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FORMS AND FUNCTIONS IN KOMBAL,
AN AWYU LANGUAGE OF IRIAN JAYA

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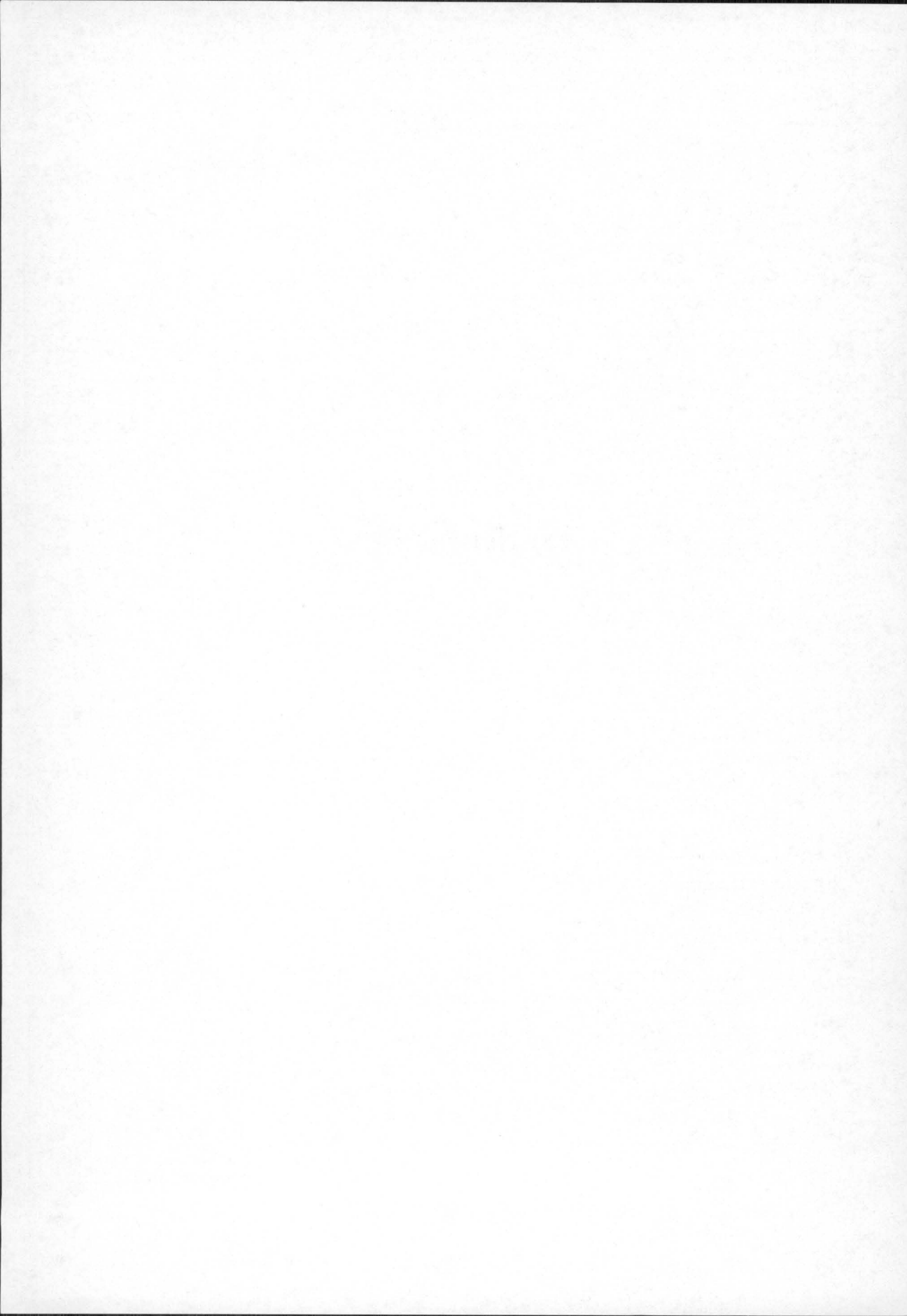


TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS	ix
MAPS	
Map 1: Kombai and its neighbouring languages	x
Map 2: Irian Jaya with Kouh sub-district	x
CHAPTER 1: THE KOMBAI LANGUAGE	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Dialects	1
1.3 Kombai society	2
1.4 Kombai as a Papuan language and as a TNGP language	3
CHAPTER 2: KOMBAI PHONEMES	6
2.1 Phoneme inventory	6
2.2 Grapheme table	9
2.3 Syllables, words, morphophonemics	10
CHAPTER 3: KOMBAI WORD CLASSES	14
3.1 Verbs	14
3.2 Nouns	34
3.3 Pronouns	35
3.4 Adjectives	35
3.5 Other nominal modifiers	36
3.6 Question-words	42
3.7 Adverbs	45
3.8 Relators	46
CHAPTER 4: FRAMES AND SENTENTIAL PARAGRAPHS IN KOMBAI NARRATIVES	62
4.1 Introduction	62
4.2 The discourse dimension of framing	62
4.3 Frames in Kombai narratives	65
4.4 Conclusion	74
CHAPTER 5: THINGS AND PERSONS	76
5.1 Introduction	76
5.2 The grammatical functions of <i>ro</i> and <i>rumu</i>	77
5.3 Relational nouns and grammaticalisation	86
5.4 Summary	89

CHAPTER 6: DIRECT QUOTATIONS AND KOMBAL GRAMMAR	91
6.1 Introduction	91
6.2 Reported speech	91
6.3 Reported thought	95
6.4 Factors favouring the use of direct quotation	99
6.5 Summary	103
CHAPTER 7: TEXTS	105
7.1 Introduction	105
7.2 The snakebite	105
7.3 The <i>Bere</i> song	106
7.4 The death of Amakhalo	106
7.5 Ola	108
7.6 <i>Romalü</i>	110
REFERENCES	128

INTRODUCTION

Between 1982 and 1991 I worked as a linguist for the ZGK (Mission of the Reformed Churches) in the Upper-Digul area of Irian Jaya with the assignment to study Wambon, Kombai and Korowai, four years in Kombai-speaking villages. I should thank the people living in the villages Wanggemalo and Yaniruma for their willingness to help me in learning their language. My language teachers Geyo Weremba and Natan Renakhoremba deserve special mention. The Rev. J.P.D. Groen of Wanggemalo shared his data on Kombai with me and also helped in many other ways.

This book presents some of the results of this period of Kombai language study. Chapters 2 to 5 are revised parts of my PhD dissertation (de Vries 1989). Chapter 6 appeared earlier in Pinkster and Genee (1990). I would like to thank Prof. Dr S.C. Dik (University of Amsterdam) and Dr C.L. Voorhoeve (Leiden State University), for their critical comments which led to many improvements of this book.

The organisation of the book is as follows. It starts with outlines of the phonology and morphology of the Kombai language. These outlines (Chapters 2 and 3) are data-oriented and serve as the descriptive background for the other studies which are more thematic in nature. I have tried to place the phonological and morphological data presented in Chapters 2 and 3 in the wider context of the typology of Papuan languages. Following these phonology and morphology outlines, there are studies which concentrate on major themes of Kombai syntax and pragmatics. Chapter 4 describes tail-head linkage and generic verb linkage constructions, relational nouns in relative clauses, question-word questions and adverbial clauses. Chapter 6 describes the functions of direct quotation in the domains of reported speech and reported thought. Direct quotation plays an important and interesting role in the morphosyntax of speech act verbs, presents texts.

To give linguists of whatever theoretical persuasion easy access to the studies in this book, I have not employed the formal apparatus of the functional grammar framework (Dik 1978,1989) which forms the theoretical background of this book. Siewierska (1991) provides an overview and a critical account of the model of functional grammar.

Two major assumptions of functional grammar relevant to this book are the following.

In the first place,
first level,
constituent parts of the expression, are specified. On the second level,
which express these functional relations,
a description of a language system should be set up in such a way that it provides contact-points for a wider theory of language use and a wider theory of language typology.

The distinction between functional and categorial notions is essential within the functional grammar framework. Categorial notions like 'noun phrase' specify intrinsic properties of constituents, while functional notions like 'subject', 'patient', 'topic' specify the relations of constituents to the constructions and contexts in which they occur. The notions 'term', 'predication' and 'predicate' belong to the central functional notions within functional grammar and also play a role in this book. Dik (1989:46) clarifies these distinctions as follows:

Predicates designate properties or relations, while terms can be used to refer to entities. As an example of a predicate we take the verb 'give'. This predicate designates a three-place relation between three entities in the roles of a 'giver', 'something given', and a 'receiver', and thus is necessarily applied to three terms, for example, the terms (John), (the book), and (the librarian). When a predicate is applied to an appropriate set of terms, the result is a *predication*. In this example the resulting predication can be provisionally represented as:

(4) give(John)(the book)(to the librarian)

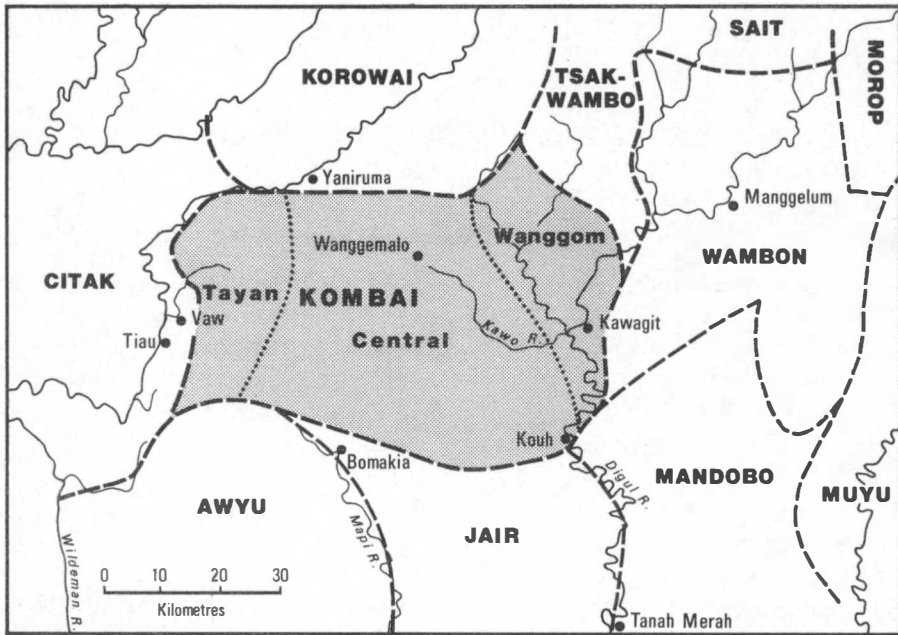
Such a predication can be interpreted as designating a set of *states of affairs*...

Both functional and categorial notions are seen as crucial to the description of language in the functional grammar framework but functional notions are viewed as more fundamental (Dik 1989:23).

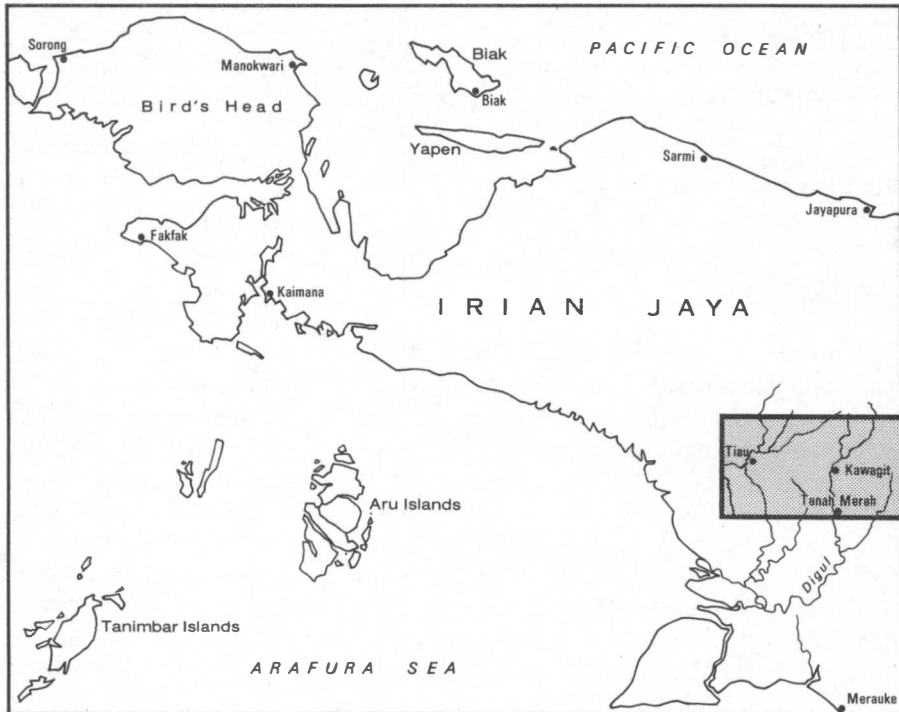
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The phonetic symbols of the International Phonetic Association are used in this book.

<p>* unacceptable form V backed vowel 1 first person 2 second person 3 third person NON-1 second and third person</p>	<p>ADDR addressee ADH adhortative ADJ adjective ATTR attributive C consonant CIRC circumstantial COM completive COMIT comitative CONN connective COND conditional COORD coordinator CF counterfactual DEST destination DS different subject DUR durative EXCL exclamative FG functional grammar F future tense FOC focus FRM frame HAB habitual-iterative HN head noun IMMF immediate future tense IMP imperative INCH inchoative</p>	<p>INF infinitive INTER interrogative INT intentional ITR iterative LOC locative NEG negative NP nominal phrase(s) NF non-future NOM nominalisator O object (position) PEM prototypical expression model PL plural PRED predicative PRES present PURP purpose Q question-marking clitic QUOTE quote-marker Q-WRD question-word R relator REC recipient RC relative clause SS same subject S subject (position) SEQ sequence SG singular SIM simultaneity SUB subordinator SUPP support-verb TNGP Trans-New Guinea Phylum TOP topic TR transitional sound VOC vocative</p>
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MAP 1: KOMBAL and ITS NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES



MAP 2: IRIAN JAYA WITH KOUH SUB-DISTRICT

CHARTER 1

THE KOMBAI LANGUAGE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Kombai is a Papuan language spoken in southern Irian Jaya, Indonesia (see maps). It is a member of the Awyu-Ndumut language family (Voorhoeve 1975:27, Silzer & Heikkinen 1984) which in turn is a member of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (McElhanon & Voorhoeve 1970, Wurm, Voorhoeve & McElhanon 1975, Wurm 1972, 1982).

Kombai is surrounded by other Awyu languages, namely, Awyu, Jair, Mandobo, Korowai, Wambon and Tsakwambo, except in the west where it abuts against Citak, a language of the Asmat family.

The Kombai people live in a swampy rainforest area, hot and very humid. The terrain is hilly. The soil is very poor and the area extremely sparsely populated. Kombai speakers number about 4,000.

When we speak about 'villages', for example the village of Wanggemalo, it should be kept in mind that at least half of the Kombai population does not live in villages but on their clan territories in tree-houses. Village life is a new thing to them, introduced by the missions and the government. Wanggemalo came into existence as a village when Rev. Groen, a ZGK missionary, started building an airstrip there in 1980. This airstrip is the only way foreigners can reach Wanggemalo, which has no big rivers nearby.

Because of the difficult terrain and the sparse population, up until the present time there are still sections of the northern Awyu tribes out of touch with the outside world. When trekking north of Yaniruma and Wanggemalo, I repeatedly met Kombai and Korowai people who had never seen a foreigner, that is, someone not from their own or neighbouring tribes.

1.2 DIALECTS

Kombai has three main dialects, Central-Kombai, described in this book, Wanggom and Tayan (see maps). Between the Awyu family languages, there are transition areas in which transitional dialects are spoken. Native speakers simply name these transitional dialects by combining the language-names; thus Wambon-Mandobo denotes the transitional dialect between Wambon and Mandobo. Patrilineal clans are the most important social units, much more important than the tribe as a whole. Tribal consciousness is in fact a modern thing: outsiders applied the concept of tribe to these clans. On the borders between languages, one always finds clans with marriage relations in both 'tribes', speaking transitional dialects. When asked what the name of their 'tribe' was, native speakers gave either the name of their clan or a general name meaning 'people'. Kombai is the Indonesianised version of a Kombai word *khoba* which means 'people'.

The sociolinguistic picture is complicated by the role of varieties of Indonesian in the area where Kombai is spoken. Bahasa Indonesia is the national language of Indonesia. In Irian Jaya a variety of this language has developed which Suharno (1979) has termed Irianese Indonesian. In the Kombai area pidginised versions of Irianese Indonesian function as lingua franca; those speakers of Kombai who went to school (approximately 10 per cent of the population?) have a sufficient command of Irianese Indonesian to maintain contact with outsiders (government people, missionaries, traders) on everyday life topics. Those Kombai speakers that did not go to school but have had a certain exposure to missionaries, traders and government officials, speak a strongly pidginised version of Irianese Indonesian which they only use in limited contact-situations with the outside world. At least half of the Kombai people do not speak Indonesian at all. Indonesian has a very high status; it is the language of the government, the school, the clinic and the church, in short the language of the modern institutions. But the use of Indonesian is restricted to situations in which these institutions are relevant. Outside these situations, in everyday life, Kombai is spoken. For modern concepts like 'school', 'elections', 'injection' Indonesian loan words are used and in this way many Indonesian words entered the lexicon of Kombai.

Of course, there are also other ways to express modern concepts. In Kombai the word *khwai* means 'spirit (of a dead person)'. At first contact, missionaries, who were the first outsiders they met, were seen as 'spirits'. Objects associated with missionaries, such as flashlights, matches, etc., were also considered to belong to the spirit world or the world of the dead. In the area north of Wanggemalo where the people still live in the old ways, these views are still strong as I have personally experienced. Now by putting the word *khwai* 'spirit' before another Kombai word, modern concepts may be denoted. For example, the word *doü* means 'sago'; now the compound word *khwai-doü* is used for rice, a food item introduced by outsiders. *Riya* means 'torch' and *khwai-riya* 'flashlight' (literally 'spirit-torch'). Also Kombai speakers who are convinced of the fact that outsiders are ordinary human beings, use the *khwai*-scheme which has become a productive scheme. In this way *khwai* also means 'foreigner' for some sections of the Kombai tribe. Indonesian is often called *khwaye-lu* 'spirit-language' in opposition to *khobaye-lu* 'human language' which is the name they use for their own (Kombai) language.

1.3 KOMBAL SOCIETY

Kombai society is organised in patrilineal clans, each having its own territory, with households of extended patrilineal families. Marriage is exogamous and polygynous, with elaborate marriage transactions involving bridal payments. Families live in tree-houses in the clan territory. They are primitive horticulturists, with sago and bananas as the basic food items. The women raise pigs. The men hunt wild pigs and cassowaries but snakes and other animals are also welcome to their generally protein-poor diet.

Ego has strong ties with both father's and mother's clan. The avunculate is an important institution. Ego has strained relations with his affinal relatives; with his wife's mother ego has an avoidance-relation. By gift-exchange affinal and other kinship-relations are maintained. The system of kinship terms reflects both the avunculate (the mother's brother central role) and the special position of a man's wife's mother. For the Kombai kinship system this has been shown by de Vries (1987) which also contains some information on Kombai culture. The Kombai kinship terminology is of the Omaha I type, using the typology of Lounsbury (1964), in which the mother's brother's son (MBS) is classified with mother's

brother (MB) and mother's brother's daughter (MBD) with mother's sister (MS). Venema (1990) describes the sago grub feast, the most important ritual of Kombai life.

1.4 KOMBAL AS A PAPUAN LANGUAGE AND AS A TNGP LANGUAGE

On the island of New Guinea both Austronesian and Papuan languages are spoken. The Papuan languages number about 750. If the Trans-New Guinea Phylum is a true genetic grouping (see Foley 1986:13,14 for some discussion), then 500 of these 750 would have one ancestral language. At the present state of our knowledge the term Papuan cannot be taken as a genetic term but as a term denoting those languages of New Guinea that do not belong to the Austronesian family. Notwithstanding the typological variation in Papuan languages, significant generalisations can be made about them as the work of Foley (1986) shows. The following sections list some Papuan and Trans-New Guinea Phylum features of Kombai.

1.4.1 KOMBAL AS A PAPUAN LANGUAGE

In this book we come across the following features of Kombai that are mentioned by Wurm (1982:35,36) as general Papuan characteristics.

Kombai's verb morphology is complex, featuring sentence-medial forms. These medial forms may be chained into long sentences, especially in narratives, linked to each other by tail-head linkage. (See Healey 1966 and Longacre 1972 for clause chaining and tail-head linkage in Papuan languages.)

The nominal morphology is simple. Nouns (including kinship terms) have no non-singular forms.

The counting system is based on body-parts used as tallies and there are only two 'real', that is, non-body-part-based numerals (see Wurm 1982:36).

Finally the SOV pattern of Kombai reflects the general Papuan verb-final pattern.

We have found no evidence of dual numbers in person-markers nor of noun classification. Wurm (1982:36) mentions both features as frequently occurring in Papuan languages. There is a certain indirect noun classification via the Kombai stative verbs, which classify nouns on the basis of their size, shape and position. Kombai has three such classificatory stative verbs, one for 'to stand', one for 'to lie' and one for 'to sit'. Classificatory stative verbs of this sort have been found in many Papuan languages (see Lang 1975, Foley 1986:88; Wurm (1982:81) mentions the presence of classificatory existential verbs as a characteristic feature of TNGP languages).

In Kombai there is an /l/ versus /r/ opposition which is a rather infrequent phonemic opposition in Papuan languages.

1.4.2 KOMBAL AS A TRANS-NEW GUINEA PHYLUM LANGUAGE

In Kombai we find prenasalisation of voiced stops, a widespread feature of the TNGP (McElhanon & Voorhoeve 1970) but also occurring in many Austronesian languages both within and outside New Guinea (Haiman 1980:xxxiii).

The Kombai syllable structure without CC clusters reflects the usual TNGP syllable structure (see Reesink 1984:15).

In several TNGP languages we find restrictions on the consonants that may close the syllable (see Reesink (1984:15); Haiman (1980:xxxiv)). In Kombai no consonants may close the syllable.

The quite elaborate morphophonemics of Kombai represents a general TNGP feature (see Wurm 1982:77).

Kombai has a seven vowel system, including a front rounded close vowel /y/ and a back spread close vowel /ɯ/, and this is two more than the usual TNGP five vowel system. The front rounded vowels are a typical addition of the Awyu-family to the five vowel system (see Wurm (1982:139)). The back spread close vowel /ɯ/ makes the Kombai vowel system nicely symmetrical, with the front opposition /i/ vs. /y/ mirrored by the back opposition /ɯ/ vs. /u/.

Kombai employs suffixes in the verb morphology (but there are aspectual prefixes), like most other TNGP languages. In the noun morphology we meet the usual possessive prefixes.

The category conflation of second and third person in Kombai verb paradigms (both in singular and plural) occurs commonly in the TNGP, especially in the non-singular (Haiman 1980:xxxix; Wurm 1982:83).

The dependent verbs are another typical TNGP phenomenon that we also find in Kombai (see Wurm 1982:83). However, they are not very strongly represented in Kombai. In this respect, Kombai fits into the general Awyu-family pattern. Although the temporal relation of sequence finds expression in dependent verb forms in Kombai (stem+*-fo*), the opposition conceptually close versus conceptually non-close seems to be more important. The simultaneity relation for example is subsumed in Kombai under the conceptually close verb form. Wambon, which is a more typical TNGP language as far as medial verbs and the categories they express are concerned, does express the sequence-simultaneity opposition in the medial forms.

Kombai support-verbs *-ma* and *-khe* reflect a general TNGP pattern (see Haiman 1980:xlvi).

The tense-related suppletive stems of Kombai verbs seem to be a typical Awyu-family feature (see Wurm (1982:139)). Leaving the verb morphology, we turn to pronouns.

The base consonants of the Kombai personal pronouns of first and second person reflect the base consonants of Wurm's set I pronouns (Wurm 1982:37,38). According to Wurm (1982), pronouns in Papuan languages belong formally to three different basic sets. In TNGP languages there is a 'preponderance of set I forms' (Wurm 1982:37). Compare the Kombai pronouns of (a) with the set I base consonants of (b). Wurm (1982) leaves the 3PL forms out of consideration.

(a)	SG	1	<i>nu</i>	I
		2	<i>gu</i>	you
		3	<i>khe</i>	he/she/it
PL	1	<i>nagu</i>	we	
	2	<i>(n)age</i>	you(PL)	

(b) SG	1	<i>n</i>
	2	<i>k~g~ŋg</i>
	3	<i>y~t~d~r~l~s, V k(~-g~-ŋ)</i>
PL	1	<i>n</i>
	2	<i>k~g~ŋg~ŋ, t~d~r~s~y</i>

The initial consonant of Kombai 1SG/PL and 2SG/PL forms reflect the set I base consonants. The 3SG pronoun of Kombai is deviant. In the plural Kombai has bi-syllabic forms (see Wurm (1982) for a discussion of such forms).

CHAPTER 2

KOMBAI PHONEMES

In this chapter the Kombai phonemes and some major morphophonemic changes are described.

2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

2.1.1 CONSONANTS

2.1.1.1 CHART OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosives	/ ^m b/	/ ⁿ d/	/j/	/ ^ŋ g/
labialised plosives				/ ^ŋ g ^w /
nasals	/m/	/n/		
fricatives	/ɸ/			/x/
labialised fricatives				/x ^w /
laterals		/l/		
vibrants		/r/		
semi-vowels	/w/		/j/	
	/ɸ/			

2.1.1.2 SOME CONTRASTS FOR CONSONANTS

/ ^m b/ vs. /ɸ/	:	/ ^m bi/ 'tortoise'; /ɸi/ 'night'
/ ^ŋ g/ vs. /x/	:	/á ^ŋ gu/ 'we'; /áxu/ 'kind of vegetables'
/ ^m b/ vs. /m/	:	/rá ^m bu/ 'kind of fruit'; /rámu/ 'cucumber'
/ ⁿ d/ vs. /n/	:	/ ⁿ dáre/ 'father'; /náre/ 'grandfather'
/ ^ŋ g ^w / vs. / ^ŋ g/	:	/ ^ŋ g ^w ári/ 'snake'; / ^ŋ gári/ 'your case'
/l/ vs. /r/	:	/lo/ 'seed'; /ro/ 'opening, hole'
/w/ vs. /ɸ/	:	/ráwo/ 'tobacco leaf'; /ráɸo/ 'mud'
/j/ vs. /j/	:	/Ja/ 'he called'; /ja/ 'they'
/x ^w / vs. / ^ŋ g ^w /	:	/x ^w ari/ 'sweat'; / ^ŋ g ^w ari/ 'snake'

For the following contrasts, there is only evidence from contrasts in analogous (and not identical) environments:

/x/ vs. /x ^w /	:	/x ^w aí/ 'spirit'; /xaíɸo/ 'different'
/w/ vs. /ɸ/	:	/ráwo/ 'tobacco leaf'; /aɸó/ 'cough'

2.1.1.3 CONSONANT ALLOPHONES

	word initial	word medial
/ ^m b/	[^m b/ ^m b̥]	[^m b/ ^m b̥]
/ ⁿ d/	[ⁿ d]	[ⁿ d]
/ʔg/	[ʔg]	[ʔg]
/ʔg ^w /	[ʔg ^w]	[ʔg ^w]
/ɟ/	[ɟ]	[ɟ]
/m/	[m]	[m]
/n/	[n]	[n]
/β̥/	[β̥/β̥]	[β̥/β̥]
/x/	[x/x̥]	[x̥/x̥]
/x ^w /	[x ^w]	[x ^w]
/l/	[l]	[l]
/r/	[r]	[r]
/w/	[w]	[w]
/ɸ/	[ɸ]	[ɸ]
/j/	[j]	[j]

Consonants do not occur word finally in Kombai (see section 2.3).

The lateralised allophones of /^mb/, /β̥/ and /x/ may replace their non-lateralised counterparts in all positions. For example:

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|----------|
| (1) | [ja ^m bóma] | ill |
| | [ja ^m b̥jóma] | ill |
| (2) | [β̥i] | night |
| | [β̥̥i] | night |
| (3) | [xóɾɔ] | eye |
| | [x̥óɾɔ] | eye |
| (4) | [^m bi] | tortoise |
| | [^m b̥ji] | tortoise |

2.1.2 VOWELS

2.1.2.1 CHARTS OF VOWEL AND GLIDE PHONEMES

	front		central	back	
	unrounded	rounded		unrounded	rounded
close	/i/	/y/		/ɯ/	/u/
open	/e/		/a/		/o/

For glides:

	front	central	back
close			/u̥/
open	/e̥/	/ḁ/ /ḁ ^u / /ḁ ^y /	/o̥/ /o̥ ^u / /o̥ ^y /

2.1.2.2 SOME CONTRASTS FOR VOWELS

<i>/i/ vs. /e/</i>	:	<i>/i/</i>	earth
	:	<i>/e/</i>	bird
<i>/i/ vs. /y/</i>	:	<i>/ri/</i>	case, cause
	:	<i>/ry/</i>	banana
<i>/a/ vs. /e/</i>	:	<i>/a/</i>	house
	:	<i>/e/</i>	bird
<i>/a/ vs. /o/</i>	:	<i>/a/</i>	house
	:	<i>/o/</i>	water
<i>/u/ vs. /ʊ/</i>	:	<i>/u/</i>	dream
	:	<i>/ʊ/</i>	right hand
<i>/u/ vs. /o/</i>	:	<i>/ʌ/</i>	word, sound
	:	<i>/lo/</i>	seed

Some of the glide phonemes have a low frequency. Therefore the contrastive evidence for glides is incomplete.

<i>/e/ vs. /eⁱ/</i>	:	<i>/réra^mbo/</i>	red
	:	<i>/réⁱra^mbo/</i>	Sunday
<i>/a/ vs. /aⁱ/</i>	:	<i>/a/</i>	house
	:	<i>/aⁱ/</i>	pig
<i>/a/ vs. /a^u/</i>	:	<i>/rijá/</i>	torch
	:	<i>/rijá^u/</i>	kind of bird
<i>/o/ vs. /o^u/</i>	:	<i>/^mbo-/</i>	durative
	:	<i>/^mbo^u/</i>	knee
<i>/o/ vs. /o^y/</i>	:	<i>/lo/</i>	seed
	:	<i>/lo^y/</i>	turtle
<i>/o^y/ vs. /o^u/</i>	:	<i>/xo^y/</i>	pipe
	:	<i>/xo^u/</i>	sky

The phonemic contrasts between some vowels are neutralised in a number of words. This concerns especially */e/ vs. /i/* and */u/ vs. /o/*. Compare:

- (5) */áⁱʔe/* I shall go
/áⁱʔi/ I shall go
- (6) */xoró-/* to enter
/xurú-/ to enter

2.1.2.3 VOWEL AND GLIDE ALLOPHONES

<i>/i/</i>	:	[i]
<i>/y/</i>	:	[y]
<i>/e/</i>	:	[ɛ], [e] and [ɪ]. In free variation in all positions.
<i>/a/</i>	:	[a] and [a̠]. The backed [a̠] before prenasalised plosives, [a] elsewhere.
<i>/ʊ/</i>	:	[ʊ]

/u/	:	[u]
/o/	:	[o] and [ɔ]. [o] before prenasalised plosives, [ɔ] elsewhere.
/a ⁱ /	:	[a ⁱ]
/e ⁱ /	:	[e ⁱ]
/u ⁱ /	:	[u ⁱ]
/o ⁱ /	:	[o ⁱ]
/o ^u /	:	[o ^u]
/o ^y /	:	[o ^y]
/a ^u /	:	[a ^u]

2.1.3 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

2.1.3.1 STRESS

Stress is phonemic. Compare:

- (7) /xuⁿdó/ foot
 /xúⁿdo/ meat
- (8) /réⁿge/ red
 /reⁿgé/ penis

2.1.3.2 NASALITY

Nasality is one of the problems still unsolved in my analysis. It is difficult to hear. In the data there are pairs like:

- (9) /a/ house
 (10) /ã/ breast

For the time being it seems safest to assume that nasality is phonemic. Compare also:

- (11) /^mbo-/ durative
 (12) /^mbõ-/ decayed

2.2 GRAPHEME TABLE

Phoneme	Grapheme	Phoneme	Grapheme
/ ^m b/	<i>b</i>	/l/	<i>l</i>
/ ⁿ d/	<i>d</i>	/r/	<i>r</i>
/ ⁿ g/	<i>g</i>	/j/	<i>y</i>
/ ⁿ g ^w /	<i>gw</i>	/ɥ/	<i>h</i>
/j/	<i>j</i>	/i/	<i>i</i>
/m/	<i>m</i>	/y/	<i>ü</i>
/n/	<i>n</i>	/e/	<i>e</i>
/f/	<i>f</i>	/a/	<i>a</i>
/x/	<i>kh</i>	/u/	<i>u</i>
/x ^w /	<i>khw</i>	/o/	<i>o</i>
/w/	<i>w</i>	/ɯ/	<i>uu</i>

Phoneme	Grapheme	Phoneme	Grapheme
/e ⁱ /	<i>ei</i>	/o ^u /	<i>ou</i>
/ai/	<i>ai</i>	/o ⁱ /	<i>oi</i>
/a ^u /	<i>au</i>	/o ^y /	<i>öü</i>
/u ⁱ /	<i>ui</i>		

2.3 SYLLABLES, WORDS, MORPHOPHONEMICS

There is one syllable-type: (C)V. Examples:

- (13) *a* house
 (14) *nu* I

The canonical word form is:

- (15) (C)V.(CV)⁰⁻⁹

Some examples:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|---|------------------|--------------------|
| (16) | V | : | <i>o</i> | water |
| | CV | : | <i>nu</i> | I |
| | CV.CV | : | <i>momo</i> | uncle |
| | V.CV | : | <i>akhu</i> | type of vegetables |
| | CV.CV.CV.CV | : | <i>rakhumofe</i> | I shall buy |

The canonical form (15) implies the absence of VV and CC clusters (the grapheme *kh* represents a single sound, cf. section 2.2). Furthermore that consonants do not occur finally and that vowel syllables may only occur initially.

A number of morphophonemic processes can be understood as rules preserving the pattern (15).

In the first place there is the morphophonemic process deleting word-final consonants. Compare (17) and (18):

- (17) *momof-o lã*
 uncle-CONN wife
 uncle's wife
- (18) *Momo bome.*
 uncle DUR.come.3SG.NF
 Uncle is coming.

In (18) the final consonant of *momof* 'uncle' is deleted. In (17) this final *f* of the word *momof* has been retained before the connective clitic *-o*. Compare also (19)-(20) and (21)-(22):

- (19) *na-lan-o momo*
 my-wife-CONN uncle
 my wife's uncle
- (20) *na-lã*
 my-wife
 my wife

- (21) *e*
bird
bird
- (22) *el-o lu*
bird-CONN voice
the voice of the bird

In (20) the final /n/ of *lan* has been deleted; in (22) the final /l/ of *el* 'bird'.

Another rule to preserve the canonical form (15) is nasal insertion: whenever, because of morpheme clustering, a VV sequence results, an /n/ is inserted in between the two vowels:

- (23) *a* house
- (24) *na-* my
- (25) *na-n-a*
my-TR-house
my house
- (26) *na-n-ai*
my-TR-pig
my pig

Occasionally, we find a transitional *y* between vowels:

- (27) *Dare-y-a.*
grandfather-TR-PRED
It is grandfather.

