

**Data Papers on
Papua New Guinea Languages**

Volume 61

Nukna Grammar Sketch

Matthew A. Taylor

2015
SIL-PNG Academic Publications
Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea

Papers in the series Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages express the authors' knowledge at the time of writing. They normally do not provide a comprehensive treatment of the topic and may contain analyses which will be modified at a later stage. However, given the large number of undescribed languages in Papua New Guinea, SIL-PNG feels that it is appropriate to make these research results available at this time.

René van den Berg, Series Editor

Copyright © 2015
SIL-PNG
Papua New Guinea
lr-acpub@sil.org.pg

Published 2015

Printed by SIL Printing Press
Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province
Papua New Guinea

ISBN 9980 0 3990 6

Table of Contents

List of maps and tables	ix
Abbreviations	xii
Acknowledgements	xiii
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Location and population	1
1.2 Language name.....	2
1.3 Classification and earlier studies	2
1.4 Dialects.....	2
1.5 Language use and bilingualism.....	4
1.6 Use of the language in writing	5
1.7 Neighbouring languages.....	6
1.8 Nukna culture	7
1.9 Typological overview.....	9
2. Phonology	10
2.1 Phonemes and allophonic variation	10
2.2 Orthography	12
2.3 Syllable structure.....	12
2.4 Stress placement.....	13
2.5 Morphophonemics	14
2.5.1 Degemination	15
2.5.2 Vowel elision and assimilation.....	17
2.5.3 Consonant elision	20
2.5.4 Consonant lenition	21
2.5.5 Voicing assimilation	21
2.5.6 Place assimilation	22
2.6 Clitics	24
2.6.1 Case enclitics.....	24
2.6.2 Topic enclitic.....	25
2.6.3 Negation proclitic	27
2.7 Euphonic Pairs.....	27
3. Nouns and noun phrases	28
3.1 Noun phrase structure	28

3.2	Pronouns	29
3.2.1	Personal pronouns	29
3.2.2	Interrogative pronouns	36
3.2.3	Pro-form - <i>wáina</i>	37
3.2.4	Dual and trial pronouns	38
3.3	Nouns	39
3.3.1	Alienable versus inalienable nouns	40
3.3.2	Possession	40
3.3.3	Number	42
3.3.4	Derivations by reduplication and compounding	45
3.4	Demonstratives	51
3.5	Adjectives	54
3.6	Quantifiers	59
3.7	Numerals	59
3.8	Possession	59
3.8.1	Possessive pronoun suffix	60
3.8.2	Genitive clitic	61
3.8.3	Inalienable possession	62
3.8.4	Place names as possessors	63
3.9	Noun phrase coordination	64
3.9.1	The coordinate conjunction <i>me</i>	65
3.9.2	Coordination between two animate noun phrases	65
3.9.3	The coordinate conjunction <i>hang</i>	66
3.9.4	Apposition	66
4.	Postpositions and postpositional phrases.....	69
4.1	Postpositions	69
4.2	Postpositional phrases	70
4.2.1	Comitative	71
4.2.2	Similative	73
4.2.3	Reflexive identity	75
4.2.4	Locative	76
4.2.5	Allative	77
4.2.6	Genitive plus allative	80
4.2.7	Ablative	81
4.2.8	Directional	83
5.	Verbs and verb phrases.....	85
5.1	Verb classes	85
5.2	Verb morphology	86

5.2.1	Person and number subject agreement.....	86
5.2.2	Tense, aspect, modality, mood.....	87
5.2.3	Verb compounding.....	88
5.2.4	Participles as modifiers.....	89
5.3	Strategies for marking transitive verbs.....	91
5.3.1	‘Regular’ object cross-indexing: prefixes.....	91
5.3.2	‘Irregular’ object cross-indexing: suppletion.....	94
5.3.3	Cross-indexing an object with an SVC.....	95
5.3.4	Zero object marking.....	97
5.4	Final vs. medial verbs.....	99
5.4.1	Different-subject medial verbs.....	100
5.4.2	Same-subject medial verbs.....	101
5.5	Serial verbs.....	102
5.6	Existential verbs.....	102
5.7	Verb phrase.....	104
5.7.1	Simple verb phrase.....	104
5.7.2	Serial verb constructions.....	104
5.7.3	Light verb constructions and adjunct nominals.....	104
5.7.4	Experiencer verb phrase.....	107
5.7.5	Negative verb phrase.....	107
5.8	Adverb phrase.....	107
6.	Tense, aspect, modality, mood.....	108
6.1	Tense.....	108
6.1.1	Immediate future tense.....	110
6.1.2	Future tense vs. dubitative future tense.....	111
6.2	Aspect.....	113
6.2.1	Progressive aspect.....	113
6.2.2	Habitual aspect.....	115
6.2.3	Imperfective aspect.....	117
6.2.4	Durative aspect.....	118
6.2.5	Summary of the above aspects.....	120
6.2.6	Iterative aspect.....	121
6.2.7	Completive aspect.....	126
6.2.8	Extended action aspect.....	127
6.3	Modality.....	128
6.3.1	Conative modality.....	128
6.3.2	Causative modality.....	129
6.3.3	Desiderative modality.....	131

6.3.4	Frustrative modality	133
6.4	Particles expressing aspect and modality	134
6.4.1	Perfect	134
6.4.2	Dubitative	139
6.4.3	Dubitative with the perfect	141
6.4.4	Defective	142
6.4.5	Incompletive	143
6.4.6	Abilitative	144
6.5	Mood	147
6.5.1	Indicative mood	147
6.5.2	Interrogative mood	147
6.5.3	Negative indicative and interrogative moods	148
6.5.4	Imperative mood	149
6.5.5	Prohibitive mood (negative imperative)	152
6.5.6	Apprehensive mood	153
6.5.7	Irealis mood	154
6.5.8	Evidential mood	157
7.	The clause	161
7.1	Clause types	161
7.1.1	Transitive clause	161
7.1.2	Intransitive clause	162
7.1.3	Ditransitive clause	162
7.1.4	Negative clause and the scope of polarity	164
7.2	Non-verbal clause	168
7.2.1	Equative clause	168
7.2.2	Attributive clause	169
7.2.3	Possessive clause	169
7.2.4	Existential clause	170
7.3	Serial verb constructions	171
7.3.1	Symmetrical serial verb constructions	172
7.3.2	Asymmetrical serial verb constructions	174
7.3.3	Different-subject SVCs	177
7.3.4	Benefactives and other functions of SVCs	179
7.4	Order	180
7.5	Topic	182
7.6	Grammatical relations	186
7.6.1	Agentive marker	187
7.6.2	Instrument marker	193

7.6.3	Dative marker.....	194
7.7	Adverbs	195
7.7.1	Temporal adverbs	195
7.7.2	Adverbs of manner.....	197
7.7.3	Adverbs of intensity.....	197
8.	Complex sentence structure.....	199
8.1	Clauses marked with the agentive marker.....	199
8.2	Coordination.....	200
8.2.1	Coordinate conjunctions	201
8.2.2	Contrastive conjunctions	202
8.3	Clause chaining	204
8.3.1	Same-subject.....	205
8.3.2	Different-subject.....	207
8.3.3	Included-subject	209
8.4	Complementation.....	211
8.4.1	Speech reports	211
8.4.2	Inner speech.....	215
8.4.3	Manipulatives.....	224
8.5	Relative clauses.....	225
8.5.1	Restrictive	226
8.5.2	Internally-headed.....	226
8.5.3	No relative pronoun	228
8.5.4	No gaps.....	228
8.5.5	Final verb ending.....	228
8.5.6	Closed by demonstrative pronoun	229
8.5.7	Functions of the relativised noun phrase.....	229
8.6	Adverbial clauses.....	230
8.6.1	Verbs marked for purpose/reason.....	230
8.6.2	Reason and result.....	233
8.6.3	Temporal.....	236
8.6.4	Locative	237
8.6.5	Conditionality.....	238
8.7	Comparison	240
9.	Discourse considerations	241
9.1	Tail-head linkage	241
9.2	Temporal connectors.....	244
9.3	Exclamations	248

9.4	Hesitation particle	249
9.5	Unexpected event marker.....	250
9.6	Attention marker.....	252
10.	Lexical considerations	254
10.1	Abstractions	254
10.2	Figures of speech.....	254
10.2.1	Simile	254
10.2.2	Metaphor.....	255
10.2.3	Euphemism	256
10.2.4	Metonymy	257
10.2.5	Rhetorical questions.....	257
10.2.6	Synecdoche	258
10.2.7	Personification.....	258
	Appendix 1: Traditional number system.....	259
	Appendix 2: Nouns ending in /N/ and possessive suffixes	263
	Appendix 3: Nukna kinship terms.....	266
	Appendix 4: Kinship terms – pluralisation and collectives.....	271
	Appendix 5: Glossed written text	274
	Appendix 6: Glossed oral text.....	284
	References.....	293

List of maps and tables

Map 1. The Nukna area within PNG	1
Map 2. Probable Nukna dialect boundaries	3
Map 3. Nukna and neighbouring languages	6
Table 2.1. Consonant phonemes	10
Table 2.2. Vowel Phonemes	10
Table 2.3. Nukna phonemes and orthographic symbols	12
Table 2.4. Nukna syllable patterns.....	12
Table 2.5. Allomorphs due to place assimilation.....	22
Table 2.6. Examples of euphonic pairs	27
Table 3.1. Summary of 2/3 dual/plural examples	30
Table 3.2. Personal pronouns	31
Table 3.3. Personal pronouns (cont.)	32
Table 3.4. English translations of Nukna personal pronouns	33
Table 3.5. Interrogative pronouns	36
Table 3.6. Homophonous alienable and inalienable nouns.....	40
Table 3.7. Possessive suffixes.....	40
Table 3.8. Possessive suffix allomorphs	41
Table 3.9. Demonstratives	53
Table 3.10. Demonstratives with case enclitics	53
Table 3.11. Semantic categories of adjectives	56
Table 3.12. Quantifiers.....	59
Table 3.13. Numerals	59
Table 4.1. Nukna postpositions.....	69
Table 4.2. Words marked by the reflexive clitic =yon.....	76
Table 5.1. V-final and C-final verb roots.....	86
Table 5.2. Pers/num subject agreement suffixes—both verb classes	86
Table 5.3. Tense suffixes	87
Table 5.4. Regular object cross-indexing prefixes.....	93
Table 5.5. Object prefixes for <i>imá</i> ‘give’	93
Table 5.6. Object prefixes for <i>iná</i> ‘say to’	93
Table 5.7. Object prefixes for <i>ele</i> ‘show’	93
Table 5.8. Object prefixes for <i>tárawá</i> ‘shoot’	93

Table 5.9. Object prefixes for <i>isut</i> ‘follow, chase’	94
Table 5.10. Object prefixes for <i>engot</i> ‘escort’	94
Table 5.11. Irregular object forms for <i>tá</i> ‘get’	94
Table 5.12. Irregular object forms for <i>ka</i> ‘look at’	94
Table 5.13. Irregular object forms for <i>sa</i> ‘release, leave’	95
Table 5.14. Irregular object forms for <i>ut</i> ‘hit, kill’	95
Table 5.15. Irregular object forms for <i>sá</i> ‘bite’	95
Table 5.16. Irregular object forms for <i>ingirungi</i> ‘trick, test’	95
Table 5.17. Simultaneous different-subject suffixes—V-final	100
Table 5.18. Simultaneous different-subject suffixes—C-final	100
Table 5.19. Sequential different-subject suffixes—V-final	101
Table 5.20. Sequential different-subject suffixes—C-final	101
Table 5.21. Same-subject medial verb suffixes	101
Table 5.22. Serial verb suffixes	102
Table 6.1. Time reference of tenses	109
Table 6.2. Tense markers	110
Table 6.3. Future and Dubitative Future in contrast	112
Table 6.4. Habitual aspect suffixes	116
Table 6.5. Imperfective aspect tense suffixes	117
Table 6.6. Durative aspect/tense	119
Table 6.7. Negative tense markers	148
Table 6.8. Imperative mood—V-final verbs	149
Table 6.9. Imperative mood—C-final verbs	150
Table 6.10. Prohibitive mood suffixes	152
Table 6.11. Apprehensive mood—V-final verbs	153
Table 6.12. Apprehensive mood—C-final verbs	153
Table 6.13. Irrealis status—V-final verbs	155
Table 6.14. Irrealis status—C-final verbs	155
Table 7.1. Symmetrical SVC examples	173
Table 7.2. Adverbs of time	196
Table 8.1. Included-subject combinations	210
Table 9.1. Discourse temporal connectors	245
Table 9.2. Exclamations	248
Table 10.1. Derived abstract nouns	254
Table 10.2. Non-derived abstract nouns	254

Table 10.3. Examples of animal metaphors	255
Table A2.1. Alienable nouns which take 3sg.poss suffix <i>-lá</i>	263
Table A2.2. Alienable nouns which take 3sg.poss suffix <i>-ná</i>	263
Table A2.3. Inalienable nouns which take 3sg.poss suffix <i>-lá</i>	264
Table A2.4. Inalienable nouns which take 3sg.poss suffix <i>-ná</i>	265
Table A3.1. Nukna kinship terms	266
Table A4.1. Kinship pluralisation strategies	272
Table A4.2. Collective kinship terms	273

Abbreviations

1	first person	INSTR	instrumental
2	second person	INTENS	intensifier
2/3	second or third person	IRR	irrealis
3	third person	ITER	iterative
ABIL	abilitative	k.o.	kind of
ABL	ablative	LOC	locative
ADJ	adjective marker	NEG	negative
AGT	agentive	NMLS	nominaliser
ALL	allative	NP	near past
APP	apprehensive	NSG	non-singular
ATT	attention	OBJ	object
BEN	benefactive	PART	participle
COM	comitative	PERF	perfect
CMPL	completive	PL	plural
DAT	dative	POSS	possessive
DFUT	dubitative future	PRES	present
DIR	directional	PROHIB	prohibition
DS	different-subject	PURP	purpose/reason
DU	dual	REDUP	reduplication
DUB	dubitative	REFL	reflexive
EMPH	emphatic pronoun	RP	remote past
EVID	evidential	SEQ	sequential
FRUS	frustrative	SG	singular
FUT	future	SIM	simultaneous
GEN	genitive	SML	similative
HAB	habitual	SS	same-subject
IF	immediate future	SV	serial verb
IMP	imperative	SVC	serial verb construction
IMPF	imperfective	TOP	topic
INCMPL	incompletive	UNEXP	unexpected

Acknowledgements

This study is written based on data collected over a period of about eight years of on-and-off fieldwork, mostly in the Nukna village of Hamelengan, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. This description is based mainly on written texts, oral recorded texts, and, to a lesser extent, day-to-day conversations. A small amount of elicited and translated material has been used when a natural example was not available. This study describes the dialect spoken in Hamelengan village.

It would not be possible to name and thank every person who has assisted with the data presented in this study, but I would like to extend particular appreciation to the following Nukna people who have been especially helpful: Mawi Hone, Simendi Nune, and Muransi Lingong. This study would not have been possible without their knowledge and insights, as well as their patience in answering my many questions.

I am also grateful to my colleagues within the academic community for their encouragement and the many valuable suggestions they gave: thanks go to Hannah Sarvasy, Bob Conrad, and René van den Berg, and also especially to Ryan Pennington, whose linguistic insight and attention to detail have been invaluable. Thanks also go to John Carter who produced the three maps.

Lastly, I wish to thank my amazing wife Christy, whose tireless work managing our home and caring for and schooling five children in a remote village setting, has made it possible for this work to become a reality.

1. Introduction

1.1 Location and population

The Nukna language is spoken by approximately 1,000 people living in the valleys of the Kerame, Sari, and lower Timbe rivers, in Kabwum District on the north side of the Saruwaged Mountains of northern Morobe Province. The terrain varies from coastal in the north, with sandy beaches and low hills, to mountainous in the south, with rugged terrain and steeply falling rivers. Village elevations vary from sea level to just over 1,200 meters (~3900 ft), though the Nukna area itself encompasses areas with elevations over 2,800

MAP 1. THE NUKNA AREA WITHIN PNG



©2015 SIL International. Used by permission, redistribution not permitted. Includes geodata from worldgeodatasets.com and ESRI. Borders represent language data. They do not reflect nor should they be used to make land claims.

meters (~9,000 ft). Since there are no roads in the Nukna area, people are dependent on either air or sea transport for supplies. The closest airstrip is located at the Yalumet Government Station, which is on the border between the Nukna and Timbe language areas. Approximately 32 km (20 miles) to the east at Wasu, people can catch an ocean-going vessel that will take them to Lae, the provincial capital.

1.2 Language name

The people refer to their language as the Nukna language. Nukna means ‘my friend’ or more accurately, in the Tok Pisin trade language, my ‘wantok’. The word *wantok* encompasses more than just friendship, including any person with whom one has a strong social bond, and especially includes those who share a common language. The Nukna language was previously known to the academic community as the Komutu language. Komutu is the name of the largest village in the language area and was probably applied by mistake to the language group as a whole.

1.3 Classification and earlier studies

Ken McElhanon (1978) was the first to classify the Nukna language. When he travelled through the area in the 1970s with the purpose of classifying area languages, he collected Nukna word lists in Komutu and Hamelengan villages.

Nukna is classified as a Papuan (non-Austronesian) language within the Trans-New Guinea Phylum, in the Finisterre-Huon Stock, in the Finisterre Family, of the Uruwa Branch (Lewis et al. 2015). The ISO code is KLT.

In 2003 the SIL survey department conducted a survey which briefly described the linguistic, anthropological and sociolinguistic situation of the Nukna area (Rueck 2003). Other than this, no known linguistic or anthropological work had been undertaken in the Nukna area prior to the author’s arrival in 2004.

1.4 Dialects

The *Nukna language survey report* (Rueck 2003) divided the Nukna language into three dialects, two of which consist of just one village each.

MAP 2. PROBABLE NUKNA DIALECT BOUNDARIES¹

©2015 SIL International. Used by permission, redistribution not permitted. Includes geodata from worldgeodatasets.com and ESRI. Borders represent language data. They do not reflect nor should they be used to make land claims.

These two villages, Apalap in the west and Komutu in the southeast, are border villages that mix in some of the neighbouring languages, Mato and Timbe, respectively (some Komutu villagers also live near the government station at Yalumet). This mixing, however, is to a limited degree, and both villages firmly hold to their identity as Nukna speakers. Additionally, the survey report recognised that even in the largest dialect, there were differences between the villages in the Kerame valley and those in the Timbe valley¹, though it held that these differences were not enough to propose a fourth dialect. Additional research needs to be undertaken to further explore this

¹ Within the main dialect, the villages of the Kerame valley are Hamelengan, Supsungan, Siang, Sauron and Nukem. The villages of the Timbe valley are Sunde, Lumus, Tuplan and Bit.

situation. Informally, the author has observed both lexical and phonological differences in the dialects of these two valleys. Map 2 shows the proposed Nukna dialect boundaries found in the *Nukna language survey report*.²

1.5 Language use and bilingualism

Three primary languages are used within the Nukna area: Nukna, Tok Pisin, and, in a limited context, English. Some border villages also mix in a small amount of the neighbouring language found on their respective borders.

Nukna is used extensively in everyday life, including in the home, in social situations, at village gatherings, during interaction with other Nukna villages, and in any cultural event, such as feasts, marriage arrangements, funeral rites, etc. Nukna remains a vital language and at present shows no signs of decline. On the EGIDS language vitality scale³, Nukna is classified as 6A (vigorous).

