaning of accompaniment, i.e. a comitative meaning:

- (2.21) **e ábi kimyar- ge digm-í pamas-em**
 3SgS 3SgGen married male-Loc walk-Pf shop- All
 'She walked with her husband to the shops.'

There is a syntactic restriction in that there cannot be two locative arguments used in a single clause. Contrast the previous example (2.21) in which the allative case is used for the second peripheral argument with the following ungrammatical example (2.22) where two locative arguments occur:

- (2.22) ***e abi kimyar-ge digmi pamas-ge**
 Loc

The restriction on two locative phrases co-occurring is resolved by either the phrase referring to a place being marked with the allative case or the animate noun being marked with the associative case:

- (2.23) **wi kimyar- kem na- mi- redi able uteb- ge**
 3n SgS married male-Ass 3n SgS-n PIS be sitting-PrImpf Det place-Loc
 'The two of them, she along with her husband. are sitting at that place.'

There is a correlation between the locative case, used with animate nouns to mark accompaniment with verbs of motion, and the associative case, used with animate nouns to mark accompaniment with verbs of non-motion.

The locative case can sometimes be used as a local (syntactic?) argument reflecting cultural mores or habits. Consider the verb **ispi(r)** 'marry, hide' tr.vb. and **espi(r)** intr.vb.:

- (2.24) **kimyar- ide ábi ispi- da**
 married male-A 3SgO marry-PfSg
 'The man married her.'

Contrast with the following:

- (2.25) **koskir máyk- e espi- da**
 womanS widower-Loc marry-PfSg
 'The woman married the widower.'

In the first example, the man is the A argument marked by the ergative case whilst in the second example, the woman is the S argument marked by the absolutive case. The widower whom she is marrying is marked by the locative case indicating that it is a peripheral argument and also conveys that the place she will live henceforth will be her husband's abode. (The locative case does not refer to the place where the marriage ceremony was held.)

The locative case is used to mark the physical or emotional state of the experiencer:

- (2.26) **e nyap- ge dá- li**
 3SgS thirst-Loc n PIS be(person)-PrImpf
 'He is thirsty.'

- (2.27) **e géwm-ge dá- li**
 3SgS fear- Loc n PIS be(person)-PrImpf
 'He is scared.'

The locative case is also used in an idiomatic expression suffixed to an animate noun to indicate that a situation or decision is dependent upon the person in question:

(The example was collected with a pronominal form but a nominal could be substituted).

- (2.28) **kemer+kemer kérker mári-doge nagri**
 all Adj time 2Sg- Loc PIS be(thing)
 'The times are up to you.'

(i.e it's all up to you as to how often and how long we work)

(It is unclear what the case inflection is for the adverbial temporal phrase.)

The Locative case is also used to mark specific points in time:

- (2.29) **emeret- ge**
 former time -Loc
 'a long time ago'

- (2.30) **ab- gerger-ge**
 former-day - Loc
 'yesterday'

- (2.31) **idim- ge**
 morning-Loc
 'in the morning, tomorrow'

- (2.32) **máyk-e**
 close- Loc
 'soon, nearby, close'

There are also morphophonological alternations:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| -ge ---> -e / C [+velar stop] - | ex. máyk-e 'with/at the widow's place' |
| -ge / elsewhere | ex. we-ge 'on the beach' |
| -idog(e) ---> -ydoge / V- | ex. ama-ydoge 'with/at mother's place' |
| -∅ / y - | ex. Pomoy -doge 'with/at Pomoy's place' |
| -idoge / elsewhere | ex. Léz-idoge 'with/at Les' place' |

Note that the presence or absence of the final vowel in the inflection **-idog(e)** is in free variation.

6. The instrumental case marker **-u** is used to mark the material, tool or weapon used in performing an action:

- (2.33) **ka lukup- u desaw-i**
 1SgA medicine-Instr rub- Pf
 'I rubbed (it) with ointment.'

(2.34) e papek iwr- i gerer lam-u
 3SgA matO weave-Pf pandanus leaf- Instr
 'She wove the mat with pandanus leaves.'

(2.35) e kéymer pek- u pe eri- li
 3SgS youngest side-Instr Deix *n* PIS dance-PrImpf
 'He is dancing shuffling to the left.'
 (lit. 'He is dancing with the left side')

(Typically dancers shuffle from the right to the left but the narrator was shuffling the opposite way to the other dancers from the left to the right.)

(2.36) e bakyamu- da pamas-em koket- u
 3SgS Sg/DualS go-PfSg shop- All walking stick-Instr
 'He went to the shops with his walking stick (to help him).'

7. The allative case is used to mark the goal/place of motion:

(2.37) ka n(a)- ákome- lu meta- em
 1SgS Fut1-*n* PIS return-Fut1Sg house-All
 'I will go home.'

(2.38) i ba- twer- i gesepe- em
 3*n* SgS PIS-climb down-Pf ground-All
 'They climbed down to the ground.'

It is also used to mark the purposive (of a non-finite clause):

(2.39) ki na- ba lewer-em
 1*n* SgExclS Fut1-go food- All
 'We (excl) will go for food.'

(2.40) ka néwr- em dásme-li
 1SgA/S? unmarried female-All see- PrImpf
 'I am looking for the girl.'

It can also be used as an indirect object, to mark the noun phrase toward which the action is directed. For this reason, the allative case could have been glossed as the dative case as it appears to fulfil some of the functions of the dative. However, as many of the functions are also covered by a second accusative case, the use of the term dative has been omitted from the case system altogether. Following are some examples of the allative case with indirect object function:

(2.41) e deketi- da
 3SgS look quickly-PfSg
 'He glanced over.'

(2.42) e nar- em deketi- da
 3SgS boat-All look quickly-PfSg
 'He glanced over at the boat.'

- (2.43) e ábi digrerd-i
3SgA 3SgO indicate-Pf
'He indicated (it) to her.'
- (2.44) e ábi lar- em digrerd- i
3SgA 3SgO fish-All indicate-Pf
'He indicated the fish to her.'

The allative case can also be used to indicate the end point of a state which has not yet been reached:

- (2.45) kára ama éwd- em eke-li
1SgGen motherS dieN-All do- PrImpf
'My mother is dying.'
- (2.46) able kaba new- em eke-li
Det bananaS ripeness-All do- PrImpf
'The banana is ripening.'

In the above two examples (2.45 and 2.46), the allative case is extended in meaning from change towards a place to change towards an end point.

Like the locative case, the allative case is extended from a spatial to a temporal meaning. When the allative case is used temporally, it marks a point in time which has not yet been reached:

- (2.47) e bakyamu- da nyáy- em
3SgS Sg/DualS go-PfSg always-All
'He is gone forever.'
- (2.48) ka d-a- kay- lu idm- ém
1SgA |-Fut1-|leave-Fut1Sg morning-All
'I will leave it until morning / for the morning.'

(Note: contraction of word, *idim* 'morning, tomorrow'+ *em* 'allative'---> *idmem*)

The variations in the form of the allative case, i.e. *-im*/*-em*, do not appear to be phonologically conditioned and words taking the form *-im* appear as irregularities.

Most words take *-em*:

- (2.49) *nor-em* 'to the reef'
lar-em 'for fish'
kiy-em 'until tonight, for the night'
ut-em 'to/for sleep'
uteb-em 'to the place'
nálug-em 'what for?'

Contrast this with the handful of words below taking the suffix form *-im*:

- (2.50) *gur-im* 'to the sea'
ur-im 'onto the fire i.e. for roasting'
ged-im 'to home/land'
nágad-im ~ *náged-im* 'where to?'

These are the only examples collected ending with **-im**.

8. The ablative case (**-lam/-ilam**), like the allative case, has local, temporal and causal meanings. It is used to mark the point from which there is movement away:

(2.51) **e op- dewday- lam ta- bakyamu- da**
3SgS face-mainland-Abl Deix-Sg/DualS go-PfSg
'He came from Papua New Guinea.'

(2.52) **e t- áb- i paser-lam**
3SgS Deix-climb down-Pf hill- Abl
'He came down from the hill.'

This case inflection can also be used to mark the cause (of a non-finite clause):

(2.53) **ka gim+gim n(a)- á- li wáywi aro- lam**
1SgS illness Adj 1/2SgS-*n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf mangoO eatN-Abl
'I am sick from eating mangoes.'

It can also be extended in meaning to include a temporal notion, i.e. to mark from a particular point in time:

(2.54) **ki-lam** 'from/since last night'
emeret-lam 'from a long time ago'

9. The genitive case (**-ira ~ -ra**) is used to mark the beneficiary or goal of an action:

(2.55) **ka laglag epey a- rapey- lu kári ama- ra**
1SgS wantN basketO Fut1-buy Sg/DualO-Fut1Sg 1SgGen mother-Gen
'I want to buy a basket for my mother.'

Note that there is overlap in the functions of the allative case with its purposive function and the genitive case with its beneficiary function. (It remains to be tested whether it can also be used as a maleficiary.) It could be argued that in Meryam Mir, the genitive case includes within its meaning both a benefactive and purposive meaning. This would account for the more felicitous and common sentence given below with the genitive rather than the allative case:

(2.56) **kára mekir ageg t- iruk- ø**
1SgGen almond(tree) fleshy fruit?O Deix-pluck PIO-Fut2/3sg
'Pick me some almonds.'
?kári-m mekir ageg tiruk
-All

The two cases, namely the genitive and allative case, must have some overlap in their function as well as permitting some slight nuance in meaning because there are examples where the two cases co-occur within a single sentence:

- (2.57) **ka ábra kerkar wáli ti- d- irapey- da**
 1SgA 3SgGen fresh clothingO Deix-3Gen-buy Sg/DualO-PfSg
táwn-ge ábi- m
 town-Loc 3Sg-All
 'I bought him a new shirt in town.'

Clearly more work needs to be done in this area to refine the distinctions between the allative and genitive cases.

The genitive case is used to mark the possessor/owner of an alienable or inalienable object/physical quality/person/body part:

- (2.58) **ka pléyn-ira búmer d- ásr- i**
 1sgA <Eng- Gen soundO 3Gen-hear-Pf
 'I heard the plane's noise.'

- (2.59) **Warib-ira tag ismi-da**
 W.- Gen hand/fingerS cut- PfSg
 'Warib's finger got cut.'

- (2.60) **Lez-ira néwbet éwmi-da**
 L.- Gen FZ S die- PfSg
 'Les' aunty died.'

The genitive case can also be used to mark the experiencer of a physical or emotional state:

- (2.61) **Gáliga-ra werer bark- i**
 G.- Gen hungerS happen-Pf
 'Galiga is hungry/Hunger happened for Galiga.'

- (2.62) **able le- ra weku bark- i**
 Det person-Gen angerS happen-Pf
 'That person is angry/Anger happened for that person.'

The genitive case cannot occur when the complex noun phrase itself is marked by a case as in the following examples. In 2.63, it cannot occur with the locative case; in 2.64, it cannot occur with the ergative case; in 2.65, it cannot occur with the semblative case and in 2.66, it cannot occur within a noun phrase itself marked by the genitive case:

- (2.63) **e ta- da- li Léz-i uteb- ge**
 3SgS Deix-*n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf L- ? place-Loc
 'He is over there at Les' place.'

***e tadali Lez-ira utebge**
 -Gen.

- (2.64) **kári ama- de ábi detagr-i**
 1Sg? mother-A 3SgO tell- Pf
 'My mother told him.'

***kára amade ábi detagri**
 1SgGen

(2.65) **kári bab- ise**
 1Sg? father-Smbl
 'like my father'
 ***kára babise**
 1SgGen

(2.66) **kári ama- ra epey pe ike- redi**
 1Sg? mother-Gen basketS Deix *n* PIS be(thing)-PrImpf
 'This is my mother's basket / My mother's basket is here.'
 ***kára amara epey pe ikeredi**
 1SgGen

The ending suffixed or pronominal form for the absent genitive is phonologically homophonous with the O argument case form for proper nouns, i.e. *-i*, or the accusative pronominal form. One could speculate that the case marker for this argument is the accusative/dative case marker as it is used in adnominal possession, it is typically the base for oblique inflections on proper nouns and pronouns and, it is used to mark definite or human direct objects. Another possibility is that there are alternations in the form of the genitive case morpheme itself, i.e. *-i* ~ *-y*, used when the complex noun phrase in which it occurs carries another case inflection. Evidence that these are indeed morphological alternations of the genitive case can be seen by the fact that these case markers also occur with common nouns (which do not take the case suffix *-i* in the accusative case) when they are in a possessor relation within a case-marked complex phrase:

(2.67) **kári néwr-i kimyar- ide ábi detagr-i**
 1SgGen girl- Gen (married)male-A 3SgO tell- Pf
 'My daughter's husband told him.'

Contrast with the lexical compound **néwr kimyar** 'sister-in-law' where there is no genitive marking (2.83):

(2.68) **kári newr kimyaride ábi detagri**
 'My sister-in-law told him.'

Another example follows of a common noun suffixed with the alternative form of the genitive case:

(2.69) **able ama- y werm-et ábi detagr-i**
 Det mother-Gen child- SgA 3SgO tell- Pf
 'The mother's son told him.'
 ***able ama wermet ábi detagri**

Although the genitive case marker cannot be confused with the accusative case marker in the examples given above, there are many examples in the third person singular where these two functions cannot be distinguished, that is where the (pro)nominal phrase could be analysed as the O argument or as the phonologically reduced genitive case. For example:

- (2.70) **ka ábi kerim-ge ipit-i**
 1SgA 3SgO~gen? head- Loc hit- Pf
 'I hit him on the head/ I hit (him) on his head.'
- (2.71) **ka ábi kerim-ge ikris- i**
 1SgA 3SgO~gen? head- Loc scratch-Pf
 'I scratched his head/ I scratched him on the head.'
- (2.72) **ábi werm-et abab- ise dikepwar-er lamar koskir**
 3SgO~gen? child- SgA former-Smbl think- n PrImpf spirit femaleO
 'Her son like before thought (she was) a female ghost/ The son thought her a female ghost.'

(This ambiguity is only present in the singular third person because 1st /2nd person objects or 3rd person non-singular objects will be cross-referenced on the verb.)

- ira-> -i / [N + - N]+ case ex. **newr-i kimyar-ide** 'daughter's husband (A)'
 -ra / V- ex. **ama-ra werem** 'mother's child'
 -ira / elsewhere ex. **néwr-ira omay** 'the girl's dog'

10. The associative case (-kem) is suffixed to an inanimate noun to indicate that it was associated although not used to perform the action:

- (2.73) **e digm-i koket- kem**
 3SgS walk- Pf walking stick-Ass
 'He walked (carrying) his walking stick.'
- (2.74) **wi ábi able mir- kem erpey- darda:**
 3n SgA 3SgO Det word-Ass take Sg/DualO-PfPl
keriba águd get- siker-em
 1nongexclgen godS land-thorn-all
 'They grabbed him (uttering) these words: Our God, defender of our land.'
- (2.75) **e tabara lu etakr- i able mir- kem:**
 3SgA 3Gen thingO gather Pauc/PlO-Pf Det word-Ass
 'He gathered up his things with these words:...'

Contrast the above examples with the following where the instrumental case is used to indicate the action was performed using the object:

- (2.76) **e digm-i koket-u**
 -Instr
 'He walked using his walking stick.'
- (2.77) **wi mir- u ba- ke-ley**
 3n SgS word-Instr Intr-do-PastDual
 'They (2) insulted each other.'
 (lit: they (2) did things to each other using words)

The associative case -kem and the allomorph -ipkem (used with proper nouns and possibly with kinship terms, e.g. **ama-ypkem** 'along with mothers),

are used to indicate that the person was associated with a particular event although not a participant:

- (2.78) **lu ba- kawert- i Léz-ipkem**
 thingS Intr-take down Sg/DualO-Pf L.- Ass
 'The things were unloaded in Les' presence.'

A similar form and parallel use occurs with pronominals:

- (2.79) **Dáwgiri erkep ikered- er ge Bame-y erdar-i**
 D. S eye n PlS be(thing)-n PrImpf Deix B- O see- Pf
ta- ba- rb- i ábi-tkem we- ge akarik-da
 Deix-Intr-row-Pf 3Sg-Ass sand-Loc land- PfSg
 'Dawgiri was watching when he saw Bame swimming (towards the area where Dawgiri was) and right in front of Dawgiri, Bame came up onto the beach.' (Déwmer p210, section12)

Andrews (1985) makes a useful distinction between circumstantial and participatory roles which correspond neatly to the associative versus instrumental case. The associative case involves a circumstantial role as the phrase forms "part of the setting of the event" whilst the instrumental case involves a participatory role with the phrase, an "actual participant in the situation implied by the verb" (Andrews, *Ibid*; 69). An argument marked with **-kem/-ipkem** is signalling that the thing/person was present although not an instrument or participant in the activity.

How does the associative differ from the locative when the locative case carries a comitative meaning? Whilst the locative case is marked on an animate noun to indicate that s/he performed the same action at the same place as the S/A, the associative case is also marked on an animate noun but to indicate that s/he was at the same place although not performing the event/activity. However, there is a further use of the associative suffix which is exploited in a participatory role to indicate paucal or plural inclusion; in this use, it is always within a complex noun phrase. This function will be examined in the following section.

Number marking within a complex phrase.

The suffixes **-ey** 'Dual' and **-kem** 'Pauc/Pl or Associative' are used within a complex phrase to indicate that the phrase is dual or paucal/plural respectively:

- (2.80) **able bab taba néwr- ey...**
 Det father 3Gen (unmarried)female-Dual
 'The father with his daughter...' (Déwmer, p208, section4)
- (2.81) **...e- pe Mesnare-yba Eydyana-ey ábi ti- ditagr-iyey...**
 3SgA?-Deix M.- n Sg E.- Dual 3SgO Deix-tell- PfDual
 '...where Mesnare and Eidiana told her...'

- (2.82) e tabara sárik kep- kem giz- ge irm- i
 3SgA 3Gen bow arrow-Ass tree base-Loc stick Pauc/PIO into-Pf
 'He stuck his bow along with his arrows into (the ground) at the base of
 the tree/ ?He stuck his bow alongside his arrows at the base of the tree.'
 (Déwmer, p209, section8)
- (2.83) wi ama- ypkem na- mr- eder
 3n SgS mother-Ass 3n SgS-Pauc/PIS be sitting-n PrImpf
 'They were sitting, him alongside several mothers.'
- (2.84) wa gayr Rón-**ipkem dorge iker- dare Mónday-ge**
 2n SgA many R.- Ass workO make-PfPauc M.- Loc
 'You lot, alongside with Ron, worked on Monday.'

Note that the suffixes are affixed to a noun phrase which is part of a more complex noun phrase, be it a pronoun or another noun.

Inclusion is an essential feature of this construction. If a pronoun occurs, it must refer to the sum of the participants and the associative or dual phrase is subordinate to it. Note that the cross-reference markers always treat the complex noun phrase as non-singular. Below are examples to demonstrate the grammaticality with a nonsingular pronoun and the unacceptability with a singular pronoun:

- (2.85) wa net- ipkem bakyaw- da pamas-em?
 2n SgS who-Ass Pauc/PIS go-PfPl shop- All
 'With whom did you go to the shops?'
 *ma netipkem bakyamuda pamasem?
 2SgS
- (2.86) ki ama- ey bakyamu- daryey pamas-em
 1n SgExclS mother-Dual Sg/DualS go-PfDual shop- All
 'We, mother and I, went to the shops.'
 *ka amaey bakyamudaryey pamasem

It remains to be established whether the use of the associative suffix is a distinct function and meaning. In this use, it has noun phrase function rather than clause function. Clearly, however, the two uses are related in meaning. Participation in the event is marked by the case of the complex whole noun phrase and by the verbal cross-referencing.

Several sentence types need to be elicited in order to validate these claims:

- whether the associative phrase can ever be linked to an O argument, e.g. I saw the man with his walking stick, or, I saw the man walking with his brother.
- whether the associative phrase can be used with a transitive verb with a plural agent, e.g. They unloaded the things in front of Les (who did not help at all).
- whether the nonsingular marker attached to the first nominal in the complex phrase can be omitted when it is an animate, e.g. Sigar omasker-kem bakyawda Dawarem 'Sigar and his children went to Dawar.'

- whether this construction can occur with other case inflections.

There are morphophonological alternations with the associative suffix:
 -ipkem-> -ypkem / V- ex. **ama-ypkem** 'along with mothers'
 / y- ex. **?Oy-ypkem** 'in front of Oy'
 -ipkem / elsewhere ex. **Léz-ipkem** 'in front of Les'

2.2.2 Syntactic versus Non-Syntactic Cases.

Criteria for distinguishing between syntactic and non-syntactic cases can be established through the cross-reference markers on the verb. Arguments which can be cross-referenced are: A, S and O. The genitive may optionally be cross-referenced on the verb. Examples to illustrate cross-reference marking follow:

- cross-reference marking for S:

(2.87) |-----|
able neys werem ut ná- wpe- redi
 Det two childS sleepN 3n SgS-n PlS be lying-PrImpf
 'The two children are lying asleep.'

- cross-referencing for A (by a suffix):

(2.88) |-----|
wi able lu erapey- darda
 3n SgA Det thingO buy Sg/DualO-PfPl
 'They bought the thing.'

- cross-referencing for O (by a prefix and suffix):

(2.89) |-----|
e yábi na- taker- da
 3SgA 3n SgO 3n SgO-gather Pauc/PIO-PfPl
 'He gathered them (mangoes) up.'

- optional cross-referencing to genitive:

(2.90) |-----|
ábra werem (d)- éwsme- da
 3SgGen childS 3Gen- Sg/DualS born-PfSg
 'His child is/was born.'
 ***werem déwsmeda**

(Note the above ungrammatical example when the verb is cross-referenced for an absent genitive argument.)

The cross-reference markers permit a distinction to be drawn between the cases as follows:

Syntactic:
 Ergative
 Nominative
 Accusative
 (Genitive)

Non-Syntactic:
 Locative
 Allative
 Ablative
 Instrumental
 Associative
 (Genitive)

The genitive can be listed in both categories as it can optionally be cross-referenced, it only occurs with 3rd person genitive and it is used mostly to disambiguate the lack of coreference between a possessor of O and A or the possessor of an incorporated nominal and S (see the section 3.6 p95 on Genitive Marker for 3rd Person).

2.2.3 Other Inflectional Affixes.

1) The nonsingular suffix **-iba/-ibi** is added to a singular noun in a complex phrase to indicate that it is a member of a group of two or more. For example:

(2.91) **kári omay-iba mári omay-ey wi ba- reg- ley**
 1SgGen dog- n Sg 2SgGen dog- Dual 3n SgS Intr-bite flesh-*n*PrImpfDual
 'My dog and your dog, they bit each other.'

(2.92) **wi Sigar-iba na- rdar-dare omaskir-kem**
 3n SgA S.- n Sg 3n SgO-see- Pauc children-Ass
 'They saw Sigar along with his children.'
 (? They, Sigar and his children, got seen.)

As exemplified in the two sentences given above (2.91 and 2.92), **-iba** merely indicates one of a group of two or more. There are no instances of this suffix occurring with inanimate nouns. Could this be because speakers are less interested in number reference with inanimates? Typically, with inanimate objects, the nouns are simply juxtaposed:

(2.93) **e tabara sárik kep- kem giz- ge irm- i**
 3SgA 3Gen bow arrow-Ass trunk-Loc stick Pauc/PlO into-Pf
 'He stuck his bow along with his arrow into the base of the tree.'
 (Déwmer, p209, section8)

There is one example (2.94) collected with **-iba** suffixed onto an inanimate noun but it is an example collected through elicitation and the genitive case is used within the complex phrase, a feature which is not normally permitted:

(2.94) **?ma kára sogob-iba masis-ey na- rapey- ø**
 2SgA 1SgGen ciggies-*n* Sg <Eng- Dual 3n SgO-buy Sg/DualO-Fut2/3
 'Buy my cigarettes and matches.'

The **-iba** suffix has been classified as an inflection for the following reasons:

- The apparent restriction against the genitive case co-occurring with it in its full form (excluding the example just given above). This is a restriction parallel to that for inflections:

(2.95) **taba koskir- iba omasker-kem**
 3Gen (married)female-*n* Sg children- Ass
 'his wife along with his children'

(2.96) ***taba-ra koskir-iba omasker-kem**
 Gen

- A distinction in the form when affixed to a noun in a non-syntactic case, namely **-ibi**. Thus, there are basically two forms for this affix: **-iba** for syntactic cases and **-ibi** for non-syntactic cases. Here are some examples with the form **-ibi**:

(2.97) **ka bakyamu- da Sigar-ibi uteb- em omasker-kem**
 1SgS Sg/DualS go-PfSg S.- *n* Sg place-All children-Ass
 'I went to Sigar and his children's place.'

(Note that in the above example 2.97, the **-ibi** phrase seems to be in a genitive case function which could be interpreted as evidence of the genitive's fluid status as a syntactic or non-syntactic case.)

(2.98) ...**pá- ka ta- ba Irwered-ge Mesnare-ybi- (i)m Eydyana-ey**
 Deix-1sgS Deix-go I.- Loc M.- *n* Sg-All E. - Dual
da-ra- bger-i
| -3*n* SgO- | call- Pf

'...and then, I came to Irwered, to Mesnare and Eydyana's and invited them.'

(2.99) **Bewr pe éypu- ge irdi Webok-ibi- lam a Bábud-ey**
 B. S Deix middle-Loc *n* PIS be(place) W.- *n* Sg-Abl Conj B.- Dual
 'Bewr is half-way between Webok and Badud.'

There is no distinction between the A, S or O argument when the nonsingular inflection is affixed. Thus, one can use this suffix with an A argument (2.100) or with an S argument (2.101):

(2.100) **Lez-iba koskir- ey lewer ti- dikasr-eyey**
 L. - *n* Sg (married)female-Dual foodO Deix-cook- PrImpfDual
 'Les and his wife are cooking (there).'

(2.101) **Lez-iba kosker- ey ta- bakyamu- daryey**
 L.- *n* Sg (married)female-Dual Deix-Sg/DualS go-PfDual
 'Les and his wife came.'

There is some ambiguity caused by this lack of distinction. With an intransitive verb, there will only be one core argument so the **-iba** phrase will have to be S. With a transitive verb, the non-**iba** phrase will either have an overt ergative case marker for A or it will be marked overtly for O if it is a pronoun or a proper noun. The only instance where it will be ambiguous is when a common noun is the O as this will be the **-ø** case marker with no way of distinguishing O

from A. Of course, word order can always be used to disambiguate. Here is an example where the overt O case marker on the personal pronoun allows the addressee to interpret the *-iba* phrase as the A:

- (2.102) **neti- (i)ba yábi né- rwer-da?**
 who-*n* Sg 3*n* Sg 3*n* SgO-teach-PfPl
 'Who(pl) taught them?'

There is some diachronic and synchronic evidence which suggests that the suffix *-iba* is related to the pronominal plural genitive case form (see section 2.3 p68 on Pronouns for more details). The nonsingular genitive pronominal forms which are relevant to this discussion are:

- 1*n* Sg Excl **keriba**
 Incl **meriba**
 2*n* Sg **wába**
 3*n* Sg **wiyaba / yába**

The nonsingular forms which all end in *-(i)ba* correspond closely in form as well as in function to the nominal nonsingular affix *-iba*.

In addition, Ray in his study (1893) gives the following examples to indicate a pair or a group:

- (2.103) **keriba Pasi-ey bakyamu- ley Dawar-em**
 1*n* SgExclGen P.- Dual Sg/DualS go-PastDual D.- All
 'We (excl dual) , Passi and I, went to Dawar.'(Ibid; 61)
 (the glosses are my own)

- (2.104) **mi merbi- tkem na- mri- da**
 1*n* SgIncl 1*n* SgInclO-Ass 1/2Sg?-Sg/DualS sit down-PfSg
 'We sat down in one another's company/You sat down along with us.'(?)
 (Ibid; 64)

Although there are no examples in Ray's data of this construction being used with nominals such as those given for modern Meryam Mir, the reader should note that in at least one of Ray's examples, the plural genitive pronoun is used to indicate the plural pair. This parallels the examples found in the present-day language where the *-iba* is affixed to nominals for similar effect.

The earlier Meryam Mir examples both differ and resemble modern Meryam Mir with regard to pronominals. Like the earlier form of the language, a nonsingular pronoun is required in this construction:

- (2.105) **ki ama- ey bakyamu- daryey**
 1*n* SgExclS mother-Dual Sg/DualS go-PfDual
 'We two, mother and I, went.'

- (2.106) **wi ama- ypkem na- mr- eder**
 3*n* SgS mother-Ass 3*n* SgS-Pauc/PIS be seated-*n* PrImpf
 'They were seated, him along with the mothers.'

Note that if there is possession, it must be with the reduced form:

- (2.107) **ki kerbi ama- yey**
 1*n* SgExclS 1*n* SgExclGen mother-Dual
 'we two, our mother and I'
 * **ki kára amayey**
 1SgGen
 * **ki keriba amayey**
 1*n* SgExclGen
 * **keriba amayey**
 'we two, mother and I'

2) The privative suffix **-kak** is added to (pro)nominals to indicate the absence or the lack of something:

- (2.108) **e bar- kak mir dike**
 3SgS crookedN-Priv word *n* PLS be(word)
 'That is the right word.'
 (lit: it is a word without crookedness)
- (2.109) **e sirib- kak werem dá- li**
 3SgS shame-Priv child *n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 'He is a shameless child.'
- (2.110) **ka nole ut- kak n(a)- á- li**
 1SgS Neg sleepN-Priv 1/2SgS-*n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 'I am not sleepy.'
 (lit: I am without sleep)

It can be used with pronouns or animate nouns as well to denote their absence at a particular place:

- (2.111) **nole ábi- tkak meta- ge irdi- redi**
 Neg 3SgO-Priv house-Loc *n* SgS be(place)-Pr
 'He was not there at the house.'
 (lit: There/It is without him at the house)

When it occurs within a noun phrase, it must precede the head noun and the stem will operate in an adjectival or attributive function. As such, it might be considered a derivation. For example:

- (2.112) **able mir- kak néwr- ide ábi ép- li**
 Det word-Priv unmarried female-A 3SgO carry Sg/DualO-PrImpf
 'The quiet silent girl is carrying him.'

Nominalised verbs can also be used with this affix:

- (2.113) **ese ma aspir- kak ápu a bab**
 if 2SgS marryN-Priv mother Conj father
ma n(a)- á- li...
 2SgS 1/2SgS-*n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 'If you are an unmarried mother or father...'

(from the tape made for Social Security)

The suffix can also be used with nominalised verbs in a negative imperative:

- (2.114) **ma nole aro- kak**
2SgA Neg eatN-Priv
'Do not eat (it).'

(The above use needs to be tested with nonsingular (pro)nouns to see whether it is still possible without the usual cross-referencing for number on the verb.)

Morphemes beginning with a voiceless velar stop such as the privative suffix **-kak** or the intensifier suffix **-kar** (see section 4 below p52) devoice the final consonant of the root if it is a voiced stop:

/b/ ———>	p/ - + k	kap-kár 'original M.I. dance'
/d/ ———>	t	(> kab 'dance' + kar 'intensifier')
/g/ ———>	k	tebut-kak 'without friend' (> tebud 'friend' + kak 'privative') la(k)-kak 'dislike, not want' (> lag 'desire, want' + kak 'privative')

3) The semblative suffix **-ise** is affixed to a (pro)nominal which is the object of comparison. There are no examples of this affix followed by a case inflection:

- (2.115) **e eper-da ebur-ise**
3SgS fly- PfSg bird- Smbl
'He flew like a bird.'

- (2.116) **Gílam -ide ab+ab- ise dikepwar-er lamar koskir**
G.- A formerN-Smbl think- n PrImpf spirit (married) femaleO
'Gilam thought as he had the last time that (she) was a ghost.'

The suffix **-ise** is frequently preceded by an affix **-ka** whose meaning is not clear. Examples of its use are:

- (2.117) **ma pe siga iri- li kári-ka-yse**
2SgA Deix ciggieO drink-PrImpf 1sg- ?- Smbl
'You smoke cigarettes as I do.'

- (2.118) **ná- lu+lu wi- ge iker- iyey**
Qword-thingO 3n Sg-Deix-make-PfDual
ab- ka-yse mokakalam Erub-ge
former-?- Smbl like/as E.- Loc
'They (2) did the same thing as what they had done at Erub.'

- (2.119) **nerut le umer- kak wá- ykay Kosir-i- ka-yse**
another personS knowN-Priv Fut3-make K.- gen?-?- Smbl
'No-one knows how to make it (cocnuted rice) like one's Kosir.'

(Note that in the above sentence, the privative phrase is functioning like a predicate.)

It may be that the semblative suffixes *-kayse* and *-ise* do not signal any meaningful difference but are simply in free alternation. Alternatively, it may be a morphological distinction where common nouns take the form *-ise* and other nominals (pronouns and proper nouns) take the form *-kayse*.

The suffix *-kayse* is also used with adjectives with a comparative effect:

- (2.120) **able wag kikem kelar- kak wám-i**
 Det windS first strength-Priv blow-Pf
a no ábra kelar áw-ka-yse batay-ø
 Conj Restr 3SgGen strengthS big-?- SmbL grow-Pf
 'At first, the wind blew without strength (but then), its strength just grew bigger (or big-like?).'

The related suffix *-ka*, which is often reduplicated on adjectives, occurs as an intensifier to indicate a greater or lesser degree:

- (2.121) **e áw le dá- li**
 3SgS big person *n* PlS be(person)-PrImpf
 'He is a big/old man.'
- (2.122) **e áw-ka+ka le dá- li**
 3SgS big- Intens person *n* PlS be(person)-PrImpf
 'He is a very big/old person.'

In 2.122, *-ka(ka)* is functioning as an adjectival intensifier. There is a similar derivation *-kar* which is added to nouns as an intensifier with the meaning 'the real N, the even more like N':

- (2.123) **kéymer- kar**
 young sibling-Intens
 'the youngest sibling'
- (2.124) **ú- kar pe dá- li**
 coconut-Intens Deix *n* PlS be(person?)-PrImpf
 'Those are the proper kind of palm trees.'

The suffix *-ka* occurring on adjectives and the suffix *-kar* occurring on nouns could be related and these in turn are probably related to the semblative construction with *-kayse*.

There are comparative constructions with the ablative case used to mark a standard comparison (2.125 and 2.126) and the allative case used to mark the property with respect to which a comparison is made (2.127):

- (2.125) **yába mir wi dipigeme-daryey, akay-da yába mir**
 3*n* SgGen wordO 3*n* SgA change- PfDual do- Pfsg 3nonsggen words
kebi+kebi nerut tonar ike- redi Mabyog-lam
 little Adv? another habit *n* PlS be(thing)-Pr M.- Abl
 'They (2) changed their language (Central Islanders') so that it became slightly different from (that) spoken at Mabyog.'

- (2.126) **ka no ume- le báy- da ké- ga**
 1SgS Restr know-person become-PfSg Deix-Deix:
wa Meryam le na- kasir wapum Agey- lam
 2n SgS M. personS 1/2Sg/PlS-go along slow Aborigine-Abl
 'I only know that Meryam people walk slower than Aborigines.'
- (2.127) **debe we apek- e pe more debe zarzer+zarzer we- em**
 good sandS other side-Loc Deix >Eng good white Adj sand-All
 'The sand is nicer on the other side as far as sand is concerned.'

4) The intensifier **-kar** is affixed to nouns to indicate the superlative of the type, the most characteristic. As examples were given earlier, these will not be repeated.

Examples need to be elicited with case inflections to see whether these are grammatical or not:

? **u- kar- ide kári na- pit-i**
 coconut-Intens-A 1SgO 1/2SgO-hit-Pf
 'The actual palm tree hit me.'

With this affix, some stems are inflectional, others are lexicalised.

Consider:

- (2.128) **lewer** 'food'
-kar 'intensifier'
lewer-kar 'type of yam' (lit: real food)

2.2.4 Derivations.

1) There is a derivational suffix **-kem** homophonous with the associative case suffix which derives adjectives from nouns. Whether or not this is a productive, semi-productive or lexical device remains to be seen as only two examples have been collected so far. Its meaning can be roughly glossed as 'characterised by' or 'having the characteristic of':

(2.129) **mir- kem le**
 word-Ass person
 'a preacher'

(2.130) **ged- kem le**
 land-Ass person
 'land-owner'

2) Nominals (both nouns and adjectives) can be derived from verbs through a regular phonological process which involves the initial (consonant plus) vowel of the verb changing. Some examples of nominalised verbs being used as an adjective or noun follow:

(2.131) **e o- bakyamu lewer arap- em**
 3SgS Fut3-Sg/DualS go foodO buyN-All
 'He will go buy food.' (cf. 2.39)

(2.132) **akasir+akasir lu ike- redi**
 cook Adj thingS n PLS be(thing)-Pr
 '(It)'s a cooking utensil.'

As the reader may have noted, the adjectival derivation process can involve reduplication as well although it is still the same process:

erap 'buy' verb --> **arap** noun
dikasir 'cook' verb --> **akasir** noun

The derivational process is as follows:

verbs-----> nominals

The initial consonant, if there is one, is deleted.

A stressed word initial vowel /ó/ becomes /áw/:

#(C) ó -----> # áw

An example is:

óg 'climb'--> **áwgog** 'the climb' (as well as reduplication of verbal root?)
 (the derivation might be from: **aw(g)** 'big'+**og** 'climb')

A stressed word initial vowel /í/ becomes /áy/ when it is followed by a single consonant and /i/. It becomes /áw/ elsewhere:

#(C) í -----> #áy / - C¹ i
 -----> #áw / elsewhere

Examples include:

dími 'close'---> **áymir+aymir** 'closed Adj'
díski 'open'---> **áwskir** 'tombstone opening'

(Note that verbs ending with a vowel have /r/ suffixed as well.)

A stressed word initial vowel /é/ becomes /á/ if it is followed by a glide and it remains the same elsewhere:

#(C) é -----> #á / - C [+glide]
 -----> #é / elsewhere

Examples include:

éwsmer 'go out, be born'---> **áwsmer** 'birthday'
éydi 'lie down'---> **áydir+aydir lu** 'mattress'
érwer 'learn'---> **érwer meta** 'school' (lit: learnN+house)

(One counter-example has been collected in the data where **éw** ----> #**éw**, e.g. **éwmi** 'die'---> **éwd+ewd** 'deadly' ***áwd+awd**. However, as the derivation also involves a change in the consonant, i.e. m ---> d, this could be an irregular or unrelated form.)

A stressed word initial /a/ remains the same:

#(C) á -----> #á

An example follows:

ákem 'dip'---> **ákem** 'dippingN'

An unstressed initial vowel becomes /a/:

#(C)V -----> #a

Examples include:

dirmisir 'start'---> **armisir** 'beginning'

ero 'eat'---> **aro+aro** 'edible'

akarik 'land'---> **akarik** 'landing'

okayret 'break (of dawn)'---> **akayret** 'daybreak'

erap 'buy' ---> **arap le** 'vendor'

dikasir 'cook' ---> **akasir le** 'cook'

2.2.5 Nominal Compounds.

Many examples occur in the data of several nouns juxtaposed within a single phrase. The purpose of this section is to demonstrate that these are compounds and can be categorised into different types, lexical and syntactic. A comparison will be made between compounds and modified nominals as well as complex noun phrases involving the genitive construction, to show similarities and differences. Compounds are the result of a morphological or lexical process whereas modified nominals, be they adjectives or genitive constructions, are the result of a syntactic process.

Examples of juxtaposed nouns can be analysed as nominal compounds for the following reasons:

(i) Modifiers precede the noun they qualify and when these occur with compounds, they cannot interrupt it but must precede it and modify both parts of it:

(2.133) **parko+parko kole mir**
imperfect Adj European word
'imperfect English'
***kole parko+parko mir**

(2.134) **aw lu tam**
big tree,thing branch
'big branch'
***'branch of the big tree'**
***lu aw tam**

(ii) Some compounds are clearly lexical in so far as the meaning of the compound cannot be gleaned from the sum of the components:

(2.135) **béyzam mi**
hammerhead shark clam
'clam sp.'

(2.135) **ápu le**
mother person
'MZS/D'

(iii) For at least some of the compounds, whose components are monosyllabic, the high pitch-accent only occurs on the second component of the compound thus indicating a single phonological word and a shift in the accent:

(2.136) **bey líd**
palm leaf bone
'palm leaf stem'

(2.137) **lu sík**
tree,thing flower
'flower'

There are two kinds of compounds: compound lexemes and syntactic compounds. Syntactic compounds are those which Lyons (1977; 535) describes as 'regular derived lexemes in that their meaning and distribution can be accounted for in terms of the productive rules of the language system; and for that reason, they need not be listed in the lexicon'. Compound lexemes, on the other hand, have to be listed in the lexicon as they are either idiomatic in their meaning or the individual components cannot be isolated in form or meaning.

Examples of compound lexemes whose meanings cannot be deduced from their components include:

(2.138) **néwr** **kimyar**
 unmarried female married male
 'unmarried sister-in-law'

(2.139) **wer** **sor**
 star,egg shell
 'turtle egg'

(2.140) **berbet ápu**
 sibling mother
 'FZ'

Examples where there have been phonological changes at the morpheme boundary so that the meaning and form of the components can only be hypothesized on the basis of parallel syntactic compounds include:

(2.141) **imus**
 'beard'
 <**ib** 'jaw', **mus** 'hair'

Parallel to the syntactic compound:

(2.142) **op** **mus**
 (upper)face hair
 'moustache'

(2.143) **gesep**
 'earth, land'
 <**ged** 'land (mass)', **sep** 'earth'

Parallel to the syntactic compound:

(2.144) **ged** **kawr**
 land(mass) island
 'island'

Examples where a gloss cannot be found for one of the components as a result of some phonological change or where a free form has not been obtained, include:

(2.145) **gilid**
 'shoulder bone'
 <**gir** '?', **lid** 'bone'

(although *gir* was collected by Ray as meaning 'boar's tusk, a charm worn on the chest')

(2.146) **kirgir makrem**

? unmarried male
'adolescent'

(2.147) **sursur werem**

nappie? child
'baby'

from the saying: **mára sursur mena sor- ge epk- edi**
2SgGen nappie? still back-Loc be stuck on-Pr
'You are still a spring chicken.'

(lit: your nappie is still stuck on (your) back)

(2.148) **dogay meg** (<dogay 'devil woman' in Kalaw Lagaw Ya)
? tide (Shnukal, 1988; 126)

'king tide'

(2.149) **wadali lewer**

honey ant? food
'rice'

As the reader can note, some of the compound lexemes lacking a gloss for one of their components are simply the result of gaps in the data and further elicitation may result in these being re-categorised as syntactic compounds.

Syntactic compounds can be distinguished from compound lexemes in terms of the productivity of the process. There are roughly nine different types of syntactic compounds. The labels given for each type are not designed to capture the full semantic explication but to provide the means by which to contrast each type. The different types are as follows:

(N1= initial component of the compound; N2= final component of the compound)

1. N2 contains/is composed of N1

(2.150) **abal kerim**

pandanus fruit head, bunch
'a bunch of pandanus fruits'

(2.151) **kaba kerim**

banana head, bunch
'a bunch of bananas'

(2.152) **ni pat**

water well
'well'

(2.153) **ni basor**

water shell sp.

'a type of shell filled with water' (used in the olden days for carrying fresh water)

One of the reasons for postulating syntactic compounds in Meryam Mir is their ability to occur without the initial component. Thus, reference is made to a particular well within the same text as both **pat** 'well' and **ni pat** 'water well'.

However, if this is used as the sole criterion for distinguishing compound lexemes from syntactic compounds, then several compounds that have been discussed as lexemes could be re-classified as syntactic. For example, **béyzam mi** 'clam sp.' (lit: hammerhead shark-clam) could be referred to as simply **mi** 'clam'.

An additional feature of syntactic compounds is the presence of a semantic head noun. The fact that the initial component of a compound may be omitted suggests that the two nouns are not of equal status but with the initial noun in a dependent or modifier relationship to the second head noun. Another feature is that syntactic compounds tend to have a more literal meaning than lexical compounds.

2. N2 comes from N1

(i.e. N2 is a source relating to location or matter)

(2.154) **iraw mus**

eyebrow hair

'eyelash'

(2.155) **nonor (neb)**

nostril hole

'nostril'

(2.156) **pat ni**

well water

'well water'

(2.157) **si ni**

dew water

'dew water'

(2.158) **koki wag**

northwest wind

'northwest wind'

(2.159) **ur bi**

fire light

'firelight'

(2.160) **wer bi**

star,egg light

'starlight'

- (2.161) **bakir kawr**
stone island
'rocky island'
- (2.162) **teter mek**
foot print
'footprint'
- (2.163) **gerer epey**
pandanus leaf basket
'pandanus basket'
(i.e. one made from pandanus leaves)
- (2.164) **nam wer**
turtle star,egg
'turtle egg'

3. N2 is a part of N1

(This type parallels that given in the literature as part-whole relationship except that the order of the relationship is whole-part.)

- (2.165) **bi(r) lid**
rib bone
'rib bone'
- (2.166) **kip lid**
hip bone
'hip bone'
- (2.167) **ta(g) kok**
hand,arm joint
'elbow, wrist'

Ray cites the following items in his vocabulary list: **tag-aw-kok** (hand,arm-big-joint) 'elbow' and **tag-kebi-kok** (hand,arm-little-joint) 'wrist'.

- (2.168) **teter kok**
foot,leg joint
'knee' (also 'ankle?')

(Note that the items **kolo** 'knee' and **kokni** (joint+ <Eng?) have also been elicited.)