When the two vowels are the same, we sometimes find vowel elision instead of nasal insertion:

- (28) *na-* my
- (29) *are* father
- (30) *n-are*
my-father
my father

Notice that in (25) and (26) there is nasal insertion and not elision. Nasal insertion is the unmarked solution to VV clusters, with an overwhelming frequency compared to *y* insertion.

There are some other morphophonemic rules, not connected with preserving the pattern (15), which should also be mentioned here.

The most important assimilation rule in Kombai is vowel-harmony. Compare (31)-(33):

- (31) *el-o lu*
bird-CONN voice
the voice of the bird
- (32) *khof-a kha*
man-CONN skin
the skin of a human

- (33) *nuwayof-e idi*
 cassowary-CONN egg
 the egg of a cassowary

The connective *-o* (see section 3.8.2.1) harmonises across the word boundary with the first vowel of the head noun with which the connective links pre-nominal modifiers. This harmonisation is optional. For example in (17) the connective has not been harmonised. When the head noun has a front vowel in the first syllable the connective appears as *-e* (e.g. (33)), with a back vowel in the first syllable as *-o*, and with a central vowel in the first syllable as *-a* (e.g. (32)).

With the durative prefix *bo-* we see vowel-harmony along the same lines:

- (34) *Bo-ne-de.*
 DUR-eat-1SG.NF
 I am eating.
- (35) *Ba-kha-de.*
 DUR-go-1SG.NF
 I am going.
- (36) *Be-ri-de.*
 DUR-make-1SG.NF
 I am making.

In (34) vowel-harmony has not taken place: the durative prefix has its basic form *bo-*; in (35) there is *ba-* before the central vowel of the verb stem and in (36) *be-* before the front vowel of the verb stem.

In some cases, with the back vowel /u/, there is harmonisation to /u/ instead of /o/. Thus the support-verb *-ma* is harmonised to *-mo* in (37), the normal assimilation in the context of back vowels, but in (38) there is complete harmonisation to the /u/ of the preceding stem.

- (37) *Furu-mo kha.*
 good-SUPP.SS go.3SG.NF
 He went well.
- (38) *Agu-mu kha.*
 slow-SUPP.SS go.3SG.NF
 He went slowly.

A last major morphophonemic process is the change from /x/ to /ŋg/ after nasal vowels. Compare (39) and (40):

- (39) /^mbú-xe/
 lazy-ADJ
 lazy
- (40) /^mbõ-ŋge/
 decayed-ADJ
 decayed

Since /ŋg/ is a pre-nasalised phoneme and /õ/ a nasal vowel, the change in (40) is a type of nasal assimilation. /-xe/ is an adjectival suffix (see section 3.4).

We have now discussed final consonant deletion, transitional nasal insertion, vowel-harmony and nasal assimilation. There are a number of minor morphophonemic changes. These will be indicated in the morphology section when they occur in the examples.

CHAPTER 3

KOMBAI WORD CLASSES

This chapter gives an outline of the morphology of Kombai. Each section discusses a word category that seems relevant to Kombai grammar. The word categories are first characterised in terms of where and how they function in phrases and clauses and/or in terms of the morphological categories they express. Following this characterisation, derivational processes, if any, are treated. Finally, there is a discussion of the inflectional aspects.

3.1 VERBS

Verbs are words which are inflected for switch-reference and/or tense. Verbs are the unmarked fillers of the head of the predicate slot. When nouns or adjectives function as head of the predicate, they constitute marked items which is expressed by (optional) copula-support (see section 3.1.3.4) or by verbalisation (see section 3.1.2).

3.1.2 DERIVATION OF VERBS

Support-verbs are verbs whose stems go with other stems, both verbal and non-verbal, to form compound verbs. The existence of support-verbs seems to be a common feature of TNGP languages (Haiman 1980:xvi). There are two support-verbs, *-ma* and *-khe*. Like their Wambon cognates *-mo* and *ke* (see de Vries 1989:13), they do not function as 'true verbs' but as verbalising suffixes.¹

3.1.2.1 VERBALISATION OF ADJECTIVES

Adjectives can be productively turned into verbs with *-ma*. For example (41)-(43):

- (41) *furu-* good
furuma- to be good
- (42) *rera-* glad; pleased
rerama- to be glad; to be pleased
- (43) *Nagu rera-ma-defo.*
we glad-SUPP-1PL.NF
We are glad.

¹ I have found, however, one example in which *ma* functions as a true verb:

(1) *Gu ma-n-a nu reramade.*
You cause.3SG.NF-TR-CONN I glad.SUPP.1SG.NF
You make me glad.

In (1) *ma* occurs as a verb meaning 'to do, cause' and as a support-verb in *rerama-* 'to be glad'.

Some adjectives are verbalised with *-khe* instead of *-ma*:

- (44) *gabü-* angry; aggressive
*gabüge*² to be angry; to be aggressive
**gabüma-* to be angry; to be aggressive

Other adjectives are verbalised with both *-khe* and *-ma*:

- (45) *bu-* 1. lazy 2. tired
buma- 1. to be lazy 2. to be tired
bukhe- 1. to be lazy 2. to be tired

The data on *-khe* with adjectives are insufficient to draw any definite conclusions.

3.1.2.2 INDONESIAN VERB LOANS

Indonesian verbs and adjectives are productively integrated into the Kombai lexicon with *-ma*, never with *-khe*. For example (46):

- (46) Indonesian : *tolong* to help
 Kombai : *tolongma-* or *toloma-* to help
 Indonesian : *sakit* ill
 Kombai : *sakitma-* or *sakima-* to be ill

Depending on the education of the speakers, the Indonesian loans retain their original pronunciation or are adapted towards the Kombai canonical word form (see section 2.3).

3.1.2.3 NOUN-BASED DERIVED VERBS

Although there are many noun-based *-ma* verbs, there is no (longer) productive verbalisation of nouns with *-ma*. So far I have found only a couple of *-khe* derived verbs based on nouns. Example (47a) is an example of a noun-based derived verb with *-ma* and example (47b) with *-khe*:

- (47a) *rakhe* money
rakhu-ma- to pay; to buy; to sell
 (47b) *finã* thought, desire
finã-ge- to think, desire

3.1.2.4 HABITUAL-ITERATIVE VERB FORMATION WITH *-ma*

From verbs, habitual-iterative verbs are productively derived by reduplicating the verb-root and adding *-ma*. For example:

- (48) *khakhe-* to listen
khakhe-khakhe-ma- to listen habitually; to be obedient
 (49) *ne-* to eat
ne-ne-ma- to eat repeatedly/usually

² See section 2.3 for the nasal assimilation *-khe>-ge*.

- (50) *Ya doü ne-ne-ma-n-o.*
 they sago eat-eat-SUPP-TR-3PL.NF
 They usually eat sago./They are sago-eaters.

3.1.2.5 *-khe* AND TEMPORALS

With certain time words, temporal verbs can be derived with *-khe*. For example:

- (51) *rei* sun; day
rei-khe- to become light

The verb *reikhe-* is always used as the centre of a temporal clause, with the meaning 'tomorrow':

- (52) *Be-rei-khe-n-a* *nu meda.*
 DUR-day-SUPP.3SG.NF-TR-CONN I come.1SG.INT
 Tomorrow I want to come.

Example (52) literally says 'it is becoming day and I come'.

With the Indonesian words for the days of the week *-khe* is also frequently used:

- (53) *hari Jumat* Friday (Indonesian)
harijumat-khe- to be(come) Friday

Verbs like *harijumatkhe-* are generally used in temporal clauses, connected with the coordinating connective *-a* to the rest of the sentence:

- (54) *Harijumat-khe-n-a* *nu yabo-ma-de.*
 Friday-SUPP.3SG.NF-TR-CONN I ill-SUPP-1SG.NF
 On Friday I fell ill.

3.1.2.6 *-khe* AND EXPERIENTIALS

Experiential verbs are verbs denoting psychological or physical conditions which people may experience, for example, to be angry, cold, hungry, sad.

Kombai experiential verbs, like Wambon experiential verbs (see de Vries 1989:15) have their experiencers expressed as topics³ (see Dik 1978:141) and their phenomena or conditions, if they are overtly expressed, as subjects:

- (56) *Nu rere bomari.*
 I blood DUR.go.down.3SG.NF
 I am bleeding.

In (56) the verb agrees with the phenomenon subject *rere* 'blood'. The topic is *nu* 'I'. Example (56) says literally: 'As far as I am concerned, the blood comes down'.

In Kombai we often find experiential predicates with *-khe*. For example:

³ The existence of experiencer topics with experiential verbs has been reported for many Papuan languages (Davies 1981; Reesink 1984). In experiential predicates there tends to be a generalised 'do', 'be', 'come' or 'hit/strike' verb as support-verb to create an experiential predicate.

- (57) *Nagu khunū-ge.*
 we sleep-SUPP.3SG.NF
 We are sleepy.
- (58) *Ya okh-o finā-ge.*
 they water-CONN thought-SUPP.3SG.NF
 They are thirsty.

Drabbe (1955:100) has described similar phenomena in Marind labelling constructions such as (57)-(58) 'eventive'. Drabbe (1955:86) remarks that eventive predicates often are formed with the auxiliary (support-verb) *a*.

3.1.2.7 *-ma* AND THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

Immediate future verbs are productively derived by adding the support-verb *-ma* to future infinitives. Future infinitives are formed (see section 3.1.3.5) by adding the future marker *-i* to the future stem. Examples:

- (59) *ne-* to eat (non-future stem)
ade- to eat (future stem)
adeni- future infinitive
adenima- to eat in a moment (immediate future verb)
- (60) *Doi ade-n-i-ma-de.*
 sago eat-TR-F-SUPP-1SG.NF
 I shall eat sago in a moment.

I have analysed the formation of immediate future verbs as a derivational process, analogous to the formation of habitual-iterative verbs with *-ma* (see section 3.1.2.4). Notice that the support-verb takes non-future endings in this immediate future formation.

Immediate future verbs are typically used when the speaker announces what he is going to do or say presently:

- (61) *Mene umo-n-i-ma-de-ro...*
 this say-TR-F-SUPP-1SG.NF-SUB/thing
 What I am going to tell about...

Somebody may also close a conversation by using (62) just before leaving:

- (62) *Nu b-a-n-i-ma-de.*
 I DUR-go-TR-F-SUPP-1SG.NF
 I am going now.

The example (62) could be rendered also as: 'I am such that I will go in the near future.' More research is needed to establish the meaning of these forms. One of the possibilities is that these forms express both prospective aspect and immediate future tense. Drabbe (1955:42) noticed a similar combination of modal, aspectual and tense meanings for what he termed the *futurum proximum* in Marind. The Marind *futurum proximum* (immediate future) also has meanings like '*op het punt staan te*' ('to be about to do something', immediate prospective aspect) and '*vanplan zijn te*' ('to plan to do something', intentional mood).

3.1.2.8 THE NEGATION *-do* WITH *-ma*

The negation *-do* (see section 3.1.3.3.6) also forms input for *-ma* derivation. The only form of the resultant negative verb that I encountered is the dependent same subject (SS) form *domo* (see section 3.1.3.2 for dependent SS forms). This *domo* 'not do/not be' is the stem-only form. These stem-only dependent verb forms are often used as modifiers of the next verb (see section 3.1.3.2.1).

The element *domo* is only used as a negative in the imperative. The imperative negative consists of *domo* followed by the imperative form of the verb (see section 3.1.3.3.4.1.1):

- (63) *Do-mo* *ade-n-i!*
 NEG-SUPP.SS eat-TR-IMP
 Do not eat!

3.1.3 VERB INFLECTION

3.1.3.1 DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VERBS

Sentence-medial forms are one of the outstanding features of TNGP languages (Wurm 1982:83). Generally in the Awyu-family sentence-medial forms are not highly developed (Wurm 1982:139), with the exception of Wambon which has quite elaborate sentence-medial forms (de Vries & de Vries-Wiersma 1992).

Kombai is a more typical Awyu-language as far as medial forms go: although they do occur, they are not strongly represented. Whereas in Wambon there are special medial different subject (DS) forms, in Kombai these are absent, although the DS/SS opposition is expressed in Kombai also.

Dependent verbs in Kombai are verb forms which for their person-number and tense-mood interpretation depend on the next independent verb form. Dependent verb forms only occur medially in the sentence and always imply that the next verb has the same subject (SS transition) as the dependent verb. Dependent verbs may indicate the temporal relationship holding between the dependent verb and the next verb in the sentence.

Dependent verb clauses are always coordinated to the next clause. In (64) *ferara* is an example of a dependent verb form:

- (64) ... *fera-ra* *gwari b-udef-a*
 see.SS-and snake DUR-hit.1SG.NF-CONN(DS)
 gwari mene bomu.
 snake TOP resist.violently.3SG.NF
 ...I saw (the snake) and when I was hitting the snake, it resisted violently.

In (64) *budefa* and *bomu* are independent verb forms. Example (64) is part of a long chain of dependent and independent verbs. Such narrative chaining in long sentences containing many verbs is a common way of building sentences in TNGP languages.

Independent verb forms express person-number and tense-mood distinctions independently. They may occur both medially and finally in sentences. When occurring medially, independent verb forms normally are followed by verbs with a different subject. We have found, however, some examples of medially occurring independent verbs in SS

transitions.⁴ Nevertheless the conclusion seems safe that the medial occurrence of independent verbs indicates a DS transition whereas dependent verbs signal SS transitions. Thus the finite versus non-finite distinction has been grammaticalised into the SS/DS opposition.

The medial use of *budefa* indicates the change of subject between the first person singular subject of *budefa* and the *gwari* subject of *bomu*.

3.1.3.2 DEPENDENT VERB FORMS

Dependent verb forms consist of the verb-stem only. The relators *-fo* 'sequence' and *-ra* 'coordination/and' may cliticise to these stems expressing the relationship to the next verb.

3.1.3.2.1 WITHOUT RELATOR CLITICS

The stem-only form (the verb stem without relator clitics) is used when the relation between two clauses is conceptually close.⁵ A common form of conceptual closeness is when a verb semantically functions as modifier of the next verb. For example:

- (65) *Wagemalo bumo me-de.*
 Wanggemalo return.SS come-1SG.NF
 I returned to Wanggemalo.

In (65) the dependent verb *bumo* together with the independent verb *mede* expresses the idea of 'returning'.

Very often this modifying dependent verb expresses manner:

- (66) *Furu-ma khakhe-n-i!*
 good-SUPP.SS listen-TR-IMP
 Listen well!

⁴ The following text contains such an example:

- (1) ... *dunoro mofena fali me lara rofano-n-a luwano:*
 food that bring.SS come.SS next(and) put.down.3PL.NF-TR-conn say.3PL.NF

"*Gu mena ge nane-neno!*"

you this IMP.eat.imp-QUOTE

... they brought that food and put it down and said: "You must eat this!"

In (1) the independent form *rofano* is followed by *luwano*. Both verbs have the same subject. Thus (1) constitutes a counter-example to the rule that medially used independent verbs indicate DS transitions. A possible explanation is that examples like (1) are only apparent counter-examples. They could constitute speech errors. Evidence supporting this possibility is that we have heard speakers correct themselves in similar cases: they started with a medial independent verb followed by a verb with the same subject, then replaced the medial independent form by a dependent form. This happens when a speaker first wants to conclude his sentence, therefore choosing an independent form and then decides to add information.

⁵ The notions of conceptual distance and closeness are used here as defined by Haiman (1983: 783): First, two concepts are conceptually close to the extent that they share semantic properties (e.g., two verbs are closer if they share a common tense, mood, subject, object, or topic); second, two concepts are close to the extent that one is thought to affect the other (e.g. the conceptual closeness between a verb and its object varies with the transitivity of the verb); finally, two concepts are close to the extent that they are perceived as inseparable (e.g., there is a closer conceptual link between a possessor and an inalienably possessed object than between a possessor and an alienably possessed object).

- (67) *Wei-mo kha-n-o.*
fast-SUPP.SS go-TR-3PL.NF
They went fast.

In (66) *furuma* specifies the manner of the 'listening' and in (67) *weimo* the manner of the 'going'.

The most important source of such manner verbs is derivation from adjectives with *-ma* (section 3.1.2.1). The stem-only form of the resultant adjective-based *-ma* verb is then used as a manner verb.

When two events occupy the same time span (simultaneity), this also constitutes a form of conceptual closeness and therefore we find the stem-only form also in simultaneity-contexts:

- (68) *Ya umo khano.*
they talk.SS go.3PL.NF
While talking, they were going.

Dependently linked clauses should be distinguished from serial root constructions (Bruce 1986) in which two or more verb roots are juxtaposed to form one complex predicate which is the head of one clause. This serialisation of verb roots is a productive morpho-syntactic process in Kombai as in many other Papuan languages (Foley 1986). The examples (69)-(70) show serial root constructions and dependently linked clauses:

- (69) *U-ra fali-mimaye-fo fali-ra*
hit.SS-and carry-go.out.SS-SEQ carry.SS-and
mimaye-fo ge dodof-o da rofedef-o
go.out.SS-SEQ next wood-CONN surface put.1SG.NF-CONN
leina ge gubino u-ruma-de.
after next neck hit-cut-1SG.NF
I hit it and carried it out and after I had put it on a piece of wood I cut its neck.
- (70) *U-rumadef-o leina fo-ra fali-ra*
hit-cut.1SG.NF-CONN after take.SS-and carry.SS-and
maru-me-fo-ra me-khalu
go.up-come.SS-SEQ-and come-go.down.SS
reme da me rofadefe.
concrete surface come.SS put.1SG.NF
Having cut it, I took it upwards and then put it down on the concrete floor.

In (69) we see the clause *u-ra* 'hit.SS-and' dependently linked by the relator *-ra* 'and' to the next clause. The same verb *u-* 'to hit, to kill' occurs in a serial root construction in the complex predicate *u-ruma-de* 'I cut' in (69). In (70) we have the verb *fali-* 'to carry' as head of a dependent clause linked by the interclausal relator *-ra* to the next clause whereas the same root is part of the serial root construction *fali-mimaye-fo* in (69).

As (69)-(70) show, serial root constructions are especially frequent with verbs of motion and direction (e.g. *marumefora* in (70)). The close conceptual association between the verb denoting the motion and the one denoting the direction is formally expressed in the cohesion of roots in the serial root construction.

3.1.3.2.2 DEPENDENT VERB FORMS WITH CLITICAL RELATORS

There are two relator clitics which cliticise to the dependent verb: *-ra* and *-fo*. *-ra* is the most frequent and the most general in meaning; it expresses coordination and at the same time conceptual distance with respect to the following verb; thus the formation stem+*-ra* (conceptually non-close) contrasts with stem (conceptually close). The forms with *-ra* cannot be used to express simultaneity, the stem-only forms may express simultaneity. *-ra* forms are never used for manner modifying verbs. *-ra* forms are appropriate, for example, when the first event starts before the next event (i.e. the two consecutive verbs do not express events which occupy the same time-span). For example:

- (71) *Ya umo-ra khano.*
 they speak.SS-and go.3PL.NF
 They spoke and went away.

In (71) the speaking starts before the going; the speaking may or may not have continued during the going. When a speaker wants to express the idea of sequence in the sense that the first event started before the second and was completed before the second, then the temporal clitic *-fo* is used, for example, in (69) we find *-fo* on *falimimayefo* 'go out'. Since *-ra* does not express a specific temporal relation but is a general coordinator implying conceptual non-closeness, *-ra* may co-occur with *-fo* 'sequence'. In (72) we find both *-ra* and *-fo* on the dependent verb *mimafora*:

- (72) ... *mima-fo-ra ge bumo khukhu*
 go.out.SS-SEQ-and again return.SS go.in.SS
gwari ũ-de.
 snake kill-1SG.NF
 ...I went out first and then went in again and killed the snake.

3.1.3.3 INDEPENDENT VERB FORMS

3.1.3.3.1 PERSON AND NUMBER

In the category of person the contrast is between speaker and non-speaker, between first person, marked by *-f-*, and second/third person, expressed by the absence of person marking (zero-marked).

In number, there is a contrast between singular (zero-marked) and plural (expressed by *-o*). In the imperative positive the plural is marked by *-a*.

3.1.3.3.2 STEMS

Most Kombai verbs have basic stems and tense-related suppletive stems. The basic stem is the shorter one. Most verbs have two stems: the basic stem, used for non-future tense, imperative positive mood and the non-future infinitive, and a suppletive stem used for the future tense, imperative negative mood, the future infinitive and the intentional mood. Suppletive stems are unpredictable.

Some verbs have more than one suppletive stem. For example *ne-* 'to eat' has the future stem *ade-* and the imperative positive stem *na-*; *me-* 'to come' has *meda-* as future stem, *munu-* as non-future negative stem and *ma-* as imperative stem.

Other verbs have only one stem. For example: *khakhe-* 'to listen'.

The support-verb *-ma* has *-mo* as its future stem. Thus all *-ma*-derived verbs have a *-mo* future stem. Example: *firuma-* 'to pause' with future stem *firumo-*.

3.1.3.3.3 TENSE

The basic tense-opposition in Kombai is future versus non-future. For events occurring after 'utterance-time' the future tense is used and for events before 'utterance-time' the non-future is used. In the stems of the great majority of verbs this opposition is reflected: there is a non-future stem and a future stem.

For events occurring after 'utterance-time' the future is the unmarked choice but in certain conditions the intentional mood or the immediate future is used. Like the iterative-habitual aspect, the immediate future tense is a derivational and not an inflectional category (see section 3.1.2.7)

3.1.3.3.3.1 NON-FUTURE TENSE

The non-future tense marker is the suffix *-de*. However, in 2/3 SG and PL forms this marker is absent. The non-future (NF) is formed as follows:

(73) basic stem (non-future stem) + tense + person + number

Example (74) is the paradigm for *kha-* 'to go':

(74)	SG	1:	<i>khade</i>	I go/I went
		NON-1:	<i>kha</i>	you(SG)/he/she/it go(es)/went
	PL	1:	<i>khadefo</i>	we go/we went
		NON-1:	<i>khano</i>	you(PL)/they go/went

Example (74) is the paradigm after the application of the morphophonemic rules. The underlying form of 1SG consists of the stem plus the tense marker *-de* plus the person marker *-f-* (first person); the number (singular) is zero-marked. This basic form *khadef* is turned into the form *khade* by application of final consonant deletion (see section 2.3 examples (17) and (18)). When the 1SG non-future form is used medially and linked to the next clause by the connective *-a*, the first person marker is no longer final and appears before the connective (*khadef-a...* 'I go/went and...').

The 2/3SG form consists of the stem only; in second and third person forms the non-future marker is absent; number (singular) and person (NON-1) are both zero-marked (see section 3.1.3.3.1).

The 1PL form consists of the stem *kha-*, plus the non-future marker *-de* plus the first person marker *-f-* and the plural marker *-o* giving *khadefo*.

The NON-1PL form consists of *kha-* plus transitional nasal (see section 2.3) plus the plural suffix *-o*; the non-future marker is absent in NON-1 forms. Person (NON-1) is zero-marked.

With verb stems ending in a nasal vowel, we find different endings in the NON-1 person, which is marked with *-ge*:

(75)	SG	1:	<i>ũ-de</i>	I kill(ed)
		NON-1:	<i>ũ-ge</i>	
	PL	1:	<i>ũ-defo</i>	
		NON-1:	<i>ũ-geno</i>	

3.1.3.3.3.2 FUTURE TENSE

The future suffix is *-i* (freely varying with *-e*). The future is formed as follows:

(76) Future stem + person + number + tense

The paradigm (77) exemplifies (76) with the verb *kha-* 'to go', future stem *ai-*:

(77)	SG	1:	<i>aifi</i>	I shall go
		NON-1:	<i>aini</i>	
	PL	1:	<i>aifoni</i>	
		NON-1:	<i>ainoni</i>	

The 1SG form consist of the future stem *ai-* plus the first person marker *-f-* plus the future marker *-i*. Singular number is zero-marked.

The NON-1SG form consists of the stem *ai-* plus a transitional nasal (see section 2.3) plus the future marker *-i*. Person (NON-1) and number (SG) are both zero-marked.

The 1PL form consists of *ai-* plus the first person marker *-f-* plus the plural marker *-o* plus transitional nasal plus tense-marker *-i*.

The NON-1PL form consists of *ai-* plus transitional nasal plus plural marker *-o* plus transitional nasal plus tense-marker *-i*.

Another future formation is the durative future which expresses both tense (future) and aspect (duration); the durative aspect is expressed by the durative marker *-male-* (see section 3.1.3.3.5.2). The durative future is formed as follows:

(78) F.stem+TR+F.marker+*-male-*+person+number+F.marker

For example (79):

(79) *aminimalefe* I shall be drinking (in a moment)

The example (79) is the 1SG durative future form of *mi-* 'to drink'. The form consists of the future stem *ami-*, plus inserted nasal plus future marker *-i*, followed by *-male-*, the first person marker *-f-* and the (harmonised) future marker *-e*. Number is zero-marked. I have often found the durative future in immediate future conditions. Further research is needed to establish the semantic relations between the durative future, the immediate future (see section 3.1.2.7) and the unmarked future (formation (76)).

As in most languages of the world, the future tense also has several modal meanings. In the first place it expresses intentional meanings:

(80) *Nu aifi*
I go.1SG.F
I want to go.

But also other modality distinctions are expressed by future forms:

- (81) *Nu gamo aife?*
 I join.SS go.1SG.F
 May I also go with you?
- (82) *Miyo mene wa aine?*
 child this already go.2SG.F
 Can this child walk?

3.1.3.3.4 MOOD

Following Foley and Van Valin (1984:212,213), we shall divide the Kombai mood distinctions into illocutionary force, status and modality.

3.1.3.3.4.1 ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE

3.1.3.3.4.1.1 IMPERATIVE

The imperative positive is formed as follows:

- (83) Basic stem + number + *-i* (IMP)

Imperative forms are second person forms. Second person is zero-marked. Number is marked by *-a* (plural) or zero-marked (singular). *-i* is the imperative marker. Optionally but frequently the imperative/adhortative particle *ge* precedes the imperative forms:

- (84) (*Ge*) *mi-n-i!*
 (ADH/IMP) drink-TR-IMP
 Drink (SG)!
- (85) (*Ge*) *mi-n-a-n-i!*
 (ADH/IMP) drink-TR-PL-TR-IMP
 Drink (PL)!

Example (84) consists of the basic stem *mi-* 'to drink' plus the transitional nasal plus the imperative marker *-i*. Person (second) and number (SG) are zero-marked (see section 3.1.3.3.1).

Example (85) consists of the basic stem plus the transitional nasal plus the plural marker *-a* plus transitional nasal plus the imperative marker *-i*. Person (NON-1) is zero-marked.

The imperative negative is discussed in the section on negation (3.1.3.3.6).

3.1.3.3.4.1.2 INTERROGATIVE

The optional question-clitic *-kha*, which cliticises to the predicate (postclitic) in all types of questions, marks interrogativity, together with an (obligatory) final rise in intonation. Informants from the Kawo-river area usually have *-khe* instead of *-kha*. Examples:

- (86) *Gu nalufa rakhumoni-khe?*
 you what buy.2SG.F-Q
 What do you want to buy?

- (87) *Mene af-a-kha?*
 this house-PRED-Q
 Is this a house?

3.1.3.3.4.2 MODALITY

3.1.3.3.4.2.1 INTENTIONAL/ADHORTATIVE

The intentional/adhortative is formed as follows:

- (88) Future-stem + person + number

This stem+person-number formation occurs in all Awyu-family languages studied thus far and everywhere with both adhortative ('let me/us...') and intentional meanings ('I/we want to...').

In Kombai there are no NON-1 forms of this formation. Instead, the NON-1 forms of the future are also used with intentional meaning. The adhortative particle *ge* may precede the adhortative forms. For example:

- (89) SG 1: (*Ge*) *ade*. Let me eat/I want to eat.
 PL 1: (*Ge*) *adefo*. Let us eat/ we want to eat.

The 1SG form of (89) consists of the stem only (future stem *ade-* of *ne-* 'to eat'). Number (SG) is zero-marked (see section 3.1.3.3.1). Person (first person, marked by *-f-*) has been deleted by final consonant deletion (see section 2.3).

The 1PL form consists of *ade-* plus the first person marker *-f-* plus the plural marker *-o*.

Like in Indo-European languages⁶, an imperative form of 'to come' may be used as adhortative auxiliary:

- (90) *Ge ma ade-fo!*
 ADH come.IMP eat-1PL.INT/ADH
 Come, let us eat!
- (91) *Ge ma ai-fo!*
 ADH come.IMP go-1PL.INT/ADH
 Come, let us go!

Sometimes, there occurs an intentional marker *mo* preceding the intentional or future forms:

- (92) *Nu mo ami.*
 I INT drink.1SG.INT
 I want to drink.

Since forms of *me-* 'to come' function as adhortative auxiliaries with intentional/adhortative verb forms (90)-(91), the intentional marker *mo* in (92) could also be related to *me-* 'to come'.

⁶ For example in German and Dutch. Consider this Dutch example:
Kom-t laat ons zingen!
 come.IMP-PL let us sing
 Let us sing!

3.1.3.3.4.3 STATUS

3.1.3.3.4.3.1 UNCERTAINTY

By attaching the clitic *-bo* to the predicate, uncertainty is expressed; *-bo* is a question-marker which also expresses uncertainty:

- (93) *Mene rül-a-bo?*
 this banana-PRED-Q
 Could this be a banana?
- (94) *Berekhina aine-bo?*
 tomorrow he.will.come-Q
 Maybe he comes tomorrow?

Example (95) with the question-clitic *-kha* is neutral, whereas (93) and (94) with *-bo* are marked questions, with the 'maybe' dimension of meaning.

- (95) *Mene rül-a-kha?*
 this banana-PRED-Q
 Is this a banana?

3.1.3.3.4.3.2 COUNTERFACTUAL

Counterfactuality is expressed by the question-marker *-kha* (see section 3.1.3.3.4.1.2). Counterfactuals are a type of conditionals and in several languages conditionals take the form of questions (Haiman 1980:468).

In Kombai the counterfactual clause is coordinated to the next one:

- (96) *Khaluwo nagu ai ũ-do-kho-ra*
 yesterday we pig kill.INF.NF-NEG-Q/CF-and
nagu ai fe-bo-nu-do.
 we pig NEG-DUR-eat.INF.NF-NEG
 If we had not killed a pig yesterday, we would not be eating pig now.

In (96) the counterfactuality/question-marker *-kha* (sensitive to vowel-harmony, *-kha* has been harmonised in (96) becoming *-kho*) has cliticised to the negative infinitival verb (see section 3.1.3.5). The coordinating clitic *-ra* (see section 3.1.3.2.2) links this clause to the final one.

The Kombai negatives never go with finite verb forms; they demand infinitival forms of the verb (see section 3.1.3.5). DS transitions are marked by the medial occurrence of a finite verb form (see section 3.1.3.1). Now when a medially occurring verb is negated (as in (97)) in a DS transition, a finite verb ending is suffixed to the infinitival negative predicate. In counterfactual clauses this finite verb ending is suffixed after the counterfactuality marker *-kha*:

- (97) *Nagu fu-furuma-do-kho-de-f-o-n-a* *khumilei*
 we NEG-help.INF.NF-NEG-CF-NF-1-PL-TR-CONN die.3SG.NF
 If we had not helped (him), he would have died.

In (97) the 1PL.NF ending *-defo* is suffixed to the negative verb form. The first clause is linked by the coordinative connective *-a* (see section 3.8.4.1) to the last clause. The negative pre-clitic *fe-* has been harmonised to *fu-* (see section 2.3).

Unfortunately, our data on counterfactuals are not complete enough; for example we have no positive counterfactuals in the data.

3.1.3.3.4.3.3 CONDITIONALS

Generally (non-counterfactual) conditionals are expressed as subordinate clauses with the subordinator *-ro* (see Chapter 5).

- (98) *Mü bo-khe-re nu medane-madü.*
 rain DUR-be.3SG.NF-SUB I come.INF.F-NEG
 If it rains, I shall not come./Given that it rains, I shall not come.

In (98) *-ro* harmonises with the preceding verb stem (see section 2.3).

A more specific conditional subordinator is *-lefa* (sometimes *-lefefa*) which cliticises to the conditional predicate, optionally preceded by the question-marker *-kha* which also expresses conditionality. In counterfactual conditionals *-kha* is obligatory. With the *-ro* conditional clauses *-kha* never occurs; *-ro* clauses may have several semantic interpretations, like condition, time, and so on.

- (99) *Mü khe-do-kho-lefa wodei mene weimo lenema.*
 rain be-NEG-Q/COND-COND river this quick.SUPP.SS fall.dry.3SG.NF
 If there is no rain, this river quickly dries up.

The presence of the question-marker *-kha* in Kombai conditionals is in line with the observation of Haiman (1980:468) that in a number of languages conditionals may take the form of questions.

3.1.3.3.5 ASPECT

3.1.3.3.5.1 HABITUAL-ITERATIVE

When an action is intrinsically repetitive or when a plural subject implies repetition of the action or when a habit implies repetition, in all these cases habitual-iterative verbs may be used. The derivation of these verbs has been discussed in section 3.1.2.4. Sentence (100) is an example of an habitual-iterative verb:

- (100) ... *yademo-ra khuro ũgino-n-o*
 come.together.SS-and each.other hit.3PL.NF-TR-CONN
lu mene ge-ge-mo-ra
 quarrel this inspect-inspect-SUPP.SS-and
irabi irabi rimofonene.
 hand hand shake.1PL.INT/ADH-QUOTE.PL
 They said: "Let us have a meeting and then discuss this quarrel that they want to hit each other and then make peace"

In (100) the habitual-iterative verb *gegemo-* is used because a public discussion (verbal inspection) of a village-fight involves many participants (the adult males) who are 'inspecting' the case.

In (101) the habit element determines the use of the habitual-iterative verb *khakhekhakhema-* 'to be obedient':

- (101) *Ya furu-mo khakhe-khakhe-ma-n-o.*
 they good-SUPP.SS listen-listen-SUPP-TR-3PL.NF
 They usually listen well./They are obedient.

3.1.3.3.5.2 DURATIVE

Durative aspect may be expressed by periphrasis with *ba-* 'to sit, to stay'. The independent form of *ba-* is preceded by a dependent (stem-only) form of the verb of which the duration is expressed:

- (102) *Fera ba-n-o.*
 see.SS stay-TR-3PL.NF
 They are looking.

The second way to express durative aspect is by prefixing the durative marker *bo-* to the verb:

- (103) *Ya bo-umo kha-n-o.*
 they DUR-speak.SS go-TR-3PL.NF
 While talking they are going.
- (104) *Nu doü bo-ne-de.*
 I sago DUR-eat-1SG.NF
 I am eating sago.

In (103) the durative marker is prefixed to a dependent verb and in (104) to an independent verb.

Bo- is sensitive to vowel-harmony (see section 2.3):

- (105) *Nu ba-kha-de.*
 I DUR-go-1SG.NF
 I am going.

The third way to express duration is with the tense-related duration markers *-nege-* and *-male-*. *-nege-* seems to be restricted to non-future conditions and *-male-* to future conditions. *-male-* is restricted to the durative future (see section 3.1.3.3.3.2). *-nege-* also occurs with dependent verb forms. When *-nege-* is used with dependent forms, it expresses prolonged duration until the action of the next verb commences:

- (106) *Ola Khawakhe kha-nege-n-a bumo Wagemalo*
 Ola Kawakit go.SS-until-TR-CONN return.SS Wanggemalo
me-fo khakhe-n-a...
 come.SS-SEQ hear.3SG.NF-TR-CONN
 Ola went to Kawakit until he returned to Wanggemalo and heard...

The use of *-nege-* in (106) implies that Ola's journey had a prolonged duration lasting until he came back in Wanggemalo. *-male-* I have not yet seen with dependent verbs.