Tok Pisin is spoken by virtually all men, but there are many women, especially among the older generation, who do not speak or understand it. Young children do not know Tok Pisin until they begin attending school. All members of the younger generation who have attended school know Tok Pisin well.

Tok Pisin is used as one of the languages of instruction (along with English) in the school. It is also used whenever a conversation involves people who do not speak Nukna. This group includes several of the teachers in the local schools, people who have recently married into the area, pastors and other church leaders from outside the area, as well as relatives from other language groups and other visitors or travellers passing through.

English is used almost solely within the school system. Students are taught English as part of their education, but this has not led to fluent speakers of English, and it remains a book language that is not used in everyday life. Even the teachers prefer to not speak English when outside of school hours.

² Sauron and Nukem were not included in the 2003 survey report. Their inclusion in the main dialect is based solely on the estimation of this paper's author.

³ EGIDS stands for Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale. See Lewis and Simons (2010).

Many people in the village of Apalap are bilingual in the Mato language. A few also know a bit of the Yau language, though no one is bilingual.

In the village of Komutu, some people are bilingual in the Timbe language. Additionally, some Timbe words have been making their way into the everyday lexicon of the average Komutu person.

Some people from the northern villages of Bit and Tuplan are bilingual in the Pano language.

The Kâte language was used as a church language in the wider area for many decades. A few Nukna members of the older generation know some Kâte, but its use is mostly restricted to the church context, and even that use is declining and will most likely disappear when the older generation passes on.

The Ono language is used to a limited extent in the church context, but only in those villages where the Bakesu Revival Church is present (Siang, Nukem, Sauron).

1.6 Use of the language in writing

After a basic phonological analysis of the Nukna language was completed, a three-day alphabet design workshop was held in the Nukna village of Hamelengan. The workshop was well-attended and leaders from several villages were present. A strength of the Nukna orthography is that only one new character, *á*, has been introduced. Other characters come from the Roman alphabet, which many Nukna have already learned in school while studying Tok Pisin and English. The *Nukna Alphabet Design Workshop Report* (Taylor 2006) outlines the decisions made regarding the Nukna orthography.

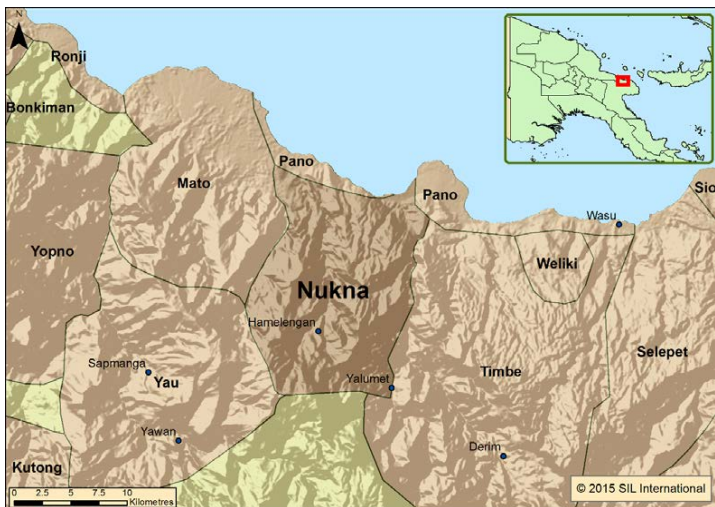
Current use of the Nukna language in writing is low. Reading and writing in Nukna is still a new concept for most Nukna speakers. About a dozen literacy story books have been printed, along with two books from the Bible. In Hamelengan village, elementary (grades 1 and 2) has been conducted exclusively in Nukna for the last few years. There are plans to open elementary schools in other villages soon. People will occasionally write a letter in Nukna, but more commonly Tok Pisin is used.

1.7 Neighbouring languages

Nukna is bordered by two related Papuan languages. Yau, a fellow Uruwa language, lies to the southwest, while to the east lies Timbe, a language that, like Nukna, is a member of the Finesterre-Huon stock.

To the north and northwest are two unrelated Austronesian languages, Pano and Mato. An uninhabited mountain range lies to the south of the Nukna area.

MAP 3. NUKNA AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES



©2015 SIL International. Used by permission, redistribution not permitted. Includes geodata from worldgeodatasets.com and ESRI. Borders represent language data. They do not reflect nor should they be used to make land claims.

1.8 Nukna culture

Culture

The Nukna culture, like many cultures in PNG, is community-oriented. Decisions that affect the whole community are arrived at through gatherings that often last multiple days, during which both men and women have the right to express their thoughts. Decisions are not made until consensus is achieved. The concept of *wanbel* 'harmony, unity' is central to Nukna culture. Disharmony is believed to have widespread negative consequences, including infertile gardens and the poor health of animals and people. High social status is earned through the sharing of wealth, by contributing pigs and trade store goods to community feasts, or paying for the school fees of young relatives.

Marriage exchange is an important way of strengthening ties between clans and villages. However, this practice is becoming less common as the younger generation is coming to expect more say in whom they marry. Nevertheless, it is still considered taboo to marry within one's own clan. The extended family has great importance in a person's life. Cousins are thought of in some ways as siblings, and uncles and aunts as additional fathers and mothers. The relationship with one's maternal uncle is especially important. The relationship with in-laws has certain taboos associated with it, the foremost being a prohibition against speaking an in-law's name.

Economy

The Nukna live in a remote corner of PNG without any roads. This has a great impact on their economic situation, as it is very expensive for them to bring cash crops to market. Betel nut and coffee (when the world coffee price is high enough) have to be carried on their backs to the airstrip at Yalumet or to the wharf at Wasu, from where the crops can be transported to the city of Lae. The high cost of transport cuts significantly into their profits, so that some people choose to sell locally at a much lower price than they could get in the city.

Trade stores can be found in some villages, though prices are high (due to transport costs) and many items are frequently out of stock. Trade store goods are considered a luxury. A market is held irregularly in Hamelengan so that

the school teachers (who do not have time to grow their own food) can purchase food.

The average person, however, does not buy at the market. People obtain the vast majority of their food from large gardens slashed out of the local jungle and often clinging to the side of steep mountain slopes. Each family has around 4-5 gardens scattered around the valley. Garden produce is supplemented by the small-scale raising of pigs and chickens. Men periodically hunt for wild pig, wild fowl, tree kangaroo, eel and crayfish.

Normal village life does not come with a lot of expenses, with the exception of school fees. These fees are relatively low for primary school, but when students reach grade 9, many families struggle to find the money to pay for their child's education.

Religion

The ancestral religious belief of the Nukna people is animism. In the 1930s, Christianity was introduced in the Nukna area by national missionaries. Today, virtually all people identify themselves as Christians, though it is not unusual to hear of people mixing the traditional beliefs with Christianity.

The dominant Christian denomination in the area is the Evangelical Lutheran Church of PNG (the original expatriate missionaries to this region of PNG were German Lutherans). In the last 20 years or so, other denominations have started churches in the Nukna area, including the Church of God, Seventh Day Adventist, and Bakesu Revival Church.

Education

Schools in the area include the Hamelengan Community School and the Yalumet Community School. Children who live in villages nearer to the coast usually attend school in neighbouring language areas. The Hamelengan school recently added grades 7 and 8, allowing Nukna children to attend those grades locally, instead of having to board outside the area in Derim or Wasu. This has led to an increase in students, especially girls, attending these grades. Once a student reaches grade 9, they must leave the Nukna area to attend school.

Education levels are on the rise in the Nukna area. Among the generation that is currently between 30 and 45 years of age, there are very few people

who have continued their education beyond grade 8. However, in the younger generation, quite a number of students are going on to higher grades, including one man who has completed grade 12.

Anthropological Research

No published anthropological research among the Nukna exists. The author has collected traditional stories and myths and taken anthropological notes with the aim of publishing at some point in the future.

1.9 Typological overview

Nukna shows many characteristics typical of Papuan (non-Austronesian) languages. Default word order is SOV, but this order can vary for pragmatic reasons. A nominative-accusative pattern is found in the cross-indexing of subject and object on verbs. Postpositions and modifiers follow their head nouns.

Verbs carry the heaviest load in the language. They are obligatorily marked for singular, dual or plural number, and are also marked for person, tense, aspect, mood and modality through various strategies including verb suffixation, serial verb constructions and clausal particles.

Nouns are not marked for number. Subject noun phrases are obligatorily marked on verbs through affixation, and object noun phrases are also sometimes marked on verbs. In these cases, these noun phrases may be omitted in a sentence.

Topic-Comment constructions are common. When noun phrases or clauses carry topic marking, they are immediately followed by a comment clause.

Nukna clause structure is characterised by frequent use of clause-chaining, with a distinction between medial and final verbs as well as anticipatory switch-reference. Serial verb constructions are common.

An optional evidential suffixation can mark verbs to indicate that an action was heard or smelt, but not seen; or that what is being communicated is second-hand information.

Reduplication is a common feature that is used to mark nominalisation, verbal aspect, purpose, intensification and, in some cases, plural number.

2. Phonology

This chapter provides a brief overview of the phonological patterns of the Nukna language. Nukna has 22 phonemes, including sixteen consonants and six vowels. These phonemes and their distributional characteristics are summarised in the following sections: §2.1 lists the phonemes and describes allophonic variation; §2.2 lists orthographic conventions for writing Nukna; §2.3 discusses syllable structure; §2.4 gives a brief overview of the stress system; §2.5 explores morphophonemic processes found in Nukna, including various types of assimilation, elision, lenition and degemination; and §2.6 briefly introduces clitics and their allophones.

2.1 Phonemes and allophonic variation

TABLE 2.1. CONSONANT PHONEMES

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless plosive	p		t		k	
voiced plosive	b		d		g	
nasal	m		n		ŋ	
fricative		f	s			h
flap/trill			t/r			
lateral			l			
approximant	w			j		

TABLE 2.2. VOWEL PHONEMES

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid-high	e		o
mid-low			ʌ
low		ɑ	

Voiceless stops /p t k/ are unaspirated syllable-initially and unreleased syllable-finally. The voiced stops /b d g/ only occur intervocalically⁴ and are prenasalised. Orthographically, they are written <mb, nd, ngg> respectively.

The flap /r/ is in free variation with a short trill [r] allophone, though the flap [r] is much more common.

When the high back rounded vowel /u/ is preceded by the velar stop /k/ or the glottal fricative /h/, and is followed by a vowel (other than itself), it forms a labialised on-glide, as in the words *kuiḡp* [k^wip^ʷ] ‘yesterday’, *kueráŋg* [k^we.r.ʌŋ] ‘they go’, and *huinemálák* [h^wi.ne.mʌ.lək] ‘they two go down’.

The mid front unrounded vowel /e/ has the allophone [ɛ] in closed syllables ending in /t/, as in the words *towet* [to.wet^ʷ] ‘smoke’, and *áwindet* [ʌ.wi.^ʰdət^ʷ] ‘I am about to come’. It also has the allophonic off-glide [e^ʰ] when followed by the phoneme /k/, as in the words *alek* [a.le^ʰk^ʷ] ‘sky’, and *ruhek* [ru.he^ʰk^ʷ] ‘she sleeps’. This process also occurs across word boundaries when the two words are phonologically one unit, for example in the different-subject serial verb construction *se kuek* [se^ʰ k^we^ʰk^ʷ] ‘I release it and it goes.’ Neither of these allophones is perceived as being phonologically significant by native speakers, and orthographically they are written as just <e>.

The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ has been found in only three words: the interjection *fí* [fi] ‘exclamation of surprise’; *fong* [foŋ] ‘mortar and pestle’; and the verb root *tunggafe* [tu.^ʰga.fe] ‘appear, be born’. This verb root is related to the word *tunggap* ‘appearance, disclosure’; apparently the stop /p/ has lenited to the fricative /f/. However, this change is not observed in any other word. Attempts have been made to elicit other Nukna words that include the phoneme /f/, but no others have been found. Other researchers, including Claassen and McElhanon (1970:63ff), Pennington (2013:53) and Linnasalo (2003:6), have also noted the scarcity of /f/ in Finisterre-Huon languages.⁵

⁴ In contrast, the Komutu dialect favours voiced stops syllable-initially and unreleased voiceless stops syllable-finally. In the Hamelengan dialect, however, there is one exception to voiced stops being found only intervocalically. When one of the irrealis verb suffixes (all of which begin with the voiced velar stop /g/) is attached to a consonant-final verb root, the resulting form (e.g., *átgem* ‘I could stay’) has a voiced stop in a non-intervocalic environment.

⁵ I am indebted to Ryan Pennington for this observation.

2.2 Orthography

In the current Nukna orthography, there are few differences between the phonemic and orthographic representations. The vowel /ʌ/ is written <á>, the approximant /j/ is written <y>, the flap /ɾ/ is written <r>, and the velar nasal /ŋ/ is written <ng>.

TABLE 2.3. NUKNA PHONEMES AND ORTHOGRAPHIC SYMBOLS

/	a	ʌ	b	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	ŋ	o	p	r	s	t	u	w	j	/
<	a	á	b	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	ng	o	p	r	s	t	u	w	y	>
<	A	Á	-	-	E	F	-	H	I	K	L	M	N	-	O	P	R	S	T	U	W	Y	>

2.3 Syllable structure

Syllables include V, VC, CV, CVC, CVV, and CVVC. Additionally there is one attested word with a VV syllable pattern. Native speakers say they are confident that this is not a loan word.

TABLE 2.4. NUKNA SYLLABLE PATTERNS

Types	Monosyllabic		Polysyllabic	
V	[o]	'yes'	[ʌ.m.ɫum]	'dust'
VC	[opʰ]	'tree sp.'	[ut.ni]	'ghost, shadow'
CV	[mʌ]	'taro (generic)'	[ko.ram]	'eel'
CVV	[kʌe]	'sun'	[kui.nʌ]	'flat area'
CVC	[koŋ]	'mosquito sp.'	[i.rukʰ]	'wind, spirit'
CVVC	[saut]	'I released it'	[sʌ.saut.nʌ]	'my spleen'
VV	-	-	[ʌi.re]	'bamboo sp.'

Consonant clusters cannot occur except over a syllable break, as in *hutnon* [hut.non] 'half full'. The prenasalised voiced stops /b d g/ are only found intervocally, and thus never word-initially or word-finally. All other phonemes can be found syllable-initially and word-initially, with the exception of the velar nasal /ŋ/ which is found in the syllable-initial position but not in the word-initial position, as in *mángo* [mʌ.ŋo] 'sugarcane sp.' or *uknguk* [uk.ŋuk] 'bamboo fence' (there is one attested exception—the onomatopoeic *ngeong* [ŋe.oŋ] 'meow (sound a cat makes)').

The following phonemes do not close a syllable: /b d g l r h s f w j/. In other words, only vowels, voiceless stops and nasals can occur in coda

position. There are a handful of words that have CVV syllables closed by either /w/ or /j/, such as *tau* [tau] ‘tree sp.’, and *háí* [hái] ‘garden’. Another interpretation is that these words are closed by the consonants /w/ and /j/, respectively. However, other closed CVVC syllables also have these same vowel clusters, such as *náut* [naut̪] ‘what’, and the allative clitic =*káin* [kain]. Therefore, we will continue to maintain that /w/ and /j/ are not found closing syllables.

The timing of vowel sequences has not been found to significantly differ from the timing of single vowel syllable nuclei, though this is based on a limited amount of acoustic measurement and analysis.

2.4 Stress placement

Stress in Nukna is bounded, falling into a bisyllabic stress window at the beginning of the word. Within this window, stress is trochaic (left-headed).

(1)	<i>hála</i>	[h̥.ɭa]	‘almost’
	<i>áwá</i>	[ʌ.wʌ]	‘wife’
	<i>kálu</i>	[kʌ.lu]	‘path’
	<i>ámna</i>	[ʌ.m.na]	‘man’
(2)	<i>kaláhu</i>	[ka.ɭ.hu]	‘three’
	<i>lánggusi</i>	[l̥.ᵝgu.si]	‘tree species’
	<i>máriya</i>	[m̥.a.ri.ja]	‘later’

However, Nukna is a variable stress⁶ language that is quantity-sensitive. That is, heavy syllables within the stress window may attract stress (in Nukna, a syllable is considered heavy if it is closed by a consonant). However, a heavy syllable only attracts stress if the first syllable in the stress window contains the vowel [ʌ].

(3)	<i>káyam</i>	[kʌ.'yam]	‘enemy’
	<i>kárang</i>	[kʌ.'raŋ]	‘bamboo’
	<i>márum</i>	[mʌ.'rum]	‘owner’

⁶ A minority of Papuan languages have variable stress with a preference for either word edge, as Nukna does. Van Zanten and Goedemans (2007:82) note that only about one-third of Papua languages follow this pattern, which “strongly deviate[s] from...global tendencies...”

(4)	<i>kisum</i>	[ˈki.sum]	‘coconut shell’
	<i>kuhát</i>	[ˈku.haʔ]	‘frog’
	<i>mukan</i>	[ˈmu.kam]	‘cloud’
	<i>kuindet</i>	[ˈk ^w i. ⁿ deʔ]	‘I am about to go’

Heavy syllables outside of the stress window do not attract stress, even if both vowels in the stress window are [ʌ].

(5)	<i>sumuyung</i>	[ˈsu.mu.juŋ]	‘ice’
	<i>yolopon</i>	[ˈjo.lo.pon]	‘quietly, carefully’
	<i>ámálum</i>	[ˈʌ.mʌ.lum]	‘dust’

Four syllable words have a secondary bisyllabic stress window which attracts secondary stress. This window is also trochaic and is quantity-sensitive. Note that in (7), the word-final heavy syllables attract secondary stress even though the first syllable in their stress window does not contain the vowel [ʌ]. There are simply not enough four syllable words in Nukna to make any firm conclusions regarding this.

(6)	<i>isikimo</i>	[ˈi.si.ki.mo]	‘small’
	<i>tutuwatná</i>	[ˈtu.tu.wat.nʌ]	‘plump’
	<i>ángngárángngá</i>	[ˈʌŋ.ŋʌ.ʔʌŋ.ŋʌ]	‘hot’
	<i>hosinelák</i>	[ˈho.si.ne.lʌk]	‘you(SG) will cut’
(7)	<i>pendeliwong</i>	[ˈpe. ⁿ de.li.woŋ]	‘hole left by decayed tree stump’
	<i>Wikiniyong</i>	[ˈwi.ki.ni.joŋ]	‘Wikiniyong’ (man’s name)

It is difficult to clearly hear the stress on bisyllabic words that end in a heavy syllable. Indeed, native speakers had much difficulty in identifying the stress on these words (as opposed to words with two open syllables, in which case they quickly and confidently identified the stress on the first syllable), and it appears that in these cases the contrast between stressed and non-stressed syllables is weaker. Further study of these cases would be beneficial.

2.5 Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic processes in Nukna include degemination (§2.5.1), vowel elision and assimilation (§2.5.2), consonant elision (§2.5.3), consonant lenition (§2.5.4), voicing assimilation (§2.5.5), and place assimilation (§2.5.6).