- (2.169) **nano sus**
breast sap,thick liquid
'breast milk'
- (2.170) **u ni**
coconut water
'coconut milk'

- (2.171) **poni mus**
 eye hair
 'eyelash'
- (2.172) **poni wer**
 eye star,egg
 'eyeball'
- (2.173) **gebo wer**
 penis star,egg
 'testicle'
- (2.174) **lu sik**
 tree,thing flower,blossom
 'flower, blossom'
- (2.175) **lu tam**
 tree,thing branch
 'branch'
- (2.176) **lu lam**
 tree,thing leaf
 'leaf'
- (2.177) **kaba lam**
 banana leaf
 'banana leaf'
- (2.178) **lim serib**
 sun sunray
 'sun's rays'
- (2.179) **meb gerib**
 moon moonshine
 'moonshine'

Included in this type of syntactic compound are those where the head noun is being used with an extended or metaphorical meaning but where the relationship between N1 and N2 remains the same. For example:

- (2.180) **mir kok**
 word joint
 'idiom, saying'
- (2.181) **i kok**
 tear joint
 'laments, funeral songs'
- (2.182) **u lid**
 coconut bone
 'coconut shell'

- (2.183) **bey lid**
 palm leaf bone
 'palm leaf stem'
- (2.184) **Dawar pit**
 D. nose
 'point at Dawar'
- (2.185) **teter gab**
 foot,leg path
 'sole of foot'
- (2.186) **lu giz**
 tree,thing trunk,base
 'ancestors'

It may be that the above examples are best treated as compound lexemes as both parts will always occur. It should be noted, however, that the relationship between the two components is parallel to those examples given as syntactic compounds, namely that N2 is a part of N1.

4. N2 is usually at N1.

- (2.187) **teter wáli**
 foot clothing
 'trousers, underpants'
- (2.188) **gem wáli**
 body clothing
 'dress'
- (2.189) **mat láger**
 forehead rope
 'headband'
- (2.190) **mi ebur**
 sky animal
 'bird'
- (2.191) **gur ebur**
 sea animal
 'seabird'
- (2.192) **zyay pek**
 southwest side
 'southwest side'
- (2.193) **Mer le**
 M.I. person
 'Murray Islander'

- (2.194) **gur táwer**
 sea shore
 'seashore'
- (2.195) **ter máyso**
 reef surf
 'sound of the surf on the reef'
- (2.196) **Gigríd omasker**
 G. children
 'Gigríd children'

5. N2 is done with N1.

- (2.197) **tag mut**
 hand,arm sound
 'clap'
- (2.198) **tag war**
 hand,foot sign
 'handsign, wave'
- (2.199) **kolap segur**
 bean sp. game
 'skittle-like game'

6. N2 happened at time N1.

- (2.200) **idim lim**
 morning sun
 'early in the morning'
- (2.201) **gerger mut**
 day sound
 'day noises'
- (2.202) **idim kikem**
 morning afternoon
 'tomorrow afternoon' (it could also be whole-part)

7. N2 has the gender of N1.

- (2.203) **koskir kayed**
 (married)female grandparent
 'grandmother'
- (2.204) **kimyar mayk**
 (married)male widow
 'widower'

(2.205) **koskir** **berbet**
(married)female sibling
'sister'

(2.206) **koskir** **dabor**
(married)female mackerel
'female mackerel'

This type of compound can also appear in the reverse order, i.e. N1 has the gender of N2. However, the reversal can only occur with humans.

(2.207) **lamar** **koskir** ~ **koskir lamar**
spirit-(married)female
'female ghost'

(2.208) **máyk** **koskir**
widow (married)female
'widow'

(2.209) ***dabor** **koskir**
mackerel (married)female
'female mackerel'

There is a compound lexeme which might have been derived from this productive process namely **kos-tup** 'female sardine' (?<**koskir** 'female'+**tup** 'sardine').

8. N2 has mainly to do with N1.

(The phrase given to characterise this type is far too general and I suspect that the examples given could be categorised into further sub-types.)

(2.210) **zogo** **meta**
sacred,holy house
'church'

(2.211) **suní** **meta**
green ant house
'anthill'

(2.212) **kole** **mir**
European word
'English (language)'

(2.213) **agey** **ged**
Aborigine land
'Aboriginal land'

(2.214) **gebarobi le**
Papuan person
'Papuan'

- (2.215) **néwr** **gim** ~ **koskir** **gim**
 unmarried female illness married female
 'menstruation'
- (2.216) **gem lag**
 body smell, desire
 'smell'
- (2.217) **kaymeg lag**
 friend smell, desire
 'desire for friendship'
- (2.218) **ámen wed**
 <Eng song
 'hymns'
- (2.219) **urweri ni**
 heat? water
 'hot water, tea'
- (2.220) **kog** **mir**
 copulation word
 'obscenity'
- (2.221) **ómar** **lu**
 warm feeling thing
 'gift'

Some of these examples could be captured by an alternative phrase of the sort:

N2 is for N1 ~ N2 cannot be thought of without thinking of N1
 No hard and fast assertions can be made with such a small corpus.

9. N2 is like N1.

N1 is relative to the body what N2 is relative to things of its own kind.

Unlike the general phrases given for the other types, this type cannot be captured without making overt that there is comparison being made between N1 and N2. Examples to illustrate its use are:

- (2.222) **kerim le**
 head person
 'boss, chairman'
- (2.223) **op** **le**
 (upper)face person
 'Queen'
- (2.224) **marmot le**
 chest person
 'Councillors'

- (2.225) **op** **déwday**
 (upper)face mainland
 'Papua New Guinea'

These are the only examples collected of this type suggesting a semi-productive process. It could be more appropriate to list them directly in the lexicon as compound lexemes.

Comparison with Adjectives.

It was mentioned in the introduction that compounds, be they listed as lexemes or produced through a productive process, share comparable and diverging features with adjectives.

Similarities between these two groups have been alluded to above. It was seen that the compound types frequently exhibit the pattern in which N1 provides more information about N2. Adjectives which precede the noun they modify fulfil a similar function because they too provide additional information about the referent of the noun. In formal terms, the N1 of a compound and adjectives both precede the head noun and both fulfil a modifier-type function.

However, most adjectives are derived from nouns by a process of reduplication whereas nouns in a compound structure do not undergo such a derivational process (see the section on Adjectives, p75).

There are a number of examples in the data which contrast a modifying noun and a modifying adjective. Consider:

- (2.226) **ni** **pat**
 water well
 'water well'
- (2.227) **ní+ni** **domboy**
 water Adj doughboy
 'boiled doughboys'
- (2.228) **ur** **bi**
 fire light
 'firelight'
- (2.229) **ur+ur** **tup**
 fire Adj sardine
 'roasted sardines'
- (2.230) **kerim** **le**
 head person
 'boss, chairman'
- (2.231) **kerim+kerim** **werem**
 head Adj child
 'stubborn child'

(2.232) **le ut uteb**
person sleepN place
'cemetery'

(2.233) **ut+ut werem**
sleep Adj child
'sleepy child'

(2.234) **ut+ut wáywi**
sleep Adj mango
'overripe mango'

(i.e. one which has been lying on the ground for several days)

Semantic differences between the two types are not easily captured.

Wierzbicka (1988) when discussing differences between nouns and adjectives makes the claim that nouns 'identify a certain kind of person, a kind of thing, a kind of animal (Ibid; 469)...endowed with certain properties; whereas adjectives designate properties as such (and more specifically what is seen as) a single property' (Ibid; 472). Whilst her explanation has been formulated to capture differences between independent nouns and adjectives, it does seem that her comments are pertinent to the differences between a modifying noun in a compound and an adjective. In compounds, the first noun often provides information which identifies the kind of referent it is, whereas adjectives provide information concerning a particular property of the referent.

Givon (1984; 51) in his account of the differences between independent nouns and adjectives provides a semantic explanation which seems to partly capture the difference between modifying nouns and adjectives. His claim is that nouns refer to the most stable conditions, adjectives to intermediate states (as opposed to verbs which are events of most rapid change). With compounds, the modifying noun often refers to a permanent and inherent quality of the head noun, whereas with adjectives, it is often an impermanent quality and often the result of a process.

Neither approach satisfactorily distinguishes between modifying nouns and adjectives. However, neither Wierzbicka nor Givon formulated their ideas in order to account for modifying nouns although features such as 'the kind of thing' and 'permanence' capture some of the differences. A language which heavily exploits such a distinction can contribute in refining and modelling these semantic claims.

Comparison with the Genitive Construction.

Anderson (1985; 185) claims that the genitive case when marked on the possessor 'really expresses the fact that one noun is subordinate to and a modifier of another'. This is verified in Meryam Mir where the possessor acts as a

modifier to the head. Many of the nominal compounds encountered can be paraphrased by a genitive construction:

(2.235) **kaba- (ra) lam**

banana- Gen leaf
'banana leaf'

(2.236) **tag (ira) kok**

hand,arm- Gen joint
'elbow'

(2.237) **kole- (ra) mir**

European-Gen word
'English'

Whilst Anderson's claim captures the structural difference between a genitive construction (being subordinate) and a compound, what of the semantic difference? The choice of one particular construction over another is determined by whether it is new information or not, with the genitive being used for new information:

(2.238) **...lam ábra, kaba- ra lam (dike),**

leaf 3SgGen banana-Gen leaf *n* PIS be(name)

kaba lam t- iri- ø, t- ays- ø

banana leaf Deix-cut Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3 Deix-carry Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3

'... its leaves, the banana tree's leaves, cut the banana leaves, bring them...'

(How to make damper, p220, section9)

In other cases, compound nominals cannot be paraphrased by a genitive construction as it will yield an unacceptable phrase or signal a change in the meaning:

(2.239) ***poni-ra wer**

eye- Gen star,egg

(2.240) **néwr- ira kimyar**

(unmarried)female-Gen (married)male

'daughter's husband'

as opposed to:

néwr-kimyar

'unmarried sister-in-law'

Nonetheless, a close relationship does exist between compounds and the genitive construction. This may be the result of the restriction on the genitive case when another case marker follows within the same phrase causing many juxtaposed nominals to co-occur.

The possessor can be modified in a genitive construction whereas only the head noun (or it could be the whole compound) can be modified with a syntactic compound:

(2.241) **aw énew tam**
 big wongai tree branch
 'a big wongai branch'

(2.242) **aw énew-ra tam**
 gen
 'branch of the big wongai tree'

On the basis of this, one can hypothesize that the genitive construction represents a looser syntactic construction derived from a syntactic process whereas nominal compounds represent a tighter syntactic construction derived from a morphological process.

N-Gen N	←----->	N1-N2
loose syntactic construction		tight syntactic construction
		mostly of the type: N2 is a part of N1 N2 has to do mainly with N1

2.3 Pronouns.

Personal Pronouns.

Personal pronouns are free forms which can be distinguished from proper and common nouns on a semantic basis because they are shifters. They can be distinguished from nouns on a morphological basis distinguishing A/S from O.

The pronominal paradigm is as follows:

	A/S	O	Genitive
1Sg	ka	kári	kára
1 <i>n</i> SgExcl	ki	kerbi	keriba
1 <i>n</i> SgIncl	mi	merbi	meriba
2Sg	ma	mári	mára
2 <i>n</i> Sg	wa	wábi	wába
3Sg	e	ábi	ábra
3 <i>n</i> Sg	(w)i	wiyabi~yábi	wiyaba~yába

The underlying forms for non-A/S cases are basically the O forms except for the exclusive and inclusive forms where a vowel /i/, which breaks up the consonant cluster, can be postulated, e.g. **kerbi** (< keribi) '1*n* SgExcl', and **merbi** (?<meribi) '1*n* SgIncl'. This underlying vowel is deleted for all other cases. To form the genitive, the final vowel is deleted and replaced by the vowel /a/ and /ra/ for 3rd person singular (?<ra Genitive).

The alternations in the nonsingular forms for 3rd person are said by speakers to be variations where *wi*, *wiyabi*, *wiyaba* represent older forms of the language and *i*, *yábi*, *yába* more recent forms, having had the initial glide or syllable deleted, i.e. *wi* ---> *i*, *wiyabi* ---> *yábi*, *wiyaba* ---> *yába*. Thus:

(2.243) *ka yábi (~wiyabi) da-ra- tager-da*
 1SgA 3n SgO | -3n SgO- | tell- PfSg
 'I told them.'

In the genitive form for 3rd person, there are other forms which signal co-reference between the possessor and the A/S argument of the sentence (i.e. a kind of genitive reflexive). The forms are *tabara~tabra~ taba~ tara*. The alternations are a reduction in the medial syllable, i.e. *tabara* ---> *tabra* ---> *tara, taba*. Here are some examples:

(2.244) *wi ge urd- er Kir-ge,*
 3n SgS Deix PlS be(person)-PrImpf K.- Loc
ager amey dewe-lare tabara
 nut sp. earth ovenO build-*n* PrImpfPl 3Gen
 'They were there at Kir, they were building their own earth oven for (roasting) nuts.'

(2.245) *Lez-ide tabara imus itw- i*
 L.- A 3SgGen beardO shave-Pf
 'Les shaved his beard.' (cf. 3.54)

Contrast with the following:

(2.246) *Lez-ide ábra imus d- itw- i*
 L.- A 3SgGen beard 3Gen-shave-Pf
 'Les shaved his (someone else's) beard.' (cf. 3.53)

All the other ^{inflected} pronouns can be derived from the O form by adding the following suffixes:

Locative -*doge*
 Allative -(*i*)*m*
 Ablative -*alam* (for singular pronouns)
 -*lam* (for nonsingular pronouns)
 Associative -*tkem*
 Privative -*tkak*

Examples follow:

(2.247) *ka na- bakyamu- lu mári-doge*
 1SgS Fut1-Sg/DualS go-Fut1Sg 2Sg- Loc
 'I will go to you.'

(2.248) *ka neys tut ta- ra- smi-lu wábi- m*
 1SgA two beating stickO Deix-3n SgO-cut- Fut1Sg 2n Sg-All
 'I will cut two beating sticks for you (nonsg).'

(2.249) **able bakir ma erep- li yábi- m**
 Det stoneO 2SgA gather-PrImpf 3n Sg-All
 'You collect money because of them.'

(2.250) **e- ge tabra sábid digm- i kári-tkem**
 3SgA-Deix 3SgGen coconut milk squeeze-Pf 1Sg- Ass
 'Then she squeezed the coconut flesh in front of me (in my company).'

(2.251) **nole abi- tkak irdi**
 Neg 3Sg-Priv n PIS be(time,place)
 '(He) was not there.'

There is an additional pronominal set which functions both as a reflexive/ reciprocal pronoun and as an 'exclusive' pronoun. In the latter function, it provides information about the will or high level of involvement of the S or A, i.e. A or S exclusively. Its meaning is captured by the following paraphrase: by oneself, by one's own free will, on one's own. It does have a semantic restriction in that it must be co-referent with the S or A. The forms themselves are derived from other pronominal forms:

kababu 'myself, on my own' < ka 1SgA/S

kerbibu 'ourselves, on our own (n SgExcl)' < kerbi 1n SgExclO

merbibu 'ourselves, on our own (n SgIncl)' < merbi 1n SgInclO

mábu 'yourself, on your own (Sg)' < ma 2SgA/S

wábu 'yourself, on your own (n Sg)' < wa 2n SgA/S

tababu 'himself, herself, themselves, on his/her/their own (non)Sg'
 < taba(ra) 3Gen

Note that the dual function of this set is parallel to the English pronominal set with 'self', which can be used for both reflexive/reciprocal events, e.g. I hit myself, and to mark an exclusive role in the action, e.g. I did it by myself.

Some examples of the two uses follow:

(2.252) **ma mára meta dimr- i mábu?**
 2SgA 2SgGen houseO build-Pf 2SgExcl
 'Did you build your house on your own?'

(2.253) **e bakyamu- da tababu, taba obi- ge**
 3SgS Sg/DualS go-PfSg 3Excl 3Gen mind,will-Loc
 'He went of his own accord.'

(2.254) **mábu+mábu**
 2SgExcl
 'Help yourself (to the food)!'
 (usually said at a feast to encourage people not to be shy and to serve themselves)

- (2.255) **able koskir- et tababu able lamar erdar-i**
 Det (married)female-SgA 3Excl Det spiritO see- Pf
 'The woman, herself, saw the ghost.'
 (i.e. it was not someone else who saw it)

The two functions are usually kept distinct because when the pronoun is being used in a syntactic function (i.e. as a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun), the verb has the intransitiviser prefix **ba-**. Thus:

- (2.256) **ma mábu bá- smer-ø**
 2SgS 2SgRefl Intr-see- Fut2/3sg
 'See yourself.'

- (2.257) **ma mábu dásmer-ø**
 2SgA 2SgExcl see- Fut2/3sg
 'See for yourself.'

However, the language is in a state of flux with many speakers using the intransitivising prefix on the verb as the only signal for reflexive/reciprocal actions and reserving the pronoun for the exclusive meaning but with the intransitivising prefix on the verb as well. Thus:

- (2.258) **werem ba- mri- da**
 childS Intr-sit down-PfSg
 'The child sat himself down.'

- (2.259) **werem tababu ba- mri- da**
 childS 3Excl Intr-sit down-PfSg
 'The child sat himself down on his own.'

What seems to be happening is that the presence of the pronoun is automatically triggering the intransitive form of the verb irrespective of whether the action is reflexive/reciprocal or not. This change is probably due to the high frequency of the two meanings of the pronoun (i.e. as both an exclusive marker and a reflexive/reciprocal marker).

One can speculate on the origin of this set of pronouns. Ray, in his study (1907), gives the following set of genitive singular pronouns:

- kaba-ra** 1SgGen (>modern: **kára**)
maba-ra 2SgGen (>modern: **mára**)
taba-ra 3SgGen (>modern: **tabara**)

These may have been the source of the roots of the pronominal set discussed above. Note that the affix **-bu** that occurs suffixed to the pronouns, e.g. **kababu** 'on my own', might be a particle or it might be derived from the instrumental nominal suffix **-u**, e.g. **bakir-u** 'with a stone'. The consonant may have been inserted because of two vowels occurring across a morpheme boundary, e.g. **kaba+u** ---> **kaba-b-u**. (Consonant insertion is attested elsewhere with the instrumental case, e.g. **lu** 'thing' ---> **lug-u** 'with something'.) The choice of the bilabial stop insertion could have been due to the presence of a

bilabial stop in the root (except for **mabu**, ***mababu** which was affixed to maintain regularity within the paradigm). Thus, these free-standing pronominal forms might be derived from the instrumental case but whose meaning is to provide information about the clause as to the volition or the unique participation of the A/S.

Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns.

There is a set of interrogative words used with non-polar questions such as **néte** 'who', **netim** 'to who, for who', **náde** 'when, where', **nálug-lam** 'why, from what', etc. Within this set are included: **náde** 'when, where', which is used to introduce a temporal or spatial adverbial clause, and **náko** 'what (to do)', which is used to introduce an activity clause. Interrogative words follow a case marking pattern similar to nouns, an ergative-absolutive pattern, i.e. A versus S/O for non-humans, and a three way split, i.e. A, S and O for humans.

The interrogative/indefinite pronominal paradigm is as follows:

	néte 'who'	nálu 'what'
A	net-ide	nálug-ide
S	néte	nálu (~ nálulu)
O	néti	
Locative	neti-doge	nálug-e
Allative	neti-m	nálug-em
Ablative	neti-alam	nálug-lam
Genitive	neti-ra	nálug-ira
Associative	neti-pkem	
Instrumental		nálug-u

Some of the interrogative words cannot be broken down into morphemes and must be listed in the lexicon. These include:

- néte** 'who'
- náde** 'when, where'
- náko** 'what'

Other words are formed by the interrogative proclitic **na-**. For example:

- ná-lu** 'what' (lit: Q clitic-thing)
- ná-ged-ge** 'where' (lit: Q clitic-land mass-Loc)
- ná-ged-im (~nágadim)** 'where to' (lit: Q clitic-land mass-All)
- ná-nyay+nyay** 'how long (in time)' (lit: Q clitic-time N)
- ná-war-ge** 'what time' (lit: Q clitic-length of time-Loc)
- ná-kerker-ge** 'what time' (lit: Q clitic-point in time-Loc)
- ná-piri** 'how long (in space)' (lit: Q clitic-length)
- ná-urut-ge** 'what year' (lit: Q clitic-year-Loc)

Interrogative pronouns typically occur at the beginning of a sentence or immediately following a sentence-initial pronoun. Examples to illustrate interrogatives, their position and their inflections follow:

(2.260) **net- ide keriba lewer áys- li?**
 who-A 1n SgExclGen foodO carry Pauc/PlO-PrImpf
 'Who is taking our food?' (Dópem, p217, section13)

(2.261) **náko mára ney dike- redi?**
 whatS 2SgGen name n PlS be(name)-Pr
 'What is your name?'

(2.262) **néti able koskir- ide dásmer-i?**
 whoO Det (married)female-A see- Pf
 'Who did the woman see?'

(2.263) **e ná- lug- u ábi ipit-i?**
 3SgA Q clitic-thing-Instr 3SgO hit- Pf
 'What did he hit him with?'

There is no distinction between A, S or O for nonsingular interrogative pronouns. Thus:

neti-de 'who A (Sg)'
néte 'who S (Sg)'
néti 'who O (Sg)'
net-iba 'who A/S/O (n Sg)'

(2.264) **net- iba o- bakyaw- are?**
 who-n Sg Fut2/3-Pauc/PlS go-Fut2/3Pl
 'Who (pl) is going?'

(2.265) **net- iba pe lewer ti- dikasr-eyey?**
 who-n Sg Deix foodO Deix-cook- PrImpfDual
 'Which two are cooking the food?'

(2.266) **?ma net- iba da-ra- smer-da?**
 2SgA who-n Sg | -3n SgO- |see- PfPl
 'Which people did you see?'

The interrogative pronoun with the ergative plural case marking does not exist, i.e. *nete-gize. However, the interrogative word formed by the question clitic and the word **le** 'person' does have an A plural form and an S plural form (the plural S form is not acceptable to all speakers):

(2.267) **ná- le- lut?** (lelut: irregular form of le "person" + et "SgA")
 Q clitic-person-SgA
 'who A (sg)?'

(2.268) **ná- le- gize?**
 Q clitic-person-plA
 'who A (pl)?'

- (2.269) **ná- le?**
 Q clitic-personS
 'who S?'
- (2.270) **?ná- le- giz?**
 Q clitic-person-plS
 'who S (pl)?'

Examples in use follow:

- (2.271) **ná- le- gize yábi n- érwer-eda?**
 Q clitic-person-PlA 3n SgO 3n SgO-teach- PrImpfPl
 'Which people are teaching them?'
- (2.272) **ná- le- giz ut o- ba- yd- ø Déw-ge?**
 Q clitic-person-PIS sleepN Fut3-PIS-be lying-Fut2/3 D.- Loc
 'Which people are sleeping at Dew?'
- (2.273) **?e ná- le- giz ná- wtmer-da?**
 3SgA Q clitic-person-PIS 3n SgO-ask- PfSg
 'Which people did he ask?'

Note that the form *le-yba is unacceptable even though other common nouns can be suffixed with this form. In contrast, the form -giz can be suffixed to le 'person', according to some speakers, but not to other common nouns according to others, e.g. ?kimyar-giz 'men (PIS)'.

Although there are gaps in the examples illustrating all the case functions and number distinctions, a tentative gloss and presentation of the paradigm is given:

néte 'who SgS'
néti 'who SgO'
netide 'who SgA'
?netiba 'who n SgA/S/O'

and:

ná-le 'which person SgS/O'
ná-lelut 'which person SgA'
ná-le-gize 'which people n SgA'
?ná-le-giz 'which people n SgS/O'

The two groups given above can be paraphrased by each other in most contexts although only the second group can be used for indefinite pronouns:

- (2.274) **wi sikak we- ge akarik-ley**
 3n Sg okay sand-Loc land- PastDual
nole le- lut yábi na- rdar-i
 Neg person-SgA 3n SgO 3n SgO-see- Pf
 'They landed allright on the beach without anybody seeing them.'
 (Déwmer, p209, section7)

Contrast 2.274 where the pronominal is indefinite with the following example (2.275) where the pronominal is definite:

- (2.275) ...wi- ge mir ipi- dare
 3n SgA/S?-Deix word discuss-Pauc
 ko net- ide able sarup wá- ypit-ø
 in order to who-A Det castawayO Fut3-hit- Fut2/3
 'They then discussed as to which one of them would kill the castaway.'
 (Dévmer, p211, section18)

A few examples have been collected with the interrogative pronoun **nálulu**:

- (2.276) ná- lu+lu ge ta- ba- rmisi- lare Déw-ge?
 Q clitic-thing+Intens? Deix Deix-Intr-prepare?-n PrImpfPl D.- Loc
 'What did they get up to (yesterday) at Dew?'
 (2.277) e tara ná- lu+lu
 3SgA 3Gen Q clitic-thing+Intens?
 pe serer o- damy- er?
 Deix happiness Fut3-put Pauc/PIO-n PrImpf
 'Why is he so happy?'

Informants have said **nálulu** is the same as **nálu** 'what O'. However, the English gloss might be better captured by 'what kind of X', i.e. what kind of thing did they get up to yesterday at Dew? What kind of happiness is he feeling? (i.e. what is the cause?). In other words, **nálulu** may be the interrogative word used for asking information about a component of a compound. In order to verify this claim, questions need to be elicited of the type:

- What kind of hair does he have?
 What type of house does he live in?
 What kind of bananas do you grow? etc.

2.4 Adjectives.

The class of adjectives is somewhat problematic in terms of isolating its members and determining what are its characteristics. The following words are tentatively classed as adjectives: **aw** 'big, old', **kebi** 'little, young', **debe** 'good', **adud** 'bad'. Also included in the adjective word class are the determiner/demonstrative and quantifier words: **able~ale** 'determiner/demonstrative', **netat** 'one', **nerut** 'another', **neys** 'two', **kep+kep** 'few', **wáder** 'several', **mitkar** 'alot', **gayr** 'many'.

Criteria used for determining class membership is not based so much on what they are as on what they are not. These words typically occur in a modifier function (although they sometimes can occur as nouns). All words functioning as adjectives precede the noun they modify or directly precede the existential/locational verb:

(2.278) **able kebi werem i ezo- li**
 Det little childS tear shed-PrImpf
 'The little boy is crying.'

(2.279) **debe lag+lag**
 good want
 'Nice flavour.'

(2.280) **debe le**
 good person
 'Good one!'

(2.281) **wáder koskir**
 several (married)female
 'several women'

(2.282) **nole ko adud ike**
 Neg again bad *n* PIS be(thing)
 'It does not matter.'
 (lit: it is not bad (here) either)

Examples have been collected where adjectives are being used with a degree function:

(2.283) **e aw-kaka kebi werem dá- li**
 3SgS big-Intens little child *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf
 'He is a very small child.'

In the above example, **aw** 'big' is not functioning as an adjective but as a modifier of the adjective **kebi** 'little' to intensify it. (It would be pertinent to see whether it can occur without the intensifier, e.g. ?e aw kebi werem dáli 'He is slightly younger'.)

In the two examples below (2.284 and 2.285), the reduplicated form is being used with a distributive function:

(2.284) **wi netat+netat taba águd-em érer ba- kri- er**
 3*n* SgS one 3Gen god- All shout PIS-cry out-*n* PrImpf
 'They cried out one by one to their god/They each cried out to their god.'

(2.285) **able pazar tabara netat+netat ba- tager-da...**
 Det crewS 3Gen one Intr-tell- PfpI
 'The sailors said to each other...'

(Both of the above examples are from the manuscript of a biblical translation of Jonah.)

Most words functioning as adjectives are derived from the noun word class through a process of reduplication. Using Dixon's semantic types of adjectives (1982), the following words in adjective function occur:

1) dimension:

piri+piri 'long'	< piri 'length'
téwpay 'short'	< téwpay 'shortness'
	ex. téwpay-em 'for a short while'
deg+deg 'wide'	< deg 'width'
dób+dob 'fat'	< dob 'fatness'
~toyr+toyr 'fat'	<?toyr

2) physical properties:

kela(r)+kela(r) 'strong, hard'	< kelar 'strength'
geb+geb 'soft, cold'	< geb 'cold'
beber+beber 'heavy'	< beber 'weight'
per+per 'light, clear (colour)'	< per 'light weight, mirror'
zur+zur 'rough'	<?zur 'roughness'
urweri(+urweri) 'hot'	<?urweri 'heat'
kurap+kurap 'bitter'	< kurab 'bitterness'
neru+neru 'sweet'	< neru 'sugarcane'

3) colour:

goli+goli 'dark'	< goli 'squid sp.'
za(r)zer+za(r)zer 'white'	< zarzer 'whiteness'
mamam+mamam 'red'	< mam 'blood'
bam+bam 'yellow'	< bam 'turmeric'

4) human propensity:

serer+serer 'happy'	< serer 'happiness'
pardar+pardar 'clever'	< pardar 'wisdom'

5) age:

peret 'old (of thing)'	<?emeret 'ancient time'
-------------------------------	-------------------------

6) value:

sek+sek 'bad'	<?sek 'badness'
sikak 'okay, well'	<sek 'badness' + kak 'privative?'
parko+parko 'imperfect'	< parko 'defect'

7) speed:

dudum+dudum 'quick'	< dudum 'haste'
korider+korider 'fast'	< korider 'speed'
wápum+wapum 'slow'	<?wápum 'slowness'

Several items functioning as adjectives are homophonous in form with nouns. Should these simply be labelled 'nominals'? In such cases, there is no morphological or syntactic evidence to suggest that there is any derivation involved and thus, there is no justification for two word classes.

It remains to be checked whether the reduplicated form is possible at all and/or whether it intensifies its meaning:

?e **téwpay+tewpay** le 'he (is) a very short person'

?peret+peret wáli 'very old clothes'

There are also some examples where the adjective can occur either reduplicated or not (see also section on comparison with nominal compounds p65):

(2.286) **urweri ni**

heat water

'hot water, tea'

(2.287) **áw-kaka urweri+urweri gerger pe ike**

big-Intens heat Adj dayS Deix *n* PLS be(thing)

'It is a really hot day today.'

(2.288) **...a ba- ker- i nar- lam beber lu errep- da**

Conj PLS-Pauc/PLS do-Pf boat-Abl heavy thingO grab Pauc/PIO-PfPl

ad- em dikri- da

out-All throw Pauc/PIO-PfPl

'... and they started grabbing the heavy things and throwing them overboard.'

(from the manuscript of the bible translation of Jonah)

(2.289) **aw beber+beber werem dá- li**

big heavy Adj childS *n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf

'He is a very heavy child.'

The reader can note that the reduplicated form is associated with an intensified meaning. It is not possible to say whether this meaning is obtained from an adverbial function or a meaning that can be attributed to the reduplicated form of the adjective. As this hypothesis was not considered during fieldwork, no examples have been elicited to test it. The reduplicated form needs to be tested for an attenuative meaning as well. The examples demonstrate the possibility that reduplication can also be a semantic device.

Rigsby (p.c) suggests that the reduplicated form has a proprietive meaning and gives as an example:

(2.290) **tulik+tulik le**

knife person

'person with a knife'

No such examples were collected with the current corpus of data so no comment can be made. However, there are examples where the associative case has a proprietive meaning:

(2.291) **mir- kem le**

word-Ass person

'preacher' (lit: word-having person) (cf. 2.129)

(2.292) **ged- kem le**

land-Ass person

'land owner' (lit: land-having person) (cf. 2.130)

Of course, it may be that reduplication and the use of the associative suffix have a general proprietive meaning with slight semantic differences between the two.

There is one example in the data where a proprietive meaning is the only interpretation possible and yet there is no reduplicated form nor the presence of the associative suffix:

(2.293) **ese ka no**
if 1SgS Restr
aw bakir le wa- n(a)- a- li..
big stone person RemPast-1/2Sg/PIS-n PIS be(person)-PrImpf
'If only I had had a lot of money...'

It would seem on the basis of the above example that a proprietive meaning cannot be the sole function of the reduplicated form.

Some words always occur in a reduplicated form when functioning as adjectives. Such is the case with colour terms, e.g. **bam+bam** 'yellow', where reduplication is a signal of its function, i.e. a syntactic device, to mark a derivational process. The two uses of reduplication are not necessarily incompatible and there may be instances where syntactic uses and semantics converge. More data will have to be collected to test such a claim.

Is there a basis for postulating a distinct word class of adjectives? For at least a small closed class of words whose function is primarily to modify nouns, an adjective category is appropriate. For other words operating in this function, one can simply specify that they are nominals which for some will be reduplicated to mark their adjectival function and for others, to mark intensity.

CHAPTER THREE

VERBALS AND VERB MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Introduction.

Number marking is an important feature of verbs. There are cross-reference markers and verb roots carrying number information about syntactic arguments. Some roots are related to one another in form whilst others are suppletive bearing no resemblance to one another.

(i) same form for all numbers:

detager	'tell'
erdar	'see'
badmirik	'chase oneself away'
ero	'eat'
iri	'drink'
ikasir	'be going along'
eme(r)	'nonhuman be sitting'
ekyam	'wake up'
ezo	'cry'
og	'climb'

Some of the verbs listed in this group (as in other groups) show slight modifications in the verb stem such as initial vowel loss when certain prefixes are affixed. For example, with the plural S morpheme **b(a)-**, there is a change in the verb form with the deletion of the initial vowel, e.g. **ekyam** 'wake up', **ba-kyam** 'PLS wake up', **i ezo** 'cry' (lit: tear shed), **i ba-zo** 'PLS cry'.

(ii) suppletive forms for different numbers:

ikedi	'put down Sg/DualO'	ídag	'put down Pauc/PIO'
ep	'carry Sg/DualO'	ays	'carry Pauc/PIO'
ikwar	'give Sg/DualO'	áyswer	'give Pauc/PIO'
batawered	'throw SgO only'	dikri	'throw Pauc/PIO'
itimed	'throw Sg/DualO'		
ámi	'put on Sg/DualO'	etkir	'put on Pauc/PIO'
baw	'Sg/DualS enter'	barot	'Pauc/PLS enter'
akaweret	'n PLS climb onto'	etir	'PLS climb onto'
ike	'n PLS be (thing)'	Vgri	'PLS be (thing)'

(The vowel postulated for the plural form of the existential/locational verb for things is not known because the verb never occurs without the 3rd person non-singular prefix *na-* which always triggers initial vowel loss, e.g. *na-gri*.)

(iii) related form for number i.e. through regular morphological alternation:

ekwey	'Sg/DualS stand up'	eko	'Pauc/PIS stand up'
éydi	'Sg/DualS lie down'	éyd	'Pauc/PIS lie down'
demarge	' <i>n</i> PIS resting on ground'	dVmar	'PIS resting on ground'
éwsmer	'Sg/DualS come out'	ews/os	'Pauc/PIS come out'
ósmer	'become full'		
epaytered	'pour Sg/DualO'	epayt	'pour Pauc/PIO'
etaruk	'pick up Sg/DualO'	etaker	'pick up Pauc/PIO'
dígwatmu	'pull in from sea Sg/DualA/O'	dígwat	'pull in from sea Pauc/PIA/O'
bakyamu	'Sg/DualS go'	bakyaw	'Pauc/PIS go'
baraygi	' <i>n</i> PIS dive close to surface'	barag	'PIS dive close to surface'
dími	'close Sg/DualO'	dim	'close Pauc/PIO'
diskemer	'chase Sg/DualO'	dikes	'chase Pauc/PIO'
ísmér	'pull out Sg/DualO of small opening, give birth to Sg/DualO'	is	'pull out Pauc/PIO of small opening, give birth to Pauc/PIO (also to expel from anus, i.e. to fart)

Some verbs in this set have the penultimate vowel deleted in the singular/dual form. This may be the result of historical changes where the vowel became unstressed or the pitch-accent shifted to another syllable (parallel to *tabara~tabra~taba~tara* '3Gen'):

ákmey	'dip Sg/DualO' (?<akémey)	ákem	'dip Pauc/PIO'
ismi	'cut/chop Sg/DualO' (?<isími)	isim	'cut/chop Pauc/PIO'

For most verbs, the (paucal)/plural form is derived either by the loss of the final vowel (plus consonant/glide) or the loss of the entire syllable. In some cases, other changes are involved such as the syllabification of the final glide, e.g. *ekw* ---> **eko**, or the insertion of a glide in a root ending in a vowel, e.g. *bakya*---> **bakyaw**. In some cases, a vowel is inserted to break up a word final cluster which is unacceptable in the phonotactic structure of the language, e.g. *etakr*---> **etaker**, or the medial consonant cluster is broken up and the consonants are metathesized, e.g. *diske* ---> **dikes**. The reductions are:

ekwey	--->	<i>ekw</i>	--->	eko
éydi	--->	<i>éyd</i>		
demarge	--->	<i>dVmar</i>		

ósmer	→	os	
epayter	→	epayt	
etaruk	→	etakr	→ etaker
dígwatmu	→	dígwat	
bakyamu	→	bakya	→ bakyaw
baraygi	→	barayg	→ barag (a quirk of the language?)
dími	→	dim	
deskemer	→	diske	→ dikes (and vowel raising)
ísmer	→	is	

Only one verb has been found to have the singular/dual form derived from paucal/plural form by deletion of the final syllable:

etomeret 'show Pauc/PIA/O' **etomer** 'show Sg/DualA/O'

There are a few verbs whose related forms do not follow any familiar pattern. (The underlying form is possibly a combination of both root forms.) There are too few examples to generalize, only the type of changes can be presented:

emri 'n PIS sit down' **Vmer** 'PIS sit down'

(From the postulated underlying root emeri where there is deletion of the final vowel for the plural form and loss of the mid vowel for the nonplural form.)

esk- 'n PIS be flowing' **Vkos** 'PIS be flowing'

(From the postulated root ekos where there is deletion of the final vowel for the n PIS form causing an unacceptable consonant cluster /ks/ which is metathesized.)

imi- 'Sg/DualS be sitting' **emr-** 'Pauc/PIS be sitting'

(From the postulated root emir where there is deletion of the final vowel for the Pauc/PIS form and deletion of the final consonant for the Sg/DualS form.)

There are some verb roots whose number reference alters depending upon its meaning. This may be the result of idiosyncratic, isolated instances or it may be a feature of specific meanings. For example, the transitive verbs **itrum** and **erap**:

itrum 'take out from large opening Sg/DualO,
take off/down all no.O';

iti 'take out from large opening Pauc/PIO'

(3.1) **ka lewer itrum-** **dari sóspan-lam**
1SgA foodO take out Sg/DualO-PfSg <Eng- Abl

'I took out a piece of food from the saucepan, i.e. one banana.'

- (3.2) **ka lewer iti-** (i)
 1SgA foodO take out Pauc/PlO-Pf
 'I took out some food.'
- (3.3) **ka kára wáli itrum- dari**
 1SgA 1SgGen clothingO take down-PfSg
 'I took my shirt down i.e. off the line.'
- (3.4) **ka kára wáli itrum- i**
 1SgA 1SgGen clothingO take down-Pf
 'I took all my clothes down.'
 *ka kára wáli iti

(Whilst the perfective marker **-da(ri)** is associated with singular number of A and O, it is not the case that the perfective marker **-i** is associated with a particular number marking.)

erap 'buy Pauc/PlO,

break all no.O (note that this is true for only some speakers)';

erapey 'buy Sg/DualO'

- (3.5) **ka kára tonar lu erap- da**
 1SgA 1SgGen time thingO break-PfSg
 'I broke my watch.'
 ?ka kára tonar lu erapey-da

Number alternations in verb forms appear to follow an ergative-absolutive pattern in that it is overwhelmingly the number of O arguments of transitive verbs and the number of S arguments of intransitive verbs which determine the form of the verb root. For example: **akaweret** 'Sg/DualS climb onto', **etir** 'Pauc/PlS climb onto' and **ikaweret** 'load onto Sg/DualO', **itir** 'load onto Pauc/PlO'.

However, there are verb root forms where the number alternations are not determined by a particular argument but rather by the number of arguments irrespective of whether they are A or O with paucal/plural arguments taking precedence over singular/dual. For example, consider the related verb roots **etomeret** 'show Pauc/PlA or O' and **etomer** 'show Sg/DualA and O':

- (3.6) **ka ábi able u etomert- i**
 1SgA 3SgO Det coconut (tree)O show Pauc/PlA/O-Pf
 'I showed him the palm trees.'
- (3.7) **ka ábi able lu etome- da**
 1SgA 3SgO Det thingO show Sg/DualA/O-PfSg
 'I showed him the thing.'
- (3.8) **ki ábi able meta etomeret- (d)a**
 1n SgExclA 3SgO Det houseO show Pauc/PlA/O-PfPl
 'We (many of us excl) showed him the house.'

- (3.9) ki ábi able u etomeret- (d)a
 1n SgExclA 3SgO Det coconut (tree)O show Pauc/PIA/O-PfPl
 'We (many of us excl) showed him the palm trees.'

Similarly, consider the three related verb roots **dipigemer** 'Sg/DualA turn over Sg/DualO', **dipigemeret** 'Pauc/PIA turn over Sg/DualO', **dipiger** 'turn over Pauc/PIO':

- (3.10) ka nam dipigeme- dari
 1SgA turtleO turn over Sg/DualA/O-PfSg
 'I turned over a turtle.'

*ki nam dipigeme(r)- darda
 1n SgExclA turn over Sg/DualA/O

- (3.11) ki nam dipigemeret- (d)a
 1n SgExcl turtleO Pauc/PIA turn over Sg/DualO-PfPl
 'We (plural) turned over a turtle.'

*ka nam dipigemeret-a
 1SgA

- (3.12) ka nam da-ra- pigeme- da
 1SgA turtleO | -3n SgO- | turn over Sg/DualA/O-PfSg
 'I turned over two turtles.'

*ki nam da-ra-pigeme- darda
 1n SgExclA turn over Sg/DualA/O

- (3.13) ki nam dipiger- da
 1n SgExcl turtleO turn over Pauc/PIO-PfPl
 'We (plural) turned over lots of turtles.'

- (3.14) ka nam dipigr- i
 1SgA turtleO turn over Pauc/PIO-Pf
 'I turned over turtles.'

3.2 Verb Types: Atelic Stative and Telic Active.

There are two distinct verb types in the language distinguished by their different morphological markers. The first group of verbs takes temporal suffixes which distinguish present **-(re)di/-ø** from nonpresent **-(re)der/-ø**. The second group of verbs takes temporal/aspectual suffixes which distinguish between (non)present imperfective **(-li/-eyey/-le/-eda; -er/-ley/-le/-lare)** and perfective (such as the forms **-i/-iyey/-idare/-da**). (The differences in forms correspond roughly to different number marking and there is no temporal/aspectual marking for some numbers. See the section on Temporal/Aspectual/Mood/Number markers 3.8.1 p99 for more details.)

As is apparent from the markers, the first group does not distinguish perfective from imperfective whereas the second group does. This difference reflects to some degree semantic categories corresponding to atelic stative verbs

for one group and to telic active verbs for the other. Consider for example the following two related intransitive verbs **emri** 'sit down' (telic active) and **imi** 'be sitting' (atelic stative):

(3.15) **ki d- imi- redi**
 1*n* SgExclS 1/2Dual/PaucS-Sg/DualS be sitting-Pr
 'We (2excl) are sitting.'

(3.16) **ki emri- daryey**
 1*n* SgExclS *n* PlS sit down-PfDual
 'We two (excl) sat down.'

The two examples given above show that number cross-referencing differs depending on whether it is an atelic stative or telic active verb. The former category, i.e. atelic statives (3.15), cross-references by means of prefixes equivalent to those used for O. The latter category, i.e. telic actives (3.16), cross-references by means of suffixes equivalent to those used predominantly for A. Compare the cross-reference marking with intransitive verbs to the following transitive verb **imri** 'seat someone' (3.17), where the person and number of O is marked with a prefix **d-** and the number of A is marked with a suffix **-daryey**:

(3.17) **ki wábi d- imri-daryey**
 1*n* SgExclA 2SgO 1/2*n* SgO-sit- PfDual
 'We two sat you(2) down.'

Compare this example with those of intransitive verbs. The atelic stative verb's cross-reference marker for S matches that of the transitive verb's O cross-reference marker, i.e. a prefix, and the telic active verb's cross-reference marker for S matches that of the transitive verb's A cross-reference marker, i.e. a suffix. Although the markers do not always correlate in such a neat one to one correspondance, there are instances where they do.

The temptation is to consider the two verb types, namely the atelic stative and telic active, as derivations of each other. Such an approach would be inappropriate as not all verbs have an active and stative form. For example, the verb **ikasir** 'be going along' and the verb **esk** (< **Vkos**) 'be flowing' only have stative forms:

(3.18) **e ikaser- edi**
 3SgS be going along-Pr
 'He is going along.'
 ***e ikaser-da**
 Pf
 ***e ikasr-i**
 Pf

(3.19) **e esk- edi**
 3Sg be flowing-Pr
 'It is flowing.'

*e ekos-a

Pf

*e esk-i

Pf

These examples are illustrative for another reason. The two morphological categories do not coincide exactly with the semantic categories that were postulated. Thus, the verb *ikasir* 'be going along' and the verb *esk* (< -kos) 'be flowing' are not atelic stative verbs yet behave morphologically with verbs of this category. There are two possible explanations for these facts. One explanation is that verbs which are atelic stative in one language such as in English need not be so in another language such as Meryam Mir. An alternative explanation is that these categories are essentially morphological categories which cannot be fully specified on a semantic basis.

3.3 Transitive and Intransitive Verbs.

It has been established that a distinction needs to be drawn between atelic stative and telic active verbs partly on the basis of their morphology and partly on the basis of semantic criterion. What of the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs?

On the basis of arguments which the verbs select, a distinction can be drawn between transitive and intransitive verbs as the nominals bear A, S or O case marking. However, the verbal morphology itself does not cross-reference strictly on a ergative-absolutive basis nor on a nominative-accusative basis but rather displays features of both types and some verbs can even employ either type or both types of cross-reference marking.

Consider first a nominative-accusative type cross-reference marking system. With atelic stative verbs (which are all intransitive verbs), number and, to some degree, person of the S argument, are marked by means of prefixing:

(3.20) *kára sospan pe da-ra- kmerk- edi*

1SgGen <EngS Deix | -3n SgS | Sg/DualS be resting upon-Pr

urmeme-ge

fireplace- Loc

'My two saucepans are resting upon the stove.'

Similarly, O arguments of transitive verbs are cross-referenced on the verb by means of prefixing:

(3.21) *ka sospan da-ra- kmerik- da(ri) urmeme-ge*

1SgA <EngO | -3n SgO | put resting Sg/DualO upon-PfSg fireplace-Loc

'I put the two saucepans resting upon the stove.'