Although *-male-* also occurs in the durative future of non-deictic verbs, *-male-* and *-nege-* are most frequently used in the so-called deictic verbs (see section 3.5.1). Compare (107) and (108):

- (107) *Khaluwo nu makho-ba-nege-defe.*
yesterday I here-sit-DUR-1SG.NF
Yesterday I was sitting there.
- (108) *Berekhina nu me-abone-male-fe.*
tomorrow I here-sit.F-DUR-1SG.F
Tomorrow I shall be sitting here.

3.1.3.3.5.3 COMPLETIVE

There is a completive prefix *wa-*:

- (109) *Wa-ne-de.*
COM-eat-1SG.NF
I have eaten.

The second way to express completion is by periphrasis with the 3SG.NF form of *lei-* 'to stay'. This form is used as a relator with the meaning 'after' expressing posteriority and completion at the same time:

- (110) *Gana fa-def-a lei-n-a*
bushknife take-1SG.NF-CONN stay.3SG.NF-TR-CONN
khi-def-a ...
run-1SG.NF-CONN
After I had taken a bush-knife, I ran and...

See section 3.8.5 for a discussion of Kombai relational verbs.

3.1.3.3.6 NEGATION

There are (at least) three negations with independent verbs: *domo*, *(fe-)...-do* and *(fe-)...-madü*.

Domo is only used with the imperative negative:

- (111) *Do-mo ami-n-i!*
NEG-SUPP.SS drink-TR-IMP.SG
Do not drink!

Domo- is a *-mo* derived verb (see section 3.1.2.8) which, in its dependent form, functions as modifier of the next verb.

The imperative positive has been discussed in section 3.1.3.3.4.1.1. Notice that the imperative negative uses the future stem (e.g. *ami-* of *mi-* 'to drink') whereas the imperative positive uses the basic stem. (Compare the close relationship of future and imperative negative in English, e.g. 'you shall not kill').

(*fe-*)...-*do* is used to negativise the non-future; it combines only with infinitival forms.

- (112) *Nu ai fera-de.*
I pig see-1SG.NF
I see a pig.
- (113) *Nu ai fe-fera-do.*
I pig NEG-see-NEG
I do not see a pig.
- (114) *Ya ai fe-fera-do.*
they pig NEG-see-NEG
They do not see a pig.

(*fe-*)...-*do* is a discontinuous negative, consisting of an optional pre-clitic *fe-* and an obligatory post-clitic *-do*.

The negation (*fe-*)...-*do* is a negative copula (see section 3.1.3.4). Being a copula, it combines only with nominal predicates. Infinitives have nominal properties (see section 3.1.3.5). This is why non-future negative verbs with (*fe-*)...-*do* always take the infinitival form. Some more examples of (*fe-*)...-*do* are:

- (115) *Mene a-do.*
this house-NEG
This is not a house.
- (116) *Naroforof-a gu fe-munu-do?*
why-FOC you NEG-come.INF-NEG
Why did you not come?
- (117) *Khe nu fe-fera-do.*
he me NEG-see.INF-NEG
He did not see me.
- (118) *Khakhuwo nu doü nu-do fe-khunulei-do.*
yesterday I sago eat.INF-NEG NEG-sleep.INF-NEG
Yesterday I did not eat sago and I did not sleep.

(*fe-*)...-*madü* negativises future and intentional independent verbs. Again, it is the (future) infinitive, consisting of the future stem plus future marker (see section 3.1.3.5), which appears under negation:

- (119) *Nu fe-ami-n-i-madü.*
I NEG-drink-TR-F-NEG
I shall not drink./I do not want to drink.
- (120) *Ya fe-ami-n-i-madü..*
they NEG-drink-TR-F-NEG
They will not drink./They do not want to drink.

3.1.3.4 COPULAS; THE VERB 'TO BE'

Copula-support is a syntactic process which enables members of nominal categories (nouns, adjectives, pronouns) to function predicatively. When supported by copulas, such nominal predicates retain their categorial status as nouns.

-ma derivation is a lexical process of verbalisation, for example, with the help of the support-verb *-ma* adjectives are turned into verbs (see section 3.1.2.1).

There are two copulas in Kombai, *-a* and (*fe-*)-*-do*. *-a* is a positive predicative clitic, cliticised to the nominal predicate:

(121) *Mene af-a.*
 this house-PRED
 This is a house.

(122) *Mene a.*
 this house
 This is a house.

-a is optional (see (122)). In (122) the final consonant of *af* 'house' has been deleted (see section 2.3).

With adjectival predicates *-a* may occur but it is generally absent:

(123) *Mofene rubu-khe.*
 that bad-ADJ
 That is bad.

(124) *Mofene rubu-khe-y-a.*
 that bad-ADJ-TR-PRED
 That is bad.

When the adjective has the intensifier *-rabo*, *-a* is always absent:

(125) *A mene yafe-rabo.*
 house this good-very
 This house is very good.

With personal pronouns as predicates, the predicative is always present:

(126) *Mene nuf-a!*
 this I-PRED
 This is me!/This is mine.

Example (126) may be used when for example the speaker recognises himself on a picture. Generally, however, personal pronouns, when used predicatively, have possessive meaning.

In questions, which have the optional question-clitic *-kha*, the predicative *-a* and the question-clitic may co-occur:

(127) *Mene af-a-kha?*
 this house-PRED-Q
 Is this a house?

(*fe-*)...*-do* is the negative predicative, contrasting with *-a*:

(128) *Mene a-do.*
 this house-NEG.PRED
 This is not a house.

(129) *Mene af-a.*
 this house-PRED
 This is a house.

The copula nature of (*fe*-)...-*do* also explains why this negation is restricted to infinitival forms of the verb which have nominal status (see section 3.1.3.5).

-*a* and (*fe*-)...-*do* function in both attributive and identifying predications:

- (130) *Kho mene n-are-y-a.*
 person this my-father-TR-PRED
 This person is my father.
- (131) *Kho mene n-are-do.*
 person this my-father-NEG.PRED
 This person is not my father.
- (132) *Mofene foroy-a.*
 that good-PRED
 That is good.
- (133) *Mofene foro-do.*
 that good-NEG.PRED
 That is not good.

Locative/existential 'to be' is expressed by independent forms of the verbs *ba*- 'to sit', *lei*- 'to lie' and *le*- 'to stand'; they occur with both definite and indefinite subjects:

- (134) *Guru mene ba?*
 teacher here sit.3SG.NF
 Is the teacher here?
- (135) *Khuro e bano.*
 jungle bird sit.3PL.NF
 There are birds in the jungle.

The three stative verbs *ba*- 'to sit, to be', *lei*- 'to be, to lie' and *le*- 'to be, to stand' are classificatory verbs in the sense that size and shape of the entity denoted by the first argument of the stative verbs, determine which of the three stative verbs should be used. Small entities, like cucumbers and snakes always 'lie', big entities 'stand' when they are tall and high, like trees and houses, but 'sit' when the vertical dimension does not dominate in the perception. In the case of human beings, it depends on the position they are thought to be in. For example in (134) the teacher is supposed to 'sit' in the house.

Some examples:

- (136) *Khuro ai-nuwayo leno.*
 jungle pig-cassowary stand.3PL.NF
 In the jungle there is big game.
- (137) *Khuro gwari lei.*
 jungle snake lie.3SG.NF
 There is a snake in the jungle.
- (138) *Dodo edolo leino.*
 tree fruit lie.3PL.NF
 There are fruits in the trees.

- (139) *Ramu lei?*
cucumber lie.3SG.NF
Is there cucumber?
- (140) *Na-khorabo a mene ba-do.*
my-wife house this sit.INF.NF-NEG.PRED
My wife is not in this house?

An important and frequent use of the stative verbs is as deictic verbs (see section 3.5.1).

Classificatory existential verbs occur in many Trans-New Guinea languages (Lang 1975). Drabbe (1953:39) describes five existential verbs for Kamoro (stand, sit, lie, float, be above), the use of which is determined by the habitual position of the subject referents of the existential verb. Voorhoeve (1965:48) states that the Asmat "divide all existing things into...five 'position' classes". These classes correspond to those of Kamoro (Drabbe 1953:39).

Enga, a Papuan language of Papua New Guinea has an elaborate and interesting system of seven existential verbs including an existential verb *mandengé* used for "referents that are reproductive, such as: *pongo* 'penis', *kambake* 'vagina', *ipi* 'testicles'". The choice of the existential verb depends "on the habitual (i.e. existential) posture or shape of the referent as perceived by the Enga" (Lang 1975:47).

Drabbe (1957:32) has described the three existential verbs of Aghu, an Awyu family language, *bagh* 'to sit', *ek* 'to stand' and *ig* 'to lie', with the habitual or actual position of the subject referent determining the choice of the existential verb.

3.1.3.5 INFINITIVES

There are two infinitives, the non-future infinitive and the future infinitive. The NF infinitive consists of the basic verb-stem only. The future infinitive consists of the future stem plus the future marker *-i*. Examples: the verb *ne* 'to eat' with non-future infinitive *ne* and the future infinitive *adeni*. Both infinitives and dependent verbs are non-finite forms of the verb, that is they do not express subject person-number.

Formally the difference between dependent verb forms and infinitives is that dependent verbs do not express tense, whereas the infinitives express the non-future versus future contrast. The tense-contrast in infinitives is expressed as follows: firstly, the non-future infinitive uses the basic stem and the future infinitive the future stem, secondly the future infinitive has the tense-marker *-i*. Another formal difference between dependent verbs and infinitives is that dependent verbs may have temporal relators cliticised to them; infinitives cannot have temporal relators attached to them.

Functionally, dependent verbs function as the centre of the clause, as verbs, whereas infinitives have nominal properties. For example infinitives function in nominalisations, that is in embedded predications with nominal properties (see Chapter 5).

When independent verbs are negated, they take the infinitival form:

- (141) *Nu (gu, khe, etc.) fe-nu-do.*
I (you, he, etc.) NEG-eat.INF.NF-NEG
I (you, he, etc.) do(es) not eat/did not eat.

- (142) *Nu (gu, khe, etc.) fe-ade-n-i-madii.*
 I (you, he, etc.) NEG-eat.F.INF-TR-F-NEG
 I (you, he, etc.) do not want to eat/ shall(will) not eat.

I have interpreted such negative predicates as in (141)-(142) as nominal predicates, negated by the negative copula elements discussed in section 3.1.3.4.

3.1.3.6 QUOTE-MARKING VERB CLITICS

In quotations the clitics *ne* 'QUOTE.SG' and *nene* 'QUOTE.PL' are cliticised to the verbs of the quoted clauses. Since quotations and quote-marking will be discussed extensively in Chapter 6, here some examples will suffice:

- (143) *Nu yabomadef-e-ne.*
 I ill.1SG.NF-CONN-QUOTE.SG
 "I am ill" he said.
- (144) *Nagu yabomadefo-nene.*
 we ill.1PL.NF-QUOTE.PL
 "We are ill" they said.

Quotes with the quote-marker may be combined with the verb *luwa-* 'to say':

- (145) *Khe wa-luwa: "nu yabomadef-e-ne".*
 he COM-say.3SG.NF I ill.1SG.NF-CONN-QUOTE.SG
 He has said: "I am ill".

3.2 NOUNS

Nouns are words which may take possessive pronominal prefixes (see section 3.3). Apart from the expression of possession there is no noun-related morphology.

Functionally, nouns are the unmarked heads of noun phrases (NP). As such they may be modified by adjectives. Other categories that may function as heads of NP, for example, pronouns, do not have this possibility of adjectival modification.

Semantically, kinship terms form an interesting category of nouns in Kombai because of the extensive skewing of 'natural' and terminological generations (see de Vries 1987).

Compound nouns may be formed by combining noun stems into one noun. The modifying stem always precedes the modified stem in the compound noun, for example, *wodei* 'river' and *bei* 'bank' may be combined to become *wodeibei* 'riverbank'; the modifying stem attracts the main word stress in these compounds.

There are also compound nouns in which the two noun stems are equivalent, that is, without a modifier/modified relation; for example *momo* 'mother's brother' and *lage* 'sister's son' are combined to form the noun *momolage* 'family'.

There is no derivation of nouns from verbs or other categories. When clauses function as NP (subordinate clauses), there is some restructuring towards a more nominal form but this restructuring hardly affects the verb of the embedded clause; instead, head noun insertion takes place. Only in purpose clauses with *ri* do we find infinitival forms in the embedded

clause; infinitives (see section 3.1.3.5) have to a certain extent nominal properties. (See Chapter 5 for Kombai nominalisation.)

3.3 PRONOUNS

Kombai has six personal pronouns:

(146)	SG	1:	<i>nu</i>	I
		2:	<i>gu</i>	you
		3:	<i>khe</i>	he/she/it
PL	1:	<i>nagu</i>	we	
	2:	<i>nage</i>	you (PL)	
	3:	<i>ya</i>	they	

Some speakers have *agu* instead of *nagu* (1PL personal pronoun).

When prefixed to nouns, the forms of (146) function as possessive pronouns. For 1SG and 3PL there are special possessive forms:

(147)	SG	1:	<i>na-</i>	my	<i>na-biyo</i>	my coconut
		2:	<i>gu-</i>	your	<i>gu-biyo</i>	your coconut
		3:	<i>khe-</i>	his/her/its	<i>khe-biyo</i>	his coconut
PL	1:	<i>nagu-</i>	our	<i>nagu-biyo</i>	our coconut	
	2:	<i>nage-</i>	your (PL)	<i>nage-biyo</i>	your coconut	
	3:	<i>yano-</i>	their	<i>yano-biyo</i>	their coconut	

For the 3PL possessive form some speakers have *yafo-*.

Reflexive pronouns are formed by suffixing *-ra* 'self' to the forms of (146) (*nu-ra*, *khe-ra*, etc.):

(148)	<i>Kho mene khe-ra bafera.</i>
	man this him-self DUR.see.3SG.NF
	This man is seeing himself.

Emphatic or focus forms are formed by adding the focus marker *-a* (see section 3.8.3.2.1) to the forms of (146) (*nuf-a*, *guf-a*, etc.):

(149)	<i>Doü nuf-a adu-ra badiya?</i>
	sago me-FOC prepare.in.the.fire.SS-and DUR.give.2SG.NF
	Is it for me that you are preparing the sago?

When the forms of (146) take *-a*, their final consonants are retained (e.g. *nuf* 'I') which are deleted by final consonant deletion in (146).

-ra 'self' is not only used in reflexive conditions but may also express focus in personal pronouns:

(150)	<i>Khe-ra khwui fa.</i>
	he-FOC theft do.3SG.NF
	He stole.

3.4 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are words functioning as modifiers in noun phrases:

- (151) *Nu makhü fefe-khe ferade.*
 I dog skinny-ADJ see.1SG.NF
 I saw a skinny dog.

Secondarily, adjectives function as predicates:

- (152) *Makhü mofene fefe-khe.*
 dog that skinny-ADJ
 That dog is skinny.

In terms of form, adjectives can be defined as those words which take either the adjectival suffix *-khe* (*-ge* after adjective stems ending in a nasal vowel) or the intensifier *-rabo*. Both *-khe* and *-rabo* mark a word as belonging to the category of adjectives. *-khe* is semantically neutral but *-rabo* has intensifying meaning:

- (153) *makhü yafe-rabo*
 dog good-very
 a very good dog

Some adjectives, like *mujano* 'big', may occur (and generally do occur) without either *-khe* or *-rabo*:

- (154) *kho mujano*
 man big
 a big man

Adjectives have plural forms which are rather infrequent; these plural forms are formed by reduplication of the first syllable of the adjective:

- (155) *rubu-* bad
rurubu- bad (PL)

The adjective *mujano* big has a special plural form *muyiyano* 'big (PL)'. The intensifier *-rabo* has a reduplicated form *-rorabo*. Compare (156):

- (156) *makhü fefe-rorabo*
 dog skinny-very.PL
 very skinny dogs

Adjectives may be preceded by *ago-* 'somewhat':

- (157) *fefekhe* skinny
 (158) *agofefekhe* a little skinny/somewhat skinny

There is no morphological comparative; comparison is done by periphrasis:

- (159) *Yafu mene mujano, mofene riyagokhe.*
prahu this big that little
 This canoe is bigger than that one.

3.5 OTHER NOMINAL MODIFIERS

3.5.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

Mene (some speakers: *mena*) 'this/here' is the speaker-related demonstrative in Kombai (in the proximity of the speaker):

(160) *Kho mene yaboma.*
 man this ill.3SG.NF
 This man is ill.

(161) *Mene yafe-rabo.*
 this good-very
 This is very good.

In (160) *mene* functions as a modifier within the NP, in (161) as the head of the NP. The use of *mene* implies definiteness of the NP within which *mene* is used.

When functioning as a nominal modifier, *mene* generally occurs postnominally but it may also occur before the noun:

(162) *Mena-n-o biyo rubu-khe.*
 this-TR-CONN coconut bad-ADJ
 This coconut is bad.

Like all prenominal modifiers, the prenominal demonstrative is linked by the connective *-o* to its head noun (see section 3.8.2.1).

Mene also functions as marker of topics and frames. These discourse functions of *mene* will be treated in 3.8.3.2.2 (see examples (255)-(256)).

Mofene (some speakers: *mofena*) is the addressee-related demonstrative (in the proximity of the addressee):

(163) *Mofene af-a.*
 that house-PRED
 That is a house.

(164) *Kho mofene rubu-khe.*
 man that bad-ADJ
 That man is bad.

(165) *Mofena-n-o kho rubu-khe.*
 that-TR-CONN man bad-ADJ
 That man is bad.

Mofene and *mene* function both as demonstratives and as place/time adverbs, *mene* meaning 'this'/'here'/'now' and *mofene* 'that'/'there'/'then' (see section 3.7). The range of functions of demonstratives in Kombai (demonstrative modifier, place/time adverbs, markers of topicality) has been found in several Papuan languages, for example, in Usan (Reesink 1987) and in Urim (Hemmilä 1989).

There is a third person-related deictic *makho* 'there' (far away from both speaker and addressee). Thus far we have found this *makho* only as a place-adverb, and not (yet) as a demonstrative or a time-adverb. Example:

- (166) ...*khumo-ra makho Romalü bürü khano.*
 die.SS-and there Romalü place go.3PL.NF
 ...they die and go there to Romalü's place.

The deictics are also combined with the stative verbs *lei-* 'to lie', *le-* 'to stand' and *ba-* 'to sit' (see section 3.1.3.4) to form deictic verbs which are frequently used in Kombai. These stative-deictic verbs are always durative and this is expressed by the future durative suffix *-male-*, the non-future durative suffix *-nege-* and a suffix *-re-* which only occurs in these deictic-stative verbs. When *-re-* occurs in these verbs, they are always used in present tense durative conditions. It seems that *-re-* is a present durative marker. Only in this group of verbs do we find a three-way opposition of past, present and future, related to the time of the utterance. This deictic time-framework of past, present and future is combined with a three-way place-framework of close to the speaker, close to the addressee, and close to third person (=neither close to speaker nor to addressee).

The future forms have this set-up:

- (167) deictic+fut.stem+fut(-e)+*-male-* +person+number+fut.(-e)

(168) exemplifies (167):

- (168) *Nu mofekho-la-n-e-male-f-e.*
 I there-stand-TR-F-DUR-1SG-F
 I shall be standing there.

The durative present forms of the deictic-stative verbs have this form:

- (169) deictic+NF-stem+ *-re-* (DUR.PRES)+person+number

The first person endings in the durative-present forms have an additional /e/: thus 1SG is *-fe* and 1PL *-fone*.

(170) exemplifies (169):

- (170) *Nagu me-la-re-fene.*
 we here-stand-DUR.PRES-1PL
 We are standing here.

The durative past forms have this set-up:

- (171) deictic+NF-stem+*-nege-* + NF-marker+person+number

(172) exemplifies (171):

- (172) *Nagu me-ba-nege-de-fone.*
 we here-sit-DUR.PAST-NF-1PL
 We were sitting here.

The endings after *-nege-* are the normal non-future endings but with the addition of an *-e*; thus the normal non-future ending for 1PL *-defo* becomes *-defone* in deictic verbs with durative-past tense, with a transitional nasal. The normal zero-ending for the NON-1SG.NF becomes *-ne* (transitional nasal + *-e*) and so forth.

Thus deictic verbs have a deictic prefix expressing place and a tense-dependent durative suffix.

The deictic slot is filled by either *me-* 'here (where the speaker is)', related to the demonstrative *mene* 'this/here', or the addressee-related *mofekho-* 'there' or the third person

related deictic *makho-* 'there'; the addressee-related form *mofene* does not occur in deictic verbs (see above); on the other hand *mofekho-* does not occur as a demonstrative modifier but it does occur adverbially (*mofekhone* 'there').

All the nine possible combinations of time and place do occur: 'close to the speaker/before utterance-time', 'close to addressee/ at utterance-time', 'far away (third person)/after the utterance-time', and so on. For example:

(173)	a.	<i>makholanemalefone</i>	we shall be standing there
	b.	<i>melanemalefone</i>	we shall be standing here
	c.	<i>mofekholanemalefone</i>	we shall be standing there
	d.	<i>melare</i>	he is standing here
	f.	<i>mofekholare</i>	he is standing there
	g.	<i>makholare</i>	he is standing there
	h.	<i>makhobanegedefe</i>	I was sitting there
	i.	<i>mebanegedefe</i>	I was sitting here
	j.	<i>mofekhobanegedefe</i>	I was sitting there

3.5.2 QUANTIFIERS

There is a small class of invariable quantifying words occurring in the rightmost position in term phrases. Examples: *biduma* 'many', 'much', *mofolumo* 'little'.

Compare (174):

(174)	<i>makhü muyiyano biduma</i>
	dog big.PL many
	many big dogs

3.5.3 NUMERATORS

The Kombai counting system is basically a body-part counting system. Thus the words denoting certain parts of the human body have as second meaning the numbers. Body-part tallying systems are common in New Guinea languages (Laycock 1975). The Kombai system is of the usual type which employs the fingers, parts of the arm and the head, that is it does not use named points on the lower half of the body (Laycock 1975:220).⁷

(175)	<i>raga</i>	1.	little finger	2.	one
	<i>raga ragu</i>	1.	ring finger	2.	two
	<i>woro ragu</i>	1.	middle finger	2.	three
	<i>woro</i>	1.	index finger	2.	four
	<i>abalo</i>	1.	thumb	2.	five
	<i>gō</i>	1.	wrist	2.	six
	<i>khani</i>	1.	lower arm	2.	seven
	<i>igabu</i>	1.	elbow	2.	eight
	<i>rafe</i>	1.	upper arm	2.	nine
	<i>dodou</i>	1.	shoulder	2.	ten

⁷ An interesting unusual variety is reported by Bruce (1984:320) for Alambalak, a Papuan language of Papua New Guinea (East Sepik), which has a men's tally system and a women's tally system. The system used by women uses two low points (the breasts) to the exclusion of points in the face.

<i>ruro</i>	1. ear	2. eleven
<i>khabiyā</i>	1. head	2. twelve

Counting is accompanied by touching the relevant body-part with the middle finger or index finger; the little finger of the left hand is the starting point (this is the usual starting point, Laycock 1975:220) and the head is the turning point, after which the counting goes down again via the right-hand side of the body, by adding the word *imofō* 'on the other side' to the numbers:

(176) <i>imofō ruro</i>	1. ear on the other side	2. thirteen
<i>imofō dodou</i>	1. shoulder on the other side	2. fourteen
<i>imofō rafe</i>	1. upper arm on the other side	2. fifteen
<i>imofō igabu</i>	1. elbow on the other side	2. sixteen
<i>imofō khani</i>	1. lower arm on the other side	2. seventeen
<i>imofō gō</i>	1. wrist on the other side	2. eighteen
<i>imofō abalo</i>	1. thumb on the other side	2. nineteen
<i>imofō woro</i>	1. index finger on the other hand	2. twenty
<i>imofō woro ragu</i>	1. middle finger on the other hand	2. twenty-one
<i>imofō raga ragu</i>	1. ring finger on the other side	2. twenty-two
<i>imofō raga</i>	1. little finger on the other side	2. twenty-three

When the numbers function attributively in term-phrases, they take the attributive suffix *-khu*:

- (177) *kho abalo-khu*
 man five-ATTR
 five men

After nasal vowels we find *-gu* instead of *-khu* (see section 2.3 for this nasal assimilation):

- (178) *kho gō-gu*
 man six-ATTR
 six men

-khu basically means 'also', 'added':

- (179) *Nu-khu bomede.*
 I-also DUR.come.1SG.NF
 I am also coming.

The origin of the use of *-khu* with numbers lies in the Kombai counting habit: in counting up to, say, six, all the fingers are bent one after the other and then the wrist is touched. Thus 'men the wrist also' means 'six men'.

For the numbers 'one', 'two', 'three' and 'four' there are no attributive forms with *-khu* but special unpredictable attributive forms:

- (180) *kho mofenadi*
 man one
 one man

kho molumo
 man two
 two men

kho molumonefe
 man three
 three men

kho molumo-molumo
 man four (two-two)
 four men

For attributive 'one' some speakers use the word *mokhaliyo*. The special attributive forms of (180) are the only real numerals of Kombai, real in the sense of not based on body-parts. Notice that the forms for 'two', 'three' and 'four' in (180) are all based on the word *molumo*.

The attributive form *mofenadi* 'one' is occasionally used to express indefiniteness:

- (181) *Kho mofenadi bome.*
 man one DUR.come.3SG.NF
 There came a man.

Healey (1965b:28) also reports the formation of attributive forms of the numerals in Telefol. This language belongs to the Ok family, the eastern neighbour of the Awyu family. In Telefol the suffix *-kal* is added when the numerals are used to qualify nouns. This *-kal* functions primarily as a locative relator 'at'. From 'five' ('at left thumb') upward to 'fourteen' ('at nose') *-kal* is added in attributive use. Like Kombai *-khu* the suffix *-kal* is not used with the numerals 'one' to 'four' but unlike Kombai Telefol does not have special attributive forms for these. Numbers higher than 'fourteen' ('at nose', the turning point in the Telefol system) do not take *-kal* in attributive use but an expression denoting 'the other side' (comparable to Kombai *imofa* 'the other side').

Thus far we have discussed cardinal numerals; we have found the number words used as 'ordinalia' only with the days of the week:

- (182) *raga-n-e rei*
 first-TR-CONN day
 Monday
- ragaragu-n-e rei*
 second-TR-CONN day
 Tuesday
- wororagu-n-e rei*
 third-TR-CONN day
 Wednesday
- woro-n-e rei*
 fourth-TR-CONN day
 Thursday
- abalof-e rei*
 fifth-CONN day
 Friday
- gõ-n-e rei*
 sixth-TR-CONN day
 Saturday

For 'Sunday' the Indonesian loan words *hari Minggu* 'Sunday' or *sembahyang* 'worship' are used.

The ordinalia of (182) differ in two respects from the 'cardinalia'. First, the ordinalia do not use the suffix *-khu*; second, there are no special attributive forms for 'one', 'two', 'three' and 'four'. Since we do not find the ordinalia outside the 'days of the week' context, we may conclude that Kombai does not have regular ordinalia.

3.6 QUESTION-WORDS

In question-word questions there occurs a small closed set of question-words that has the following characteristics.

In the first place, although some of the question-words function as head of the questioned NP, the majority of question-words in Kombai functions as modifier in the questioned NP.

Secondly, the position of the question-word in the clause depends on the functional specification of the questioned NP in which the question-word functions as head or modifier.

Thirdly, question-word phrases have the focus function because they present the relatively most salient information in that context. Consider the following examples:

(183) *Gu naluf-a afo-n-e-khe?*
 you what-FOC take-TR-2SG.INT-Q
 What do you want to take?

(184) *Yafo-miyof-a-khe gu-n-agarabo lefa-khe?*
 who-person-FOC-Q your-TR-thing take.away.3SG.NF-Q
 Who took your things away?

In (183) the question-word *nalufa* 'what' is head of the questioned NP. In (184) we have the unmarked case: the question-word functions as a modifier in the questioned phrase. In (183) *nalufa* may be replaced by *naroforo* 'what thing' which has the unmarked modifier + head structure.

In (183) the question-word has object function and therefore occupies the object position in the clause. In (184) the questioned NP has subject function and is positioned accordingly.

The focus nature of question-words is in Kombai expressed by intonational prominence and the (optional) focus-marker *-a* (see section 3.8.3.2.1). In the Flamingo Bay dialect of the neighbouring Asmat family emphasising words (Voorhoeve 1965:168) also occur with certain question-words (Voorhoeve 1965:159).

In (183) and (184) we find this focus-marker *-a* before the question-marker *-khe* (see section 3.1.3.3.4.1.2). This question-clitic which occurs optionally in all types of questions as a clause-final predicate-clitic, occurs in question-word questions also on the questioned NP (optionally).

As stated above, the question-words function preferably as modifiers in modifier + head structures. Now with question-words concerning persons the modifier is *yafo-* 'who' and the head noun is one of the following nouns:

(185) *miyo* child
rumu son
mogo person

nariya man
nariyamogo man

With question-words concerning things, the modifier is *narofo* 'what' and the head noun *ro* 'thing'.

Some examples:

- (186) *Gu narof-o ro bo-fera-kha?*
 you what-CONN thing DUR-see.2SG.NF-Q
 What are you looking at?
- (187) *Makhü mofene yafo-miyo makhü-khe?*
 dog that who-child dog-Q
 Whose dog is that?
- (188) *Gu agarabo mene yafo-rumu adiya-ne-khe?*
 you thing this who-son give-2SG.F-Q
 Whom will you give this thing?

The head nouns in the questioned NP have primarily a grammatical function of supplying a head for the questioned NP. Accordingly they have in the question-word context a generalised grammatical meaning and not their specific lexical content. All the nouns of (185) have in the question-word context the same general meaning of 'person', whereas in their normal lexical use they all have their specific meanings (see de Vries 1987 for a detailed discussion of the specific meanings of the kinship-terms of (185)).

We find *ro* 'thing' and the 'person' nouns of (185) in this role of supplying a grammatical head with a generalised meaning in relative and adverbial subordinate clauses also. In Chapter 5 these clauses will be treated and the role that the head nouns play in them. Here we shall give only one example of *rumu* as grammatical head in a relative clause (RC) construction:

- (189) *Nagu-are i fla-n-o rumu...*
 our-father earth make.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person
 Our Father who created the earth...

It is clear that in (189) the specific lexical meaning of *rumu* 'son' (see de Vries 1987) is not relevant. In (189) *rumu* supplies a grammatical head for the RC. *Nagu-are* in (189) is the semantic-pragmatic head of the RC. These double-headed RC are the normal type of RC in Kombai.

The question-word *nalufa* 'what' (see example (183)) may also mean 'why':

- (190) *Gu naluf-a munu-do-khe?*
 you why-FOC come-NEG-Q
 Why did you not come?

There is another expression for 'why' and this has the preferred modifier+head structure:

- (191) *Gu narof-o ri-n-a miyo udo-ma-n-a*
 you what-CONN reason-TR-FOC child push-SUPP.2SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS)
khalufa-kha?
 fall.3SG.NF-Q
 Why did you make the child fall?

In (191) the focus marker *-a* appears on the questioned NP. The connective *-o* links the modifier *narof-* 'what' to the head noun *ri* 'reason'.

The element *fene-* occurs in a number of question-words. In the first place in the locative question-words *fenemo* 'where' (destination), *fenemokho* 'where' (location) and *fenemaya mio* 'from where' (source):

- (192) *Gu fenemo ba-kha-khe?*
 you where DUR-go.2SG.NF-Q
 Where are you going?
- (193) *Ya fenemaya mogo bomakha?*
 they from.where person they.are.coming.Q
 Where do they come from?
- (194) *Gu-yarimo fenemokho le-kha?*
 your-garden where be.3SG.NF-Q
 Where is your garden?

The locative source question-word *fenemaya* always goes with one of the 'person' grammatical head nouns of (185). Although diachronically the element *-kho* in *fenemokho* 'where' is probably the question-clitic *-kha* (harmonised), synchronically the form *fenemokho* 'where' (location) contrasts with *fenemo* 'where' (destination). The question-clitic, which may be attached to all other question-words may not be attached to *fenemo* 'where' (destination) and must be attached to *fenemokho* 'where' (location). The conclusion seems safe that *-kho* in *fenemokho* no longer functions as a question-clitic.

Notice that in the *fene-* based question-words there is also the element *-mo/-ma*, probably the support-verb *-ma*. This suggests a verbal origin for these question-words. This possibility is also suggested by the question-word for 'how' *fenemora*, which contains the relator *-ra* which we otherwise only find with dependent verbs (see section 3.1.3.2.2):

- (195) *Fenemora khe khone-kha?*
 how he get.3SG.NF-Q
 How did he get it?

We also find the element *fene-* in the question-words for 'when' and 'how much'. The question-words for 'when' are:

- (196) *Narof-o rei-khe?*
 what-CONN day-Q
 When?
- (197) *Fenan-e rei-khe?*
 what-CONN day-Q
 When?

In (197) the connective *-e*, which links the modifier to the head noun *rei* 'day', is the harmonised form of *-o*.

The question-word for 'how much' is:

- (198) *Fenemagu-khe?*
 how.much-Q
 How much?

3.7 ADVERBS

In Kombai adverbs are invariably words whose sole function it is to be heads of satellite phrases (see Dik 1978), that is optional, non-nuclear phrases specifying the peripheral circumstances of the nuclear predication, such as time, location or manner. In such phrases adverbs cannot take modifiers. For example:

- (199) *Khe khufade flakha.*
 he long.ago go.away.3SG.NF
 He went away long ago.

In (199) *khufade* 'long ago' is an adverb. This word only functions as the head of optional time phrases. It cannot be modified.

Adverbs form a small class of words because in Kombai other categories take over much of the functional load of adverbs. Consider:

- (200) *Gu mofene domo aini!*
 you (SG) there not go.IMP
 Do not go there!
- (201) *Mofene nu miyo muriyago.*
 then I child little
 At that time I was a little child.
- (202) *Kho mofene na-momo.*
 man that my-uncle
 That man is my uncle.
- (203) *Furu-mo kha.*
 good-SUPP.SS go.3SG.NF
 He travelled well.
- (204) *Agu-mu me.*
 slow-SUPP.SS come.3SG.NF
 He came slowly.

In (202) we see the demonstrative *mofene* as a modifier in a NP (see section 3.5.1). In (201) we see this demonstrative as the head of a time phrase meaning 'then' and in (200) as the head of a locative phrase meaning 'there'. Demonstratives take over much of the functional load of spatio-temporal adverbs in Kombai. Since the adverbial function of *mofene* is not the only function of that word (it also and primarily functions as a modifier in NPs), the definition of adverbs given above rules *mofene* out.

Similarly, dependent verb forms with the support-verb *-ma* take over much of the functional load of manner adverbs. With the support-verb *-ma*, verbs may be productively derived from adjectives (see section 3.1.2.1). The SS stem-only dependent form of these verbs are very frequently used to express manner. (203) and (204) are examples of such verb forms expressing manner.

Adverbs do not have a fixed position in the clause. Their position is determined by two factors. In the first place, Kombai being a verb final language, there is the restriction that the adverbs occur before the predicate, in the prefield of the clause. Secondly, the semantic factor that the adverbs tend to occur following or preceding the constituent with which they are most closely associated semantically.

This last factor, positioning reflecting semantic association, is most clearly operative in the case of the adverbial clitics *-khu* 'also' and *-adi* 'only'; these adverbs cliticise to the constituents with which they are associated semantically:

- (205) *Khe-lu-adi khakhede.*
 his-word-only listen.1SG.NF
 I listened only to his words.
- (206) *Nani-khu bo-khugi.*
 my.mother-also DUR-ill.3SG.NF
 My mother also is ill.