All of the examples in this section provide both surface and underlying forms in order to clearly demonstrate the morphophonemic processes taking place. Following this section, generally only the underlying forms are provided underneath the current Nukna orthography. For both the vernacular and gloss lines, a dash (-) indicates affixation, an equal sign (=) indicates cliticisation, an infix is marked by angle brackets (< >), and a tilde (~) indicates reduplication, with internal reduplication marked with a tilde on each side of the reduplicated syllable. When more than one grammatical component is conveyed by one morpheme, the components are joined in the gloss by a period (e.g., '3SG.IMP' for 'third singular imperative'). Additionally, when the English gloss of a single Nukna morpheme requires two or more words, the words will also be joined by a period (e.g., 'go.down' in (17) below).

2.5.1 Degemination

When two identical vowels or consonants come into contact with each other at a morpheme break through affixation or cliticisation, the two take the timing of a single vowel or consonant. In (8), place assimilation changes the third singular possessive suffix *-ná* to *-má*—resulting in *rom-má*—and then the double consonants degeminate to form *romá*.

- (8) *romá*
 rom-ná
 hair-3SG.POSS
 'her hair'⁷

In (9), place assimilation changes the agentive marker =*yá* to =*tá*—resulting in *put=tá*—and then the double consonants degeminate to form *putá*. Other examples follow.

⁷ The third person singular category, whether as part of a possessive suffix or a verb suffix, or as the third person personal and demonstrative pronoun *wa*, is not marked for gender. Thus in an example such as (8), the gloss could be 'his hair', 'her hair', or 'its hair'. In this example and others like it throughout this paper, one gender has been randomly chosen in the free translation for the sake of simplicity.

- (9) *putá*
 put=yá
 pig=A GT
 ‘pig’
- (10) *átalák*
 át-ta-lák
 exist-PRES-2SG
 ‘you exist’
- (11) *kuráng*
 ku-u-ráng
 go-RP-2/3PL⁸
 ‘you(PL)/they went’
- (12) *pinelák*
 pi-ine-lák
 dig-FUT-2SG
 ‘you will dig’

Examples (13)–(14) further confirm that two identical consonants which come together at a morpheme break take on the timing of a single consonant. Native speakers confirm that the words in these two examples sound identical, and context is needed to differentiate between their meanings.

- (13) *muná*
 muná
 no
 ‘no’
- (14) *muná*
 mun-ná
 roof.truss-3SG.POSS
 ‘its roof truss’

⁸ Some verb affixes can cross-index more than one person/number combination, such as *-ráng* ‘2/3PL’ or *sá-* ‘2NSG’ (i.e., 2DU/PL). These affixes will be glossed to reflect their full range of meaning, but in the free translation, only the actual meaning within that particular clause or sentence will be referenced. In the case of very short (e.g., one word) examples such as (11), both meanings will be included in the free translation.

Geminate segments which come together across word boundaries also undergo degemination. In (15), the agentive clitic ends with [á], while the following verb also begins with [á]. In regular speech the two vowels degeminate, causing the agentive clitic, which is grammatically attached to the subject, to become joined phonologically with the following verb.

- (15) *Sutná párumá yáwek.*
 sut-ná párum-ná=yá áwá-e-k.
 skin-3SG.POSS yellow-ADJ=AGT come-PRES-3SG
 ‘The yellow-skinned person comes.’

In (16), the first word ends in /k/ while the second begins with /k/. In regular speech, the two degeminate to form a single [k].

- (16) *Áyákamiwon.*
 áyák ka-má- iwon
 shortness.of.breath 2SG.OBJ-give-3SG.APP
 ‘May it not be that you become out of breath.’

2.5.2 Vowel elision and assimilation

The previous section addressed degemination of identical vowels across morpheme breaks, whereas this section addresses cases where two different vowels come together. When suffixation occurs such that two different vowels come together over a morpheme break, elision or assimilation often occurs.

When two vowels come together at a morpheme break, the resulting morphophonemic process, if any, is determined by the relative ‘strengths’ of the two vowels involved. For the purposes of Nukna morphology, /a, i, u/ are considered strong vowels, /e, o/ are considered weak vowels, and /ʌ/ is considered a very weak vowel. In general, the weaker vowels ‘lose out’ when they are followed by a stronger vowel. In other words, the more peripheral the vowel, the less likely it is to be elided or assimilated.

Verb suffixes begin with the two strong vowels /i, u/ or the weak vowel /e/ (or consonants, but these are not relevant to this discussion). Since there are no

verb suffixes beginning with the other three vowels /a, o, ʌ/, not all possible vowel sequences are realised.⁹

The weak vowels /e, o/ are usually assimilated to the height of the following strong vowel. In (17), the /o/ in the root assimilates to the height of the following vowel /i/—becoming /u/—and then forms a labialised off-glide due to /h/.

- (17) *hwinderáŋ*
 ho-inde-ráŋ
 go.down-IF-2/3PL
 ‘you(PL)/they are about to go down’

If the assimilated weak vowel becomes identical with the strong vowel, the two degeminate. In (18), the final phoneme /e/ of the root is assimilated to the height of the initial vowel /i/ of the suffix, and the resultant identical vowels are degeminated.

- (18) *mindet*
 me-inde-t
 say-IF-1SG
 ‘I am about to speak’

The very weak vowel /ʌ/ is almost always elided when followed by either a weak vowel or a strong vowel.

- (19) *ruhuk*
 ruhá-u-k
 sleep-RP-3SG
 ‘he slept’

An exception to this process occurs when the final /ʌ/ of the roots *tá* ‘do’/‘get.3SG.OBJ’ and *sá* ‘bite.3SG.OBJ’ comes in contact with a stronger vowel across a morpheme break. The /ʌ/, contrary to expectation, does not elide. This same phenomenon occurs with any verb root that ends with [tʌ],

⁹ The second/third plural different-subject sequential suffix is *-át* when attached to consonant-final verb roots. For vowel-final verb roots, it also could be *-át*, with the suffix-initial vowel always eliding upon coming in contact with a strong vowel across a morpheme break (as expected); or it could simply be *-t*.

such as *pitá* 'be.afraid'. However, the same cannot be said for other verb roots ending in [sA] (e.g., the final /ʌ/ of *usá* does elide).

- (20) *táek*
 tá-e-k
 do-PRES-3SG
 'he does'

When two different vowels of equal strength come together, the vowel qualities are unaffected and a diphthong is formed. Example (21) shows two strong vowels that have come together, while (22) shows two weak vowels together.

- (21) *piut*
 pi-u-t
 dig-RP-1SG
 'I dug'
- (22) *hoet*
 ho-e-t
 go.down-PRES-1SG
 'I go down'

When a strong vowel is followed by the weak vowel /e/, the weak vowel does not alter, and instead a diphthong is formed.

- (23) *naeráng*
 na-e-ráng
 eat-PRES-2/3PL
 'you(PL)/they eat'

Two exceptions are noted: First, /i/ + /e/ results in [e] rather than [ie] (see (24)). However, the converse (/e/ + /i/) conforms to the pattern and results in [i] (see (18)).

- (24) *kátek*
 káti-e-k
 strike-PRES-3SG
 'it strikes (something)'

Second, the /a/ of the verb *sa-* ‘leave, release.3SG.OBJ’ elides when followed by the first person singular different-subject sequential medial verb ending *-e* ‘1SG.DS.SEQ’, leaving the form *se*. Thus, the strong vowel /a/ is dropped in favour of the weak vowel /e/. This is the only verb which blocks this morphophonemic process.

- (25) *se...*
sa-e...
 leave-1SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘I left and...’

2.5.3 Consonant elision

When two different consonants come together across a morpheme break, elision sometimes occurs (see §2.5.1 for discussion of degemination of identical consonants).

Verb roots may only end in either /t/ or /n/. When suffixes beginning in consonants other than /l/ attach to these verb roots, no morphophonemic process takes place.

- (26) *kutneráng*
 kut-ne-ráng
 cry-FUT-2/3PL
 ‘you(PL)/they will cry’
- (27) *ponkiut*
 pon-kiu-t
 wind.up-IMPF.RP-1SG
 ‘I was winding it up, and continued to wind it up’

However, when the second singular imperative suffix *-lák* attaches to a verb root ending in a consonant (/t/ or /n/), that consonant is elided.

- (28) *Káráp yolák!*
 káráp yon-lák
 wood split-2SG.IMP
 ‘Split the wood!’

- (29) *Álák!*
 át-lák
 exist-2SG.IMP
 ‘Stay!’

This same process occurs when the second singular possessive suffix *-la* or the third singular possessive suffix *-lá* modifies an /n/-final noun (see §3.3.2 for the morphophonemic processes involved with nominal possession).

2.5.4 Consonant lenition

When a vowel-initial suffix attaches to a consonant-final verb root, the consonant lenites: /n/ lenites to /l/ (30), while /t/ lenites to /r/ (31). Lenition also occurs when the derivational suffix *-ená* follows a consonant-final verb root (32).

- (30) *Káráp yólát...*
 káráp yon-át
 wood split-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
 ‘You(PL)/they split the wood and...’
- (31) *árát...*
 át-át
 exist-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
 ‘You(PL)/they existed and...’
- (32) *kámurená*
 kámut-ená
 die-PART
 ‘dead’

2.5.5 Voicing assimilation

When a voiced consonant is followed by a voiceless consonant across a morpheme boundary, the second consonant will assimilate and become voiced (33). However, the reverse is not true. If the first is voiceless and the second is voiced, no change will occur (34).

- (33) *kunggiut*
 ku-ng-kiu-t
 go-SV-IMPF.RP-1SG
 ‘I continue to go’
- (34) *kátgem*
 kát-gem
 fill.up.liquid-1SG.IRR
 ‘I could fill it up with liquid’

2.5.6 Place assimilation

The most common morphophonemic process in Nukna is place assimilation, which operates similarly for numerous suffixes and clitics, including the agentive marker =yá, the instrumental marker =yá, the dative marker =ya, the comitative marker =yot, the genitive marker =yan, the topic marker =ku, and the third singular possessive marker -ná. Table 2.5 lists the various allomorphs of these markers in different environments.

TABLE 2.5. ALLOMORPHS DUE TO PLACE ASSIMILATION

Environment	AGT/INSTR	DAT	COM	GEN	TOP	3SG.POSS
following vowels (underlying form)	=yá	=ya	=yot	=yan	=ku	-ná
following /p/	=pá	=pa	=pot	=pán	=pu	-má
following /m/	=bá	=ba	=bot	=bán	=bu	
following /t/	=tá	=ta	=yot	=tán	=tu	-ná ¹⁰
following /n/	=dá	=da	=yot	=dán	=du	
following /k/	=ká	=ka	=kot	=kán	=ku	-ngá
following /ŋ/	=gá	=ga	=got	=gán	=gu	

- (35) *anggá*
 ang=yá
 dog=AGT
 ‘dog’

¹⁰ Some nominals ending in /n/ are marked for third singular possession with the suffix -lá. See §3.3.2 for more information on this.

- (36) *málámbot*
 málám=yot
 3SG.EMPH=COM
 ‘with herself’
- (37) *ámnyan...*
 ámna=yan
 man=GEN
 ‘the man’s...’
- (38) *háľendu*
 háľe-n=ku
 become-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP
 ‘it happened and as a result...’
- (39) *hurákngá*
 hurák-ná
 chicken-3SG.POSS
 ‘his chicken’

An exception to the pattern is that of the comitative marker =*yot* when it follows a word ending in an alveolar consonant (either /t/ or /n/). Contrary to expectation, the underlying form surfaces instead of =*tot* following a /t/ or =*dot* following an /n/.

- (40) *putyot*
 put=yot
 pig=COM
 ‘with the pig’
- (41) *kimbonyot*
 kimbon=yot
 housefly=COM
 ‘with the housefly’

See §3.3.2 for further discussion of morphophonemic processes involving nominal possession.

2.6 Clitics

A brief introduction to clitics follows. For each clitic, the reader is pointed toward subsequent sections in this work that more fully describe that specific clitic.

2.6.1 Case enclitics

Case clitics are always enclitics. Their forms and allomorphs are briefly described below, with reference to where their functions are described in full.

Agentive clitic and instrumental clitic

The clitic =*yá / pá / bá / tá / dá / ká / gá* ‘AGT’ is used to mark agentive case, and is homophonous with the clitic marking instrumental case. See §7.6.1 and §7.6.2 for further discussion of these clitics.

Dative clitic

The dative clitic =*ya / pa / ba / ta / da / ka / ga* ‘DAT’ marks the beneficiary, recipient, and reason/result constructions. See §7.6.3 for further discussion of this clitic.

Genitive clitic

The genitive clitic =*yan / pán / bán / tán / dán / kán / gán* ‘GEN’ is used to mark the genitive case. See §3.8.2 for further discussion of this clitic.

Locative/temporal clitic

The clitic =*hára* ‘LOC’ is used to mark location or time. See §4.2.4 for further discussion of this clitic.

Allative clitic

The clitic =*káin* ‘ALL’ is used to mark movement towards a location. It is also used to mark location in some contexts. See §4.2.5 for further discussion of this clitic.

Ablative clitic

The clitic =*nan* ‘ABL’ is used to mark movement from a location. It is also used to mark origin. See §4.2.6 for further discussion of this clitic.

Directional clitic

The clitic =*kálu* is used to mark movement through, by way of or towards a location. It is identical in form with the noun *kálu* ‘path, road’. It can also mark time. See §4.2.8 for further discussion of this clitic.

Comitative clitic

The comitative clitic =*yot / pot / bot / not / kot / got* ‘COM’ is used to mark accompaniment. See §4.2.1 for further discussion of this clitic.

Similative clitic

The clitic =*ina* is used to mark the similative case, indicating that something is alike or similar to something else. See §4.2.2 for further discussion of this clitic.

Reflexive clitic

The clitic =*yon* is used to mark pronouns, indicating a reflexive pronoun. It is also used to mark nouns to indicate that the noun is the same as a previously mentioned noun. See §3.2.1 and §4.2.3 for further discussion of this clitic.

2.6.2 Topic enclitic

The enclitic =*ku / pu / bu / tu / du / gu / wu* ‘TOP’ marks the semantic topic. The topic is something about which the speaker wishes to give further information. The comment immediately follows the topic. This is known as a ‘Topic-Comment’ construction.

The underlying form of the topic enclitic is =*ku*, which only follows vowels and the voiceless velar stop /k/. Its various allomorphs follow from assimilation with the final consonant of the preceding word (see §2.5.6). The exception is the allomorph =*wu*, whose distribution partially overlaps with

that of *=ku*. Like *=ku*, it is found following vowels, but it never follows consonants. In some environments, it seems to be in free variation with *=ku*. For example, following the vowels /a/ and /á/, either *=ku* or *=wu* is commonly found. Following these vowels, there does not appear to be any morphological motivation to explain their distribution. Native speakers say that their meaning is identical, and that, in these environments, certain people just tend to prefer *=ku* while others tend to prefer *=wu*.

However, in certain other environments, people in general tend to strongly prefer one over the other. When the topic enclitic follows the vowel /i/, people almost always use *=wu*, though it is not wrong to use *=ku*. People say that *=wu* just sounds better following a word ending in /i/. Following /o/, *=wu* is also preferred (though this is based on a limited data set, because not many words end in /o/), except following the personal pronouns *no* ‘1SG.AGT’ and *ko* ‘2SG.AGT’, after which everyone agrees that *=ku* is correct. Though either *=wu* or *=ku* can follow the vowel /a/, in the case of same-subject medial verbs, which end in *-ngga*, there is an overwhelming preference for *=ku*, perhaps because the final consonant of *-ngga* shares a place of articulation with the onset of *=ku*. When the topic enclitic follows the third person pronoun *wa* in equative constructions (see §7.2.1), *=wu* is used exclusively, resulting in the form *wawu* (again, perhaps due to place assimilation). In the Komutu dialect, however, people use *=ku* instead (i.e., *waku*).

As an aside, some people in the Hamelengan dialect (upon which this work is based) prefer to say *wawulá* instead of *wawu*. When asked about this variation, they say that the meaning is identical, and it is just a stylistic variation that some people enjoy using. The appended syllable *-lá* is not found modifying anything else in the language.¹¹

In summary, the varied use of the topic enclitic allomorph *=wu* appears to be due to a mixture of morphological distribution, dialect differences, and personal preference. More study of when and why people choose to use *=ku* and *=wu* would be an interesting topic to explore.

See §7.5 and §7.2.1 for examples and further discussion of the topic clitic.

¹¹ This use of *lá* should not be confused with the third singular possessive suffix allomorph *-lá* which modifies some nouns that end in *n* (see §3.3.2).

2.6.3 Negation proclitic

The proclitic *ma=* marks negation of verb phrases. See §6.5.3 and §6.5.5 for various examples. Also see §7.1.4.

2.7 Euphonic Pairs

Nukna has a pattern consisting of pairs of one- or two-syllable words which have identical consonants, but the first word has the vowel /i/ in all syllables (except for *karang*, which has /a/), while the second word has vowels other than /i/. The Nungon language, immediately west of the Nukna area, has this same pattern, called ‘euphonic pairs’ by Sarvasy (2015: 97). This pattern has also been observed in other languages, including English – *riff raff*, *wishy washy*, *flim flam*, etc. A non-exhaustive list of this pattern in Nukna follows:

TABLE 2.6. EXAMPLES OF EUPHONIC PAIRS

Nukna	English gloss
<i>tirik tárák</i>	‘behaviour’
<i>hindim hundum</i>	‘ruckus’
<i>hinding handang</i>	‘thrash about’
<i>hing háng</i>	‘breakage’
<i>hirik hárák</i>	‘grab with both hands’
<i>karang kurung</i>	‘just before dawn’
<i>kirik kárek</i>	‘contempt, disdain’
<i>kirik károk</i>	‘crackle’
<i>kirik kárak</i>	‘grind’
<i>sirik sarak</i>	‘rustling’
<i>tiring torong</i>	‘stack up’
<i>pik pák</i>	‘twinkling’
<i>tím táum</i>	‘large noise’

3. *Nouns and noun phrases*

This chapter provides a summary of nouns and noun phrases in Nukna. §3.1 briefly describes the structure and word order of noun phrases; §3.2 deals with pronouns, including personal and interrogative pronouns, as well as less common pronouns, namely the pro-form and the dual pronoun; §3.3 focuses on nouns, exploring alienable and inalienable nouns, basic noun possession, number, and derived nouns; §3.4 lists the demonstratives, discusses their function, and concludes with a brief mention of cardinal directions, which are partially based on demonstratives; §3.5 describes adjectives, listing adjectives in several domains and outlining the adjective phrase; §3.6 and §3.7 very briefly touch on the topics of quantifiers and numerals, respectively, while also explaining both the traditional and the current Nukna counting system; §3.8 looks at the two possession strategies – the possessive pronoun suffix and the genitive clitic – along with discussions on inalienable noun possession and place names as possessors; and §3.9 deals with noun phrase coordination strategies, including the coordinate conjunctions *me* and *hang*, and noun phrase apposition. A brief look at a discourse feature based on noun phrase apposition is also included.

3.1 Noun phrase structure

Basic ordering of the noun phrase is as follows:

+ N ± Adj Phrase ± Numeral / Quantifier ± Demonstrative

It is possible to add more than one adjective phrase to a head noun, but only one is typically observed.

- (1) *yák-ná* *haknga* *mirak*
string.bag-3SG.POSS white new
'her new, white string bag'

In (2), the order of the two adjectives, *haknga* and *maming tái*, can be reversed without any change in meaning. However, the numeral *kaláhu* must come after the two adjectives.