It should be noted that under certain conditions, namely with the number hierarchy, the O can be cross-referenced for number in the suffix position but

there is specification in the prefix position (at least for 3rd person and for some verbs with 1/2nd person):

- (3.22) **ka yábi da-ra- tagr-idare**
 1SgA 3n SgO | -3n SgO- | tell- Pauc
 'I told them (few).'

With telic active verbs involving intransitive verbs, plural number of the S argument can be cross-referenced by a prefix:

- (3.23) **wi ba- mr- i**
 3n SgS PIS-Pauc/PIS sit down-Pf
 'They all sat down.'

However, for all other numbers (including plural for some verbs), the S argument is cross-referenced by a suffix:

- (3.24) **ki bakyamu- daryey**
 1n SgExclS Sg/DualS go-PfDual
 'We two (excl) went.'

- (3.25) **ki bakyaw- da**
 1n SgExclS Pauc/PIS go-PfPl
 'We all went.'

Similarly, with telic active verbs involving transitive events, the A argument is cross-referenced for number by means of a suffix:

- (3.26) **ki keriba lewer erapey- daryey**
 1n SgExclA 1n SgExclGen foodO buy Sg/DualO-PfDual
 'We two (excl) bought our food.'

Thus, a correlation can be noted between the cross-reference markers and the transitivity and type of verb. Prefixes are used for S of atelic stative verbs, O arguments and for some plural S of telic active intransitive verbs. Suffixes are used for A or S arguments of telic active verbs. The first type of cross-referencing is reminiscent of an absolutive case pattern with S and O receiving the same marking. The second type of cross-referencing is reminiscent of a nominative case pattern with S and A receiving the same marking. Both of these represent general patterns and within them, the reader should be aware that there are deviations, i.e. the O argument can be marked by a suffix.

McConvell in his study (1983; 44-45) on ergative and verb agreement reaches a similar conclusion using different but related evidence. His argument is that the suffix slot on the verb is neither strictly 'ergative' nor 'accusative' as A, S and O arguments can be cross-referenced in this position. The prefix slot, however, is clearly 'ergative' in its operation, only being filled by O arguments or by A/S 1st or 3rd person future markers (although he did not have examples of atelic stative verbs which do have S arguments cross-referenced in the prefix slot irrespective of tense).

There is a third type of cross-reference pattern that concerns certain intransitive verbs where there is both prefixing and/or suffixing for number (and to some degree for person). In the current corpus of data, three verbs of this type have been found. The verbs **ábi** 'fall, come down', **ep** 'Sg/DualS float' (and its equivalent paucal/plural suppletive form **ays** 'Pauc/PlS float') and **igar** 'talk a particular language'. Examples to illustrate the double cross-reference marking follow:

(3.27) **wi ná- (a)b(i)- iyey**
 3*n* SgS 3*n* SgS/O-fall, come down-PfDual
 'They (two) fell.'
 √**wi ab(i)iyey**

(3.28) **wi n- ép- ey**
 3*n* SgS 3*n* SgS/O-Sg/DualS float-PastDual
mena Adud Nor-i t- erpey- ley
 still A. N.- O Deix-grab Sg/DualO-PastDual
 'They (two) floated until they reached Adud Nor (lit: Bad Reef).'
 ? **wi épey mena Adud Nori terpeyley** (this has not been elicited)

(3.29) **wa d- ábw- am**
 2*n* SgS 1/2*n* SgS/O-fall, come down-Fut2/3Dual
 'You (two) come down.' (?You two will fall down.)

(3.30) **wi Yágar+Yagar mir na- gar- eda**
 3*n* SgS K.K.Y. word 3*n* SgS/O-talk-PrImpfPl
 'They speak Kalaw Kawaw Ya.'

There are too few examples to establish what the difference is between this type and the other types cited above. Furthermore, for one verb **ábi** 'fall, come down', and this may also include the others, one can optionally cross-reference the S like an S/O (by a prefix) or as an A/S alone (by a suffix). Given the meanings of the verb, i.e. 'fall' or 'come down', a preliminary hypothesis would be that the choice of cross-reference marking depends on whether the S argument has control or not. When the S has no control, i.e. fall, the cross-reference is as both S and O whereas when the S has control, i.e. come down, the cross-reference is only as S. Such a hypothesis needs to be tested against more examples.

3.4 Structure of the Verb.

The structure of a fully inflected verb showing all possible prefixes and suffixes is as follows:

4.	3.	2.	1.		
wa-	ta-	na-	[(d)V-	na-	verb root-]
Fut3	Deictic	Fut1(Intr)	initial (C)V	3Dual/PaucS	tense/ aspect/
RemotePast			of verb root	3n SgS/O	no
Past Irrealis			-a-		A/S/(O)
			Fut1(tr)		
			ba-		
			Intr		
			PIS (active)		
			na-		
			1/2Sg/(Pl)		
			S(state)		
			1/2SgO		
			d-		
			1/2Dual/Pauc		
			S(state)		
			1/2n SgO		
			3Gen		

A number of generalizations can be made about the structure. The two end points of the verb stem are positions associated with tense and aspect. Slot 1 in the structure is a position associated predominantly with 1st and 2nd person. Within the verb root can be inserted infixes, which are associated exclusively with 3rd person. The last slot of the verb stem carries number information, which is not necessarily restricted to a particular argument, although it is predominantly A/S. A couple of examples to illustrate the verb structure follow:

(3.31) **wi wa- ta- bakyamu- lam**
 3n SgS Fut3-Deix-Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3Dual
 'They (2) will be coming.'

(3.32) **e ábra werem wa- ti- d- ismer- ø tawn-ge**
 3SgA 3SgGen childO Fut3-Deix-3Gen-bear Sg/DualO-Fut2/3 <Eng-Loc
 'She will give birth to his child in town.'

Several comments are needed to understand the overall verb structure.

- The numbers appearing above each slot indicate the order in which the morphemes must be affixed. Justification for such ordering will become apparent when outlining the allomorphic variations.

- The initial CV of the verb root and the verb root itself may in fact be discontinuous; i.e. there may be an infix within the root. For example, the verb **detager** 'tell':

(3.33) **ma ábi detager-ø**
 2SgA 3SgO tell- Fut2/3
 'Tell him.'

(3.34) **ma yábi da-ra- tager-ø**
 2SgA 3n SgO | -3n SgO-|tell- Fut2/3
 'Tell the two of them.'

(The prefix **na** has the allomorph **-ra-** when preceded by a vowel.)

- The 1st person future prefix has two allomorphs which can occur in two different slots of the verb structure, namely 1 and 2. The environments for predicting each allomorph are determined by a syntactic feature, the transitivity of the verb.

When the morpheme is affixed to an intransitive verb, the allomorph **na-** is used, and the initial (consonant and) vowel of the root are deleted. It is a 'replacive' morpheme:

(3.35) **ka n(a)- ákome- lu** (<ákomer)
 1SgS Fut1-return- Fut1
 'I will go back.'

(Note that /a/ elides before a morpheme commencing with /a/.)

(3.36) **ka na- gm- e** (<digem)
 1SgS Fut1-walk-Fut1
 'I will walk.'

When the morpheme is affixed to a transitive verb, the allomorph **-a-** is always used. When the root begins with a vowel, the morpheme is prefixed and the root initial vowel is deleted or reduced to a glide. When the root begins with a consonant, the morpheme is infixal following the initial root consonant /d/ and the following vowel deleted:

(3.37) **ka lu a- rap- e** (<erap)
 1SgA thingO Fut1-buy Pauc/PlO-Fut1
 'I will buy things.'

(3.38) **ka ábi d-a- tagr-e** (<detager)
 1SgA 3SgO |-Fut1-|tell- Fut1
 'I will tell him.'

Note that a future 1st person morpheme has to be included in slot 2 as it always precedes the intransitive/pluralS marker **ba-**:

(3.39) **mi na- ba- tage(r)-ley**
 1n SgInclS Fut1-Intr-tell- Fut1Dual
 'We (you and I) will talk to each other.'

The intransitive/pluralS marker must occur in that particular slot in the verb structure as there are examples where the initial CV of the verb root is deleted and replaced by this marker. For example, **dikmerik** 'put Sg/DualO resting upon something'--> **ba-kmerik** 'Sg/DualS rest upon something'; **dásmer** 'look'---> **bá-smer** 'look at oneself'.

In order to account for the co-occurrence of the 1st person future prefix and the intransitive/pluralS marker, the future prefix **na-** has to be stated twice, in the verb root slot(1) and in a prefix position (slot 2).

- The 1st person future and 1/2 person associated number morphemes can be distinguished from each other on the basis of their different allomorphs. The 1st person future morpheme has the allomorph **-a-** used with transitive verbs. The 1/2 person associated number morpheme has no allomorph **-a-** since the initial consonant plus vowel of the verb root are always deleted when this marker is prefixed. Examples are:

(3.40) **ka ábi d-a- tagr-e**
 1SgA 3SgO |-Fut1-| tell- Fut1
 'I will tell him.'

(3.41) **ka mári na- tagr-i kikem**
 1SgA 2SgO 1/2SgO-tell- Pf after
 'I told you first.'

- Although the 1/2 person associated morpheme and the 3rd person associated morpheme are homophonous, i.e. **na-**, their occurrence in the verb structure differs. The 3rd person associated morpheme is an infix whereas the 1/2 person associated morpheme is a prefix. To illustrate this difference consider the contrastive examples:

(3.42) **ma kári ta- ra- tager-ø Umar-ge**
 2SgA 1SgO Deix-1/2SgO-tell- Fut2/3 U.- Loc
 'Tell me over there at Umar.'

(3.43) **ma yábi ta- da-ra- tager-ø**
 2SgA 3n SgO Deix-| -3n SgO-| tell- Fut2/3
 'Tell the two of them over there.'

(Note that the verb root **detager** 'tell' becomes /da-tager/ when there is an infix.)

When the 1/2 person associated morpheme is affixed, the initial CV of the verb root is deleted and the prefix **na-** (**-ra-**) is affixed whereas when the 3rd person associated morpheme is affixed, it is infixed following the initial CV of the verb root. Consequently, the two morphemes are homophonous in form but distinct in function and placement.

- For other homophonous morphemes, they can be distinguished from one another because they are in fact co-occurring morphemes. For example, the past irrealis and remote past marker involve the same prefix morpheme as 3rd person future but not the same suffix morpheme:

- (3.44) **wi o- dasmer-lam**
 3n SgA Fut3-see- Fut2/3Dual
 'He will see it.'
- (3.45) **wi o- dasmer- iyey**
 3n SgA PastIrr-see- PfDual
 'They (2) should have seen it.'

General rules for allomorphic variations:

An accented front, high vowel /i/ followed immediately by a consonant becomes a glide (w~y) when a morpheme is prefixed:

1. í[+accent] ---> y / wa + -
 ex. **wá-ytmer** (<ítmer) 'Fut3 ask';
wá-ype (<ípe) 'Fut3 SgS be lying'
2. í[+accent] ---> y / morpheme + - C¹ i
 ex. **d-á-y-mi-lu** (<dími) 'Fut1 close SgO'
bá-y-mi-da 'Intr Sg S be closed'
3. í[+accent] ---> w / elsewhere
 ex. **ná-wtmer** (<ítmer) 'ask 1/2SgO'
ná-wkayr (<díkayr) 'wait 1/2SgO'
d-á-wski-lu (<díski) 'fut1 open SgO'
bá-wski-da 'Intr SgS be open'
d-á-wg-e (<dig) 'Fut1 open PIO'
bá-wg-da 'Intr PIS be open'
d-á-wm-e (<dim) 'Fut1 close PIO'
bá-wm-da 'Intr PIS be closed'

(Rules 1. and 2. have to apply before rule 3.)

Contrast these with accented vowels other than /i/ which are not affected by the above rules:

- ex. **n(a)-ábger-i** (<dábger) 'call out 1/2SgO Pf'
n(a)-ákome-lu (<ákomer) 'Fut1Sg return'
ná-ydi-lu (<éydi) 'Fut1Sg lie down'

Note that the above rules do not affect the accent, which remains on the same syllable.

na- (all homophonous forms)

- na-** ---> **ra-** / **V-** ex. **da-ra-tager** 'tell 3n SgO'
ta-ra-tager 'tell 1/2SgO over there'
- na-** ---> **ne-** / **-bé** ex. **ne-b-erwer-e** 'Fut1 learn'
- > **no-** / **-bó** ex. **no-b-og-e** 'Fut1 PIS climb'

ba- (all homophonous forms)

When the verb root commences with (a consonant and) an unstressed vowel, these are deleted and the marker **ba-** is prefixed. When the verb root commences with (a consonant and) a stressed vowel, the consonant is deleted and the vowel is reduced to a glide or deleted or remains the same, and the prefix is affixed. The rules for predicting the accented form when it is /i/, are covered by the general rules for allomorphic variations outlined above. Thus:

ba + (C) V[-accent]	---> ba + ø	ex. ba-taperet 'growl each other' (<etaperet)
		ba-saw 'rub each other' (<desaw)
b + V[é,ó]		ex. b-érwer (intr.vb.) 'learn' (<érwer tr.vb.)
		b-og 'PIS climb' (<og)
ba + (C)V[i]	---> bá + -y~w~ø	ex. bá-wski (intr.vb.) 'be open' (<díski tr.vb.)
		bá-yimi (intr.vb.) 'be closed' (<dími tr.vb.)

Problems of shift of stress-accent.

The problem of shift in the stress-accent remains to be described. As stated earlier, pitch-accent occurs on either the first or the second syllable. Inflected forms of the verb retain the pitch-accent in the same position. For example, the verb **detáger** 'tell' has the pitch-accent on the second syllable and the pitch-accent will remain in that position when inflected, e.g. **wa-dítager** 'Fut3 tell' (e--->i / +accent). However, when the initial root vowel becomes a glide with the future morpheme **wa-**, the accent seems to always fall on the first syllable, e.g. **isím** 'cut Pauc/PIO' ---> **wá-ysim** 'Fut3 cut Pauc/PIO'. One possible explanation is that the shift to first syllable position is parallel to first syllable accented verbs. For the latter verbs, the initial root vowel becomes a glide when there are prefixes, in the same way that initial root vowels of some verbs become glides with the morpheme **wa-** (see the section on allomorphs of **wa-**, p112). This area clearly requires more detailed work.

3.5 Intransitiviser.

The morpheme **ba-** forms intransitive verbs from transitive verbs. It is a fully productive morpheme often making the action reflexive, i.e. both A and O ---> S:

aw	'put in Sg/DualO'	b(a)-aw	'Sg/DualS go in'
arot	'put in Pauc/PIO'	b(a)-arot	'Pauc/PIS go in'
dirmisir	'prepare'	ba-rmisir	'prepare oneself'
ereb	'punt'	ba-reb	'swim'
etawrik	'go around something'	ba-tawrik	'turn around, change direction'

It is the morpheme productively used to signal reciprocal relationships:

detager	'tell'	ba-tager	'talk to each other'
etaperet	'growl'	ba-taperet	'growl each other'

tag dígwat	'shake hands'	tag bá-wgwat	'shake each other's hand'
erap	'buy Pauc/PIO'	ba-rap	'buy each other Pauc/PIO'
eres	'beat up'	ba-res	'beat each other up'

It is also used when the O argument of the transitive verb becomes the S argument of the intransitive verb, i.e. O ---> S:

disirik	'light'	ba-sirik	'start to become alight'
etkir	'erase'	ba-tkir	'fade'
íter	'immerse'	bá-yter	'sink'
dími	'close Sg/DualO'	bá-ymi	'n PIS become closed'
díski	'open Sg/DualO'	bá-wski	'n PIS become open'

The intransitiviser morpheme permits constructions where the verb signals the end point of a change of state:

(3.46) **ka able lu- tam erapey- da**
 1SgA Det thing-branchO break Sg/DualO-PfSg
 'I broke the branch.'

(3.47) **able lu- tam ba- rap- da**
 Det thing-branchS Intr-break-PfSg
 'The branch has (become) broken.'

(The absence of number distinction in the verb root for the intransitive form should be ignored as it is also possible to use this same form of the verb root in the transitive construction with a singular O.)

However, the reader must not assume that the presence of /ba/ in a verb automatically signals an intransitiviser. There is a homophonous morpheme that marks the plural number of S, e.g. **ekyam** 'wake', **ba-kyam** 'Pl S wake'. There are also verb roots, both transitive and intransitive, that begin with the phonemic sequence /ba/ which is part of the verb root itself and not signalling a specific intransitivised form, e.g. **bakyamu** (intr.vb.) 'Sg/DualS go'; **batay** (intr.vb.) 'grow'; **baraygi** (intr.vb.) 'n PIS dive close to surface'; **batawered** (tr.vb.) 'throw SgO'; **báyswer** (tr.vb.) 'carry on shoulder' (related to the verb **áyswer** 'give Pauc/PIO?'). There are also instances where the intransitiviser has become lexicalised in that it is always affixed to the verb and contributes a distinct meaning. The relationship between the transitive and intransitive form is not always transparent, e.g. **óka ba-tager** (intr.vb.) 'worry' (<**oka** 'concern' <**detager** 'tell'); **ba-kayret** (intr.vb.) 'stare at one another' (<**ikayret** 'roast Sg/DualO on open fire').

Furthermore, the reader must not assume that verbs must be made intransitive when they are used without a syntactic argument as it is possible to have transitive verbs used without the A argument:

(3.48) **no nar tabra ná- wsr- iyey**
 Restr boat 3SgGen 3n SgO-drag up onto shore-PfDual
 'Their two boats just got dragged up.'

The distinction between the transitive verb with the A argument omitted and a de-transitivised verb is presumably determined by, and sensitive to, pragmatic features such as whether the speaker wants to be explicit or not about the participation of an A. It may also be sensitive to the degree of control or volition involved in the event. However, this area remains unexplored in the present study and awaits further research.

3.6 Genitive Marker For 3rd Person.

The morpheme *d-* is sometimes optionally prefixed to intransitive and transitive verbs beginning with a vowel to indicate agreement with the possessor of an O argument or of a nominal in a complex verb phrase. It also disambiguates the possessor as it indicates that it is not co-referent with the A or S:

(3.49) **koskir ábra nesur d- eso- da**
 (married) femaleS 3SgGen lavalava 3Gen-wrap around-PfSg
 'The woman wrapped his lavalava around herself.'

(3.50) **able newr yába mir d- iga- li**
 Det (unmarried) femaleS 3n SgGen word 3Gen-talk-PrImpf
 'The girl talks their language.'

(3.51) **ka kára werm-ira i d- asr- i**
 1SgA 1SgGen child- Gen tearO 3Gen-hear-Pf
 'I heard my child's tears.'

(3.52) **e ábra werem d- ís- i**
 3SgA 3Gen childO 3Gen-give birth to Pauc/PIO-Pf
 'She gave birth to his children.'

Contrast the following two examples where in 3.53, the genitive marker is present on the verb to indicate that the possessor of the O argument is not co-referent with the A argument and in 3.54, the genitive marker is absent from the verb as the possessor of the O argument is co-referent with the A argument:

(3.53) **Lez-ide able aw kimyar- ira imus d- itw- i ab- gerger-ge**
 L.- A Det big married male-Gen beardO 3Gen-shave-Pf former-day- Loc
 'Les shaved off the old man's beard yesterday.'

(3.54) **Lez-ide tabara imus itw- i Sabad-ge**
 L.- A 3Gen beardO shave-Pf <Eng- Loc
 'Les shaved his beard off on Sunday.'
 *Les shaved someone else's beard.'

(When the verb root commences with a consonant, it is not possible to show the agreement or disambiguate the possessor of O from the A argument.)

The morpheme is restricted to 3rd person (pro)nominals as evidenced by the unacceptability of agreement with 1st or 2nd person possessor arguments:

(3.55) *ka kára werem d- asri

3Gen

'I heard my child.'

(3.56) *ka mára werem d- asri

3Gen

'I heard your child.'

There are a few examples where the marker is used with an intransitive simple verb to indicate agreement with the possessor of an S argument although this seem to be a fairly marginal use since several speakers consider it unacceptable:

(3.57) ?abra ama d- éwmi- da
3SgGen motherS 3Gen-n PLS die-PfSg

'Her mother is dead.'

3.7 Verbal Deictic Marker.

The deictic morpheme *ta-* is marked on the verb to indicate that the event happens at a distance away from the speaker or that the event happens towards the speaker. It indirectly serves to distinguish between verbs of motion and verbs of location. To appreciate this distinction, consider the following examples contrastive in their direction:

(3.58) ma ta- bakyamu- ø, ge ikedi- ø
2SgS Deix-Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3, Deix put down Sg/DualO-Fut2/3
'Come, put it down here.'

*ma ta-bakyamu, ge t-ikedi

(3.59) ma bakyamu- ø, ge t- ikedi- ø
2SgS Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3, Deix Deix-put down Sg/DualO-Fut2/3
'Go, put it down there.'

√ma bakyamu, ge ikedi

In 3.58, the deictic marker on the verb of motion indicates movement towards the speaker and its absence on the verb of location indicates that the event happens close to the speaker. (Note that it is ungrammatical to use the deictic on a verb of location to indicate close proximity.) In 3.59, the absence of the deictic marker on the verb of motion indicates that the event happens moving away from the speaker and its presence on the verb of location indicates that the event happens at a distance away from the speaker. (It is acceptable to have the deictic marker absent on both and this would indicate that the event is not relative in distance to the speech act place nor related to the location of the speaker.) In summary, the deictic marker interacts with the semantics of the verb to specify whether the event is moving towards the speaker or whether the event is happening away from the speaker.

The morpheme is also used in narratives where the focus of interest is not the speaker but some other focal place determined within the context of the narrative. Thus, it can indicate that the event happens at a distance away from the focal place or that the event happens towards the focal place. The opening lines of the story of Irwam will demonstrate this use:

- (3.60) **meb dáw- er, wez- u ba- rm- er,**
 moonS *n* PLS be(person?)-*n* PrImpf croton leaf-Instr Intr-stick in-*n* PrImpf
e t- og- er, e ta- bakyamu- lu Kir-ge
 3SgS Deix-*n* PLS climb-*n* PrImpf 3SgS Deix-Sg/DualS go-PastSg K.- Loc
 'There was a moon, it was dressing itself in croton leaves, it was rising, it was coming towards Kir.'

The morpheme is also used metaphorically to indicate distance away in time. Contrast the following two examples:

- (3.61) **ná- gerger pe irdi?**
 Q clitic-dayS Deix *n* PLS be(time,place)
 'What day is it today?'
- (3.62) **ná- gerger ge ta- bark- i?**
 Q clitic-dayS Deix Deix-happen-Pf
 'What day was it yesterday?'

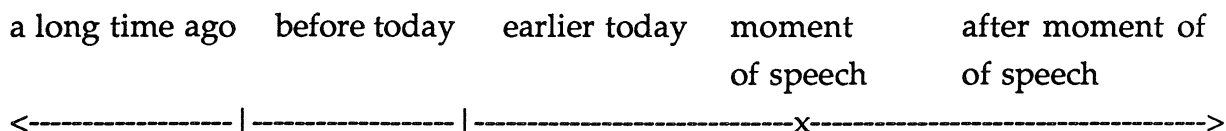
Rules of allomorphy.

ta- deictic

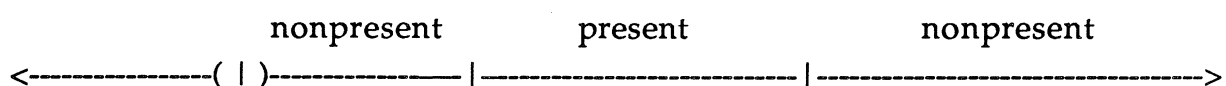
ta	→	t / - V	ex. t-erapey 'buy Sg/DualO over there'
		te / - Cé	ex. te-berwer 'learn over there'
		ti / - Cí	ex. ti-dikayr 'leave (it) over there'
		ta / elsewhere	ex. ta-bakyamu 'Sg/DualS come'
			ta-r(a)-ákome-lu 'Fut1 return to there'

3.8 Temporal/Aspectual Points of Reference.

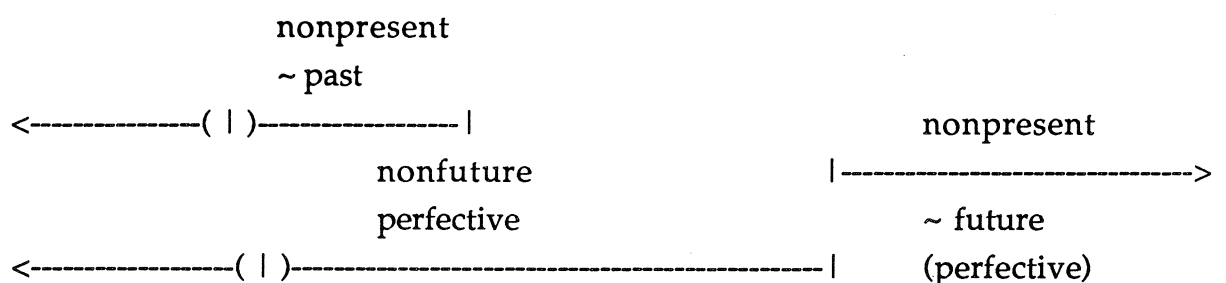
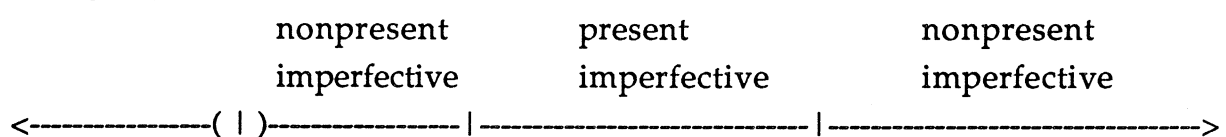
The main temporal/aspectual points of reference in the language correspond to the following:



verb group 1 (atelic stative verbs):



verb group 2 (telic active verbs):



The schema presented above is designed to give the reader a rough idea of how the temporal/aspectual markers divide up the time line.

Although two different time lines have been postulated for atelic and telic verbs to capture the present versus nonpresent for atelic verbs and the present imperfective versus nonpresent imperfective for telic verbs, these have the same time reference. The difference between the two lies in that atelic verbs do not have a perfective reading given that it is semantically incongruous to mark such a notion whereas for telic verbs, a contrast between the perfective and imperfective can be established. The present refers to all events/states that occur at the time of the speech act or to events that occur prior on the same day. The nonpresent refers to all other times.

The severed temporal/aspectual line for telic verbs reflects shared as well as distinctive features in the verbal morphology. There is a contrast in form as well as temporal reference between nonfuture perfective and future perfective markers (where future perfective refers to an event that will be completed). The set of markers for the future~nonpresent and that for the nonpresent~past share forms although these have different person reference. Both of these have non-

present reference. The nonfuture perfective markers contrast with the nonpresent~past markers as the former can be used for events that occurred on the same day as the speech act whereas the latter cannot. It is for the reasons outlined above that a split temporal/ aspectual line has been drawn which both relates and distinguishes the forms.

What has not been represented in the time line above are the temporal/aspectual markers used for the remote past. These markers are a combination in form of the prefix *wa-* and present imperfective, perfective and past suffixes. Nothing will be said about them here as they will be treated in detail below.

3.8.1 Tense/Aspect/Mood/Number Suffixes.

The table below gives a summary of the tense/aspect/mood/number suffix forms:

	Present	NonPresent	Present Imperfective	NonPresent Imperfective
No.				
Marking				
sg(/pl)	-(re)di	-(re)der	-li	-er
dual	"	"	-e(y)ey	-ley
paucal				-le
plural			-eda	-lare

	NonFuture Perfective		Future ~ NonPresent (Perfective)			
No.	1.	2.	(1st person only)		(2/3 person)	
Marking			1	2.	1.	2.
sg(/pl)	-da(ri)	-i	-lu	-e	-ø	
dual	-daryey	-iyey	-ley	-ey	-lam	-am
paucal	-dare	-idare	-dare	-idare	-dare	-idare
plural	-da(rda)		-(r)are	-are	-(r)are	-are

	Past ~ NonPresent		Irrealis Non-committal (2/3 person only)	
No.	1.	2.	1.	2.
Marking				
sg(/pl)	-lu	-ø	-wa	
dual	-ley	-ey	-wam	
paucal	-dare	-idare	-derwem	-(i)derwem
plural	-(r)are	-are	-awem	

(Note that not all tense/aspect distinctions are maintained for all numbers.)

Certain tense/aspect markers such as the Nonfuture Perfective, Future~Nonpresent (with 1st and 2nd person), the Past~Nonpresent and the Irrealis Non-committal have two distinct conjugation types. To date, no phonological or syntactic features has been found to motivate the distinction. (See the section on cross-reference markers for number for details p135.)

The temporal markers of atelic stative verbs are often absent from the verb and consequently, the temporal reference is left to be inferred from the context:

(3.63) **e ikaser- eder**

3SgS be going along-*n* Pr

'He was going along.'

(3.64) **e ikaser- edi**

3SgS be going along-Pr

'She is/was going along.' (today)

-----> **e ikase** 'He was/is going along.'

This may be the result of copying from the nonsingular form of certain atelic verbs that are also unmarked for tense. In this latter case, a telic plural intransitive verb is used, which is placed directly following the atelic verb as part of the verb complex. Its function appears to be solely for carrying tense and it is also frequently omitted, with temporal reference left for inference:

(3.65) **wi na- kasir weret-lare**

3*n* SgS 3*n* SgS-be going along Pl vb?-*n* PresPl

'They were going along.'

(3.66) **wi na- kasir wert- eda**

3*n* SgS 3*n* SgS-be going along Pl vb?-PrPl

'They are/were going along.' (today)

-----> **wi nakasir** 'They were/are going along.'

Markers used in the future involve the addition of prefixes for 1st and 3rd person namely (n)a- for 1st person and wa- (o-) for 3rd person as well as suffixes.

There are several other temporal/aspectual distinctions that are all derived from other existing forms or rather a combination of prefix and suffix. The past irrealis is formed by the prefix wa- and the perfective suffix:

(3.67) **e o- bakyamu- da**

3SgS PastIrr-Sg/DualS go-PfSg

'He should have come.'

It is also the same form used for the remote perfective:

(3.68) **kikem meskep wi o- ba- tirk- i lar- em**

afternoon low tide 3*n* SgS RemPast-PlS-go on foreshore-Pf fish-All

'In the late afternoon low tide, they went on the foreshore for fish.'

(Dópem, p215, section5)

The remote past imperfective is formed by the prefix *wa-* and the present (imperfective) suffix:

(3.69) **wi kíkem kérker-ge pwáca wáy- rw-eda**
 3*n* SgA first time- Loc pigO RemPast-eat-PrImpfPl
 'They ate pig in former times a long time ago.'

(3.70) **kíkem kérker-ge gab i wá- yke- redi**
 former time- Loc pathS Deix RemPast-n PlS be(thing)-Pr
 'There used to be a path there.'

The remote past is formed by the prefix *wa-* and the past suffix:

(3.71) **wi o- bakyaw- are lar- em**
 3*n* SgS RemPast-Pauc/PlS go-PastPl fish-All
 'They went for fish.' (Dópem, p215, section5)

Vowel Loss or Reduction.

When temporal/aspectual/mood/number markers commencing with a vowel are suffixed to verb roots ending in a consonant, these trigger the loss of the final vowel (except /a/) provided it does not lead to an unacceptable cluster such as a tri-consonantal cluster (e.g. *ítmer* 'ask' ---> **itmr+i*) or a 2-stop cluster (e.g. *ipit* 'hit' ---> **ipt+er n PrImpf*):

V[-a] ---> \emptyset / C - C + V

ex. dirup 'sweep'	---> derp + er <i>n PrImpf</i>
	---> dirp + iderwem <i>IrrPauc</i>
etaker 'pick up Pauc/PlO'	---> etakr + eyey <i>PrImpfDual</i>
	---> etakr + eda <i>PrImpfPl</i>
isim 'cut Pauc/PlO'	---> ism + i <i>Pf</i>
	---> ism + iyey <i>PfDual</i>
	---> ism + idare <i>PfPauc</i>
asor 'listen'	---> (a)-asr + e <i>Fut1</i>
	---> (a)-asr + ey <i>Fut1Dual</i>
	---> (a)-asr + idare <i>Fut1Pauc</i>
	---> (a)-asr + are <i>Fut1Pl</i>

Contrast with a verb root which has a final low vowel:

ex. erap 'buy Pauc/PlO' ---> **erap + i** *Pf*

When temporal/aspectual/mood/number markers commencing with a vowel are suffixed to verb roots ending in a vowel other than /i/, the root vowel is reduced to a bilabial glide /w/ or is deleted altogether:

1. V[-i] + ---> \emptyset / C[+bilabial] - + i

ex. ábu 'fall' ---> **áb + iyey** *PfDual*

ímu 'knock' ---> **ím + i** *Pf*

2. V[-i] + --->	w / - + V	
ex. itu 'shave'		---> itw + i Pf ---> itw + iyey PfDual ---> itw + idare PfPauc
ero 'eat'		---> irw + i Pf ---> irw + iyey PfDual ---> irw + idare PfPauc
ero 'eat'		---> erw + er n PrImpf ---> erw + eyey PrImpfDual ---> erw + eda PrImpfPl
ábu 'fall'		---> ná-(a)bw + e Fut1 ---> ná-(a)bw + am Fut1Dual ---> ná-(a)bw + are Fut1Pl

Contrast with a verb root which has a high, front vowel:

ex. eri 'drink'	---> iri + (i) Pf ---> iri + (i)yey PfDual ---> iri + (i)dare PfPauc
-----------------	--

There are no verb roots ending in /e/ or /a/ and so the rules only have to exclude /i/ to capture the generalization. Rule 1. must be ordered before Rule 2.

When temporal/aspectual/mood/number markers commencing with a vowel other than /i/ are suffixed to verb roots ending in a high, front vowel /i/, the root vowel is either reduced to a palatal glide /y/ under certain conditions or is itself suffixed by a palatal glide when there is a suffix:

1. i	---> y / C ¹ - + V[-i] (C) + [+accent]	
ex. eri 'drink'		---> a-ry + e Fut1 ---> a-ry + ey Fut1Dual
iti 'take out Pauc/PlO'		---> a-ty + e (~a-tiy + e) Fut1
ner ezi 'rest'		---> na-zy + e Fut1
kab eri 'dance'		---> kab na-ba-ry + er Fut1n PrImpf
2. i	---> iy / i - + V[-i]	
ex. dikri 'sing, throw'		---> d-a-kriy + e Fut1
eri 'drink'		---> eriy + eda (~ iriy + eda) PrImpfPl
ditkuri 'peel'		---> d-a-tkuriy + e Fut1
dátmi 'follow'		---> d-á-tmiy + e Fut1
áti 'suggest Pauc/PlO'		---> á-tiy + e Fut1

(When the accent is not overtly marked, the reader must assume that it occurs on the second syllable.)

The rules predicting the forms must be ordered and the second rule

(i.e. $i \rightarrow iy$) must follow the first. What is being represented is the general rule that /i/ is reduced to a palatal glide when a morpheme is added. This is similar to other vowel reductions to glides when there is affixation of a morpheme commencing with a vowel. There are three environments where it does not apply and there is an epenthetic glide so that the vowel can retain its syllabicity. It is blocked when a consonant cluster precedes the vowel ($C C - + V[-i]$), when the morpheme added is non-monosyllabic ($- + V[-i] C V$) and when the vowel is unaccented ($- [-\text{accent}] + V[i]$). Note that the apparent free variations in the 1st person future form of *iti* are probably to do with a desire in the production process to keep the morpheme in a distinct syllable to that of the root.

Consonant Loss or Voicing.

A voiced alveolar stop is deleted when affixed to a verb root ending in a voiceless alveolar consonant. Voiceless verb root final stops become voiced before a suffix beginning with a voiced alveolar stop. Rule 1. must be ordered before Rule 2:

1. /d/ \longrightarrow $\emptyset / C[+\text{alveolar}, +\text{voiceless}] + -$
 ex. *etomeret+a* 'show Pauc/PIA/O PfPl' (<etomeret + da)
 áys+a 'take Pauc/PIO PfPl' (<ays + da)
2. $C[-\text{voice}] \longrightarrow C[+\text{voice}] / - + d$
 ex. *erab+da* 'buy Pauc/PIO PfPl' (<erap + da)
 barug+da 'happen Pf' (<baruk+da)

Vowel Harmony.

The last vowel of inflected roots undergoes full vowel harmony if it is a front vowel. The environment in which this happens is before a morpheme commencing with an initial vowel. This rule must be ordered after the vowel loss or reduction rule. Note that vowel harmony can also occur across consonant clusters:

- ex. *dirup* 'sweep' \longrightarrow *derp* + *er n* PrImpfSg
 \longrightarrow *derp* + *eyey* PrImpfDual
 \longrightarrow *derp* + *eda* PrImpfPl
- ex. *ewer* 'weave' \longrightarrow *iwr* + *i* Pf
 \longrightarrow *iwr* + *iyey* PfDual
 \longrightarrow *iwr* + *idare* PfPauc

3.8.2 Meaning and Scope of the Tense/Aspect/Mood/Number Prefixes and Suffixes.

Each tense/aspect/mood/number category will be examined in some detail in this section although discussion about number marking will be deferred until the section on cross-reference markers.

Present (atelic) and Present Imperfective.

The suffixes in these categories are used to mark events or states that are still occurring at the time of the speech act, or, that were occurring at a time earlier on the same day as the speech act:

(3.72) **able idim- ge paret ka dirup- li**
 Det morning-Loc dustO 1SgA sweep-PrImpf
Lez pe ta- bakyamu- da meta- em
 L.S Deix Deix-Sg/DualS go-PfSg house-All
 'I was sweeping this morning (when) Les came home.'

(3.73) **able aw le pe gerger-ge imi- redi idim- lam**
 Det big personS Deix day- Loc Sg/DualS be sitting-Pr morning-Abl
 'That old man has been sitting in the sun since this morning.'

Contrast the above examples with those following where the time reference is to the day before:

(3.74) **ab- gerger-ge ka paret derp- er kári uteb- ge**
 former-day- Loc 1SgA dustO sweep-*n* PrImpf 1SgGen place-Loc
 'Yesterday, I swept at my place.'

(3.75) **ab- gerger-ge aw koskir imi- reder**
 former-day- Loc big married femaleS Sg/DualS be sitting-*n* Pr
meta- ge sep- ge kemer+kemer gerger ika- dari
 house-Loc ground-Loc all Adj dayS(?) take Sg/DualO-PfSg
 'Yesterday, the old woman sat beneath the house the whole day long.'

The present imperfective marker is also used to indicate repetition/iterativity. Examples to illustrate this latter use follow:

(3.76) **ábra ney dike Awmkep náde lim baraygi- li**
 3SgGen nameA *n* PIS be(word) A. where sunS *n* PIS dive-PrImpf
 'It is called Awmkep (the place) where the sun always sets.'

(3.77) **bakir díđ- li**
 stoneS rock-PrImpf
 'The stone is rocking (because of the waves smashing against it).'

(3.78) **ka éwpamaret- li**
 1SgS Pauc/PIS jump-PrImpf
 'I am jumping.'

Note the paucal/plural root of 'jump' is used as forms in the imperfective often involve the paucal/plural form of the verb even when there is no paucal or plural S, A or O:

(3.79) **ka dígwat- li**
 1SgA haul in Pauc/Pl fish-PrImpf
 'I am fishing.'
 ***ka dígwatmu- li**
 haul in Sg/Dual fish

- (3.80) **ka éwpamaret- li**
 1SgS Pauc/PLS jump-PrImpf
 'I am jumping.'
***ka éwpama- li**
 Sg/DualS jump

(Contrast with example 3.76 where the nonplural form of the verb is used.)

How to account for this specification? One possibility is to state that imperfective verbs are not specified for number in the root and hence, the least marked form is used (either the paucal/plural or nonplural form) as the event or activity is not yet completed and consequently, it is not possible to use a specific verb root form (singular/dual~plural).

NonPresent (atelic) and NonPresent Imperfective.

The suffixes in these categories are used to mark events or states that were occurring on a day prior to that of the speech act or following the time of the speech act:

- (3.81) **ab- ki- ge ki kerbi koskir- ey**
 former-night-Loc 1n SgExclS 1n SgExclGen married female-Dual
kab t- eri- ley
 dance Deix-dance-*n* PrImpfDual
 'Last night, my wife and I were dancing.'

- (3.82) **ka lewer erw-er náde e te imi- (i)**
 1SgA foodO eat- *n* PrImpf when 3SgA doorO knock-Pf
 'I was eating when he knocked at the door.'

- (3.83) **...éwdim bakyamu- ley**
 thus Sg/DualS go-PastDual
mekir- ge t- ekwey- ley
 almond tree-Loc Deix-*n* PLS stand up-PastDual
ge máyk-e táwer-ge eray- reder
 Deix close- Loc shore-Loc Sg/DualS be growing-*n* Pr
 '...so they thus went and stood up at the almond tree which grows close to the shore.' (Déwmer, p209, section7)

The nonpresent imperfective can also be used to indicate repetition/iterativity of nonpresent events:

- (3.84) **...a náde wi ta- ba- perdar- er érer-kem,**
 Conj when 3n SgS Deix-PLS-Pauc/PLS fly around-*n* PrImpf cry- Ass
able bab ekweyr- er básk- er
 Det fatherS stand up-*n* PrImpf walk over-*n* PrImpf
deketr- er lag+lag ume- le o- bay- da
 look out-*n* PrImpf wantN knowN-person PastIrr-become-PfSg

náko le t- ikaser- edi

what personS Deix-be going along-Pr

'...and whenever they (sandpipers) flew around squawking, the father would stand up, walk over, take a look wanting to know who might have been coming along.' (Dévmer, p209, section10)

(3.85) e kórider t- emri- da

3SgS speed Deix-Sg/DualS sit down-PfSg

kolo t- igaw- er lu- gize tás- lare

kneeO Deix-scrape?-n PrImpf thing-PLA scratch?-n PrImpfPl

'He ran away, scraping his knees and the branches scratching him (i.e. over and over again).'

When the nonpresent (imperfective) markers are used for the future, they are used in conjunction with the 1st person prefix (n)a- and with the 3rd person prefix wa-, which can be described broadly as future temporal prefixes:

(3.86) ka í- ka mári ná- wkayr-er

1SgA Deix-1SgA 2SgO 1/2SgO+Fut1-wait- n PrImpf

kéwbu ka na- ba ged- im

later 1SgS Fut1-go land-All

'I will wait for you here; after I will go home.'

(3.87) ...bakir ídag- ø wey- esemu

...stoneO put down Pauc/PlO-Fut2/3 Fut3-finish

ya wá- yke- reder

Deix Fut3-n PlS be(thing)-n Pr

ma ta- ba pi+pi lewer mára iti- ø

2SgS Deix-go dust Adj foodO 2SgGen take out Pauc/PlO-Fut2/3

ikedi- ø

put down Sg/DualO-Fut2/3

'...(talking about making a Kapamar) Put down stones (and when) that is done (and they are) there, come and take out the flour (i.e. take it all out at the one time) and put it down.' (How to make damper, p221, section8)

(3.88) ka í- ka n(a)- áw- er no bes

1SgS Deix-1SgS 1/2SgS+Fut1-n PlS be(person)-n PrImpf Restr lie

'I will probably be here.'

(3.89) ka na- bakyamu- lu mena irmer o- batawerd-er

1SgS Fut1-Sg/DualS go-Fut1 still rainS Fut3-throw- n PrImpf

'I will go (as) the rain will set in.'

For most telic active verbs, the nonpresent imperfective is used to mark repetition/iterativity, that is events which can be viewed as future habituals:

(3.90) idim- ge ka lewer d-a- kasr- er

morning-Loc 1SgA foodO | -Fut1- | cook-n PrImpf

'From tomorrow morning onwards, I will be doing the cooking.'

- (3.91) **ki yá- ki CDP dorge le**
 1*n* SgExclA Deix-1*n* SgExclA <Eng work person
papek na- we- lare
 matO Fut3-weave-*n* PrImpfPl
 'We, the CDP workers, at some stage onwards, will be weaving mats.'
- (3.92) **ka yá- ka ut ná- ydr- er kári bab- ge**
 1SgS Deix-1SgS sleep 1/2SgS+Fut1-no?lie-*n* PrImpf 1SgGen father-Loc
 'I will be sleeping at my father's place.'

The temporal reference of nonpresent sometimes appears to also include the present when referring to habitual events and probably means something like: it is always this way and will always be this way. It might also be indicating that it is not occurring at the time of the speech act but does indeed happen, i.e. a kind of present irrealis. For example:

- (3.93) **Lez w- ekyam-dar-er gayr idim- ge idim kakar-ge**
 L.S Fut3-get up- ?- *n* PrImpf many morning-Loc morning Intens-Loc
 'Les will always get up most mornings very early.'
- (3.94) **Lez no w- éwsme- dar-er lokot te- lam**
 L.S Restr Fut3-*n* PLS come out?- *n* PrImpf bush opening-Abl
 'Les will always only come out from the back door.'

(The discussion of the morpheme/root form **-dar-** will be delayed until the end of the section outlining the meanings and functions of the Non-Productive Derivations p142.)

Perfective.

The suffixes in this category are in their broad meaning nonfuture markers used for events that are completed, or about to be completed, at the time of the speech act. They thus encode a temporal feature of nonfuture as well as an aspectual feature of perfectivity. To illustrate their meaning, here are a few examples:

- (3.95) **ka paret ti- dirp- i**
 1SgA dustO Deix-sweep-Pf
 'I swept.'
- |-----| (sorry talk)
- (3.96) **wi able t-o- d-o- kayret-(d)a,**
 3*n* SgA Det Deix-| - |leave- PfPl
wi- ge able t- era(p)- da ur,
 3*n* SgA-Deix Det Deix-break Pauc/PIO-PfPl fireO
gerer t- isim- da, láger t- ikew- da;
 pandanus leafO Deix-cut Pauc/PIO-PfPl vineO Deix-pull down-PfPl

ta- ba ba- ti- (i) ge idag- da
 Deix-go PIS-go down-Pf Deix put down Pauc/PIO-PfPl

'They left it (what they were doing), then they broke off firewood, cut down pandanus leaves, pulled down vines; they came, came down (and) put them (their things) down.'