Adverbs which are associated with the predication as a whole occur either in the first position or pre-verbally. Time adverbs or location adverbs which specify the spatio-temporal framework within which the event takes place, belong to this group of adverbs which occur initially or pre-verbally:

- (207) *Nagu-büwogo khogade umo-ra luwano...*
 our-parents formerly speak.SS-and say.3PL.NF
 In former times our parents (forefathers) said...
- (208) *Khokhofa boba dodo mofene ũge.*
 a.moment.ago lightning tree that strike.3SG.NF
 Just a moment ago lightning struck that tree.

3.8 RELATORS

3.8.1 CHARACTERISATION

Functionally, relators are those elements of a language, which serve to establish relationships between constituents and which link relata (Dik 1983). Defined categorially, in terms of Kombai grammar, members of at least the following categories are relators:

- (a) dependent verb clitics
- (b) postpositional clitics
- (c) relator nouns and relator verbs

We shall now discuss the relators according to the domain within which they operate.

3.8.2 RELATORS WITHIN NOUN AND ADJECTIVE PHRASES

3.8.2.1 THE MODIFIER-HEAD CONNECTIVE *-o*

Within noun-headed phrases the connective *-o* links modifiers to the head noun. *-o* cliticises to the modifiers it connects to the head noun.

The positional distribution of *-o* is determined by the relator constraint (Dik 1983), which states that the preferred position of a relator is in between its relata. In accordance with this constraint, *-o* never occurs with postnominal modifiers and only with prenominal modifiers. Consider:

- (209) *Kho mene rubu-khe.*
 man this bad-ADJ
 This man is bad.
- (210) *Mena-n-o kho rubu-khe.*
 this-TR-CONN man bad-ADJ
 This man is bad.
- (211) **Kho mena-n-o rubu-khe*
 man this-TR-CONN bad-ADJ

In (210) we see *-o* connecting the prenominal demonstrative to its head; in (209) the demonstrative occurs postnominally and *-o* is absent; in (211) *-o* does not occur in between its relata, *kho* and *mena*, and accordingly (211) is unacceptable.

The modifier-head connective *-o* connects all sorts of modifiers to the noun in noun-headed phrases, irrespective of their categorial status. In (212) we see *-o* linking the attributive noun *e(l)* 'bird' to its head *lu* 'voice':

- (212) *e-l-o lu*
 bird-CONN voice
 the voice of the bird

-o is sensitive to V-harmony (see section 2.3):

- (213) *khof-a kha*
 man-CONN skin
 the skin of a man

Adjectives and numerals occur postnominally, except for the 'ordinalia'-use of numerals with the days of the week:

- (214) *raga-n-e rei*
 first-TR-CONN day
 Monday

In (214) *-e* (harmonised) links the prenominal numeral modifier to the head noun.

In (215) we have *-o* with a different type of prenominal modifier, the prenominal double-headed RC:

- (215) *Yare gamo khereja bogi-n-o rumu...*
 old.man join.SS work DUR.do.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person
 The old man, who is joining the work,...

Yare 'old man' is the semantic-pragmatic head of the RC and *rumu* the grammatical head. These double-headed prenominal RCs are the usual form of RC in Kombai. The same set of nouns which occurs as the grammatical head in question-word phrases occurs in RC constructions referring to persons, with a generalised meaning of 'person', viz. the set (185) of section 3.6. *Gamo khereja bogi* is the RC, linked by *-o* to *rumu* (there is a transitional nasal in between *-o* and the last word of the RC, see section 2.3).

The connective *-o* not only links modifiers to the heads within noun phrases but also complements to the head within adjectival phrases:

- (216) *Nu kha-n-o bu-khe.*
 I go.INF.NF-TR-CONN unwilling-ADJ
 I do not want to go.

In (216) the adjectival phrase *khanobukhe* functions as the predicate. The adjective *bukhe* is the head of this adjectival phrase. This adjective means 'unwilling' when used with infinitival complements; in other contexts *bukhe* means 'tired'.

- (217) *Kho mene bukhe.*
 man this tired.ADJ
 This man is tired.

The complement in (216) consists of the non-future infinitive of *kha-* 'to go'. We have found constructions like (216) with adjectival predicates taking nominal infinitives only with two adjectives, *bukhe* and *bidoge*. The latter adjective only means 'unwilling':

- (218) *Khe rakhuma-n-o bidōge.*
 he buy.NF.INF-TR-CONN unwilling
 He does not want to buy.

In both (216) and (218) *-o* links a prenominal constituent to the head of the phrase.

3.8.2.2 RELATORS WITHIN COORDINATE NOUN PHRASES

3.8.2.2.1 EXHAUSTIVE ENUMERATION WITH *-khu*

Exhaustive enumeration is expressed with *-khu*:

- (219) *nu-khu gu-khu*
 I-and you-and
 you and me
- (220) *Ola-khu khe-wabū Fiabo-khu khuro-khuro unafano.*
 Ola-and his-younger.brother Fiabo-and each.other hit.3PL.NF
 Ola and his younger brother hit each other.

The relator *-khu* is attached to all members of the coordination, as is the normal pattern in Awyu-family languages (de Vries 1986). We have never found *-khu* coordinating more than two noun phrases; these phrases must have the same functional specification but structurally they may differ slightly (see for example (220)).

-khu has a number of functions, one of which is the coordination of nouns. Basically, *-khu* is an adverbial clitic (see section 3.7) meaning 'also':

- (221) *Nani-khu yaboma.*
 my.mother-also ill.3SG.NF
 My mother also is ill.

With numerals, *-khu* functions as an attributive suffix (see section 3.5.3):

- (222) *kho abalo-khu*
 man thumb-also/ATTR
 five men

In the attributive use with numerals, the 'also' meaning is still detectable.

Finally, *-khu* sometimes functions as a predicative:

- (223) *Mene umonemade-ro mena-khu.*
 this speak.IMMF.1SG-SUB this-PRED
 What I am going to speak about, is this.

3.8.2.2.2 INCLUSIVE DISJUNCTION

Non-exhaustive inclusive disjunction is expressed by *khale* 'and/or' and by *-o* 'and/or':

- (224) *Lā khumo ba-kha-ro kho khumo*
 woman die.SS DUR-go.3SG.NF-SUB/thing man die.SS
ba-kha-ro miyo muno khale lā muno
 DUR-go.3SG.NF-SUB/thing child young or woman young
khale kho muno khale khumo-ra makho Romalū
 or man young or die.SS-and there Romalū
bürü khane-neno.
 place go.3PL.NF-QUOTE.PL
 About the dying of a man or a woman, a young child or a young woman or a young man, they said that they go to the place of Romalū after they have died.

Disjunctions with *khale* are open-ended (non-exhaustive). In (225), an example taken from the same text as (224), we see the modifier-head connective *-o* linking the members of the disjunction to *khale*:

- (225) ... *khogade lan-a khale khof-o khale khumo-ra*
 in.former.times woman-CONN or man-CONN or die.SS-and
luwano...
 say.3PL.NF
 ...in former times, when a woman or a man died, they said...

In (225) *-o* (harmonised to *-a* after *lan-*) links *lan-* 'woman' and *khof-* 'man' to the relator *khale*. In section 3.8.2.1 we have analysed the connective clitic *-o* as a modifier-head connective. If the connective in (225) has this modifier-head linking function, then *khale* must be head and *lan-* and *khof-* attributive noun modifiers. If *khale* is a head, it must be a noun and not a relator.

To understand *khale*, it is necessary to take into account the role of relational nouns and verbs in Awyu-family languages. In these languages we find extensive use of members of lexical 'content' categories (nouns and verbs) as relators, expressing a wide range of semantic and pragmatic functions. (See Chapter 5 for the relational use of nouns and verbs.)

To distinguish between relationally-used nouns or verbs and relators, the following criteria may be used (cf. Chapter 5):

- (226) a. loss of specific lexical content and development of generalised grammatical meanings;
 b. loss of the head of NP function for nouns and head of predicate function for verbs;
 c. form-changes (shortening, cliticisation).

As for *khale*, our data about *khale* are rather limited but tentatively we might apply (226) to *khale* as follows. The noun *khale* possibly means 'kind, sort' and like the Indonesian noun *macam* 'kind, sort', in combination with another noun it may mean 'like, as, resembling':

(227) Indonesian:

Orang itu semacam anak kecil.
 person that like child little
 That person is like a little child.

(228) Kombai:

Kho khenoduf-o khale abo-n-o rumu...
 man child-CONN like be.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person
 A man who is like a child,...

Literally (228) says 'the resemblance of a child'. In (224)-(225) *khale* does not have this specific lexical content of 'resemblance' but a general grammatical meaning of inclusive disjunction ('or'). Thus semantically (criterion a. of (226)) *khale* has developed a conjunction-like grammatical meaning. Syntactically (criterion b. of (226)), a diagnostic for the noun-hood of relational nouns in Awyu-languages is the presence or absence of modifier-head connectives. In the case of *khale*, *-o* is sometimes present and sometimes absent. Again this points to the loss of noun-hood since *-o* is an obligatory modifier-head noun linker in noun phrases. The fact that *-o* is sometimes still there points to the transitory state of *khale* between relational noun and relator. Accordingly, there are not yet formal changes typical for relators. Since content items tend to get main word stress whereas relators do not receive this stress, relators tend to be reduced to shorter forms (criterion c. of (226)).

The connective *-o* not only functions as a modifier-head connective within noun phrases but also as an inclusive non-exhaustive enumerator, with the same meaning as *khale*:

(229) *Ay-o duwoy-o rül-o el-o nage*
 pig-or/and fish-or/and banana-and/or bird-and/or you
foro manon-a nu ade.
 bring.SS come.2PL.NF-CONN I eat.1SG.INT
 You have to bring pig, fish, bananas and birds for me to eat.

3.8.2.2.3 EXCLUSIVE DISJUNCTION WITH *-kheje*

Exhaustive and exclusive disjunction is expressed by *-kheje*. This relator cliticises to each member of the coordination. Some speakers have *-khaja* or *-khaya*. We have found *-kheje* only with two member coordinations. The members of coordinations with *-kheje* have high informational saliency. *-kheje* occurs with both (pro)nouns and verbs:

(230) *Nu-kheje gu-kheje?*
 me-or you-or
 You or me?

(231) *Ufo-kheje alumofu-kheje?*
 kill.1PL.INT-or save.1PL.INT-or
 Shall we kill or let alive?

It seems possible to analyse exclusive *-kheje* as a combination of the question-clitic *-khe* and the focus-marker *-a* (harmonised). This analysis fits in with the above noted intonational prominence and saliency of the coordinate members and with the occurrence of *-kheje* with verbs also; the question-clitic *-khe* is primarily a predicate-clitic.

3.8.3 RELATORS WITHIN SINGLE CLAUSES

In single event clauses we find the following relators expressing semantic and pragmatic relations. The immediate relata of these relators are pre-verbal clause constituents and the remote relata are the verbs, the centres of this domain.

3.8.3.1 RELATORS EXPRESSING SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS

3.8.3.1.1 *Ri*

Ri is a noun meaning 'cause, reason'. Generally used as a relational noun, it expresses several semantic functions.

- (232) *Narof-o ri-n-a bo-me-no-khe?*
 what-CONN reason-TR-FOC DUR-come-2PL.NF-Q
 Why are you (PL) coming?

In (232) *ri* is used as a noun meaning 'reason'. In the following examples *ri* is used as a relational noun expressing purpose, addressee, destination and recipient. These examples demonstrate the loss of lexical specificity and the development of a generalised grammatical meaning of 'goal' of the action. On the other hand, the modifier-head connective *-o* is obligatorily present and this indicates that *ri* syntactically functions as a noun:

- (233) *Khalufo doü nuf-o ri me-adiya.*
 yesterday sago me-CONN to come-give.3SG.NF
 Yesterday he gave sago to me.
- (234) *Khe ai rakhuma-n-a ri me.*
 he pig buy.INF.NF-TR-CONN to come.3SG.NF
 He came to buy the pig.
- (235) *Kho mene gu-ri-n-a ja.*
 man this you-for-TR-FOC call.3SG.NF
 This man called you.

In (235) *gu-* is a possessive pronoun prefixed to the relational noun *ri*. Literally (235) has 'your reason'.

- (236) *Nu momof-o ri ba-kha-de.*
 I uncle-CONN DEST DUR-go-1SG.NF
 I am going to my uncle.

3.8.3.1.2 *Nage*

Nage is a postposition expressing semantic functions like instrument and circumstance. The relations expressed by *nage* have in common that they concern inanimate entities which

play a role as peripheral circumstances of the event. *Nage* does not express spatio-temporal circumstances.

- (237) *Yafu nage khano.*
canoe by go.3PL.NF
They went by canoe.
- (238) *Yagu nage khuro unone.*
arrow with each.other kill.3PL.F
They will kill each other with arrows.
- (239) *Gom-a nage ba-ra-de.*
blood-CONN with DUR-defecate-1SG.NF
I am defecating with blood.
- (240) *Yafu-n-o nage khade.*
canoe-TR-CONN by go.1SG.NF
I went by canoe.
- (241) *Yafo-nawamuf-o nage fibimano:...*
their-heart-CONN in think.3PL.NF
In their hearts they thought:...

Sometimes the modifier-head connective *-o* links the noun to *nage* (e.g. (240) and (241)) and this suggests that *nage* could be a relational noun and not a postpositional relator. On the other hand the generalised grammatical meaning of *nage* and the absence of *-o* in a considerable number of cases indicate that *nage* is developing into a relator. Notice that we have not yet found *nage* used as a non-relational noun. The original lexically specific meaning of *nage* we do not know.

The semantic relation instrument is also often expressed by the relational use of the verb *lefa-* 'to take':

- (242) *Nu gana lefa-ra kwayi-khalo⁸ roumade.*
I bush.knife take.SS-and spirit-grass cut.1SG.NF
I cut the grass with a bush knife.
- (243) *Nu kwayi-kunci⁸ lefa-ra rafira famade.*
I spirit-key take.SS-and door open.1SG.NF
I opened the door with the key.

3.8.3.1.3 DIMENSIONAL RELATIONAL NOUNS

The dimensional nouns of (244) play an important role in the expression of locative semantic relations:

⁸ *Kwai* or *khwai* (sometimes *khwayi*) primarily means 'spirit (of a dead person)'; secondarily it is widely used to refer to (white) foreigners and this reflects the way the Kombai people view(ed) white foreigners in the initial stage of the contact: as spirits. In compound nouns *khwayi* is used for objects introduced by or associated with foreigners; there are very many of these compounds. For example, *khalo* means 'grass' but *khwayi-khalo* 'foreigners grass' refers to the lawn commonly found around houses of foreigners. *Kunci* is an Indonesian loan meaning 'key'; *khwayi-kunci* means 'key of the foreigners'.

(244)	<i>khalu</i>	inside
	<i>da</i>	topside, surface
	<i>buma</i>	backside
	<i>ragu</i>	frontside
	<i>furo</i>	bottomside
	<i>fe</i>	side

These nouns are used relationally to express locative relations; optionally, the modifier-head connective *-o* links the modifying noun to the dimensional noun which is the syntactic head of the phrase:

(245) *Guru a khalu ba-khe?*
 teacher house inside stay.3SG.NF-Q
 Is the teacher in the house?

(246) *Edof-o da ba.*
 tree-CONN topside stay.3SG.NF
 It sat in the top of a tree.

Buma 'backside' and *ragu* 'frontside' have as primary meaning body parts, *buma* 'back' and *ragu* 'nose'.

Similar use of sets of locative dimensional nouns has been reported for Marind (Drabbe 1955) and for Telefol (Healey 1965:12). Drabbe (1955) describes such nouns as locative postpositions. Interestingly, in Marind there are two sets of locative relational nouns, one animate and one inanimate, for example, to express the locative relation 'in front of' with humans and animals (animate referents), the relational noun *onah* is used and with inanimate referents the noun *mahai* is used. The set for animate referents is based on nouns denoting body parts such as the back (Drabbe 1955:134).

3.8.3.2 RELATORS EXPRESSING PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS

3.8.3.2.1 *-a*: FOCUS

Those constituents which present the relatively most salient information in a given context/situation, have focus function. Focus may be expressed by intonational prominence and/or the focus clitic *-a*. This clitic primarily functions as a predicative (see section 3.1.3.4).

Secondarily, *-a* marks focus. The relationship between *-a* as a predicative and as a focus marker may be established diachronically via a focus construction (cleft or pseudo-cleft). In many languages there are focus constructions employing relative clauses and predicatives in the framework of an identifying predication (Dik 1980:21). Examples:

(247) a. It is John that stole the money.

b. I am the one who is coming.

(248) *Nuf-a bomede.*
 I-FOC DUR.come.1SG.NF
 I am the one who is coming.

The example (248) cannot be analysed synchronically as a focus-construction employing a relative clause ((248) does not contain a relative clause, see section 5.2.1 for Kombai relative clauses). Therefore *-a* in (248) is a focus-marker and not a predicative.

We find *-a* as focus-marker in contexts which create informational saliency for certain constituents (Dik et al. 1981). In the context of question-word questions and their answers the question-word has focus and in the answer the constituent which presents the information requested. Accordingly, these constituents optionally but generally have the focus-marker *-a*:

- (249) *Gu naluf-a afo-n-e-khe?*
 you what-FOC take-TR-2SG.INT-Q
 What do you want to take?
- (250) *Yaif-o rumu bo-me-khe?*
 who-CONN person DUR-come.3SG.NF-Q
 Who is coming?
- (251) *Nuf-a bo-me-de.*
 I-FOC DUR-come-1SG.NF
 I am coming.

In (250) *-a* is absent on the question-word constituent; in (249) *-a* is present on the question-word; (251) is an answering expression with respect to (250). *Nufa* is the constituent which presents the information requested and has focus.

In contrastive contexts, the contrasted constituents are salient and this contrastive saliency is also optionally but generally expressed by *-a*:

- (252) *Na-nay-a mo-ro khwui fa, nu-do.*
 my-friend-FOC do.SS-and theft do.3SG.NF I-NEG
 My friend stole, not I.

The clitic *-ra* 'self' which is used in reflexive forms of the personal pronouns (see section 3.3), sometimes also marks focus:

- (253) *Khane-ra khwui fa.*
 Khane-FOC theft do.3SG.NF
Khane has stolen.

Literally, (253) says 'Khane himself stole.'

Clause-external vocative/exclamative focus is expressed by the vocative/exclamative focus-marker *-o* which also occurs in other Awyu-family languages:

- (254) *n-are-y-o!*
 my-father-TR-VOC
 my father!

Vocative/exclamative *-o* always receives very heavy intonational prominence.

3.8.3.2.2 NEW TOPIC AND FRAME

Like in Wambon (de Vries 1989), Urim (Hemmilä 1989), Asmat (Voorhoeve 1965:153), Usan (Reesink 1984) and in other Papuan languages (Reesink 1984:198,199) demonstratives play an important role in expressing topicality in Kombai.⁹

⁹ In the languages mentioned here demonstratives also function as topic markers. In Telefol (Healey 1965b:25,33) there is a topic marker *isé* used for "something recently referred to in the discourse or conversation, 'the thing that we have been talking about'." This *isé* is of demonstrative origin (Healey

The speaker-related demonstrative *mene* 'this' is secondarily used in establishing and re-establishing the speaker's topic (new topic, 'this is the entity I want to speak about') and in expressing the frame function ('given that...'), another topical pragmatic function (see Chapter 4). To maintain the speaker's topical entities (given topic), other devices, especially verb morphology are used.

Some examples of *mene* as new topic/frame marker:

- (255) *Gu mene nadiumokh-a.*
 you TOP my.beloved-PRED
 You are my beloved.
- (256) *Gu gwari muno gu ũgi-ro*
 you snake Patola you bite.3SG.NF-SUB
mene gu fe-khumalene-madü.
 FRM you NEG-die.2SG.F-NEG
 If a Patola snake has bitten you, you will not die.

In (256) the conditional clause is the frame, marked by the subordinator *ro* and the Frame marker *mene*. In Chapter 5 the topicality of adverbial subordinate clauses is discussed.

In (258) *mene* is used to re-establish a topic that was introduced in (257):

- (257) *Kepalahansife¹⁰ khorabo maro-fo-ra*
 headman wife go.up.SS-SEQ-and
khe-yale bo-luwa.
 her-husband DUR-speak.against.3SG.NF
 The wife of the headman spoke angrily against her husband.
- (258) *Bo-luwa-n-a* *kepalahansife*
 DUR-speak.against.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) headman
marofora khe-khorabo mene ũfa.
 go.up.SS.SEQ.and his-wife TOP hit.3SG.NF
 She spoke angrily against him and then the headman started to hit his wife.

The topic *khe-khorabo* 'his wife' is re-established by *mene* in (258). Voorhoeve (1965:153) has described similar discourse functions for the Asmat speaker-related demonstrative *a/ar* which is also used 'when something is mentioned which has already been spoken of, or is presumed to be known to the listener'. This same discourse function (to mark givenness) is observed by Hemmilä (1989) for demonstrative *pa* 'that/there' in Urim (Torricelli Phylum, East Sepik) when it goes with noun phrases. Interestingly, *pa* in this capacity only marks textual givenness, not situational givenness or shared background givenness (Hemmilä 1989:62). Apart from marking textual givenness (previous mentioning), *pa* is used to introduce new topics into the discourse and to mark emphasis and contrast (focal functions).

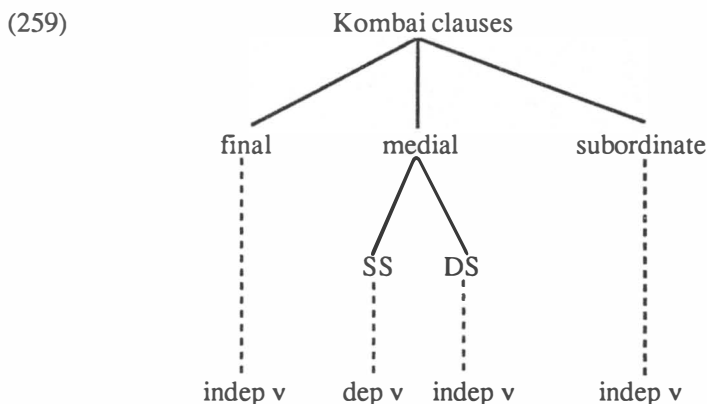
1965b glosses it as 'this') but seems to develop into a specialised topic marker. As such it can co-occur with the demonstrative *-kaa* 'this'.

10 *Kepalahansife* is based on the Indonesian term *kepala hansip* which term refers to a government appointed member of the community who is responsible for the maintaining of order in the village (*hansip* is short for *tahanan sipi*).

3.8.4 RELATORS IN SUBORDINATE AND COORDINATE CLAUSES

Subordinate clauses function as constituents of other clauses, the main clauses. Coordination in the Papuan context generally involves the chaining of coordinate-dependent clauses (medial clauses) and this is also the case in Kombai.

Apart from subordinate and medial (coordinate-dependent) clauses there is a third type of clause in Kombai, the final or independent clause. Example (259) shows the distribution of dependent and independent verb forms over the clause types in Kombai:



When independent verb forms are used in medial-coordinate clauses, they indicate DS following. Thus medially the finite versus non-finite distinction expresses the DS versus SS opposition.

3.8.4.1 CLAUSAL COORDINATORS

Same subject following medial clauses are linked to the next clause either *asyndetically* (the use of medial dependent verbs implies SS and coordination in Kombai) or by the coordinator-clitic *-ra* on the dependent verb. The dependent verb suffix *-fo* expresses the temporal relation of sequence.

- (260) *Nu ne-ra khunūle-de.*
 I eat.SS-and sleep-1SG.NF
 I ate and went to sleep.

- (261) *Fali-mima-fo dodof-o da rofadef-a*
 carry-go.out.SS-SEQ piece.of.wood-CONN on put.1SG.NF-CONN
leina ũ-rumade.
 after hit-cut.1SG.NF
 I carried it out and having put it on a piece of wood, I hit it with a bush knife.

The clause *mimafo* in (261) is linked by the temporal suffix *-fo* 'sequence' to the next clause.

DS medial clauses are linked to the next clause either *asyndetically* or, more often, by the coordinator *-a* which cliticises to the DS verb. This *-a* is restricted to medially-used independent verb forms (or: DS forms) and never goes with SS medial verbs.

- (262) *Khalufo nu bonede ya meno.*
 yesterday I DUR.eat.1SG.NF they come.3PL.NF
 Yesterday I ate and they came./When I was eating yesterday, they came.
- (263) *Khalufo nu bonedef-a gu o mi.*
 yesterday I DUR.eat.1SG.NF-CONN you water drink.2SG.NF
 Yesterday I ate and you drank.

3.8.4.2 SUBORDINATORS

3.8.4.2.1 RELATORS IN RELATIVE CLAUSES

Thus far we have found only prenominal relative clauses, embedded as modifiers in a relative NP; the modifier-head connective *-o* links the modifying relative clause to the noun head of the relative NP:

- (264) *Kho mofekho ba-n-o rumu, nare.*
 man there sit.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person my.father
 The man who sits over there, is my father.

There are no specific relative clause relators; *-o* is a general modifier-head connective in NPs, linking all types of prenominal modifiers to the head noun (see section 3.8.2.1). In Chapter 5 the role of the relational head nouns *rumu* 'person' and *ro* 'thing' in relative clauses is discussed extensively.

3.8.4.2.2 RELATORS IN ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

'Adverbial' subordinate clauses are clauses which function as satellites (non-nuclear NPs, cf. Chapter 5) in the main clause. Some examples:

- (265) *Uni be-rino ro na-büwogo gamo rino.*
 Uni DUR-make.3PL.NF thing/SUB my-parent join.SS make.3PL.NF
 When they were building Uni, my parents joined also in the building (of the village Uni).
- (266) *Khe bo-khugi ro mofene khwaimigi waluwano:...*
 he DUR-be.ill.3SG.NF thing/SUB that foreigner COM.say.3PL.NF
 Concerning his being ill, the foreigners had already said:...

Ro (sometimes: *rofa*) is a subordinating relational noun. In Chapter 5 the role of the relational noun/relator *ro* is extensively discussed.

Adverbial clauses tend to be topical; the topic/frame marker *mene* (section 3.8.3.2.2) optionally expresses this with adverbial clauses:

- (267) *Amakhalo khumelei-ro mene khwaimigi waluwano:...*
 Amakhalo die.3SG.NF-SUB FRM foreigners COM.say.3PL.NF
 Concerning the death of Amakhalo the foreigners already had said: ...

The frame/topic marker *mene* in (267) is a demonstrative (see section 3.5.1 and section 3.8.3.2.2). Drabbe (1955:109,112,128) has described the occurrence of demonstratives with adverbial and relative clauses in Marind.

Ro adverbial clauses have several interpretations depending on the context. In (266) the adverbial clause with *ro* has a temporal interpretation. In (268) it has a conditional interpretation:

- (268) *Mü bo-khe-re nu meda-n-e-madü.*
 rain DUR-be.3SG.NF-SUB I come-TR-INF.F-NEG
 If it rains, I shall not come.

When the connective *-o* is absent, *ro* cliticises to the clause it subordinates and is sensitive to vowel-harmony (e.g. (268)). The explanation of the optional occurrence of the modifier-head connective *-o* with *ro* marked clauses is that *ro* is a relational noun meaning ‘thing’. The subordinate clause preceding the noun *ro* is a relative clause modifier modifying this relational noun. Thus, for example, (265) literally has ‘the thing that they were building the Uni village...’. In Chapter 5 this interpretation of adverbial clauses is discussed in more detail.

Subordinate clauses with the semantic function time may have the relational noun *wamü* ‘middle’ as subordinator which expresses also the time function. Again, the temporal clause is expressed as a relative clause modifying a relational head noun, *wamü* ‘middle’:

- (269) *Lu badiya-n-o wamü kho*
 lesson DUR.give.3SG.NF-TR-CONN SUB/middle man
mofenadi luwa:...
 one say.3SG.NF
 When he was teaching, a man said: ...

Literally, (269) says ‘in the middle that he was teaching...’. Notice that *-o* links the modifying relative clause to the head noun.

There is another subordinator expressing a semantic function, *-ede* ‘because’ and this subordinator may co-occur with the subordinator *ro*.

- (270) *Nagu-bürü khelado-khe rof-ode dunoro-khu*
 our-territory far-ADJ SUB-because food-also
emukhe-n-o-neno.
 not.be-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL
 “Because our territory is far, we lack food also” they said.
- (271) *Khe-khino rerakharu rof-ode fe-ani-madü.*
 his-legs swollen SUB-because NEG-go.INF.F-NEG
 Because his legs are swollen, he cannot go.

In (270)-(271) *-ede* has partly harmonised with the preceding marker (*rofa+ede>rofode*); in (272) *ro* is absent:

- (272) *Nu yale-n-ede lokhe.*
 I old.man-TR-because cold.ADJ
 Because I am an old man, I am cold.

For conditionals there is also a semantic subordinator, *-lefa*, which never co-occurs with *ro* or *mene*:

- (273) *Mü khe-do-kho-lefa wodei mene*
 rain be-NEG-Q/COND-COND/SUB river this

weimo lenema.
 fast.SUPP.SS be.dry.3SG.NF
 If there is no rain, this river dries quickly.

3.8.5 RELATIONAL VERBS

Certain Kombai verbs (especially motion-verbs and the verb 'to do') frequently function as relators.

The verb *ma-* 'to do' is used relationally as follows; its 3SG.NF form, taking the DS coordinator *-a* and used medially, *mana* 'he did and..(DS)' is used as a DS conjunction, both inter-clausally and between sentences. When *mana* is used, the verb preceding it obligatorily lacks the DS coordinator *-a*. Thus a DS transition is expressed either by an independent verb form *+a* or by an independent verb form *+ mana*. In the following discourse-fragment both types of DS transitions occur:

- (274) *Boluwa-n-a*
 DUR.speak.against/angrily.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)
kepalahansife maru-fo-ra khe-khorabo mene ũfa.
 headman go.up.SS-SEQ-and his-wife TOP hit.3SG.NF
 She spoke angrily and the headman hit his wife.
- (275) *Ũfa-n-a khumo-ra bei*
 hit.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS) be.unconscious.SS-and arm
buwamo khino buwamo.
 spread.3SG.NF leg spread.3SG.NF
 He hit and she fainted and spread her arms and legs.
- (276) *Bei buwamo khino buwamo*
 arm spread.3SG.NF leg spread.3SG.NF
mana (=ma-n-a) agu marufo
 and(DS) (=do.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)) we go.up.SEQ
kharabumo ge ma mali-fo lufura-defo.
 be.set.up.SS ADH come.IMP go.down-1PL.ADH break.up.a.meeting-1PL.NF
 She spread her arms and legs and we became upset (about it) and we wanted to go and we broke up the meeting.

(274)-(276) belong to one fragment of a story; in (274) we find a DS transition *ũfana* with the DS coordinator on the medially used independent verb form *ũfa* whereas in (276) a *mana* transition occurs.

Mana is also used between sentences, as a sentence-linking device:

- (277) *Khumolei-n-a ifamano.*
 die.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS) bury.3PL.NF
 He died and they buried him.
- (278) *Mana khwaimigi mene luwano: ...*
 and (DS) foreigners this say.3PL.NF
 And then the foreigners said this: ...

The SS dependent form of *ma-* 'to do' (*mora*) is also used relationally, as a sentence-linker:

- (279) *Rei fenadi khe kho badu luwo adiya.*
 day one he man many word give.3SG.NF
 One day he addressed a large crowd.
- (280) *Mo-ra mali bokha-n-a...*
 do.SS-and go.down.SS DUR.go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS)
 Thus he did and he went down and...(DS)...

By using *mana* (DS) and *mora* (SS) the switch-reference monitoring of subjects is continued across sentence-boundaries.

Drabbe (1955:124) has reported the relational use of the verb *og* 'to do' in Marind as an interclausal conjunction meaning 'after'.

Not only forms of *ma-* 'to do' but also – and much more frequently – forms of motion verbs are used as relators.

Especially, forms of *maru-* 'go.up' are extremely frequent. They function as general discourse-cohesive conjunctions meaning something like 'and next' or 'I tell you next'; sometimes they indicate inchoative aspect of the next verb; very often they are used as pause-phenomena to give the speaker time to process the rest of his utterance. In (274) and (276) forms of *maru-* occur as relators; in (274) there is an inchoative aspect ('the headman started to hit...'). In (276) the pause-aspect is relevant. The speaker pauses to process the rest of (276).

SS forms of *maru-* are often used in combination with *lara*, the SS form of the verb *la-* 'to stand (up)' with the coordinator *-ra* cliticised to it; the combination *marulara* has the same general discourse-cohesive meaning as *maru*, namely 'and (next I tell you)'. *Lara* also occurs on its own with this meaning:

- (281) *Fali-me lara khorofoni-n-a*
 carry-come.SS and enter.1PL.INT-TR-CONN (DS)
kho domarabo anumofa-n-o-n-a...
 man many block.the.way-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS)
 We brought (him) and we wanted to enter but a crowd blocked our way
 and...(DS)...

A combination of the relator verb *maro-fo* (stand.up.SS-SEQ) and *-ede* 'because' is used as a sentence linker in argumentative discourse, meaning 'therefore':

- (282) *Marofode nage fibimonane feneme-y-a yafe-khe?*
 therefore you(PL) think.2PL.F what-TR-FOC good-Q
 Therefore what do you think is right?

The dependent forms of *kha-* 'to go' and *le-* 'to stay' combine with the durative suffix *-nege-* to form the relator verbs *khanege* and *lenege*, both meaning 'until'. The use of these relator verbs implies that the verb preceding them has a prolonged duration until the event expressed by the verb following *khanege/lenege* starts:

- (283) *Fufurumo kholomo-ra lenege maru*
 very.good.SUPP.SS search.SUPP.SS-and until and.next

bofera-ra *lefa...*
 DUR.see.SS-and take.SS
 She searched very well until she saw it and took it...

In (283) *lenege* 'until' also expresses the prolonged duration of the 'searching'; a better translation probably would be 'she searched very well until finally she saw it and took it...'

The last relator verb to be mentioned here is *leina* 'after' which also implies completive aspect of the verb preceding *leina*. *Leina* is the 3SG.NF medially used independent form of *lei-* 'to lay'. *Leina* must be preceded by an independent verb form linked to it by the coordinating connective clitic *-a*. (284) is an example containing *leina*:

- (284) *Kamar cuci*¹¹ *khukhu lara gana*
 room wash enter.SS next bushknife
fadef-a *leina(lei-n-a)*
 take.1SG.NF-CONN after (lay.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS))
khidef-a...
 run.1SG.NF-CONN (DS)
 I went into the washroom and after I had taken a bush knife I ran and...(DS).

¹¹ *Kamar cuci* is an Indonesian loan word meaning 'washroom'.

CHAPTER 4

FRAMES AND SENTENTIAL PARAGRAPHS IN KOMBAI NARRATIVES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I shall apply the notion of frame as developed by Halliday (1970), who calls it theme, and by Clark and Clark (1977), who speak of frame and insert, to the description of the informational set-up of sentential paragraphs in Kombai narratives.

Before we can use the frame notion for the description of Kombai cohesion phenomena, we need to consider some theoretical issues related to the frame notion: its definition, its functionality in discourse, the relationship between frames and other types of topics, and the relationship between the frames and themes in the sense of Dik (1978).

The notion of sentential paragraph will be developed as we apply the frame notion to Kombai data.