- (2) *hurák haknga maming tái kaláhu*
 chicken white big three
 ‘three big white chickens’
- (3) *utni páyom ná=wu*
 ghost wild this=TOP
 ‘this wild spirit’
- (4) *ámna táwi wa=yá*
 man big 3=AGT
 ‘the/that big man’
- (5) *karáman-ná iláng-ná táwi yará wa=yá*
 ear-3SG.POSS leaf-3SG.POSS big two 3=AGT
 ‘the two big flaps of its [a pig] ears’

3.2 Pronouns

3.2.1 Personal pronouns

Nukna has a large number of personal pronouns. As is the case with the verbal person/number suffixes, pronouns distinguish between singular, dual, and plural referents, along with the three persons—first, second, and third. However, as is also the case with the verb affixes, pronominal reference is under-differentiated in some instances. This under-differentiation of personal pronouns partially mirrors that of the verbal object prefixes, in which dual and plural have been completely conflated. However, conflation between dual and plural personal pronouns is not complete and is only sometimes present. See Table 3.2 to see where conflation occurs and where it does not.

While personal pronouns are sometimes under-differentiated between dual and plural (for second and third person), second and third person verb suffixes are always under-differentiated (for dual and plural number). Thus, if the speaker wishes to avoid ambiguity, he or she may choose to use a personal pronoun in addition to the final verb, which is obligatorily marked for person and number, and in this way all possible combinations of person and number can be fully differentiated.

- (6) *Sán=yá áwá-e-ráng.*
 2NSG=AGT come-PRES-2/3PL
 ‘You(PL) come.’
- (7) *Sán=yá áwá-e-málák.*
 2NSG=AGT come-PRES-2/3DU
 ‘You two come.’
- (8) *Wa=yá áwá-e-ráng.*
 3=AGT come-PRES-2/3PL
 ‘They come.’
- (9) *Wa=yá áwá-e-málák.*
 3=AGT come-PRES-2/3DU
 ‘They two come.’

Table 3.1 summarises the previous four examples.

TABLE 3.1. SUMMARY OF 2/3 DUAL/PLURAL EXAMPLES

	Dual	Plural
2nd person	<i>Sándá áwemálák.</i>	<i>Sándá áweráng.</i>
3rd person	<i>Watá áwemálák.</i>	<i>Watá áweráng.</i>

Many of the personal pronoun forms can be derived from one of two underlying personal pronoun forms—either the basic form or the emphatic form (shaded in grey in Table 3.2)—along with an enclitic. The agentive, genitive, dative, and comitative are formed based on the ‘basic pronoun’ paradigm, while the reflexive, emphatic genitive, emphatic dative, and emphatic comitative are formed based on the ‘emphatic pronoun’ paradigm.

Pronouns based on the basic pronoun paradigm are under-differentiated for number in third person. In other words, singular, dual, and plural are identical for third person basic, agentive, genitive, dative, and comitative pronouns. Note also that the basic, agentive, genitive and dative pronouns for second person dual and plural are identical within each category. However, the pronouns based on the emphatic pronoun forms represent fully-differentiated 9-way person/number paradigms. These are the only fully-differentiated 9-way paradigms in the Nukna language.

Where there are two pronouns listed in Table 3.2 (namely, the first and second singular emphatic genitives), these pronoun forms are in free variation with each other.

Though pronoun forms are largely regular, some irregular forms should be noted, including the first and second singular agentives (*no* and *ko*), and the first and second singular emphatic genitives (*nangán* and *kangán*).

A peculiarity of pronouns—both personal and demonstrative pronouns (see §3.4)—exists concerning any non-emphatic forms ending in a vowel which is followed by an enclitic beginning in /y/ (namely, =yá, =ya, =yan and =yot). In these cases, a /t/ is first added to the pronoun root, and only then is the clitic added. This results in the first three clitics listed above changing to their alveolar allomorphs =tá, =ta, and =tán, respectively. The comitative clitic does not change when following an alveolar stop, therefore remaining =yot (see §2.5.6).

In Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 the surface forms of the pronouns are given. Morphological similarities throughout each type of pronoun can be observed (e.g., a form of the enclitic =yot occurs on all comitative pronouns, etc.), and also for each person (e.g., the phoneme /k/ is word-initial for all second person singular forms, etc.). The table has been broken into two parts in order to fit it onto the page.

TABLE 3.2. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1DU	2DU	3DU
Basic	<i>nák</i>	<i>kák</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>nát</i>	<i>sán</i>	<i>wa</i>
Agentive =yá	<i>no</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>watá</i>	<i>nátá</i>	<i>sándá</i>	<i>watá</i>
Genitive =yan	<i>nákán</i>	<i>kákán</i>	<i>watán</i>	<i>nátán</i>	<i>sándán</i> ¹²	<i>watán</i>
Dative =ya	<i>náka</i>	<i>káka</i>	<i>wata</i>	<i>náta</i>	<i>sánda</i>	<i>wata</i>
Comitative =yot	<i>nákot</i>	<i>kákot</i>	<i>watyot</i>	<i>nátyot</i>	<i>sátyot</i>	<i>watyot</i>

¹² In the dialect spoken in Sunde, Lumus, and Bit villages, *sátán* is used instead.

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1DU	2DU	3DU
Emphatic	<i>na</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>málám</i>	<i>náti</i>	<i>sánda</i>	<i>yánda</i>
Emphatic agentive	<i>na</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>málám(bá)</i>	<i>náti</i>	<i>sánda</i>	<i>yánda</i>
Reflexive =yon	<i>nayon</i>	<i>kayon</i>	<i>málámáyon</i>	<i>nátiyon</i>	<i>sándaíyon</i>	<i>yándaíyon</i>
Emphatic genitive	<i>nakán</i> <i>nangán</i>	<i>kakán</i> <i>kangán</i>	<i>málámbán</i>	<i>nátin</i>	<i>sándaín</i>	<i>yándaín</i>
Emphatic dative	<i>naya</i>	<i>kaya</i>	<i>málamba</i>	<i>nátiya</i>	<i>sándaíya</i>	<i>yándaíya</i>
Emphatic comitative	<i>nayot</i>	<i>kayot</i>	<i>málámbot</i>	<i>nátiyot</i>	<i>sándaíyot</i>	<i>yándaíyot</i>

TABLE 3.3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (CONT.)

	1PL	2PL	3PL
Basic	<i>nán</i>	<i>sán</i>	<i>wa</i>
Agentive =yá	<i>nándá</i>	<i>sándá</i>	<i>watá</i>
Genitive =yan	<i>nándán</i>	<i>sándán</i>	<i>watán</i>
Dative =ya	<i>nánda</i>	<i>sánda</i>	<i>wata</i>
Comitative =yot	<i>nányot</i>	<i>sányot</i>	<i>watyot</i>
Emphatic	<i>náni</i>	<i>sáni</i>	<i>yáni</i>
Emphatic agentive	<i>náni</i>	<i>sáni</i>	<i>yáni</i>
Reflexive =yon	<i>nániyon</i>	<i>sániyon</i>	<i>yániyon</i>
Emphatic genitive	<i>nánin</i>	<i>sánin</i>	<i>yánin</i>
Emphatic dative	<i>nániya</i>	<i>sániya</i>	<i>yániya</i>
Emphatic comitative	<i>nániyot</i>	<i>sániyot</i>	<i>yániyot</i>

The English translations for the first person singular pronouns are presented in Table 3.4. Different possible translation equivalents for a single form are separated by commas. The English meanings for the other persons are similar, with the appropriate changes for person and number.

TABLE 3.4. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF NUKNA PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Basic	<i>nák</i>	I, me
Agentive	<i>no</i>	I
Genitive	<i>nákán</i>	my, mine
Dative	<i>náka</i>	for me, about me
Comitative	<i>nákot</i>	I together with another, with me
Emphatic	<i>na</i>	I myself
Reflexive	<i>nayon</i>	do X to myself, I myself
Emphatic genitive	<i>nangán</i>	my very own
Emphatic dative	<i>náya</i>	for me myself, about me myself
Emphatic comitative	<i>náyot</i>	I myself together with another, with me myself

Examples (10)–(23) illustrate these categories (with the underlying forms given, as in most other example sentences).

Agentive subject

- (10) *Nán=yá sungngi si-ngga át-náne...*
 1PL=AGT food cook-SS.SEQ exist-1PL.DS.SIM
 ‘While we were cooking food...’

Basic subject

- (11) *Nák át-ta-t.*
 1SG exist-PRES-1SG
 ‘I am here.’

Basic object

- (12) *Son silák it-ná káman ka-ngga*
 again wild.fowl house-3SG.POSS one see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
wa hirat-tu-t.
 3 sweep.away-RP-1SG
 ‘Again I saw a wild fowl nest and I swept it away.’

Genitive

- (13) *Nán=yan it kinan ha-u-ráng.*
 1PL=GEN house inside enter-RP-2/3PL
 ‘They entered our house.’

Dative

- (14) *Heronge táwi kák=ya nará-ine-mát.*
 happiness big 2SG=DAT perceive-FUT-1DU
 ‘We two will feel great happiness towards you.’

Comitative

- (15) *No kák=yot pahán káman hále-u-mát.*
 1SG.AGT 2SG=COM insides one become-RP-1DU
 ‘I was in accord with you.’

Emphatic agentive

- (16) *Nanará wa ko nará-e-lák wa=ya=ku*
 thought 3 2SG.AGT perceive-PRES-2SG 3=DAT=TOP
ka kálak áring=ya hita-ngga...
 2SG.EMPH first over.there=DAT jump-SS.SEQ
 ‘You thought of this idea, so you yourself jump over there first...’

The underlying forms for emphatic pronouns are identical to the underlying forms of the possessive suffixes (§3.8.1), with the exception of the third singular pronoun. Clause position differentiates between these homophones: emphatic pronouns occur in the position of a noun phrase, while possessive suffixes attach to the end of the noun phrase which is possessed. Also see §3.9.4 for a description of emphatic pronouns found in apposition with noun phrases.

Reflexive

- (17) *Na=yon na ut-ta-t.*
 1SG=REFL 1SG.EMPH hit.3SG.OBJ-PRES-1SG
 ‘I hit myself.’

Of interest in the above example is the verb *utat* ‘hit’, which is cross-indexed for a third person singular object, not the first person singular object we would expect. This is a peculiarity of reflexive constructions. In the above sentence, it would be incorrect to use a form of the verb ‘hit’ that was cross-indexed for a first person singular object. Other object cross-indexing verbs found in reflexive clauses follow the same pattern.

- (18) **Ka=yon** *ka* *iná-u-lák.*
 2SG=REFL 2SG.EMPH say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-2SG
 ‘You told yourself.’
- (19) **Náni=yon** *náni* *iná-e-mán.*
 1PL=REFL 1PL.EMPH say.to.3SG.OBJ-PRES-1PL
 ‘We tell ourselves.’

The reflexive form can also be used as an emphatic pronoun, but only if it is being used in contrast with something else coming before it.

- (20) **Muransi** *iná-e* *ma=ku-n*
 Muransi say.to.3SG.OBJ-1SG.DS.SEQ NEG=go-3SG.DS.SEQ
- na=yon** *ku-e-t.*
 1SG=REFL go-PRES-1SG
 ‘I told Muransi not to go, and I myself went.’

Emphatic genitive

- (21) **Ná=wu** **nangán** *put.*
 this=TOP 1SG.EMPH.GEN pig
 ‘This is my very own pig.’

Emphatic dative

- (22) **Yáni=ya** *nará-ngga* *me-u-k.*
 3PL.EMPH=DAT think-SS.SEQ say-RP-3SG
 ‘He thought of them and spoke.’

Emphatic comitative

- (23) **Wa=ina** *yá-ná-n* *áwá-ng* *wa=hára*
 3=SML 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-3SG.DS.SEQ come-SS.SEQ 3=LOC
- málám=yot** *putu-ng* *át-tu-ráng.*
 3SG.EMPH=COM sit-SV exist-RP-2/3PL
 ‘He said this to them and they came and were sitting there with him.’

3.2.2 Interrogative pronouns

Polar interrogatives are formed by adding the coordinate conjunction *me* ‘and, or’ to the end of a declarative sentence, accompanied by rising intonation towards the end of the sentence.

- (24) *Ko Siang=káin ku-ine-lák me?*
 2SG.AGT Siang=ALL go-FUT-2SG YNQ
 ‘Will you go to Siang?’

Content interrogatives are formed using interrogative pronouns. Some of these are roots (shaded in Table 3.5), while others are roots with case enclitics. Following is a list of these pronouns. Surface forms are given followed by the underlying forms with morpheme breaks.

TABLE 3.5. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Surface	Morphemes	Morpheme gloss	Meaning
<i>náut</i>			what? ¹³
<i>náutá</i>	<i>náut=yá</i>	what=AGT	what (did X)?
<i>náuta</i>	<i>náut=ya</i>	what=DAT	why?
<i>náutkálu</i>	<i>náut=kálu</i>	what=DIR	by what means?
<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>	who	who? whom? (singular or unknown number)
<i>niyá</i>	<i>ni=yá</i>	who=AGT	who (did X)? (singular or unknown number)
<i>niyan</i>	<i>ni=yan</i>	who=GEN	whose? (singular or unknown number)
<i>niya</i>	<i>ni=ya</i>	who=DAT	for whom? (singular or unknown number)
<i>niyot</i>	<i>ni=yot</i>	who=COM	with whom? (singular or unknown number)
<i>ren</i>	<i>ren</i>	who	who? whom? (plural)
<i>rendá</i>	<i>ren=yá</i>	who=AGT	Who (did X)? (plural)
<i>rendán</i>	<i>ren=yan</i>	who=GEN	whose? (plural)
<i>renda</i>	<i>ren=ya</i>	who=DAT	for whom? (plural)
<i>renyot</i>	<i>ren=yot</i>	who=COM	with whom? (plural)
<i>re</i>			where?
<i>rehára</i>	<i>re=hára</i>	where=LOC	at where?

¹³ Refers primarily to physical objects – ‘what thing?’.

Surface	Morphemes	Morpheme gloss	Meaning
<i>rekáin</i>	<i>re=káin</i>	where=ALL	to where?
<i>reháranan</i>	<i>re=hára=nan</i>	where=LOC=ABL	from at where? (emphasis on the specific place)
<i>renan</i>	<i>re=nan</i>	where=ABL	from where? (emphasis on the specific place)
<i>rekáinnan</i>	<i>re=káin=nan</i>	where=ALL=ABL	from where? (more general)
<i>rekálu</i>	<i>re=kálu</i>	where=DIR	which way?
<i>resim</i>	<i>re=sim</i>	where=somewhat	which one?
<i>rina</i>			how? how many? how much? what? ¹⁴
<i>rinatá</i>	<i>rina=yá</i>	how.many=AGT	how many (did X)?
<i>rinata</i>	<i>rina=ya</i>	what=DAT	why?
<i>rinahára</i>	<i>rina=hára</i>	what=LOC	when?
<i>rinanásim</i>	<i>rina-ná=sim</i>	what-3SG.POSS =somewhat	what is it like?

3.2.3 Pro-form - *wáina*

Nukna makes use of a pro-form, *wáina*, which refers back to a previously mentioned action. *Wáina* is evidently derived from the third person pronoun *wa* ‘it, that’ and the simulative marker *ina* ‘like’. It is always followed by a verb, and this verb is almost always *tá* ‘do’, *me* ‘say’, or *iná* ‘say to’. Use of the pro-form as a discourse feature is quite common. It is used extensively in tail-head linkage. The pro-form can refer back to a phrase, a clause, or to multiple clauses.

- (25) ...*ing me-ngga árong wa=ina tá-u-málák.*
 thus say-SS.SEQ then 3=SML do-RP-2/3DU
 ‘...she said that and then they two did as she said.’

- (26) ...*wa=ina áwá-ngga tá-e-k.*
 3=SML say-SS.SEQ do-PRES-3SG
 ‘...like that it was coming and doing.’

¹⁴ Refers primarily to intangible things like actions, ideas or sounds – ‘what are you doing?’, ‘what did he say?’.

- (27) ...*ámna málám wa=wu káráman-ná yongut-ená*
 man 3SG.EMPH 3=TOP ear-3SG.POSS block.up-PART
hang me-ná muná wa=ina hále-n=ku...
 and.also talk-3SG.POSS no 3=SML become-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP
 ...the man was deaf, and also he was mute, and because of this...

The pro-form *wáina* is repeated in situations where someone inside the narrative is telling someone else inside the narrative the story of what happened, when that story is already known to those outside the narrative (i.e., those hearing the story).

- (28) *it=káin wa=ina wa=ina tá-e-t ing=ya áwá*
 house=ALL 3=SML 3=SML do-PRES-1SG thus=DAT wife
nangge-na yá-ná-ngga...
 child-1SG.POSS 3NSG.OBJ.say.to-SS.SEQ
 ‘...at the house, “I did such and such,” I told my wife and children,
 and...’

3.2.4 Dual and trial pronouns

The dual pronoun *yarán* (based on the numeral *yará* ‘two’) and the trial pronoun *nanggula*¹⁵ are unique in that they can be either second or third person. They are sometimes used as vocatives. There is no pronoun referencing singular or paucal (more than three).

- (29) ***Yarán***, *re=káin ku-inde-málák?*
 2/3DU where=ALL go-IF-2/3DU
 ‘You two, where are you about to go?’
- (30) ***Yarán***, *sándi=wu nuknuk.*
 2/3DU 2DU.EMPH=TOP friends
 ‘You two, you are friends.’

¹⁵ A homophone of *nanggula* exists, meaning ‘wow’.

- (31) *Yarán*=yá am *hulá=kálu* am=yá
 2/3DU=AGT pandanus base=DIR pandanus=DAT
su~suli=ya *ku-n,* *no* *ará-ngga*
 NMLS~look.for-DAT go-2/3DU.DS.SEQ 1SG.AGT climb.up-SS.SEQ
it-na=ya *áwá-u-t.*
 house-1SG.POSS=DAT come-RP-1SG
 ‘The two of them went by way of the pandanus plants in order to find pandanus, and I went up and came to my house.’
- (32) *Ru~ruhá*=ya *át-tang* *yarán*=yá *me-u-málák,*
 NMLS~sleep=DAT exist-SS.SEQ 2/3DU=AGT talk-RP-2/3DU
 “*Ko kálak tárut-tang=gu náhá-ng mirak*
 2SG.AGT first get.up-SS.SEQ=TOP get.1NSG.OBJ-SV awake
tá-tá ku-ine-mán.”
 do-2SG.DS.SEQ go-FUT-1PL
 ‘We were (there) in order to sleep and the two of them said, “You get up first and then wake us up and we will go.”’
- (33) *Hái tá-ngga átni-ngátne nanggula*=yá
 garden do-SS.SEQ travel.around-1PL.DS.SIM 2/3PL=AGT
áwá-t it-náni=ya *son áw-u-mán.*
 come-2/3PL.DS.SEQ village-1PL.POSS=DAT again come-RP-1PL
 ‘We were working all around the garden when they three came and we (all) returned to our village.’
- (34) *Nanggula*=yot *Yalumet ku-ine-mán.*
 2/3PL=COM Yalumet go-RF-1PL
 ‘I/we will go with you/they three to Yalumet.’

3.3 Nouns

Nouns are classified as either alienable or inalienable (§3.3.1), are marked for possession using suffixation (§3.3.2), and are not normally marked for number (§3.3.3). Also, reduplication and compounding serve various derivational functions (§3.3.4).