- (3.97) ka meriba aw lar ák(e)mey- da weris- u
 1SgA 1n SgInclGen big fishO scoop Sg/DualO-Pfsg fish trap-Instr
 'I have scooped up our big fish with the fish trap.'

There are instances where the nonfuture perfective is used for events that are not yet completed at the time of the utterance. Such events are punctiliar and the perfective is used to indicate that the outcome or achievement is inevitable and imminent. It is for this reason that it is appropriate the marker should involve a temporal element, namely, the nonfuture. Consider the following examples where the imminent realisation and the punctuality of the event necessitate the perfective:

- (3.98) ka pé- ka wábi dikayrt-i
 1SgA Deix-1SgA 2n SgO leave- Pf
 'I will now leave you (pl) here.'
- (3.99) ka pé- ka mári na- mri-da
 1SgA Deix-1SgA 2SgO 1/2SgO-sit- PfSg
 'I am now leaving you (sg) here.'

The perfective suffixes are also used to indicate a change of state, something that has resulted from a process:

- (3.100) kára tag pim ismi- da
 1SgGen hand finger cut Sg/DualO-PfSg
 'My finger got cut.'
- (3.101) áwmkep ba- kmerik- da
 cloud typeS Intr-put down Sg/DualO-PfSg
 'The cloud has gathered itself up above.'
- (3.102) able nar éyrsi- da
 Det boatS caught on reef-PfSg
 'The boat has become caught on the reef.'
- (3.103) pamas bá- ymi- da
 shop Intr-close Sg/DualO-PfSg
 'The shop is closed, i.e. it has become closed.'

Contrast the above example (3.103) with that below (3.104) which is a nominalised verb used in an ascriptive sentence and involves a state, not a change of state:

- (3.104) able pamas áymir+aymir ike- (redi)
 Det shopS close N. n PIS be(thing)-Pr
 'The shop is closed.'

One feature that distinguishes change of state perfective verbs from statives is the alteration in meaning of the adverb **emetu** 'already'. When it is used with a change of state, it implies a recent change. When it is used with a state, it implies that the state has been like that for some time.

(3.105) **pamas emetu bá-yimi-da** (change of state)

'The shop is now closed.'

(3.106) **pamas emetu áymir+aymir ike** (state)

'The shop is already closed (and has been for a while).'

Many problems still remain with the perfective marker used for changes of state: What is the syntactic function and semantic role of the noun phrase in such sentences? Does the nominal have the syntactic function of S or is it still O with the A omitted yet somehow still recoverable? Is it always the same function and role?

NonPresent~Future~Past.

The markers for future and past have been grouped together on the basis of their similarity in form as well as in function. What distinguishes them from other markers is their reference to nonpresent time. Furthermore, the future forms and the past forms closely resemble each other although person distinctions are made for the future which are absent for the past. Given the limited data and understanding of the nonpresent~past, it is best to keep these two tenses discrete in the analysis.

Future~NonPresent.

It is pertinent to begin the discussion on future tense by examining its prefix forms. These involve the markers **wa-** for 3rd person and **(n)a-** for 1st person.

(3.107) **e wa- ditar-ø**

3SgA Fut3-write-Fut2/3

'He will write (it).'

(3.108) **ka d-á- wtar- e**

1SgA |-Fut1-|write-Fut1

'I will write (it).'

(3.109) **e wey-ekwey- reder**

3SgS Fut3-be standing-*n* Pr

'He will be standing.'

The future markers are prefixed to both telic and atelic verbs although when the first person future marker is prefixed to a 1st person atelic stative verb, it cannot be distinguished from the 1/2Sg/Pl marker given these are homophonous:

- (3.110) **ka yá- ka na- kwey- reder ad- ge**
 1SgS Deix-1SgS 1/2Sg/Pl+Fut1-be standing-*n* Pr outside-Loc
 'I will be standing outside later.'

The reader might be tempted to regard future markers as discontinuous morphemes consisting of a prefix and suffix. Such an approach would fail to recognise that both these prefixes and suffixes can occur with non-future temporal reference and that it is the combination of these forms which gives them their future meaning. As such, they can be regarded as co-occurring morphemes.

The future is used with all events or states which will begin some time in the future (with the exception of habitual events as discussed above where the event is specified as occurring all the time although not necessarily at the time of the speech act).

- (3.111) **sogi o- ba- sirik-ø**
 grassS Fut3-Intr-burn-Fut2/3
 'The grass will burn.'
- (3.112) **idim- ge ka able sogi yá- ka d-a- sirik- lu**
 morning-Loc 1SgA Det grassO Deix-1SgA |-Fut1-|burn-Fut1Sg
 'In the morning, I will burn the grass.'
- (3.113) **ta- ba mi a- rw- are**
 Deix-go 1*n* SgInclA Fut1-eat-FutPl
 'Come, let us eat.'
- (3.114) **ka na- ba kab na- ry- e**
 1SgS Fut1-go dance Fut1-dance-Fut1
 'I am going to dance.'

It can also be used for events that may have already commenced at the time of the speech act but are expected to continue for some time. Consider the following example where the act of eating has already commenced but the speaker wishes to convey the notion that it will continue to happen. This is in contrast with the present imperfective where there is no such expectation:

- (3.115) **ka umer- kak na- bakyamu- lu,**
 1SgS knowN-Priv Fut1-Sg/DualS go-Fut1
ki emeret- lam lewer erw-eyey karim
 1*n* SgExclA former time-Abl foodO eat- PrImpfDual probably
ki mena yá- ki a- ro- ley kebi+kebi ko;
 1*n* SgExclA still Deix-1*n* SgExclA Fut1-eat-Fut1Dual littleN again
ka mári yá- ka na- rmir- er
 1SgA 2SgO Deix-1SgA 1/2SgO-follow-*n* PrImpf
 'I cannot come, we have been eating for ages and probably will be for a short while longer. I will follow you later.'

There is typically no distinction in form between 2nd person future and the imperative (see section on Irrealis Non-committal for further specifications p117):

(3.116) **wa bakyamu- lam**
 2n SgS Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3Dual
 'You two go!'

(3.117) **áka wa- y bakyamu- lam T.I.-em?**
 hey 2n SgS-Deix Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3Dual T.I.-All
 'Are you two going to T.I?'

With telic verbs, the nonpresent imperfective and future contrast with one another to indicate that the former is an event to be repeated whilst the latter will be a single complete realisation of the event, i.e. perfective and semelfactive.

Consider the following contrastive sentences:

(3.118) **ma nam ereg- ø no able gaber**
 2SgA turtleO eat flesh-Fut2/3 Restr Det time
 'Eat turtle just this once.'

(3.119) **ma nam erg- er gayr gaber**
 2SgA turtleO eat flesh-*n* PrImpf many times
ma akay-ø kelar bay- ø
 2SgS do- Fut2/3 strength become-Fut2/3
 'Eat turtle alot (and) you will become strong.'

Rules for allomorphy.

na- future 1st person

na- intransitive verbs

a- transitive verbs

If intransitive verb roots begin with (a /d/ and) an unaccented vowel, these are deleted when there is the future 1st person marker **na-**. If transitive verb roots begin with a /d/, it is metathesized with the future 1st person marker **a-**. The initial unaccented vowel of transitive verbs is deleted after the future 1st person marker **a-**:

For intransitive verb roots:

underlying form: **na+ -**

(d)V_[-accent] ---> ø / na_[fut1] + --- [intr.vb.root]

For transitive verb roots:

underlying form: **a + -**

1. a_[fut1] + d--- [tr.vb.root] ---> da + --- [tr.vb.root] (metathesis)

2. V_[-accent] ---> ø / (d) a_[fut1] + ---

(Rule 1. must be ordered before Rule 2.)

ex. **na-bakyamu-lu** (<bakyamu) 'Fut1 SgS go'

na-gm-e (<digem) 'Fut1 SgS walk'

ex. **a-marik-lu** (<emarik) 'Fut1 send SgO'

d-a-kayret-lu (<dikayr) 'Fut1 leave SgO'

wa- (all homophonous forms)

When transitive verbs begin with a front vowel, this vowel is reduced to a glide following the prefix **wa-**.

#V[+front] --> y / wa + -

ex. **wá-yrap** (<erap) 'Fut3 buy';
wá-yrpey (<erpey) 'Fut3 strike';
wa-ysamey (<esam) 'Fut3 put out';
wá-yro (<ero) 'Fut3 eat'
wá-ymri (<imri) 'Fut3 seat';
wá-yspi (<ispi) 'Fut3 marry';
wa-ytuti (<ituti) 'Fut3 touch';

Allomorphic variations for the prefix **wa-** are as follows:

wa- --> **way-** / - V[-front] ex. **way-atrum** 'Fut3 suggest'
way-omey 'Fut3 grow'
wáy-urid 'Fut3 PLS be(person)'

(This is the only verb collected beginning with /u/ and it sometimes occurs as [wá-wrid] i.e. the /y/ glide is being labialized as a result of the back, high vowel /u/ following or it may be that /u/ of the verb root becomes w after the prefix /wa/.)

--> **wey-~w-** / - V[+front] (intransitive verbs only)
ex. **wey-emri~w-emri** 'Fut3 sit down'
wey-espi~w-espi 'Fut3 get married'

--> **w-** / - Vglide ex. **w-ays** 'Fut3 carry Pauc/PIO'

--> **o-** / - b ex. **o-ber-are** 'Fut3 PLS become'

--> **o~wa-** / - Ca ex. **o-na-kwar~wa-na-kwar**
'Fut3 give 1/2SgO'

--> **wa-** / elsewhere ex. **wa-ditager** 'Fut3 tell'
wá-yker (<iker) 'Fut3 do'

An interesting feature of the allomorphic variations of **wa-** and **na-** is the interaction between phonological and syntactically-motivated rules; i.e. with **wa-**, the front vowel of a transitive verb is reduced to a glide before the prefix like the accented vowel of an intransitive verb (See the allomorphs of accented vowels presented in the section on the verb structure p92). In contrast, an intransitive verb with a front unaccented vowel is not reduced to a glide.

Past~NonPresent.

There are too few occurrences in the current corpus of texts to claim with any degree of certainty what is the precise meaning of these markers. The time reference is clearly nonpresent:

(3.120) e bakyamu- da able gerger-ge
3SgS Sg/DualS go-PfSg Det day- Loc
'He went earlier today.'

(3.121) *e bakyamu- lu able gerger-ge
3SgS Sg/DualS go-PastSg Det day- Loc
'He went earlier today.'

However, its most frequent occurrence is in texts with events that happened a long time ago:

(3.122) meb dáw- er
moonS *n* PIS be(person?)-*n* PrImpf
wez- u ba- rm- er,
croton plant-Instr Intr-stick into-*n* PrImpf
e t- og- er, e ta- bakyamu- lu Kir-ge
3SgS Deix-climb-*n* PrImpf 3SgS Deix-Sg/DualS go-PastSg K.- Loc
'The moon was rising, it was sticking into itself croton plants, it was climbing up, it came to Kir.'

(3.123) baka nerut lu ismi- lu, dásmer-ø, etwak-i,
go another thingO cut Sg/DualO-PastSg see- Past, carve- Pf
baka gur- ge ákmey- lu e- ge no itme- lu,
go water-Loc immerse Sg/DualO-PastSg 3SgA-Deix Restr throw?-PastSg
ad- em batawered- lu
out-All throw SgO-PastSg
'He went (and) cut off another thing (bit of wood), saw it, carved it, went to the water and immersed it but then he just threw it, threw it away.'

There is a contrast established between the nonpresent imperfective and the past similar to that established between the nonpresent imperfective and the future. The nonpresent imperfective indicates that the event was repeated whereas the past indicates that it was only a single realisation of the event, i.e. semelfactive. Contrast the example given above (where the speaker is talking about one particular item of wood being cut, floated and thrown away) with that following (taken from the same story), where a number of pieces of wood are taken, thrown into the water to see if they floated and then, thrown away:

(3.124) e baka lu itwak-er,
3SgS go thingO carve- *n* PrImpf
per+per lu e esm- er,
light Adj thingO 3SgA cut Pauc/PIO-*n* PrImpf

dikri- er gur- ge
 throw Pauc/PIO-*n* PrImpf water-Loc
 e- ge ná- wt- lare
 3Sg?-Deix 3*n* SgO-?float on surface-*n* PrImpfPl
 ad- em dikri- er
 out-All throw Pauc/PIO-*n* PrImpf

'He went (and) carved things (bits of wood), he cut off light things, threw them into the water (and) they then floated on the surface (so) he threw them away.'

In addition, the past does not appear to carry any particular aspectual meaning as when it is used at the end of a story (where it would tend to be perfective), speakers reject it. The first example below (3.125) is an excerpt from a text with the past form used and the second example (3.126) is an elicited one to see if the story could be suitably ended with it. It is dubious whether such data is conclusive although it is suggestive:

(3.125) able neys le akay-ley
 Det two personS do- PastDual
 sarup ga da-r(a)- a- ley
 castaway Deix | -3Dual/PaucS- |*n* PlS be (person)-*n* PrImpfDual
 éwdim ba- rb- ey mena Ne-y t- erpey- ley...
 thus Intr-punt-PastDual still N.-O Deix-reach Sg/DualO-PastDual
 'The two of them changed, became castaways (and) thus swam until they reached Ne...' (Déwmer, p209, section8)

(3.126) ?...éwdim ba- rb- ey.
 thus Intr-punt-PastDual
 '...they thus swam.'

One speaker described the distinction between the perfective and the past as the former being more recent and the latter more distant in time to that of the speech act:

(3.127) e ekwey- dari ad- em digm-i (immediate past)
 3SgS stand up-PfSg out-All walk-Pf
 'He stood up and walked off.'

(3.128) e ekwey- lu ad- em digem-ø (recent past)
 3SgS stand up-PastSg out-All walk- Past
 'He stood up and walked off.'

Thus it may be that the distinction between perfective and past is a distinction between immediate and recent past. Furthermore, the fact that some speakers do not allow the past to be used with events that happened yesterday suggests that distant past time is a valid category. However, examples in texts where the perfective and the past are used need to be accounted for as one would expect either one tense or the other to be used. Alternatively, it may be that an

association does exist between the perfective and immediate past, with speakers preferring more recent events to be specified overtly for aspect but no such restriction existing for more distant events. The meaning of the past~nonpresent marker cannot be fully elucidated from the available material.

In Kalaw Lagaw Ya, there is a distinction in the verbal forms between immediate past, recent past and remote past (Ford and Ober, 1987; 27). This could correspond to the perfective, past and remote past categories postulated for Meryam.

Irrealis Non-committal.

This marker is used for events where their realisation or continuation is uncertain. It is also used sometimes by speakers to be polite, not wishing to assume that an event, involving the addressee, definitely will (continue to) happen. It is restricted to events with 2nd or 3rd person participants since these are potentially less certain than events with the speaker, i.e. 1st person, which are more certain (at least from the speaker's point of view) and cannot carry an irrealis non-committal mood. When this mood is used, there is often an additional component of desire on behalf of the speaker or of someone else in wanting the event to (continue to) happen and that the event will be good.

Consider the following examples contrasting future with irrealis:

(3.129) **debe le nole irmer-kak wá- yrdi**
 good person/oneS Neg rain- Priv Fut3-*n* PIS be(time,place)
daw- ø able kerim bakir áwskir- em
n PIS be(person?)-Fut2/3 Det head stone open N- All
 'It will be good with no rain for the tombstone opening.'

(3.130) **debe le nole irmer-kak wá- yrdi**
 good person/oneS Neg rain- Priv Fut3-*n* PIS be(time,place)
dáw- (w)a able kerim bakir áwskir- em
n PIS be(person?)-Irr Det head stone open N- All
 'I hope that it will not rain for the tombstone opening.'
 (translation given by the speaker)

(3.131) **ma ut ná- wpe daw- ø**
 2SgS sleep 1/2Sg/PIS-*n* PIS lie *n* PIS be-Fut2/3
 'Remain sleeping.'

(3.132) **ma ut ná- wpe dáw- (w)a**
 2SgS sleep 1/2Sg/PIS-*n* PIS lie *n* PIS be-Irr
 'Could you please remain asleep.'

In these examples, there is a contrast between the future (3.129 and 3.131) and irrealis (3.130 and 3.132) with regard to the speaker's attitude. In the irrealis, the speaker indicates his/her desire for the event to happen or continue happening. In 3.132, the irrealis indicates the speaker's desire to be polite in not

wanting to say whether the event will happen or not although it is clear from the context that the speaker wants the event to happen and thinks it will be good.

The irrealis examples can be tentatively explicated as follows:

- I don't want to say it will happen/go on happening
- I don't want to say it won't happen/won't go on happening
- I can't do it or stop it happening
- (I want~ you want~ other people want something)
- (I think~ you think~ other people think it will be good)

In some examples, the event is both desired by and beneficial to the speaker:

- (3.133) **ese ka nole na- kyam- lu 3 klok wa- yrpey- ø,**
 if 1SgS Neg Fut1-wake up-Fut1 <Eng Fut3-grab Sg/DualO-Fut2/3
ma- ge kári na- tir- wa
 2SgA-Deix 1SgO 1/2SgO-wake up-Irr
 'If I am not awake (when) 3 o'clock strikes, then you should wake me up.'

In some examples, the event is desired only by the speaker but beneficial to the addressee:

- (3.134) **ma kári-m wit**
 2SgA 1Sg- All wrong-doing
na- kwey dáw- (w)a
 1/2Sg/PIS-be standing/standup? *n* PIS be(person)-Irr
 'Stand clear of me in case of something going wrong.'
 (This was said by someone about to chop down a tree to warn the person to stay clear in case the blade might fly off.)

- (3.135) **ese ma idim- ge baka, ma baka lu imu- wa,**
 if 2SgS morning-Loc go 2SgS go thingO hit for noise-Irr
ese wéy- akey-ø 'pi', pe dá- li,
 if Fut3-do- Fut2/3 Deix *n* Pl be(person?)-PrImpf
ma ismi- ø
 2SgA cut Sg/DualO-Fut2/3

'If you go in the morning, go and should you strike something which makes the sound 'pi', that is the one, cut it.'

(This example was said by an old woman to someone in their dream to help them find the right bit of wood.)

In some examples, the event is neither beneficial nor desired by the speaker or addressee but by another person (such as in the phrase below **ese legize mári báwru onaskawem** 'if people should try and spear you' where the spearing is desired and would benefit only the spearers, not the speaker nor addressee):

- (3.136) **ma baka baraygi-ø ge ná- w- (w)a karem- ge**
 2SgS go dive- Fut2/3 Deix 1/2Sg/PIS-*n* PIS be(person)-Irr deep sea-Loc

ese le- gize mári báwr-u o- na- sk- awem,
 if person-PlA 2SgO spear-Instr Fut3-1/2SgO-pierce-IrrPl
 ma- ga yába bawr erap- wa
 2SgA-Deix 3n SgGen spearO break-Irr

'Go, dive in (and) stay there in the deep sea. If people should try to spear you with their spear, then you should try and break their spear.'

(This was said by a mother to her child urging him to dive into the water and break the spears of those who try and spear him.)

In the following example, the event is neither beneficial nor desirable for the speaker, only for the addressee:

(3.137) wa ná- lug- lam
 2n SgS Qclitic-thing-Abl

wa baka lar dipomde dáw- (w)a?

2n SgS go fishO feel n Pl?S be(person)-Irr

'Why should you go fondling the fish?'

(where the speaker is addressing a group of women that he asked to help him cook a fish but does not want them to know that the fish is a young boy)

In this example, the irrealis marker is used as a kind of warning. The speaker does not want to say that the event is happening and so, he uses the irrealis marker. This illustrates another important feature of the irrealis marker. The irrealis is never used with yes/no questions nor non-polar interrogatives as the presupposition in the speaker's mind is that something will happen or is happening. Thus, below, in 3.138, the speaker assumes the addressee is staying for a while and is asking for more information about the period of the stay. It would be inappropriate to use the irrealis marker suggesting that the addressee was not staying. Similarly in the other example below, 3.139, the speaker must be thinking that there is some suggestion or possibility that the addressee will be staying and so the irrealis marker would imply the converse:

(3.138) ma ná- nyay+nyay i n- aw- ø Mer-ge?
 2SgS Q clitic-long time N Deix 1/2Sg/PlS-n PlS be(person)-Fut2/3 M.- Loc
 'How long will you be staying on Murray Island?'

*ma ná-nyay+nyay i n-aw-(w)a Mer-ge?

(3.139) áka ma i n- aw- ø Mer-ge?

hey 2SgS Deix 1/2Sg/PlS-n PlS be(person)-Fut2/3 M.- Loc

'Will you be staying on Murray Island?'

*áka ma i n-aw-(w)a Mer-ge?

When the irrealis marker is used with reference to 2nd person, it is frequently used as a politeness form. Speakers often explain such sentences as the speaker giving permission to the addressee, i.e. any time you like do it. It is probably for this reason that the irrealis marker has been described by Ray as the

form of the imperative used when the speaker will be absent. When it is being used as a form of politeness, the time reference is not specified for the immediate and hence interpretation of its meaning in terms of the speaker's absence is plausible and accounted for. Here are some examples of its use as a politeness form:

(3.140) **ma mena n- áw- (w)a**
 2SgS still 1/2Sg/PIS-*n* PIS be(person)-Irr
 'Do stay here/ You should stay longer/ You could stay longer.'
 (often used by speakers as a polite way of bidding farewell)

(3.141) **ma na- mi dá- wa**
 2SgS 1/2Sg/PIS-*n* PIS be sitting *n* PIS be(person)-Irr
 'Do stay seated.'

(3.142) **ma mári ged- ge n- áw- (w)a,**
 2SgS 2SgGen land-Loc 1/2Sg/PIS-*n* PIS be(person)-Irr
ma- ga si t- emarik-wa ged- im
 2SgA-Deix fond thoughtO Deix-send- Irr land-All
 'Should you be (back) in your country, could you send (us) your good thoughts.'

A feature of the irrealis marker which warrants further investigation is the frequent occurrence with conditional sentences, both in the condition and the consequent. Is the irrealis marker used to indicate a lesser degree of certainty? Is it used to indicate an overt lack of commitment to its realisation on behalf of the speaker? If one compares sentences with and without the irrealis, the contrast lies in the degree of certainty of the events:

(3.143) **náde ma ábi erdar-ø, ma ábi detager-ø**
 when 2SgA 3SgO see- Fut2/3 2SgA 3SgO tell- Fut2/3
 'When you see him, tell him.'

(3.144) **ese ma ábi erdar-ø, ma ábi detager-ø**
 if 2SgA 3SgO see- Fut2/3 2SgA 3SgO tell- Fut2/3
 'If you see him, you tell him.'

(3.145) **ese ma ábi erdar-wa, ma ábi detager-wa**
 if 2SgA 3SgO see- Irr 2SgA 3SgO tell- Irr
 'If you should see him, you could tell him.'
 ***náde ma ábi erdar-wa, ma ábi detager-wa**

The incompatibility of the temporal phrase marker **náde** 'when' and the irrealis noncommittal suggests it does indeed carry a lesser degree of certainty. It may also be suggesting that the speaker does not want to say whether something will happen or not. This interpretation of the irrealis noncommittal is supported by non-conditional sentences with 3rd person where the irrealis noncommittal marker indicates that the speaker will not say whether something will happen or not:

- (3.146) e mena ya w- emrir- er
 3SgS still Deix Fut3-sit down-*n* PrImpf
 a ya we- t- emrir- er
 Conj Deix Fut3-Deix-sit down-*n* PrImpf
 a ga- noko w- emri- wa
 Conj Deix-Deix(nonvisible) Fut3-sit down-Irr
 'He will still sit down there and stay there and may well (still) be sitting
 down there (well after the time you and me are gone or when he is a
 ghost).' (translation given by the speaker)

Note that with this example, it does not seem pertinent to include whether the speaker/addressee/other person wants this to happen or thinks it will be good. For this reason, the two extra components of the explication given are optional.

Past Irrealis.

The past irrealis marker is formed by the co-occurring morphemes of the prefix *wa-* and the perfective suffix. It is used for counterfactuals, i.e. to indicate that something which could have happened, did not.

- (3.147) kéwbu e Bame-y wa- t- irpey- da,
 after 3SgA B.- O PastIrr-Deix-grab Sg/DualO-PfSg
 e- ge Wayer pit le- gize emetu ábi op dipit-are
 3Sg?-Deix W. nose person-PIA finish 3SgO face meet-PastPl
 a ga igared- (d)a taba uteb- em
 Conj Deix take Sg/DualO-PfPl 3Gen place-All
 'Before he could reach Bame, the people from Wayer point had already
 met him and taken him back to their place.' (Déwmer, p210, section13)
- (3.148) e dikepwar-er
 3SgA think- *n* PrImpf
 ábi Warib-gize ábi able lar way- ayswer- da,
 3SgO W.- PIA 3SgO Det fishO PastIrr- give Pauc/PIO-PfPl
 lewer way- ayswer- da wi nole ábi áyswer- da,
 foodO PastIrr-give Pauc/PIO-PfPl 3*n* SgA Neg 3SgO give Pauc/PIO-PfPl
 wi nole ábi la(g)- kak
 3*n* SgA Neg 3SgO want-Priv
 'She thought that the Warib mob would have given her some fish, they
 had not given her any (because) they did not like her.'

Would one want to gloss the prefix *wa-* for future 3rd person the same as for past irrealis? Such glossing would be misleading as the prefix in the future is restricted to 3rd person, whereas it is not the case for the past irrealis:

- (3.149) **ka bakyamu- da ábi wa- yrdar- i**
 1SgS Sg/DualS go-Pf 3SgO PastIrr-see- PfSg
 'I went to see him (but did not get to see him).'

Would one want to gloss the past irrealis as a discontinuous morpheme involving prefix and suffix? The same conclusions reached about the future still hold in so far as the prefix and suffix can occur independently of each other and it is the combination of the prefix and suffix which gives it its particular meaning as the past irrealis (although it can also be used to indicate the remote past, but see the section below). Unlike the future use of the prefix which was restricted to 3rd person, there are no person constraints.

Remote Past.

The remote past is used to mark events that happened a long time ago. It represents a broad temporal category and aspectual meanings are conveyed by a combination of the prefix **wa-** and various suffixes.

The remote past is marked by the prefix and the past suffix:

- (3.150) **ab- korep e we- t- eper-ø**
 former-type 3SgS RemPast-Deix-fly- PastSg
 'Like before, she flew (to the place).' (Dópem, p217, section15)

The remote past imperfective is marked by the prefix and the present (imperfective) suffixes:

- (3.151) **able tonar e wá- yke-li**
 Det habitO 3SgA RemPast-do- PrImpf
 'She did (it) this way.' (Dópem, p217, section15)

- (3.152) **able tonar wá- yrdi- (redi)**
 Det habitS RemPast-n PlS be(time, place)-Pr
 'The same thing happened (there).' (Dópem, p217, section14)

The remote past perfective is marked by the prefix and the perfective suffix:

- (3.153) **ebur wa- ta- bakamu- da w- egimu- da**
 animal RemPast-Deix-Sg/DualS go-PfSg RemPast-land- PfSg
w- epigeme- da
 RemPast-change- PfSg
koskir ya o- bakyamu- da
 (married)femaleS Deix RemPast-Sg/DualS go-PfSg
lewer o- t- ays- i
 foodO RemPast-Deix-carry pauc/plO-Pf
 'The bird came, landed, changed; (as) a woman, (she) went there and took all the food.' (Dópem, p217, section15)

There is no past irrealis in the remote past or rather there is no distinction between the remote past perfective and the past irrealis. Such a collapse is understandable if one considers that events in the remote past are so distant in

time that it is not possible to comment on what might or could have happened. For this reason, the past irrealis mood is redundant and the marker is used to signal remote past perfective.

The reader should not assume from the description of the remote past that it is a tense used frequently. In fact, it is probably falling into disuse with speakers preferring the more recent tenses even in narratives concerned with events in the remote past. Only one text was collected in which the remote past was used throughout a story and even then, there was a switch half-way to the past:

(3.154) **netat aw koskir e o- da- li**
 one big (married) femaleS 3SgS RemPast-n PIS be(person)-PrImpf
Dópem-ge...

D.- Loc

kéwbu wi ábi dikepwar-da...

after 3n SgA 3SgO think- PfPI

'One old woman, she was living at Dopem....Afterwards, they thought about her...' (Dópem, p215, section1)

Most narratives involving events which happened a long time ago begin the story with the remote past and then switch immediately to the past:

(3.155) **netat gerger-ge, éypu koki kérker-ge, netat kimyar**
 one day- Loc, mid monsoon time- Loc one (married) maleS
taba néwr- ey, ney wa- dike- redi,
 3Gen unmarried female-Dual name RemPast-n PIS be(thing)-Pr
Déwmer, lar- em da-r(a)- a- ley
 D. fish-All | -3Dual/PaucS- |n PIS be(person)-n PrImpfDual
taba wasnar-ge ad- ge Mabyog-(g)e...

3Gen sailboat-Loc outside-Loc M.- Loc

'One day, in the middle of the monsoon season, a man and his daughter whose name was Dewmer, were out fishing in their sailboat outside of Mabyog...' (Déwmer, p208, section2)

The Relation between the various uses of the morpheme *wa-*.

Why should it be the same prefix *wa-* recurring in these functions: i.e future 3rd person, past irrealis, remote past? There is a thread binding all these together. The future is often realised in many languages as the irrealis mood because events concerned with the future are, by their very nature, uncertain. Thus, there is a link between the future and the irrealis. In Meryam, future events involving 3rd person may be the least certain events because the participant is frequently absent from the speech act place and it involves someone which neither speaker nor addressee have direct control over. Given that 3rd person future expresses the greatest degree of uncertainty, it is the same

morpheme which is used to express past irrealis events and those so far removed in time that they could be regarded as irrealis events themselves.

Why should the past irrealis and remote past be more closely related in meaning to the 3rd person future marker than the irrealis noncommittal? The irrealis noncommittal is concerned with the attitude of the speaker: I don't want to say this will happen, I don't want to say this won't happen. In Meryam, such an attitude is inappropriate with the past, be it irrealis or remote, as it deals with events that have already happened or events that should or could have happened but did not occur. The speaker would be essentially saying: I know what happened but I don't want to say. Such a meaning is not part of the message when the past irrealis or remote past are used and consequently, the irrealis noncommittal is unsuitable for past (realised or non-realised) events.

Nonetheless, the forms of the future 3rd marker and that of the irrealis noncommittal are clearly related, the unmarked/singular form of the latter being homophonous with the former. These can probably be traced to a single historical source. The different functions of the prefix/suffix *wa*, i.e. irrealis noncommittal, past irrealis, remote past and 3rd person future, are linked together as they all deal in one way or another about what the speaker thinks is or wants to say is the degree of certainty of the event's realisation.

3.8.3 Inherent Aspectual Features of Verbs.

Apart from the distinction of atelic stative from telic active verbs on semantic and morphological grounds, there has been an implicit assumption throughout the discussion on the meaning and function of temporal/aspectual/mood markers that all verbs can be affixed with these markers in order to yield a meaning directly transparent to the verb root's meaning and the inflection. Such a view is an over-simplification for it fails to account for the interaction between verbs' meanings and inflections.

A number of verbs have an inherently punctiliar meaning, that is they are all events that have no duration. Verbs in this semantic class include *éwmi* 'die', *baraygi* 'Sg/DualS dive in', *baw* 'Sg/DualS go in'. Also included in this class are verbs which involve a specific number such as *erapey* 'buy Sg/DualO', *igared* 'take animate Sg/DualO', *etaruk* 'pick up Sg/DualO', *etaker* 'gather up Pauc/PlO'. Some of these verbs are not readily affixed with markers conveying a durative meaning. Sometimes, such a meaning can only be conveyed periphrastically:

(3.156) *kára ama éwd- em eke-li*

1SgGen motherS dieN-All do?-PrImpfSg

'My mother is dying.'

**kára ama éwmi-li*

die- PrImpf

For some verbs, only a related paucal/plural form that is indefinite in number (or possibly generic in meaning) can be associated with durativity or iterativity:

- (3.157) **able uteb-ge pé- ka dígwat- li...**
 Det place-Loc Deix-1SgA pull in Pauc/Pl fish-PrImpfSg
 'The place (where) I fish...'
 ***able uteb-ge pé-ka dígwatmu- li**
 pull in Sg/Dual fish

The speaker is not saying that he catches many fish at that place nor that he has caught many fish there. What is being conveyed is that it is the place associated with a particular activity done at frequent intervals, namely fishing.

With some verbs, a semi-productive morpheme **dar-** must be used to allow a non-punctiliar associated meaning of the verb (See end of chapter on Non-Productive Derivations, p142):

- (3.158) **e b(a)- á- da(r)-li**
 3SgS Intr- put in Sg/DualO-?- PrImpfSg
 'He is coming out.'
 (3.159) **ka mir átrum- da(r)-li**
 1SgA wordO suggest Sg/DualO-?- PrImpfSg
 'I am suggesting something.'

Not all verbs can be affixed with this morpheme to produce such a meaning:

- (3.160) ***e éwpama- da(r)-li**
 3SgS Sg/DualS jump-?- PrImpfSg
 'He is jumping.'
 ✓ **e éwpamaret-li**
 Pauc/PlS jump

For a number of verbs, temporal/aspectual markers are exploited lexically in order to derive a related but slightly different meaning. Thus, durative marking on a punctiliar verb such as **éwmi** 'die' produces a different lexeme in Meryam meaning 'ache, wither'. Similarly, a punctiliar verb such as **igared** 'take Sg/DualO animate' can produce a different lexeme when a durative inflection is suffixed, namely 'be living with Sg/DualO animate in a defacto relationship':

- (3.161) **kára teter éwmi-li**
 1SgGen footS die- PrImpfSg
 'My foot is aching.'
 (3.162) **e ábi igared- li**
 3SgA 3SgO take Sg/DualO animate-PrImpfSg
 'He is living with her.'

Whether or not such combinations of a verb's meaning and inflection should be made explicit in the lexicon or in the description of inflections is an area requiring more research.

Some verbs specify a particular point or phase of the event inherent in their meaning. Thus a verb like **bakyamu/ bakyaw** 'go' specifies that an end point is reached or to be reached (a better gloss would be 'go and arrive'). For this reason, it can never be used with a durative meaning:

- (3.163) *ka bakyamu- li
1SgS Sg/DualS go-PrImpf
'I am going.'

Conversely, a verb like **ep** 'carry' has inherent in its meaning the internal phase of the event (a better gloss would be 'be in the process of carrying' and consequently, it cannot be used in the future to specify the starting point of an event. Instead, a verb that has inherent in its meaning the beginning of an event, must be used such as a verb like **ikaw** 'take Sg/DualO':

- (3.164) *ka able lu a- p- e
1SgA Det thingO Fut1-carry Sg/DualO-Fut1
'I will be carrying it.'

- (3.165) ka able lu t- a- ka- lu
1SgA Det thingO Deix-Fut1-take Sg/DualO-Fut1Sg
'I will take it.'

Temporal/aspectual/mood markers do not operate independently of the verbs' meaning but interact with them.

3.9 Person and Number Cross-Reference Markers.

The forms of some cross-reference markers have already been encountered elsewhere in the section on the structure of the verb and its tense/aspect/mood markers. In this section, we will examine the forms and functions of markers cross-referencing S in intransitive atelic stative verbs, O in transitive telic verbs and S/A in intransitive and transitive telic verbs.

The function and scope of cross-reference markers is predictable on the basis of their position or slot within the verb complex. Prefixes essentially cross-reference S and O for person and number. Suffixes essentially cross-reference S and A for number although there is a number hierarchy in operation for transitive verbs in which A and O compete for number marking. Alternatively, the number suffixes can be regarded as cross-referencing any syntactic argument with restrictions imposed by the number hierarchy with transitive verbs.

Number/Person Markers for S of Intransitive Atelic Verbs.

Prefixes affixed to intransitive atelic verbs cross-reference the number and to some degree the person of the S argument. The following table shows the full range of forms and functions:

	Number:	
Person:	singular/plural	dual/paucal
1/2	na-	d-
3	∅-	na-
	Number:	
	singular	nonsingular
	∅-	na-

The generalizations can be captured by saying that there is an opposition between 1/2 and 3rd person in the forms and functions. There are two different types of cross-reference marking for 3rd person (plural). One type contrasts the dual/paucal with the singular/plural whilst the other type contrasts singular with non-singular; in other words, the two types differ only in their number reference not in their forms. When the S involves an inanimate noun, the cross-reference marking tends to be singular versus nonsingular and there is typically no distinction in either the form of the verb root or in the cross-reference marking between the paucal and plural form. When the S involves an animate noun (typically human or high animate beings like dogs), the type of cross-reference marking is unpredictable and verbs can be of either type.

Although the ∅- form is given for ease of reference in the table, it is not given in the morpheme by morpheme glosses as it is regarded as the unmarked

form. Examples to illustrate the possibilities for the cross-reference markers are presented with the verbs *imi-* 'Sg/DualS be sitting' and *emr-* 'Pauc/PIS be sitting':

- (3.166) **ka na- mi- redi**
 1SgS 1/2Sg/PIS-Sg/DualS be sitting-Pr
 'I am sitting.'
- (3.167) **wa no na- mr- (r)edi**
 2n SgS Restr 1/2Sg/PIS-Pauc/PIS be sitting-Pr
 'You (pl) are just sitting.'
- (3.168) **mi no d- emr- (r)edi**
 1n SgExclS Restr 1/2Dual/PaucS-Pauc/PIS be sitting-Pr
 'We (incl few) are just sitting.'
- (3.169) **e imi- redi**
 3SgS Sg/DualS be sitting-Pr
 'He is sitting.'
- (3.170) **wi emr- (r)edi**
 3n SgS Pauc/PIS be sitting-Pr
 'They (pl) are sitting.'
- (3.171) **wi na- mi- redi**
 3n SgS 3Dual/PaucS-Sg/DualS be sitting-Pr
 'They (2) are sitting.'
- (3.172) **wi na- mr- (r)edi**
 3n SgS 3Dual/PaucS-Pauc/PIS be sitting-Pr
 'They (paucal) are sitting.'

To illustrate the other type of cross-reference marking with 3rd person contrasting singular versus nonsingular, consider the following examples with the verbs *ázirk-* 'Sg/DualS be inserted' and *ázig-* 'PIS be inserted':

- (3.173) **kára battery ázirk- edi torch-ge**
 1SgGen EngS Sg/DualS be inserted-Pr Eng- Loc
 'My battery is inside the torch.'
- (3.174) **kára battery n(a)- ázirk- edi torch-ge**
 1SgGen EngS 3n SgS-Sg/DualS be inserted-Pr Eng- Loc
 'My two batteries are inside the torch.'
- (3.175) **kára battery n(a)- ázig torch-ge**
 1SgGen Eng 3n SgS-PIS be inserted Eng- Loc
 'My batteries (many) are/were inside the torch.'

An example of this type of cross-reference marking with animates can be illustrated with the verb *ikasir* 'be going along':

- (3.176) **wi kep+kep le pe na- kasir**
 3n SgS few Adj personS Deix 3n SgS-be going along
 'Those few are coming along now.'

Note that the prefixes are the same forms as those for intransitive atelic verbs. However, they have singular versus nonsingular number reference for all persons. Here are some examples to illustrate their use:

(3.178) e káři ná- wtmer-i
3SgA 1SgO 1/2SgO-ask- Pf
'He asked me.'

(3.179) e wábi d- ítmer-i
3SgA 2n SgO 1/2n SgO-ask- Pf
'He asked you (2).'

(3.180) ka ábi ítmer-i
1SgA 3SgO ask- Pf
'I asked him.'

(3.181) e yábi ná- wtmer-i
3SgA 3n SgO 3n SgO-ask- Pf
'He asked those two.'

However, the table fails to capture the fact that dual, paucal and plural O number can be overtly specified by means of suffixes following the number hierarchy (see later section on number hierarchy, p132). One can either regard the prefix as a co-occurring morpheme or as a more general non-singular number marker. For example:

(3.182) e kerbi d- ítmer-dare
3SgA 1n SgExclO 1/2n SgO-ask- PfPauc
'He asked us (paucal exclusive).'

(3.183) e kerbi d- ítmer-da
3SgA 1n SgExclO 1/2n SgO-ask- PfPl
'He asked all of us (not including you).'

(3.184) ka yábi ná- wtmer-dare
1SgA 3n SgO 3n SgO-ask- PfPauc
'I asked those few.'

(3.185) e yábi ná- wtmer-da
3SgA 3n SgO 3n SgO-ask- PfPl
'He asked them all.'

(3.186) wi yábi da-ra- tagr-iyey
3n SgA 3n SgO | -3n SgO- |tell- PfDual
'A few of them told those two.' (number of A is known by the context)

When the verb root begins with /d/, it cannot be distinguished from the 1/2nd person O morpheme which is also d-. In such cases, the pronominal form will provide the information about the singular or non-singular O argument:

(3.187) wi kerbi detagr- iyey
3n SgA 1n SgExclO (1/2nonsgO)tell-PfDual
'They told us two.'

(i.e. It is underlyingly a d-d sequence with deletion, or the cross-reference marker is absent altogether and it is the pronominal form only which is providing number information.)

The number of inanimate objects can always be expressed through independent lexical modifiers:

(3.188) **ka able kep+kep lar dígwat- i**
 1SgA Det few Adj fishO pull in from sea Pauc/PIA/O-Pf
 'I caught those few fish.'

(3.189) **ka able kep+kep lar da-ra- wgwat- idere**
 1SgA Det few Adj fishO | -3n SgO- | pull in from sea Pauc/PIA/O-Pauc
 'I caught those few fish.'

Such choices are no doubt pragmatically determined and a larger corpus of data will reveal what are the factors.

Number Markers for S of Intransitive Telic Verbs by Prefixes.

Some intransitive telic verbs carry plural number information by means of a prefix **ba-**. Those verbs marking plurality by means of a prefix (as opposed to a suffix) are all predictable insofar as they all begin with a vowel in their (underlying) verb root:

(3.190) **wi b- óg- i (<og)**
 3n SgS PIS-climb-Pf
 'They climbed.'

(3.191) **wi ba- mr- i (<emer)**
 3n SgS PIS-sit down-Pf
 'They sat down.'

(3.192) **wi ta- b(a) á bi- (i) (<ábi)**
 3n SgS Deix-PIS-come down-Pf
 'They came down.'

(3.193) **able luneg b- óm- i (<om)**
 Det plantS PIS-Pauc/PIS grow-Pf
 'The plants have grown.'

Complications arise from the fact that this marker is homophonous with the intransitive marker **ba-** and it is sometimes used to mark both functions or one or the other:

(3.194) **e wáli art- i pot- ge**
 3SgA clothingO put in Pauc/PIO-Pf <Eng-Loc
 'He put clothing into his suitcase.'

(3.195) **wi ba- (a)rt- idere meta- ge**
 3n SgS Intr-put in Pauc/PIO-Pauc house-Loc
 'They (few) entered into the house.' (intransitiver)

- (3.196) **wi ba- (a)rt- i meta-ge**
 3n SgS Intr+PIS-put in Pauc/PIO-Pf house-Loc
 'They (all) entered into the house.' (intransitiver and plural marker)
 (In the example given immediately above, the prefix **ba-** functions both as an intransitiver and as a number marker indicating plural S.)

Number Markers for S of Intransitive Telic Verbs and A of Transitive Telic Verbs by Suffixes.

Suffixes indicating the temporal/aspectual/mood of the sentence also indicate the number of S/A of telic verbs. The table using the perfective category to show the number cross-referencing follows:

	1.	2.	
SgA (& Sg/DualO)~ SgS	-da(ri)	-i	SgA, Sg/PIS
DualA (& Sg/DualO)~ DualS	-daryey	-iyey	DualA/S(/O)
PaucA (& Sg/DualO)~ PaucS	-dare (~dere)	-idare	PaucA/S(/O)
PIA/S(/O)	-da(rda)		

(The parentheses around the O argument indicates that the suffix may carry number information about this argument; however, this will be addressed in detail following the presentation of cross-reference marking with A and S.)

Examples to illustrate markers from conjugation 2. with a transitive verb are:

- (3.197) **ka emetu lewer irw-i**
 1SgA finish foodO eat- Pf
 'I have finished eating.'
- (3.198) **ki emetu lewer irw-iyey**
 1n SgExclA finish foodO eat- PfDual
 'We (2) have finished eating.'
- (3.199) **ki emetu lewer irw-idere**
 1n SgExclA finish foodO eat-Pauc
 'We (few) have finished eating.'
- (3.200) **ki emetu lewer ero-da**
 1n SgA finish foodO eat- PfPl
 'We (all) have finished eating.'

Examples of markers from conjugation 1. with an intransitive verb are:

- (3.201) **e baraygi- da(ri)**
 3SgS n PIS dive close to surface-PfSg
 'He dived in.'

(3.202) **wi baraygi- daryey**
 3n SgS n PIS dive close to surface-PfDual
 'They (2) dived in.'

(3.203) **wi baraygi- dere**
 3n SgS n PIS dive close to surface-Pauc
 'They (few) dived in.'

(3.204) **wi barag- da**
 3n SgS PIS dive close to surface-PfPl
 'They all dived in.'

(3.205) **wi ba- dmirik- da(rda)**
 3n SgS Intr-chase away-PfPl
 'They all ran away.'

The alternation between the plural endings **-darda** and **-da** are determined by the verb's paradigm. If the singular form of the same root ends in **-da(ri)**, the plural form will be **-darda**. If the singular form ends in **-i**, the plural form will be **-da**.

The morpheme **-i** has been labelled singular/plural for number as it can be suffixed to indicate either number with intransitive verbs. However, knowledge of the full verbal paradigm, the form of the related root as determined by number, and the marker itself, all combine to give its specific number reference:

(3.206) **able nar bá- ytr- i**
 Det boatS Intr-sink-Pf
 'The boat sank.'

(Contrast with the plural form that involves the same root form plus the plural number marker **-da**: **able nar bá-yter-da** 'All the boats sank.')