4.2 THE DISCOURSE DIMENSION OF FRAMING

Clark and Clark (1977:245) define the term 'frame' as follows: "...the frame of a sentence is its first main phrase. In *During the summer, Alison lives in Scotland*, the phrase *during the summer* is the frame, the setting within which one can understand the information that Alison lives in Scotland". This definition comes close to the definition of Halliday (1970:161) of theme as "the peg on which the message is hung...which, in English, is put in first position".

To clarify their notion of frame and its role in discourse, Clark and Clark (1977) point to a study by Linde and Labov (1975) on the description of apartments. Linde and Labov tape-recorded about 100 New Yorkers as they answered the question, "Could you tell us the layout of your apartment?". Interestingly, most respondents (over 97 per cent) solved the problem of how to explain the layout of their apartment by describing a tour of the apartment, like this:

(285) You walked in the front door. There was a narrow hallway. To the left, the first door you came to was a tiny bedroom. Then there was a kitchen, and then bathroom, and then the main room was in the back, living room, I guess.

In the following comment by Clark and Clark (1977:245) the functionality of frames in discourse is clearly stated: "In the apartment descriptions, people selected frames with great consistency. Some took the tour itself as the organizing center of their descriptions and produced sentences like: *To the left we see the kitchen*. The frame *to the left* relates the information conveyed to the route of the tour. Other people organized their descriptions around the rooms being toured and produced sentences like: *The kitchen is to the left*. The frame *the kitchen* relates the information conveyed to the list of rooms."

Of course, it is not for all types of discourse (e.g. social talk) so easy to point out an organising centre and to find frame constituents linking language expressions to this organising centre; perhaps we should distinguish between local frames, which merely link the present sentence to the preceding one and global frames, which link the present sentence to the organising centre of a larger discourse-fragment or to the discourse as a whole.

In many texts there are subsections of the discourse which have their own organising centres. Take for example the following text (from Brown and Yule 1983:137, somewhat adapted):

(286) Mr William Serby

- (a) Mr William Serby who died aged 85 on September 20 was County Treasurer to Buckinghamshire County Council from 1929 to 1961.
- (b) He was commissioned in the Queen's (R.W. Surrey Regiment) in 1915 and served in France until he was wounded in 1916.
- (c) From 1917 to 1919 he served as a commissioned liaison officer with the French and Russian forces in the North Russian Expeditionary Force.
- (d) In 1926 he was appointed County Accountant to the Cornwall C.C.
- (e) During the Second World war he commanded the Home Guard...
- (f) In 1926 he married Jean Durns and...

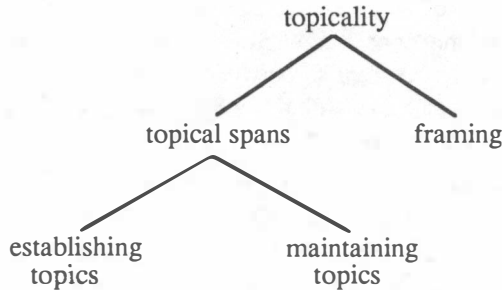
This obituary (286) has two sections, an introduction (a)-(b) and the main section (c)-(f). The first section is framed around the speaker's topical entity 'Mr Serby' whereas the main section has the timeline as its organising centre; in the main section temporal frames link the sentences to the timeline. In the first section (a)-(b), the speaker's topic, 'Mr Serby' is also the frame and this shows that the dimensions of framing and topicality may coincide on one constituent. Below we shall return to the relation between topicality and framing.

It is important to include the relational nature of frames in the definition of frames, the relata being the present sentence on the one hand and the organising centre of the discourse on the other. Thus frames have a forward looking aspect and a backward looking aspect; forwardly, they present the setting for the predication to come and backwardly, they link the present sentence to the preceding sentence or discourse.

This relational character of frames explains why they tend to occur sentence-initially: they occur in between their relata. The fact that frames tend to occur initially does not mean that initial constituents are always frames. Sometimes it is the meaning of the sentence as a whole which allows the addressee to place the sentence in the discourse, rather than one specific constituent.

In de Vries (1989:59) I have presented a typology of topicality. Example (287) partly repeats that representation:

(287)



Discussing sentence (288), Reesink (1984:179) says he would call *yesterday* and *I* and *a big fire* topics, albeit on different grounds:

(288) Yesterday I saw a big fire.

Example (287) is an attempt to formulate a typology of these grounds for topicality. *Yesterday* is a frame, *I* a given topic and *a big fire* a new topic in terms of this typology. In de Vries (1989:Ch.3) I have stressed that the distinctions embodied in the taxonomy of topicality only correspond to pragmatic functions in the grammar of a language as far as the expressive devices of a language code these distinctions emically in the morpho-syntax of expressions. Every language has its own patterns of neutralisation and diversification with respect to these distinctions.

In the strongest case of neutralisation a language would use the same expressive devices for all types of topics, irrespective of the grounds for their topicality. Such a language would distinguish one type of topic (general topic), covering both framing and topical span types of topics. One level lower in (287), a language would distinguish formally between frames and topical span related topics. Still lower in (287), a language could distinguish between establishing topicality (new topic) and maintaining topicality (given topics), etc. For a more detailed treatment of topical span analysis see de Vries (1989:Chapter 3).

Framing differs from the identification of topical entities in topical spans as follows. These spans have the aspects of introducing topical entities into the discourse and keeping track of them. Framing does not have these aspects but has to do with relating the present sentence to the organising centre of the discourse, for the example the time-line and place-line in a narrative; frames have a relational character.

A given frame constituent normally occurs only once whereas it is in the very nature of topics to have multiple occurrence in discourse, the form in which the occurrences take place depending on the phase of the topical span.

In narrative discourses all over the world the spatio-temporal dimension is the unmarked organising centre, generating temporal and spatial frame phrases, that is, inanimate frames. At the same time, in narratives animate entities tend to be more prominent entities; thus topics tend to be animate.

A constituent may be both topic and frame (cf. 'Mr Serby' in the first section (a)-(b) of (286)). There are also constituents like *in France* in (286b) which are neither frame nor topic (background entities). When in a sentence there is both a topic and a frame, the frame is positioned before the topic:

(289) Yesterday (frame) I (topic) was ill.

Having discussed the relationship between frames and topics, we now turn to the relationship between frames and themes in the sense of Dik (1978). Dik (1978:19) defines themes as constituents which specify "the universe of discourse with respect to which the subsequent predication is presented as relevant" and gives examples like:

(290) As for Paris, the Eiffel tower is really spectacular.

In (290) *as for Paris* is the theme; from this and Dik's other examples it is clear that Dik's themes also present a frame for the following predication. There are, however, also differences between our frames and Dik's themes.

In the first place, the discourse-functionality that I attribute to frames, is absent in Dik's treatise about theme. Secondly, for Dik (1978) themes are necessarily predication-external constituents, contrasting with Dik's topics which are always predication-internal. In my view frames and topics occur both predication-externally and predication-internally and I formulate the differences between topics and frames more in terms of their different roles in discourse-cohesion.

The pragmatic rationale for the predication-externality of both frames and topics in certain conditions, seems to be processing freedom. The speaker chooses a frame or topic before he has decided on the form of the subsequent predication. That is why we often find pause-phenomena with predication-external topics and frames, as Dik (1978:136) also notes for his (always) predication-external themes.

In Wambon and Kombai, but also in Usan (Reesink 1984), this processing function, reflected formally by predication-externality and pause-phenomena, is the only difference between predication-internal and predication-external topics and themes. There are no other formal or functional differences connected to predication-externality which would justify the set-up of separate predication-external and predication-internal topics and themes.

Notice that in the case of predication-external and predication-internal focus in Wambon, there are other differences involved (see de Vries 1989:Ch.3); the predication-external focus was functionally an exclamative and vocative focus and formally expressed by *-o* and not by *-nde*. These differences led me to set up two functions of focus for Wambon.

Of course, further typological research is badly needed to see to what extent in Papuan and other languages predication-externality is connected to other pragmatic and morpho-syntactic differences.

4.3 FRAMES IN KOMBAI NARRATIVES

4.3.1 THE RELATA OF FRAMES IN NARRATIVES

Above the relational nature of frames has been dealt with. Therefore, in order to understand frames in Kombai, we need to discuss the relata of frames. In Kombai narrative discourse, frames relate sentential paragraphs to either sentential paragraphs (local frames) or to the organising centre of a larger discourse unit (global frames).

4.3.1.1 THE ORGANISING CENTRE OF KOMBAI NARRATIVES

As far as the organising centre of Kombai narratives goes, the chronological succession of events is the usual way to set up narratives. Events which happened first, should be told

first. Basically, Kombai narratives are lists, lists of events; these lists are ordered according to the chronology of the events. Healey (1965a:22) describes a similar chronological constraint in Telefol clause chains: "Sequential clauses occur in the chronological order of the events they describe...". For Haiman (1980:391) who describes how chronology conditions the way medial clauses are conjoined to form Hua narratives, the chronological organisation of the narrative is iconically motivated: "just as the first sentence precedes the second, so too does the event to which it makes reference precede the event described in the second sentence".

The dependent verb clitic *-fo* (see section 3.1.3.2.2) expresses the temporal relation of sequence. There are also other means to express interclausal temporal relations (for example with the relational verb *leina*, see section 3.8.5). Often, however, we do not find explicit markings of temporal relations since the general rule is that if verb A occurs before verb B, event A started before event B started. Within this general chronological set-up Kombai seems to be as much interested in the conceptual closeness/distance relations of events as in the various temporal relations which may hold between the events in discourse. For example, there is no explicit marking of simultaneity; simultaneity is treated as a case of conceptual closeness in Kombai (two events are conceptually close, *inter alia*, when they occupy the same time-span).

The metaphor of 'chaining' and 'chain' is often used in Papuan linguistics to clarify interclausal relations (see Longacre 1972 for a general treatment of clause chaining in New Guinea languages). Following Healey (1966) I apply the notion of 'chaining' also to levels higher than the clause, namely to relations between sentential paragraphs within Kombai narratives. Just as single verb clauses within the sentence are 'chained' into the medial chain (see below), the narrative sentences in their turn are 'chained' into the discourse, that is there is not much embedding of discourse units in other units; there is a very 'flat' hierarchical structure in most of the Kombai narratives.

4.3.1.2 SENTENTIAL PARAGRAPHS

The other relatum of frames is the sentential paragraph. Narratives have the sentential paragraph as their basic building block. By paragraph I mean a unit of discourse in between the smallest unit, the single verb clause, and the largest, the narrative as a whole. These narrative paragraphs have very clearly marked boundaries since the paragraph in Kombai narratives coincides with a syntactic unit, the sentence.

These sentences contain medially dependent verb forms and finally independent verb forms. Independent verb forms may also occur medially and if they do so, they function as medial DS verbs. Now whenever an independent verb with falling intonation on the last syllable(s), is followed by a verb form with rising intonation on the last syllable(s), there is a sentence boundary. In addition to this, frames mark the beginning of a new sentence. frames are optional but they are present in the great majority of narrative sentences. In most cases, these frames are expressed by tail-head linkage constructions (see below).

The combination of intonation, verb types and tail-head linkage makes sentence boundaries very easy to detect in Kombai narratives.

Sentences do not only have clear boundaries, they also have very predictable internal structures, represented by (291):

(291) Sentential paragraph: \pm frame \pm medial chain+final clause

Sentential paragraphs consist of three parts; the first part is the frame constituent, then there is a middle section of chained single verb clauses and the final part is an independent verb clause with falling intonation towards the end.

The final clause is the syntactic nucleus of the sentential paragraph: it is the only obligatory part, although the other parts are almost always present. The medial chain and often also the frame depend on the final clause.

Medial-final chains are found in very many TNGP languages. Such chains sometimes form paragraph-like discourse chunks as in Kombai narratives but in other languages "medial-final chains may be interpreted as sentence units which build quite regularly into paragraphs just as in an Indo-European language. This is true, for example, in Manambu, Golin, Gahuku, and Yessan-Mayo." (Longacre 1972:40). The relation between verb types and sentence/paragraph boundaries in chains also varies from language to language. For example in chains of Telefol, an Ok language, finite dependent verb forms mark the end of the sentence and independent verbs mark the end of the paragraph (Healey 1966).

The frame constituent tends to be of the clausal type, although phrasal frames occur. Time expressions in Kombai tend to take the form of clauses. There is a very restricted set of options for the expression of frames in narratives. The overwhelming majority of frames in narratives are either tail-head linkages or generic verb linkages or spatio-temporal phrases.

The medial chain consists of coordinate-dependent¹² single verb clauses occurring in chain-like series with a very low number of expressed arguments per verb. The medial chain may be very long (more than 20 verbs in one chain is not unusual in both Kombai and Wambon). The tendency to leave arguments unexpressed, to express the maintaining of topical entities in the verb morphology and to express interclausal relations in the verb morphology combine to make the medial chain look very 'verby' and event-oriented.

The final clause has an independent verb as its centre; the final clause expresses the main assertion of the sentential paragraph. The medial chain contains both asserted and non-asserted information and all sorts of 'soft' presuppositions and assertions. The information status of frames is to present the setting or framework for the subsequent narrative sentence and to link it to the preceding list of events.

We conclude this section by illustrating some of the points made above. Consider (292) and (293). In this section there are two given topics, 'I' and 'the snake':

- (292) *Ũ-ra fali mimaye-fo fali-ra*
 hit.SS-and carry.SS go.out.SS-SEQ carry.SS-and
mimaye-fo ge dodof-o da rofadef-o
 go.out.SS-SEQ next wood-CONN surface put.1SG.NF-CONN
leina ge gubino ũ-ruma-de.
 after next neck hit-cut-1SG.NF
 I hit it and carried it out and after I had put it on a piece of wood I cut its neck.

¹² Franklin (1969:169) and Longacre (1972:2) have pointed out that the coordinate-subordinate distinction of Indo-European languages is not equivalent to the medial-final distinction of Papuan languages. A typical characteristic of interclausal relations in medial-final clause chains of many Papuan languages including Kombai is the combination of dependency and non-embeddedness for which I use the term 'coordinate-dependent' following Foley (1986).

- (293) *Ū-rumadef-o* *leina fo-ra* *fali-ra*
 hit-cut.1SG.NF-CONN after take.SS-and carry.SS-and
- maru-me-fo-ra* *me* *khalu*
 go.up-come.SS-SEQ-and come.SS go.down.SS
- reme* *da* *me* *rofadefe.*
 concrete surface come.SS put.1SG.NF
- Having cut it, I took it upwards and then put it down on the concrete floor.

The story from which the sentential paragraphs (292)-(293) are a part, has the overall set-up of presenting a chronological list of events. The frame of (293) is *urumadefo leina* 'having cut it'. This frame has been expressed by a tail-head linkage construction (see section 4.3.2.1), which recapitulates the independent verb *urumade* 'I cut it' of the final clause of (292). The new information to be asserted in (293) should be understood as the insert for the frame 'having cut it'; at the same time this frame links the list of events of (293) to the list of (292).

The medial chain in (293) consists of seven coordinate-dependent clauses, from *fora* to *khalu*; these single verb clauses do not contain any nominal material. The topics 'I' and 'the snake' are maintained by verbal means (switch-reference, subject person-number agreements) and not by (pro)nominal means. On the other hand, events are spelled out in detail. For example in (293) a dependent verb form specifying the direction of a motion occurs twice.

The final clause in (293) has *rofadefe* 'I put it' as its centre, expressing the main assertion of this sentence; the preceding dependent verbs depend on the independent verb form of the final clause for their subject person-number and tense-mood interpretation.

4.3.2 THE EXPRESSION OF FRAMES IN NARRATIVES

In the functional grammar theory (Dik 1978), informational relations between constituents are treated in terms of pragmatic functions. Besides pragmatic functions, like topic and focus, there are semantic functions (agent, beneficiary, etc.) and syntactic functions (subject, object).

A language expression is described on two levels: the levels of predication and of expression. A predication is a non-linear representation of the expression in which for each constituent there is a functional specification indicating which semantic, pragmatic and syntactic functions have been assigned to these constituents. Expression-rules express these functions in the form and order of constituents. These rules are triggered by the functional specification in the underlying predication and form the link between the predication and its expression.

Of all the functions specified in the predication, only a part receives formal expression in the morpho-syntax of clauses and sentences: there are limits to the amount of functional information to be coded morpho-syntactically.

The pragmatic function of frame is assigned to constituents which specify the setting or background for the subsequent predication and which link this predication to the preceding predication or the organising centre of the discourse-chunk. Just as the other functions, frames are not always overtly expressed. Many languages have frame constructions, that is,

constructions which intrinsically define a certain constituent as the frame. For example, in English, the *as for* construction:

(294) As for Paris, the Eiffel tower is really spectacular.

However, in English the left-most position is often the only indication of frame-hood. For example, in (286d) above, *in 1926* has the functional specification time frame, that is, a constituent with the semantic function of time and the pragmatic function of frame; this pragmatic function is only expressed by position; the semantic function is expressed by *in*.

In Kombai, frames are almost always overtly expressed; the expressive devices for frame include position (left-most), two frame constructions, the tail-head linkage and generic verb linkage construction, and finally the marker *mene*. These markers will be discussed in Chapter 5. In the remainder of this chapter I shall limit myself to the last two frame constructions.

4.3.2.1 TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE

The term tail-head linkage is from Thurman (1975). It refers to a phenomenon which is "extremely common in Papuan languages, especially in narrative texts. Such texts are littered with dozens of examples of this usage" (Foley 1986:201). Longacre (1972:45) has described the phenomenon as follows: "Commonly the function of the first base in such chaining units is to refer back to the last base of the previous chain. If the chain structures as a paragraph, then such back-reference or recapitulation joins paragraph to paragraph." In Kombai tail-head linkage, two sentential paragraphs are linked by recapitulation of the assertion of the final clause of the preceding sentential paragraph (=tail) in the first clause of the next sentential paragraph (=head). For example in (293) above *urumadefo leina* is the head and in (292) *urumade* is the tail. The head clause in tail-head linkage is sometimes called paragraph setting (Longacre 1972:47). Healey (1966) who describes the recapitulation phenomenon for the levels of sentence, paragraph and discourse in the Ok language Telefol, uses the term paragraph Margin for the recapitulated first clause of the paragraph.

In Kombai, usually only the independent verb of the final clause is repeated but sometimes, when a phrase from the tail clause is closely associated with the independent verb, this phrase is also repeated in the head clause. Compare (295)-(296):

(295) *Gabükhe-ra Ola-khu khe-wabü Fiyabo-khu*
angry.ADJ-and Ola-and his-brother Fiyambo-and

khuro-khuro bo-unafano.
each.other DUR-hit.3PL.NF

He (=Ola) became angry and Ola and his brother Fiyambo began to fight.

(296) *Khuro-khuro bo-unafano-n-a kepalahansife-khu*
each.other DUR-hit.3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS) headman-and

Yafeyo-khu maru barabumano-n-a.
Yafeyo-and go.up.SS stand.in.between.3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS)

Given that they started to fight, the headman and Yafeyo stood up to intervene.

In (296) the reciprocal phrase *khuro-khuro* is also included in the recapitulation because of its close association with the independent verb.

Of course, speakers may recapitulate and do indeed recapitulate as much information as they think necessary to provide an adequate background for the new information.

Tail-head linkage is by far the most important and most frequent way to link sentential paragraphs in Kombai narratives. It serves several purposes.

In the first place, it expresses the frame function; the recapitulated information of the frame clause (the 'head' of the tail-head linkage is the frame-constituent) serves as the setting for the new information, as the given¹³ frame for the information to come. At the same time, the frame links the event-chain of the present sentential paragraph to the list of events that makes up the narrative.

In the second place, tail-head linkage serves a processing function. Since the medial chain and the final clause often contain many verbs denoting new events with most of the predictable arguments of these verbs unexpressed, the information-rate in the sentential paragraph is high. Now at the start of a new sentential paragraph, the recapitulation of the tail-head linkage gives the speaker the time to process the coming medial chain and the addressee to process the information given in the preceding medial chain. By tail-head linkage the flow of information is slowed down in between two sentential paragraphs. This processing function manifests itself very clearly in pause-phenomena and intonation-contours associated with tail-head linkage. The frame clause of the tail-head linkage is pronounced much slower than the medial chain and the final clause; at the end of the frame clause, there is a rising intonation, contrasting with the falling intonation of the preceding final clause. Between the frame and the medial chain we often find pauses and hesitation-phenomena.

In the third place, tail-head linkage carries over the switch-reference monitoring of subjects from one sentential paragraph to the next. In Kombai, switch-reference plays an important role in maintaining topics within topical spans, just as in Wambon (see de Vries 1985) but the influence of topicality factors on the switch-reference system is much less than in Wambon; 'skipping' of non-topical subjects for example, so frequent in Wambon does not seem to occur on the same scale as in Wambon. Of course, the notion subject should be taken as first argument (e.g. agents with action verbs). Much more research is needed to assess the various semantic and pragmatic factors involved in switch-reference in Kombai. Reesink (1983a) and Roberts (1988a, 1988b) have shown that it is impossible to describe switch-reference systems in most Papuan languages as a purely syntactic device.

Van Kleeef (1988:155) correctly points out that the use of tail-head linkage differs from language to language. Nevertheless, the three functions of tail-head linkage in Kombai (framing, management of information flow and carrying switch-reference monitoring over sentence- or paragraph-boundaries) might quite possibly be relevant in some form in many Papuan languages. The use of tail-head linkage in Siroi for the management of the information flow may serve to exemplify this. Van Kleeef (1988:152) observes a relation between the use of tail-head linkage and management of the information flow in Siroi, a TGNP language of the Kabenau family of Papua New Guinea. Tail-head linkage in Siroi is a sentence-connecting device mainly used within thematic paragraphs in narratives for highlighting the main events (expressed by the final verbs in this language). This tail-head recapitulation of the final verbs is done "very consistently by most narrators throughout the whole narrative with the exception of the climax of the story when usually there is a lot of

¹³ The 'given frame' nature of the recapitulated clause is expressed by demonstrative-based markers of 'givenness' in some Papuan languages, for example, in Urim tail-head linkage (Hemmilä 1989:51).

direct speech and the information flow is extremely high. When that is the case, Tail-Head linkage is sometimes not used lest it would stop the flow of events" (Van Kleef 1988:152). Although the (optional) absence of tail-head linkage in the climax of the Siroi narrative may be a special Siroi phenomenon, the reason for this absence points to the general function of tail-head linkage in managing the information flow.

According to Foley (1986:201), in most Papuan languages tail-head linkage is done by subordinate recapitulatory clauses. In Kombai and Wambon, however, the normal way to express tail-head linkage is by coordinate-dependent clauses. In Kombai and Wambon, switch-reference is restricted to coordinate clauses. By using coordinate structures for tail-head linkage, the switch-reference monitoring of subjects is carried over sentence-boundaries: the repeated verb occurs in a coordinate-dependent clause and accordingly expresses switch-reference. The last verb of the preceding sentence, being an independent form, does not express switch-reference but its recapitulated form in the frame clause does express switch-reference.

In Irianese Indonesian, at least as it is spoken in the area where I have worked (see Chapter 1), tail-head linkage also occurs, often in combination with the Irianese Indonesian coordinator/sequence marker *baru*:

- (297) *Kemarin saya lihat babi hutan.*
yesterday I see pig jungle
Yesterday I saw a wild pig.
- (298) *Lihát baru saya mau bunuhnya.*
see and I want kill.it
I saw it and I wanted to kill it.

Since this type of sentence linkage does not occur in Standard Indonesian, at least not with the very high frequency it has in Irianese Indonesian, it seems safe to conclude that the frequent use of tail-head linkage in Irianese Indonesian is one of the many signs of the intense interaction of Papuan languages and varieties of Indonesian in Irian Jaya.¹⁴

I shall now illustrate the three functions of tail-head linkage (in framing, processing information, switch-reference) with examples from the following discourse-chunk (which is a part of text 5 in Chapter 7):

- (299) *...kepalahansife-n-a mene boyademano.*
headman-TR-house TOP DUR.meet.3PL.NF
...they held a meeting in the house of the headman.
- (300) *Boyademano-n-a kepalahansife khorabo*
DUR.meet.3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS) headman wife
marofora khe-yale boluwa.
INCH her-husband DUR.be.angry.with.3SG.NF
They held a meeting and the wife of the headman started to speak angrily against her husband.

¹⁴ Other signs are: the neutralisation of the Standard Indonesian opposition *kami* 'we (exclusive)' versus *kita* 'we (inclusive)', the absence of passives, the presence of compound verbs like *bunuh-makan* 'kill-eat' and *bawa-lari* 'take-run', the presence of coordinate verb chains linked by *baru*, etc. On the lexical level, hundreds of Indonesian loans are integrated into Papuan languages, often by integration-schemes as the Kombai support-verb *ma* based integration of Indonesian verbs in the lexicon (see section 3.1.2.2).

- (301) *Boluwa-n-a* *kepalahansife*
 DUR.be.angry.with.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS) headman
marufora khe-khorabo mene ũfa.
 INCH his-wife TOP hit.3SG.NF
 She spoke angrily and the headman started to hit his wife.
- (302) *Ũfa-n-ā* *khumo-ra*
 hit.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS) be.unconscious.SS-and
bei büwamo khino büwamo.
 arm spread.3SG.NF leg spread.3SG.NF
 He started to hit and she became unconscious spreading her arms and her legs.

In (302) *ũfana* is the frame for the following sentential paragraph: it is a frame expressed by the tail-head linkage construction. The assertions of (302), that the headman's wife became unconscious and spread her arms and legs, may be understood in the framework of *ũfana* 'he hit (her)'. This is the forward looking aspect of framing. At the same time, the frame *ũfana* links the events of (302) to the preceding series of events, told in (301). This is the backward looking aspect of framing. The discourse unit (299)-(302) is organised around the time-line, as a list of events. The frames in (299)-(302) relate the narrative sentences to this overall set-up.

The role of tail-head linkage in processing information manifests itself also in (299)-(302). For example after the frame *ũfana* in (302) there is a pause separating it from the following medial chain starting with *khumora*. There is a slowed down pronunciation of the frame-clause, with a rise on the last syllable of *ũfana*. And this intonation contrasts with the falling intonation on *ufa* in (301).

This intonational pattern characteristic of tail-head linkage may also be heard in Irianese Indonesian tail-head linkage:

- (303) *Kemarin guru pukul saya.*
 yesterday teacher hit me
 Yesterday the teacher hit me.
- (304) *Pukúl baru saya lari.*
 hit and I ran
 He hit me and I ran away.

Finally, (299)-(302) also demonstrate the role of tail-head linkage in carrying switch-reference over sentence-boundaries.

In (300) the 'headman's wife' is introduced into the discourse. In (301) this topic is re-established by the topic marker *mene* (see section 3.8.3.2.2). In (302) this 'headman's wife' topical span continues, together with the 'headman' topical span, started in (299). In (302) both topics are only identified by verb morphology (switch-reference, agreements). This type of weak identification by verb morphology is in many Papuan languages a preferred identification strategy. Although these languages have sets of personal pronouns, these are hardly used to maintain topicality.

Now in (302) this preferred identification strategy can be continued over sentence-boundaries because of tail-head linkage: the last verb of (301), *ufa*, is an independent verb form, not expressing switch-reference. But the recapitulated form *ũfana* in (302) is a DS

form, indicating that the next clause *khumora* 'she became unconscious' has a different subject than *ūfana*. Since in (302) there are only two topical participants activated, the addressee easily identifies the 'headman's wife' as the one who became unconscious.

4.3.2.2 GENERIC VERB LINKAGE

Closely related to tail-head linkage is generic verb linkage. Both tail-head linkage and generic verb linkage are frame-constructions, that is, expressive devices specifically associated with the frame function. In generic verb linkage a generic verb meaning 'to do' or 'to do thus', is the recapitulatory element. By using generic verb linkage, the verbatim and more elaborate repetition of tail-head linkage is avoided but the clausal form of the recapitulation is retained. Tail-head linkage is by far the most frequent of the two. (305)-(306) are examples of generic verb linkage:

- (305) *Rei fenadi khe kho badu luwo adiya.*
 day one he man many word give.3SG.NF
 One day he addressed a large crowd.
- (306) *Mo-ra mali bokha-n-a...*
 do.SS-and descend.SS DUR.go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS)
 Thus he did and he went down and ..(DS)...

In (306) the frame is a clause consisting of the dependent verb form *mora* 'do.SS.and'; the final predicate of (305) is not repeated verbatim but the recapitulation takes the form of the generic verb *mora*. (305)-(306) present an example of generic verb linkage in subject continuity conditions. In (307)-(308) we find the DS form of the generic verb:

- (307) *Khumolei-n-a ifamano.*
 die.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS) bury.3PL.NF
 He died and they buried him.
- (308) *Ma-n-a khwaimigi mene luwano: ...*
 do.3SG.NF-CONN (DS) foreigner this say.3PL.NF
 And then the foreigners said: ...

Notice that *ifamano* in (307) is a 3PL form; accordingly, we would expect the recapitulatory verb of (308) to be of the same number and person, that is the 3PL.NF form of the generic verb *manona* 'thus they did and ..(DS)...'; instead we find the 3SG.NF form *mana*; this form is always found as a linking verb in DS conditions, suggesting that *mana* has become a relator, an invariable marker of the DS transition (see section 3.8.5 for relational verbs).

Generic verbs do not repeat the information of the preceding final clause; instead, they point back to that information. In Kombai this anaphoric element is not formally expressed but in Wambon the generic 'do' verb linking sentences has this anaphoric element formally expressed: when used as linking verb, *mo-* 'to do' is not found but *jamo-* 'to do thus/that' is found:

- (309) *Kono Kikhup-ka okimalevambo.*
 next Digul-in take.a.bath.1PL.PAST
 Next we took a bath in the Digul.

- (310) *Jamo-mbel-o* *ap* *kalevambo*.
 thus.do.SS-SEQ-COORD house go.1PL.PAST
 Having done so, we went home.

Of course, the anaphoric way to connect sentences is one found all over the world. Anaphoric locative frames like *there* or temporal frames like *then* are often used in English to connect sentences. The verbatim repetition of tail-head linkage, and the frequency of this linking device, are cross-linguistically rather marked. Papuan languages appear to prefer to repeat information rather than point back to it. Of course, they also have the options of anaphoric frames and generic verb linkage but tail-head linkage, especially in narratives, is the first choice.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Reesink (1984) calls *yesterday* and *I* and *a big fire* topics in (311), if on different grounds:

- (311) Yesterday I saw a big fire.

In this chapter we have tried to contribute to the typology of topicality by investigating some of these 'different grounds'.

To grasp these grounds we should not discuss isolated 'system-sentences' but discourse-data. In studying spatio-temporal and other framework-specifying sentence-initial constituents in narratives, we saw that these constituents have two tasks. Their 'forward looking' task is to present a background or frame for the information to be conveyed in the present sentence. Their 'backward looking' task is to link the present sentence to the preceding sentence (local frame) or to the 'organising centre' of the discourse as a whole (global frame). Bringing these two elements together we get a notion of frame as a type of topic which specifies the relevant frame for the predication and which relates the predication to the preceding one(s).

In section 3 we have applied this frame-notion to cohesion-phenomena in Kombai narratives. The *relata* of Kombai frames in narratives are sentential paragraphs or narrative sentences. Frames link these sentential paragraphs to each other and to the organising centre of the narrative as a whole. The organising centre of the Kombai narrative is the time-line, the events are listed in chronological order. The narrative sentences consist of the frame followed by the medial chain and the final clause. The medial chain is an often long series of medial verb clauses, with a low number of expressed arguments per verb. The final clause is the last clause of the sentence. It contains an independent verb; the medial chain is dependent on the final clause.

In Kombai frames are expressed by position and by special frame-constructions. Frames occur in the left-most position. Typical fillers of the frame slot in Kombai are spatio-temporal phrases and clauses, as in very many languages all over the world. In addition to these, we find special frame constructions in Kombai, tail-head linkage and generic verb linkage. These frame-expressing devices are normal in Papuan languages but outside this group they do not seem to occur with the frequency they have in New Guinea.

Tail-head linkage is the normal way to connect narrative sentences in Kombai. The verb of the final clause of the preceding sentence is repeated in the first clause of the next sentence. When the speaker thinks that a satisfactory frame for his present sentence should

contain more information than the repeated verb only, then he may add other material from the final clause. Tail-head linkage is crucial in processing the information, both for the production and the perception. The typical intonation associated with tail-head linkage also reflects this processing function besides being a marker of sentence-boundaries.

Generic verb linkage and tail-head linkage have the clausal form of the recapitulation in common. The difference is that in generic verb linkage the information is not repeated verbatim but rather pointed back to, in an anaphoric fashion.

Connecting sentences by pointing back anaphorically, is of course the more usual way to create cohesion in the languages of the world. It is the elaborate repetition of the tail-head linkage, in combination with its high frequency in narratives, which strikes linguists as a specific characteristic of Papuan languages.

CHAPTER 5

THINGS AND PERSONS

THE ROLE OF *ro* 'THING' AND *rumu* 'PERSON' IN KOMBAI SYNTAX AND PRAGMATICS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I shall describe the syntactic and pragmatic functions of two relational nouns, *ro* 'thing' and *rumu* 'person'. They have two functions.

Syntactically, they function as head nouns (HN) in a number of constructions; there is an expression-rule of head noun insertion which inserts *ro* and *rumu* in relative clauses (RC) adverbial clauses and question-word phrases.

Pragmatically, *ro* and *rumu* have a function in the domain of reference and identification. Adverbial clauses, relative clauses and question-word phrases function as referring expressions, as terms (using the terminology of Dik 1978, 1989). Now when these terms have *ro* as HN, they refer to a non-human entity and when they have *rumu* as HN, they refer to a human entity. This classificatory function of *ro* and *rumu* helps the addressee to identify the entities the speaker is referring to.

Ro and *rumu* are relational head nouns: they belong to a transitional category of relationally used lexical items. This category is the bridge in the grammaticalisation process in which lexical items become functors (purely grammatical elements).

In section 5.2 the syntactic-pragmatic function of *ro* and *rumu* as classificatory HNs is discussed and in section 5.3 the notion 'relational noun' is treated in order to understand certain grammaticalisation processes occurring in Kombai.

Dik (1985b:3) introduces the notion of 'prototypical expression model' (PEM). The PEM for terms is as follows:

- (i) a term with a non-derived nominal as head, possibly modified by attributive adjectives and possessor phrases, and determined by one or more term operators (Dik 1985a:3).

Expressions like *an old lady*, *the theory of relativity* and *John* would be examples of prototypically expressed terms. Notice that the notion of 'term' is a functional one, and not a categorial one; terms are expressions, whatever their categorial make-up, which are used by speakers in the pragmatic and co-operative activity of referring (see Dik 1978).

The Kombai preferred expression for terms (ii) follows from the language-independent PEM (i):

- (ii) $\pm(\text{modifier/operator}+o) + \text{noun}$

Here are some examples of Kombai terms which conform to (ii):

information which helps to identify the speaker's topical entity. The relative terms in the data always seem to function in the domain of topicality but further research is needed to establish whether relative terms are restricted to these topical contexts.

Now when in relative terms *rumu* is used as the grammatical head, the relative term refers to a human entity and when *ro* is used the relative term refers to a non-human entity. Most relative terms have either *ro* or *rumu* as heads but in the data we also have examples where there is no grammatical head noun (e.g.(320)) or where the topical antecedent is repeated as the grammatical head of the relative term (e.g.(321)). Sometimes, *rumu* is replaced by another noun from the set (323) which also plays a role in question-word questions. All the members of this set mean 'person' in the contexts of question-word questions and relative clauses. *Rumu* is the unmarked choice of this set. (322) is an example of a relative term with *mogo* 'person' as its head.