3.3.1 Alienable versus inalienable nouns

Nukna makes a distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns. All body parts and kinship terms are inalienable, and are obligatorily possessed. The exceptions are when a kinship term is used as a vocative, or when a body part is used by metaphorical extension to represent something else (e.g., ‘mouth’ being used to represent someone’s words). Most other nouns are alienable and possession is optional. Both classes of nouns take the same set of possessive suffixes (§3.3.2).

There are several pairs of homophonous words in which one is alienable while the other is inalienable and obligatorily possessed, as shown in Table 3.6 (possession not marked). Some are unrelated homophones, while others are related through metaphorical extension.

TABLE 3.6. HOMOPHONOUS ALIENABLE AND INALIENABLE NOUNS

Alienable		Inalienable	
<i>to</i>	‘digging stick’	<i>to</i>	‘great-grandmother’
<i>tun</i>	‘possum species’	<i>tun</i>	‘body joint’
<i>sip</i>	‘relatives’	<i>sip</i>	‘blood’
<i>sáut</i>	‘spear’	<i>sáut</i>	‘great-grandfather’
<i>kawin</i>	‘pregnancy’	<i>kawin</i>	‘abdomen’

3.3.2 Possession

Any noun or noun phrase can have a possessive suffix added to it to indicate possession of that noun or noun phrase by a preceding head noun. Inalienable nouns are obligatorily suffixed using this strategy.

Table 3.7 lists the various possessive suffixes. For the second person singular and third person singular suffixes, the first allomorph listed occurs with noun phrases ending in vowels (this is considered the underlying form), while the other allomorphs occur with noun phrases ending in consonants (see §2.4).

TABLE 3.7. POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	SG	DU	PL
1	- <i>na</i>	- <i>náti</i>	- <i>náni</i>
2	- <i>ka</i> ~ - <i>ya</i> ~ - <i>la</i> ~ - <i>ga</i>	- <i>sánda</i>	- <i>sáni</i>
3	- <i>ná</i> ~ - <i>má</i> ~ - <i>lá</i> ~ - <i>ngá</i>	- <i>yánda</i>	- <i>yáni</i>

Table 3.8 outlines the environments where each allomorph is found.

TABLE 3.8. POSSESSIVE SUFFIX ALLOMORPHS

Noun root ends with...	2SG.POSS ending	3SG.POSS ending
<i>k</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-ngá</i>
<i>ng</i>	<i>-ga</i>	<i>-ngá</i>
<i>m, p</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-má</i>
<i>t, n₁</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-ná</i>
<i>n₂</i>	<i>-la ~ -ya</i>	<i>-lá</i>
vowel	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-ná</i>

Nouns ending in the consonant /n/ vary as to which allomorph they take for the second and third singular possessive suffixes. Some (marked ‘*n₁*’ in the chart above) take *-ya* and *-ná*, while others (marked ‘*n₂*’) take *-lá* for the third singular suffix, and either *-la* or *-ya* for the second singular suffix; it is a case of free variation. In cases where the suffixes *-lá* or *-la* are found, the final *n* of the noun elides.

Interestingly, when looking at which nouns take the *n₁* suffixes, and which take *n₂* suffixes, it appears that the determination is not completely random. Alienable nouns tend to take the *n₁* endings, while inalienable nouns tend to take the *n₂* endings. These tendencies are not absolute, however. One count, though not exhaustive, found 93% of *n*-final alienable nouns take the *n₁* suffixes (28 out of 30 occurrences), and 77% of *n*-final inalienable nouns take the *n₂* suffixes (17 out of 22 occurrences). See Appendix 2 for a chart listing a representative sample of nouns ending in /n/.

Three kinship terms use a different morpheme, *-ning*, for 3SG.POSS. These are *mam* ‘mother’, *nan* ‘father’ and *tat* ‘older sibling’. The third singular possessive forms of these kinship terms are *maming* ‘his/her mother’, *naning* ‘his/her father’ and *tatning* ‘his/her older sibling’, respectively. For other person/number combinations, these kinship terms use the regular suffixes listed in Table 3.7.

See also §3.8 for other possession strategies.

3.3.3 Number

Nouns are not marked for number, although there are a few exceptions. The number of a subject noun can always be determined by verb cross-referencing, since a final verb is obligatorily marked with a subject-indexing person/number suffix. Different-subject medial verbs are also obligatorily marked with a subject-indexing person/number suffix. The number of an object noun can sometimes be determined through context or by object cross-indexing on some medial and final verbs (see §5.2.4). Additionally, the number of a noun is sometimes evident from modifiers of that noun, such as numerals and quantifiers.

Number for the vast majority of nouns is indicated by the above means. However, there are a couple of other ways that non-singular number can be indicated by the speaker.

Nouns can be pluralised when they are modified by the reduplicated forms of the size-referencing adjectives *isikimo* ‘small’ or *táwi* ‘big’. Pluralising in this way carries the sense that the noun being pluralised is many in number, without actually using the word *táup* ‘many’.

- (35) *kimbon isiki~ki~mo*
 housefly small-PL
 ‘many small houseflies’

- (36) *sup tá~táwi*
 stone PL~big
 ‘many large stones’

Kinship terms fall into a special category when it comes to pluralisation, in that they can be pluralised with several strategies that do not apply to other nouns. Some kinship terms may be pluralised through reduplication (37)–(40). Other kinship terms may be pluralised by adding the prefix *ya-* (41). Still others combine both strategies to indicate pluralisation (42)–(43). Finally, some kinship terms are pluralised with the suffix *-ilom* ‘PL’ (44)–(45), which can only modify kinship terms and other relationship words such as ‘friend’ and ‘enemy’. Many of the kinship terms can be pluralised through not only the suffix *-ilom* but also through one of the other strategies as well. However, several kinship terms can be pluralised through only one method or the other.

The chosen pluralisation strategy is lexicalised—there is no morphophonemic pattern which determines this. See Appendices 3 and 4 for a complete list of kinship terms, their meanings, and the pluralisation strategies by which they can be modified. The following examples include the obligatory possession of inalienable nouns.

- (37) *nan~nan-yáni*
 PL~father-3PL.POSS
 ‘their fathers’
- (38) *nuk~nuk-ná*
 PL~friend-3SG.POSS
 ‘her friends’
- (39) *nángá~nangge-ka*
 PL~child-2SG.POSS
 ‘your children’
- (40) *Mam~mam-sándi=yan it=káin há sándi son*
 PL~mother-2DU.POSS=GEN house=ALL PERF 2DU again
ku-ndimálák.
 go-2/3DU.IMP
 ‘You two must indeed return to the houses of your mothers.’
- (41) *ya-nano-ná*
 PL-younger.uncle-3SG.POSS
 ‘his uncles (who are younger than his parent)’
- (42) *ya-kuk~kulak-ná*
 PL-PL~younger.brother-3SG.POSS
 ‘his younger brothers’
- (43) *ya-táp~tárip-ná*
 PL-PL~man’s.sister’s.child-3SG.POSS
 ‘his sister’s children’

- (44) *e-ilom-ná*
grandchild-PL-3SG.POSS
'her grandchildren'
- (45) *málám-ilom-yánda*
cousin-PL-3DU.POSS
'their (DU) cousins'

Some kinship terms can also be 'collectivised' through a special circumfix that can only modify kinship terms. This circumfix, *neng*><*n*, is used to refer to two or more people who share a reciprocal kinship relationship. Not all kinship terms can be modified in this way, and, as with pluralisation strategies for kinship terms, the basis for which kinship terms can be modified by this circumfix is lexical. See Table A4.2 in Appendix 4 for details on which kinship terms can take this circumfix.

In cases where the reciprocal kinship relationship uses the same kinship term for both or all parties, things are straightforward, as in (46)-(48).

- (46) *neng*>*nembo*<*n*
<reciprocal>cousin
'mutual cousins'
- (47) *Neng*>*nambá*<*n=yá* *kám-káyam*
<reciprocal>mother-in-law/daughter-in-law=AGT NMLS~enemy
tá-ine-ráng
do-FUT-2/3PL
'The ones¹⁶ who are in a mother-in-law/daughter-in-law
relationship will be enemies with one another.'
- (48) *Uláp Siang it=hára neng*>*nembo*<*n yará*
before Siang village=LOC <reciprocal>cousin two
át-kiu-málák.
exist-IMPF.RP-2/3DU
'Before, two mutual cousins lived at Siang village.'

¹⁶ Three or more people are referred to in this sentence, as seen by the plural verb suffix.

When the two parties of a reciprocal kinship relationship are referred to by two different kinship terms, the circumfix attaches to only one of the terms. Which one it is attached to is lexically determined, though it tends to be the kinship term referring to the older person. For example, for the reciprocal kinship relationship 'grandfather-grandchild', the circumfix attaches to 'grandfather'.

- (49) *neng>sisi<n*
 <reciprocal>grandfather
 'the ones who are in a grandfather-grandchild relationship'

When a kinship term that is able to take this reciprocal circumfix ends in a consonant, the final /n/ of the circumfix is not found attached to the root. Since two consecutive consonants are not allowed word-finally, it is likely that the /n/ is elided.

- (50) *nengsilum*
 neng>silum<n
 <reciprocal>wife's.mother
 'the ones who are in a mother-in-law/son-in-law relationship'

Note that collective kinship terms cannot be possessed. The focus is inward, on the members of the reciprocal kinship relationship, and not outward, on who else they might be related to.

3.3.4 Derivations by reduplication and compounding

The vast majority of Nukna nouns are simple monomorphemic roots such as *sup* 'stone' or *heronge* 'happiness'. However, quite a few nouns are derived through morphophonemic processes as well. This section describes and illustrates the formation of these complex noun stems.

The meaning of a derived noun cannot always be predicted from the noun root or roots it is derived from. Sometimes there is a weak connection, but often its meaning is wholly lexically determined.

Some noun stems are formed through the reduplication of noun roots. This reduplication adheres to a common pattern in Nukna, which consists of the reduplication of the first consonant, first vowel, and last consonant of the root.

This complex pattern is hidden when the root is a CVC monosyllable, but can be clearly seen in the reduplication of polysyllabic roots. Adjectives are formed from nouns through this same process (see §3.5, examples (102)-(104)).

- (51) *kám~káyam*
NMLS~enemy
'enmity'

- (52) *háng~háláng*
NMLS~help
'strength'

Some nouns appear to be formed through nominal reduplication, but there is no plausible connection between the noun root and the reduplicated noun. The forms may be unrelated, or their connection has been lost.

- (53) *hìng~hitung*
NMLS~star/firefly
'grass species'

- (54) *tán~támun*
NMLS~conch.shell
'sugarcane species'

Some reduplicant nouns have no corresponding base forms. That is, native speakers do not recognise the base form as having meaning.

- (55) *yáng~yárung*
NMLS~?
'pandanus species'

A limited number of noun stems are formed through the complete reduplication of both a noun root and the third singular possessive suffix. Note that in (57) the underlying form is given; the actual surface form is *rámáramá*.

- (56) *kutná~kut-ná*
NMLS~name-3SG.POSS
'everything' or 'lots of things'

- (57) *rámá~rám-ná*
 NMLS~time-3SG.POSS
 ‘every time’ or ‘all the time’

Some noun stems are formed through noun compounding.

- (58) *ámna-náráwa*
 man-woman
 ‘people’
- (59) *kurák-káráman*
 nose-ear
 ‘consciousness’
- (60) *me-yángom-ná*
 talk-black-3SG.POSS
 ‘gossip’
- (61) *hitung-kámun-lá*
 star-faeces-3SG.POSS
 ‘dew’

It is also possible to combine the compounding and reduplication strategies to form a noun stem.

- (62) *kámun-yang~yang*
 faeces-buttocks/tail~NMLS
 ‘last-born child’

Some noun stems can also be formed from verb roots by adding the nominalising suffix *-k* to the bare verb root.

- (63) *husi-k*
 rub-NMLS
 ‘destruction’
- (64) *kikili-k*
 be.determined-NMLS
 ‘determined repeated asking for something’

Some serial verb constructions (see §5.7.2) and verb compounds can also take the nominalising suffix *-k* to form a noun stem, as shown in (65)–(66), respectively.

- (65) *pi-na-ng-ku-k*
 dig-eat-SV-go-NMLS
 ‘the digging up of the ground by a pig in search of food’
- (66) *si-na-k*
 cook-eat-NMLS
 ‘feast’

Examples (67)–(70) show noun stems formed by first adding the nominalising suffix *-k* to a verb root. The newly formed stem is then reduplicated (to indicate repetition of the action) according to the common CVC reduplication pattern mentioned above. The nominalising suffix *-k* is reduplicated according to this pattern since it has become the last consonant in the noun stem. Nouns formed in this way are often followed by the verb *tá* ‘do’, which functions as ‘a light verb following another part of speech which is semantically an event or action, or refers to an event or action’ (Fabian et al. 1998:166). See §5.7.3 for more information on light verbs. In (70) the nominalising *-k* is nominalising the entire clause, which in this case consists of a serial verb construction.

- (67) *tik~tiyawí-k*
 INTENS~get.ready-NMLS
 ‘preparations’
- (68) *mek~me-k*
 INTENS~say-NMLS
 ‘discussion’
- (69) *hák~hále-k*
 INTENS~wait-NMLS
 ‘waiting (noun)’
- (70) *nará-ng hák~háí-k-sáni*
 perceive-SV INTENS~apportion-NMLS-2PL.POSS
 ‘your (PL) belief’

Noun stems are also formed according to the same pattern just mentioned—that is, a nominalising suffix plus reduplication according to the CVC pattern—but with the nominalising suffix *-n* instead of *-k*. Noun stems formed according to this pattern indicate an action taking place between two or more parties. In some cases there is a sense that the action is a back-and-forth affair between the parties (i.e., reciprocal).

- (71) *san~sa-n*
 INTENS~leave-NMLS
 ‘separation’
- (72) *men~me-n*
 INTENS~say-NMLS
 ‘argument’
- (73) *pin~pi-n*
 INTENS~dig-NMLS
 ‘taking turns digging’

Noun stems formed according to this pattern are usually followed by a form of the light verb *tá* ‘do’ (see §5.7.3). There are also cases, however, when nouns formed according to this pattern occur as standalone nouns.

- (74) **Menmen**=*yá ámna me náráwa*
 argument=AGT man and woman
- orek-yáni=hára tunggafe-u-k.*
 middle-3PL.POSS=LOC become-RP-3SG
 ‘An argument came up between the men and the women.’

The verb *pitá* ‘be.afraid’ can be nominalised by each of the preceding three strategies, resulting in a minimal triplet.

- (75) *pitá-k*
 be.afraid-NMLS
 ‘fear’
- (76) *pik~pitá-k*
 INTENS~be.afraid-NMLS
 ‘state of being afraid’

- (77) *pin~pitá-n*
 INTENS~be.afraid-NMLS
 ‘being frightened by each other’

The most productive and common form of nominalisation occurs without any nominalising suffix. Instead, all or part of the bare verb root is reduplicated. The resulting noun is similar to the English gerund. Vowel-final and consonant-final verb roots use different reduplication strategies. There is no difference in the function of the two strategies; the difference is in the surface forms only. Consonant-final verb roots use the now-familiar CVC reduplication pattern (first consonant, first vowel, last consonant).

- (78) *kát~kámút*
 NMLS~die
 ‘death, dying’
- (79) *hát~hárámút*
 NMLS~be.surprised
 ‘being surprised’
- (80) *kan~kahon*
 NMLS~wave
 ‘waving’

Vowel-final verb roots are nominalised through reduplication of one syllable of the root. Interestingly, for polysyllabic roots, it is in many cases acceptable to reduplicate any one syllable of the root—the meaning is the same whichever syllable is reduplicated. There are no apparent functional or distributional patterns related to which syllable of a verb is reduplicated. However, while for most verb roots there appears to be genuine free variation, native speaker intuition will sometimes favour the reduplication of one syllable over another for some verb roots. If the disfavoured syllable is reduplicated, the speaker would still be understood, but it would sound somewhat unnatural. However, even this preference can vary from speaker to speaker.

- (81) *tá~tá*
 NMLS~do
 ‘doing’

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (82) | <i>ho~hose</i> | <i>hose~se</i> | |
| | NMLS~cut | cut~NMLS | |
| | ‘cutting’ | ‘cutting’ | |
| (83) | <i>ká~ká pá</i> | <i>kápá~pá</i> | |
| | NMLS~see.3NSG.OBJ | see.3NSG.OBJ~NMLS | |
| | ‘seeing them’ | ‘seeing them’ | |
| (84) | <i>pá~párami</i> | <i>párá~rá~mi</i> | <i>párami~mi</i> |
| | NMLS~spin | spin~NMLS | spin~NMLS |
| | ‘spinning’ | ‘spinning’ | ‘spinning’ |
| (85) | <i>tá~tárawá</i> | <i>tára~ra~wá</i> | <i>tárawá~wá</i> |
| | NMLS~shoot.3SG.OBJ | shoot.3SG.OBJ~NMLS | shoot.3SG.OBJ~NMLS |
| | ‘shooting it’ | ‘shooting it’ | ‘shooting it’ |

For roots which require an object prefix (see §5.3.1), the object prefix is considered to be part of the verb stem for purposes of reduplication. Thus, the object prefix itself can be chosen as the syllable to be reduplicated.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (86) | <i>yá~yá~má</i> | <i>yá~má~má</i> |
| | NMLS~3NSG.OBJ-give | 3NSG.OBJ-give~NMLS |
| | ‘giving to them’ | ‘giving to them’ |

3.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives can be used to modify a noun in a noun phrase (nominal demonstrative) (87), as an adverbial demonstrative (in §4.2 ff., see (40)–(48), (51)–(52), and (54)), or as a demonstrative pronoun (88).

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (87) | <i>It</i> | <i>nangge-ná</i> | <i>kimo</i> | <i>áning=gu</i> | <i>enanggon.</i> |
| | village | child-3SG.POSS | small | that.up.there=TOP | nearby |
| | ‘That very small village up there is near.’ | | | | |

Note: *it nanggená* is a figure of speech meaning ‘small settlement’.

- (88) *Ná=wu mamíng=gá ne~ne=ya*
 this=TOP mother.3SG.POSS=AGT NMLS~bite.1SG.OBJ=DAT
áwá-e-k.
 come-PRES-3SG
 ‘This (thing) is its (the pig’s) mother coming to bite me!’

Demonstratives are not marked for singular, dual, or plural. In Table 3.10, any demonstrative may refer to either singular, dual, or plural antecedents. Any pronoun may also refer to either human or non-human antecedents. For example, the range of English translations for the demonstrative *áring* (‘that over there, far away’) would be ‘that’, ‘those’, ‘that one’, and ‘those ones’.

Note that when demonstratives ending in a vowel are followed by a clitic beginning in /y/, the phoneme /t/ is added to the root, as previously described in §3.2.1.

The demonstrative *wa* sometimes functions as a definite article, indicating that the noun phrase it modifies is “known” discourse information that has been previously introduced in the discourse. Using the demonstrative in this way is not obligatory. Omitting it in (89) would still leave a grammatical sentence. Including the demonstrative overtly identifies this house as the house mentioned earlier in the story. If the pronoun was omitted, context could be used instead to determine this.

- (89) *it wa tá-ngga át-án...*
 house 3 do-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘he was building the house, and...’

Table 3.9 lists the eight demonstratives with their deictic reference. Table 3.10 lists demonstratives with various case-marking clitics. Surface forms are given with morpheme breaks.