(3.207) **able le b- ós- i lokot-lam**
 Det personS Intr+PIS-Pauc/PIS come out-Pf bush- Abl
 'The people came out from the bush.'

(Contrast with the paucal number which involves the same root but an overt paucal suffix: **able le bós-idere lokotlam** 'Several people came out from the bush.' and the singular/dual number which will involve a different but related verb root: **able le éwsme-da lokotlam** 'That person came out from the bush.')

With transitive verbs, the marker **-i** always indicates that the A argument is singular:

(3.208) **ka papek íwr- i**
 1SgA matO weave-Pf
 'I wove a mat.'

(3.209) **ka ábi ipit-i**
 1SgA 3SgO hit- Pf
 'I hit him.'

- (3.210) **ka ábi- m zyáwali emark-i**
 1SgA 3Sg-All letterO send- Pf
 'I sent him letters.'
- (3.211) **ka goroki iri- (i)**
 1SgA <EngO drink-Pf
 'I drank grog.'

Number Markers for O by Suffixes.

The previous section discussed how suffixes cross-reference A and S arguments of telic verbs. However, these markers can also cross-reference O arguments provided these do not conflict with the number hierarchy which can be very broadly summarized as Pauc/PlA/O > Sg/DualA/O; that is paucal or plural number O arguments can take precedence in the number suffix slot over singular or dual A arguments. In other words, we find examples of Pauc/PlO animates being marked by suffixes when there are Sg/DualA animates:

- (3.212) **Lez-ide yábi kaba n(a)- áyswer- dare arw- em**
 L.- A 3n SgO bananaO 3n SgO-give Pauc/PlO-Pauc eat N-All
 'Les gave them (Galiga, Dawita and Elyat) a few bananas to eat.'
 (PaucalO>SingularA)
- (3.213) **Líla- de pe yábi kab n- érwer-eda**
 L.- A Deix 3n SgO dance 3n SgO-teach- PrImpfPl
 'Leila is teaching them (the school children) dancing.'
 (PluralO>SingularA)
- (3.214) **wi (Pomoy-ba Pascow-ey) Lez-iba na- rdar-dare**
 3n SgA (P.- n Sg P.- Dual) L- n Sg 3n SgO-see- Pauc
ábra koskir a omaskir-kem
 3SgGen (married)female Conj children-Ass
 'They (Pomoy along with Pasco) saw Les and his wife and children.'
 (PaucalO>DualA)
- (3.215) **wi neys le- gize Sigar-ira omaskir yábi na- rdar-da,**
 3n SgA two person-PlA S.- Gen childrenO 3n SgO 3n SgO-see- PfPl
wi gur ba- gu- li
 3n SgS sea PlS-bathe-PrImpf
 'They, the two people, saw Sigar's children (who) were swimming.'
 (PluralO>DualA)

However, there are also isolated instances where animate dual O is marked over and above nonsingular A.

- (3.216) ...a **wi Sigar-ira omaskir pa op da-ra- pit-a,**
 Conj 3n SgA S.- Gen children Deix face | -3n SgO- | hit-PfPl
wi- pe yábi da-ra- tagr-iyey
 3n SgA-Deix 3n SgO | -3n SgO- | tell- PfDual

wi nole umer- kak da-r(a)- a le
 3*n* SgS Neg knowN-Priv | -3Dual/PaucS- | *n* PlS be(person)-PrImpfPauc
 '...and then, they (2) met Sigar's children (and) they (some of them?) told
 them (2) (that) they did not know.'

(DualO>*non* SingularA)

(3.217) **...wi Meryam mir na- ga(r)- lare**

3*n* SgS M. word 3*n* SgS/O-speak-*n* PrImpfPl
wi- ge Abob-iba Kos yábi da-ra- tage(r)-le,
 3*n* SgA-Deix A.- *n* Sg K. 3*n* SgO | -3*n* SgO- | tell- *n* PrImpfPauc
yábi da-ra- tagr-iyey: ki lag+lag keriba mir,
 3*n* SgO | -3*n* Sg- | tell- Pfdual 1*n* SgExclS wantN 1*n* SgExclGen word
kodo mir ad- em d-a- pigemert-are
 tune word out-All | -Fut1- | change- FutPl

'...They (all) spoke Meryam; they (a few of them) then asked Abob and
 Kos, they told them: we want to change our language, (its) tune.'

(DualO>*non* SingularA)

Several possibilities can be suggested to account for these. This use may reflect changes happening in the language such as that documented by McConvell (1983; 26) who notes that there is 'loss of the trial/plural number distinction in transitives' amongst speakers under about forty years old and so, the number hierarchy is sometimes not applied. (This is less likely to be the reason given that both of these utterances were by speakers in their fifties and above.) It may be that such features are more sensitive to pragmatic features or that indefiniteness in number for A is tolerated when its number and identity have been clearly established elsewhere. A larger corpus of data monitoring these factors would be desirable.

In addition, the number hierarchy needs to be explored with respect to ditransitive verbs where there are potentially two O's competing for cross-reference marking in the suffix slot. It can be tentatively stated that when this is the case, the animate O will take precedence over the inanimate O:

(3.218) **péybri le- gize kómet le nam na- kwar- da**
 name person-PIA name personO turtleO 3*n* SgO-give Sg/DualO-PfPl

'The 'peybri' clan members gave the 'komet' clan members, a turtle.'

(The above example is interesting as it also illustrates how overt lexical number marking for A will permit the cross-reference marking on the verb to include number of A and O.)

Although the hierarchy for animates over inanimates suggests a loss of information for number of O, the reader is reminded that forms of the verb roots themselves often carry such information:

- (3.219) **péybri le- gize kómet le nam n(a)- áyswer- da**
 name person-PIA name personO turtleO 3n SgO-give Pauc/PIO-PfPl
 'The 'peybri' clan members gave the 'komet' clan members, turtles.'

Problems and Semantic Motivation for Conjugations 1. and 2.

The particular type of cross-reference marking used (i.e. from type 1. or type 2.) may also be carrying information about the O arguments. At first glance, the different types appear totally arbitrary carrying no number information as evidenced by the fact that both can occur with intransitive telic verbs:

- e.g. **báyter** 'sink' ---> **báytr-i** 'SgS sink Pf';
ekyam 'get up' ---> **ekyam-da(ri)** 'SgS get up Pf';
 ---> **bakyam-i** 'PlS get up Pf';
bakyamu 'Sg/DualS go' ---> **bakyamu-da(ri)** 'SgS go Pf';
bakyaw 'Pauc/PlS go' ---> **bakyaw-da** 'PlS go Pf'.

Similarly, both types can occur with transitive telic verbs:

- e.g. **ero** 'eat' ---> **irw-i** 'SgA eat Pf';
etomer 'show Sg/DualO' ---> **etome-da(ri)** 'SgS show Sg/DualO Pf'.
erap 'buy Pauc/PIO' ---> **erap-i** 'SgA buy PIO Pf';
 ---> **erap-da** 'PIA buy PIO Pf';

There is evidence, however, that at least in some cases, the inflections are not arbitrary, but meaningful as they contrast with one another, within a single verbal paradigm. With a couple of transitive verbs, the morphemes from conjugation 1. -**dari**, -**daryey**, etc. always refer to singular or dual O arguments (contrasting these with morphemes from conjugation 2. -**i**, -**iyey**, etc. which do not refer to singular or dual O arguments). For example, the verb **emarik** 'send':

- (3.220) **ka able netat zyáwali emarik-dari**
 1SgA Det one bookO send- PfSg
 'I sent the one book.'

- (3.221) **ka able zyáwali emark-i**
 1SgA Det bookO send- Pf
 'I sent the letters.'

- (3.222) **ka wáli itrum- da**
 1SgA clothingO take down-PfSg
 'I took down my dress.'

- (3.223) **ka kára wáli itrum- i**
 1SgA 1SgGen clothingO take down-Pf
 'I took down my clothes.'

However, whilst there are only a few of these transitive verbs marking the number of O arguments explicitly by contrasting conjugation markers 1. and 2, there are many transitive verbs with related root forms where conjugation type

1, i.e. **-dari, -daryey**, etc, occurs consistently with singular/dualO. Here are a few examples to illustrate:

- (3.224) **ka netat pil irmi- da(ri) (<irmi)**
 1SgA one <Eng swallow Sg/DualO-PfSg
 'I swallowed the pill.'
- (3.225) **ka pil irm- i- (<irim)**
 1SgA <Eng swallow Pauc/PIO-Pf
 'I swallowed the pills.'
- (3.226) **ka te dími- da(ri) (<dími)**
 1SgA doorO close Sg/DualO-PfSg
 'I closed the door.'
- (3.227) **ka te dím- i (<dim)**
 1SgA doorO close Pauc/PIO-Pf
 'I closed the doors.'
- (3.228) **ka netat lu erapey- da(ri) (<erapey)**
 1SgA one thingO buy Sg/DualO-PfSg
 'I bought one thing.'
- (3.229) **ka lu erap- i (<erap)**
 1SgA thingO buy Pauc/PIO-Pf
 'I bought things.'

Thus, there is evidence demonstrating a relation between singular/dualO and verb markers from conjugation 1. Nonetheless, there remains a large corpus of verbs where the claim is not borne out. Intransitive verbs cannot be carrying information about the number of O as they do not have an O argument. Similarly, there are transitive verbs which can only carry markers from conjugation type 2, irrespective of the number of O involved. The following two examples illustrate an intransitive and transitive verb from conjugation type 2:

- (3.230) **newr i izw- i (<i ezo)**
 girlS tear shed-Pf
 'The girl cried.'
- (3.231) **ka papek iwr- i (<ewer)**
 1SgA matO weave-Pf
 'I wove a mat.'

The generalization can be formulated as follows: Only those verbs from conjugation 1. express overtly singular/dual number for A or S through their conjugation markers, i.e. through their morphology (and possibly through their verb root form). Verbs from conjugation 2. generally have the same lexical root for all numbers. Thus:

- (3.232) **newr i ba- zw- i (<ezo)**
 girlS tear PlS-shed-Pf
 'The girls cried.'

(3.233) **ka papek na- wer- da** (<ewer)
 1SgA matO 3n SgO-weave-PfPl
 'I wove mats.'

What has been presented above suggests that some verbs have forms from each conjugation type to convey the number of O and that there is a correlation between conjugation type 1. and overt marking of singular/dual S/O. However, there are verbs which have forms from each conjugation type and these are neither semantically nor morphologically motivated. In some cases, the alternation appears to be phonologically motivated: verb roots from conjugation 2. ending in /r/ are suffixed with paucal forms from conjugation 1, e.g. **dásmer** 'see' ---> **dásmer-i** Pf ---> **dásmer-dare** PfPauc, ***dásmer-idare**; **erdar** 'watch' ---> **erdar-i** Pf ---> **erdar-dare** PfPauc, ***erdar-idare**. In other cases, there is no phonological environment for predicting the form and these must be considered exceptions: a verb root from conjugation 2. such as **esi** 'bang against the waves' (example from McConvell (1983; 17) has the dual form from conjugation 1. suffixed, e.g. **esi-ø** Fut2/3, **esi-lam** Fut2/3Dual. Many verbs which have been intransitivised, have forms from each conjugation type, e.g. **ba-dmirik** 'run away' (<Intr-chase away) ---> **badmirik-da** Pf ---> **badmirik-daryey** PfDual ---> **badmirk-idere** PfPauc, ***badmirikdere**; **ba-rap** 'be broken' (<Intr-break) ---> **barap-da** Pf ---> **barap-iyey** PfDual, ***barap-daryey**; **ba-rbor** 'be broken by tearing' (<Intr-throw?) ---> **barbor-da** Pf ---> **barbor-iyey** PfDual, ***barbor-daryey**. Given that inflections from conjugation 1. end predominantly in a consonant whilst those from conjugation 2. end predominantly with a vowel, these may be phonologically rather than semantically motivated. Furthermore, note that when there are related root forms for different number, it is the paucal/plural forms that often end with a consonant and the singular/dual forms which end in a vowel. It may be the language is in a process of change and/or speakers are regularizing the processes although exceptions remain. Some evidence in support of this latter claim is provided by one speaker who gives 'earlier' forms of the language: e.g. **barap-da** 'be broken Pf', older form **barapi**. Another hypothesis is that some forms only are semantically motivated whilst others are morphologically motivated.

Person Markers for S and A.

In the future, tense is shown partly by suffixes whose forms are determined by the person and partly by the prefixes **na-** (**a-**) for 1st person and **wa-** for 3rd person. As the prefixes' forms are determined by person, they can be regarded as portmanteau affixes carrying information about tense and person. Some examples follow:

(3.234) ka ábi a- kwar- e
 1SgA 3SgO Fut1-give Sg/DualO-Fut1
 'I will give (it) to him.'

(3.235) e ábi wá- ykwar- ø
 3SgA 3SgO Fut3-give Sg/DualO-Fut2/3
 'He will give (it) to him.'

Contrast these examples with the one below where the 2nd person is used and there is no prefix. No zero morpheme is hypothesized for the underlying form as all nonfuture tenses would have zero marking in the prefix position, a fact that would merely obscure the data:

(3.236) ma ábi ikwar- ø
 2SgA 3SgO give Sg/DualO-Fut2/3
 'Give (it) to him.'

Recall that there are allomorphic distinctions in the future prefix forms that are based on the transitivity of the verb. With future marking for 3rd person, a transitive verb's front vowel whether it is carrying the main accent or not, is reduced to a glide before prefixation whereas an intransitive verb's front unaccented vowel is not. With future marking for 1st person, the morpheme is *na-* for intransitive verbs and *-a-* for transitive verbs. (See the section on the morphemes' allomorphs, p111.) Thus, the contrast in the morphemes' forms is established by the verb's transitivity:

(3.237) ka n(a)- ákome-lu (<ákomer intr.vb.)
 1SgS Fut1-return-Fut1
 'I will return.'

(3.238) ka ni a- ry- e (<iri tr.vb.)
 1SgA waterO Fut1-drink-Fut1
 'I will drink water.'

(3.239) able koskir- ide tabara werem wá- ymri-ø (<imri tr.vb.)
 Det (married)female-A 3Gen childO Fut3-seat-Fut2/3
 'The woman will seat her child.'

(3.240) e wey-emri- ø (<emri intr.vb.)
 3SgS Fut3-*n* PLS sit down-Fut2/3
 'She will sit down.'

3.10 Summary of Person/Number Cross-Reference Markers.

Prefix forms:

	Number:	
Person:		
S telic:	Plural	
1/2/3	ba-	
	Number:	
S atelic:	Singular/Plural	Dual/Paucal
1/2	na-	d-
3	∅-	na-
	Number:	
	Singular	Nonsingular
	∅-	na-
O telic:		
1/2	na-	d-
3	∅-	na-
	Future Tense:	
1	na-	
2	∅-	
3	wa-	

Suffix forms:

Conjugation type 1:
(using perfective suffix as model)

SgA (& Sg/DualO)~ SgS
DualA (& Sg/DualO)~ DualS
PaucA (& Sg/DualO)~ PaucS

-da(ri)
-daryey
-dare (~dere)

Conjugation type 2.

SgA, Sg/PIS
DualA/S(/O)
PaucA/S(/O)

-i
-iyey
-idare (~idere)

Conjugation type 1. and 2:

PIA/S(/O)

-da(rda)

Whilst the cross-reference marking system may appear complex, the reader should recall that most verb roots themselves, mark number distinctions. There are three types of verb root: Sg/Dual versus Pauc/Pl, NonPl versus Plural, and no number distinction. The prefix cross-reference markers are of two types: Sg/Pl versus Dual/Pauc and, Sg versus NonSg. Because the prefixes and verb roots have a different number opposition, the maximum distinctions for number are achieved through a minimum number of forms. This is a highly economical system of marking.

As verb roots' number distinctions carry predominantly number information about the S or O arguments, it is important that suffixes carry number information about the A argument; hence there is an extensive cross-reference marking system in the suffix position contrasting singular, dual, paucal and plural. However, as there are verbs which have number information that is not restricted to a particular argument, it is the combination of markers and verb roots themselves which achieve specific number distinctions.

3.11 Non-Productive Derivations.

There are several morphemes used to signal meanings such as 'similar type of action', 'transitiviser' and 'word formative'. Several language-internal reasons contribute to their classification as derivations rather than inflections. They are only semi-productive, unlike inflections. When they do occur, they occur in all the forms inflected for tense/aspect/mood including the 2nd person future singular - a form of the verb that can be characterised as bearing no inflection. They are always affixed to the verb root before any inflections and thus are part of the lexical formation process rather than the syntactic process.

d- 'Similar type of action' Derivation.

There are variations in certain verbal forms differing only in the presence or absence of an initial consonant /d/. This may simply be a phonemic alternation not signalling a meaningful relation or it may be a meaningful morpheme. However, this relation is somewhat obscured at a synchronic level, possibly the result of diachronic development. The hypothesized morpheme d- has no syntactic function in that derived verbs are of the same valency. The process is not fully productive as not all verbs have the semantic alternation. Some examples include:

water versus land?:

ereb 'punt (a boat)'

d-ereb 'dig'

land versus water?:

ígwat 'pull, inhale'

d-ígwat 'fish i.e. pull in Pauc/Pl fish'

emarge 'n Pl land vehicle,
be stationary'

d-emarge 'n Pl water vehicle,
be stationary'

similar type of action?:

etaw(e)rik 'go around something'	d-etaw(e)rik 'turn something around'
ewer 'weave'	d-ewer 'build'
kar iruk 'build a fence'	kar d-iruk 'emprison' (lit: fence-erect)
ipit 'hit, kill'	op d-ipit 'meet' (lit: face-hit)
ikris 'scrape, scratch'	lumi d-ikris 'weed' (lit: weed-scrape)
erep 'rub together'	d-erep 'mix'
such as for compost'	

To characterize the relationship between the different forms as merely 'similar types of action' is inadequate and it would apply to many verbs whose forms do not have related forms. Furthermore, there are verbal forms where the same contrast exists phonemically but are obscure semantically, e.g. **ikayret** 'roast on fire sg/dualO', and **dikayret** 'leave'.

i- Transitivity Derivation.

There is a recurrent root initial vowel /i/ with transitive verbs, that may correspond to a transitivity morpheme, although it is not fully productive. Consider the related pairs:

A=S:

éwtmer 'ask for something'	ítmer 'ask someone'
-----------------------------------	----------------------------

S=O:

akaweret 'n PLS climb on'	ikaweret 'transport Sg/DualO'
ba-tir 'PLS climb on' (<etir 'get out?>)	ítir 'transport Pauc/PIO'
etrum 'n PLS come down'	itrum 'bring down Sg/DualO'
éwsmer 'Sg/DualS be born'	ísmér 'give birth to Sg/DualO'
éws(-os) 'Pauc/PLS be born'	is 'give birth to Pauc/PIO'
espi(r) 'marry to someone, hide'	ispi(r) 'marry, hide something'
edug 'burn'	idug 'cause to burn'

This can only be stated as a tendency rather than a pervasive rule. There are, for example, many transitive verbs which do not begin with the vowel /i/, e.g. **erap** 'break Pauc/PIO'; **dáyu** 'dig for Sg/DualO'. There are also intransitive verbs which begin with the vowel /i/ and must be considered part of the verb root, e.g. **digem** 'walk'; **ditimed** 'start'; **íkarik** 'come up to the surface of the water'; **igar** 'speak'. There are instances where the transitive form of the verb has a phonemically-related intransitive form but the relationship between the two has been obscured or is not, at least to a European, transparent, e.g. **ipit** 'hit, kill' (<epit 'blossom, flower'?>). There are instances where no phonemically-related intransitive form of the verb has been collected, e.g. **ikris** 'scratch, scrape (as in a coconut)' (<*ekris).

One pair of verbs has been recorded where the alternation between the intransitive and transitive form involves the sequence /di/. It corresponds to the same transitiviser process with the addition of the consonant:

epigemer 'change' **dipigemer** 'change, turn over'

e- 'Word Formative' Derivation.

As the reader may have noted from the examples cited above, there is a high correlation of telic verbs, both transitive and intransitive, whose roots or stems begin with /e/. It may be that verbs have phonotactic restrictions in their occurrence in having to commence with (d)V. As a consequence of this restriction, verbs that begin with a non-permissible consonant are prefixed with the formative /e/.

The plural intransitive telic prefix **ba-** and the formative **e-** are mutually exclusive, e.g. **éwmi** 'n PLS die' and **bá-wm** 'PLS die'. Similarly, the intransitiviser **ba-** and the formative **e-** are mutually exclusive, e.g. **erap** 'break' and **ba-rap** 'be broken'. Here are some transitive and intransitive verbal forms (see also examples from the transitiviser section):

intransitive telic verbs:

emri	'Sg/DualS sit down'
emer	'PaucS sit down'
ekyam	'n PLS get up'
esemu	'Sg/DualS finish'
egur	'n PLS bathe'
kab emar	'n PLS dance' (lit: danceN.-?)
éwpamar	'n PLS jump'
érer ekri	'n PLS shout, bark, squawk' (lit: cryN.-?)
egimu(r)	'Sg/DualS land'
éwmi	'Sg/DualS die'

transitive verbs:

etag	'count'
erapey	'break, buy Sg/DualO'
ero	'eat'
epaytered	'pour Sg/DualO'
etkam	'cover'
etrered	'hang up'
emarik	'send'
etaperet	'growl someone'
etkamrik	'cause to drift'
emor	'plant'

-dar- 'Non-Punctiliar' Derivation.

It is unclear what the affix marker **-dar-** means. It may be from the paucal number suffix or from an old auxiliary. In some cases, it appears completely lexicalised to the meaning of the verb, e.g. **er-(dar-)** 'watch' where all verbal inflected forms occur with the affix **-dar-**: **a-r-dar-e** Fut1, **er-dar-i** Pf, **er-dar-iyey** PfDual, **er-dar-dare** PfPauc, **er-dar-da** PfPl, but consider its nominalised form: **ir-em** 'to watch' (lit: see-All). In some cases, it is only found on the paucal/plural forms of verbs, e.g. **upi diti** 'help Sg/DualO', **upi diti-dar-** 'help Pauc/PlO', but consider the nominalised form: **upi a-ti-dar-em** 'to help'. In some cases, it occurs optionally with nonpresent durative inflections, e.g. **éwsmer** 'Sg/DualS come out', **éwsme-dar-er** ~ **éwsmer-er** *n* PrImpf, but **éwsme-li** PrImpf, ***éwsme-da(r)-li**, e.g. **ekyam** 'wake up', **ba-kyam-er** ~ **ba-kyam-dar-er** PIS *n* PrImpf:

(3.241) **gayr idim- ge wi o- ba-kyam- er**
 many morning-Loc 3*n* SgS Fut3-PIS-wake up-*n* PrImpf

idim kakar-ge
 morning Intens-Loc

'Most mornings, they will get up very early.'

√**gayr idimge wi obakyam-dar-er idim kakarge**

(3.242) **ka ta- ra- wsmer- er ad- ge siga ary- em**
 1SgS Deix-Fut1-Sg/DualS go out-*n* PrImpf outside-Loc ciggieO drinkN-All
 'I will keep going outside to smoke.'

(3.243) **Lez no w- éwsme- dar-er lokot te- lam**
 L.S Restr Fut3-*n* PIS come out?- *n* PrImpf bush opening-Abl
 'Les will always only come out from the back door.'

In some cases, it is obligatorily suffixed with all durative type inflections: e.g. **b-aw** 'Sg/DualS go in', **b-á-da(r)-li** PrImpf, ***bá-li**, **b-á-dar-er** *n* PrImpf, ***ba-r-er**; **mir átrum** 'suggest Sg/DualO', **átrum-da(r)-li** PrImpfSg, ***átrum-li**.

Whilst it is not possible to predict when it will occur, it is possible to see a recurrent meaning associated with the suffix, namely that all events are non-punctiliar as they are either extended in time, repeated several times or over a long time period. It may be that it is historically derived from a non-punctiliar derivational morpheme.

3.12 Adverbs.

There are only two words which occur exclusively as adverbs. These are **nab** '(attempt) unsuccessfully' and **mirem** 'try':

(3.244) **e tabara werem nab Géygi-(i) díkayr-i,**
 3SgA 3Gen childO unsuccessfully G. O wait- Pf
 'Géygi, náko aw nyáy+nyay dá- li,
 G. what big long time *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf

ka mirem ábi d-a- raymr- e

1SgA try 3SgO |-Fut1-|look for-Fut1

'She unsuccessfully waited for her son, "Geygi, why is he taking so long? I will try to look for him.'"

Other words have been collected functioning as adverbs. These could exclusively be adverbs as they have not been found functioning in any other context:

(3.245) **kuti+kuti** 'headfirst' <kuti?

ka kuti+kuti ka na- baraygi- lu

1SgS headfirst 1SgS Fut1-Sg/DualS dive in-Fut1Sg

'I will dive in headfirst.'

(3.246) **pú+pu** 'singlehandedly scooping?' <pu?

ka kári bab- ise pú+pu baraygi- da

1SgS 1SgGen father-Smbl singlehandedly Sg/DualS dive in-PfSg

'I, like my father, scooped sardines singlehandedly.'

Many adverbs have been found with other functions such as adjectives, nouns, clause relators, exclamations or a combination of these functions. To illustrate this, consider:

kéwbu adverb 'later'

N 'behind, in the back'

clause relator 'after'

(3.247) ka na- ba kéwbu

1SgS Fut1-go later

'I will go later.'

kerkar adverb 'recently'

N 'freshness'

(3.248) ka no kerkar ta- bakyamu- da

1SgS Restr recently Deix-Sg/DualS go-PfSg

'I just got here.'

ko adverb 'also, too, again'

clause relator 'in order to'

(3.249) ma ko epayt- ø

2SgA again pour Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3

'Pour (them) again/Pour (them) some more.'

teb+teb adverb 'alone'

Adjective 'lone' (but consider: **teb+teb kaba** 'boiled bananas with nothing else')

(3.250) ka teb+teb ta- r(a)- a- li meta- ge

1AgS alone Deix-1/2Sg/PIS-*n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf house-Loc

'I stayed at the house on my own.'

mena Adverb 'still, continue'
clause relator 'until, meanwhile'

- (3.251) **e mena lewer ero-li**
3SgA still foodO eat-PrImpf
'He is still eating.'

kikem Adverb 'firstly'
clause relator 'before'

- (3.252) **ka kikem lewer a- rw-e**
1SgA first foodO Fut1-eat-Fut1
'I will eat first.'

For some words, it feels intuitively that the adverbial function is primary with the secondary function having developed from it. Adverbs such as **kikem** 'firstly', **emetu** 'already', **mena** 'still, continue', etc. Unfortunately, there is no linguistic evidence to either refute or support such a claim.

Although it is not possible to isolate these words as being uniquely or even primarily an adverb, their function is clearly adverbial. Adverbs contribute information about the manner:

- (3.253) **ma ta- ba dudum+dudum**
2SgS Deix-go quick
'Come quickly.'

about the time:

- (3.254) **Géygi, náko aw nyay+nyay dá- li?**
G. what big long time *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf
'Why is Geygi so long (away)?'

about the place:

- (3.255) **ábra nar ta- ba- ytr- i mayk+mayk Wayer-lam**
3SgGen boatS Deix-Intr-sink-Pf close W.- Abl
'His boat sank very close to Wayer.'

about the event itself:

- (3.256) **...e- ge emetu bá- yw-i**
3SgS-Deix already Intr-dig-Pf
'...(but) he had already buried himself.'

As can be noted from the examples, adverbs covered in this section do not have any inflections or affixes. (Adverbial phrases do occur as illustrated in the section on inflections). Their position is relatively free in the sentence although they tend not to occur in word initial position.

Several of the words used adverbially appear in reduplicated form. This might be done for two reasons. It may be to derive an adverb from a noun, i.e. **dudum-ge** 'in haste' (lit: haste-Loc), **dudum+dudum** 'quickly'; **nyáy-em** 'forever' (lit: long time-All), **nyáy+nyay** 'eternally'. Note that since this parallels reduplicated forms for adjectives, reduplication could be viewed as a syntactic

process for deriving nouns into modifiers, be they adjectives or adverbs. However, somewhat similar to adjectives, reduplicated adverbs also imply a greater intensity, i.e. **máyk-e** 'close-by' (lit: close-Loc) versus **mayk+mayk** 'very close-by'. Thus, reduplication is both a syntactic and semantic process for adverbs as well.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEICTIC MARKERS

4.1 Introduction.

There is a closed class of markers grouped together on a semantic basis as their meaning is dependent and relative to a place, time, referent or proposition. They can be regarded as deictic markers because they are 'aspects of the interpretation of sentences that relate to the speech act situation' (Fillmore, 1975; 8). In Meryam Mir, this is reflected in the choice of marker being determined by the time at which the event or state happens or is happening relative to the time of the speech act itself.

It is unclear whether the deictic markers are words or not. They may or may not carry an accent. Their distribution in the sentence is equally unclear. They always follow the first element in a sentence and they nearly always occur before the verb in a clause. They never occur in isolation but always in conjunction with a verb which suggests they do not have independent grammatical status. In most examples, the deictic markers can be omitted without altering the grammatical status although there is obviously a change in meaning. Thus, the main functional load is on their meaning rather than their syntactic role.

Their status and grammatical function will be discussed following a description of their forms, features and pragmatic/semantic function. However, several points should be made before the description:

- (i) Examples have been drawn mainly from texts or casual conversation as elicitation proved to be unsuccessful though desirable for testing certain claims. One of the consequences of such an approach is that there are major gaps in the data and not all meanings are contrasted.
- (ii) The glosses and free translations reflect the analysis of the researcher rather than informants' translations as they rarely gave any translation for the markers other than a spatial meaning and in some of the examples, such a translation was clearly inadequate.
- (iii) A number of features are given for each deictic marker which may prove in the light of further research to be irrelevant in establishing the contrast between them. Nonetheless these features have been included to make the treatment of each marker as extensive as possible.
- (iv) There is variation amongst speakers as to the appropriate or suitable marker to be used. Some speakers actually 'correct' the form of the marker used by another speaker, which suggests the deictic system is in a state of flux. Speakers do have choices depending on the perspective they wish to take and particular features which determine the choice of marker for one speaker may not be the

same prominent features which determine the choice for another speaker. In other words, a certain amount of variation within the system may be the result of ongoing changes.

(v) The analysis presented below is by no means final but represents a working hypothesis based on the current corpus of data. Further study in the area may result in considerable changes.

In the table on the next page, the deictic markers can be distinguished from one another on the basis of temporal restrictions and domain of applicability. The table is an attempt to capture, not functions, but differences and similarities. Note that the gaps in the system may be because of limited data or because the temporal reference is too distant from the present and thus distinctions are lost, i.e. there are no markers for goal and source in the remote past and future. Below is a summary of the deictic markers' functions.

Summary of Deictic Markers' Functions:

pe, ge -	new location goal focus on new/different event/state focus on new/different referent focus on different proposition logical relation
pa, ga -	relative to a time/space focus on same referent focus on same event/state logical relation
i -	low deixis marker place source future (punctual)/nonimperative place associated with remote past
ya -	future (nonpunctual) distant in time/space sequential in the future and remote past

Outline of Deictic Markers: Forms and Features.

	location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •shared argument •consecutive (and then) •contiguous (and also there) 	goal	source
remote past	i	ya		
past (earlier than today)	ge (something new/ different)	ga	ge	i
present (earlier today and/or at time of speech act)	pe (something new/ different) i	pa	pe	i
future	ge (imperative/ something new/ different:)	ga (imperative)	ge	i
punctual:	i (close in time or space)			
non-punctual:	ya (distant in time or space)	ya	ya	

4.2.1 pe, pa - present; ge, ga -nonpresent

The present deictic markers **pe** and **pa** contrast with the non-present markers **ge** and **ga**. Whilst the former can only be used with events or states which coincide with the speech act utterance or precede it at a time earlier on the same day, the latter are used with events or states which occur prior to the day or following the utterance. To illustrate this contrast, consider the examples below. In 4.1, reference is made to a location marked by the form **ge** when it is associated with events or states that occurred a day earlier to the speech act (**abgergerge** 'yesterday') and by the form **pe** when it is associated with events that occurred prior to the speech act (**able idimge** 'this morning'). Although reference is being made to the same location, different forms must be used to demonstrate the different time reference. Similarly, in 4.2, one group of fish caught the previous day is contrasted with a group of fish caught earlier in the day:

- (4.1) **abgerger- ge ka og- i gedub- em**
 yesterday-Loc 1SgS climb-Pf garden- All
ka gé- ka da-ra- smer-da
 1SgA Deix-1SgA | -3n SgO-|see- PfSg
mitkar kaba ge na- mer weret-lare
 alot bananaS Deix 3n SgS-be hanging Pl vb.-n PrImpfPl
a able idim- ge ka bakyamu- da pé- ka,
 Conj Det morning-Loc 1SgA Sg/DualS go-PfSg Deix-1SgS
ka pe erdar-i
 1SgA Deix look- Pf
wi kemer+kemer ba- dmirig- darda
 3n SgS all Intr-chase away-PfPl
 'Yesterday, I climbed up to the garden (and) there I saw many bananas
 which were hanging and this morning, I went there where I saw they had
 all stolen themselves away.'

(Note that the markers that concern us here are not the case inflections suffixed to nominals which in some cases are homophonous with the deictic markers, e.g. **-ge** locative inflection: **abgerger-ge** 'yesterday-loc'. Those that are deictic markers are clearly labelled as such. In addition, the reader should not get confused with verbal deictics and non-verbal deictics. These can be distinguished from one another on the basis that verbal deictics always occur prefixed to the verb. The deictic markers in this discussion concern the non-verbal ones.)

- (4.2) **ka able lar pé- ka dígwat- i able gerger-ge**
 1SgA Det fishO Deix-1SgA catch Pauc/PIO-Pf Det day- Loc
a abgerger- ge gé- ka able lar dígwat- i
 Conj yesterday-Loc Deix-1SgA Det fishO catch Pauc/PIO-Pf
 'I caught those fish today and yesterday, I caught those fish.'

In the above example, it is not the contrast between the noun phrases which triggers the different forms but the different time reference. This is illustrated by the following example where the two noun phrases are contrasted but the forms do not alter as the states coincide with the time of the speech act:

- (4.3) **kára bawr pe ike**
 1SgGen spearS Deix *n* PLS be(thing)
nole able le pe t- ike
 Neg Det one/personS Deix Deix-*n* PLSbe(thing)
 'This is my spear, not that one.'

The same marker **ge** is used with events or states that occur following the speech act or at least continue on after the time of the utterance. Although there are no examples contrasting present and nonpresent within a single sentence, there are elicited examples which show the ungrammaticality of using a present marker in a nonpresent context:

- (4.4) **ma ge emri- ø**
 2SgS Deix Sg/DualS sit down-Fut 2/3
 Sit down there.'
 ***ma pe emri**
- (4.5) **ma ge na- mi dáw- (w)a**
 2SgS Deix 1/2SgS-*n* PLS be seated *n* PLS be(person)-Irr
 'Remain seated there.'
 ***ma pe nami dáwa**

There are a number of features and functions associated with the markers **pe** and **ge** which are examined below.

4.2.2 **pe, ge**

1) **pe, ge** - new location

The markers are often exploited to focus on a new location or to mark a contrast with a previous location. Speakers comment that the place is often indicated through gesture. Here are some examples with **pe** to illustrate this meaning:

- (4.6) **irmer ni pe emg- edi**
 rain waterS Deix *n* PLS be lying(liquid)-Pr
 'The rain water (tank) is here.'
- (4.7) **kára epey pe t- ike- redi**
 1SgGen basketS Deix Deix-*n* PLS be(thing)-Pr
 'My basket is over there.'
- (4.8) **e pe dá- li able idim- ge**
 3SgS Deix *n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf Det morning-Loc

- ka dikepwa-li e bakyamu- da pamas-em
 1SgA think- PrImpf 3SgS Sg/Dual S go-PfSg shop- All
 'He was here this morning (but) I think he has gone to the shops.'
- (4.9) e pe érwer- ge ta- da- li able idim- ge
 3SgS Deix learnN-Loc Deix-*n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf Det morning-Loc
 e nole pá- noko ta- da- li
 3SgS Neg Deix-distant(Deix) Deix-*n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 able kérker- ge
 Det moment-Loc
 'He was there at the school this morning (but) he will not (still) be there now.'
- (4.10) e pe ta- da- li Cairns-ge,
 3SgS Deix Deix-*n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf C.- Loc,
 idim- ge key wa- ta- ba
 morning-Loc way Fut3-Deix-go
 'He is there in Cairns, he will be coming back in the morning.'

Several facts emerge from the examples. The deictic marker does not indicate relative proximity or distance to the speaker/speech act because the same marker can be used whether the speaker is pointing to a place close-by or referring to a place away from the speech act. Relative distance is marked by the deictic on the verb t(V)-. The deictic marker denotes a place that either the addressee was not focussing on previously or a place where the referent was not situated before or only after some point in time and thus can be regarded as a new location. These examples could also be interpreted as having a presentative/locational function, i.e. 'there is X', or 'X is/was there'.

With the non-present, the presentative function is absent and the nonpresent marker *ge* is used to indicate a new place or one which the addressee has not been focussing on. Here are some examples with *ge* to illustrate its meaning:

- (4.11) ma ge emri- ø
 2SgS Deix *n* PLS sit down-Fut2/3
 'Sit down here.'
- (4.12) mi na- bakyamu- ley
 1*n* SgInclS Fut1-Sg/DualS go-Fut1Dual
 mi gé- mi ta- ra- mri- ley Umar-ge
 1*n* SgInclS Deix-1*n* SgInclS Deix-Fut1-*n* PLS sit down-Fut1Dual U.- Loc
 'We(2) will go sit down there at Umar.'
- (4.13) wába li+li usi+usi ni ge iry- awem
 2*n* SgGen shit Adj piss Adj waterO Deix drink-IrrPl
 ka- y n- óg- e
 1SgA-Deix Fut1-climb-Fut1

kára debe ni gé- ka t- a- ry- er Kokaper-ge
 1SgGen good waterO Deix-1SgA Deix-Fut1-drink-n PrImpf K.- Loc
 'You lot can drink your pissy, shitty water, I will climb up (and) draw good
 water for myself there, at Kokaper.'

(4.14) ese ka ut gé- ka w- éydi- da,
 if 1SgS sleepN Deix-1SgS PastIrr-n PLS lie down-PfSg
 debe le pe dike
 good one/personS Deix n PLS be(thing)
 'If I had slept there, that would have been good.'

(4.15) wi n- ép- ey mena Adud Nor-i erpey-ley...
 3n SgS 3n SgS-float-PastDual still A. N.- O reach-PastDual...
 a ge yába wasnar bá- ytr- i
 Conj Deix 3n SgGen canoeS Intr-sink-Pf
 'They(2) floated until they reached Adud Nor (Bad Reef)...and there, their
 boat sank.' (Déwmer, p208, section5)

(4.16) ka ábi erdar-i gé- ka kikem Sabad- ge eyp kí- ge
 1SgA 3SgO see- Pf Deix-1SgA first Sunday-Loc middle night-Loc
 'I saw him here last Sunday, in the middle of the night.'

2) pe, ge - goal

The markers *pe* and *ge* are also used to indicate the place or goal towards which there is movement. Thus, in the examples which follow, the markers indicate that an end-point is reached or is to be reached:

(4.17) ma ábi sep- ge t- imri-da
 2SgA 3SgO ground-Loc Deix-seat- PfSg
 ma pe ta- bakyamu- da pé- ma
 2SgS Deix Deix-Sg/Dual S go-PfSg Deix-2SgS
 'You sat her on the ground, then you came to here.'

(4.18) e pe ikase
 3SgS Deix be going along
 'Here he comes/ He is coming along towards here.'

(4.19) e korider (emri- da) ge
 3SgS speedN Sg/DualS sit down-PfSg Deix
 'He ran to there.'

(4.20) e ta- ba ge abal- ge egrema-da,
 3SgS Deix-go Deix pandanus-Loc scan- PfSg
 able lu na- rdar-da ná- ysir
 Det thingO n Sg3O-see- Pf n SgS-PLS be lying(thing)
 'He went to the place of a pandanus tree (and) he scanned (the area) (and)
 saw those things (fruits) lying (there).'

What evidence is there for claiming these markers are marking the goal and not say, the place or source? Example 4.22 was unacceptable when the marker *ge* was used with an overt ablative phrase and acceptable with 4.21 with an overt allative phrase:

(4.21) *mi gé- mi na- bakyaw- dere uteb- em*
 1*n* SgInclS Deix-1*n* SgInclS Fut1-Pauc/PLS go-FutPauc place-All
 'We few will go to a place.'

(4.22) **mi gé-mi na-bakyaw-dere uteb-lam*
 Abl

Given the unacceptability of the marker *ge* with the ablative phrase (and presumably the same result would occur with *pe* although this remains to be tested) and given that these markers occur with verbs of motion, one can conclude that they refer to a goal. (See the later section on *i* where the converse is true; that is the marker *i* can co-occur with an ablative phrase but not with an allative phrase.)

3) *pe, ge* - focus on new/different event/state

There are examples in the data where the markers *pe* and *ge* can sometimes be glossed as 'now' or 'then', which suggests a temporal meaning. However, they may be indicating to the addressee to focus on the event itself because it was not occurring before. Neither interpretation is incompatible with the other. They could be explicated as:

something is happening/happened;
 before this time, it was not happening
 at this time, it is happening/happened.

Consider:

(4.23) *ab- ki- ge Galiga nole ut- kak dáw- er*
 former-night-Loc G.S Neg sleepN-Priv *n* PLS be(person)-*n* PrImpf
e no id+id ípe- reder
 3SgS Restr awake Adj *n* PLS be lying-*n* PrImpf
e- pe út ípe- redi able kérker-ge
 3SgS Deix sleepN *n* PLS be lying-PrImpf Det time- Loc
 'Last night, Galiga did not sleep, he just lay awake; (but) he is now sleeping.'

(4.24) *ka pé- ka wábi dikayrt-i*
 1SgA Deix-1SgA 2*n* SgO leave- Pf
 'I am leaving you now.'

(4.25) *ná- gerger pe irdi?*
 Q clitic-dayS Deix *n* PLS be(time,space)
 'What day is it today?'(ie. What day is it now?)

- (4.26) ná- gerger ge ta- bark- i?
 Q clitic-dayS Deix Deix-happen-Pf
 'What day was it yesterday?' (i.e. What day was it then?)
- (4.27) náde pleyn egimr- er, ka- ge gim erpey-da
 when <EngS n PLS land-n PrImpf 1SgA-Deix illnessO strike-PfSg
 'When the plane landed, I was then struck down ill.'
- (4.28) nerut gerger-ge, e bakyamu- lu, baka paris erem-ø;
 another day- Loc 3SgS Sg/DualS go-PastSg go long tomO spear-PastSg
 paris erm- er e- ge bakir-ge dikmerk-er
 long tomO spear-n PrImpf 3SgS-Deix stone-Loc put onto-n PrImpf
 'Another day, he went off, he went (and) speared a fish; he kept spearing
 fish and then putting them onto the rocks.'

The temporal meaning assigned to these markers does not exclude them from carrying simultaneously spatial meanings as well. One can see from the examples given above that it is sometimes difficult, if not impossible, to assign a spatial or temporal meaning to them exclusively. Such is the case in the following example:

- (4.29) ka pé- ka n(a)- á- li
 1SgS Deix-1SgS 1/2SgS-n PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 'It is me here now.'
 (This was said by someone who had just arrived at a new place and was introducing himself to a friend of his father's i.e. new place and/or focus on new event.)

4) pe, ge - focus on new/different referent

The markers **pe** and **ge** can also be used to focus on a new referent or to reintroduce an established referent. This is sometimes done to overtly contrast one referent with another but at other times, the opposition is, or seems to be, only implied between one referent and a set of other potential referents. Whether this latter case is one of its functions or merely an inference is not something which can be proved with the current corpus of data. To illustrate its use, consider the following examples:

- (4.30) ná- ged newr pe dá- li?
 Q clitic-land girls Deix n PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 'What island is that girl from?'
 (talking about an island girl that has just come into their field of vision and the speaker could be contrasting this girl with other girls)
 (example from: Kudub, K., Gerip-sik, Ngali Dec. 1984)
- (4.31) sor- kob pe le- ra dike- redi
 back-bottomS Deix person-Gen n PLS be(word)-PrImpf

nám- ira pe no sor
turtle-Gen Deix Restr backS

'(The word) *sorkob* (back) is the one (word) for people; the one for turtles'
is just *sor*.'

(The two words contrast with each other.)

- (4.32) **able kebi lar pe mi+ mi dábger-eda tup**
Det little fishO Deix 1*n* SgInclA+Intens name- PrImpfPl sardineO
'That small fish is what we call *tup* (sardine).'

(A particular fish is focussed upon and implicitly contrasted with other
types of little fish.)

- (4.33) **náde Kosir ta- ba meta- em, ka- pe meta ti- dikayrt-i**
when K.S Deix-go house-All 1SgA Deix houseO Deix-leave- Pf

'When *Kosir* came back to the house, I instead/I in turn left the house.'

(Contrast with the following where the two clauses are reversed and the second
clause is providing the temporal setting for the first event and the deictic marker
is absent:

- (4.34) **ka meta ti-dikayrt-i náde Kosir ta-ba meta-em**
'I left the house when *Kosir* came home.'

- (4.35) **wi tara amey wá- ysaper- da, nedbu;**
3*n* SgA 3Gen earth ovenO RemPast-cover- Pf earth ovenO;
neys mir pe da-ra- bger- da, amey a nedbu
two wordO Deix | -3*n* SgO- | name-PfPl earth oven Conj earth oven
'They covered their *amey*, *nedbu* (earth oven); it gets called by two names,
'*amey*' and '*nedbu*.' (Dópem, p215, sections 6 and 7)

(The switch of focus is from the activity to the fact that there are two
names in the language for earth oven.)