- (320) *Baju rakhumade emukhe.*
 shirt buy.1SG.NF lost
 The shirt I bought is lost.
- (321) *Doü adiyano-n-o doü, deyalukhe.*
 sago give.3pl.NF-TR-CONN sago finished.ADJ
 The sago they gave, is finished.
- (322) *Kho khumolei-n-o mogo,...*
 man die.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person
 The man who died,...
- (323) *rumu son*
khuri daughter
miyo child
mogo man
nariyamogo man
nariya man

In the contexts of question-word questions and relative clauses, the nouns of set (323) all mean 'person' in a generalised sense. The nouns of (323) have their specific lexical meanings in other contexts. We shall return to the relationship between the lexical meanings and the grammatical meanings of (323), and of relational nouns in general, in section 5.3. In (323) all nouns, except *khuri* 'daughter', denote male persons. *Khuri* is used as the syntactic head of relative terms whose topical antecedents refer to female persons:

- (324) *Maria khofade-y-o khuri,...*
 Mary marry.NF.NEG-TR-CONN female.person
 Mary who was not married,...

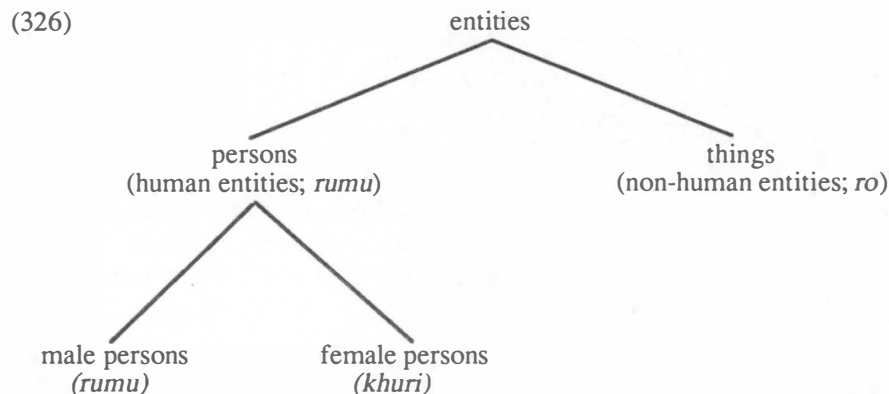
When there is no specific topical antecedent, the relative term has a generic interpretation:

- (325) *Khe-lu khakhe-n-o rumu,...*
 his-word listen.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person
 Whoever listens to him,...

In (325) the relative term refers to male and female persons; sex is irrelevant and in such cases *rumu*, the unmarked choice of the 'person'-set (323) for relative clauses, is used.

Within the relative term, *ro* and *rumu* have two functions. In the first place, they supply fillers for the head-slot in the modifier-head structure; the pre-nominal RC is the modifier linked to its head by the modifier-head linker *-o*. This modifier-head structure is the preferred form for the expression of terms (see (ii)).

In the second place, *ro* and *rumu* help the addressee to select the right referent(s) by classifying entities as either human (*rumu*) or non-human (*ro*), as follows:



The classification (326) is highly anthropocentric: *ro* is a negatively defined category: all non-human entities, animate and inanimate, are classified together. Example (327) is an example of a *ro* relative term referring to an animal:

- (327) *Ai falikhano ro nagun-ay-a.*
 pig carry-go.3PL.NF thing our-TR-pig-PRED
 The pig they took away, is ours.

A small but significant difference between *ro*-headed relative terms and *rumu*-headed relative terms, is the optionality of the connective *-o*, which links the modifying RC to the head noun, with *ro* and the obligatoriness of the same clitic with *rumu*. *-o* may be used as a diagnostic for the nounhood of relational nouns: in the modifier-head noun form of terms, *-o* is obligatory. We shall return to the categorial status of *ro* in section 5.3.

5.2.2 QUESTION-WORD QUESTIONS

Question-word questions have been described in section 3.6. Here we shall confine ourselves to the role of *ro* and *rumu* in such questions. First some examples:

- (328) *Gu narof-o ro boferakha?*
 you what-CONN thing DUR.see.2SG.Q
 What are you looking at?
- (329) *Gu yaf-o rumu-n-a-khe?*
 you which-CONN person-TR-FOC-Q
 Who are you?

The same grammatical head nouns which function in relative terms, also occur as head nouns in questioned terms of question-word questions. In (328) *ro* occurs as the head noun of the questioned term *narafa ro* 'what'; in (329) *rumu* occurs as the head noun of the questioned term *yaforumu* 'who'. Questioned terms tend to be expressed according to the preferred

pattern (ii) for terms, that is, modifier plus head noun. In most cases, *ro* and *rumu* are the HN in q-terms but in some cases we find a more specific HN:

- (330) *Khe narof-o lu luwakhe?*
 he what-CONN word say.3SG.NF.Q
 What did he say?
- (331) *Narof-o rei-khe?*
 what-CONN day-Q
 When?
- (332) *Narof-o ri-n-a?*
 what-CONN reason-TR-FOC
 Why?

Notice that (330)-(332) still conform to the preferred modifier plus HN structure. There are some question-words which do not conform to the preferred pattern: for example, *fenemo* 'where' functions as head of the q-term; in such cases the head of the q-term is not a noun but a question-word which cannot take modifiers:

- (333) *Gu fenemo ba-kha-khe?*
 you where DUR-go.2SG.NF-Q
 Where are you going?

The other 'person' nouns from set (323) may also occur in q-terms:

- (334) *Mofene yafo mogof-a-khe?*
 that which person-FOC-Q
 Who is that?

Questioned terms have the focus function and this is optionally expressed by the focus-marker *-a*.

We may conclude that *ro* and *rumu* have the same functions in relative clauses and question word questions; they supply the HN for the preferred term-structure (ii) and they function as classifiers specifying the semantic category of the intended referents, in terms of the opposition human entity (*rumu*) vs. non-human entity (*ro*).

5.2.3 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

5.2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Adverbial clause is the label I shall use for embedded predications which function as satellite-terms in a higher predication, with peripheral semantic functions such as time, condition, purpose, cause and reason.

In adverbial clauses *ro* has the same two functions as in question-words and RCs. First a syntactic function of providing the adverbial clause with a HN. Secondly, *ro* has a classificatory function: it classifies the intended referent of the adverbial clause as a non-human entity.

5.2.3.2 STATES OF AFFAIRS AS NON-HUMAN ENTITIES

In the context of an anthropological discussion about the (dis-)continuity of thought-pattern between (African) 'traditional' cultures and (Western) 'modern' cultures, Horton (1982) proposes that in all cultures there are two distinct but complementary levels of thought and discourse, which he calls 'primary theory' and 'secondary theory' (Horton 1982:228).

Primary theory does not very much differ from culture to culture. Primary theory gives the world a foreground of time-stable, solid objects which are interrelated in a 'push-pull' conception of causality, in which temporal and spatial contiguity are viewed as essential to the transmission of change. In the time dimension, there is a trichotomy of 'before/at the same time/after'. The objects are subdivided into human objects or entities and non-human entities. In this way Horton sums up a number of distinctions belonging to the primary theory.

Secondary theory differs very much from culture to culture, contrasting in this respect with primary theory which varies within very narrow limits. Whereas in the foreground world of primary theory the entities (objects) and processes are thought of as directly given to the observer, in secondary theory the entities and processes are somehow 'hidden'. African spirits share this element of hiddenness with Western particles, currents and waves.

Although the whole of Horton's lucid and interesting article is of relevance to linguistics and translation theory, here we shall restrict ourselves to two points which are of immediate importance to our understanding of the role of *ro* and *rumu* in Kombai grammar. The first is the primary theory distinction between objects (entities) and processes (states of affairs in the terms of Dik (1978)). The second is the primary theory distinction between human and non-human (other) entities.

The opposition between human and non-human entities is reflected by the opposition of *ro* 'thing' and *rumu* 'person' in Kombai. Above we have seen how in relative clauses there is a fundamental distinction between relative terms referring to human beings (*rumu* as HN) and relative terms referring to non-human entities (*ro* as HN). We have found the same contrast in question-word questions (see section 5.2.2). In this section we shall see how *ro* in adverbial clauses classifies states of affairs as 'non-human entities'.

The primary theory distinction of entities versus states of affairs (things versus events) is reflected in human language in the distinction between two types of linguistic expression, those expression used to refer to entities (Dik (1978) calls them 'terms') and those that denote states of affairs (predications in Dik's terminology). Term and predication are functional and not categorial notions like clause and noun phrase; this distinction between functional and categorial notions is essential since terms for example need not always be noun-headed constituents. Nevertheless, there is a language-independent prototypical expression model for terms (PEM, see section 5.1 for the definition).

Terms not only have a prototypical or primary expression (PEM) but also a primary function: they are used by the speaker to refer to entities.

However, in certain conditions speakers do not use terms for reference to entities, the primary use, but for reference to states of affairs. Consider (335):

- (335) *Uni berino-n-o* *ro, na-büwogo gamo*
 Uni DUR.make.3PL.NF-TR-CONN thing my-parent join.SS
rino.
 make.3PL.NF
 When they built Uni, my parents also joined the work.

The adverbial *ro*-term is used to refer to an event in the past (the building of Uni) about which event the speaker wants to say something.

The secondary use of terms to refer to states of affairs, is captured by the functional grammar formalism (336):

- (336) (x_i : [PREDICATION] (x_j))

Dik (1985a:83) describes (336) as a “term which refers to an entity of the type ‘state of affairs’”. Example (336) is not in contradiction with the basic opposition between terms and predications; above we have stated that the term versus predication distinction is the linguistic reflection of the corresponding ontological distinction of ‘primary theory’. Rather, (336) adequately reflects that, in certain discourse conditions such as topicality, “Events and actions are conceptualized metaphorically as objects.” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:30).

I view this metaphorical conceptualisation of events as things as a pragmatic and not as a logical or semantic process. Kombai adverbial clauses with *ro* reflect this pragmatic metaphor ‘States of affairs are entities’ in a transparent way. We have seen in sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 that *ro/rumu* function in RC and question-word questions as a type of classifiers, classifying entities as human (*rumu*) or non-human entities (*ro*) and thus helping the addressee in the identification of the intended referents. *Ro* in adverbial clauses has this same classificatory function: it classifies states of affairs as *ro*, as non-human entities, thereby reflecting the ‘ontological metaphor’. Since states of affairs are the only type of entities adverbial clauses refer to (they never refer to human entities), it follows that *rumu* never occurs as an HN with adverbial clauses.

In Papuan languages, the most common condition in which reference to states of affairs takes place, is when speakers want to predicate something about a state of affairs. In such cases the state of affairs is treated as the speaker's topical entity. Example (335) is an example of such a topical state of affairs.

But this topical condition is not the only pragmatic condition in which we find reference to states of affairs. Sometimes, focus is involved. Below (example (343)) an adverbial purpose clause with focus function will be discussed. Adverbial clauses with *ro* have two characteristics: they are generally topical and they may have several semantic interpretations, depending on the context. The following examples illustrate these features:

- (337) *Mü bokhe-re* *nu fe-ani-madü.*
 rain DUR.be.3SG.NF-thing/SUB I NEG-go.F-NEG
 If it rains, I shall not go.

Literally (337) says ‘(about) the thing that it rains, I shall not go’. *Ro* in (337) has cliticised and harmonised to *re*. In (337) the speaker refers to a raining event and then uses this raining event as the setting or background for the following predication. The adverbial clause with *ro* has a conditional semantic interpretation in (337).

- (338) *Nu yabomade ro feanimadü*
 I ill.1SG.NF thing/SUB I.shall.not.go
 Because I am ill, I shall not go.
- (339) *Nu weimo femunudo-n-o ro khunu lede.*
 I be.quick.SS NEG.come.NF-TR-CONN thing/SUB sleep lay.1SG.NF
 Concerning my being late, I slept.

Again the *ro* adverbial clauses in (338)-(339) are topical; in (338) the clause gets a reason interpretation, in (339) a result interpretation. The topicality of such adverbial clauses is confirmed by the fact that the demonstrative-based marker of new topics and frames *mene* optionally co-occurs with *ro*:

- (340) *Amakhalo khumolei ro mene, dadagu*
 Amakhalo die.3SG.NF thing/SUB FRM in.the.beginning
khe bokhugi-n-o ro mofene
 he DUR.be.ill.3SG.NF-TR-CONN thing/SUB then
khwaimigi waluwano: "Foro mojamonone!"
 foreigners COM.say.3PL.NF bring.SS descend.IMP.PL
 As for the death of Amakhalo, when he was ill in the beginning, the white foreigners had said: "Bring him to us!"

Example (340) has two *ro* predications, the first is a predication-external frame, with *mene* as the frame marker; the second a predication-internal temporal frame.

In (341) *ro* is used in a title expression:

- (341) *rakhe emukhe-ro*
 money lost-thing
 the lost money

Example (341) is the Kombai title for the story about the lost coin.

Ro is the most frequent but not the only HN in adverbial clauses; so far we have found two others, *ri* 'cause, reason' and *wamü* 'middle'. *Ri* and *wamü* are semantic subordinators expressing the semantic functions purpose and time. Example (343) contains a *ri* embedded predication, (344) a *wamü* embedded predication:

- (342) *Gu narof-o ri-n-a bome?*
 you what-CONN reason-TR-FOC DUR.come.2SG.NF
 Why are you coming?
- (343) *Nu ai rakhuma-n-o ri-n-a mede.*
 I pig buy.INF.NF-TR-CONN reason-TR-FOC come.1SG.NF
 I come to buy the pig.
- (344) *Lu badiya-n-o wamü kho mofenadi luwa: ...*
 word DUR.give.3SG.NF-TR-CONN middle man a.certain say.3SG.NF
 When he was teaching, a man said: .../While he was teaching, a man said: ...

Ri 'reason' is used as a relational noun to express a wide range of semantic functions (purpose, addressed, reason, recipient, destination).

Notice that the *ri* and *wamü* adverbial clauses also conform to the preferred noun-headed expression of terms (ii) of section 5.1.

Wamü clauses are also topical; this topicality is only expressed by the clause-initial position they occupy in the main predication. In (343), however, the *ri* embedded predication, is not topical. In the context of (342), this embedded predication has focus function and this is expressed by the focus marker *-a* (see section 3.8.3.2.1).

5.2.3.3 THE FORM OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Relative clauses and adverbial clauses are formally very similar in Kombai. In this respect, Kombai is a typical Papuan language (see Foley 1986 about the formal similarity of adverbial and relative clauses in Papuan languages). Compare (335), here repeated as (345), and (346):

- (345) *Uni berino-n-o ro na-büwogo-khu*
 Uni DUR.make.3PL.NF-TR-CONN thing/SUB my-parent-also
gamo rino.
 join.SS make.3PL.NF
 When they built (the village) Uni, my parents also joined the work.
- (346) *Gana gu fali kha ro na-gana-y-a.*
 bush.knife you carry.SS go.3SG.NF thing my-bush.knife-TR-PRED
 The bush knife you took away, is mine.

In (345), the embedded predication, with temporal interpretation, is an RC modifier of the *ro* HN: literally, it says: 'the thing that they built Uni'; thus *Uni berino* 'they built Uni' is an RC modifying the HN *ro* 'thing' in (345); the modifier-head linker *-o* links this pronominal relative clause to its head noun. In (346) we also find an RC, *gu fali kha* 'you took away', which also modifies the *ro* head noun. The difference with (345) is the presence of the topical antecedent *gana* before the relative term; *gu fali kha ro* 'the thing that you stole' is a restrictive apposition with respect to this topical antecedent and *gu fali kha* is an open predication (the goal argument-slot has not been filled by a term) whereas in (345) the embedded predication *Uni berino* is a closed predication (see Dik 1978 for open and closed predications).

Another difference is that *rumu* 'person' occurs as an HN in relative clauses referring to human entities whereas adverbial clauses cannot refer to human entities. Thus the formal differences between relative clauses and adverbial clauses follow directly from their different functions. RCs function within relative terms that have a primary type of referents, entities. Adverbial clauses function within predications as satellites referring to a secondary type of entities, 'states of affairs'.

The formal similarity between the two types of embedded predications follows from the fact that both relative clauses and adverbial clauses are terms and are expressed according to the preferred expression for terms in Kombai (see (ii) in section 5.1).

The majority of Kombai adverbial clauses are topical: they (optionally) take the topic marker *mene* and they occupy the clause-initial position. Relative terms with *ro* and *rumu* also seem to be always topical. The tendency for RC and adverbial clauses to be topical is strong in Papuan languages (Haiman 1978, Reesink 1987) and this common topicality certainly explains some of the formal similarities between these two clause types in Papuan languages (cf. Reesink 1983b; Foley 1986), like initial position and the presence of (often deictic-based) topic markers. However, not all adverbial clauses are topical. Take for

example (343) above, a purpose predication with focus function, with *ri* as its relational HN. Formally, this adverbial clause is expressed as an RC modifier of the relational HN *ri*, just as the topical adverbial clauses are RC modifiers of relational HNs like *ro* and *wamü*.

It is clear that the formal similarities between such focus adverbial clauses and relative clauses do not follow from common topicality. At least for Kombai we need a more general explanatory ground for the similarities between RC and adverbial clauses: both function as terms and this common function explains their expression according to the preferred Kombai pattern (ii) which follows from the language-independent PEM for terms (i).

Dik (1985b) discusses the tendency for embedded predications to be expressed nominally in terms of a principle of formal adjustment (PFA). Since embedded predications are secondary terms, they tend to be formally adjusted to the PEM for terms. In very many languages, the verb of the embedded predication is the primary target for formal adjustment, leading to different degrees of nominalisation of these verbs. Instead of adjusting the verbal predicate of the embedded predication, Kombai inserts a relational noun *ro* (or: *ri*, *wamü*) as the nominal head of the secondary term (adverbial clause). Compare the Dutch embedded time predication (347) with the Kombai temporal adverbial clause (348):

(347) *Bij zijn thuiskomst vond hij de brief.*
 upon his home.coming found he the letter
 When he came home, he found the letter.

(348) *Uni berino-n-o ro...*
 Uni DUR.make.3PL.NF-TR-CONN thing/SUB
 When they built Uni...

Whereas in (347) the formal adjustment to the PEM for terms has affected the predicate of the time predication, in (348) we find a fully verbal form, an independent verb form, the most 'verby' of the Kombai verb system. In (347) we find the deverbal noun *thuiskomst* 'the home coming'. Dutch may also use a verbal form for the time embedded predication:

(349) *Toen hij thuis kwam...*
 when he home came
 When he came home...

Between fully verbal and fully nominal embedded predications, Dutch has a range of intermediate constructions (described in Dik 1985a). Kombai does not have these options. Only in purpose clauses with *ri* (cf. for example (343)), we find infinitival verb forms instead of the independent verb forms we find in all other subordinate clauses. In many languages we find infinitival forms in purpose clauses (Hopper & Thompson 1985). Kombai infinitives (see section 3.1.3.5) are the least 'verby' of the Kombai verb system. But also in these purpose clauses the nominal head of the construction is not the nominalised verb but the relational HN *ri*.

There are many questions still unanswered concerning the HN-insertion strategy that Kombai follows to give the adverbial clause a nominal form according to the PEM for terms.

Is this cross-linguistically a marked type of formal adjustment? Does HN-insertion frequently occur in Papuan languages?

It could be that for Papuan languages there is a sort of prototypical expression model for predications, both dependent and independent, demanding that they be expressed by a verb-centered and verb-final clausal form. Of course, embedded predications function as terms

and there is the pressure for them to conform to the PEM for terms. Now HN-insertion in Kombai adverbial clauses could be viewed as a strategy to satisfy both the preferred verbal expression of predications and the preferred nominal expression of terms: the *ro* noun as the head of the term and the independent verb as the head of the clausal modifier (RC) modifying this relational HN.

5.3 RELATIONAL NOUNS AND GRAMMATICALISATION

5.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Thus far I have taken the notion 'relational noun' for granted. Now I shall examine the assumptions related to that notion.

In the first place, I assume a fundamental distinction between two types of stems in language. The lexicon stores the basic contentive elements, nominal, verbal and adjectival predicates. The expression-rules specify grammatical or form elements used to express functions (e.g. subject, focus, agent) and operators (definiteness, tense). These grammatical elements (conjunctions, demonstratives, tense-suffixes, etc.) are opposed to lexical elements (see also Watters 1985:92).

Secondly, within the domain of grammatical elements, I assume a distinction between relationally or grammatically used lexical items and purely grammatical elements or functors.

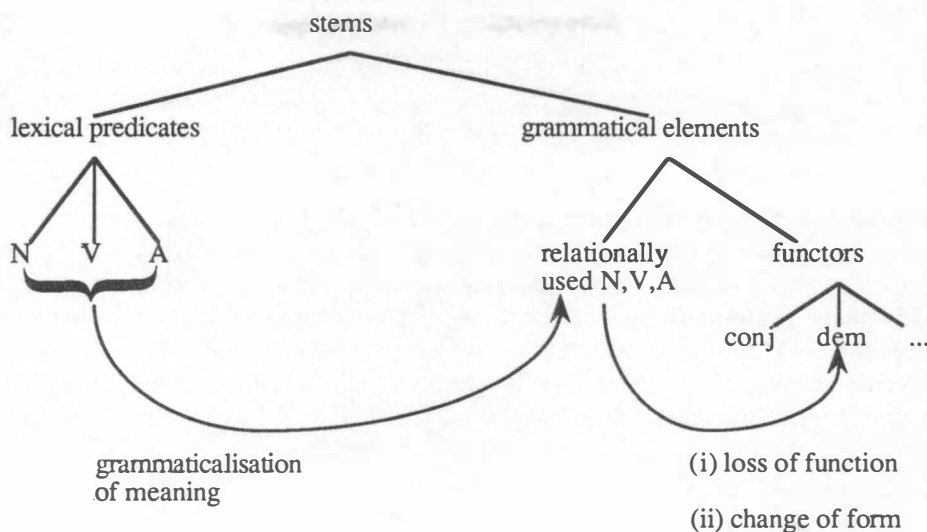
Relational nouns and verbs retain their categorial status as noun or verb. Functors may be subdivided categorially into categories of functors, demonstratives, tense-markers, etc. according to distributional criteria.

Relational nouns are grammatical elements, specified by the expression-rules (see (350)) but they stay nouns and this categorial status enables them to function as heads of term phrases. However, having grammatical functions, they tend to lose their categorial status of noun and become members of one of the functor categories. In this process of category-change, relational nouns lose the noun function of being head of the term phrase. This function change is then followed by form changes, like shortening and cliticisation. A specific Awyu-family diagnostic for nounhood of relational nouns is the behaviour of the modifier-head noun linker *-o* (see section 3.8.2.1). When a relational noun becomes functor, *-o* becomes optional first and is then lost altogether.

When a lexical item develops a secondary use as a relational lexical item, in this secondary use there will be semantic changes which may be called grammaticalisation of meaning: in this development there is a loss of lexical specificity, and the relationally used lexical item acquires generalised grammatical meanings. The category of relationally used lexical items is a transitional category, a bridge between the two basic categories of lexical items and functors.

Example (350) summarises the distinctions made in this section; in the next sections I shall apply (350) to *ro* 'thing' and *rumu* 'person':

(350)



5.3.2 *Rumu*: LEXICAL ITEM AND RELATIONAL NOUN

Consider:

(351) *Kho mene na-rumu.*
 man this my-son
 This man is my son.

(352) *Gu yafo rumu?*
 you which person
 Who are you?

(353) *N-are kho fa-n-o rumu...*
 my-father man make.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person
 My Father who created man...

In (351) *rumu* is used as a lexical item, a kinship noun. The meaning of *rumu* as a kinship term has been described in de Vries (1987). *Rumu* 'son', *khuri* 'daughter' and *miyo* 'child' form a set of nouns used by ego for relatives of the first descending generation. *Miyo* is the sex-neutral reciprocal term to the Omaha-type parental set of *are* 'father', *yeni* 'mother', *momo* 'mother's brother' (MB, MBS) and *moro* 'father's sister'. The primary referent of *miyo* is ego's child; generationally, *miyo* is extended to include the children of ego's (classificatory) siblings and affinally to those persons whom ego's spouse calls *miyo*. *Miyo* may be replaced by *rumu* 'son' for a male child and *khuri* 'daughter' for a female child (see de Vries 1987:110).

In (352) and (353) *rumu* is used outside the kinship context, as a classificatory HN in a question-word (352) and in an RC (353). This use of *rumu* as relational noun has been described in section 5.2.

The first use of *rumu* as kinship term, represents the use of *rumu* as lexical predicate, with a specific content; the second use of *rumu* as relational HN is specified by an expression-rule of HN-insertion which plays a role in the expression of RC, question-words and adverbial clauses. *Rumu* as relational noun belongs to set (354) of relational nouns:

(354)	<i>rumu</i>	son
	<i>khuri</i>	daughter
	<i>miyo</i>	child
	<i>mogo</i>	(young) man
	<i>nariya</i>	man
	<i>nariyamogo</i>	man

The set (354) is used in question-words and RC as HN. All these nouns mean 'person' when used relationally. Only the opposition between male persons (*rumu*) and female persons (*khuri*) has been retained; the other semantic differences between the lexical items of (354) have been neutralised in the generalised grammatical meaning 'human entity' in opposition to *ro* 'non-human entity' (see section 5.2). Notice that in (353) the specific kinship meaning of 'son' would be contradictory to the meaning of the topical antecedent 'father': *rumu* and *are* are co-referential in (353). This shows that in the relational use of *rumu* there is a grammaticalised meaning which I have glossed 'person'.

5.3.3 *Ro*: BETWEEN RELATIONAL NOUN AND FUNCTOR

Compare:

- (355) *Gu agarabo mofene yafo rumu adiyaneke?*
 you thing that which person you.will.give.Q
 To whom you will give that thing?
- (356) *Gu narof-o ro boferakha?*
 you what-CONN thing DUR.see.2SG.NF.Q
 What are you looking at?

I have not found *ro* 'thing' outside the contexts of question-words, RCs and (other) subordinate clauses. This is different from *rumu* which functions as a lexical predicate (kinship term) and as a relational noun. The lexical function or meaning of 'thing' is expressed by the noun *agarabo* (e.g. (355)). The grammatical functions of *ro* have been described above (section 5.2). Example (356) exemplifies the grammatical function of *ro* as a classificatory HN.

The category 'relationally used lexical item' in (350) is a transitional category; many languages have functors (e.g. English *because* which can be shown to have developed from an earlier relationally used lexical item (English *bye cause of*).

This transitional nature of relationally used lexical items often makes it hard to decide what the categorial status of a relational noun or verb is. *Rumu* still seems to function as noun when used as HN in RCs and question-words: it functions as head of the term phrase to which the question-word and RC are linked as modifiers by *-o*, the (obligatory) modifier-head noun connective. *Rumu* shows no form changes.

Ro, however, is in the process of losing its noun status and becoming a subordinator. Indications for this development are the existence of longer and shorter forms, cliticisation-phenomena and the behaviour of *-o*.

Ro is the shorter form of *rofa*. In the following example we find the longer form *rofa*:

- (357) *Kho khumo-ra bakha-rofa...*
 man die.SS-and DUR.go.3SG.NF-thing/SUB
 When a man dies and goes away...

The longer form *rofa* occurs in one example combined with the causal subordinator *-ede* 'because':

- (358) *Khe-khino rerakhu rof-ode feanimadü.*
 his-leg swollen thing/SUB-because he.will.not.go
 Because his legs are swollen, he cannot go.

In (358) *rofa* and *-ede* are combined, giving *rofode* (vowel-elision and vowel-harmony, see section 2.3). Shortening of the forms of relationally used lexical items may indicate transition into the functor class. Lexical items each have their own (in Kombai unpredictable) main word stress but functors tend to be unstressed. The form reduction of relational nouns and verbs follows this stress-reduction.

Postpositions/subordinators in Wambon and Kombai cliticise to the last word of the nominal or clausal term they belong to. Now when shorter forms develop, we also see cliticisation of the shortened relationally used lexical items, which shows that they are developing into postpositions (i.e. functors):

- (359) *Mü bokhe-re feanimadü.*
 rain DUR.be.3SG.NF-thing/SUB I.shall.not.go
 If it rains, I shall not go.

In (359) *ro*, the shorter form, has cliticised to the last word of the adverbial clause in a harmonised form (*re*). Notice that the modifier-head connective *-o* is absent in (359), completing the picture of a relational noun becoming a functor expressing subordination.

In the contexts of question-words, however, the signs that *ro* develops into a functor are absent, *-o* is obligatory and there is no cliticisation. But there are longer and shorter forms also in question-words. Sometimes we find *narofo rofa* instead of *narofo* 'what'. In RCs we have the same phenomena as in adverbial clauses.

When *ro* loses its noun-status in subordinate contexts (RC, adverbial clauses) but not in question-word questions, we would have a split between *ro* as a classificatory HN (relationally used lexical item) in question-words and *ro* as a marker of subordination. However, since the signs of *ro* losing its noun-status in subordinate contexts are still weak, it seems justified to present a unitary description of *ro* as a classificatory HN in question-words, RCs and adverbial clauses.

5.4 SUMMARY

Ro 'thing' and *rumu* 'person' are relational nouns functioning as classifying head nouns in question-words, RCs and adverbial clauses. *Rumu* also functions as a lexical predicate, as kinship term meaning 'son'.

Question-words, RCs and adverbial clauses are expressed as modifiers of relational HNs. *Ro* and *rumu* are the most important of these HNs. This way of expressing these constructions follows from the preferred expression for terms in Kombai, which is predicted by the PEM for terms (see section 5.1). In subordinate clauses, the verb is not the target for formal adjustment to the PEM for terms. Instead, HN-insertion takes place, giving the

embedded predication, which functions as a referring expression, as term, a nominal head, at the same preserving the verbal expression of the embedded predication.

As in many other Papuan languages, RCs and adverbial clauses are formally very similar in Kombai. This follows from their common functionality as terms.

RCs, adverbial clauses and question-words are terms; now when these terms have *ro* as their HN, they are used to refer to non-human entities and when they have *rumu* as their HN, they are used to refer to human entities. Adverbial clauses with *ro* as their HN (the majority of Kombai adverbial clauses has *ro* as their HN) are used to refer to states of affairs (events); thus states of affairs, in specific conditions like topicality, are classified as non-human entities. This use of *ro* in adverbial clauses confirms the insight of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that the ontological metaphor "Events are Things" is operative in language. The primary theory conceptualisation (in the sense of Horton 1982) of entities versus processes is reflected in language by the distinction terms versus predications but languages are free, for pragmatic purposes, to re-classify events as things in certain contexts. *Ro* 'thing' is the central expressive device for this pragmatic re-classification of events as things in Kombai.

Ro and *rumu* are relational nouns. This means that they belong to a transitional category which stands in between the category of purely grammatical elements and the category of purely lexical elements. *Rumu* functions both as a lexical predicate and as a relational noun; *ro* functions only as a relational noun but there are signs that *ro* is becoming a functor in subordinate clauses.

CHAPTER 6

DIRECT QUOTATIONS AND KOMBAI GRAMMAR

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The topic of this chapter is the role which direct quotation-forms play in Kombai grammar.

The first part of this chapter is descriptive (section 1 and 2), sketching the functions of direct quotation in the domains of reported speech and reported thought. Direct quotation plays an important and interesting role in the morphosyntax of speech act verbs, of intentional constructions and of emotion/thought expressions. The function of direct quotation in narrative discourse is to portray mental processes of participants as they react to the events narrated in the story. Reported speech and reported thought are expressed very similarly; they are formally non-distinct in some contexts. Thought is 'inner speech' from the Kombai point of view.

Direct speech is so strongly preferred that we are forced to consider the possibility that Kombai does not distinguish between direct and indirect modes of reporting speech.

The second part of the chapter (section 3) is concerned with two factors which may have favoured the use of direct quotation-forms in a wide range of contexts and construction types.

The first factor has to do with the tendency in the verbal semantics of Papuan languages to break down an action into its component acts and express each one of these acts by a separate verb (Foley 1986:113). When an event has an implicit sub-act of speaking, Papuan languages tend to make this speech element explicit and this triggers the use of direct quotations in Kombai.

The second factor favouring the use of direct quotations has to do with the notion of prefield complexity (Dik 1989:350). I suggest that the use of direct quotations is one of a number of strategies in Kombai to reduce syntactic complexity in the pre-verbal area of the rigidly verb-final clause.

6.2 REPORTED SPEECH

Kombai has two interesting features in the domain of reported speech. First, an extreme preference for direct quotation; second, the obligatory use of direct quotations not only when

assertions are reported but also when other types of speech acts are reported (praise, promise, warn, ask, etc.).¹⁵

As far as the preference for direct quotation is concerned, I have, in fact, thusfar not found any examples of indirect quotation. Since this may be due to incomplete data, it seems safer for the moment to use the phrase 'extreme preference for direct discourse'. But there is a distinct possibility that Kombai does not distinguish between direct and indirect discourse. Drabbe (1959:23,137) claims that Kaeti and Wambon do not have indirect forms of quotation. Kombai is related to Wambon: they all belong to the Awyu-Ndumut family.

The absence of indirect discourse in Kombai would follow naturally from the tendency in Papuan languages to prefer direct discourse. Lower Grand Valley Dani, for example, has indirect forms but "Dani speakers show a distinct preference for direct quotation" (Bromley 1981:271). Wilson (1988:46) states that Yali, also a Dani-family language, does not have indirect discourse. Healey (1964:29) writes about Telefol, in which language quotative constructions are used in the domains of reported speech, reported thought and perception: "...the whole class of clauses has been termed Quotative because all must be regarded as a kind of 'direct speech' – or 'direct cerebation'."

The second interesting point is the obligatory use of direct quotations with all speech act verbs, not just with 'to say'. This feature is also found in other Papuan languages. Larson (1984) gives examples for Western Dani of the use of direct quotation with the following speech act types: testify, tell, invite, call, say, speak, command, consent, inquire.

Consider the following Kombai examples:

- (360) *Khe luwa riga yademo-nane-ne.*
 he say.3SG.NF stone collect-IMP.PL-QUOTE.SG
 He told them to collect stones.
- (361) *Nu yaboma-def-e-ne.*
 I be.ill-1SG.NF-CONN-QUOTE.SG
 He said he was ill.
- (362) *Nu wamedefe-ne luwa.*
 I come.1SG.F-QUOTE.SG say.3SG.NF
 He promised to come.
- (363) *Nu luwofera-de gu gama ade-n-e khogona-n-e-ne.*
 I ask-1SG.NF you join SS eat-TR-2SG.F allright-TR-CONN-QUOTE.SG
 I asked him to eat with us and he accepted the invitation.

The example (360) is a reported command, (361) a reported assertion, (362) a reported promise and in (363) an invitation and its response are reported.

¹⁵ Following Dooley (1989), we shall define (in)direct discourse in terms of deictic orientation and not in terms of verbatim versus adapted modes of reporting. Direct quotation-forms have all their deictic elements oriented immediately in Kombai, that is, oriented towards the utterance-situation of the reported and not of the reporting speech act. The deictic definition works better for Kombai since, in the absence of the distinction direct versus indirect discourse, the use of direct forms does not imply anything about the attempts of the speaker to report verbatim. Also following Dooley (1989:45), we shall use the term 'quotation' for the quoted utterance(s), and 'quotation-margin' for the constituents in the reported speech constructions which describe the encoding situation, the circumstances under which the quoted utterance(s) was (were) uttered; in *John said to Harry: you are ill* the quotation-margin is *John said to Harry* and the quotation is *you are ill*. The present tense and the second person pronoun *you* show the immediate deictic orientation of the quotation.