TABLE 3.9. DEMONSTRATIVES

<i>ná</i>	'this' (very close to the speaker)
<i>wa</i>	'that' (not close to the speaker, but no distance specified)
<i>áru</i>	'that' (over there, same level, near)
<i>áring</i>	'that' (over there, same level, far)
<i>ánu</i>	'that' (up there, near)
<i>áning</i>	'that' (up there, far)
<i>ámu</i>	'that' (down there, near)
<i>áming</i>	'that' (down there, far)

TABLE 3.10. DEMONSTRATIVES WITH CASE ENCLITICS

	= <i>yan</i> genitive	= <i>hára</i> locative	= <i>káin</i> allative	= <i>kálu</i> directional	= <i>ya</i> dative	= <i>yot</i> comitative
<i>ná</i>	<i>nát=tán</i> 'this one's'	<i>na=hára</i> 'here' (* <i>ná=hára</i>)	<i>ná=káin</i> 'to here'	<i>ná=kálu</i> 'this way'	<i>nát=ta</i> 'for this, regarding this'	<i>nát=yot</i> 'with this one'
<i>wa</i>	<i>wat=tán</i> 'that one's'	<i>wa=hára</i> 'there'	<i>wa=káin</i> 'to there'	<i>wa=kálu</i> 'that way'	<i>wat=ta</i> 'for that, regarding that'	<i>wat=yot</i> 'with that one'
<i>áru</i>	<i>árut=tán</i>	<i>áru=hára</i>	<i>áru=káin</i>	<i>áru=kálu</i>	<i>árut=ta</i>	<i>árut=yot</i>
<i>áring</i>	<i>áring=gán</i>	<i>áring=hára</i>	<i>áring=káin</i>	<i>áring=kálu</i>	<i>áring=ga</i>	<i>áring=got</i>
<i>ánu</i>	<i>ánut=tán</i>	<i>ánu=hára</i>	<i>ánu=káin</i>	<i>ánu=kálu</i>	<i>ánut=ta</i>	<i>ánut=yot</i>
<i>áning</i>	<i>áning=gán</i>	<i>áning=hára</i>	<i>áning=káin</i>	<i>áning=kálu</i>	<i>áning=ga</i>	<i>áning=got</i>
<i>ámu</i>	<i>ámút=tán</i>	<i>ámu=hára</i>	<i>ámu=káin</i>	<i>ámu=kálu</i>	<i>ámút=ta</i>	<i>ámút=yot</i>
<i>áming</i>	<i>áming=gán</i>	<i>áming=hára</i>	<i>áming=káin</i>	<i>áming=kálu</i>	<i>áming=ga</i>	<i>áming=got</i>

Cardinal directions

The cardinal directions north and south are represented in Nukna by the demonstratives *ánu* and *ámu*, respectively, followed by the dative clitic—thus, *ánuta* and *ámuta*. This is a relatively recent innovation that was precipitated by contact with the outside world and the subsequent rise in formal education. It is likely that use of the word meaning 'up there' for north, and the word meaning 'down there' for south is due to maps being laid out with north being up and south being down, if one is looking at a map that is perpendicular to the ground, as when a map hangs on the wall.

This convention leads to confusion among some Nukna people, because the three valleys found in the Nukna language area are oriented north–south,

with the elevation falling as one gets closer to the coast in the north, and rising as one gets closer to the mountains in the south. In other words, traditionally, people referred to the northerly direction as *ámuta* ‘down there’ and the southerly direction as *ánuta* ‘up there’, which is the exact opposite of the modern use of these words as cardinal directions.

No such confusion exists for east and west. Traditional terms for these directions have long been in use and are based on the path of the sun.

(90) *káe=yá árá-ng he~he=kálu*
 sun=AGT climb.up-SV NMLS~arrive=DIR
 ‘toward the rising of the sun’

(91) *káe=yá ku-ng ha~ha=kálu*
 sun=AGT go-SV NMLS~climb.down=DIR
 ‘toward the setting of the sun’

3.5 Adjectives

Adjectives express attributes, such as quality, size, colour, or number, of an immediately preceding head noun.

(92) *kápiik mirak*
 knife new
 ‘new knife’

While an adjective is normally obligatorily preceded by a head noun, there are cases when the head noun can be absent, being understood from context. For example, in (93) the head noun of the adjective *hákápmá* ‘steep’ is understood to be a small hill or slope.

In these cases, the adjective is functioning as a noun. This is especially apparent in (96) where *wáik* ‘bad’, which normally modifies a head noun, is followed by a demonstrative and the agentive marker—both of which modify noun phrases.

- (93) *Umi yawi-ngga hákápma isikimo káman*
 river ford-SS.SEQ steep little one
ára-ngga ku-u-k.
 climb.up-SS.SEQ go-RP-3SG
 ‘He forded the river and climbed up a little steep (slope) and continued on.’
- (94) *Ámna=yan káungá wa=ya kinan=káin ku-ngga ha-u-k.*
 man=GEN taboo 3=DAT inside=ALL go-SS.SEQ enter-RP.3SG
 ‘She went and entered the men’s taboo area.’
- (95) *Keráme kurat=káin áwá-ngga sopsopma=hára*
 Kerame watercourse=ALL come-SS.SEQ slippery=LOC
ha-ng nut-tang silák káti-ng
 fall.down-SV hit.1SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ wild.fowl.eggs strike.SV smash
mákmárák tá-inggom ing me-ngga...
 smash do-1SG.APP thus speak-SS.SEQ
 ‘I came along the Kerame watercourse and I said (to myself),
 ‘I better not fall at some slippery spot and smash the wild fowl
 eggs,’ and...’
- (96) *Pahán-sáni kinan=ku wáik wa=yá tuwat*
 insides-2PL.POSS inside=TOP bad 3=AGT full
hánám át-ta-k.
 INTENS exist-PRES-3SG
 ‘Inside your stomachs, evil is very full.’

Some adjectives appear to be marked with a suffix (-ná) which along with its allomorphs (-má and -ngá) is identical in form to the third singular possessive suffix. This similarity with the possessive suffix probably has an historical basis, but at the present time this ending is a lexicalised part of the adjective root.

This analysis is based on the following: 1) adjectives that have this suffix-like ending are never found without it. If it were an adjectival suffix, we would expect to find cases, such as when the adjective was functioning as a noun, where the adjective suffix was not present, but this is not the case. 2) If this

were an actual suffix, we would expect to find other suffixes that could modify an adjective, but there are none to be found. 3) Many adjectives do not and cannot take this suffix-like ending. There are no functional or distributional reasons that determine which have the suffix-like ending and which do not.

See Table 3.11 for some examples of different semantic categories of adjectives. The lexicalised suffix-like ending is marked in bold on the adjectives where it is found.

TABLE 3.11. SEMANTIC CATEGORIES OF ADJECTIVES

Category	Nukna	English
Quality	<i>álo</i> <i>álo kámá</i> <i>wáik</i> <i>kándáng</i> <i>kandák</i>	adequate good bad straight, correct wrong, incorrect
Size	<i>táwi</i> <i>(isi)kimo</i>	big small
Dimension	<i>hásák</i> <i>hátetná</i> <i>hahala</i> <i>yiko</i>	long/tall short wide narrow
Colour	<i>yángommá</i> <i>sipmá</i> <i>haknga</i> ¹⁷ <i>párummá</i> <i>kimbátná</i>	black red white yellow green
Age	<i>kakngá</i> <i>máto</i>	old young
Weight	<i>márapmá</i> <i>tiyapmá</i>	heavy light
Temperature	<i>kotná</i> <i>lálápmá</i> <i>ángárángngá</i>	cold cool hot
Texture	<i>káto</i> <i>pákpálo</i> <i>petná</i> <i>sopsopmá</i>	hard soft sharp slippery

¹⁷ The ending of this word is *nga*, which should not be confused with the ending *ngá* found on some adjectives ending in a velar.

Category	Nukna	English
Condition	<i>pummá</i> <i>tangtangngá</i> <i>puputepmá</i> <i>konep</i> <i>rongrongngá</i> <i>yamyammá</i>	wet dry curly dirty clean shiny
Volume	<i>tuwat</i> <i>káhup</i>	full empty
Direction	<i>áldák</i> <i>kandák</i> ¹⁸	right left

Some adjectives may be adverbially modified to diminish or intensify their regular meaning (see (105)–(106) and §7.7.3 for examples). A few adjectives can be reduplicated according to the CVC reduplication pattern in order to intensify their meaning (the lexicalised suffix-like ending is not considered for reduplication purposes). However, other adjectives cannot be intensified in this way. Note that examples (98) and (99) are derived from the same root word *kot*, meaning ‘cold, dim, passive’, but only the meaning ‘cold’ can be intensified by reduplication.

- (97) *pet~petná*
INTENS~sharp
‘very sharp’
- (98) *kot~kotná*
INTENS~cold
‘very cold’
- (99) **kot~kotná*
INTENS~dim
*‘very dim’
- (100) *pám~párummá*
INTENS~yellow
‘orange’ (‘very yellow’)

¹⁸ *Kandák* literally means ‘wrong’.

The following adjective appears to be reduplicated, but the expected base form does not occur, just as with (55) in §3.3.4. The word *sop-ná* does not carry meaning in Nukna.

- (101) *sopsopmá*
 slippery
 ‘slippery’

Adjectives formed through nominal reduplication

Adjectives may be formed through the reduplication of some nouns. The process is identical to nouns formed through nominal reduplication (§3.3.4), except that the resulting form is marked with the ending commonly found on adjectives: *-ná* or one of its allomorphs *-má* or *-ngá*.

- (102) *sup~sup-ná*
 NMLS~stone-ADJ
 ‘spherical’

- (103) *rom~rom-ná*
 NMLS~hair-ADJ
 ‘hairy’

- (104) *yam~yam-ná*
 NMLS~light-ADJ
 ‘shiny’

Adjective phrase

The adjective phrase consists of an adjective plus an optional intensifier. Multiple adjectives may be juxtaposed (as in §3.1 example (2) above), but this is not common. More common is a single adjective or an adjective plus an intensifier.

- (105) *ámna hásák hánám*
 man long INTENS
 ‘a very tall man’

- (106) *iruk ángárángngá hánám*
 wind hot INTENS
 ‘a very hot wind’

3.6 Quantifiers

There are a small number of quantifiers in Nukna; however they are very commonly used.

TABLE 3.12. QUANTIFIERS

Quantity	<i>táup</i> <i>kámuk</i> <i>máro</i> <i>kámá</i>	many all few some
----------	---	----------------------------

3.7 Numerals

Modern counting uses only three numerals that were a part of the traditional vernacular.

TABLE 3.13. NUMERALS

Numeral	<i>káman</i> <i>yará</i> <i>kaláhu</i>	one two three
---------	--	---------------------

Higher numbers were traditionally expressed by sometimes very long phrases according to a base-twenty system which utilised fingers, hands, feet, and complete persons. See Appendix 1 for examples of this traditional numbering system. Modern counting consists of the use of the above three vernacular terms plus the English-based Tok Pisin numbers for anything higher than three.

3.8 Possession

There are several strategies for expressing possession, including possessive pronoun suffixes, genitive clitics, inalienable possession, and place

name possessors. For some of the examples in this section, the surface forms are also included to make the morphophonemic processes involved clear to the reader.

3.8.1 Possessive pronoun suffix

The simplest and most common is to attach a possessive pronoun suffix to the item being possessed. The suffix references the person and number of the possessor. See Table 3.7 in §3.3.2 for the full possessive suffix paradigm.

- (107) *sut-ná*
body-3SG.POSS
'his body'
- (108) *amya*
am-**ka**
pandanus-2SG.POSS
'your pandanus'

When the possessive suffix modifies a noun that is also modified by an adjective (i.e., a noun phrase), the possessive suffix attaches to the noun, and not the noun phrase. This differs from enclitics, which attach to end of the noun phrase.

- (109) *kápic-na* *maming*
knife-1SG.POSS big
'my big knife'
- (110) *Ámnaná* *tátáwi* *watán* *me* *re*
ámna-ná *tátáwi* *wa=yan* *me* *re*
father.in.law-3SG.POSS elderly 3=GEN talk only
- naránga* *kumálák.*
ará-nga *ku-u-málák.*
perceive-SS.SEQ go-RP-2/3DU
'He listened only to his old father-in-law's words and they two went.'

3.8.2 Genitive clitic

A second way to express possession is to use a possessive phrase. This phrase consists of a noun phrase possessor marked with the genitive case enclitic, followed by the possessed item, which is left unmarked.

- (111) *Roti=yan sima*
 Roti=GEN garden.house
 ‘Roti’s garden house’
- (112) *nákán silák*
 nák=**yan** silák
 1SG=GEN wild.fowl.egg
 ‘my wild fowl egg(s)’
- (113) *ámna kámandán hái mirak*
 ámna káman=**yan** hái mirak
 man one=GEN garden new
 ‘a man’s new garden’

The genitive enclitic can mark any noun or pronoun, including nouns formed by the reduplication of a verb root, as in (114). Inalienable nouns cannot be the possessed item when the possessor is marked with a genitive enclitic. However, inalienable nouns can be the possessor, but they still must be marked with an obligatory possessive pronoun suffix (see §3.3.1), resulting in the inalienable noun being both a possessor and possessed. See (116) and (44). A noun or pronoun possessed through the genitive clitic can also be the possessor of another item. There is no theoretical limit to how many possessives can be in series in this way. However, it is very rare to see more than three in series, with four being the maximum attested, albeit in translated material, as in (117).

- (114) *Kílak ku~ku=**yan** kálu kámá muná.*
 hidden NMLS~go=GEN road some no
 ‘There is no way to go without being seen.’ (Lit. ‘Going hidden’s road is not (existent).’)

- (115) *ámna kut-ná Emson=yan káráp*
 man name-3SG.POSS Emson=GEN tree
 ‘a man named Emson’s tree’
- (116) *nan-na=yan it*
 father-1SG.POSS=GEN house
 ‘my father’s house’
- (117) *Táwiyan me nanaráyan it watán*
 Táwi=**yan** me na~nará=**yan** it wa=**yan**
 Lord=GEN talk NMLS~know=GEN house 3=GEN
- yáilá watán it*
*yáin-lá wa=**yan** it*
 head-3SG.POSS 3=GEN house
 ‘the house of the leader of the house of the Lord’s knowledge-talk [church]’

3.8.3 Inalienable possession

Inalienable nouns are obligatorily possessed by a possessive suffix (see §3.3.1). There also may be an optional personal pronoun, occurring before the possessed item, which marks the possessor (the genitive cannot attach to this pronoun). Thus the possessor can be referenced up to two times, once as an optional stand-alone pronoun, and once as an obligatory possessive suffix.

- (118) *Kák=ku nák nangge-na.*
 2SG=TOP 1SG son-1SG.POSS
 ‘You are my son.’
- (119) *Ámna káman=yá kák kut-ka=hára iruk wáik*
 man one=AGT 2SG name-2SG.POSS=LOC spirit bad
yá-sut-tang át-án...
 3NSG.OBJ-drive.away-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘A man is driving out evil spirits in your name...’
- (120) *Nák táwi-ilom-na=yan pingnga me-inde-t.*
 1SG big-PL-1SG.POSS=GEN story say-IF-1SG
 ‘I’m about to tell the story of my ancestors.’

That the first singular pronoun in (120) is not a subject pronoun is clear since it is in the basic, unmarked case. If the speaker wished to explicitly indicate the subject that is already made clear by the verb suffix, the speaker would use the agentive first singular subject pronoun, as in (121).

- (121) *No pingnga káman me-inde-t.*
 1SG.AGT story one say-IF-1SG
 ‘I’m about to tell a story.’

3.8.4 Place names as possessors

When a place name is functioning as the possessor of a human (head) noun, both the possessor and the possessed item remain unmarked. The genitive clitic does not attach to the place name, and the possessive suffix does not attach to the possessed noun. If the head noun is non-human, it must be possessed using one of the other regular possession strategies. Note (124) below, which is ungrammatical because a non-human head noun is possessed by a place name that is not marked with the genitive case marker.

- (122) *Mote ámna náráwa=yá me-u-ráng, ...*
 Mote man woman=AGT say-RP-2/3PL
 ‘The people of Mote (village) said, ...’
- (123) *Hamelengan ámna tátáwi*
 Hamelengan man elderly
 ‘the old men of Hamelengan (village)’
- (124) **Hamelengan put*
 Hamelengan pig
 ‘pigs of Hamelengan’
- (125) *Hamelengan=yan put*
 Hamelengan=GEN pig
 ‘pigs of Hamelengan’

3.9 Noun phrase coordination

Coordinate noun phrases can be joined in several ways, depending on the context. The most common strategy is the use of the coordinate conjunction *me*. See §3.9.1 for discussion and examples.

Two coordinate animate actors are conjoined through the conjunction *káling*. See §3.9.2 for discussion and examples.

Items in a list are conjoined through use of the conjunction *hang* (see §3.9.3 for discussion and examples). *Hang* can also join clauses and sentences (see §8.2).

One further strategy is available for coordinating noun phrases. The two coordinate noun phrases are simply placed in juxtaposition without any intervening words or particles. This is illustrated in (126)–(128).

- (126) ...*áwá-n* *ámna-ná* *uriwa-ná*
 come-3SG.DS.SEQ son.in.law-3SG.POSS daughter-3SG.POSS
- e-ilom-ná* *wa=yá ka-ngga...*
 grandchild-PL-3SG.POSS 3=AGT see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
 ‘He came, and his son-in-law, his daughter, and his grandchildren saw him...’
- (127) *Kuhát tahát maming-náti=ya sung~suli-ng*
 frog k.o.crayfish-1DU.POSS=DAT ITER~look.for-SV
- ku-ndin.*
 go-1DU.IMP
 ‘Let’s hunt for frogs and crayfish while we go.’
- (128) *Kásáng tom-náni ihá-ng*
 betel.nut mustard.plant-1PL.POSS get.3NSG.OBJ-SV
- wa=hára kilak ti-ngga...*
 3=LOC hidden put-SS.SEQ
 ‘We got our betel nut and mustard plant and hid them there, and...’

3.9.1 The coordinate conjunction *me*

The coordinate conjunction *me* is used to conjoin words and phrases that are non-contrastive. It is used to join clauses and sentences as well (see §8.2.1). When three or more items are joined in this way, the coordinate conjunction *me* can occur between each of the items (thus, for three coordinate items, the conjunction would appear twice), or alternatively just once between the last two items.

Words:

- (129) *Ánutu=yá alek me káwak me kutná kutná wa=ya*
 God=AGT sky and ground and everything 3=DAT
kinan át-ta-ráng wa pukon erek hánám
 inside exist-PRES-2/3PL 3 completely whole INTENS
ihá-ng toli-u-k.
 get.3NSG.OBJ-SV straighten-RP-3SG
 ‘God completely made all of the sky and ground and everything in them.’

Phrases:

- (130) *Kálu ku~ku me sungngi sí-si wa=wu*
 path NMLS~go and food NMLS~cook 3=TOP
málám=yá re tá-ngga
 3SG.EMPH=AGT only do-SS.SEQ
si-ng yá-má-ng-kíu-k.
 cook-SV 3NSG.OBJ-BEN-SV-IMP.F.RP-3SG
 ‘The going to the garden and the cooking of the food, just he himself did them, and he habitually cooked for them.’

3.9.2 Coordination between two animate noun phrases

Nukna uses a rather specific coordinate conjunction, *káling*, when joining two animate noun phrases. This conjunction may not be used for more than two animate noun phrases, nor may it join inanimate noun phrases. The two

conjoined animate noun phrases of this construction have been observed in the subject position (131), the object position (132), and as a possessive noun phrase (133).