- (4.36) **nálug-lam? ableg-lam,**
what- Abl Det- Abl
ma pé- ma aw dób+dob gepi+gepi lar wá- yrm- er
2SgA Deix-2SgA big fat Adj scale Adj fishO Fut3-spear-*n* PrImpf
'Why? Because you are the one who spears the big fat scaley fish.'
(Déwmer, p212, section19)

(The focus is on the addressee in opposition to his other brothers who do
not spear that kind of fish.)

- (4.37) **wi- ge ta- bakyamu- daryey Sáw-ge.....**
3*n* SgS-Deix Deix-Sg/DualS go-PfDual S.- Loc
e- ge ábi Zagareb-ide ikay- da:...
3SgA-Deix 3SgO Z.- A do/tell-PfSg
'They then came to *Saw*....Then, one of them, *Zagareb* told the other,
telling him:...'

(In this example, it is not possible to determine whether the deictic marker is used for a temporal effect or to focus on a different referent.)

- (4.38) **ka t- esaker-er kéymer pek-u**
 1SgA/S? Deix-cut- *n* PrImpf youngest side-Instr
e- ge narbit pek- u t- esaker-er
 3SgS/A?-Deix eldest side-Instr Deix-cut- *n* PrImpf
 'I was dancing to the left whereas he was dancing to the right/ I was dancing to the left whereas he was dancing to the right/ I was dancing to the left while he in turn was dancing to the right.'
- (4.39) **nerut ge ta- bask- er kári-doge**
 anotherS Deix Deix-go along-*n* PrImpf 1Sg- Loc
a gé- ki b- amu- ley
 Conj Deix-1*n* SgExcl Intr-bump-*n* PrImpfDual
 'Another one was shuffling towards me and we both were bumping into each other.'
- (4.40) **...bakýamu- da tabara neys kimyar berbet da-ra- tagr-i**
 Sg/DualS go-PfSg 3Gen two man siblingO | -3*n* SgO- | tell- Pf
able sarup- lam
 Det castaway-Abl
a wi- ge gayr kéko bakýaw- dere Ne-em
 Conj 3*n* SgS-Deix all immediately? Pauc/PIS go-PfPauc N.- All
 '...(He) went (and) told his two brothers about the castaway and they all in turn went straight away to Ne.' (Déwmer, p211, section17)
 (The deictic marker could be marking sequentiality in time, i.e. then.)
- (4.41) **per+per lu e esm-er dikri- er gur-ge**
 light Adj thingO 3SgA cut- *n* PrImpf throw-*n* PrImpf sea-Loc
e- ge ná- wt- lare ad- em dikri- er
 3SgS?-Deix 3*n* SgO-float-*n* PrImpfPl out-All throw-*n* PrImpf
 'He kept on cutting down light things (wood) (and) throwing them into the water, they in turn would just float (so he) would throw them away.'

(An important point to note from the above example is the use of 3rd person singular pronoun in the second clause: **e-ge...** which does not in fact correlate with the S/A of the verb in terms of number, i.e. it is marking plural instead of singular. One would expect to have a nonsingular pronoun. This might lead one to suspect that it is not the pronoun being marked by the deictic but the event, clause or even the whole proposition. More about this will be said shortly.)

The use of the deictic markers to focus or contrast referents is further exploited to introduce a clause that makes the referent specific, i.e. it is used as a kind of restrictive relative clause marker. It would be premature to label such constructions as restrictive relative clauses without having undertaken a full

study of complex sentences and such a study is beyond the scope of this work. However, such a use should be noted and can be exemplified:

- (4.42) **ka able koskir bawr ikwar-i pe mekik ikwey- redi**
 1SgA Det womanO spearO give- Pf Deix fishingN? n PLS be standing-Pr
 'I gave the spear to the woman who was standing (there) fishing (today).'
- (4.43) **ka bakyamu- da able uteb- em**
 1SgS Sg/DualS go-PfSg Det place-All
náde pe able máyrir+mayrir u eray- redi
 where Deix Det painted Adj coconut (tree)S n PLS be growing-Pr
 'I went to the place where that painted palm tree is growing.'
- (4.44) **ka ábi ipit-i able báwr- u pe Lez-ide kári na- kwar-i**
 1SgA 3SgO hit- Pf Det spear-Instr Deix L.- A 1SgO 1/2SgO-give- Pf
 'I hit him with the spear which Les gave me (today).'
- (4.45) **ka bakyamu- da able uteb- ge náde ge Bomay-(y) ipit-a**
 1SgS Sg/DualS go-PfSg Det place-Loc where Deix B.- O hit- PfPl
 'I went to the place where they killed Bomay.'

5) **pe, ge** - focus on different proposition

There are examples where the deictic markers cannot be readily identified as focussing on specific referents but rather on whole propositions, either in the form of a single predicate proposition or of a multi-predicate proposition.

- (4.46) **kari áw-kaka kerim le- gize kári na- kay- darda:**
 1SgO big-Intens head person-PlA 1SgO 1/2SgO-do/tell-PfPl
ma... kab kerim le n(a)- á- wa....
 2SgS dance head person 1/2Sg/PlS-n PLS be(person)-Irr
ka nole mir detawt-li,
 1SgA Neg word say- PrImpf
ka no ké- ka n(a)- á- li
 1SgS Restr way-1SgS 1/2Sg/Pl-n PLS be(person)-PrImpf
e- pe kára bway urid- li
 3Sg?-Deix 1SgGen countrymenS PLS be(person)-PrImpf
wi- pe detawt-eda
 3n SgA-Deix say- PrImpfPl
ka kerim le n(a)- á- li
 1SgS head person 1/2Sg/Pl-n PLS be(anim)-PrImpf
 'The really big dance bosses said to me: "Keep on being dance boss"... I am not saying it; I am just being that way (but) it is my countrymen, they say this (that) I am boss.'
- (4.47) **gayr kebi sop dámr- er, e- ge toli**
 alot little long timeS overflow-n PrImpf 3Sg?-Deix sandpiperS

ta- ba- perdar-er érer- kem igawe- lare
 Deix-Intr-fly- n PrImpf shoutN-Ass turn around-n PrImpfPl
 pe toli- ra aw tonar ike
Deix sandpiper-Gen big habitS n PIS be(of thing)
 náde le o- ta- ba máyk-em yábi- (i)m
 when personS Fut3-Deix-go close- All 3n Sg-All
 'Much time elapsed in which the sandpipers flew, circled around
 squawking, which is the sandpipers' typical habit when people come close
 to them.' (Déwmer, p209, section10)

- (4.48) wi kikem-ge nole umer- kak da-r(a)- a- le
 3n SgS first- Loc Neg knowN-Priv | -3n SgS- | n PIS be(person)-PfPauc
 Déwmer ko dáw- er taba bab kéme- ge.
 D.S again n PIS be(person)-nPrImpf 3Gen father company-Loc
 wi no ge ume- le ber- dare
 3n SgS Restr Deix knowN-person Pauc/PIS become-PfPauc
 náde Déwmer taba bab- em érer t- ekri- (i)
 when D.S 3Gen father-All shoutN Deix-cry out-Pf
 'At first, they (few) did not know Dewmer was (there) too with her father.
 They only discovered that when Dewmer cried out to her father.'
 (Déwmer, p213, sections 28 and 29)

- (4.49) wi náde Korok gab- ge ga da-ra- gem-le,
 3n SgS when K. path-Loc Deix | -3n SgS- | walk-n PrImpfPauc
 wi- ge mir ipi- dare
 3n SgA-Deix wordO discuss-PfPauc
 ko net- ide able sarup wá- ypit-ø
 in order to who-A Det castawayO Fut3-hit- Fut2/3
 a wi éwdim Pitari-(i) itutr-idare
 Conj 3n SgA therefore P.- O pick- PfPauc
 'As they walked along the Korok path, they discussed which one of them
 would kill the castaway and thus, they chose Pitari.'
 (Déwmer, p212, section18)

6) pe, ge - logical relation

Many of the instances of deictic markers serving to focus on referents or propositions involve a relation of logical dependency. This logical relation might be, at the very least, a temporal relation marking a sequence or partial overlap between one proposition and the previous one (such as in the examples quoted above) but sometimes it indicates a result/consequence:

- (4.50) bakyamu- lu baka Tikor-ge t- igawey- lu
 Sg/DualS go-PastSg go T.- Loc Deix-turn around-PastSg

e- ge (e-ge) t- ákome-lu

3SgS-Deix Deix-return- PastSg

'He went, went (and) turned around at Tikor then he returned.'

- (4.51) able idim- ge ka na- gem- li,
Det morning-Loc 1SgS 1/2SgS-walk-PrImpf

ka pé- ka Tapim-i dásme-li

1SgA Deix-1SgA T.- O see- PrImpf

gab- ge éypu- ge ípe- redi

path-Loc middle-Loc *n* PLS be lying-Pr

'This morning I was walking (and) as a result, I saw Tapim lying (there) in the middle of the path.'

- (4.52) Záro bab ta- ba, kára bab ikay- da:

Z. fatherS Deix-go 1SgGen fatherO do/tell-PfSg

'negwam, e- pe werem nálug-lam i ezo- li?'

cousin, 3Sg?-Deix childS what- Abl tear shed-PrImpf

e- ge akay- da, ábi detagr-i:

3SgS-Deix do/say-PfSg 3SgO tell- Pf

'nole, sek+sek kab pe t- eri- (i),

Neg, bad Adj dance Deix Deix-dance-Pf

ka- pe ábi t- igard- i'

1SgA-Deix 3SgO Deix-take Sg/DualO-Pf

'Father Zaro came, said to my father: 'Cousin, but why is the child crying?' (Father) in turn spoke, said to him: 'No, the dancing there was poor (and) so, as a result, I brought him (back).''

Note how the contrast is established between *pe* and *ge* in the above example where direct speech involving events of the 'here' and 'now' or of earlier on the same day have the form *pe* whereas events narrated such as 'tell' and belonging to the past are reported by the form *ge*.

- (4.53) able bab taba néwr-ey akay- ley

Det father 3Gen girl- Dual do/tell-PastDual

nab wag ti- disard- ey ged- im

in vain windO Deix-go against-PastDual land-All

e- ge able wag- ide no ad- em yába nar etkamrik- i

3SgA?-Deix Det wind-A Restr out-All 3*n* SgGen boatO make drift-Pf

yábi ged káwr- lam

3*n* SgO land island-Abl

'The father along with the daughter tried in vain to go against the wind but the wind only blew their boat (further) away from their island.'

(Déwmer, p208, section4)

It may be that the logical relationship established between two referents or propositions is the result of inference and not part of the meaning proper of the deictic markers themselves. This is an area requiring further investigation.

4.2.3 pa, ga

- 1) **pa** - relative to present time/space; **ga** - relative to nonpresent time/space

The same temporal distinctions as **pe** and **ge** serve to contrast the related deictic markers **pa** and **ga** which can both be defined roughly as having the same referent or event/state as a previous proposition. The difference between **pa** and **ga** lies in their temporal reference. **Pa** is restricted to the present, **ga** to the nonpresent as defined earlier. Note that the marker **pa** can include states which began earlier than the day of the speech act and remain current at the time of the speech act utterance. The following examples illustrate the time distinctions:

- (4.54) **Déwmer able mekir- ge akarik-da**
 D. S Det almond tree-Loc land- PfSg
akay-da ageg ga t- erw-er
 do- PfSg almond fruitO Deix Deix-eat- *n* PrImpf
a taba bab- ira key abi-m ti- dikri- er
 Conj 3Gen father-Gen way 3Sg-All Deix-throwplO-*n* PrImpf
 'Dewmer settled at the top of the almond tree and began eating almonds and throwing them towards her father.' (Déwmer, p209, section9)

- (4.55) **ma pe zyáwali isisi- li ma dikayr-ø**
 2SgA Deix bookO read-PrImpf 2SgA leave- Fut 2/3
ma ga idim- ge isisir-wa
 2SgA Deix morning-Loc read- Irr
 'You are reading, leave it (and) read it again in the morning.'
 *... **ma pa idimge isisirwa**

The reason for the ungrammatical sentence given above is that the present deictic marker **pa** conflicts in its temporal reference with the future event.

An example where the present deictic marker is suitable follows:

- (4.56) **yába mir wi dipigeme- daryey**
 3*n* SgGen wordO 3*n* SgA change Sg/DualO -PfDual
akay- da, yába mir,
 do- PfSg 3*n* SgGen words
pa kebi+kebi nerut tonar ike- redi Mabyog-lam
Deix little Adj another way/habitS *n* PlS be(thing)-Pr M.- Abl
 They(2) changed their language (Central Islanders'), their language, so that it became slightly different from (that) spoken at Mabyog.'

Although the time when the language changed predates the time of the speech utterance, the present deictic marker is used because the language remains different to this day.

2) **pa, ga** - focus on same referent

There are examples where the deictic markers **pa** and **ga** maintain focus on the same referent. The use of the term 'same referent' is used for a semantic/discourse-based notion rather than a syntactic-based one. As details of complex sentence structures are documented and analysed, it may emerge that features such as language pivot and types of subordinating structures will have a bearing on the postulated meaning of the **pa/ga** construction. However, as a preliminary note, it can be stated that the deictic markers depend upon a semantic notion of referent. Sentences, where the shared referent is in fact a syntactic argument, will be pointed out to the reader and the possibility of analysing such constructions as syntactically motivated will be explored following the pertinent examples:

- (4.57) **wi baka say dírbir- iyey;**
 3n SgS go rock wallO build (by piling up)-PfDual
Téker-ge ditimed-(d)ariyey,
 T.- Loc start- PfDual
say dírbir-iyey Téker-lam mena Korog éwpama- da
 rock wallO build- PfDual T.- Abl still K.S jump up-PfSg
able say pa da-ra- rbir yábi áربي- lam
 Det rock wallS Deix | -3n SgS- | PIS be built 3n SgGen buildN-Abl
 'They(2) went (and) built the rock wall; they started at Teker, they built the rock wall from Teker as far as Korog (where) it juts out and so that same rock wall is still standing because of their building endeavours.'

The deictic marker **pa** is focussing on the same referent namely the O of the verb **dírbir** 'build' and the S of the verb **dararbir** 'be built'. The clause **mena Korog éwpamada** which intervenes between the two clauses containing the same referent **say** may in the light of further data be analysed as a subordinate structure and so, the deictic marker **pa** could in this example be regarded as marking as same referent, a syntactic argument and as operating across clauses.

- (4.58) **e ne tabra mamorser tabra bud itkir- i op- ge;**
 3SgA Neg 3Gen properly 3Gen mudO wipe off-Pf face-Loc
ábra bud, ábra girip neb- ge ábra d- emri- da
 3Gen mudS, 3SgGen ear canal hole-Loc 3SgGen 3Gen-sit down-PfSg
pa dimi
Deix n PIS be seated
 'She did not properly wipe off the mud from her face; the mud in her ear had become stuck (and) that same mud was still stuck.'

(The deictic marker *pa* in the above example is marking the same referent *bud* 'mud' which is the S of both clauses.)

- (4.59) *ki- pe lewer irw-idere, ka- pe baka*
1n SgExclA-Deix foodO eat- PfPauc 1SgS-Deix go
gur egr- i pá- ka baka dorge-em
sea bathe-Pf Deix-1SgS go work- All
 'We then ate, I in turn went off (and) bathed and I also went off to work.'
- (4.60) *able nam no akay-da sinar pa n- ep- li*
Det turtleS Restr do- Pf mating Deix 3n SgS-Pauc/PIS float-PrImpf
 'The turtles had just done it (and so) those same turtles were floating along mating.'
- (4.61) *able neys le akay-ley*
Det two personS do- PastDual
sarup ga da-r(a)- a- ley,
castaway Deix | -3n SgS- | n PIS be(person)-n PrImfDual
éwdim ba- rb- ey mena Ne-y t- erpey-ley...
therefore Intr-punt-PastDual still N.-O Deix-grab- PastDual
 'The two had changed, become castaways (and so) those same ones swam until they reached Ne.' (Dévmer, p209, section6)
- (4.62) *kéwbu e Bame-y wa- t- irpey-da,*
after 3SgA B.- O PastIrr-Deix-grab- PfSg
e- ge Wayer pit le- gize emetu ábi op dipit-are
3Sg?-Deix W. nose person-PIA already 3SgO face meet-PastPl
a ga igared- (d)a taba uteb-em
Conj Deix take Sg/Dual person-PfPl 3Gen place-All
 'Before he could reach Bame, the people from Wayer point had already met him and so had also taken him back to their place.'
 (Dévmer, p210, section13)

The same referent in the above example could be one of two arguments. It could be co-referent with the A, *Wayer pit legize* 'the people from Wayer point' or co-referent with the O, *ábi* (Bame) '3SgO' since both are the same syntactic arguments.

- (4.63) *ábra bab ké- ko korider d- emri- da taba sárik-em;*
3SgGen fatherS way-again speed 3Gen-n PIS sit down-PfSg 3Gen bow-All
e náde ga máyk-e bakyamu- da,
3SgS when Deix close- Loc Sg/DualS go-Pf
Pitari-de tabara kus báger dikayrt-i
P.- A 3Gen plant sp. spearO leave- Pf
ge able sarup sor- ge isk- i;
Deix Det castawayO back-Loc pierce-Pf

able kus báger b- á- dari, digm-i
 Det plant sp. spearS Intr-put in Sg/DualO-Pf walk-Pf
 ké- ko nerut pek- e nerkep uteb-ge te- deketi- da;
 way-again another side-Loc heart place-Loc Deictic-look out-PfSg
 náwar able sarup ga asi- ge báZR- er,
 while Det castawayS Deix painN-Loc agonise-*n* PrImpf
 Dáwgiri-ba Wáyda-ey
 D.- *n* Sg W.- Dual
 korider emri- ley, ábra gábagabuy-u
 speed *n* PIS sit down-PastDual 3SgGen club- Instr
 kerim desk- ey a ipit-ey
 headO crack-PastDual Conj hit- PastDual

'The father immediately ran towards his bow; and as he got close, Pitari let fly his spear which pierced the castaway's back; the spear went in and through to the other side and so while that same castaway was writhing in pain, Dawgiri and Wayda ran, hit him, cracking open his head with the club.' (Démmer, p213, sections 24 to 27)

In the last example, the first use of the deictic marker *ga* is unproblematic and marks as same referent *bab* 'father' which is S in both clauses. However, the second use of the marker does not appear to be referring back to any common syntactic argument of the previous clause, unless *nerkep* 'heart' and *sarup* 'castaway' are viewed as the same referent given that one is a part of the other and the referents are the same by virtue of one being an inalienable part of the other. Clearly such an interpretation requires an extensive treatment of syntactic features in complex sentence structures.

There is evidence of nonfinite clauses with the deictic markers used to introduce a purposive clause also indicating the same referent is involved:

(4.64) le o- bakes- lare able neys ged- ge mekik- em
 peopleS Fut3-travel-*n* PrImpfPl Det two island-Loc fishing-All
 a pa- ko nam araymr- em
 Conj Deix-again turtleO searchN-All
 'People travel to these 2 islands to fish and also to look for turtles.'
 (Frank Kaigey, Mekikem, Ngali no.9, Dec. 1984)

3) pa, ga - same event/state

Some of the examples with the deictic markers indicate that it is the same event/state as that of a previous event or state, i.e. someone else also does the same / someone else does it the same way. Semantically, the deictic markers appear to have scope over a larger unit than just a referent and are operating over the whole proposition. Of course, a category distinction between 'same referent'

and 'same event/state' is arbitrary as many examples involve the same referent as well. Consider:

(4.65) **ki gé- ki ta- da- le**
 1n SgExclS Deix-1n SgExclS Deix-n PIS be(person)-n PrImpfPauc
Kinor pa dá- li
 K. Deix n PIS be(person)-PrImpf

'We were there, Kinor was also there/ We were there and so was Kinor.'

(4.66) **ki gé- ki ta- da- le**
 1n SgExclS Deix-1n SgExclS Deix-n PIS be(person)-PrImpfPauc
Kinor ga dáw- er
 K. Deix n PIS be(person)-n PrImpf

'We(excl) were there, Kinor was also there.'

The two examples above were chosen as the deictic markers have the same function with only the temporal reference as different. The S of the **pa/ga** clause could be said to be included within the S of the previous clause as it is a plural pronoun of which the S of the second clause is a part. In both of these, the function of the deictics could be analysed as indicating the same place. However, the example below provides counter-evidence for this hypothesis:

(4.67) **netat post ge isk- i, nerut post ga t- isk- i**
 one <EngS Deix stick-Pf another <EngS Deix Deix-stick-Pf

'One post was stuck in there, the other post was also stuck over there.'

(The deictic markers are referring to different places.)

This example also demonstrates there is no restriction on referents being the same in both clauses unless the two posts are thought of as a pair, i.e. one is a part of the other and vice versa (after all, it was two posts of a clothes line!) If a category marking the same event/state is proposed then the absence or presence of co-referent arguments is not an issue.

Another example to illustrate this use follows:

(4.68) **Géygi baka bózer erdar-ø éwdi bózer dike- lu,**
 G.S go eel sp.O see- PastSg therefore eel sp.O spear-PastSg
tábger-i taba ama- em: 'ama, ná- lar?'
 point- Pf 3Gen mother-All: mother, Q clitic-fish
ábi Nágeg-ide detagr-i:
 3SgO N.- A tell- Pf:

'**bózer, areg lar'; ga bakyamu- lu, gas erdar-ø,**
 eel sp.O, eatN fish Deix Sg/DualS go-PastSg eel sp.O see- Past
gas dike- lu, ga tábger-ø: 'ama, ná- lar?'
 eel sp.O spear-PastSg Deix point- Past mother, Q clitic-fish

'Geygi went, saw a small eel, so (he) speared the small eel, held it up to his mother: 'Mother, what (kind of) fish is it?' Nageg said to him: 'The

small eel is an edible fish.', and so he (that same one) went off again, speared a large eel, also held it up: 'Mother, what (kind of) fish is it?'

The gloss proposed by the speaker for the deictic marker *ga* was 'again' but it is unclear whether he was referring to the referent, i.e. Geygi, or the events, i.e. going off again and pointing something out to his mother again. The same problem is encountered in the example below where the deictic marker could be indicating the same A or O, or it could be indicating a repetition of the event:

(4.69) *ese ma ábi erdar-wa, ábi ga detager-wa*

if 2SgA 3SgO see- Irr 3SgO Deix tell- Irr

'If you should see him, then you should also tell him.'

(i.e. tell him what I have told him or what you have told him before)

Some examples have been collected with the deictic marker used within a phrase:

(4.70) *Nágeg pá- ko ábra werem Géygi,*

N.S Deix-again 3SgGen childS G.S?

wi o- da-r(a)- a- li Né-ge

3n SgS RemPast- | - 3n SgS- | n PLS be(person)-PrImpf N.- Loc

'Nageg and also her child Geygi were living at Ne.'

Would one want to consider the presence or absence of an immediate verb as the criterion for determining whether the deictic marker is operating within a phrase or over the whole clause?

4) *pa, ga* - logical relation

In all the examples with the deictic markers *pa* and *ga*, there is also a relation of logical dependency as encountered with the markers *pe* and *ge*. The logical relation might be, as discussed earlier, a temporal one marking a sequence or partial overlap between one clause and the previous one or a relation indicating a result or consequence. The temporal relation, although similar to that of the deictic markers *pe* and *ge*, generally involves a closer unity in time between the clause and its antecedent. It also requires the antecedent clause to bear a causal relationship to the following clause. Here are some examples to illustrate the meaning of the deictic markers when they are marking both a temporal and logical relation with the previous clause:

(4.71) *ka kababu b- akay- da si pa irg- i*

1SgS 1SgRefl Intr-do- Pf goannaO Deix eat flesh-Pf

'I made myself eat the goanna.'

(4.72) *ni iri- (i) esemu-da, tápot tara na- tatko-da;*

waterO drink-Pf finish- Pf fingernailO 3Gen 3n SgO-pour- PfPl

sir ábra baruk- ø pa nam ereg- li
 happinessS 3SgGen happen-Past Deix turtleO eat flesh-PrImpf
 'He finished drinking the water, he poured (water) under his fingernails;
 he felt happy and so, he also ate turtle.'
 (result/consequence/further details)

- (4.73) e, sap t- ep- i... ta- ba máyk-e kar- ge,
 3SgS flotsamS Deix-Sg/DualS float-Pf Deix-go close- Loc Intens-Loc
 mípud ga akay-da, sens akay-da,
 thin bambooS Deix do- PfSg <Eng do- PfSg
 mípud able ga ta- ba, ... máyk-e kar- ge,
 thin bambooS Det Deix Deix-go close- Loc Intens-Loc
 arti- ra nog ays, arti ta- ba;
 octopus-Gen shapeS Pauc/PIS float octopusS Deix-go
 meg ábi igi- da, igi-da gá- ko áb- i, áb-i
 tide(A?) 3SgO bring up-PfSg " Deix again fall down-Pf "
 e- ge éwdi egrema-da:
 3SgS-Deix therefore scan- PfSg
 o, able arti, arti pá- (a)ma dá- li
 oh!, Det octopusS, " Deix-Nonvisible(Deix) *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf
 'It, the flotsam floated...It came up really close and so then, it (that same
 thing) also became (a bit of) thin bamboo, it changed, and so as thin
 bamboo it came up very close, floating (in) an octopus shape, the octopus
 came up; the tide brought it in, brought it up (and so then) subsided again.
 She, in turn, looked out: "Hey, so it is also as a octopus now (which I
 cannot see)."'

Changes in progress.

There are examples in the data which appear to contradict the temporal restriction that the deictic markers **pe** and **pa** can only occur in the present. Consider the following examples where the markers are used in the nonpresent and more specifically the past:

- (4.74) wi neys le da-ra- wede narbit a kéymer Abob a Kos
 3*n* SgS two personS | -3*n* SgS- | be? eldest Conj youngest A. Conj K.
 Abob pe narbit dá- li,
 A.S Deix eldest *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf
 Kos pe kéymer dá- li
 KS. Deix youngest *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf
 'They were two, an older and younger (sibling). Abob is (was?) the eldest,
 Kos was (is) the youngest.'

(The speaker was introducing two characters in a story and it may be the present is being used in narratives.)

- (4.75) **able newr urid- li, wi ta- bakaw- da**
 Det girls PIS be-PrImpf 3n SgS Deix-Pauc/PIS go-PfPl
Wapkik-e pa na- kasir
 W.- Loc Deix 3n SgS-be going along
 'The girls were (there), they came (and) those same ones were going along
 at Wapkik.'
 (The speaker is talking about something which happened a long time ago.)
- (4.76) **ki Gigo-ge kab ba- ry- er,**
 1n SgExclS G.- Loc dance Intr+PIS-dance-n PrImpf
wi- ge narbit tag- u imri-lare
 3n SgS-Deix oldest hand-Instr sit- n PrImpfPl
ka- pe kéymer tag- u imri-li
 1SgS-Deix youngest hand-Instr sit- PrImpf
 'We (excl) were dancing at Gigo, they were then dancing with their right
 hand while I was dancing with my left hand.'

There is also one example where the deictic marker **ge** is being used with present temporal reference:

- (4.77) **ki gé- ki ta- da- le,**
 1n SgExclS Deix-1n SgExclS Deix-n PIS be(person)-PrPauc
Kinor pa dá- li
 K.S Deix n PIS be(person)-PrImpf
 'We (few) were there (earlier), Kinor was there too.'

There are various explanations which fit the different examples but no single explanation accounts for all of them. At first glance, it seems that the present deictic markers are being introduced sometimes to give the text a 'lively' feel about it; this is what is often labelled the present narrative. In some cases, they are used for events/states that lie outside the narrative proper, e.g. that one which I am now talking about/ this one which I am now talking about. A closer look will reveal that the most plausible and convincing explanation combines a number of inter-related factors.

The deictic marker **pe** is becoming exclusively used for animate subjects which are contrastive in function. This, in turn, contrasts with the marker **ge** which is used in the single example in the present with inanimate non-subjects to mark a place. The deictic marker **pa** is also losing its temporal reference for a different reason. The marker frequently occurs with stative verbs which are losing their temporal reference because of phonological reduction in their forms (see the introductory section on Tense/Aspect/ Mood/Number Suffixes, p100).

The distinction between the markers discussed above (i.e. **pe**, **pa** and **ge**, **ga**) and the markers **i** and **ya** are examined below.

4.3 i

1) i - low deixis marker

When speakers are asked to contrast the markers *i* and *pe/ge*, they say the latter typically involves gesture whereas *i* does not. A linguistic explanation for this feature is that *pe* and *ge* are high deictic markers, i.e. they have a stronger new information content and request a higher degree of focus or attention on behalf of the addressee, whereas *i* is a low deictic marker and does not require the same degree of focus or attention. Consider the following examples with *pe* contrasted minimally with *i*:

(4.78) **able cup i ike**

Det <EngS Deix *n* PIS be(thing)

'The cup is over here.'

(where the cup is closer to the speaker than to the addressee)

(4.79) **able cup pe ike**

Det <EngS Deix *n* PIS be(thing)

'Here is the cup.'

(where the speaker is holding out the cup towards the addressee)

(4.80) **kára sisi í- noko dá- li Melbourne-ge**

1SgGen <EngS Deix-distant(Deix) *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf M.- Loc

'My sister is there in Melbourne.'

(4.81) **kára sisi pé- noko dá- li Melbourne-ge**

1SgGen <EngS Deix-distant(Deix) *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf M. - Loc

'My sister is now there in Melbourne.'

(4.82) **neys u i na- ray- redi**

two coconut(tree)S Deix 3*n* SgS-*n* PIS be growing(plant)-Pr

'There are 2 coconut trees are growing here.'

(4.83) **neys u pe na- ray- redi**

two coconut(tree)S Deix 3*n* SgS-*n* PIS be growing(plant)-Pr

'Here are 2 coconut trees now growing.'

(with the implication being that they were not growing before?)

The examples with *pe* involve a change of state or location and hence a high deictic marker is used whereas in the examples with *i*, there is no change in state or location and hence a low deictic marker is used.

2) i - place

'non-specific area'/'away from addressee'

In a number of examples with verbs of non-motion or verbs of location, *i* seems to mark a general area or possibly a place away from the addressee:

(4.84) **irmer ni i emge- di**
 rain waterS Deix n PIS be(liquid)-Pr
 'The rain water is around here.'
 (when the speaker is calling out to the addressee who is a short distance away)

(4.85) **ka í- ka na- mri- lu**
 1SgS Deix-1SgS Fut1-n PIS sit down-Fut1
 'I will sit down around here/ I will sit down now/ I will sit down here (at the place where I have been standing)/ I will sit down here (at this place away from you, the addressee).'

It can occur with the deictic affix **-noko** which is used to indicate distance away from the speech act.:

(4.86) **kára sisi í- noko dá- li Melbourne-ge**
 1SgGen <EngS Deix-distant(Deix) n PIS be(person)-PrImpf M.- Loc
 'My sister is there in Melbourne.'

Contrast the **i** examples with the **pe** and **ge** examples below which refer to a specific place and do not specify distance away from the addressee:

(4.87) **ma pé- ma able mir dítar-i?**
 2SgA Deix-2SgA Det wordO write-Pf
 'Have you written that word down there?'
 (pointing to addressee's notebook)

(4.88) **ka gé- ka na- mri- lu**
 1SgS Deix-1SgS Fut1-n PIS sit down-Fut1
 'I will sit down here (at this new place)/ I will sit down here (where I have not been sitting before.)'

3) **i** - source

The marker **i** also implies movement away from the addressee or from the deictic centre. In this context, it can be regarded as a source marker:

(4.89) **e i ikase**
 3SgS Deix be going along
 'There he goes.'

(4.90) **e pe ikase**
 3SgS Deix be going along
 'Here he comes.'

(Note that in the example with **i**, it is uncertain whether the traveller is moving away from the speech act place or merely not moving in the speaker's general direction.)

(4.91) **ka i n- óg- e gé- ka ta- ra- gimu-lu**
 1SgS Deix Fut1-climb-Fut1 Deix-1SgS Deix-Fut1-land- Fut1Sg
 'I will climb from here (and) land there.'

- (4.92) **able lamar-ira bumer i ditimd- i**
 Det spirit- Gen noiseS Deix travel of noise?-Pr~Pf?
 'The ghost's noise was (heard) travelling away.'
 (i.e. it was heard travelling away from the location of the main protagonist)

Contrast the above examples with the following where the marker **ge** is used implying movement to or towards a location, i.e. a goal marker, although the goal can never coincide with the speaker:

- (4.93) **able lamar-ira bumer ge ti- ditimd- i**
 Det spirit- Gen noiseS Deix Deix-travel of noise?-Pr~Pf?
 'The ghost's noise was (heard) travelling towards him.'
 (i.e. it was heard travelling towards the location of the main protagonist)

- (4.94) **e baka ge**
 3SgS go Deix
 'He went there.'

- (4.95) **ka gé- ka na- ba**
 1SgS Deix-1SgS Fut1-go
 'I will go there.' (correct translation?)

As evidence that the marker **i** is associated with the source, consider the following example where its occurrence with an ablative phrase is acceptable but unacceptable with an allative noun phrase:

- (4.96) **mi í- mi na- bakyaw- dere uteb- lam**
 1n SgInclS Deix-1n SgInclS Fut1-Pauc/PlS go-Fut1Pauc place-Abl
 'We (incl) will now go from this place.'
 ***mi í-mi na-bakyaw-dere uteb-em**

All

The spatial notion can be extended to a temporal notion.

4) **i** - future (punctual)/nonimperative

The marker **i** can also be used to mean 'from this point in time (onwards)'. One can see from the translations given in the following examples that the spatial use is extended in time where movement away from a place is parallel to events moving away from now. Consider:

- (4.97) **Abob a Kos, wiyaba ad í- ka d-a- tawt-e**
 A. Conj K. , 3n SgGen storyO Deix-1SgA |-Fut1-|tell- Fut1
 'I will from now on tell Abob and Kos' story.'

- (4.98) **ka ábi í- ka a- rdar-e**
 1SgA 3SgO Deix-1SgA Fut1-see- Fut1
 'I will see him from now on.'

It is unclear whether it is the same homophonous reduced morpheme or clitic -y attached to pronominals that is used with the meaning 'at that point in

time'. (It could possibly be glossed as 'from that point in time'.) With nominals, the form *ya* (rather than *i*) tends to be used although the correlation might simply be due to the lack of acoustic salience when *-y* is used. Here are some examples with pronouns:

- (4.99) *ese ka na- bakyamu- lu pamas-em*
 if 1SgS Fut1-Sg/DualS go-Fut1Sg shop- All
ka- y mára siga ta- ra- pey- lu
 1SgA-Deix 2SgGen ciggieO Deix-Fut1-buy Sg/DualO-Fut1Sg
 'If I go to the shops, I will buy your cigarettes.'
- (4.100) *áka ma- y bakyamu- ø áwgog- em?*
 hey 2SgS-Deix Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3 big climbN-All
 'Are you going up to the hill?'
- (4.101) *náko e- y o- bakyamu- ø T.I.- em?*
 what 3SgS-Deix Fut3-Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3 T.I.-All
 'Is he going to T.I?'

This marker is not obligatory although clearly preferred in some instances. Thus, in conditional/hypothetical sentences, it tends to occur whereas with interrogatives, it may or may not be present. The shared meaning of *i* and *-y* seems to be as a future marker but how is this use related to its use as a source marker? These two functions do have one feature in common, namely that the future marker *i* occurs with events that are either temporally or spatially close and the source marker *i* must be, by definition, closer to the deictic centre, the place of the speech act than the goal.

The distinction between its spatial and temporal use is not discrete and this may be a contributing factor to the disagreement amongst speakers as to the suitability and acceptability of sentences when *i* has future spatial reference.

For some speakers, the marker *i* can only be used to indicate a general area close-by and/or it involves an event in the immediate future. Thus, the following sentence is unacceptable as it overtly marks distance away from the speech act with the verbal deictic *t(V)*-:

- (4.102) **ka í- ka ta- ra- mri- lu*
 1SgS Deix-1SgS Deix-Fut1-*n* PLS sit down-Fut1Sg
 'I will sit down away from here.'

When it is 1st or 2nd person, distance away from the speech act must be expressed with the deictic markers *ge* or *ya*:

- (4.103) *ka gé- ka ta- ra- mri- lu*
 1SgS Deix-1SgS Deix-Fut1-*n* PLS sit down-Fut1Sg
 'I will sit down over there.'
- (4.104) *ka yá- ka ta- ra- mri- lu*
 1SgS Deix-1SgS Deix-Fut1-*n* PLS sit down-Fut1Sg
 'I will sit down over there.'

When it is 3rd person, the situation is somewhat more complex and speakers have different opinions on what is acceptable or not. Some speakers allow all three markers *i*, *ya* and *ge* to mark a place distant to the speech act; some speakers only allow the markers *i* or *ya* to mark distance from the speech act, which suggests that the notion of distance is not crucial to their meanings, and some speakers only allow the marker *ya* to mark distance from the speech act:

(4.105) ?e i wa- ta- daw- er kíkem
 3SgS Deix Fut3-Deix-*n* PLS be(person)-*n* PrImpf afternoon
 'He will be there (this) afternoon.'

(4.106) e ya wa- ta- daw- er kíkem
 3SgS Deix Fut3-Deix-*n* PLS be(person)-*n* PrImpf afternoon
 'He will be there (this) afternoon.'

(4.107) ?e ge wa- ta- daw- er
 3SgS Deix Fut3-Deix-*n* PLS be(person)-*n* PrImpf
 ma ge bakyamu- ø ábi t- erdar-ø
 2SgS Deix Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3 3SgO Deix-see- Fut2/3
 'He will be there so go see him there.'
 (The speaker is telling the addressee after he has been to see the person and told him to stay there.)

It is obviously not on the basis of so few examples that one can make hard and fast generalizations but there is at least scope for suggesting direction of change. What all speakers do agree on is that the form *i* is associated with a place close-by and a time in the immediate future:

(4.108) ka mena í- ka n(a)- áw- er
 1SgS still Deix-1SgS 1/2SgS-*n* PLS be(person)-*n* PrImpf
 mári ná- wkayr-er
 2SgO 1/2SgO-wait- *n* PrImpf
 'I will stay here now (and) wait for you.'

The form *ya* is associated with a distant place or a later time (see later section on *ya* for evidence of this):

(4.109) ka yá- ka na- bakyamu- lu idim- ge
 1SgS Deix-1SgS Fut1-Sg/DualS go-Fut1Sg morning-Loc
 'I will go there tomorrow.'

The form *ge* is used with 1st or 2nd person and a specific location (see examples 4.110 - 4.112).

Some speakers are re-analysing *i* in terms of a temporal feature alone, i.e. it only refers to a proximate time and it does not matter where the event takes place. The marker *ya* is not undergoing any change and refers to events that are either distant in time or space. The marker *ge* is undergoing some kind of change although the precise nature of the change is unclear; it is possibly starting to be regarded in terms of a modal marker, i.e. I know this definitely will happen.

There is a restriction on the occurrence of the deictic marker *i* and the imperative: that is one can only specify a place in the imperative with the deictic marker *ge*. Sentences with *i/-y* are unacceptable. Consider the following examples:

(4.110) **ma ge ero-ø**
 2SgA Deix eat- Fut2/3
 'Eat here/ Eat now(?)'

(4.111) **ma ge ut ná- wpe dá- wa**
 2SgS Deix sleepN 1/2SgS-*n* PIS be lying *n* PIS be(person)-Irr
 'Stay asleep here.'

(4.112) ***ma i ero**
***ma-y ero**
***ma i ut náwpe dáwa**
***ma-y ut náwpe dáwa**

Note however that this is not determined by the presence of 2nd person because in non-imperative sentences in the 2nd person, the deictic marker *i* is acceptable (as is the marker *ya*):

(4.113) **ma ná- nyay+nyay i n(a)- aw- ø Mer-ge?**
 2SgS Q clitic-timeN. Deix 1/2SgS-*n* PIS be(person)-Fut2/3 M.I.-Loc
 'How long will you be staying here on Murray?'

(4.114) **áka ma i- ko bakyamu- ø sop- kak?**
 hey 2SgS Deix-again Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3 long time-Priv
 'Are you going back again so quickly?'

(4.115) **ma náde ya ut éydi- ø,**
 2SgS where/when Deix sleepN *n* PIS lie down-Fut2/3
ka- y meta d-a- rp- e
 1SgA-Deix houseO |-Fut1- |sweep-Fut1
 'When you lie down, I will sweep the house.'

Why should there be such a restriction? Commands are inherently concerned with getting the addressee to do something which s/he has not yet been doing (thus a goal orienting effect) or telling him/her to keep on doing something which s/he has been doing. The inherent goal orientation in the imperative, may have caused the deictic marker *ge* to become an overt marker for the imperative. Note however that the marker *ge* can never be used when the goal is at the same place as the speaker, which suggests *ge* always refers to a place away from the speaker, at least with a verb of motion. The direction/manner marker *ke(y)* must always be used when the speaker is the goal. Consider:

(4.116) **ma ke(y) ta- ba**
 2SgS way Deix-go
 'Come this way/ here.'
***ma ge taba**

Yet with a verb of non-motion or a verb of location, the marker **ge** can be used to indicate proximity to the speaker:

- (4.117) **ma ge na- mri- ø kári-doge**
 2SgS Deix 1/2SgS-*n* PLS sit down-Fut2/3 1Sg- Loc
 'Sit down here, close to me.'

(The prefix marker **na-** on the verb is the S/O cross-reference marker being used here to indicate close proximity to the speaker so there is no ambiguity as to where the speaker wants the addressee to be located.)

It may be that the imperative carries some modal function conveying to the addressee that something different will/ should/ ought to happen and thus, the deictic marker that is associated with something different is used. Although no evidence has been found in the data to account for the restriction in use of deictic marker **ge** in the imperative, it should be noted that such a restriction does indeed exist.

5) **i** - place associated with remote past

In the remote past, there is a restriction since only the marker **i** can be used. Sentences with the same verbal marking and the deictic marker **ge** are unacceptable:

- (4.118) **e i o- da- li Areb-ge**
 3SgS Deix RemPast-*n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf A.- Loc
 'He used to live at Areb/ He was living at Areb (a long time ago).'
 ***e ge odali Arebge**

- (4.119) **kikem taym, gab i wá- yke- redi Sebeg-(g)e**
 first <Eng pathS Deix RemPast-*n* PLS be(thing)-Pr S.- Loc
 'Formerly, there used to be a path at Sebeg/ Formerly, a long time ago, there was a path at Sebeg.'
 ***kikem taym, gab ge wáykeredi Sebege.**

Contrast the examples above with those below where non-remote past is used and the marker **i** cannot be used (at least in the non-future):

- (4.120) **e ge dáw- er Korog-e**
 3SgS Deix *n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf K.- Loc
 'He was there at Korog.'

- (4.121) **e i dáwer Koroge**
 *He was staying there at Korog.
 (good: He will be here at Korog.)

- (4.122) **ka gé- ka ábi erdar-i**
 1SgA Deix-1SgA 3SgO look- Pf
 'I saw him there.' (earlier than today)
 ***ka íka ábi erdari**

Note that examples in the present are also unacceptable with the marker *i* when these involve perfective marking on the verb:

(4.123) *ka í- ka ábi erdar-i
'I saw him there.' (earlier today)

What is the motivation for the deictic marker *i* to be associated with the remote past and for the deictic markers *ge* and *pe* to be associated with the past and present respectively? In the same way as the imperative became obligatorily used with the deictic marker *ge* because of its strong semantic orientation to a goal, the distant past has become obligatorily used with the deictic marker *i* because of its strong semantic orientation to a source. In other words, the remote past locates events with respect to a beginning, the time from which other events ensue. There is some evidence to support this interpretation since the remote past frequently occurs only at the beginning of texts thus marking the location as a source.

The occurrence of specific deictic markers, namely *ge* and *i* with certain mood and aspectual features of the verb, may be an innovation, a diachronic change being perceived at the synchronic level. As such, the deviance can be regarded as an extension of the markers' meanings and functions.

The marker *ya* overlaps in its temporal reference with the marker *i* as it can also be used in the remote past and future.

4.4 *ya*

1) *ya* - future (nonpunctual)

In the future, the marker *ya* occurs with non-punctual events, that is the marker *ya* stresses more the durative or iterative nature of the event:

(4.124) able kérker-ge ese wa dásmer-awem

Det time- Loc if 3n SgA see- IrrPl

aw sager way-am- er

big southerlyS Fut3-blow-n PrImpf

máyso mir ya wá- ygar- er Límorop-ge

surf wordS Deix Fut3-speak-n PrImpf L.- Loc

Arped-ge bumer ya wa- dikwey

A.- Loc noiseS Deix Fut3-n PLS be rising

'These days, if you (pl) should see the big southerly wind blow, the surf will keep crashing down at Limorop and the sound will keep rising up at Arped.'

(4.125) e ya ut wé- ydr- er Pyuw-idoge

3SgS Deix sleepN Fut3-lie?-n PrImpf P.- Loc

náde o- ba Cairns-em

when Fut3-go C.- All

'He will be sleeping there, at Pyu's place when he goes to Cairns.'

- (4.126) ma ná- nyay+nyay ya n(a)- áw- er?
2SgS Q clitic-timeN? Deix 1/2SgS-n PLS be(person)-n PrImpf

'How long will you be staying here?'

(the implication being that the stay is for a long period of time?)

Contrast these with the following *i* examples:

- (4.127) Kinor, e i ut wa- t- ipered- er
K. 3SgS Deix sleepN Fut3-Deix-n PLS be lying-n PrImpf

able ki- ge Webok-e

Det night-Loc W.- Loc

'Kinor, she will be sleeping tonight there, at Webok.'

- (4.128) ma ná- nyay+nyay i n(a)- áw- er Mer-ge?
2SgS Q clitic-timeN? Deix 1/2SgS-n PLS be(person)-n PrImpf M.I.- Loc

'How long will you be staying for here on Murray?'

(implication being that the stay is for a relatively short period?)

Note that a particular deictic marker does not necessarily restrict the tense/aspect marking on the verb, so that, for example, only the marker *ya* can occur with the nonpresent imperfective and the marker *i* only with the future (punctiliar). Rather, one finds a slightly different perspective on the event depending on the marker used. Thus, in the example where the speaker is asking the addressee about the length of their stay, the marker *ya* could imply a long stay whereas the use of the marker *i*, a shorter finite period.