Clues as to the type of speech act can be found in both the quotation and in the quotation-margin. For example in (360), the imperative mood of the verb in the quotation is a clue to the command-nature of the reported speech act. Clues in the quotation-margin include the use of specific speech act verbs, often in combination with the generic speech act verb *luwa* 'to say, to speak'. The generic speech act verb may also occur on its own (e.g. in the promise of (362)). Generic and specific speech act verbs may both precede and follow the quotation. Quite often they occur both in the right and in the left quotation-margin, as in (364):

- (364) *Khe ludima wamedefe-ne luwa.*
 he promise.3SG.NF come.1SG.F-QUOTE.SG say.3SG.NF
 He promised to come.

Speech act verbs and quotation-markers may also occur interspersed in the quotation, especially in long quotations (e.g. (370)).

The content of the quotation in (365), together with the verb *luwa* 'to say', identifies the reported speech act as an act of praise:

- (365) *Wa-luwa-no kho mofena yaferabo-n-e-neno.*
 COM-say-3PL.NF man that very.good-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL
 They praised that man.

Healey (1964:30) gives similar examples of various speech act types in Telefol expressed by 'to say' plus direct quotations: "'He agreed.'" ("Yes", he said.). 'He refused.' ("No", he said.). 'He thanked (him).'" ("Thanks", he said.)."

Speech act verbs have their second arguments obligatorily expressed by direct quotations: direct quotations have been grammaticalised with speech act verbs. Thus *John promised me bananas* must be expressed as *John promised (said): 'I shall give you bananas'* and *John praised me* as *John said: 'You are good'*. Notice that the use of direct quotation in Kombai does not imply verbatim quotation. When the encoding situation is very clear from the context, the quotation-marker may be the only element of the quotation-margin (e.g. (361)). When the quotation-margin is deliberately left unspecified and the encoding situation of the utterance cannot be inferred from the context, the quotation-marker becomes an evidential suffix. Compare:

- (366) *Ai khwui lefa.*
 pig theft do.3SG.NF
 He stole a pig.
- (367) *Ai khwui lefa-nene.*
 pig theft do.3SG.NF-QUOTE.PL
 He stole a pig (hearsay).

The addition of *-nene* in (367) indicates that the speaker wants to make clear that what he says is not based on his own observation. Evidential use of quotation-markers also occurs in other Papuan languages, for example Asmat (Voorhoeve 1965:176) and Dani (Bromley 1981).

The usual order of constituents in reported speech-constructions is as follows: (i) identification of quoted speaker(s), (ii) generic and/or specific speech act verb, (iii) quoted utterance(s), (iv) cliticised quotation-marker *-ne* (or one of its allomorphs), (v) generic and/or specific speech act verb. The only obligatory constituent is the quotation (the quoted

utterance(s)). When the quotative nature of the quoted clause(s) is very clear from the context, the quotation-marker may be left out (e.g. (393) below) but this is rare.

The direct quotation is deictically not integrated in the clause of the quotation-margin. For example, the quoted speaker of (364) is identified in the quotation by the first person form of the verb but in the quotation-margin by the third person pronoun *khe* 'he' showing that quotation and quotation-margin have different deictic centres. The quotation has the form of an independent clause and is syntactically non-embedded. The quotation-marker and the speech act verbs optionally preceding and following the quotation bracket off the quotation from the quotation-margin. However, when the quotation is left out, the remaining clause-structure is incomplete since the quotation expresses the clausal second argument of the speech act verb in the quotation-margin.

The quotation-marker *-ne* has the following allomorphs: *-ne*, *-neno*, *-nene* and *-nera*. The forms *-ne* and *-neno* express the opposition singular versus plural; *-nene* is a variant form of *-neno* in which vowel-harmony has taken place. Compare:

- (368) *Khogona-n-e-ne.*
allright-TR-CONN-QUOTE.SG
He consented.
- (369) *Khogona-n-e-neno.*
allright-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL
They consented.

The *-n-* in (368)-(369) is a transitional sound. The connective *-e* will be discussed below.

The allomorph *-nera* optionally replaces *-ne* and *-neno* but only sentence-medially; it consists of *-ne* and the same subject medial verb conjunction *-ra* (see section 3.1.3.2.2). The forms *-ne/-neno* may occur both medially and finally. Since *-ne* is sometimes used in plural contexts (e.g. (370)) but *-neno* never in singular contexts, *-ne* is the basic allomorph (widest distribution). Consider (370):

- (370) *Büwogo maru-fo luluwoma-no lüwobadi nage*
parent go.up-SS.SEQ warn-3PL.NF child you(PL)
- kheiforu mofene deilonefa nage*
taboo.meat that if.you.eat you(PL)
- afokhono-nera luluwoma-no gwari*
stay.little.2PL.F-QUOTE warn-3PL.NF snake
- mune-y-e-nera fira fuwof-o-ne fira*
muno-TR-CONN-QUOTE rodent fuwo-CONN-QUOTE.SG rodent
- yami-y-e-ne mofena-n-a kheiforu-foru*
yami-TR-CONN-QUOTE.SG that-TR-CONN meat.taboo-taboo
- mene deilonefa nage fe-rabogo-ne-madü-y-e-ne.*
TOP if.you.eat you(PL) neg-big.grow-inf.F-neg.F-TR-CONN-QUOTE.SG
- The adults use to warn us, "Children, if you eat forbidden meat, you will stay little, the Muno snake, the Fuwo rat, the Yami rat, if you eat those forbidden kinds of meat, you will not grow up".

The allomorphs of *-ne* point to its verbal origin. In some other Awyu-family languages the cognates of *-ne* function fully as verbs of speaking. The verb *ne* (secondary stem *nende-*) 'to say' occurs in Mandobo (Drabbe 1959:23) in the right margin of quotations, with the connective *-o* optionally linking the quotation to the verb of speaking:

- (371) *Wagarew-o ne-gen.*
 bad-CONN say-3SG.PRES
 "It is bad", he said.
- (372) *Mendanog-o nende-ran.*
 come.IMP.SG-CONN say-3SG.PAST
 He told him to come.

The Kombai verb *luwa-* 'to say' has the role of generic verb of speaking which *ne* has in Mandobo and, most probably, Kombai *-ne* has developed into a reported speech marker from this verbal origin. The plural form *-neno* consists of *-ne* and the 2/3 PL.NF ending *-no* which now only signals plurality of quoted speakers. Similarly, the medial quote-marker *-nera* contains the medial verb conjunction *-ra*. The optional connective *-o* of Mandobo corresponds to the *-e* which optionally but usually precedes the quotation-markers in Kombai.

Having discussed the role and some formal aspects of quotation in reported speech, we now turn to the function of direct quotation in reported thought.

6.3 REPORTED THOUGHT

Direct quotation-forms play an important role in the domain of reported thought, too. Mental processes (intention, attitudes, emotions) are often portrayed as a form of speech, 'inner speech' a person directs to himself. Drabbe (1950, 1955, 1957, 1959) has already noted that thought and motives are represented as quoted speech in languages of the Marind and Awyu family.¹⁶ Healey (1964:29) describes the use of quotative clauses in Telefol with "to say, think, see, know, feel" and calls the use of direct speech forms for the expression of non-verbalised thought "direct cerebration".

Formally, the quotation is the same whether used in reported speech or reported thought. The difference between the two is optionally expressed in the quotation-margin by lexical means. It is true that the generic verb of speaking cannot be used in certain reported thought contexts but in other reported thought contexts this verb, *luwa-* 'to say, speak', is obligatory (see examples (375)-(376) below). The verbs *rerama-* 'to be glad' (example (386)) and *kharabuma-* 'to be astonished' are examples of lexical means in the quotation-margin indicating the type of mental process in reported thought-constructions. We may distinguish between intentional thoughts and other (non-intentional) thoughts when describing the role of direct quotation in reported thought.

¹⁶ For example Drabbe (1955:133) on Marind: "...*let erop hoe men de gedachte, het motief weergeeft in de directe rede.*" ('Notice how the thought, the motive is represented by direct speech.'). Drabbe (1957:85) on the Awyu language Aghu: "...*numo-gh, aldus zeggen, betekent hier: aldus tot zichzelf zeggen, of: aldus denken...*" ('...*numo-gh*, to say thus, means here: to say thus to oneself, or: to think thus...').

6.3.1 INTENTION

The use of quotative elements and forms of 'to say' in intentional contexts is a very common feature of Papuan languages (see Healey 1964 for Telefol, Deibler 1971 for Gahuku, de Vries 1989:30 for Wambon, Reesink 1984:216 for Usan, Foley 1986:156-157 for an overview). Both direct and indirect quotation constructions play a role in intentional contexts. Longacre (1972:84) reports the use of indirect quotes in Yessan-Mayo intentional expressions: "Thus in Yessan-Mayo, Intent is expressed in an Indirect Quote Sentence, e.g. 'She village will see, she said', meaning 'She intended to see the village'".

An important factor determining the use of quotations in intentional constructions is whether intender and intended are the same or not (Foley 1986:156). In (373), for example, the intender (*John*) and the intended person (*Mary*) differ but in (374) they are the same:

(373) John wants Mary to leave

(374) John wants to leave

According to Foley (1986), in (373) an act of communication between John and Mary is essentially involved, from the point of view of Papuan languages. Indeed, when intender and intended differ in Kombai, the use of direct quotation-forms is obligatory:

(375) *Camate luwa kho yademo-nane-ne.*
 head say.3SG.NF person meet-IMP.PL-QUOTE.SG
 The district head wants the people to come together.

(376) *Guru ya luwa-no furuma khakhe-nane-neno.*
 teacher them say-3PL.NF well listen-IMP.PL-QUOTE.PL
 The teachers want them to listen well.

The verb of speaking *luwa-* is used in this type of intentional construction. Examples (375) and (376) can be used to report speech and to report intention (thought).

When intender and intended are the same, the category of person is an important factor determining the form of intentional expressions.

With first person intenders, Kombai uses intentional verb-forms, without quotations:

(377) *Nu okh ami.*
 I water drink.1SG.INT
 I want to drink water./Let me drink water.

(378) *Ai-fo.*
 go-IPL.INT
 We want to go./Let us go.

However, quotation is used with first person intenders in one type of purposive construction in which motion-verbs are used and plural intentional forms of the verb in the direct quotation:

(379) *Nu me-la-ra ai galemo-fo-nera wa-me-de.*
 I come-stand-SS.and pig buy-IPL.INT-QUOTE COM-come-1SG.NF
 I have come to buy the pig.

Motion-verbs both precede and follow the direct quotation in (379). Voorhoeve (1965:177) notices the presence of the quotation marker *in/un/n* in purposive expressions of Asmat. Since in Voorhoeve's data there are motion-verbs and intentional verb forms (*m-/mV-* forms

of Asmat) involved, examples like *po mipipim un ameremer in* 'he went there to cut off midribs (of the sago palm)' can be analysed along the same lines as (379) of Kombai.

With second/third person intenders, Kombai uses the first person intentional verb-forms in combination with direct quotation:

- (380) *Ai-fo-nene.*
go-IPL.INT-QUOTE.PL
They want to go.
- (381) *Yarimo kho fera-f-e-ne.*
garden go.SS see-1SG.INT-CONN-QUOTE.SG
He wants to see his garden.

I have not found, thusfar, a lexical item 'to want' but there are lexical items for negative intention ('to not want something'). Examples are the adjectives *bukhe* and *bidoge*, both meaning 'reluctant' and the verbs *lome-* and *biduma-* 'to refuse'. All these items, whether verbal or adjectival, take nominal infinitive complements:

- (382) *Kha-n-o biduma-no.*
go.INF.NF-TR-CONN refuse-3PL.NF
They do not want to go.
- (383) *Nu kha-n-o bukhe.*
I go.INF.NF-TR-CONN reluctant
I do not want to go.

The connective *-o* links the infinitival complements to the verbal head of the clause in (382) and to the adjectival head of the clause in (383).

Although it is possible to express negative intention without quotation-forms (as in (382)-(383)), negative intention may also be expressed with direct quotation and that is the most frequent way of expressing negative intention. Thus, of (384) and (385), the preferred option seems to be (385):

- (384) *Obate mi-n-o lomē-ge.*
medicine drink.INF.NF-TR-CONN refuse-3SG.NF
He refuses to drink the medicine.
- (385) *Obate mi-n-o lomē-def-e-ne.*
medicine drink.INF.NF-TR-CONN refuse-1SG.NF-CONN-QUOTE
He refuses to drink the medicine.

We may conclude that, when intender and intended are the same, the use of direct quotation is not obligatory in all cases. With first person intenders, quotation is not used (cf. (377)-(378)), except for purposive constructions with motion-verbs (cf. (379)). For second/third person intenders, quotation is obligatory with positive intention but with negative intention lexical means are available that do not involve direct quotation (cf. (382)-(383)), although even in that case the form using direct quotation (example (385)) seems to be the preferred option.

These facts point to the tendency in Kombai to use direct quotation not only when intender and intended differ but also when they are the same. This is because there is, from the Kombai point of view, an act of communication involved both when intender and

intended differ and when they are the same, although in this last case perhaps in a weaker sense: in that case the intender communicates with himself, in 'inner speech'.

6.3.2 OTHER TYPES OF REPORTED THOUGHT

Because direct quotations form an obligatory part of the morpho-syntax of certain types of intentional constructions, they have been, to a certain extent, grammaticalised in the domain of intentionality. In the domain of reported speech (see section 6.3.1), they have been grammaticalised completely. By grammaticalisation of direct quotation I mean that it must be used in certain construction-types independent of discourse-factors.

When other (non-intentional) types of thought are portrayed with direct quotation, discourse-factors crucially determine this use. Consider the following examples:

(386) *Khe rerama bürü ai-f-e-ne.*
 he be.glad.3SG.NF territory go-1SG.INT-CONN-QUOTE.SG
 He is glad to go to his own place.

(387) *Ya imimo kharabuma-no khe fenemora*
 they all be.astonished-3PL.NF he how
ma-khe-y-e-ne.
 do.3SG.NF-Q-TR-CONN-QUOTE.SG
 They were all astonished because of the things he did.

(388) *Yafo-fina wa-khumolei-neno.*
 their-thought COM-die.3SG.NF-QUOTE.PL
 They think he is dead.

The various kinds of mental processes are indicated in the quotation-margins of (386)-(388). The noun *fina* in (388) means 'breath', but also 'thought' and 'desire'; the verb *finage-* 'to think', 'to long for' is derived with the verbalising support-verb *-khe* from the noun *fina* (see section 3.1.2.3). This verb can be used both as an experiential and as a non-experiential predicate. Compare:

(389) *Ya okh-o finã-ge.*
 they water-CONN desire-3SG.NF
 They are thirsty.

(390) *Nagu momof-o finã-ge.*
 we uncle-CONN desire-3SG.NF
 We long for our uncle.

(391) *Kho mofene finã-geno-n-a pesawa meda-ne-madü.*
 person that think-3PL.NF-TR-DS.and plane come-INF.F-NEG
 Those people think that the plane will not come.

The subject person-number agreements in (389) and (390) indicate the experiential nature of these clauses: the verb does not agree with the experiencer. Literally, (390) says: '(It) desires us of uncle'. In this way the experiencer is portrayed as not controlling the mental process (de Vries 1989:140,141). The verb *finãge-* is used as a non-experiential verb in (391), in which it agrees with *kho mofene* 'those people' who are portrayed as controllers of the

mental process. *Fināge-* and *fibima-* 'to think' have their second arguments expressed in the final clause of a co-subordinate clause-linkage. Consider:

- (392) *Ya fibima-no-n-a* *khe gabükhe.*
 they think-3PL.NF-TR-DS.and he angry
 They think he is angry.

The second argument-clause *khe gabükhe* 'he is angry' in (392) is not embedded in the preceding medial clause containing *fibima-* 'to think'. The switch-reference (Different Subject) co-subordinator *-a* links the two clauses. We shall return below to this use of 'co-subordination'.

The choice between using direct quotation (examples (386)-(388)) or co-subordination (examples (391)-(392)) for expressing non-intentional thought seems to be determined by pragmatic factors. I do not pretend to have understood these factors fully and I limit myself to sketching one type of context which triggers the use of direct quotation.

We find this context when in narrative discourse the mental processes occurring in participants are portrayed as mental reactions to the event of the narrative. Consider (393):

- (393) *Wa, fenemora ya na-lu fe-khakhu-do.*
 oh, how they my-word NEG-listen.INF.NON-F-NEG
 He was perplexed that they did not listen to him.

The example (393) is the last sentence of a short narrative in which the main participant tries to teach in his native village but the village people, to his surprise and disappointment, reject him. Then (393) follows, without any quotation-margin (even the quotation-marker is absent), to portray the thoughts of surprise and disappointment occurring in the main participant. For the Kombai listeners to this story, it is very clear from the preceding context what the encoding situation for (393) is, that is, whose 'inner speech' is quoted. The function of the direct quotation in the story is clear to the Kombai listeners because they are familiar with the narrative convention of portraying mental reactions by direct quotations. If there occurs a verb in the quotation-margin in such narrative contexts, it is usually a verb of thinking or feeling, often with emotional colour, like *kharabuma* 'to be astonished' in (387). Literally, (387) says: 'They were astonished, "how does he do it?"'. The same type of narrative context of emotional participant-reaction triggers direct quotation in Western Dani (Larson 1984) and there we also find exclamative interjections (like *wa* in (393)) initially in the quotation and verbs of emotion in the quotation-margin.

6.4 FACTORS FAVOURING THE USE OF DIRECT QUOTATION

It should be clear by now that direct quotation plays an important role in the syntax and discourse of Kombai. In this section, I shall, very tentatively, sketch two factors which may be relevant to the frequency of direct quotation and its use in a wide range of construction-types.

6.4.1 SPECIFICITY OF EVENT-DESCRIPTION

Foley (1986:113-128) describes a tendency in the verbal semantics of Papuan languages which may be relevant to the use of direct quotation in Kombai. This tendency is to be very specific in the description of events, by breaking down actions into their component acts and

express each one of these components by a separate verb (Foley 1986:113). An extreme but illuminating example is from Kalam:

- (394) *Yad am mon pk dap ay-p-yn.*
 go wood hit hold come put-COM-1SG
 I fetched firewood.

For Kalam, to be sure, (394) is not at all extreme: to leave out any of the verbs would make the description seem incomplete to Kalam speakers.

This tendency to spell out the sub-events of an event in detail manifests itself also in Kombai. For example, the event of 'going' is usually described as follows:

- (395) *Khe ragane maru-la-ra kha.*
 he rise.SS go.up-stand-SS.and go.3SG.NF
 He went away.

Some other examples:

- (396) *Dunoro fali-me.*
 food carry-come.3SG.NF
 He brought food.
- (397) *Foro moja-ma-none!*
 carry.SS go-down-come-IMP.PL
 Bring it (down)!

The events of bringing and taking are always described as a combination of 'carry' and 'come'/'go'. Often (as in (397)) there is also a motion-verb specifying the direction.

Now when an event has a speech-component, Papuan languages tend to make explicit this speech-element by a verb of speaking and in Kombai this triggers the use of direct quotations. Since, from the Kombai point of view, mental events like 'think' and 'want' also imply speech ('inner speech'), the explicitation of this element of speech triggers direct quotation in those domains, too.

6.4.2 PREFIELD COMPLEXITY IN A RIGID VERB-FINAL LANGUAGE

The second factor which may help to explain the importance of direct quotation in Kombai is a syntactic one and has to do with constituent ordering tendencies in language.

Kombai is a rigidly verb-final language with the basic functional pattern S O V. Now subordinate clauses are complex constituents syntactically (Dik 1978:204-212) and several supposedly universal tendencies conspire to remove these complex constituents from the preverbal area of the clause (prefield) and position them after the verb (in the postfield). For example, the Prefield Complexity Principle formulated by Dik (1989: 50): "The Prefield is universally less hospitable to complex material than the Postfield; Prefield languages may thus be expected to possess strategies for relieving the Prefield of excessive complexity.". Another tendency is that "Other things being equal, constituents prefer to be placed in order of increasing complexity" (Dik 1989:351).

Thus subordinate clauses in a rigid verb-final language like Kombai are subjected to conflicting ordering pressures. On the one hand the language tends to adhere to its basic functional pattern with the predicate (whether verbal or nominal) in final position. On the

other hand, the aforementioned tendencies put pressure on the pre-verbal complex constituent to move to the area after the verb.

There is no problem for topical subordinate clauses in Kombai. They go to the special clause-initial position (P1 in the terminology of Dik 1989), reserved, *inter alia*, for constituents with topical functions. This position is insensitive to complexity-pressures (Dik 1978:204). Focus-clauses do not go to P1 in Kombai; their focality is expressed by the focus-clitic *-a* on the relational headnoun (see section 3.8.3.2.1).

But not all subordinate clauses are topical in Kombai (see section 5.2.3.3). An important class of non-topical subordinate clauses are the second argument-clauses of verbs of speaking, thinking and wanting and of perception-verbs ('to see', 'to hear').

It follows from the ordering theory of Dik (1989) that Kombai should possess strategies to solve the conflict of verb-finality and pre-verbal complexity. One solution would be to reduce the complexity of pre-verbal subordinate clauses, instead of postponing them. As in the majority of rigid verb-final languages (Dik 1989:378), the Kombai strategy of reduction is to give pre-verbal embedded clauses a nominalised form. Consider (398) and (399):

(398) *Nu kha-n-o biduma-de.*
 I go.INF.NF-TR-CONN refuse-1SG.NF
 I do not want to go.

(399) *Ya uwa rakhuma-no ro emuma-no.*
 they money pay-3PL.NF thing forget-3PL.NF
 They forgot to pay.

The examples (398) and (399) represent the two forms that embedded pre-verbal clauses take in Kombai. The first (such as in (398)) is with a nominal infinitive linked by the prefield-centre connective *-o* to its head, the verb of the superordinate clause. The second and more usual form is to express the subordinate clause as a relative clause modifier of a relational head noun, the two most common head nouns being *ro* 'thing' and *rumu* 'person' (cf. Chapter 5). Thus (cf. (399)) embedded clauses take the form of noun phrases containing relative clauses. Noun phrases are less complex than fully verbal embedded clauses (Dik 1989:351).

However, nominalised non-topical clauses (such as (398) and (399)) are relatively infrequent and this is because Kombai prefers two other strategies, direct quotation and co-subordination. These two strategies give the complex constituent a non-embedded syntactic status so that it is no longer a constituent of the superordinate clause.

Let us limit our attention to clausal second arguments ('object clauses'). The great majority of these clauses are expressed by direct quotation and/or co-subordination.

Verbs of speaking use direct quotation for their clausal second arguments:

(400) *Khe luwa riga yademo-nane-ne.*
 he say.3SG.NF stone collect-IMP.PL-QUOTE.SG
 He told them to collect stones.

Direct quotation-clauses are deictically not integrated in the clause of the quotation-margin and syntactically only very partially. Therefore, for example, in (400) it is no problem that the clausal second argument of *luwa* occurs after the verb. The speech act verbs preceding and following the quotation merely 'bracket off' that constituent from the quotation-margin.

Direct quotations allow for highly complex material (cf. (370) above). We have seen that direct quotation is by no means restricted to reported speech but also occurs with 'think' and 'want'.

Co-subordination also gives the complex constituent (pre-verbal embedded clause) an independent syntactic status, but in a different way. The term "co-subordination" (Olson 1981) refers to the combination of dependence and non-embeddedness which characterises the relationship between medial and final clauses in Papuan languages. (See Foley and Van Valin 1984:241-242, 256-263 for detailed treatment of co-subordination.)

Co-subordination is used for the second argument-clauses of many verbs, for example for perception-verbs:

- (401) *Nu fera-def-a* *khe bo-me.*
 I see-1SG.NF-DS.and he DUR-come.3SG.NF
 I saw him come.

The example (401) could be paraphrased as: 'I saw and he was coming', to give the reader a rough idea of co-subordinate clause-linkage, but the purely coordinate rendering with 'and' fails to indicate the type of dependency between the two clauses of (401) although it succeeds in rendering the non-embedded nature of the relationship. The dependency of medial clauses on the following final clause (independent clause) has to do with tense-mood and person-number interpretation of the verb of the medial clause (these depending in varying degrees on the verb of the final clause) and with switch-reference relations between medial and final clauses. The different subject form *feradefa* 'I saw and different subject following' cannot stand on its own.

In Telefol (Healey 1964:28-29) perception verbs like 'to see' take quotative clauses to express the perceived event. However, the use of quotative clauses with perception verbs contrasts with the other uses of quotative clauses in Telefol (Healey 1964 distinguishes four types of quotative clauses, that is, saying, desiderative, direct imperative and naming). In perception contexts the quotation marker *kalaá* appears which does not occur with the other types of quotative clauses.

For reasons of available space we cannot elaborate here on co-subordination and we shall limit our attention to the aspect of complexity. The combination of non-embeddedness and dependency makes co-subordination ideally suited for solving the problem of verb-finality and pre-verbal complexity. The complex constituent (e.g. the clausal second argument *khe bome* in (401)) occurs after the verb of perception but its independent syntactic status as a final clause prevents violation of the SOV pattern: it is not a constituent of the preceding medial clause. With some verbs, both the quotation and the co-subordination strategy may be used (compare e.g. (388) and (391)) but usually either direct quotation (e.g. *ludima*- 'to promise') or co-subordination (e.g. *fera*- 'to see') is used for the second argument.

There are a few cases in the data where certain verbs of speaking (*luwa*- 'to say, speak', *ja*- 'to call') have their second argument-clauses expressed by co-subordination and not by direct quotation. The verbs of speaking have direct causative meanings which they do not have when direct quotation is used:

- (402) *Nu bo-luwa-na-n-a* *ai ũ-de.*
 me DUR-say-3PL.NF-TR-DS.and pig kill-1SG.NF
 They forced me to kill the pig.

- (403) *Luwa riga yademo-nane-ne.*
 say.3SG.NF stone collect-IMP.PL-QUOTE.SG
 He told (them) to collect stones.
- (404) *Ya ja-na-n-a nagu me-defo.*
 they call-3PL.NF-TR-DS.and we come-IPL.NF
 We came on their invitation.

The examples (402) and (404) show the causative meaning appearing in co-subordinate environments with certain verbs of speaking. *Luwa* in (403) is non-causative and non-factive: the speaker of (403) does not suppose that the collecting indeed took place whereas in (402) and (404) the factuality of the killing and the coming is presupposed. Notice that the factive presuppositions of (402) and (404) follow from the causative meaning of the verbs of speaking in co-subordinate environments and not from the co-subordinate pattern *in se*. The example (392) shows that co-subordinate structures expressing clausal second arguments may carry non-factive presuppositions.

More research is needed to establish whether the use of co-subordination with verbs of speaking always implies causative meanings. But it is clear that co-subordination and direct quotation cannot be simply viewed as interchangeable strategies. They share, however, one important feature: they give complex constituents of clausal form a non-embedded status and in doing so help to solve the conflict between pre-verbal (prefield) complexity and verb-finality.

6.5 SUMMARY

Direct quotation plays a role in the following domains.

The second arguments of speech act verbs are expressed by direct quotation clauses (e.g. (360)-(365)). In a few cases, these arguments are expressed by co-subordination (cf. (402), (404)) but in those cases the verbs of speaking have causative meanings.

Reported speech and reported thought are handled similarly in Kombai: direct quotation is used in both domains.

When intentional thoughts are reported, a crucial factor is whether intender and intended are the same or not. When they differ, direct quotation is used obligatorily (cf. (375)-(376)). When they are the same, the situation is more complicated. With first person intenders, quotation is not used (see (377)-(378)) except for constructions with motion-verbs (see (379)). For second/third person intenders, quotation is obligatory with positive intention but optional with negative intention.

In the domain of non-intentional thought, direct quotation is used in narrative discourse to portray mental processes of participants (e.g. (393)).

The syntactic relation between direct quotation and quotation-margin shows considerable independence for the quotation-clause. The non-embeddedness of the direct quotation may be one of the reasons why direct quotation is such a preferred strategy in Kombai. In a rigid verb-final language, the direct quotation strategy makes it possible for complex material to be expressed after the verb, or rather independent of the position of the verb, since the complex constituent is not in construction with the verb.

Another reason for the importance of direct quotation in Kombai may be the tendency in Papuan languages to make explicit the sub-acts of actions. When the speech-element in events is described separately by a verb of speaking, this implies in Kombai the use of direct quotation. From the Kombai point of view, mental processes also have a speech-component ('inner speech') and this extends the range of constructions in which direct quotation is used.

Since the use of quotative forms in intentional constructions is very widespread in Papuan languages, it could well be that the Kombai tendency to express reported speech and reported thought very similarly is a manifestation of a general Papuan typological characteristic.

CHAPTER 7

TEXTS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The first text illustrates the influence of Indonesian on Kombai as spoken by people who were exposed to the national language (7.2). The second text is a song which is sung at the closing ceremony of the sacred part of the sago grub feast; this feast is the most important ritual of the Kombai (Venema 1990). The *bere* song is basically a magic formula to ensure the continuity of the sago production (7.3). *Bere* is the name of the closing ceremony. The third and fourth texts (7.4 and 7.5) are daily life narratives. The fifth text is an exposition of the traditional Kombai beliefs about the afterlife.

7.2 THE SNAKEBITE

1. *Gwari raliyo nu ūgi.*
snake Raliyo me bite.3SG.NF
A Raliyo snake bit me.
2. *Nu ūgi-n-a*
me bite.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS)
Bapak¹⁷ de Vries nu tolong-ma.
Mr de Vries me help-SUPP.3SG.NF
It bit me and Mr de Vries helped me.
3. *Nu fufuru-ma-n-a*
me help-SUPP.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS)
deyalu-khe.
not.be-SUPP.3SG.NF
He helped me and I recovered.
4. *Deyalu nu hutan fa-de.*
not.be me jungle go-1SG.NF
I recovered and went to the jungle.
5. *Kho ba-def-a*
there stay-1SG.NF-CONN (DS)
hari Jumat-khe-n-a (DS) nu sakit-ma-de.
day Friday-SUPP.3SG.NF-TR-CONN I ill-SUPP-1SG.NF
I stayed there and on Friday I became ill.

¹⁷ In 7.2 there are the following loan words from Indonesian: *Bapak* 'mister', *tolong* 'to help', *hutan* 'jungle' and *Jumat* 'Friday'; the Indonesian spelling has been retained. See section 3.1.2.2 for the integration of Indonesian verbs into the Kombai lexicon by *-ma* support.

7.3 THE *Bere* SONG

1. *Bere fone* *falefa e...*
bere whistle.between.the.teeth¹⁸ let.us.do eh¹⁹
 Let us perform the *bere*.
2. *E nomayokha*²⁰ *ifa fone fafa fone*
 bird cockatoo hand whistle leg whistle
 The cockatoo bird, (let us) dance.
3. *Bere nariya bere nariya bere e...*
bere man *bere* man *bere* eh
*mine gwomolei khakhu*²¹
 sprout.of.the.sago.tree cut.down.3SG.NF sago.tree
mine reija mine gwomolei.
 sprout sago.tree sprout cut.3SG.NF
Bere, the *bere*-man, the *bere*-man, he cuts down the *khakhu* tree, he cuts down the *reija* tree.
4. *Ane le hüwane le*
 quick go.IMP go.up go.IMP
fone ane le.²²
 whistle quick go.IMP
 Let us go quickly, let us dance out (of the feasthouse).

7.4 THE DEATH OF AMAKHALO

1. *Amakhalo khumolei-ro mene khe*
 Amakhalo die.3SG.NF-SUB FRM he
bo-khugi-ro dadāgu
 DUR-ill.3SG.NF-SUB beginning
khe bo-khugi-n-o ro
 he DUR-ill.3SG.NF-TR-CONN thing/SUB
mofene khwaimigi wa-luwano wa-luwano: ...
 that foreigner COM-say.3PL.NF COM-say.3PL.NF
 As for the death of Amakhalo, when he was ill in the beginning, about his illness, the foreigners had said already:...
2. *“Foro mojamanone. Foro*
 bring.SS descend.come.IMP.PL. bring.SS

¹⁸ *Fone* is glossed here with ‘whistle between the teeth’; this ‘whistling’ is a very peculiar interdental sound on the rhythm of the song and the dance. The word *fone* is used here to denote the whole *bere* performance, the singing, the dancing and the whistling.

¹⁹ In most Kombai songs we find a lengthened vowel sound after every line.

²⁰ The feathers of this bird are used as decoration in the hair during festive occasions like the sago grub feast.

²¹ *Khakhu* and *reija* are the names of two species of sagotrees.

²² Apart from *fone*, which is a Kombai word, the words in line 4 are all Korowai words; the man who sang this *bere* song for me, lived in Yaniruma, with a mixed Kombai-Korowai population.

mojamanone-n-a *khwaimigi*
 come.descend.IMP.PL.-TR-CONN (DS) foreigner

*obate*²³ *b-adiyenone-n-a'* *khe-büwogo*
 medicine DUR-give.3PL.F-TR-CONN (DS) his-parent

mene nabeimano.

TOP refuse.3PL.NF

"You have to bring him down. Bring him down and the foreigners will give medicine to him", but his parents refused.

3. *Khe-naira yale-mado*²⁴ *nabeima.*
 his-older.brother mister-supervisor refuse.3SG.NF
 His older brother, the supervisor, refused.

4. *Nabeima-n-a miyo mofene*
 refuse.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) child that

khe-ra-khu nabeima.

he-himself-also refuse.3SG.NF

He refused and the child himself also refused.

5. *Obate khorabo mi-n-o*
 medicine bitter drink.INF.NF-TR-CONN

mide-y-e-ne.

refuse.1SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE

"I do not want to drink the bitter medicine", he said.

6. *Nabeimo-ra nabeimo-ra fora fali-ra*
 refuse.SS-and refuse.SS-and bring.SS carry.SS-and

ruma kha-ra bürü
 the.other.side go.SS-and territory

rofano-n-a

put.down.3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS)

leija-ra khumolei.

stay.SS-and die.3SG.NF

They refused, refused and took him away to their clan territory and put him there and he stayed there and died.

7. *Khe-ra khumo bima lei-n-a khumo*
 he-himself ill.SS ill.SS lie.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS) ill.SS

bima leina

kha-negena

ill.SS lie.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS) go.3SG.NF-until.CONN (DS) ('until')

²³ *Obat* is an Indonesian word meaning 'medicine'; *obate* is the Kombai adaptation, with an additional final vowel to conform to the canonical word form in Kombai.

²⁴ *Yale* is a respectful term, meaning 1. 'old man' 2. 'husband' 3. 'important/powerful man'. This term is also used as a polite term to render the Indonesian terms *tuan* 'sir, mister; master' and *bapak* 'mister'; *mado* is a Kombai adaptation of the Indonesian *mandur* 'supervisor'.

- refe fe büwene-n-a* *khumolei.*
 year one finished.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS) die.3SG.NF
 He was ill and it went on (=until) during one year and then he died.
8. *Khumolei-n-a* *ifamano.*
 die.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS) bury.3PL.NF
 He died and they buried him.
9. *Mana* *khwaimigi mene wa-luwano: ...*
 do.3SG.NF.CONN (DS) foreigner TOP COM-say.3PL.NF
 (and..DS following...)
 Thus they did and the foreigners said: ...
10. *“Wamofu luwadefo-nene-n-e* *miyo mofene*
 already say.1PL.NF-TR-QUOTE.PL-CONN (DS) child that
foro mojamanone obate adiyonone ...”
 bring.SS descend.come.IMP.PL medicine give.3PL
 “We had said already that you have to bring that child down and that he should be
 given medicine...”