- (131) *Put kámun-lá káling kuhát=yá me káman*
 pig faeces-3SG.POSS and frog=AGT talk one
hárot-tu-málák.
 tie.up-RP-2/3DU
 ‘Pig-Faeces and Frog made a plan.’
- (132) *No Simendi káling Keli yá-ngot-tang*
 1SG.AGT Simendi and Keli 2NSG.OBJ-escort-SS.SEQ
Sapmanga=káin sa-e...
 Sapmanga=ALL leave-1SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘I escorted Simendi and Keli and at Sapmanga I left and...’
- (133) *Hending káling Wasingngán=yan pingnga.*
 Hending and Wasingngan=GEN story
 ‘The story of Hending and Wasingngan.’

3.9.3 The coordinate conjunction *hang*

The coordinate conjunction *hang* is derived from the verb root *ha* ‘climb down, fall’. It is used to join words and phrases that are in a list (134). It is used to join clauses and sentences as well (see §8.2.1).

- (134) *Put, ang, pusi, kuhát hang hánuk yáni=wu*
 pig dog cat frog and rat 3PL.EMPH=TOP
táp=káin át-kiu-ráng.
 beach=ALL exist-IMP.F.RP-2/3PL
 ‘A pig, a dog, a cat, a frog and a rat lived at the beach.’

3.9.4 Apposition

When two separate noun phrases are describing the same referent, they may be joined appositionally with one another.

- (135) *Pingnga ná=wu Apalap ámma Nano wa=yan.*
 story this=TOP Apalap man Nano 3=GEN
 ‘This story is about Nano, the man from Apalap.’

- (136) *it-yáni Ilamung*
 village-3PL.POSS Ilamung
 ‘their village, Ilamung’

Apposition of a noun phrase and a following emphatic pronoun is a common feature of Nukna discourse structure and is used to mark important participants, i.e., the main character or some other participant of prominence. This marking of prominence is similar to topic marking, with the exception that emphatic pronouns in apposition with a noun phrase are limited to marking mainline participants in a discourse, while topic marking has a much broader application. Note that an emphatic pronoun in apposition with a noun phrase can still be marked for topic, as in (137) and (138).

Any pronoun based on the emphatic pronoun form can function in this manner. As would be expected, the vast majority of these are in the third person. Note that when an emphatic pronoun is found in apposition with a noun phrase, the noun phrase itself may not be a pronoun, nor may it include a demonstrative.

In (137), the presence of the third person emphatic pronoun *málám* marks Singile as an important character in the narrative, just as *yánda* does for the two women in (138), and so on through the other examples.

- (137) *Singile málám=yá=ku takta nará-u-k.*
 Singile 3SG.EMPH=AGT=TOP boredom perceive-RP-3SG
 ‘Singile, she felt bored.’

- (138) *Naráwa yará yánda=wu ámma wa*
 woman two 3DU.EMPH=TOP man 3
ka-u-málák.
 see.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3DU
 ‘The two women, they saw the man.’

- (139) *Nano málám it-ná=hára át-tang...*
 Nano 3SG.EMPH house-3SG.POSS=LOC exist-SS.SEQ
 ‘Nano was at her house and...’
- (140) *Ámna málám kásáng kep-ná=hára tongmá-ngga...*
 man 3SG.EMPH betel.nut skin-3SG.POSS=LOC cast.spell-SS.SEQ
 ‘The man cast a spell on the betel nut husk and...’

4. Postpositions and postpositional phrases

This chapter gives a summary of postpositions and postpositional phrases in Nukna. §4.1 lists the postpositions and mentions that they can occur without a preceding noun, in which cases they function as locative adverbs; §4.2 gives examples of the various types of postpositional phrases, including comitative, similitive, reflexive identity, locative, allative, genitive plus allative, ablative and directional.

4.1 Postpositions

Nine postpositions are used to determine the physical position of a person or thing in relation to another entity. All nine can occur with or without a preceding noun phrase. When they occur without a preceding noun phrase (see examples (1), (6) and (7)), they function as locative adverbs.

In most cases, five of these postpositions must be followed by a locative clitic (namely, =*hára* (§4.2.4), =*káin* (§4.2.5), or =*kálu* (§4.2.8)). The other four postpositions can be used with or without a locative clitic, with no change in meaning. There is no clear pattern as to why some need to be followed by a clitic, and some do not.

TABLE 4.1. NUKNA POSTPOSITIONS

Enclitic required		Enclitic optional	
<i>kep</i>	'outside of'	<i>kemán</i>	'on top of'
<i>ore</i>	'in the middle of'	<i>kinan</i>	'inside of'
<i>tárang</i>	'undemeath'	<i>mulangán</i>	'far from'
<i>torong</i>	'above'	<i>tangtang</i>	'close to'
<i>táкто</i>	'next to'		

- (1) *kep*=*kálu* *ha-ngga*...
outside=DIR depart-SS.SEQ
'...it went outside and...'

- (2) *árám tákto=hára át-tu-k.*
 hole next.to=LOC exist-RP-3SG
 ‘...he stayed next to the hole.’
- (3) *Sup ketnán putu-ng át-án...*
 stone on.top.of sit-SV exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘He was sitting on top of the stone, and...’
- (4) *It-náti tangtang áwá-e-mát.*
 village-1DU.POSS close.to come-PRES-1DU
 ‘We two come close to our village.’

Postpositions are nominal-like in that they can be modified by the intensifier *hánám* (5) and the diminutive *sim* (6). For those postpositions that normally require a following enclitic, the enclitic is optional when the postposition is followed by *hánám* or *sim*. The exception is the postposition *kep*, which when followed by *hánám* must still have a following enclitic (when followed by *sim*, the enclitic marking the postposition *kep* is still optional). For all postpositions modified by *hánám* or *sim*, if the following enclitic is present, it can occur either before or after *hánám* or *sim*.

- (5) *kapme ore hánám=hára*
 area in.middle.of INTENS=LOC
 ‘...right in the middle of the area...’
- (6) *Nák=ku mulangán sim.*
 1SG=TOP far.from somewhat
 ‘I am somewhat far away.’

Postpositions can also be possessed:

- (7) *Kámá=ya tárang-yáni=káin ma=át-nándá-k.*
 some=DAT underneath-3PL.POSS=ALL NEG=exist-NEG.FUT-3SG
 ‘He will not live underneath their authority.’ (Lit. ‘He will not exist at their underneath’).

4.2 Postpositional phrases

Phrases referencing location consist of a noun phrase marked with a clitic indicating source, goal, location, or direction. Some of these

location-referencing clitics have overlapping ranges of meaning, which are discussed further below. Many postpositional phrases function as adverbial clauses, especially those marking source, goal and temporal phrases.

4.2.1 Comitative

The accompaniment construction is formed by attaching the comitative enclitic =*yot* 'COM' to one or more noun phrases. Different noun phrases can be given prominence depending on word order and where the enclitic is attached.

An accompaniment construction where no special prominence is given to either actor or set of actors is formed by marking only the second actor with the comitative clitic. In this construction, all actors are on an equal footing in terms of prominence.

- (8) *Ámna káman=yá áwá nangge-ná=yot hái=káin*
 man one=AGT wife child-3SG.POSS=COM garden=ALL

ku-u-ráng.

go-RP-2/3PL

'A man, his wife and his child(ren) went to the garden together.'

If both sets of actors are marked with the comitative clitic, then it is the first which has prominence.

- (9) *Nákot áwá nanggenayot háikáin kumán.*
nák=yot áwá nangge-na=yot hái=káin ku-u-mán.
 1SG=COM wife child-1SG.POSS=COM garden=ALL go-RP-1PL

'I went to the garden, along with my wife and child(ren).'

In (10) the first actor, *nák* 'I', is not marked with the comitative clitic, but it still has been given prominence, simply because with first person plural already cross-indexed on the verb, there is no need for the speaker to overtly include the first person pronoun in the sentence. Since he has chosen to do so anyway, prominence has been given to the first person actor. To give prominence to neither set of actors, the speaker would not include the first person pronoun, as in (11).

- (10) *Nák áwá nangge-na=yot hái=káin ku-u-mán.*
 1SG wife child-1SG.POSS=COM garden=ALL go-RP-1PL
 ‘I went to the garden, along with my wife and child(ren).’
- (11) *Áwá nangge-na=yot hái=káin ku-u-mán.*
 wife child-1SG.POSS=COM garden=ALL go-RP-1PL
 ‘My wife and child(ren) and I went to the garden together.’

In (12) prominence is given to *áwá nangge* ‘wife and child(ren)’ through fronting. The comitative clitic attaches to the final actor in the sentence, *nák* ‘I’. As can be seen in all of these examples, at least the last actor or set of actors is always marked with the comitative clitic.

- (12) *Áwá nanggena nákot háikáin kumán.*
áwá nangge-na nák=yot hái=káin ku-u-mán
 wife child-1SG.POSS 1SG=COM garden=ALL go-RP-1PL
 ‘My wife and child(ren) went to the garden, along with me.’

A common comitative construction is formed by first marking third person actors with the comitative clitic, and then following this with a first or second person pronoun which includes the speaker (first person) or hearer (second person), along with the third person actors.

- (13) *Rám káman kásánge=na=yot nát=yá umi*
 time one best.friend=1SG.POSS=COM 1DU=AGT water
kotná=káin ku-u-mát.
 cold=ALL go-RP-1DU
 ‘One day, my best friend and I went to Coldwater Creek.’
- (14) *Keli káling Simendi=yot nán=yá Bungawat ku-ku=ya*
 Keli and Simendi=COM 1PL=AGT Bungawat NMLS~go=DAT
na=hára át-tang tárut-tang ku-u-mán.
 this=LOC exist-SS.SEQ get.up-SS.SEQ go-RP-1PL
 ‘Keli and Simendi and I got up from here and left to go to Bungawat.’
- (15) *Musoki=yot sán=yá kárang si-u-málák.*
 Musoki=COM 2NSG=AGT bamboo cook-RP-2/3DU
 ‘You and Musoki burned bamboo.’

When the comitative clitic follows kinship terms, it is acceptable to drop the normally obligatory possessive suffix, leaving just the kinship term followed by the comitative clitic. In these cases, grammatical context and direct observation disambiguate between possible meanings, but only up to a point. Some ambiguity may still remain (see (16)–(18)). If the speaker wishes to further disambiguate the meaning, he can include the possessive suffix on the kinship term.

- (16) *No nangge=yot ku-u-mát.*
 1SG.AGT child=COM go-RP-1DU
 ‘I went with my/your/her/their child.’
- (17) *No nangge=yot ku-u-mán.*
 1SG.AGT child=COM go-RP-1PL
 ‘I went with my/your/his/their children.’
- (18) *Ko nangge=yot ku-u-málák.*
 2SG.AGT child=COM go-RP-2/3DU
 ‘You went with my/your/her/their child.’

When the comitative clitic follows a kinship term that has a singular referent, and the possessive pronoun attached to the kinship term is *-ná* ‘3SG.POSS’, the comitative clitic and the possessive pronoun form a contraction: *-ná + =yot → =not*.

- (19) *nangge=not*
nangge-ná=yot
 child-3SG.POSS=COM
 ‘with her child’

This contracted form is never found on non-kinship words. There is no contracted form for the comitative clitic when it is preceded by possessive pronouns with other number/person combinations other than third singular, or when the head noun is plural in number.

4.2.2 Similitive

A similitive noun phrase consists of a noun phrase followed by the similitive clitic *=ina* ‘like’. This is used when the speaker wants to assert that

someone or something is like something else, or that something appears to be a certain way.

- (20) *No erawá~wá=yan tek=ina át-tang*
 1SG.AGT fight~NMLS=GEN shield=SML exist-SS.SEQ
kehá-ng kilak ti-ine-t.
 get.2SG.OBJ-SV hidden put-FUT-1SG
 ‘I am like your fighting shield and I will protect you.’
- (21) *Wit wa=wu rais=ina.*
 wheat 3=TOP rice=SML
 ‘Wheat is like rice.’
- (22) *Hále-ngga ka-u-málák=ku káe=yá*
 look-SS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3DU=TOP sun=AGT
hásák=ina át-án...
 tall=SML exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘We two looked and saw that the sun appeared to be high (in the sky), and...’
- (23) *Ha-ngga ka-u-k=ku kuhi-ná=wu*
 enter-SS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG=TOP fireplace-3SG.OBJ=TOP
hurák=yá=ina hirat-ená.
 chicken=AGT=SML scatter-PART
 ‘She entered and saw that the ashes of its fireplace were scattered by something like a chicken.’

The similitive clitic can also mark a verb phrase, as in (24), though this is not common.

- (24) *Yáup-yáni* *wa=ya* *wa=káin* *nanará-yáni* *wa=káin*
 work-3PL.POSS 3=DAT 3=ALL thought-3PL.POSS 3=ALL
- ma=sa-t* *ku-ng-kiu-k,* *iná=ku*
 NEG=release-2/3PL.DS.SEQ go-SV-IMPF.RP-3SG but=TOP
- kalot* *yá-má-n=ina* *áwá-ng*
 forgetfulness 3NSG.OBJ-give-3SG.DS.SEQ=SML come-SV
- át-tang* *sa-ngga* *ha-ngga* *ku-ng-kiu-ráng.*
 exist-SS.SEQ leave-SS.SEQ exit-SS.SEQ go-SV-IMPF.RP-2/3PL
- ‘They wouldn’t put their work out of their thoughts, but it was like they could forget about it until they left.’

4.2.3 Reflexive identity

The reflexive identity noun phrase refers back to a noun phrase previously mentioned, and asserts that the current noun phrase is the same entity as the previously mentioned noun phrase. The reflexive identity noun phrase is marked by the reflexive clitic =*yon*, which also marks reflexive pronouns (see §3.2.1).

- (25) *Put=yá...* *áwá-ng* *káráp* *táwat-ená* *tárang=kálu*
 pig=AGT come-SV tree snap-PART under=DIR
- ku-n* *Nano* *ang* *áwá-ng* *wa=kálu=yon*
 go-3SG.DS.SEQ Nano dog come-SV 3=DIR=same
- ku-u-ráng.*
 go-RP-2/3PL
- ‘The pig... came and passed underneath a fallen tree, and Nano and the dogs came and went the same way.’
- (26) *Son* *ka-u-málák=ku* *ámna* *wa=yá=yon*
 again see.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3DU=TOP man 3=AGT=same
- sup* *ketnán* *putu-ng* *át-án...*
 stone on.top.of sit-SVexist-3SG.DS.SEQ
- ‘Again they two saw the same man sitting on top of a stone, and...’

The reflexive clitic =yon is also found marking many words that refer back to a previous constituent. The more common ones are listed in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2. WORDS MARKED BY THE REFLEXIVE CLITIC =YON

Nukna word	morphemes	meaning
<i>waháranyon</i>	<i>wa=hára=yon</i> 3=LOC=same	'at the same time'
<i>wanyon</i>	<i>wa=yon</i> 3=same	'the same as...'
<i>wáinanyon</i>	<i>wa=ina=yon</i> 3=SIM=same	'similar to...'
<i>hányon</i>	<i>há=yon</i> PERF=same	'also'
<i>manyon</i>	<i>ma=yon</i> NEG=same	'also not'

4.2.4 Locative

The locative clitic =hára 'LOC' has the meaning of 'located at'. This clitic also has a temporal function, specifying an action's location in time. The locative clitic can also be used to subordinate clauses (§8.6.3).

- (27) *Nán=ku Hamelengan=hára át-tu-mán.*
 1PL=TOP Hamelengan=LOC exist-RP-1PL
 'We were at Hamelengan.'
- (28) *Yunám kurat=hára sek nará-u-mán.*
 Yunam streambed=LOC rest perceive-RP-1PL
 'We rested at Yunam stream.'
- (29) *Ang háram-ná=hára páup kátu puti-u-ráng.*
 dog leg-3SG.POSS=LOC rope piece fasten-RP-2/3PL
 'They tied a piece of rope to the dog's leg.'

- (30) *Sonda=hára hilápmá nán=yá sungngi*
 Sunday=LOC morning 1PL=AGT food
si-ngga át-náne...
 cook-SS.SEQ exist-1PL.DS.SIM
 ‘On Sunday morning we were cooking food when...’

This clitic can also specify location in a metaphorical way, as in (31).

- (31) *Ámna náráwa=yá milun su~suwá=hára*
 man woman=AGT lips NMLS~block.up=LOC
át-kiu-ráng.
 exist-IMPF.RP-2/3PL
 ‘The people were obeying.’ (Lit. ‘They existed at the
 lips-blocking-up’ (an idiom))

4.2.5 Allative

The allative clitic =*káin* ‘ALL’ has the primary meaning of motion towards a location (goal). This is always a physical location and never an animate object (person or animal). Motion toward animate objects is marked by case-stacking the genitive and allative clitics (§4.2.6). The allative clitic can also be used to subordinate clauses (§8.6.4).

- (32) *Sima=káin áwá-ng he-u-mán.*
 garden.house=ALL come-SV arrive-RP-1PL
 ‘We arrived at the garden house.’
- (33) *Táp kurat=káin ku-ine-mán.*
 ocean shoreline=ALL go-FUT-1PL
 ‘We will go to the beach.’

The allative clitic has a range of meaning that overlaps with the locative clitic =*hára*. There are many cases where the allative clitic seems to reference a locative-like meaning, rather than a goal-like meaning.

- (34) *Táp ketnán=káin át-tang...*
 ocean on.top.of=ALL exist-SS.SEQ
 ‘We were on the ocean, and...’

- (35) *Tewe ihá-ng áwá-ng yák=yá*
 bow.and.arrows get.3NSG.OBJ-SV come-SV string.bag=AGT
át-tu-ráng=káin ti-ngga...
 exist-RP-2/3PL=ALL put-SS.SEQ
 ‘I brought the bow and arrows and put them where my string bags
 were, and...’
- (36) *Sauron=káin náráwa káman=yá kámut-án...*
 Sauron=ALL woman one=AGT die-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘A woman died at Sauron, and...’

This is an issue that needs further study. However, I would like to offer a tentative observation. In many cases where the allative clitic =*káin* is used in a locative-like manner, there seems to also be an element of motion in the clause. For example, in (35) above, while the actor put the bow and arrows *at* the place where the string bags were, he went *to* that place in order to put them there. In example (36), the place being referenced, Sauron village, was in a different location from the actors in the story. Furthermore, the actors had been planning to go to Sauron already when they heard about the woman dying. Thus, motion to that village was possibly being anticipated by use of the allative clitic. In other examples, such as (34), identifying motion in the clause is more of a stretch, though in that case the actors had just boarded a canoe and gone out onto the water, so perhaps an element of motion is in fact present.

In (37) people were travelling to a distant place. On the way, they slept *at* Worin village. However, the allative clitic is used to mark the name of the village, because they had travelled *to* that village before they slept there. In example (38) from the same story, as they travel to and sleep at another village, Tawet, we see the full sequence of events with both the allative clitic indicating their motion *to* the village, and the locative clitic indicating that they slept *at* the village. In (37) this sequence of events has been conflated, with only the sleeping being mentioned explicitly, but the allative clitic is still used to indicate their motion toward the location they slept at.