There is a contrastive example in the data where the length of time is made explicitly finite and *i* is used rather than *ya* which is unacceptable:

- (4.129) ka i- ka n(a)- aw- ø
1SgS Deix-1SgS 1/2SgS-n PLS be(person)-Fut2/3

mena aw kíkem wa- t- irpey- ø

still big afternoon Fut3-Deix-strike-Fut2/3

'I will be here until late afternoon.'

*ka yáka naw mena aw kíkem watirpey

2) *ya* - distant in time/space

In some examples, the marker *ya* seems to be used to indicate distance away in time or space. Consider the following examples:

- (4.130) ma ya t- emri- ø
2SgS Deix Deix-Sg/DualS sit down-Fut2/3

'Sit down over there.'

*ma ya emri

(i.e. it is unacceptable without the verbal deictic indicating distance)

- (4.131) **ka umer- kak í- ka n(a)- áw- er**
 1SgS knowN.-Priv Deix-1SgS 1/2SgS-*n* PIS be (person)-*n* PrImpf
Zómered-ge able ki- ge,
 Z.- Loc Det night-Loc
ka Korog-e yá- ka ta- r(a)- aw- er
 1SgS K.- Loc Deix-1SgS Deix-1/2SgS-*n* PIS be(person)-*n* PrImpf
 'I cannot be here tonight at Zomered (instead) I will be there at Korog.'

- (4.132) **e ya Lez-im able wa- ytomert- ø**
 3SgA Deix L.- All Det N? Fut3-show Sg/DualO-Fut2/3
ma ge bakyamu- ø mára eyp lim lewer t- ero-ø
 2SgS Deix Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3 2SgGen mid sun foodO Deix-eat-Fut2/3
 'He will show it to Les so you go and have your lunch.'
 (It is ambiguous from the example whether the location is close-by, at the place of the speech act or distant.)

However, there are counter-examples in the data where the marker *ya* does not refer to distant location. For example, in the following sentences, the location is close-by:

- (4.133) **ka mena yá- ka n(a)- áw- er able ki- ge**
 1SgS still Deix-1SgS 1/2SgS-*n* PIS be (person)-*n* PrImpf Det night-Loc
 'I will still be here tonight.'

- (4.134) **e mena ya Lez-im able wa- ytomert-er**
 3SgA still Deix L.- All Det Fut3-show- *n* PrImpf
 'He will keep on showing this to Les.'

These examples can be accounted for if one considers that the marker can refer to either distance in space or in time and thus, in the first example, the emphasis is on the distance in time and in the second example, the emphasis is on the nonpunctual nature of the event.

There are also counter-examples where the marker *ya* seems to indicate neither distance in time nor space:

- (4.135) **e nole pe dá- li able kérker-ge,**
 3SgS Neg Deix *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf Det time- Loc
e ya wa- t- akomer-ø máyk-e
 3SgS Deix Fut3-Deix-return- Fut2/3 close- Loc
 'He is not here at the moment, he will be coming back shortly.'

- (4.136) **ma dorge ike-li gerger ika- dari, ma emri- ø**
 2SgA workO do- PrImpf dayO? take-PfSg 2SgS Sg/DualS sit down-Fut2/3
nole nerut lu iker-ø;
 Neg another thing do- Fut2/3

Kinor-ide ya meta wa- dirup- ø able kérker-ge
 K.- A Deix houseO Fut3-sweep-Fut2/3 Det time- Loc
 'You have been working all day, sit down (and) do not do anything; Kinor
 will sweep the house now.'

These examples do not in fact conflict with the claim made about the marker. Distance is a relative term and what one speaker may regard as distant, another may regard as fairly close. In the above examples, the speakers are interpreting the time lapse between the speech utterance and the future realisation of the event in terms of distant (or possibly a more accurate interpretation would be as non-immediate). Thus, the following utterances employing the marker *i* are equally acceptable although the time lapse between the utterance and the event is far smaller:

(4.137) **e i wa- t- akomer-ø máyk-e**
 3SgS Deix Fut3-Deix-return- Fut2/3 close- Loc
 'He will be back very soon.'

(4.138) **Kinor-ide i meta wa- dirup- ø**
 K.- A Deix houseO Fut3-sweep-Fut2/3
 'Kinor will sweep the house right now.'

From the examples given, the generalization appears to be that the marker *ya* is used to mark distance in time or space although this must be determined within the context. This is not to say that there is no shared concept of such a notion within the linguistic community for all speakers agree that the following day to the speech act would be most appropriately expressed by the distant marker *ya*:

(4.139) **ma ya idim- ge ákomer-ø Mackay-em?**
 2SgS Deix morning-Loc return- Fut2/3 M.- All
 Are you returning to Mackay in the morning?

3) *ya* - sequential in the future and remote past

The marker *ya* is also used to indicate sequentiality in the future or in the remote past. To illustrate this, consider first examples in the future:

(4.140) **i o- ba wed o- te- b- erwer-e,**
 3n SgS Fut3-go songO Fut3-Deix-Intr-teach- Fut2/3
kí- ge ya tabara solo wa- dikri-(y)are
 night-Loc Deix 3Gen <EngO Fut3-sing- Fut2/3Pl
 'They have gone off to learn the song and then, they will sing their solo tonight.'

(4.141) **mi na- ba n- óg- idere kikem;**
 1n SgInclS Fut1-go Fut1-climb-Fut1Pauc first
náde yá- mi ta- r(a)- akomert-idere
 when Deix-1n SgInclS Deix-Fut1-return- Fut1Pauc

pamas-ge ta- r(a)- amari- lu
 shop- Loc Deix-Fut1-move around-Fut1Sg
 yá- mi ta- ra- ba meta- em
Deix-1n SgInclS Deix-Fut1-go house-All

'We will go (and) climb first; when we then return, (I) will go to the shop and then, we will go home.'

(4.142) ka umer-kak na- bakyamu- lu

1SgS know-Priv Fut1-Sg/DualS go-Fut1Sg

ki emeret- lam lewer erw-eyey

1n SgExclA former time-Abl foodO eat- PrImpfDual

karim ki mena yá- ki a- ro-ley

probably 1n SgExclS still Deix-1n SgExclA Fut1-eat-Fut1Dual

kebi+kebi ko; kéwbu yá- ka na- kase- reder

little Adv? again after Deix-1SgS 1/2Sg-be going-n Pr

'I cannot come (as) we have been eating for a while (and) will probably still be eating for a little longer, I will go along after this.'

(4.143) ta- ba able pí+pi lewer etaker- ø ti- dikmerik-ø

Deix-go Det dusty Adj foodO pick up-Fut2/3 Deix-put down-Fut2/3

bakir-u esaper- ø ábi bakir dikmerik-ø

stone-Inst cover- Fut2/3 3SgO stone put down-Fut2/3

kéwbu ya kiris+kiris lam etkor- ø

after Deix raw Adj leafO break off(branch)-Fut2/3

'Come, take out the flour, put it down, cover it up in the earth oven with stones; put them, the stones, down and after break off green (banana) leaves.' (How to make damper, p223, section 14)

Only one example was collected where the marker was used to mark sequentiality in the remote past:

(4.144) wi baka i wá- wrid- li,

3n SgS go 3n SgS RemPast-PlS be(person)-PrImpf

éwdi yába ni esemu-lu

therefore 3n SgGen waterS finish- PastSg

ya wá- wrid- li

Deix RemPast-PlS be(person)-PrImpf

'They went (and) stayed there; thus (when) their water ran out they then had to stay on.'

It remains to be checked whether the marker *ya* is necessarily immediate sequence, non-immediate sequence or either possible interpretation. It is not possible to generalize about the remote past habitual on the basis of a single example although it does not contradict those occurring in the future, i.e. it also marks a sequential event.

4.5 Status and Grammatical Function of Deictic Markers.

The deictic markers' status is ambiguous. Phonologically, they appear to be independent words capable of bearing their own pitch-accent. (Pronouns either get pre or postcliticized onto them):

(4.145) e- pe ta- bakyamu- da
 3SgS-Deix Deix-Sg/DualS go-PfSg
 'Then he came.'

(4.146) Kosir pe tabakyamuda
 'Kosir then came.'

When they are being used with spatial reference, they often carry stronger stress marking (evidenced by higher amplitude) which thus adds emphasis:

Determining the deictic markers' position in a sentence is problematic. There is a tendency for them to occur directly preceding the predicate or following the first element in the clause, i.e. A/S-deictic-(O)-V, a position itself frequently associated with clitics. Nonetheless, they frequently occur in a different position although these are always predictable. They sometimes occur in clause initial position when the A/S is omitted because its identity is already established (see example 4.149). They sometimes occur following the verb *bakyamu-/bakyaw-* 'go'. When the deictic markers follow the verb, they always have the goal meaning:

(4.147) e baka ge
 3SgS go Deix
 'He went there.'

Their grammatical status makes them clearly dependent as they cannot occur without a verb:

(4.148) e náde dá- li? pe dá- li
 3SgS where *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf Deix *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf
 'Where is he? He is there.'
 *pé
 *N pe

Do the deictic markers carry a phoric/co-referential element in their meaning and do they have a syntactic role? There are examples where the subject and deictic marker cannot co-occur within the same clause which suggests that the markers do indeed carry some kind of phoric/co-referential element and do have a syntactic function. Consider:

(4.149) ki bakyamu- daryey pamas-em able aw le- kem
 1*n* SgExclS Sg/DualS go-PfDual shop- All Det big person-Ass
 pe kári o- na- tapert-er
Deix 1SgO Fut3-1/2SgO-growl-*n* PrImpf
 'I went to the shops with the old man who is always growling me/ I went to the shops with the old man; the one always growling me.'

***ki bakyamudaryey pamasem aw lekem e- pe kári onataperter**
3SgA

(The above use was discussed earlier in the section on the markers introducing or focussing on new referents.)

The division between discourse and syntax is a spurious one given that the marker is introducing a new referent which can at the very least be said to be phoric as well as introducing a new clause (in this case, a relative clause) where it could be regarded as a co-referent marker or a relative clause marker.

However, it is not the case that whenever the A/S is absent, there is a deictic marker. There are examples where neither the A/S nor a deictic marker occur, namely whenever the identity of the referent is clear:

(4.150) **abgerger- ge, ka ekyam-da, lewer irw-i, baka**
yesterday-Loc 1SgS get up- PfSg foodO eat-Pf, go
'Yesterday, I got up, ate, went off.'

Furthermore, there are examples where the A/S is optional even when there is a deictic marker:

(4.151) **baka able lu ipit-i e- ge éwdi akay-da 'pi';**
go Det thingO hit- Pf 3SgS-Deix therefore do- PfSg 'pi'
pe dá- li
Deix *n* PIS be(person?)-PrImpf
'(He) went , hit that thing which went 'pi'; that is the one.'

(4.152) (e) **kári péym- ge na- tagr-i**
3SgA 1SgO dream-Loc 1/2SgO-tell-Pf
able lu pe dá- li
Det thingS Deix *n* PIS be(person?)-PrImpf
..'(she) told me in a dream about the thing which is this one/ She told me
in a dream about this thing, this is it/ She told me in a dream; this thing
is the one.'

(It is not possible to say whether the noun **able lu** 'the thing' is the O argument of the first clause or the S argument of the second clause or even both.)

The problems caused by the various free translations in English may be the result of attempting to find parallel constructions in Meryam with English, i.e. relative dependent clauses as distinct from independent clauses. We have seen that the deictic markers do have a strong discourse-based function and this is extended and exploited to clauses which identify and focus on referents. Of course, a thorough study of complex sentences is necessary before such a claim can be made with any degree of certainty. The ungrammaticality of the S pronoun co-occurring with the 'seemingly' relative clause type (example 4.149) might be the result of it clashing with another function of the deictic marker such as to mark sequentiality rather than the result of a syntactic restriction.

Deictic markers cover a wide range of functions. They are markers which can contrast or highlight various elements of a sentence or utterance. Those elements can be referents, events/states or entire propositions. The evidence presented suggests that they are more discourse sensitive than syntax sensitive. There is much overlap in function between what is described in many other languages as switch-reference marking and these deictic markers. When they are tracking referents, are they not marking these as being the same or different (or new)? Furthermore, the correlation between temporal relations of switch-reference systems and that of deictic markers' functions are again quite striking. Switch-reference markers often indicate a temporal sequential and/or simultaneous relation with the previous clause parallel to the deictic markers, although these often also include a logical relation with the previous clause.

It can be informally noted that the clauses with deictic markers **pa** and **ga** generally involve a much tighter syntactic linkage with the antecedent clause than deictic markers **pe** and **ge**. There are no instances in the data of **pa** and **ga** occurring with a discourse initial clause. In contrast, markers **pe** and **ge** may or may not occur with a discourse initial clause. Similarly, both markers **i** and **ya** can occur discourse initially but only the marker **ya** marks a clause where the relation to its antecedent clause is that of sequence or expressing some kind of logical relation.

CHAPTER FIVE

BASIC SYNTAX

5.1 Introduction.

Before examining clause types, it is worth briefly mentioning that word order tends to be A-O-V or S-V with local arguments either following or preceding the nucleus. Variations on this order are presumably the result of pragmatics although this awaits a detailed study. Roles and functions of arguments are morphologically marked through case suffixes with syntactic cases only being cross-referenced on the verb.

5.2 Clauses.

A clause must minimally consist of a verb. This corresponds roughly to a simple sentence if one includes a verb's arguments. Different types of simple clauses can be broadly categorised as follows:

1. Equational type clauses:

(5.1) e [aw sirib+sirib dá- li]
3SgS big shameAdj *n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf
'She is ashamed.'

(5.2) lokot [pe irdi]
S. S Deix *n* PLS be(place,time)
'The bush is there.'

(5.3) kára ney [Sir dike]
1SgGen nameS S. *n* PLS be(word)
'My name is Sir.'

2. Experiencer type clauses:

(5.4) yába werer barug- da
3*n* SgGen hungerS happen-PfPl
'They felt hungry.'

3. An intransitive verb with an S argument:

(5.5) e emri- da
3SgS Sg/DualS sit down-Pf
'He sat down.'

(5.6) newr [kobek esi- (i)]
(unmarried) femaleS cough bang down on waves-Pf
'The girl coughed.'

4. A transitive verb with an A and O argument (either explicit or implicit):

(5.7) **koskir- ide u ikris- li**
(married) female-A coconutO scrape-PrImpf
'The woman is scraping a coconut.'

(5.8) **ka emetu irw-i**
1SgA finish eat-Pf
'I have eaten.'

(5.9) **able neys nar ná- wsr- iyey**
Det two boatO 3n SgO-drag up on shore-PfDual
'The two boats got dragged up.'

(5.10) **ka uteb [lumi dikris- i]**
1SgA placeO weed scrape-Pf
'I cleared the place.'

5. A di-transitive verb with an A and two O arguments:

(5.11) **ka ábi bawr ikwar- i**
1SgA 3SgO spearO give Sg/DualO-Pf
'I gave him a spear.'

(5.12) **ka ábi zyáwali etome- da**
1SgA 3SgO bookO show Sg/DualA/O-PfSg
'I showed him the book.'

In addition, clauses may be extended by a number of peripheral adjuncts. These include instrumental and comitative phrases, locational and temporal phrases:

(5.13) **ka ekyam- da ut- lam**
1SgS wake up-PfSg sleep-Abl
'I woke up from (being) asleep.'

(5.14) **ab- gerger-ge kole ta- bakyamu- da tawn-em**
former-day- Loc EuropeanS Deix-Sg/DualS go-PfSg <Eng-All
'Yesterday, the European came to town.'

(5.15) **ka lukup- u desaw-i**
1SgA ointment-Instr rub- Pf
'I rubbed it with ointment.'

Clause types 1. and 2. will first be examined. Clause types 3. to 5. that is intransitive, transitive and di-transitive verbs will only be discussed in the context of determining which of their arguments are syntactic and which are non-syntactic, and whether the verb's valency is fixed or with some variation. Problems of this nature arise from the fact there are complex verb phrases in the language and that not all arguments need be overtly expressed. Special attention will be paid to cross-reference markers to show their role in this area.

5.2.1 Equational type Clauses.

Within equational type clauses, one can include clauses such as equational, locational, descriptive, existential and propriative. In fact, the same verbs can be used for all these types. They can be distinguished from each other semantically.

locational:

- (5.16) e [Cairns-ge dá- li]
 3SgS C.- Loc *n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 'He is in Cairns.'

descriptive:

- (5.17) ka [gim+gim n(a)- á- li]
 1SgS ill Adj 1/2Sg/PLS-*n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 'I am sick.'

- (5.18) ma nole [dorge-kak (ma) n(a)- á- li]
 2SgS Neg work- Priv 2SgS 1/2Sg/PLS-*n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 'You are without work.'

propriative:

- (5.19) ábra neys teter da- ra- ke
 3SgGen two feetS | -3*n* SgS- | *n* PLS be(thing)
 'It has two feet.'

- (5.20) kára nole bakir- kak na- gri
 1SgGen Neg stone-Priv 3*n* SgS-PLS be(thing)
 'I do not have money.'

existential:

- (5.21) nole [abit-kak irdi] meta- ge
 Neg 3Sg-Priv *n* PLS be(place,time) house-Loc
 'He is not there, at home.' (lit: It is without him at home.'(?))

equational (i.e. NP1 has the same referent as NP2):

- (5.22) e [kára newr dá- li]
 3SgS 1SgGen (unmarried)femaleS *n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 'She is my daughter.'

Equational clauses can be distinguished from other types in being able to have the topic deleted since it is co-referential with the comment:

- (5.23) kára berbet dá- li
 1SgGen sibling *n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 '(He) is my brother.'

Deletion of topics with locational, descriptive and propriative sentences is either not possible or it will result in an existential meaning:

- (5.24) *Cairns-ge dá-li
 '(He) is in Cairns.'

(5.25) *gimgim náli

'(I) am sick.'

(5.26) teter na- ke

feetS 3n Sg-n PIS be(thing)

'There are two feet.'

There are instances where the verb is not present, although a verb can always be inserted, which suggests that verbless clauses are the result of ellipsis:

(5.27) ka ume(r)- le (bay- da)

1SgS knowN-person become-Pf

'I know.'

(5.28) ka Irwered kus (n(a)- á- li)

1SgS I. part countryman 1/2Sg/PIS-n PIS be(person)-PrImpf

'I am half from Irwered.'

(5.29) e dudu+dudu sunu+sunu newr (dá- li)

3SgS light Adj fair Adj (unmarried)female n PIS be(person)-PrImpf

'She is a fair skinned woman.'

5.2.2 Experiencer type Clauses.

There is only one verb which has been collected to date where the agreement on the verb appears to be determined by the number of the possessor, not the number of the possessed. Consider the following examples:

(5.30) kára nyap bark- i

1SgGen thirstS happen-Pf

'I am thirsty/ Thirst happened to me.'

(5.31) yába nyap barug- da

3n SgGen thirstS happen-PfPl

'They were thirsty/ Thirst happened to them.'

(5.32) keriba werer bark- iyey

1n SgExclGen hungerS happen-PfDual

'We two (excl.) are hungry/ Hunger happened to us (excl).'

The experience itself could be regarded as either the same phenomenon shared by all experiencers, in which case, one would expect singular marking on the verb or it could be regarded as a phenomenon experienced individually by each of the experiencers. It is this latter interpretation which is suggested by the verbal marking. Alternatively, the structure suggests that the possessor has subject properties by virtue of its initial position in the clause and verb agreement.

Both this construction and equational clauses can be used for experiences. The distinction between the two is unclear:

(5.33) e nyáp-ge dá- li
 3SgS thirst-Loc *n* PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 'He is thirsty.'

(5.34) ábra nyap bark- i
 3SgGen thirstS happen-Pf
 'He is (now) thirsty/ Thirst happened to him.'

The distinction may be that existential sentences convey a state whereas experiencer type clauses convey a change of state, or it may be that one state is more permanent than another. Examples need to be elicited to test whether both types can be modified by the same set of adverbial/temporal modifiers:

?e no kerkar nyápge dáli/?abra nyap no kerkar bark-i 'He is just recently thirsty.'

?e emetu nyap-ge dáw-i/?abra nyap emetu bark-i 'He was already thirsty.'

?He is always thirsty.'

5.3 The Verb Complex.

There are a number of uninflected nominals occurring within a sentence. These must be considered as part of the verb complex. Consider the following examples:

(5.35) ter máyso [mir iga- li]
 reef noiseS word speak-PrImpf
 'The surf is crashing down noisily.'

(5.36) Galiga [ut ipe- redi]
 G.S sleep *n* PLS be lying-Pr
 'Galiga is sleeping.'

The nominals *mir* 'word' and *ut* 'sleep' must be part of the verbal phrase for the following reasons. The verbs given above are intransitive as evidenced by zero marking on the S argument so the non-S argument cannot be O. Its function must be part of the verb phrase. Other arguments found in support of this analysis follow.

Nominals in the verbal phrase must occur immediately preceding the verb, which suggests they form a syntactic unit:

(5.37) *mir ter máyso igali
 'The surf is crashing down noisily.'

(5.38) *ut Galiga íperedi
 'Galiga is sleeping.'

There is some suprasegmental evidence that the nominal and verb form a single phonological unit. The main pitch-accent of the verb phrase is carried on the nominal when it is mono-syllabic and the verb itself begins with a vowel, e.g. *út ipe* 'n PLS be lying asleep', but *ípe* 'n PLS be lying'.

However, there are instances where the nominal's role is not straightforward and it could either be a verbal nominal (i.e. within the verbal

complex) or a syntactic argument of the verb. Consider the following examples where the verb might be di-transitive or transitive with a complex verb phrase:

(5.39) **koskir- ide lumi dikris-li uteb- ge**
 (married)female-A weed clear- PrImpf place-Loc
 'The woman is clearing her place.'

(5.40) **koskir- ide (uteb) lumi dikris-li**
 (married)female-A placeO weed clear- PrImpf
 'The woman is clearing (her place).'

In 5.39, number reference for the nonA nominal (be it O or whatever) is automatically plural and no further cross-reference marking can be used. As O arguments for transitive verbs can be cross-referenced on the verb for number, one must assume that the nominal is not an O and thus part of the verb complex. Contrasting with this, in 5.40, number specification for O is singular, referring to the number of yards, and cross-reference marking can be used to indicate nonsingular number as exemplified below:

(5.41) **koskir- ide neys uteb lumi da-ra- kris- i**
 (married)female-A two placeO weed | -3n SgO- | clear-Pf
 'The woman cleared two yards.'

(5.42) **koskir- ide neys a netat uteb lumi da-ra- kris- idare**
 (married)female-A two Conj one placeO weed | -3n SgO- | clear-PfPauc
 'The woman cleared several yards.'

(5.43) **koskir- ide mitkar uteb lumi da-ra- kris- a**
 (married)female-A many placeO weed | -3n SgO- | clear-PfPl
 'The woman cleared many yards.'

The cross-reference markers for O provide syntactic evidence that the nominal *lumi* 'weed' is part of the verbal complex and not an O argument.

Given that there are complex verbal phrases in the language, it may be possible to interpret one of the arguments of a di-transitive verb as a nominal within the verb phrase rather than a syntactic argument. Consider an example with a di-transitive verb such as *ikwar* 'give':

(5.44) **ka ábi lu ikwar- i**
 1SgA 3SgO thingO give Sg/DualO-Pf
 'I gave him something.'

(5.45) **ka ábi lu na- kwar- i**
 1SgA 3SgO thingO 3n SgO-give sg/dualO-Pf
 'I gave him two things.'

(cross-reference marking to the inanimate O argument *lu* 'thing')

(5.46) **ka yábi lu na- kwar- da**
 1SgA 3n SgO thingO 3n Sg-give Sg/DualO-PfPl
 'I gave them something.'

(cross-reference marking to the animate O argument *yábi* '3n SgO')

As either of the nonA nominals can be cross-referenced on the verb (5.45 and 5.46), one must assume that both nominals are syntactic arguments of the verb with the specification that only one of the arguments can be cross-referenced at any one time on the verb. More examples need to be collected with (di)-transitive verbs to prove this.

A couple of transitive verbs have been collected where the nominal can either be part of the verb complex or a syntactic argument:

- (5.47) **ka mára mir asr- i**
 1SgA 2SgGen wordO hear-Pf
 'I heard your message.'
- (5.48) **ka lar- ira gepi ditkiri- (i)**
 1SgA fish-Gen scalesO peel,scrape-Pf
 'I scaled the fish.'
- (5.49) **ka mári mir n(a)- asr- i**
 1SgA 2SgO word 1/2SgO-hear-Pf
 'I heard you (talking).'
- (5.50) **ka kumala gegur ditkiri- (i)**
 1SgA sweet potatoO peel peel,scrape-Pf
 'I peeled the sweet potato.'

It is unclear what the semantic distinction is between the two types. One possibility may be that the nominal incorporated into the verbal phrase (5.49 and 5.50) is indefinite whilst the non-incorporated nominal (5.47 and 5.48) is definite. An alternative explanation would be that the incorporated nominal focusses on the activity itself whilst the non-incorporated nominal focusses on an end-point, a purpose. Note, however, that for many verbs, there is no choice.

There are examples of lexicalised complex verb phrases, that is where the noun is an inseparable part of the verb phrase and its meaning. Examples of lexicalised complex verb phrases include for intransitive verbs: **i ezo** 'cry' (<tearN, shed?), **érer ekri** 'shout, squawk' (<shoutN, emit?), **segur etker** 'play' (<playN, ?), **kobek esi** 'cough' (<coughN, bang down upon waves), and for transitive verbs: **upi diti** 'help' (<tail?, ?), **lag dasur** 'smell' (<smellN, ?), **tag dígwat** 'shake hands' (<hand, pull), **op dipit** 'meet' (<face, hit?), **tep diskir** 'taste' (<skin of fruit, activity to do with mouth?).

Within complex verbal phrases, a nominal can always be isolated from the verbal component because verbal inflections occur only on the verb, not on the nominal, and the nominal can always occur as an independent lexeme. It seems that the generalization is as follows: at one end of the continuum, there are nominals functioning as syntactic arguments of the verb and at the other end of the continuum, there are nominals within verbal phrases forming an essential part of the verb phrase's meaning. In between these two extremes, there are

some verbs which allow both types to occur and these are exploited for various stylistic purposes.

O argument <----->N + V> VP

5.4 The Noun Complex.

The structure of a noun complex is as follows:

Determiner-	N[modifier]-	N[head]	- giz 'Pl'	
	{ Adjective		-(iba~ibi 'n Sg')	{ N-kem 'Ass'
	{ Noun-Gen			{ N-ey 'Dual'

(5.51) [able mitkar epey] pe da-ra- mar
 Det many basketS Deix | -3n SgS- | PlS be resting upon
 'The many baskets are there (resting upon something).'

(5.52) [able kebi bam+bam nar] pe ikase
 Det little tumeric Adj boatS Deix be going along
 'The little yellow van is going by.'

(5.53) lim-ira bi
 sun-Gen light
 'sunlight'

Case inflections are suffixed to the head or clitic immediately following the head, i.e. **giz, iba~ibi**. Genitive nouns follow the order with the possessor (the modifier) preceding the possessed (the head).

The plural marker **-giz(e)** always directly follows the noun which it modifies:

(5.54) gayr le- gize kári na- tager-da
 alot person-PlA 1SgO 1/2SgO-tell- PfPl
 'Alot of people told me.'

The marker **-giz(e)** behaves like inflections, which are always suffixed to the noun. It can be regarded as a post-clitic since it forms a single phonological unit with the noun, i.e. there is a single pitch-accent, e.g. **netát lé** '1 person', **gáyr le-gíz** 'many people'.

Not included in the structure of the noun complex outlined above are locational adjuncts often involving a nominal and a locational noun acting like a kind of postposition. Both are inflected for case:

(5.55) ka [pon- ge muy- ge] ná- zirk- edi
 1SgS <Eng-Loc inside-Loc 1/2Sg/PlS-Sg/DualS be inside-Pr
 'I was inside the phone box.'

- (5.56) ...**taba wasnar-ge** [ad- ge Mabyog-(g)e]
 3Gen sailboat-Loc outside-Loc M.- Loc
 '...in their sailboat, outside (beyond?) Mabyog Island.'
 (Dévmer, p208, section2)

Sometimes, the first nominal is not inflected although it must then always directly precede the locational:

- (5.57) **mi** [meta muy- em] na- b(a)-a- ley
 1n SgInclS house inside-All Fut1-Intr-put in Sg/DualO-Fut1Dual
 'We two will go inside the house.'
 *mi meta nabaley muy- em

There are two possible interpretations for this data. One can either regard the inflected nominal as the head with the preposed nominal acting like a modifier, or one could regard the whole phrase as a complex phrase with the case suffixed to the postposition.

Absent from the noun complex structure presented above is the phenomenon of compounds which behave like a single complex head noun. There is no syntactic dependency between the two nouns since modifiers affect both parts of a complex head noun:

- (5.58) **parko+parko** [kole mir]
 imperfectAdj European word
 'imperfect English'
 *'an imperfect Englishman's language'

- (5.59) **kára neys** [u ágeg] na- timed-(d)a
 1SgGen two coconut tree fleshy fruitO 3n SgO-throw-PfSg
 'My two overripe coconuts got dropped.'
 *'My overripe coconuts got dropped from two different palm trees.'

Number specification phrases such as those with **-kem** 'Paucal/Plural/Associative' and **-ey** 'Dual' follow the inflected noun. As such, these nouns can be regarded as syntactically dependent on the inflected noun, relying on it for information about their role and function:

- (5.60) **Bewr pe éypu- ge irdi**
 B.S Deix middle-Loc n PlS be(place,time)
 [Wébok-ibi- lam [a Bábud-ey]]
 W.- n Sg-Abl Conj B.- Dual
 'Bewr is half-way between Webok and Babud.'
 *Bewr pe éypuge irdi Wébok-ibi a Bábud-ey- lam
 W.- n Sg B.- Dual-Abl

- (5.61) ...**pá- ka ta- ba** Irwered-ge [Mesnare-ybi- (i)m [Eydyana-ey]]
 Deix-1SgS Deix-go I.- Loc M.- n Sg-All E.- Dual

da-ra- bger-i

| -3n Sg- | call- Pf

'...and then, I came to Irwered, to Mesnare and Eydyana and (I) invited them.'

*...páka taba Irweredge Mesnare-ybi Eydyana-ey- (i)m darabgeri

M.- n Sg E.- Dual-All

Note, however, that there is a clear preference for having such phrases in an un-inflected position:

(5.62) ka bakyamu- da [[Sigar-ibi] uteb- em [[omasker-kem]]]

1SgS Sg/DualS go-PfSg S.- n Sg place-All children-Ass

'I went to Sigar and his children's place.'

The complex phrase may be discontinuous although only one example has been collected where an intervening element is a verb:

(5.63) wi Léz-iba na- rdar-dare

3n SgA L.- n Sg 3n SgO-see- PfPauc

ábra koskir a omaskir- kem

3SgGen married female Conj children-Ass

'They saw Les and his wife and children.'

Examples need to be tested to see whether another nominal argument, which is not part of the complex phrase, can intervene.

5.5 Speech Act Sentence Types.

5.5.1 Interrogatives.

There are two types of interrogatives in the language. One type for polar questions and another type for non-polar questions.

Polar questions have the same form as declaratives but with rising intonation at the end of the utterance to indicate a question:

(5.64) ma- y kári-m paret dirup- ø?

2SgA-Deix 1Sg- All dirt sweep-Fut2/3

'Will you sweep for me?'

(5.65) ma suga dikri- ø?

2SgA <EngO throw-Fut2/3

'Have you put in sugar?'

Non-polar questions require an interrogative pronoun or clitic inserted at the beginning of the utterance. The form of the interrogative depends on what is being questioned (see the section on Interrogative Pronouns, p72). Although these typically occur at the beginning, they can follow a pronoun:

(5.66) ma nálu ike-li?

2SgA whatO do- PrImpf

'What are you doing?'

The attention getting particle *áka* 'hey!' is often inserted at the beginning of an utterance such as a question to attract the addressee's attention:

(5.67) *(áka) ma- y idim- ge bakyamu- ø áwgog- em?*
 hey 2SgS-Deix morning-Loc Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3 big climb-All
 '(Hey,) are you going up to the top of the hill tomorrow?

(5.68) *áka ka gé- ka ut ná- ydi- lu able uteb- ge?*
 hey 1SgS Deix-1SgS sleep Fut1-*n* PIS lie down-Fut1Sg Det place-Loc
 'Hey, will I sleep here at this place?

There is a particle *-aw* which is cliticised onto the last word in the sentence. It operates like a tag question asking for confirmation or just checking to see whether the speaker has the addressee's attention:

(5.69) *ma kára mir asor- ø- aw?*
 2SgA 1SgGen word listen-Fut2/3-tag
 'You will listen to what I am saying, won't you?'

(5.70) *e no teb+teb baka-aw?*
 3SgS Restr alone Adj go- tag
 'He went on his own, didn't he?'

There is also a vocative suffix *-oy* affixed to a proper noun when the person being addressed is distant or non-visible. When the person is close-by, no marker is used:

(5.71) *Kosir-oy* 'hey Kosir!'
Warib-oy 'hey Warib!'
Eydyana-oy 'hey Eidiana!'
 ?*Pomoy-oy* 'hey Pomoy!'

Examples need to be collected to see whether this suffix can be used when kinship terms or common nouns are used for address forms:

?*ama-oy* 'hey mother!'
 ?*berbet-oy* 'hey sibling!'
 ?*nap-oy* 'hey grandchild!'
 ?*kerim le-oy* 'hey boss!'

It can also be used with interrogative pronouns where the forms will differ depending on whether what is being questioned is animate (*-oy*) or inanimate (*-ay*): e.g. *néte-oy* 'who?'; *nálu(w)-ay* 'what?'

5.5.2 Imperatives.

As we saw earlier in the section on temporal/aspectual morphology, there is no distinction between the future and the imperative for 2nd person. The same form of the verb is used for both functions. However, the pronoun can be omitted when it is being used with an imperative function:

(5.72) **wápum+wapum ero-ø**
 slow Intens? eat-Fut2/3
 'Eat slowly.'

(5.73) **able erw-am**
 Det N? eat- Fut2/3Dual
 'Eat this (you two).'

When it is a negative imperative, the verb can be used in its nominal form with the privative suffix:

(5.74) **nole ero-ø ~ nole aro- kak**
 Neg eat-Fut2/3 Neg eatN-Priv
 'Don't eat it.'

Note, however, that the privative nominal is actually ambiguous for the utterance could be interpreted as '(It's) inedible' although there is a different intonation for each.

5.5.3 Reported Speech.

No examples of indirect speech have been collected in the data despite the fact that there are some 150 pages of texts. The most common strategy is to report speech directly. A complement **kéga** can optionally be used to introduce the speech act. It may be related to the following deictic markers: **ke(y)** 'in this manner, way' + **ga** 'and then, and also there':

(5.75) **able narbit- gize ábi detagr-ey kéga:**
 Det elder sibling-PlA 3SgO tell- PastDual Quot
ma- y able sarup ipit-ø?
 2SgA-Deix Det castawayO hit- Fut2/3
 'The older brothers spoke to him thus: Will you kill the castaway?'
 (Déwmer, p212, section19)

(5.76) **Irwam ta- ba ge ni- ge ekwey- lu, ábi ítmer-ø:**
 I.S Deix-go Deix water-Loc stand up-PastSg 3SgO ask- PastSg
áka ma nálu n(a)- á- li?
 hey 2SgS what 1/2Sg/PlS-n PlS be(person)-PrImpf
ábi Dew-ide detagr-i:
 3SgO D.- A tell- Pf
ka+ka le n(a)- á- li
 1SgS+Intens person 1/2Sg/PlS-n PlS be(person)-PrImpf
Dew-ide ko ábi ítmer-ø:
 D.- A again 3SgO ask- Past
ma náko le n(a)- á- li,
 2SgS what person 1/2Sg/PlS-n PlS be(person)-PrImpf
náko ma lamar n(a)- á- li?
 what 2SgS spirit 1/2Sg/PlS-n PlS be(person)-PrImpf

Irwan-ide ábi detagr-i:

I- A 3SgO tell- Pf

ka+ka le n(a)- á- li

1SgS+Intens person 1/2Sg/PIS-*n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf

'Irwan came (and) stood up at the same place as her, in the water. He asked her: "Hey, what are you?" Dew said to him: "I am a person." Dew asked him in turn: "Are you a person (or) are you a ghost?" Irwan said to her: "I am a person."

5.6 Negation.

The negation particle **nole** ~ **ne** (these are in free variation) 'not, no' must precede the verb and typically occurs following the first accented element in the utterance to negate an event:

(5.77) **wi kikem-ge**

3*n* SgS first- Loc

nole umer-kak da-r(a)- a le

Neg know-Priv | -3*n* SgS- | *n* PIS be(person)-PrImpfPauc

'They did not know at first.' (Dewmer, p213, section28)

(5.78) **e ne tabra mamorser tabra bud itkir- i op- ge**

3SgA Neg 3Gen properly 3Gen mudO wipe off-Pf face-Loc

'She did not properly wipe off the mud on her face.'

(5.79) **ma nole ábi dip- ø**

2SgA Neg 3SgO dob in- Fut2/3

'Don't dob him in.'

The negation particle can sometimes occur at the beginning of a clause which is intonationally dependent on the preceding clause:

(5.80) **wi sikak we- ge akarik-ley,**

3*n* SgS okay beach-Loc land- PastDual

nole le- lut yábi na- rdar-i

Neg person-SgA 3*n* SgO 3*n* SgO-see- Pf

'They (2) landed on the beach, allright, no-one saw them.'

(Dewmer, p209, section7)

5.7 Valency Changes.

In the section on the intransitiviser **ba-**, the prefix was shown to make transitive verbs intransitive either by making the A the S argument as it is reflexive, or by making the O the S argument of the intransitivised verb. This process is exploited in the language for a number of stylistic effects.

The intransitiviser can be used with events affecting inalienable body parts where the S is reflexive and the non-S argument, if there is one, is either interpreted as a non-syntactic argument or as part of the verb phrase:

(5.81) **ka imus ba- tu- li**
 1SgS beard Intr-shave-PrImpf
 'I am shaving myself.' (lit: I am beard-shaving)

(5.82) **Gamalay ba- trimurik-li**
 G.S Intr-stretch- PrImpf
 'Gamalay is stretching.'

Contrast 5.81 with 5.83 and 5.82 with 5.84:

(5.83) **Lez-ide tabara imus itw- i**
 L.- A 3Gen beardO shave-Pf
 'Les shaved his beard.'

(5.84) **ka netat teter erapey- da, ka netat teter itrimurik-da**
 1SgA one footO break Sg/DualO-PfSg 1SgA one footO stretch- PfSg
 'I have one leg folded, I have one leg stretched out.'

A much larger corpus of data is required to establish what the meaning difference is between using the transitive and the intransitive forms. To date, only events involving body parts have been collected with this kind of case frame and one could hypothesize that there is a preference for these types to be treated in this way because an intransitivised verb allows the O to be expressed within the verb phrase, making it parallel in form and function to reflexive constructions.

There is an innovation in the use of the intransitiver **ba-**, which is sometimes being used for events that are not necessarily reflexive, but rather because the same pronominal free form is used. As was seen earlier, the same pronominal forms can be used for the reflexive, i.e. oneself, as well as the exclusive meaning, i.e. by oneself:

(5.85) **ka imus itw- i kababu**
 1SgA beardO shave-Pf Excl
 'I shaved my beard by myself.'

(5.86) **ka kababu imus ba- tw- i**
 1SgS 1SgRefl beard Intr-shave-Pf
 'I shaved myself.'

However, speakers are sometimes making the verb intransitive when it is the intensive pronominal function:

(5.87) **ma mábu ba- smer-ø**
 2SgA/S Refl/Excl Intr-see- Fut2/3
 'See yourself ~ See for yourself.'

Thus, the presence of the intransitiver morpheme *does not*, in such instances, indicate a reflexive action. It is the result of the pronominal free form, marking a reflexive action (i.e. S=O) and/or an exclusive meaning (i.e. nonsyntactic).

5.8 Periphrastic Constructions.

Inchoative and causative events are typically expressed periphrastically. Causative constructions have two verbs: the causing event and the resulting change of state. Inchoative constructions also have two verbs: an intransitive activity type verb and the resulting change of state. Let us examine each type in turn.

The verbs *ikay* 'make Sg/DualO' and *iker* 'make Pauc/PlO' express the causal part of the event with the A acting upon the O, and the inchoative verb expresses the result with the O of 'cause' usually the S of 'become' (*bay* 'Sg/DualS become' and *ber* 'Pauc/PlS become'). Here are some examples:

(5.88) *wi na- ker- da*
 3n SgA 3n SgO-make Pauc/PlO-PfPl
téwpay mir bér- da
 short word pauc/plS become-perfpl
 'They have made the words become short.'

(5.89) *kaba- yde ábi ikay- da ekesmu- da*
 banana-A 3SgO make Sg/DualO-PfSg split intr.-PfSg
 'The banana (tree) has made it (the pipe) split.'

(5.90) *Lez-ide bakir ikay- da lawlaw báy- da*
 L.- A stoneO make Sg/DualO-PfSg tableS Sg/DualS become-PfSg
 'Les made a table out of a stone/ Les made the stone into a table.'

Causal verbs can occur outside causative constructions meaning 'tell' (with 'word' incorporated into the verb complex) and 'swive' (with the paucal/plural form of the verb being used which could be an idiomatic use):

(5.91) *kimyar- ide taba koskir mir ikay-da*
 married man-A 3Gen married femaleO word tell- PfSg
aw mir+mir koskir dá- li
 big word Adj married female n PlS be(person)-PrImpf
 'The husband told his wife. She is a big talker.'

(5.92) *ka mári na- ker- e*
 1SgA 2SgO Fut1+1/2SgO-swive-Fut1
 'I will swive you.'

With inchoative events, there is a clear preference to express it as a complex event involving an intransitive activity type verb with an S argument (*akay* 'Sg/DualS do' and *eker* 'do') and the inchoative verb (*bay* 'Sg/DualS become' and *ber* 'Pauc/PlS become'). Here are some examples:

(5.93) *e akay- da kimyar báy- da*
 3SgS Sg/DualS do-PfSg man Sg/DualS become-PfSg
 'He has become a man.'
 √e *kimyar báy-da*

(5.94) **e- ge epigeme-lu**
 3SgS-Deix change- PastSg
akay- lu bakir báy- lu
 Sg/DualS do-PastSg stoneS/O/ø? Sg/DualS become-PastSg
 'She then changed, turned into a stone.' (Dópem, p218, section25)

(5.95) **ese gur w- akay- ø**
 if seaS Fut3-Sg/DualS do-Fut2/3
gur-kar- em o- bay- ø,
 sea-Intens-All Fut3-Sg/DualS become-Fut2/3
máyke aw wag
 close big wind

'If the sea turns a deep sea colour (i.e. murky), a big wind (is) nearby.'

Although little can be said about the precise meaning of the intransitive verbs 'do', it can be pointed out that these verbs are used to mark the inception of a process and that they always are intransitive with an S argument and the second nominal, if there is one, being either a non-syntactic argument or part of the complex verb phrase:

(5.96) **ma nole sirib- ge akay- ø**
 2SgS Neg shame-Loc Sg/DualS be-Fut2/3
 'Do not start to become ashamed.'

(5.97) **e ni ary- em eke- li**
 3SgS water drinkN-All do- PrImpf
 'He is just about to drink.'

(i.e. the glass is pressed against his lips and he is about to drink.)

(5.98) **able kimyar pe able newr somay-ge eke-li**
 Det married manS Deix Det unmarried female lust- Loc do- PrImpf
 'That man there has started lusting after that girl.'

(Note that the role of the non-S nominal is not understood although it may be literally: ?That man is doing that girl lust.)

The forms of the inchoative verbs warrant some discussion as well. Note the resemblance between these forms, i.e. **bay, ber**, and the causative and intransitive 'do' forms, i.e. **ikay, iker**, and, **akay, aker**. It may be that the forms are derived from the transitive verb with the intransitiviser **ba-** although the transformation also involves an odd change, namely the loss of the initial vowel and consonant.

5.9 Clause Relators.

We saw in the section on deictic markers that these sometimes fulfill a function parallel to that fulfilled by subordinate (relative) clause markers in other languages. One of the main differences is the lack of syntactic dependency between the two clauses although there is often intonational dependency

between the two. In addition, there are several clause relators which overtly signal a semantically subordinate relationship between the clause in which they occur and the main clause. The verb in the subordinate clause, however, has full inflectional markings, i.e. it is finite. Here are some of the relators and an example of each:

temporal clause relators:

náwar 'while, during the time'

- (5.99) **náwar e ga deketr- er,**
 while 3SgS Deix look out-*n* PrImpf
Dawgiri, Wáyda a Pitari
 D.S W.S Conj P.S
nogab-ise t- adarem-le máyk-em...
 'unnoticed' Deix-crawl- PrImpfPauc close-All
 'While he (the father) was looking out, Dawgiri, Wayda and Pitari
 crawled up close unnoticed...' (Déwmer, p212, section22)

náde 'when, where'

(The 'where' clause normally follows the main clause.)

- (5.100) **...máyk-em able mekir- em**
 close- All Det almond tree-All
náde ge sarup- ira sárik kep- kem da-ra- rem
 where Deix castaway-Gen bowS arrow-Ass | -3*n* SgS- | PIS be sticking up
 '...(they crawled up close) to the almond tree where the castaway's bow
 and arrow were sticking up.' (Déwmer, p212, section22)

(The 'when' clause normally precedes the main clause.)

- (5.101) **náde mitkar b- er- er,**
 when alotS PIS-become-*n* PrImpf
wi- ge t- áys- lare,
 3*n* SgA-Deix Deix-carry Pauc/PIO-*n* PrImpfPl
baka ur- ge tabara able íg- lare
 go fire-Loc 3Gen Det roast Pauc/PIO-*n* PrImpfPl
 'When there were alot (of fish caught), they would then bring (them), go
 and roast their's on the fire.'

kéwbu 'after (it can sometimes mean 'before' when it is used with an unrealised event)' (<adverb 'later'?)