7.5 OLA

1. *Ola Khawakhe kha-negena bumo Wagemalo me-fo*
 Ola Kawakit go.SS-until return.SS Wanggemalo come.SS-SEQ
khakhe-n-a *khe-wabü-ra*
 hear.3SG.NF-TR-CONN (DS) his-younger.brother-FOC
Fiyabo gu-la luwama-nene-n-a
 Fiyabo your-wife bother.3SG.NF-QUOTE.PL-TR-CONN (DS)
khakhe-ra gabü-khe.
 hear.SS-and angry-ADJ
 Ola went to Kawakit until he returned to Wanggemalo and after he had heard that
 they said about his younger brother Fiyabo: “He has bothered your wife”, he
 became angry.
2. *Gabükhe-ra Ola-khu khe-wabü Fiyabo-khu*
 angry.ADJ-and Ola-and his-brother Fiyambo-and
khuro-khuro bo-unafano.
 each.other DUR-hit.3PL.NF
 He became angry and Ola and his brother Fiyambo began to fight.
3. *Khuro-khuro bo-unafano-n-a* *kepalahansife-khu*
 each.other DUR-hit.3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS) headman-and
Yafeyo-khu maru barabumano-n-a
 Yafeyo-and go.up.SS stand.in.between.3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS)
lüwobadi wale-khe-ra marufo büwogo
 young.person strong-ADJ-and next old.person

mene unafano.

TOP hit.3PL.NF

Given that they started to fight, the headman and Yafeyo stood up to intervene but young and strong people started to hit these members of the parental generation.

4. *Unafano-n-a unafano-n-a*
hit.3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS) hit.3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS)

lenamalino.

descend.3PL.NF

They hit them (DS following) and they went away.

5. *Lenamalino-n-a büwogo khede mene*
descend.3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS) old.people other TOP

marofora Fiyabo-khu Ola-khu arabumano.

next Fiyabo-and Ola-and stand.in.between.3PL.NF

They went away but other old people stood between Fiyabo and Ola.

6. *Arabumano-n-a bo-lomõgeno-n-a*
intervene.3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) DUR-refuse.3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS)

kepalahansife marufo luwa:

headman next say.3SG.NF

"nage manone-n-a kho-fo na-n-a
you (PL) come.IMP.PL-TR-CONN (DS) go.SS-SEQ my-TR-house

khuru yademofone-ne".

enter.SS have.a.meeting.1PL.F-QUOTE.SG

They intervened but they refused (=did not want to stop fighting) and then the headman said: "You have to come and we shall go to my house and have a meeting".

7. *Yademo-ra khuro mūgino-n-o*
have.a.meeting.SS-and each.other hit.3PL.NF-TR-CONN

lu mene ge-gemo-ra irabi-irabi
case this inspect-inspect.SS-and hand-hand

rimofone-ne.

shake.1PL.F-QUOTE.SG

"Have a meeting and then we shall inspect this case that they fight each other", he said.

8. *Irabi rimofone-ne-n-a kharo-fo-ra*
hand shake.1PL.F-he.said-TR-CONN (DS) go.up.SS-SEQ-and

kepalahansife-n-a mene boyademano.

headman-TR-house TOP DUR.have.a.meeting.3PL.NF

"We shall shake hands", he said and they went up and had a meeting in the headman's house.

9. *Boyademano-n-a kepalahansife khorabo*
DUR.meet.3PL.NF-TR-CONN (DS) headman wife

Events of the <i>lykewake</i>	=	Events of the journey
1. the eyes become troubled	=	1. the old man sprinkles sap of the Ukho sprout in the eyes of the 'soul' (text reference 27)
2. the wind starts blowing	=	2. welcome dance in the ceremonial feasthouse (text reference 14, 32)
3. the swelling of the belly	=	3. the forced eating of worms (text reference 38)
4. the skin becomes dark	=	4. the 'soul' is rubbed with yam-coal (text reference 14, 39)
5. corpse-fluids come out	=	5. the 'soul' vomits (text reference 43)

7.6.2 Romalü

1. *Mene umo-n-e-ma-de-ro mena-khu*
this tell-TR-F-SUPP-1SG-SUB this-also
What I am going to tell you is this.
2. *Nagu-büwogo khogade marora*
our-parent formerly pause.marker

umo-ra luwa-n-o:
tell.SS-and say-TR-3PL.NF
Our parents formerly told us:...
3. *La khumo-ra ba-kha-rofa kho*
woman die.SS-and DUR-go.3SG.NF-SUB man

khumo-ra fenemokho ba-kha-y-e-neno?
die.SS-and where DUR-go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL
When a woman dies and she goes, when a man dies and he goes, where is he going?
4. *Mana nagu-büwogo umo-ra luwa-n-o:*
And our-parent tel.SS-and say-TR-3PL.NF
And our parents said:...
5. *La khumo ba-kha-ro kho khumo*
woman die.SS DUR-go.3SG.NF-SUB man die.SS

ba-kha-ro miyo muno khale
DUR-go.3SG.NF-SUB child young or

la muno khale kho muno khale
woman young or man young or

luwa-n-o:
say-TR-3PL.NF
When a woman dies and she goes or when a man dies and he goes or a child, a boy or a girl, they say:..
6. *Khumo-ra makho Romalü-bürü*
die.SS-and there Romalü-place

- kha-n-e-neno.*
go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL
“He dies and goes there to the place of *Romalü*.”
7. *Mo-ro umo-ma-n-o lu menana*
thus.do.SS-and tell-HAB-TR-3PL.NF word this

marora mene umo-n-e-male-f-e.
and this tell-TR-F-DUR-1SG-F
Thus they used to tell and this is what I shall be telling about.
8. *Luwa-n-o khogade lan-a khale khof-o*
say-TR-3PL.NF formerly woman-CONN or man-CONN

khale khumo-ra ba-kha-rofa luwano:
or die.SS-and DUR-go.3SG.NF-SUB say.3PL.NF
They said in former times: “When a woman or a man dies and he goes”, they said,
9. *Iro molumo-neno iro-khabefo molumo-neno*
road two-QUOTE.PL road-junction two-QUOTE.PL
“there are two roads, there is a junction”.
10. *Iro fobe khe luwa-n-o khumo-ro*
road one it say-TR-3PL.NF die.SS-and

makho Romalü bürü kha-n-e-neno.
there *Romalü* place go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL
“One road”, they said, “someone who has died travels that road to the place of *Romalü*”.
11. *Iro fobe khe luwa-n-o*
road the.other it say-TR-3PL.NF

khumila-khaikhwo-bürü kha-n-e-neno.
female.soul-male.soul-place go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL
“The other road”, they said, “leads to the place of the female and male souls”.
12. *Baru²⁵ khumo-ra makho khumila-khaikhwo-bürü*
and die.SS-and there female.soul-male.soul-place

kha-ro mena nu fe-umo-n-e-madü.
go.3SG.NF-SUB TOP I NEG-tell-TR-INF.F-NEG
And about the journey of a dead person to the place of the souls, I shall not tell.
13. *Tapi²⁶ me umo-n-e-ma-de-ro²⁷ mena*
but but tell-TR-F-SUPP-1SG.NF-SUB(IMMF) TOP

khof-o khale lan-a khale
man-CONN or woman-CONN or

khumo-ra makho Romalü-bürü
die.SS-and there *Romalü*-place

²⁵ *Baru* ‘and’ is a loan word from Indonesian.

²⁶ *Tapi* ‘but’ is a loan word from Indonesian.

²⁷ In sentence No.1 and in this sentence there are immediate future forms (‘what I am about to tell you’) which have been discussed in section 3.1.2.7.

bo-foima-n-e-neno.

DUR-blow.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL

They said: "When someone dies, a woman or man, and they watch the one who died and perform the *lykewake*, if his skin in former times, when he was still alive, was very clear but they see that his skin turns black or when those who continually watch the dead body perceive that the wind starts blowing in the middle of the night, then they say about the one who is on his way to *Romalü's* place, that *Romalü* receives him there and that they are performing the welcome dance ceremony".

15. *Mene umo-ma-n-o-n-e* *mene umomano*
this tell-SUPP-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN this tell.SUPP-TR-3PL.NF

mena marora umo-n-e-male-f-e.

this pause tell-TR-F-DUR-1SG-F

This they usually told and that is what I shall be telling about.

16. *Luwa-n-o* *khumo-ro Romalü-bürü*
say-TR-3PL.NF die.SS-and *Romalü*-place

kha-rofe *khe luwa-n-o* *mene-ma:*

go.3SG.NF-SUB it say-TR-3PL.NF thus-SUPP.SS

They say about the person who died and is on his way to *Romalü's* place:

17. *Lan-a* *khale khof-a* *khale khumo-ra*
woman-CONN or man-CONN or die.SS-and

ba-kha-rofe *makho iro-khoba* *makhonane*
DUR-go.3SG.NF-SUB there road-branch there

iro-fobe Romalü-bürü *kha-n-e-neno*

road-one *Romalü*-place go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL

iro-fobe *khe makho khumila-khaikhwo-bürü*

road-other it there female.soul-male.soul-place

kha-n-e-neno *mofe iro-khoba*

go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL that road-branch

mofenane a fera buwo mofenana iro-khoba

there ah mouse Buwo that road-branch

wabele-n-e-neno.

guard-TR-3PL.NF-QUOTE.PL

"A woman or man who has died and goes, he goes", they said, "there to that junction in the road where one road leads to *Romalü's* place and the other to the place of the female and male souls, at that junction they discover³⁰ "Oh dear, Buwo mice guard that junction"."

18. *Iro-khoba* *mofe Romalü-bürü* *kha-rofa*
road-branch that *Romalü*-place go.3SG.NF-SUB

³⁰ In this text the mental reaction or thought of the dead person upon seeing the guarding Buwo mice is portrayed by the use of a direct quotation (see Chapter 6). We have added the verb 'discover' in the free translation to indicate this mental reaction represented by the direct quotation in the text.

khumila-khaikhwo-bürü kha-rofa iro-khoba
 female.soul-male.soul-place go.3SG.NF-SUB road-branch

mofena lara mabuwof-o dou³¹ lu-ra
 that and Mabuwo-CONN sago cut.SS-and

bo-roü-n-o-n-e
 DUR-pound-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

boroünone
 DUR.pound.TR.3PL.NF.TR.CONN(DS)

lan-a khale khof-a khale
 woman-CONN or man-CONN or

khakhe-n-o-n-a khakhe-n-o-n-a
 hear-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) hear-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

na-fiya ne-n-a na-fiya ne-n-o
 my-bone eat-TR-3PL.NF my-bone eat-TR-3PL.NF

na-khabiya ne-n-a na-khabiya ne-n-o
 my-head eat-TR-3PL.NF my-head eat-TR-3PL.NF

fiyegerema-ra bo-roü-n-o-n-a
 abuse.SS-and DUR-pound-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

me luwa:
 but say.3SG.NF

That roadfork where one road leads to *Romalü's* place and the other to the place of the female and male souls, at that junction, they (the mice) cut and pound the wild betel nut and the men or the women they hear "they have eaten my bones, they have eaten my bones, they have eaten my head, they have eaten my head" and thus they (the mice) abuse (the men and women passing by) and pound³² but the one who says:

19. *A makho iro-khoba mene wabele-ro lomene-ra*
 ah there road-branch this guard.3SG.NF-SUB leave.SS-and

bumo mene Romalü-bürü ai-f-e-ne-n-e
 return.SS this *Romalü*-place go-1SG.INT-CONN-QUOTE-TR-CONN

rumu mena khe mofene Romalü-bürü kha.
 person TOP he that *Romalü*-place go.3SG.NF

"Oh dear, since that road fork is guarded, I want to leave it behind and return and go to *Romalü's* place", the person who says so, he is the one that goes to *Romalü's* place.

20. *Khe luwa: A khe-ra khogona bo-gaima*
 he say.3SG.NF ah he-FOC all.right DUR-sing.SS

³¹ *Mabuwo* is a wild betel nut tree. The mice eat the starch and this starch is called 'sago'.

³² There is a food taboo regarding Buwo mice. The Buwo mice at the junction sing about the violations of that taboo on the rhythm of their pounding. The narrator also sang the lines 'they have eaten my bones etc.' in the rhythmic way Kombai women sing during the pounding of the sago.

khe-ra khogona marora nu bo-lurama-n-o
 he-FOC all.right and me DUR-curse-TR-3PL.NF (DS)

lomene-ra khumila-khaikhwo-bürü
 leave.behind.SS-and female.soul-male.soul-place

ai-f-e-ne-n-o rumu
 go-1SG.INT/ADH-CONN-QUOTE-TR-CONN person

khe mofene khumila-khaikhwo-bürü kha-neno.
 he that female.soul-male.soul-place go.3SG.NF-QUOTE

The person who says: "Oh, it is all right, let them sing and curse me, all right, I shall leave them and go the place of the female and male souls", that person goes to the place of the female and male souls, they say.

21. *Mene uma-n-o-n-e marora khumo-ra*
 this tell-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) next die.SS-and

makho Romalü-bürü kha-rofe khe luwa-n-o:
 there Romalü-place go.3SG.NF-SUB he say-TR-3PL.NF

deyalu khumo-ra Romalü mofe iro-khoba
 no die.SS-and Romalü that road-branch

ba-kha-n-a luwa-n-o a na-fiya
 DUR-go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) say-TR-3PL.NF oh my-bone

ne-n-a na-fiya ne-n-a na-fiya
 eat-TR-3PL.NF my-bone eat-TR-3PL.NF my-bone

na-fiya ne-n-a ma-ra bo-gaima-n-o-n-a
 my-bone eat-TR-3PL.NF do.SS-and DUR-sing-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN

khe lomene-ra khakhe-do a mena
 he leave.behind.SS-and listen.INF.NF-NEG oh this

nuf-o bo-giyama-n-o-nera lomene-ra
 me-FOC DUR-mock-TR-3PL.NF-QUOTE leave.behind.SS-and

Romalü-bürü kha-rofe kho lara
 Romalü-place go.3SG.NF-SUB go.SS and

kha-rofe khof-a khale lan-a khale
 go.3SG.NF-SUB man-CONN or woman-CONN or

khumo-ra Romalü-bürü kha-rofe
 die.SS-and Romalü-place go.3SG.NF-SUB

yafe mo-ra weimo kho lara
 they do.SS-and quickly.SUPP.SS go.SS and

makho Romalü-bürü ba-kha-n-o mana
 there Romalü-place DUR-go-TR-3PL.NF but

fe-khoro-n-e-madü-y-a-neno.
 NEG-enter-TR-INF.F-NEG-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL

They say this and about the person who goes to *Romalü's* place they say: "No, the one who dies and goes the road to *Romalü*", they say, "is the one who, when they

sing “they have eaten my bones” leaves them behind and does not want to listen, saying “Oh, they are mocking me with this song” but concerning the journey to *Romalü's* place, when a woman or man dies and goes to *Romalü's* place, when they are going quickly to *Romalü's* place, they cannot just enter”, they say.³³

22. *Kho lara luwa-n-o khumo-ra kha-rofe*
and next say-TR-3PL.NF die.SS-and go.3SG.NF-SUB
iro-wamü ma-n-o-n-e khe
road-middle thus.do-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) he
luwa-n-o ba-kha-rofe kho lara
say-TR-3PL.NF DUR-go.3SG.NF-SUB and next
Romalü-bürü khe khiyado ba mene
Romalü-place he far be.3SG.NF this
iro-wamü-fobe luwa-n-o kho yale-rabo
road-middle-certain say-TR-3PL.NF man old-very
ukho walina ri-ra ba-n-a-neno.
Ukho tree.house make.SS-and stay.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL
“About the journey of the dead”, they said, “in the middle of the journey”, they say,
“concerning the one who is going”, they said, “*Romalü's* place is still far,
somewhere in the middle of the journey, a very old man has built a tree-house in an
Ukho tree and lives there”.
23. *Ri-ra ba-n-e mofenan-o rumu*
make.SS-and stay.3SG.NF-TR-CONN that-CONN person
ukho walina khumo-ra Romalü-bürü
Ukho tree.house die.SS-and *Romalü-place*
kha-n-o rumu kho lara ya mofe yale
go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person and next yes that old.man
mofenan-n-a walina oro-n-e ri
that-TR-CONN tree.house ascend.INF.NF-TR-CONN reason
luwa-n-o fiyakh-a rumamale agame-ra
say-TR-3PL.NF cane-CONN bend.down.SS close.SS-and
lei-n-a-neno.
be.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL
“That man who had built and lived there, the Ukho tree-house, the person who had
died and was on his way to *Romalü's* place, well yes, he wants to ascend to that
treehouse”, they say, “but there are wild canes which have bended down and closed
(the path)”.
24. *Agame-ra lei-rofo-de kho lara mofe*
close.SS-and be.3SG.NF-SUB-reason and next that

³³ This ‘they cannot just enter’ refers to the initiation-procedure, through which newcomers are accepted or rejected. When someone is rejected, he returns to the land of the living. This is said of people regaining consciousness. When (ill) people lose consciousness, the wailing *wakhumolei* ‘he has died’ begins.

fīya mofena-n-a fīya mofena reima buwamo-ra
 cane that-TR-CONN cane that lift.SS throw.SS-and

gere-y-e-neno mofe
 cracking.sound.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL³⁴ that

kharu ukho walina ri-ra ba-n-o
 up.there Ukho tree.house build.SS-and stay.3SG.NF-TR-CONN

rumu mofena khanegema:
 person that admonish.3SG.NF

Because it closes (his path) he lifts those canes and throws them to the side and it cracks and that person up there in the Ukho tree-house that he built admonishes:

25. *Gu ge yaifo-khof-o*
 you ADH who-man-FOC

bo-me-y-e-ne-n-a mofe
 DUR-come.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-QUOTE.SG-TR-CONN(DS) that

bo-me-n-o rumu luwa:
 DUR-come.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person say.3SG.NF

nuf-a bo-me-def-e-ne.

I-FOC DUR-come-1SG.NF-CONN-QUOTE.SG

“You there who is coming, who are you?” he says and the person that is coming, says: “I am coming”.

26. *Nuf-a bo-me-def-e-ne-n-a*
 I-FOC DUR-come-1SG.NF-CONN-QUOTE.SG-TR-CONN(DS)

luwa³⁵ khogona bo-me-ro me
 say.3SG.NF all.right DUR-come.3SG.NF-SUB come.SS

la-ra na-n-a-khabo me
 stand.SS-and my-TR-house-under come.SS

khiy-i-n-e alena kheda kharo
 stop-IMP.SG-TR-CONN first face lift.SS

fera-n-e-y-o! nu kheda maro
 look-TR-IMP.SG-TR-EXCL.FOC I face go.up.SS

fera-n-e-y-o!
 look-TR-IMP.SG-TR-EXCL.FOC

“I am coming” he says and he (the old man) says: “It is all right that you are coming but stop first under my house and lift up your face and look up, look up to me!”

27. *Mo-ra bo-luwa-n-a mofe khumo-ra*
 do.SS-and DUR-say.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) that die.SS-and

³⁴ The verb *gere-* is an onomatopoeic verb denoting the sound of breaking dry wild canes.

³⁵ This sentence starts with a tail-head linkage (cf. section 4.3.2.1) repetition of the clause with the travelling dead person as subject; the recapitulated clause is marked by the DS connective and in this way the subject of the *luwa* clause is identified in this context (viz. the old man).

kha-n-o *rumu ukho walina ri-ro*
go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person Ukho tree.house make.SS-and

ba-n-o *rumu mofena*
stay.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person that

na-khabu *kho khi-n-i-n-e*
my-space.under.the.tree.house go.SS stop-TR-IMP.SG-TR-CONN

alenakheda kharo fera-n-i-ne-n-a
first face upward look-TR-IMP.SG-QUOTE.SG-TR-CONN(DS)

bo kheda kharu fera-n-a
DUR face upward look.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

ukho-gwadu lefa khafe-ra mofe ago
Ukho-sprout take.SS break.SS-and that tree.sap

mofena khoro gunama.
that eye sprinkle.3SG.NF

Thus he speaks and the person who has died and is on his way, and...the person who built the Ukho tree-house and lives there, he says "Stop first under my house and lift up your face and look up!" and while he is looking up, he (the old man) takes an Ukho-sprout, breaks it and sprinkles that tree sap in (his) eyes.

28. *Khoro gunama-n-a* *khoro*
eye sprinkle.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) eye

dugi.
troubled.become.3SG.NF
He sprinkles it in the eyes and the eyes become troubled.

29. *Khoro dugi-n-a* *marora*
eye troubled.become.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) next

*sudah*³⁶ *lomene-ra luwa a khoro*
already leave.SS-and say.3SG.NF oh eye

dugi-n-a *marora*
troubled.become.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) next

fera-n-a *khukhi-n-a*
see.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) sufficient.be.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

wa-fera-de lomene-ra makho Romalü-bürü
COM-see-1SG.NF leave.SS-and there Romalü-place

nay-e-ne!
go.IMP.SG-CONN-QUOTE.SG

The eyes become troubled and "finished" (he thinks) and he stops (the sprinkling) and says "Oh, the eyes are troubled" and he sees that it is sufficient, "I have seen it already, leave and off you go to Romalü's place!" he says.

³⁶ The word *sudah* 'already' is a loan word from Indonesian. It is used here in a direct quotation representing the thought of the old man. (See section 6.3 for representing thought by the use of direct quotations.)

30. *Yale mofenan-o lu khakhe-n-e leina*
 old.man that-CONN word hear.3SG.NF-TR-CONN after
lomene-ra yale³⁷ Romalü bürü ba-ro
 leave.SS-and lord Romalü place stay.3SG.NF-SUB
mana kho-ra kharu khino kho-ra kharu
 and go.SS-and lift.SS foot go.SS-and lift.SS
be-khine-n-a Romalü khe-kho khede
 DUR-walk.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) Romalü his-people other
khe marora khe gamo ba-n-o kho
 him next him follow.SS stay.3SG.NF-TR-CONN people
mene marulara luwa:
 TOP and say.3SG.NF
 Having heard those words of the old man he leaves for the place where Lord
Romalü lives and when he is walking, *Romalü* says to his followers:
31. *A nage mofe kho alo bo-me-n-o rumu*
 oh you that man new DUR-come.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person
lan-a khale khof-a khale
 woman-CONN or man-CONN or
bo-me-n-o rumu marulara lefa-ra
 DUR-come.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person next take.SS-and
rabuna kho rabuma mena leina marulara
 dance.SS there dance here after next
khudebuma adiya-n-o leina marulara
 decorations give-TR-3PL.NF after next
ulokhumo-nane-n-a khukhi-n-a
 fit/try-IMP.PL-TR-CONN(DS) be.in.order.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)
 'sudah'³⁶ *marulara luwa-nane-n-a*
 'already' next say-IMP.PL-TR-CONN(DS)
bakhe-n-a mo-ra yale Romalü mo-ra
 stay.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) do.SS-and lord Romalü do.SS-and
luwa.
 say.3SG.NF
 "Ah, you have to receive that newcomer, be it a man or a woman, and dance there
 and back³⁸ and having given him decorations, try whether those fit him and if so tell
 him to stay", thus Lord *Romalü* speaks.
32. *Mo-ra luwa-n-a mofena-n-a mogo*
 do.SS-and say.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) that-TR-CONN person

³⁷ The noun *yale* has three meanings: 1. (respected) old man; 2. husband 3. powerful or important man. Here we use the gloss 'lord' when the reference is to *Romalü*.

³⁸ 'To dance there and back' refers to the dancing from one end of the ceremonial feasthouse to the other. Such feasthouses are very long.

marulara mofe lan-a khale khof-a khale
and that woman-CONN or man-CONN or

khumo-ra alumo ba-kha lefa-n-o-n-e
die.SS-and be.new.SS DUR-go.3SG.NF take-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN

leina wamü famo lara rabu kho
after middle place.SS and dance.SS there

rabu mena khe-ra ru-reyo-rabo
dance.SS here he-FOC feastbivouac-long-very

ba-n-o-rofade rabu kho rabu mena
stay.3SG.NF-TR-CONN-SUB dance.SS there dance.SS here

ma-ra ba-rabu-n-o.
do.SS-and DUR-dance-TR-3PL.NF

Thus he speaks and the newcomer, man or woman, who has just died, they take him and place him in the middle and then dance from here to there and back, the feastbivouac where they stay is very long, they dance from the beginning to the end.

33. *Rabu kho rabu mena ba-nege ya*
dance.SS there dance.SS here stay.3SG.NF-until they

ba-rabu-n-o-rofe mofe khowaru
DUR-dance-TR-3PL.NF-SUB that corpse

wabe-ba-n-o mogo
watch-stay.3SG.NF-TR-CONN people

fera-n-a-n-a fim-a khale
see-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) night-CONN or

reil-a khale ramo bo-foima-n-a
day-CONN or sky DUR-blow.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

mofe luwa-n-o:
that say-TR-3PL.NF

They keep dancing there and back and given that they dance, those that perform the *lykewake* perceive that the wind is blowing, be it day or night, and therefore they say:

34. *Je mene deyalu makho Romalü-bürü*
oh.dear this no there Romalü-place

kha-rof-ode Romalü lefa lara
go.3SG.NF-SUB-reason Romalü receive.SS and

ba-rabu-n-o-n-e ramobo-foima-nene
DUR-dance-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)sky DUR-blow.3SG.NF-QUOTE.PL

mene umo-ma-n-o-n-e...
this tell-SUPP(HAB)-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)³⁹

³⁹ In the sentences 7, 15 and in this sentence there occurs an habitual-iterative form of the verb *umo-* 'to tell'. This habitual-iterative form *umoma-* 'to tell habitually/repeatedly' follows the pattern described in section 3.1.2.4 but the reduplication is restricted to the support-verb.

“Oh dear, no, because he is going to *Romalü*'s place, *Romalü* is receiving him and they dance and therefore the wind blows”, this they used to tell and...

35. *Mana rabu kho rabu mena ba-nege*
and dance.SS there dance.SS here stay.3SG.NF-until

fa-n-o-n-a khukhi-n-a
perform-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) be.in.order.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

marulara rofa-n-o-n-a ba-n-a
next place-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) sit.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

Romalü marulara luwa:

Romalü next say.3SG.NF

And they dance there and back until it is done sufficiently and they give him a place and *Romalü* says:

36. *Je nage marora dunoro-ri woy-o khalakh-o*
oh.dear you next food-for sago.grub-and yam-and

rüw-o naya-nane-ne mana we-ri
banana-and go-IMP.PL-QUOTE.SG and sagogrub-for

khoumo kha-n-o wo khaboroma-n-o-n-e
search.SS go-TR-3PL.NF sago.grub split-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN

leina khala khwogima-n-o-n-e leina
after yam dig-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN after

marulara rü khouma-n-o-n-e leina
next banana fetch-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN after

dama-n-o mena fali-me lara
transport-TR-3PL.NF this carry-come.SS and

kharo rofa-n-o ba-n-a me
up put-TR-3PL.NF sit.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) but

wey-e khe amiya-y-a khalina lüwo khalina
grub-FOC it worm-TR-CONN parcel worm parcel

lüwo mofena-n-a lefa rumo fali-me
worm that-TR-CONN take.SS extract.SS carry-come.SS

lara khali-rabo afüwa-n-o.
and parcel-big wrap-TR-3PL.NF

Oh dear, you go and find food, sago grubs, yams and bananas and they went to collect grubs and having split (the sago trunks in order to collect grubs), they dug up yams and after that they fetched bananas and after that they transported (these food items) and placed them on the bamboo racks but the sago grubs were Amiya worms wrapped in parcels, *lüwo* worms in parcels, those *lüwo*⁴⁰ worms they had extracted and wrapped in big parcels.'

⁴⁰ The contrast between 'sago grubs' and '(*lüwo*)worms' signifies the opposition between life (sago grubs) and death (worms, especially the *lüwo* species). Sago grubs are a central element in the Sago grub Festival, a crucial Kombai ritual which focuses on the continuity of life (cf. Venema 1990). The *lüwo*

37. *Afiwa-n-o-n-a* *boda-n-a*
 wrap-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) cooked.done.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)
marulara okh-o rül-o riya-ra
 next water-and banana-and scoop.SS-and
adügoma-ra khalakhe khalakhe adü-n-o-n-e
 cook.SS-and yam yam cook-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN
leina me ge fa-n-o-n-e
 after this again put.aside-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN
marora fera ba-n-o-n-a dunoro mofena
 until see.SS sit-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) food that
boda-n-a fali boumo
 cooked.done.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) carry.SS open.SS
fa-n-o-n-a ba-n-a
 put.aside-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) stay.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)
roumo-ra marora mofe lan-a khale
 cut.SS-and next that woman-CONN or
khof-a khale kha-n-o rumu mofena
 man-CONN or go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN person that
fali-me lara rofa-n-o-n-a
 carry-come.SS and place-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)
luwa-n-o gu mena ge na-n-e-neno!
 say-TR-3PL.NF you this IMP/ADH eat.IMP.SG-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL
 They wrap it and place it on the fire and they scoop water and cook bananas and
 yam and then they leave it until they see it is done and they lift it, open it, put it
 down, cut it and place it before the person who is on his journey (of the dead),
 woman or man and say: "You must eat this!"
38. *Fera bo-ra bo-yuma-n-o-n-a*
 see.SS sit.SS-and DUR-force-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)
lan-a khale khof-a khale mofena
 woman-CONN or man-CONN or that
marulara khali buma-rabo mofena amiya-khali
 and parcel big-very that worm-parcel
neyaba-nege neyaba-nege
 overeat.3SG.NF-until overeat.3SG.NF-until

worms are associated with death. Kombai *khakhwa-rumu* '(male) witch' are given these worms to eat in a magic treatment aimed at driving out the *khakhu* 'the black magic secret' which enables the witches to kill people (cf. Groen 1991:9). Having eaten the *lüwo* worms together with other ingredients (black frogs, young leaves of the wild coconut and small larvae), the witch vomits, thereby also throwing out his deadly secret. The relationship between the forced eating of *lüwo* worms and vomiting is also present in this text (e.g. text reference (43)).

- neyaba-nege* *lomege-n-o* *mofene*
 overeate.3SG.NF-until refuse.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) that
- idine rukhi-ra* *luwa* *nu mage-le*
 belly swell.SS-and say.3SG.NF I full-be.3SG.NF
- ne-ne-ro-khu* *luwa-n-o* *a deyalu*
 eat-eat-thing-also say-TR-3PL.NF ah no
- bo-na-nene* *bo-ne-n-a*
 DUR-eat.IMP.SG-QUOTE.PL DUR-eat.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)
- bo-ne-n-a* *bo-ne-n-a*
 DUR-eat.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) DUR-eat.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)
- luwa* *nu mage-le* *ne-ne-ro-khu*
 say.3SG.NF I full-be.3SG.NF eat-eat-thing-also
- luwa-n-o* *a deyalu bo-na-n-e-neno*
 say-TR-3PL.NF ah no DUR-eat.IMP.SG-TR-CONN-QUOTE.PL
- be-ne-n-a* *be-ne-n-a*
 DUR-eat.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) DUR-eat.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)
- be-ne-n-a* *kha-nege*
 DUR-eat.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) go.3SG.NF-until
- fa-n-a* *marulara khala mena*
 put.aside.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) next yam this
- adü-n-o-n-e* *leina marora ni da*
 cook-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN after and coal body
- bo-khiyadiya-n-o* *khala-ni marulara mana leina*
 DUR-smear/rub-TR-3PL.NF yam-coal next and after
- ni mena maru lan-a* *khale khof-a khale*
 coal this next woman-CONN or man-CONN or
- da bo-khiyadiya-n-o.*
 body DUR-smear-TR-3PL.NF
 They keep watching and forcing that person, man or woman, to eat that very big parcel of worms, to eat and eat until he refuses, his belly is swollen and he says: "This eating has filled me" but they say: "Oh no, you must eat" and he eats and eats and eats until it is put aside and next they rub his body with the blackened part of the yam which they cooked, woman or man, they rub the body with yam-coal.
39. *Bo-khiyadiya-n-o-n-a* *mena-khu makho khowaru*
 DUR-rub-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) this-also there corpse
- wabe-ba-n-o* *mogo fera-n-o-n-a*
 guard-sit.3SG.NF-TR-CONN people see-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)
- me khakha-y-a khumo-ra kha-n-a*
 this skin-TR-FOC die.SS-and go.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)
- me khukheja ba-defo-n-ro*
 this very.clear stay-1PL.NF-TR-SUB

bo-khugi-n-a *me*
 DUR-be.dark.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) this

umo-mo-ma-n-o-n-e.
 tell-SUPP-SUPP-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN

They rub and those that watch the corpse there, see that the skin of the one who died and went, “which was very clear when we stayed (together)”, turns black, this is what they usually told.

40. *Luwa-n-o mene makho Romalü-bürü*
 say-TR-3PL.NF this there *Romalü*-place

kha-rof-ode khala-ni adü-ra ni
 go.3SG.NF-SUB-reason yam-coal cook.SS-and coal

bo-khiyadiya-n-o-n-a khakha
 DUR-rub-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS) skin

bo-khugi-nene mene
 DUR-become.dark.3SG.NF-QUOTE.PL this

umo-ma-n-o-n-e.
 tell-SUPP(HAB)-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

They say this: “Because he goes there to the place of *Romalü*, they rub him in with yam-coal and his skin turns black”, this is what they usually tell.

41. *Mena-khu mofene-ma khakha*
 this-also that-do.SS skin

bo-khugi-n-a luwa
 DUR-become.black.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) say.3SG.NF

a mene makho Romalü-bürü kha-nene
 ah this there *Romalü*-place go.3SG.NF-QUOTE.PL

mofe luwa-n-o.
 that say-TR-3PL.NF

The skin turns black like that and (the people) say: “Oh, this one goes there to *Romalü*'s place”, they say that.

42. *A dunoro mene adiyo-ra banege*
 oh food this give.SS-and until

fa-n-o leina
 put.aside.3SG.NF-TR-CONN after

mole-ne-ne-ro-khu lomege-n-o
 sufficient-eat-eat-SUB-also refuse.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

deyalu dunoro masih⁴¹ le-rofe
 no food still be.3SG.NF-SUB

a gu bo-na-ne bo-ne-n-a
 ah you DUR-eat.IMP.SG-QUOTE DUR-eat.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

41 The word *masih* ‘still’ is a loan word from Indonesian.

Romalü-bürü kha-rof-ode dunorof-a
Romalü-place go.3SG.NF-SUB-reason food-and

okh-a b-adiya-n-o-n-a
 water-and DUR-give-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

kha-nege fa-n-a
 go.3SG.NF-until put.aside.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

gone-n-a bo-khugi-nene
 overfull.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) DUR-become.black.3SG.NF-QUOTE.PL

akhukhofa-n-a khura luwo
 vomit.3SG.NF-TR-CONN(DS) therefore(?) corpse.fluid

bo-khwoi-ma-ma-n-e-nera
 DUR-come.out-SUPP-SUPP.3SG.NF(ITR)-TR-CONN-QUOTE

mene umo-ma-n-o-n-e...
 this tell-SUPP-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

He vomits and the people who watch the corpse there, say when the corpse fluids come out repeatedly: "Since he went to *Romalü's* place, they gave him food and water until he put it aside because he was overfull and (his skin) turns black and he vomits and that is why the corpse fluids come out repeatedly", this they usually say and...

45. *Mena-mo-ra jadi mena-khu Romalü mena*
 this-do.SS-and therefore this-also *Romalü* this

dunoro adiya-ra ba-nege
 food give.SS-and stay.3SG.NF-until

ba-nege ba-nege marulara
 stay.3SG.NF-until stay.3SG.NF-until next

luwo bo-khwoi-ma-ma-nene
 corpse.fluid DUR-come.out-SUPP.3SG.NF-SUPP.3SG.NF-QUOTE.PL

mene umo-ma-n-o-n-e...
 this say-SUPP-TR-3PL.NF-TR-CONN(DS)

"Thus this constant giving of food by *Romalü* makes the corpse fluids come out", they usually tell this and...

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