- (5.102) **kéwbu ya ikay-ø, ni epaytered- ø, detagem-ø**
 after Deix do- Fut2/3 waterO pour Sg/DualO-Fut2/3 knead- Fut2/3
 'After you have done that, pour in the water (and) knead it.'
 (How to make damper, p222, section10)

- (5.103) **kéwbu e Bame-y wa- t- irpey- da,**
 after 3SgA B.- O PastIrr-Deix-reach Sg/DualO-PfSg

Wayer pit le- gize emetu ábi op dipit-are

W. nose person-PIA finish 3SgO face meet-PastPl

'Before he could reach Bame, the people from Wayer point had already met him.' (Déwmer, p210, section13)

keko 'immediately after?' (it must always follow another clause)

(<deictic ke(y) 'in this manner, way' + ko 'again'~clause relator?)

(5.104) **náde ka ekyam- da ut- lam,**

when 1SgS wake up-PfSg sleepN-Abl

ka (ké-ko) bakyamu- da ad- ge, megí iki- (i)

1SgS immediately after Sg/DualS go-PfSg out-Loc vomit spit-Pf

'When I woke up (from being asleep), I immediately went outside (and) vomited.'

mena 'until, while' (<adverb 'still')

(5.105) **e digm-i mena Ne-ge etrum- dari**

3SgS walk-Pf until N.- Loc come down-PfSg

'He walked until Ne where he climbed down.' (Déwmer, p211, section16)

conditional:

ese 'if' (~mese 'if involving 2nd person' < ma+ese)

(5.106) **ese ma áw lar erdar-ø, ma kári-m érer t- ekri- ø**

if 2SgA big fishO see- Fut2/3 2SgS 1Sg- All cry Deix-call out-Fut2/3

'If you see a big fish, call out to me.'

(5.107) **m- ese ma pé- ma n(a)- a- li....**

2Sg-if 2SgS Deix-2SgS 1/2Sg/PIS-n PIS be(person)-PrImpf

'If you are now...'

(5.108) **m- ese gelar bwáy- gize nole mári dorge**

2Sg-if law countrymen-PIA Neg 2SgO workO

o- na- kwar- are...

Fut3-1/2SgO-give Sg/DualO-Fut2/3Pl

'If the council members do not give you work...'

(Examples 5.107 and 5.108 are from the Social Security tape made by Mabo, S.)

causal relators:

éwdi(m) 'so, therefore, thus'

(5.109) **able neys le akay- ley**

Det two personS Sg/DualS do-PastDual

sarup ga da-r(a)- a- ley,

castaway Deix | -3n SgS- | n PIS be(person)-n PrImpfDual

éwdim ba- rb- ey mena Ne-y t- erpey- ley

thus Intr-punt-PastDual until N.- O Deix-reach Sg/DualO-PastDual

'The two people became castaways (and) thus, swam until they reached Ne.' (Déwmer, p209, section8)

ko 'in order to (with no shared syntactic argument and it always follows the main clause)' (<adverb 'again'?)

- (5.110) **wi- ge mir ipi- dare**
 3*n* SgA/S?-Deix word discuss-PfPauc
ko net- ide able sarup wá- ypit-ø
 in order to who-A Det castawayO Fut3-hit- Fut2/3
 'They then discussed as to who would kill the castaway.'
 (Démmer, p211, section18)

wéyakay 'in order to (with shared syntactic argument)'

(<verb **wéy-akay** 'Fut3-do'?)

- (5.111) **(ma) ábi epat- ø wéyakay flat+flat o- bay- ø**
 2SgA 3SgO flatten-Fut2/3 in order to <Eng+Intens? Fut3-become-Fut2/3
 'Flatten it so that it becomes really flat.'

Some of the clause relators have other functions which do not mark a dependent clause. For example, **kéwbu** can either serve to introduce a temporal dependent clause meaning 'after' or it can be used as an adverb meaning 'later, behind':

- (5.112) **ka na- ba kéwbu**
 1SgS Fut1-go later
 'I will go later/behind.'

Clause relators can be distinguished from their other functions because they always occur at the beginning of the clause (except when there is a pronoun which can precede it).

There is also a co-ordinating conjunction a 'and, or' which can link two words, phrases or clauses together. This may be a borrowing from English 'and':

- (5,113) **ese ma aspir- kak ápu**
 if 2SgS marryN-Priv mother
a bab ma n(a)- á- li,
 Conj father 2SgS 1/2Sg/PIS-*n* PIS be(person)-PrImpf
ma netat a tiri omaskir na- sesered
 2SgA one Conj <Eng3 childrenO 3*n* SgO-care for-tense?
a ma nole penfon
 Conj 2SgA Neg <Eng
a pá- ko wáder bodomolam erep- li,
 Conj Deix-again several paymentO grab Pauc/PIO-PrImpf
ma ume- le ápu- ra bodomalam erpey- ø
 2SgS know-person mother-Gen paymentO grab Sg/DualO-Fut2/3

Sofal Sekyuriti-ge

<Eng- Loc

'If you are an unmarried mother or father (and) you are caring for one or three children and you do not collect a pension and/or several other payments, you can collect mother's payment at Social Security.'

(from the tape made for Social Security by Mabo, S.)

A number of the clause relators can combine with each other providing there is no conflict in meaning. A full description of the relators syntactic and functional role within the clause or sentence awaits further study.

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APPENDIX

Text 1.

Déwmer. Story told by Gamalai Passi.

1. Déwmer-ira ad pe ike.
D.- Gen story Deix *n* PIS be(thing)

'This is the story of Dewmer.'

2. Netat gerger-ge/ éypu koki kérker-ge/
one day- Loc middle nor'west time- Loc
netat kimyar taba néwr- ey/
one married manS 3Gen unmarried female-Dual
ney wa- dike- redi Déwmer/
nameS RemPast-*n* PIS be(word)-Pr D.
lar- em da-r(a)- a- ley taba wasnar-ge/
fish-All | -3*n* SgS- | *n* PIS be(person)-*n* PrImpfDual 3Gen sailboat-Loc
ad- ge Mabyog-(g)e/
outside-Loc M.- Loc

'One day, in the middle of the monsoon season, a man and his daughter whose name was Dewmer, were out fishing in their sailboat beyond Mabyog.'

3. Able koki wag kikem kelar- kak wám-i/
Det nor'west windS first strength-Priv blow-Pf
a no ábra kelar aw-ka- yse batay-ø/
Conj Restr 3SgGen strengthS big-Intens-Smbl grow-Past

'The nor'westerly at first blew gently and then it just grew in strength.'

4. Able bab taba néwr- ey akay- ley
Det father 3Gen unmarried female-Dual Sg/DualS do-PastDual
nab wag ti- disard- ey ged- im/
unsuccessfully windO? Deix-go against-PastDual land-All
e- ge able wag- ide no ad- em yába nar etkamrik- i
3SgA-Deix Det wind-A Restr outside-All 3*n* SgGen boatO make drift-Pf
yábi ged káwr- lam/
3*n* SgGen land island-Abl

'The father and his daughter tried in vain to go against the wind but it only made their boat drift further away from their island.'

5. Wi n- ép- ey
3*n* SgS 3*n* SgS-Sg/DualS float-PastDual
mena Adud Nor-i erpey- ley/
until A. N.- O grab Sg/DualO-PastDual
able kebi nor irdi ad- ge Dawar-lam/ koki pek-(g)e/
Det little reefS *n* PIS be(place) outside-Loc D.- Abl nor'west side-Loc

a ge yába wasnar bá- ytr- i/
 Conj Deix 3n SgGen sailboat Intr-sink-Pf

'They floated until they reached Adud Nor, that little reef outside of Dawar, on the north-west side, and there, their boat sank.'

6. Able neys le akay- ley/
 Det two personS Sg/DualS do-PastDual
 sarup ga da-r(a)- a- ley/
 castaway Deix | -3n SgS- | n PIS be(person)-n PrImpfDual
 éwdim ba- rb- ey mena Ne-y t- erpey- ley/
 thus Intr-punt-PastDual until N.- O Deix-grab Sg/DualO-PastDual
 uteb irdi Wayer-ge/
 placeS n PIS be(place) W.- Loc

'The two people became castaways (and) so they swam until they reached Ne, the place on Wayer.'

7. I sikak we- ge akarik-ley/
 3n SgS okay beach-Loc land- PastDual
 nole le- lut yábi na- rdar-i/
 Neg person-SgA 3n SgO 3n SgO-see- Pf
 a éwdim bakyamu- ley able mekir- ge t- ekwey-ley/
 Conj thus Sg/DualS go-PastDual Det almond-Loc Deic-stand- PastDual
 ge máyk-(g)e táwer-ge eray- reder/
 Deix close- Loc shore-Loc n PIS be growing-n Pr

'They landed alright on the beach without anyone seeing them and so they went to stand at the almond tree which grew close to the shore.'

8. Able bab- et tabara sárik kep- kem iker- i/
 Det father-SgA 3Gen bow arrow-Ass make Pauc/PIO-Pf
 giz- ge irm- i/
 base of tree-Loc stick in Pauc/PIO-Pf
 a ner ázy- em máyk-(g)e emri- da/
 Conj breath breatheN-All close- Loc Sg/DualS sit-PfSg
 náde ge mud ike- reder/
 where Deix shadeS n PIS be(thing)-n Pr

'The father stuck his bow and arrow at the base of the tree and sat down for a breather where there was shade.'

9. Déwmer/ able mekir- ge akarik-da/
 D.S Det almond-Loc land- PfSg
 akay- da ageg ga t- erw-er/
 Sg/DualS do-PfSg ripeN Deix Deix-eat- n PrImpf
 a taba bab- ira key abi-m ti- dikri- er/
 Conj 3Gen father-Gen way 3sg-All Deix-throw-n PrImpf

'Dewmer climbed the almond tree and began to eat the ripe (fruits) and throw (them) towards the father.'

10. **Gayr kebi sop dámr- er/**
 many little long timeS overflow-*n* PrImpf
e- ge toli ta- ba- per-dar-er/ érer-kem igawe-lare/
 3Sg?-Deix sandpiperS Deix-PLS-fly- ?- *n* PrImpf cry- Ass circle- PastPl
pe toli- ra aw tonar ike/
 Deix sandpiper-Gen big habit *n* PLS be(thing)
náde le o- ta- ba máyk-em yábi- m/
 when personS Fut3-Deix-go close- All 3*n* Sg-All
a náde wi ta- ba- per-dar-er érer-kem/
 Conj when 3*n* SgS Deix-PLS-fly- ?- *n* PrImpf cry- Ass
able bab ekweyr-er/ básk- er/
 Det fatherS stand- *n* PrImpf walk over-*n* PrImpf
deke-tr- er/
 take a quick look-*n* PrImpf
lag+lag ume- le o- bay- dari náko le t- ikase- redi/
 wantN know-person Fut3-become-PfSg what personS Deix-be going along-Pr

'Much time elapsed as the sandpipers flew about, circling around squawking as is their habit when people come close to them and when they flew around squawking, the father would stand up, walk over (and) take a look wanting to know who was coming along.'

11. **Able gerger-ge/ netat Sebeg kómet le/**
 Det day- Loc one S. komet person
ney wa- dike- redi Bame/
 nameS RemPast-*n* PLS be(word)-Pr B.
ábra nar ta- ba- ytr- i mayk+mayk Wayer-lam/
 3SgGen boatS Deix-Intr-sink-Pf close N? W.- Abl
e- ge éwdim ta- ba- rb- i Wayer pit- ge akarik-da/
 3SgS-Deix thus Deix-Intr-punt-Pf W. nose-Loc land- PfSg

'On this particular day, one komet (clan name) man from Sebeg whose name was Bame, his boat sank close to Wayer (and) so, ge swam and landed at Wayer point.'

12. **Dáwgiri/ Wayer le/ erkep ike- reder/**
 D.S W. person eye *n* PLS be(thing)-*n* Pr
ge Bame-y erdar-i ta- ba- rb- i ábi-tkem we- ge akarik-da/
 Deix B.- O see- Pf Deix-Intr-punt-Pf 3Sg-Ass beach-Loc land- PfSg
e éwdim ábi- m digm-i lag+lag ábi wá-ypit-i/
 3SgS thus 3Sg-All walk- Pf wantN 3SgO Irr- hit- Pf

'Dawgiri was watching when he saw Bame swimming towards him and land on the beach and so, he walked towards him wanting to hit him.'

13. **Kéwbu e Bame-y wa-t- irpey- da/**
 after 3SgA B.- O Irr- Deix-grab Sg/DualO-PfSg
e- ge Wayer pit le- gize emetu ábi op dipit-are/
 3SgS?-Deix W. nose person-PIA already 3SgO face meet-PastPl

a ga igared- (d)a taba uteb- em/
 Conj Deix take Sg/DualO-PfPl 3Gen place-All

'Before he could reach Bame, the Wayer point people had already met him and taken him back to their place.'

14. Dáwgi-**ra** éwdim aw weku bark- i/
 D. - Gen thus big anger happen-Pf
 ableg-lam/ able Wayer pit le- gize ábi
 Det- Abl Det W. point person-PIA 3SgO
 éypu na- smi- darda/ Bame-y apit- lam/
 middle 3n SgO-cut Sg/DualO-PfPl B.- O hitN-Abl

'Dawgiri felt very angry because the people from Wayer point had cut him off half-way, (stopping him) from hitting Bame.'

15. E ba- tawrik-da ad- em digm-i Wayer pit- lam/ akarik-da/
 3SgS Intr-turn- PfSg outside-All walk-Pf W. point-Abl land- PfSg
 able gab etaruk- da/ kes ike Wayer paser-ge/
 Det pathO take Sg/DualO-PfSg space n PLS be(thing) W. hill- Loc
 pe ney dike- redi Korok gab/
 Deix nameS n PLS be(word)-Pr K. path

'He spun around (and) walked away from Wayer point, came up and took the path where there is a gap in the hill at Wayer and which is called the path of Korok.'

16. E digm-i/ mena Ne-ge etrum- dari/
 3SgS walk- Pf until N.-Loc come down-PfSg
 able uteb- ge pe ney dike- redi Utut Kur/
 Det place-Loc Deix name n PLS be(word)-Pr U. K.

'He walked until he (reached) Ne, coming down there at the place called Utut Kur.'

17. Toli- gize ábi erdar-da/ éwdim ge érer-kem ba- per-dar-i/
 sandpiper-PIA 3SgO see- PfPl thus Deix cry- Ass PLS-fly- ?- Pf
 a náde ge toli érer-kem ta- ba- per-dar-i/
 Conj when Deix sandpiperS cry- Ass Deix-PLS-fly- ?- Pf
 able bab bakyamu- da we-deketi- da/ wa-dasmer-i/
 Det fatherS Sg/DualS go-PfSg Irr-take a quick look-PfSg Irr-look- Pf
 ná- lug- ide able toli ta- da-ra- may- da/
 Q clitic-thing-A Det sandpiperO Deix-| -3n SgO-| chase-PfSg
 a náde e ga deketr- er/
 Conj when 3SgS Deix take a quick look-n PrImpf
 Dáwgi-**t** egrema-da/ e- ge ábi t- erdar-i/
 D. S Deix-scan- PfSg 3SgA-Deix 3SgO Deix-see- Pf
 a ke- ko ba- tawrik-da/ dudum+dudum ákome-da/
 Conj way-again Intr-turn- PfSg haste Intens? return-PfSg
 Korok gab akarik-da/ digm-i Wayer pit- ge etrum- da/
 K. path land- PfSg walk- Pf W. point-Loc come down-PfSg
 a bakyamu- da
 Conj Sg/DualS go-PfSg

tabara neys kimyar berbet da-ra- tagr-i able sarup- lam/
 3Gen two (married)male siblingO | -3n SgO- | tell- Pf Det castaway-Abl
 a wi- ge gayr ke- ko bakyaw- dere Ne-em/
 Conj 3n SgS-Deix all way-again Pauc/PLS go-PfPauc N.- All

'The sandpipers saw him and so, they flew around squawking and when they flew around squawking, the father went, had a quick look to see what was chasing the sandpipers. As he was taking a look, Dawgiri looked over and saw him and immediately spun around and quickly returned. He came up onto the path at Korok and walked along Wayer point where he came down and went to tell his two brothers about the castaway and they all immediately went off to Ne.'

18. Wi náde Korok gab- ge ga da-ra- gem- le/
 3n SgS when K. path-Loc Deix | -3n SgS- | walk-n PrImpfPauc
 wi- ge mir ipi- dare
 3n SgS/A?-Deix wordO? discuss-PfPauc
 ko net- ide able sarup wá- ypit-ø/
 in order to who-A Det castawayO Fut3-hit- Fut2/3
 a wi éwdim Pitari-(i)/ tabara kéymer/ itutr- idare/
 Conj 3n SgA thus P. O 3Gen youngest touch-PfPauc

'As they walked along Korok path, they then discussed who would kill the castaway and they thus chose Pitari, the youngest.'

19. Able narbit-gize ábi detagr-ey kéga/
 Det eldest-PlA 3SgO tell- PastDual Quot
 'ma- y able sarup ipit-ø/ Ná- lug- lam?/ aleg-lam/
 2SgA-Deix Det castawayO hit- Fut2/3 Q clitic-thing-Abl Det- Abl
 ma pé- ma aw dób+dob gepi+gepi lar wá- yrm- er/
 2SgA Deix-2SgA big fat Adj scale Adj fishO Fut3-spear-n PrImpf

'The elder brothers said to him: 'You will spear the castaway. Why? Because you are the one who spears the very fat scaley fish.'

20. Náde wi ga ta- ra- bi- dare Utut Kur-ge/
 when 3n SgS Deix Deix-3n SgS-climb down-PfPauc U. K.- Loc
 karor éwdim ge yábi- lam érer-kem eper-dari/
 sandpiperS thus Deix 3n Sg-Abl cry- Ass fly- PfSg

'As they then climbed down at Utut Kur, the sandpiper flew around squawking because of them.'

21. Able sarup- ide karor- ira érer d- asr- i/ a bakyamu- da/
 Det castaway-A sandpiper-Gen cry 3Gen-hear-Pf Conj Sg/DualS go-PfSg
 deketr- i
 take a quick look-Pf
 ná- lug- lam able karor érer-kem t- eper-dari/
 Q clitic-thing-Abl Det sandpiperS cry- Ass Deix-fly- PfSg

'The castaway heard the sandpipers squawks and went to look at why the sandpiper was flying around squawking.'

22. Nawar e- ga deketr- er/ Dáwgiri/ Wáyda/ a Pitari
 while 3SgS-Deix take a quick look-*n* PrImpf D.S W.S Conj P.S
 nogab- ise t- adarem-le máyk-em able mekir- em/
 invisible?-Smb1 Deix-crawl- *n* PrPauc close- All Det almond-All
 náde ge sarup- ira sárik kep- kem da-ra- rem/
 when Deix castaway-Gen bow arrow-Ass | -3*n* SgS- | PIS be sticking up

'Then while he was looking, Dawgiri, Wayda and Pitari crawled stealthily close up to the almond tree where the castaway's bow and arrow were sticking up.'

23. Déwmer ge mena mekir kotor-ge t- igi- reder/
 D.S Deix still almond sky- Loc Deix-*n* PIS be perched-*n* Pr
 t- egrema-da/ able le ta- ra- rdar-dare/
 Deix-view- PfSg Det personO Deix-3*n* SgO-see- PfPauc
 éwdim ge érer t- ekri- (i) taba bab- em/
 thus Deix cry Deix-shout-Pf 3Gen father-All

'Dewmer, who was still perched up in the almond tree, looked over (and) saw them and so, shouted out to her father.'

24. Abra bab/ ké- ko kórider d- emri- da taba sárik-em/
 3SgGen fatherS way-again speedN 3Gen-Sg/DualS sit-PfSg 3Gen bow- All

'Her father immediately ran towards his bow.'

25. E náde ga máyk-(g)e bakýamu- da/
 3SgS when Deix close- Loc Sg/DualS go-PfSg
 Pitar-ide tabara kus báger dikayrt-i/
 P.- A 3Gen plant spear type leave- Pf
 ge able sarup sor- ge isk- i/
 Deix Det castawayO back-Loc pierce-Pf

'When he then got close, Pitari let his spear fly which pierced the castaway's back.'

26. Able kus báger b(a)-a- dari/ digm-i
 Det plant spear typeS Intr-put in Sg/DualO-PfSg walk- Pf
 ké- ko nerut pek- (g)e nerkep uteb- ge te- deketi- da/
 way-again another side-Loc heart place-Loc Deix-take a quick look-PfSg

'The spear entered, went through, right through to the other side at the heart.'

27. Nawar able sarup ga asi- ge bá- zr- er/
 while Det castawayS Deix painN-Loc Intr-writhe?-*n* PrImpf
 Dáwgiri-(i)ba Wáyda-ey kórider emri- ley/
 D.- *n* Sg W- Dual speedN Sg/DualS sit-PastDual
 ábra gaba+gaba-u kerim desk-ey a ipit-ey/
 3SgGen clubN- Instr headO split-PastDual Conj hit- PastDual

'While the castaway was then writhing in pain, Dawgiri and Wayda ran, split his head open with a club and killed him.'

28. **Wi kikem-ge nole umer-kak**
 3*n* SgS first- Loc Neg know-Priv
da-r(a)- a- le/
 | -3*n* SgS- | *n* PIS be(person)-*n* PrImpfPauc
Déwmer ko dáw- er taba bab keme- ge/
 D.S again *n* PIS be(person)-*n* PrImpf 3Gen father company-Loc

'They at first did not know that Dewmer was also there in her father's company.'

29. **wi no ge ume- le bér- dare/**
 3*n* SgS Restr Deix knowN-person Pauc/PIS become-PfPauc
náde Déwmer taba bab- em érer t- ekri- (i)/
 when D.S 3Gen father-All cry Deix-shout-Pf
náde e ga t- éwpama-da mekir kotor-lam/
 when 3SgS Deix Deix-jump- PfSg almond sky- Abl
a akay- da tabara bab ga i igw- er/
 Conj Sg/DualS do-PfSg 3Gen fatherS Deix tear mourn-*n* PrImpf

'They only knew that when Dewmer cried out to her father and when she then jumped down from the almond tree and began to wail her father.'

30. **Dáwgiri/ Wáyda a Pitari eker- dare/ ábi erpey- dare/**
 D.S? W.S? Conj P.S? Pauc/PIS do-PfPauc 3SgO grab Sg/DualO-PfPauc
a taba-doge igard- idare Wayer pit- em/
 Conj 3- Loc take Sg/DualO-PfPauc W. point-All

'Dawgiri, Wayda and Pitari went to grab her and took her with them to Wayer point.'

31. **Gab-ge wi kikem Déwmer-im sek+sek tonar iker- dare/**
 path-Loc 3*n* SgA first D.- All bad Adj habitO Pauc/PIA make-PfPauc
a kéwbu ga ábi ipit-idare
 Conj after Deix 3SgO hit- PfPauc

'Along the way, they first did bad things to Dewmer and after that, they killed her.'

Text 2.

Dopem. Story told by Kaba Noah.

1. Netat aw koskir/ e o- da- li
 one big married femaleS 3SgS RemPast-n PLS be(person)-PrImpf
 Dópem-ge/ E Dópem-ge o- da- li/
 D.- Loc 3SgS D.- Loc RemPast-n PLS be(person)-PrImpf

'One old woman, she was living at Dopem.'

2. E o- dikepwa-li/ no ábra akepwar/
 3SgA RemPast-think- PrImpf Restr 3SgGen thinkN
 'newr i wa- wrid- li Lákop-ge/
 unmarried femaleS Deix RemPast-PLS be(person)-PrImpf L.- Loc

'She was thinking, (this is just her thought), 'the girls are living there at Lakop.'

3. Zómered pe irdi/ ábra lokot pe irdi/
 Z. Deix n PLS be(place) 3SgGen bushS Deix n PLS be(place)
 ney pe dike- redi Lákop/
 nameS Deix n PLS be(name)-Pr L.

'Zomered is there, its bush is there (behind), its name is Lakop.'

4. Newr i wa- t- urid- li/ Lákop/
 unmarried femaleS Deix RemPast-Deix-PLS be(person)-PrImpf L.

'The girls are there at Lakop.'

5. Ki+ki meskep/ kíkem meskep/
 night Adj tide afternoon tide
 wi o- ba- tirk- i lar- em/
 3n SgS RemPast-PLS-go shallow fishing-Pf fish-All
 wi o- bakyaw- are lar- em/
 3n SgS RemPast-Pauc/PLS go-PastPl fish-All
 o- ba nor-ge o- b- e- li/ able newr/
 RemPast-go reef-Loc RemPast-PLS-walk on reef-PrImpf Det girls

'(In) the evening tide, afternoon tide, they go fishing, they go for fish. They go on the reef, to walk on the shoreline, those girls.'

6. Able koskir o- ti- dikepwa- li/
 Det married femaleS? RemPast-Deix-think- PrImpf
 wi tara amey wá- ysaper- da/ nedbu/
 3n SgA 3Gen earth ovenO RemPast-cook- PfPl earth ovenO

'The (old) woman was thinking (that) they would have cooked (in) the earth oven, (in) the earth oven.'

7. Neys mir pe da-ra- bger-da amey a nedbu/
 two wordS Deix | -3n SgO- | call- PfPl 'amey' Conj 'nedbu'

'It is called by two names (the earth oven): 'amey' and 'nedbu'.'

8. **Wi wá- ysaper-da tabara lewer/**
 3n SgA RemPast-cook- PfPl 3Gen foodO
wi o- ba- tirk- i, o- bakaw- da
 3n SgS RemPast-PLS-go shallow fishing-Pf RemPast-Pauc/PLS go-PfPl
mup- ge o- b- e- li/
 foreshore-Loc RemPast-PLS-walk on reef-PrImpf

'They cook their food, they go fishing, they go on the foreshore to walk along it.'

9. **E o- ti- dikepwar-i/ e we- t- epigeme- da/**
 3SgA RemPast-Deix-think- Pf 3SgS RemPast-Deix-change- Pf
ebur o- ta- bakamu- da/ goli+goli ebur/
 birdS RemPast-Deix-Sg/DualS go-PfSg black Adj animal
wa- ta Zómered lokot-ge w- égimu- da/
 RemPast-Deix Z. bush-Loc RemPast-land- PfSg

'She thought this; she changed, came (as) a bird, a black bird; she came to the bush at Zomered (where) she landed.'

10. **E w- epigeme- da/**
 3SgS RemPast-change- PfSg
wéy- akay- da le o- bay- da/
 RemPast-Sg/DualS do-PfSg person RemPast-Sg/DualS become-PfSg
wa- digm-i/ amey- ge w- ekwey- da/
 RemPast-walk- Pf earth oven-Loc RemPast-Sg/DualS stand-PfSg
amey wa- dig- i w- esemu-da/
 earth ovenO RemPast-pull out Pl food-Pf RemPast-finish- PfSg
lewer tabara wá- yrp- i way- art- i/
 foodO 3Gen RemPast-grab Pauc/PIO-Pf RemPast-put Pauc/PIO away-Pf
ko w- epigeme-da ebur
 in order to RemPast-change- PfSg birdS
o- ta- ba taba ged- im Dópem-em/
 RemPast-Deix-go 3Gen home-All D.- All

'She changed, she became a person. She walked and stood at the earth oven, and having pulled out the food, she grabbed it and put it away to change (and) as a bird, she went back to her home, to Dopem.'

11. **Newr o-- ta- ba- gr- i mup- lam/ meskep- lam/**
 girlS RemPast-Deix-PLS-land-Pf shoreline-Abl shoreline-Abl
neys pe mir da-ra- ke/ mup a meskep/
 two Deix wordS | -3n SgS- | n PLS be(word) /'mup' Conj 'meskep'
wa- te- b- ew- ø/
 RemPast-Deix-PLS-walk on shoreline-Past

'The girls came up from the shoreline, the tide. (We) call it by two names: 'mup' and 'meskep'. They were walking along the shoreline.'

12. **wi o- ba- kark- i/ o- bakyaw- da/**
 3*n* SgS RemPast-PLS-go shallow fishing-Pf RemPast-Pauc/PLS go-PfPl
o- ba- rt- i/ o- diraymer- (da) tabara:/
 RemPast-PLS+Intr-put in Pauc/PlO-Pf RemPast-look for-- PfPl 3Gen

'They came up, they went (and) entered, looking for their (things).'

13. **'Net- ide keriba lewer áys- li?'/**
 who-A 1*n* SgExclGen foodO take Pauc/PlO-PrImpf
No lar tabara ur- im wá- yg- da
 Restr fishO 3Gen fire-All RemPast-roast Pauc/PlO-PfPl

wá- yreg- da/ ut o- ba- yd-ø/
 RemPast-eat flesh-PfPl sleep RemPast-PLS-lie-Past

'Who is taking our food?' They just roasted their fish, ate them (and) went to sleep.'

14. **Nerut idim- ge ab- korep/**
 another morning-Loc former-way
able tonar mokakalam wá- wrd- i/
 Det habit like RemPast-*n* PLS be(time)-Pf

meskep omari-da/
 tideS go out-PfSg

o- ba mup- ge o- b- e- li/
 RemPast-go shoreline-Loc RemPast-PLS-walk on shoreline-PrImpf

'The next day, the same thing happened. The same thing as before. The tide went out (and) they went down to the shoreline.'

15. **Ab- korep e we- t- eper-ø/**
 former-way 3SgS RemPast-Deix-fly- Past
ebur wa- ta- bakamu- da/ w- égimu-da/
 birdS RemPast-Deix-Sg/DualS go-PfSg RemPast-land- PfSg
w- epigeme-da/ koskir o- bakamu- da/
 RemPast-change- PfSg married femaleS RemPast-Sg/DualS go-PfSg
lewer w- áys- i/ able tonar e wá- yke- li/
 foodO RemPast-take Pauc/PlO-Pf Det habit 3SgA RemPast-make-PrImpf

'In the same way, she flew off. (As) a bird, she came, landed, changed (and) the (old) woman, took the food. She did this.'

16. **Kéwbu wi ábi dikepwar-da/**
 after 3*n* SgA 3SgO think- PfPl
wi- ge neys newr na- mri-darda/
 3SgA-Deix two unmarried femaleO 3*n* SgO-sit- PfPl
nerut gerger-ge amey- ge/
 another day- Loc earth oven-Loc

'Later, they thought of her. They left two girls (behind) around the earth oven, on another day.'

17. **Wi- ge baka ba- sp- i/ espi-daryey neys newr/**
 3n SgS-Deix go PIS-hide-Pf hide-PfDual two unmarried femaleS
 'They then went (and) hid, the two girls hid.'
18. **Wáder newr ba- tirk- i/**
 several unmarried femaleS PIS-go shallow fishing-Pf
 'The other girls went off fishing.'
19. **E t- eper-da/ ebur ta- ba/ able-ge egimu-da/ epigeme-da/**
 3SgS Deix-fly- Pf birdS Deix-go Det- Loc land- PfSg change- PfSg
koskir ábi- (i)/
 married femaleS come down-Pf
 'She flew. came (as) a bird. At that (place), she landed, changed (into) a woman (and) came down.'
20. **'O koskir/ koskir/**
 oh! married female "
e meriba lewer erwam-em áys- li'/
 3SgA 1n SgInclGen foodO steal- All take Pauc/PIO-PrImpf
 'Oh, it is the old woman, the old woman, she is stealing our food.'
21. **Wi atkamrik- iyey/ baka erpey- daryey irs- iey/**
 3n SgS chase Sg/DualO-PfDual go grab Sg/DualO-PfDual beat-PfDual
 'They chased her, went (and) grabbed her, beat her.'
22. **Wáder ba- kark- i eres- a igared- a**
 several PIS-come up-Pf beat- PfPl take Sg/DualO-PfPl
ábi gur-im batawered-a/ gur-im batawered-a/
 3SgO sea- All throw- PfPl sea- All throw- PfPl
 'The others came back up and took her (and) threw her into the water, they threw her into the water.'
23. **E- ge t- ép- i/ able uteb- ge ípr-er/**
 3SgS-Deix Deix-Sg/DualS float-Pf Det place-Loc lie- n PrImpf
 'She floated, at that place she was floating.'
24. **Wi ímwaret- a/ mena mena mena Korog-e/**
 3n SgA push Sg/DualO-PfPl until " " K.- Loc
 'They pushed her as far as Korog.'
25. **Bakamu- lu/ Dópem-ge t- emri-lu/**
 Sg/DualS go-PastSg D.- Loc Deix-sit- PastSg
e- ge epigeme-lu/
 3SgS-Deix change- PastSg
akay- lu bakir báy- lu/

Sg/DualS do-PastSg stone Sg/DualS become-PastSg

'She went and stopped at Dopem. She then changed, became a stone.'

26. **Able newr** **ge urd-** **er** **Zómered lokot-ge/**
Det unmarried femaleS Deix PIS be(person)-*n* PrImpf Z. bush-Loc
wi- ge ba- piger- **ø lag** **bér-** **are/**
3SgS-Deix PIS-Pauc/PIS change-Past mosquito Pauc/PIS become-PastPl

'The girls who were in Zomered bush, they then changed (and) became mosquitoes.'

27. **Mop pe dike** **able mir- ira.**
end Deix *n* PIS be(word) Det word-Gen

'That is the end of the story.'

Text 3.

How to make damper. As told by Eidiana Tabo.

1. Náko ma pi esaper- ø ready iker- ø
what 2SgA dust cook (in earth oven)-Fut2/3 <Eng make-Fut2/3

'How to cook damper.'(where 'dust' is the word used for flour)

(Note that words that are glossed as being derived from English, are probably borrowed from Creole.)

2. ur kikem lu pe dike/
fire(wood) first thingS Deix n PLS be(word?)
ma ur deraymer-ø/
2SgA firewoodO look for- Fut2/3
ur deraymer-ø/ ur t- etaker- ø/
fire(wood)O look for- Fut2/3 fire(wood)O Deix-gather Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3
ta- bakyamu- ø/ ídag- ø/...
Deix-Sg/DualS go-Fut2/3 put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3

'The first thing is firewood, look for firewood. Having found firewood, gather it up, come (and) put it down.'

3. eni lu so long watwet lu ma t- erap- ø/
<Eng thing, tree <Eng dry thing,tree 2SgA Deix-break Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3
t- ays- ø/ ta- ba ídag- ø/
Deix-bring Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3 Deix-go put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3

'Any wood as long as it is dry, break it (and) bring it, come (and) put it down.'

4. we/ ábi dirsir- ø/ we dirsir- ø
sandO 3SgO prepare-Fut2/3 sandO prepare-Fut2/3
kéwbu ábra baw d- ídag- ø amey- ge/
after 3SgGen seat? 3Gen-put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3 earth oven-Loc
baw ábra d- ídag- ø/
seat? 3SgGen 3Gen-put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3
bakir muy- ge dikri- ø/
stoneO inside-Loc throw-Fut2/3

'The sand, prepare it. Prepare it before putting down (the wood) to make a flat surface. Having made a flat surface, throw the stones inside.'

5. bakir muy- ge dikri- ø wey- esemu-ø/
stoneO inside-Loc throw-Fut2/3 Fut3-finish- Fut2/3
bey ya ídag- ø/
palm leafO Deix put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3
kéwbu ya ur ídag- ø bey- ge tum- em/
after Deix firewoodO put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3 palm leaf-Loc above-All

'(When) the stones have been put inside, you will put down palm leaves. After, you will put down firewood on the palm leaves, on the top.'

6. **ur ídag- ø ídag-ø ídag-ø/**
 firewoodO put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3 " "
- ma dásmer-ø nap**
 2SgA see- Fut2/3 <Eng
- kéwbu ya bakir ídag- ø ko**
 after Deix stoneO put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3 in order to
- kebi bakir ya tum- em ídag- ø**
 little stoneO Deix above-All put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3
- aw bakir muy- ge/**
 big stoneO inside-Loc

'Having put down the firewood, see (that it is) enough. Afterwards, you will then put down the stones so that the little stones will be put on top (and) the big stones underneath.'

7. **ma able lewer iker- ø/**
 2SgA Det foodO make-Fut2/3
- aw bakir muy- ge ti- dikmerik- ø/**
 big stone inside-Loc Deix-rest upon Sg/DualO-Fut2/3
- kebi bakir ya tum- em ábi atkam- em/ ya ábi dikri- ø/**
 little stoneO Deix above-All 3SgO coverN-All Deix 3SgO throw-Fut2/3

'You will make the food. When you put it (damper) in, you will rest it on the big stones below and you will put the little stones on top to cover it.'

8. **kebi bakir-u esaper- ø/**
 little stone-Instr cover(wrap)-Fut2/3
- bakir ídag- ø wey- esemu-ø**
 stoneO put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3 Fut3-finish- Fut2/3
- ya wá- yke- reder**
 Deix Fut3-n PLS be(thing)-n Pr
- ma ta- ba pi+pi lewer mára iti- ø/**
 2SgS Deix-go dust Adj foodO 2SgGen scoop Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3
- ikedi- ø/**
 put down Sg/DualO-Fut2/3

'You will cover (it) with the little stones. When the stones have all been put there and it is there, (in place), come and take out your flour (and) put it down (somewhere).'

9. **lam ábra kaba- ra lam/**
 leaf 3SgGen banana-Gen leaf
- kaba lam t- iri- ø t- ays- ø ta- ba/**
 banana leaf Deix-cut off-Fut2/3 Deix-take Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3 Deix-go
- pot ábra ad- em dáti- ø/**
 stem 3SgGen out-All tear off Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3
- ale dób+dob able ábra dike/**
 Det fat Adj Det 3SgGen n PLS be(thing)
- pot ábra ad- em dáti- ø wey- esemu-ø**
 stem 3SgGen out-All tear off Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3 Fut3-finish- Fut2/3
- iker- ø ídag- ø**
 make-Fut2/3 put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3

kéwbu ya able pi+pi lewer detagem-ø/
 after Deix Det dust Adj foodO knead- Fut2/3

'The leaves of it, the banana tree's leaves, you will cut off banana leaves, bring them, tear off its stems, that fat (part) of it. Once its stems have been torn off (then), put it down. After that, you will knead the dough.'

10. **baking powder ábra dikri- ø/ detagem-ø/**
 <Eng 3SgGen throw-Fut2/3 knead- Fut2/3
nole u- kak no pi+pi lewer/ baking powder/
 Neg coconut-Priv Restr dust Adj food <Eng
etabemeret-ø ábi/
 mix- Fut2/3 3SgO
kéwbu ya ikay- ø ni epaytered- ø
 after Deixc make-Fut2/3 waterO pour Sg/DualO-Fut2/3
detagem-ø detagem-ø
 knead- Fut2/3 "
do ikedi- ø iker- ø/
 <Eng put down Sg/DualO-Fut2/3 make-Fut2/3
ábi netat pek-(g)e ídag- ø wey- esemu-ø/
 3SgO one side-Loc put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3 Fut3-finish- Fut2/3
kéwbu ábi beyk-em iker- ø/
 after 3SgO <Eng-All make-Fut2/3
detagem-ø ábi/ detagem-ø detagem-ø
 knead- Fut2/3 3SgO knead- Fut2/3 "
iker- ø/ ídag- ø/
 make-Fut2/3 put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3
e ya wa- na- ysir/
 3SgS Deix Fut3-3n SgS-PLS lie(thing)
ma- y kéwbu baka amey ti- disirik-ø/
 2SgS-Deix after go earth ovenO Deix-light- Fut2/3

'Put its baking powder in, knead (it). (There) is no coconut, only flour and baking powder. Mix it. After you have poured in the water, keep kneading it, (then) put it aside, make it (then) put it to one side. When that is done, after you can bake it (but) keep kneading it. (When) it is lying there (done), then go light the earth oven.'

11. **amey ti- disirik-ø**
 earth ovenO Deix-light- Fut2/3
lam ays- ø t- etkomaret- ø/
 leafO bring Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3 Deix-warm in fire-Fut2/3
lam t- etkomaret- ø t- ays- ø
 leaf Deix-warm in fire-Fut2/3 Deix-bring Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3
ta- ba ídag- ø/
 Deix-go put down Pauc/PIO-Fut2/3

'Light the earth oven. Bring the leaves, warm them. Having warmed them, bring them. Come (and) put them down.'

12. **ma dásmer-ø ur o- ba o-ba áw-ka ur**
 2SgA see- Fut2/3 fireS Fut3-go " big-Intens fireS

ya wey-ekem- ø ya we- t- ekm- er/
 Deix Fut3-rise(flame)-Fut2/3 Deix Fut3-Deix-rise(flame)-n PrImpf
 ma- y ábi ko detagem-ø/ ko ábi detagem-ø
 2SgA-Deix 3SgO again knead- Fut2/3 again 3sgO knead- Fut2/3
 kéwbu ya ábi isim- ø/ isim-ø ábi mog-em/...
 after Deix 3SgO cut Pauc/PlO-Fut2/3 " 3SgO piece-All

'See (once) the fire is established, a big fire is burning and will keep on burning, then (go) knead it again, keep on kneading it. After that, you will cut it into (many) pieces.'

13. ka umer- kak mári n(a)- a- tagr-e
 1SgS knowN-Priv 2SgO 1/2SgO-Fut1-tell- Fut1
 mári-doge náket mog ya o- na- gri/
 2Sg- Loc how many pieceS Deix Fut3-3n SgS-PLS be(thing)
 ná- korep ya able pi+pi lewer iti- ø/
 Q clitic-way Deix Det dust Adj foodO scoop Pauc/PlO-Fut2/3
 áw-ka+ka mitkar/
 big-Intens alot
 waw e mári lewer o- na- kwar- ø
 yes 3SgA 2SgO foodO Fut3-1/2SgO-give Sg/DualO-fut2/3
 áw-ka+ka mitkar/
 big-Intens alot

'I cannot tell you how many pieces there will be, it depends on you. However many pieces there were; however much flour you scooped. (If you took) alot, yes, it will make alot of food.'

14. isim- ø ídag- ø
 cut Pauc/PlO-Fut2/3 put down Pauc/PlO-Fut2/3
 mog detagem-ø/ detagem-ø/
 pieceO knead- Fut2/3 "
 ídag- er mena wey- esemu-ø/
 put down Pauc/PlO-n PrImpf until Fut3-finish- Fut2/3
 ur o- t- ekem- ø baka ti- dimarered-ø ábi
 fireS Fut3-Deix-rise(flame)-Fut2/3 go Deix-stoke- Fut2/3 3SgO
 o ma lag+lag netat gaber ábi detagem-ø
 <Eng 2SgS wantN one time 3SgO knead- Fut2/3
 árot- ø ábi lam-ge/
 put in Pauc/PlO-Fut2/3 3SgO leaf-Loc
 iker- ø ídag- ø
 make-Fut2/3 put down Pauc/PlO-Fut2/3
 kéwbu ya baka ti- dimarered-ø ábi/
 after Deix go Deix-stoke- Fut2/3 3SgO
 ti- dimarered-ø o- t- esemu-ø/
 Deix-stoke- Fut2/3 Fut3-Deix-finish- Fut2/3
 ta- ba able pi+pi lewer etaker- ø
 Deix-go Det dust Adj foodO pick up Pauc/PlO-Fut2/3
 ti- dikmerik- ø
 Deix-rest upon Sg/DualO-Fut2/3
 bakir- u esaper-ø ábi/ bakir dikmerik- ø
 stone-Instr cover- Fut2/3 3SgO stoneO rest upon Sg/DualO-Fut2/3

kéwbu ya kiris+kiris lam etkor- ø/
 after Deix raw Adj leafO break off branch-Fut2/3
 dikmerik- ø/ ábi etkam-ø/...
 rest upon Sg/DualO-Fut2/3 3sgO cover- fut2/3

'Cut them, put them down. Knead the pieces, keep kneading them putting each one down until they are all done. (When) the flames have risen, go and stoke it or (if) you like, you can knead one more time. (Then) put (them) into the leaves. Do that (and) after you will go stoke (the fire). Keep on stoking it until that is done, come gather up each one (and) put (them) resting on (the stones). Cover (them) with stones by putting stones on top. After you will go break off green banana leaves, you will put them on top (to) cover it.'

15. waw lam-u ábi itumed-ø
 yes leaf- Instr 3SgO ?- Fut2/3
 ale lam ábra d- ídag- ø/
 Det leafO 3SgGen 3Gen-put down Pauc/PlO-Fut2/3
 etkam-ø ábi/
 cover- Fut2/3 3SgO
 bayg ya tum- em lam-ge we- lam ábi dími- ø/
 <Eng Deix above-All leaf-Loc sand-Abl 3SgO close Sg/DualO-Fut2/3
 etkam-ø ábi bayg- u/
 cover- Fut2/3 3SgO <Eng-Instr
 kéwbu ya ábi itumed-ø we- yu/ itumed-ø
 after Deix 3SgO ?- Fut2/3 sand-Instr ?- Fut2/3
 itumed-ø w- ésemu-ø/
 ?- Fut2/3 Fut3-finish- Fut2/3
 mop able amey- ra pe dike/ mop able amey- ira/...
 end Det earth oven-Gen Deix n PIS be(word) end Det earth oven-Gen

'Yes, you should cover(?) it with leaves, those leaves (which) you put down, cover(?) it. Cover it with a bag on top of the leaves to protect it from the sand. Cover it with a bag. (When) it is covered, cover it over with sand. The sand will cover it (completely). The earth oven (damper) (recipe) is finished now. This is the end of the earth oven (damper).

16. ábra kérker ya d- ikaw- ø ná- nyay+nyay/
 3SgGen timeO Deix 3Gen-take Sg/DualO-Fut2/3 Q clitic-length of time
 ese áw-ka ur áw-ka ur/ kebi+kebi apanawa/
 if big-Intens fireS big-Intens fireS little (Intens?) <Eng
 ad- em ábi dig- ø/
 out-All 3SgO take out Pauc/PlO-Fut2/3
 ese adud ur wel meyk-em netat awa ese adud ur.
 if bad fireS <Eng <Eng- All one <Eng if bad fire

'It will take however long (it needs). If it is a big fire, a very short (time), (say) half an hour, (then) it out. If it is a bad fire, well make it a (whole) hour, if (it is) a bad fire.'