- (37) *Tárut-tang árá-ngga ku-ng Worin=káin*
 get.up-SS.SEQ climb.up-SS.SEQ go-SV Worin=ALL
ruhá-u-mán.
 sleep-RP-1PL
 ‘We got up and climbed up (the trail) and went on and slept at Worin.’

- (38) *Ku-ngga Táwet=káin ha-ng wa=hára*
 go-SS.SEQ Tawet=ALL climb.down-SV 3=LOC
ruhá-u-mán.
 sleep-RP-1PL
 ‘We went and climbed down (the trail) to Tawet and we slept there.’

There are cases where native speakers use the locative clitic =*hára* and the allative clitic =*káin* interchangeably. In the following extended example, the same act is referenced twice, using the same verb root, once with the location plus =*hára*, and once with the location plus =*káin*.

- (39) *Kunap yang-ná wa ket-na=hára pon-tang*
 snake tail-3SG.POSS 3 arm-1SG.POSS=LOC wind.up-SS.SEQ
ku-e ku-e ku-e
 go-1SG.DS.SEQ go-1SG.DS.SEQ go-1SG.DS.SEQ
hátewi-n árong rangguk
 become.short-3SG.DS.SEQ then machete
tá-u-t=ná=yá tá-ngga
 get.3SG.OBJ-RP-1SG=3SG.POSS=AGT get.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
hose-e ha-ng kip-ná=yá re
 chop-1SG.DS.SEQ fall-SS.SEQ skin-3SG.POSS=AGT only
tánggári-ngga át-án, son
 hang.by.just.a.little-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ again
ket-na=káin pon-tu-t wa yali-ngga...
 arm-1SG.POSS=ALL wind.up-RP-1SG 3 unwind-SS.SEQ
 ‘I wound up the snake’s tail around my arm, around and around and around (lit. ‘I went and went and went’), and it (the snake) became

short, and then I got a machete, and I chopped it, and it (the snake's body) fell down and it was just hanging by its skin, and I unwound it again from my arm where I had wound it up, and...'

However, in other contexts, the locative clitic =*hára* and the allative clitic =*káin* are not interchangeable. In the first example (40) below, the locative clitic indicates that the men are from the same village as Ote, while in the second (41), the allative clitic indicates that the men are from a different village than Ote. Again, the idea of motion inherent in the allative clitic points to the fact that, in (41), the head men have journeyed to see Ote, while the head men in (40) have not—they have just come to him from within the same village.

- (40) *Ote=yá ámna yáin-lá it wa=hára=nan*
 Ote=AGT man head-3SG.POSS village 3=LOC=ABL

wa=yá áwá-t ing yá-ná-u-k, ...
 3=AGT come-2/3PL.DS.SEQ thus 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-RP-3SG
 'Head men from the village came and Ote said to them, ...'

- (41) *Ote=yá ámna yáin-lá it wa=káin=nan*
 Ote=AGT man head-3SG.POSS village 3=ALL=ABL

wa=yá áwá-t ing yá-ná-u-k, ...
 3=AGT come-2/3PL.DS.SEQ thus 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-RP-3SG
 'Head men from another village came and Ote said to them, ...'

4.2.6 Genitive plus allative

The genitive and allative clitics appear together ('case-stacking') to indicate motion toward an animate object, either human or animal. This is in contrast to motion toward an inanimate object, normally a physical location or place, which is marked by the allative clitic alone (§4.2.5).

- (42) *Putánkáin áwut.*
 put=**yan=káin** áwá-u-t.
 pig=GEN=ALL come-RP-1SG
 'I came to the pig.'

- (43) *Wa ihánga nákáńkáin áwáng.*
 wa ihá-ńga nák=**yan=káin** áwá-ńg.
 3 get.3NSG.OBJ-SS.SEQ 1SG=GEN=ALL come-2SG.IMP
 ‘You get them and come to me.’
- (44) *Ket-ka páliná muná*
 hand-2SG.POSS contents no
nambá-ka=yan=káin ma=ku-inda-lák.
 mother.in.law-2SG.POSS=GEN=ALL NEG=go-PROHIB-2SG
 ‘You must not go to your mother-in-law empty-handed.’
- (45) *Angelo=yá sipsip pin-yáni tá~tá=yan=káin*
 angel=AGT sheep care-3PL.POSS NMLS~do=GEN=ALL
tunggafe-u-ráng.
 appear-RP-2/3PL
 ‘Angels appeared to the ones caring for the sheep.’
- (46) *Nákáńkáin nanará káman átak.*
 nák=**yan=káin** na~nará káman át-ta-k.
 1SG=GEN=ALL NMLS~perceive one exist-PRES-3SG.
 ‘I have an idea.’ (Lit. ‘A thought exists to me.’)

4.2.7 Ablative

The ablative clitic =*nan* ‘ABL’ has the meaning of motion from a location (source). Normally the ablative clitic is attached to the locative clitic =*hára* or the allative clitic =*káin*, which is attached to the noun phrase, but the ablative clitic alone attached to a noun phrase has also been observed.

- (47) *Apalap ruhá-u-k, wa=hára=nan tárut-tang*
 Apalap sleep-RP-3SG 3=LOC=ABL get.up-SS.SEQ
ku-u-k.
 go-RP-3SG
 ‘He slept at Apalap, (and) from there he got up and went.’

(Notice in the above example that there is no locative marker on the place name *Apalap*. There are many examples of place names occurring without

expected locative markers. They seem to be optional for place names, though they are obligatory elsewhere.)

- (48) *Ámna náráwa wa=káin wa=káin=**nan** wa=yá*
 man woman 3=ALL 3=ALL=ABL 3=AGT
wa=yan=káin áwá-u-ráng.
 3=GEN=ALL come-RP-2/3PL
 ‘People from all over came to him.’

When it follows a place name, the ablative clitic indicates a person’s origin.

- (49) *Nák=ku Sunde=**nan**.*
 1SG=TOP Sunde=ABL
 ‘I am from Sunde.’
- (50) *Kewiyang=**nan** ámna káman study*
 Kewiyang=ABL man one study
ná-má-ng-kiu-k.
 1NSG.OBJ-give-SV-IMP.F.RP-3SG
 ‘A man from Kewiyang was conducting studies for us.’
- A combination of the locative clitic and the ablative clitic is used to indicate that the head of a following noun phrase is a member of some group. The construction is ordered as follows:
- ‘name.of.group’ *wa=hára=**nan*** ‘noun.phrase.head’.
- (51) *Náráwa máto yará wa=**hára**=**nan** nukngá=yá nukngá*
 woman young two 3=LOC=ABL other=AGT other
iná-u-k, ...
 say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 ‘One of them from the two young women said to the other, ...’

- (52) *It káman=hára ku-ng he-u-málák. Ku-ng*
 village one=LOC go-SV arrive-RP-2/3DU go-SV
he-n it wa=hára=nan ámna
 arrive-2/3DU.DS.SEQ village 3=LOC=ABL man
náráwa=yá heronge tá-ngga...
 woman=AGT happiness do-SS.SEQ
 ‘They two arrived at a village. They arrived and people from the
 village welcomed them, and...’

4.2.8 Directional

The directional clitic =*kálu* ‘DIR’ has the meaning of motion through, by way of, or towards a location. It is related to the word *kálu* ‘path, road’. This clitic also has a temporal function, indicating that an action took place as it was getting on towards a certain time.

- (53) *Siang=kálu Hamelengan=káin áwá-Ø-t.*
 Siang=DIR Hamelengan=ALL come-NP-1SG
 ‘(Yesterday) I came to Hamelengan by way of Siang.’
- (54) *Ulap kánang=kálu átni-ng-kiu-mán. Kálu*
 before jungle=DIR travel.around-SV-IMPF.RP-1PL road
wa=kálu ku-ine-t.
 3=DIR go-FUT-1SG
 ‘Before we used to travel through the jungle. I will go by that road.’
- (55) *Kálu áwá~wá=kálu wa hále-ngga...*
 road come~NMLS=DIR 3 watch-SS.SEQ
 ‘I watched toward where it was coming, and...’ (Lit. ‘toward the
 coming road’)
- (56) *Yonyon=kálu náráwa tátáwi wa usá-t...*
 afternoon=DIR woman elderly 3 cover-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
 ‘Towards evening, they buried the old woman, and...’

- (57) *Sauran=káin it=yá yongi-u-k=kálu wa*
 Sauran=ALL place=AGT become.dark-RP-3SG=DIR 3

ku-ng he-u-mán.

go-SV arrive-RP-1PL

‘We arrived at Sauran towards nightfall.’

5. *Verbs and verb phrases*

This chapter provides an overview of Nukna verbs and verb phrases. There are two verb classes (§5.1) which are inflected by different verb suffixes. §5.2 explores verb morphology, including person/number and a brief mention of tense, aspect, modality and mood (which are more thoroughly explored in chapter 6), and participles as modifiers; §5.3 presents the four strategies for marking transitive verbs; §5.4 introduces the issues surrounding final verbs versus medial verbs; §5.5 briefly mentions serial verbs, leaving most of the discussion for §7.3; §5.6 describes the three forms of the existential verb and their distribution; and §5.7 presents the verb phrase and related topics, including light verbs and adjunct nominals, the experiencer verb phrase and the negative verb phrase.

5.1 **Verb classes**

Verbs may be divided into two distinct classes based on the final phoneme of the verb root. This distinction is not related in any way to the meaning of the verbs, but has significance only because the two verb classes are inflected by different verb suffix surface forms. Any verb root with a root-final vowel (*a, á, e, i, o, u*) belongs to the vowel-final verb class. Verb roots which have a root-final consonant (which can only be *t* or *n*) belong to the consonant-final verb class. The vowel-final verb class has a rather larger membership than the consonant-final verb class.

The two verb classes take different, though similar, verb suffixes when they are inflected for person/number, tense, and mood. Often it is possible to propose morphophonemic processes that account for the different forms of the verb suffixes which attach to the two classes of verbs; in other cases, it is difficult to see a relationship between the suffixes.

The following table lists the roots and glosses of a few verbs. Bare verb roots are never encountered in Nukna discourse and are listed here merely for illustrative purposes. The six vowel-final verbs in this table include one verb

root ending in each of the six Nukna vowels. The consonant-final verbs include verb roots ending in either *t* or *n*.

TABLE 5.1. V-FINAL AND C-FINAL VERB ROOTS

V-final verb class		C-final verb class	
<i>ha</i>	'climb down'	<i>át</i>	'exist'
<i>áwá</i>	'come'	<i>ísut</i>	'follow'
<i>sare</i>	'cut grass'	<i>yut</i>	'laugh'
<i>kuli</i>	'spill'	<i>hirat</i>	'sweep, scatter'
<i>ho</i>	'go down'	<i>mon</i>	'fill up with a solid'
<i>ku</i>	'go'	<i>yon</i>	'split'

5.2 Verb morphology

5.2.1 Person and number subject agreement

Subject agreement verb suffixes cross-index the grammatical subject of the verb. These suffixes distinguish between first, second, and third person, as well as between singular, dual, and plural number. However, the dual and plural suffixes only distinguish between first person and non-first person. These person/number markers occur only on some types of final verbs (and never on medial verbs), including verbs in the indicative mood, interrogative mood, prohibitive mood, and some verb aspects (§6.2.1–6.2.4 and §6.2.7). The person/number suffixes are obligatory for these verbs.

TABLE 5.2. PERS/NUM SUBJECT AGREEMENT SUFFIXES—BOTH VERB CLASSES

	SG	DU	PL
1	- <i>t</i>	- <i>mát</i>	- <i>mán</i>
2	- <i>lák</i>	- <i>málák</i>	- <i>ráng</i>
3	- <i>k</i>		

- (1) *Yáni kap sáponga tá-u-ráng.*
 3PL.EMPH song prayer do-RP-2/3PL
 'They sang and prayed.'

- (2) *Nát=yá heronge táwi nará-ine-mát.*
 1DU=AGT happiness big perceive-FUT-1DU
 ‘We two will feel great happiness.’
- (3) *Re=káin ku-inde-málák?*
 where=ALL go-IF-2/3DU
 ‘Where are you two about to go?’
- (4) *Sáut káman uyi-ngga tá-u-t.*
 spear one pull-SS.SEQ do-RP-1SG
 ‘I fitted an arrow (to the bow).’

Different subject medial verbs are also marked with person/number subject agreement. See §5.4.1 for a discussion of these verbs and a listing of the person/number suffixes. Also see §8.3.2 for example sentences.

5.2.2 Tense, aspect, modality, mood

Tense is found only on final verbs, and never on medial verbs. Of final verbs, tense markers are used with the indicative and interrogative moods, and with some aspects (§6.2.1 and §6.2.7). Other types of final verbs do not take the tense suffixes. See chapter 6 for further discussion.

TABLE 5.3. TENSE SUFFIXES

	gloss	V-final verbs	C-final verbs
Present	PRES	-e	-ta
Near past	NP	∅	-a
Remote past	RP	-u	-tu
Immediate future	IF	-inde	-nánde
Future	FUT	-ine	-ne
Dubitative future	DFUT	-inda	-nánda

- (5) *Umi=káin ku-u-mán.*
 river=ALL go-RP-1PL
 ‘We went to the river.’
- (6) *Yák tá-ngga áwá-ine-t.*
 string.bag get.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ come-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will get the string bag and come.’

- (7) *Náráwa yará ruhá-e-mát.*
 woman two sleep-PRES-1DU
 ‘The two women sleep.’
- (8) *Me hárot-tu-mán.*
 talk tie.up-RP-1PL
 ‘We made a plan.’
- (9) *Kuip áwá-Ø-k.*
 Yesterday come-NP-3SG
 ‘She came yesterday.’
- (10) *Náráwa yará=yá iná-inde-málák.*
 woman two=AGT say.3SG.OBJ-IF-2/3DU
 ‘The two women are about to speak to him.’
- (11) *Wa=yá Siang=káin máriya ku-inda-k.*
 3=AGT Siang=ALL later go-DFUT-3SG
 ‘At a later time he will probably go to Siang.’

As is typical of Papuan languages, aspect and modality in Nukna are often expressed by verb stems in serial constructions, though sometimes they are expressed by free particles. These topics are dealt with in §6.2–6.4.

Mood is expressed through verb suffixation. Some moods (indicative, interrogative) have separate person/number and tense suffixes, while others (such as the imperative, irrealis and apprehensive moods) employ fused suffixes. Further discussion and verb paradigms are found in §6.5.

5.2.3 Verb compounding

Only one stem has been found that is formed through the compounding of two bare verb roots. This behaves differently from verb serialisation, in which the verbs (other than the last verb) are marked with the serial verb suffix (see §5.5).

- (12) *si-na-u-ráng*
 cook-eat-RP-2/3PL
 ‘you(PL)/they cooked and ate.’

Since cooking and eating are two actions that very commonly occur together, it is quite possible that this single example is just a case of a lexicalised form. On the other hand, Quigley (2002:113) mentions that Awara has “a few verbs that show a clear distinction in their morphology depending on whether they are part of a compound or serial construction.”

5.2.4 Participles as modifiers

VERB STEM + *-ená*

The suffix *-ená* may be attached to any verb stem in order to derive a modifying participle. The participle is the head of a subordinate participle clause.

- (13) *ámna kámút-ená*
 man die-PART
 ‘dead man’
- (14) *Káráp táwat-ená tárang=kálu ku-n...*
 tree snap-PART under=DIR go-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘He passed under the snapped tree and...’

It is sometimes difficult to naturally translate a sentence containing a participle into English without resorting to the use of a relative clause (though this is not unexpected, since participles and relative clauses in English are very similar in form).

- (15) *Taweng pi-ngga ti-ená mon-tang*
 taro.sp dig-SS.SEQ put-PART fill.up.so lid-SS.SEQ

áwá-u-mát.

come-RP- IDU

‘We filled up (our string bags) with the taro which had been dug and placed and then we came.’

(or: ‘We filled up (our string bags) with the dug-and-placed taro and then we came.’)

Other elements of a regular verb clause, including objects (17) and locatives (18), can also be included in the modifying participle clause. The participle clause modifies the first preceding noun phrase in the clause. If

other verbs are interposed between the participle and the noun phrase, then all the interposed verbs are considered to be modifying along with the verb stem which actually takes the *-ená* suffix (see examples (15) above and (16) below).

- (16) *Hurák maming ihá-ng huk~hurik*
 chicken big get.3NSG.OBJ-SV INTENS~turn.around
tá-ngga át-ená tebol=hára ti-ngga mará-u-mán.
 do-SS.SEQ exist-PART table=LOC put-SS.SEQ chop-RP-1PL
 ‘We put on the table the big chickens which were gotten and were being turned around and around, and we chopped them up.’ (note: referring to rotisserie chicken)
- (17) *Kándáng át-ená me kándák tá-ená wa kámuk*
 correct exist-PART and wrong do-PART 3 all
ma=ráhá-ng kátkámút tá-inda-lák.
 NEG=hit.3NSG.OBJ-SV death do-PROH-2SG
 ‘You must not strike and kill everyone, the correct-existing ones and the wrong-doing ones.’
- (18) *ámna naráwa málám=yot it=hára át-ená*
 man woman 3SG.EMPH=COM house=LOC exist-PART
 ‘the people who were with him at the house’

A verb phrase marked as a participle can be negated.

- (19) *kunap wa=wu ma=ka-ená*
 snake 3=TOP NEG=see.3SG.OBJ-PART
 ‘the snake was unseen’
- (20) *kuhát=yá sek ma=nará-ená galas há*
 frog=AGT rest NEG=perceive-PART goggles PERF
ti-n...
 put-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘The not-resting frog had already put on the goggles and...’

A modifying participle can be modified by the intensifier *hánám*.

- (21) *Kut-yáni* *ára-ená* *hánám* *hále-ine-ráng.*
 name-3PL.POSS climb.up-PART INTENS become-FUT-2/3PL
 ‘They will become (ones with) very high up reputations.’

Quantifiers, numerals and demonstratives may occur either before or after the participle. Following Nukna clause structure, demonstratives must always occur after any quantifier or numeral that is present. Adjectives must occur before the participle.

Two more examples of modifying participles follow.

- (22) *Ámna* *málám* *áram=yá* *tárok* *át-ená=kálu*
 man 3SG.EMPH lake=AGT dried.up exist-PART=DIR

wa *ha-ngga* *át-tu-k.*
 3 climb.down-SS.SEQ exist-RP-3SG

‘The man was going down by way of the dried up lake.’

- (23) *Tátáwi* *hále-ená* *nák* *ina=yá* *wa* *nangge* *pálipuk*
 elderly become-PART 1SG SML=AGT 3 child truly

tá-ng *ti-ine-t* *me?*
 get.3SG.OBJ-SV put-FUT-1SG YNQ

‘Will a person who has become old like me really have a child?’

Lastly, a modifying participle construction can be used when a verbal clause with negative polarity is followed by a verbal clause with positive polarity. However, this is not a commonly-occurring construction in Nukna (see §7.1.4, example (19)).

5.3 Strategies for marking transitive verbs

Four strategies are available for marking a verb as transitive. These are 1) verb prefixes, 2) suppletive verb stems, 3) serial verb constructions, and 4) zero marking (i.e., context).

5.3.1 ‘Regular’ object cross-indexing: prefixes

As we have already seen, all final verbs (as well as different-subject medial verbs) must be cross-indexed for that verb’s grammatical subject. This

is achieved through verb suffixation. A limited number of transitive verbs are also cross-indexed for the person and number of that verb's grammatical object. This object cross-indexing is obligatory and applies to all forms of these verbs, whether final or medial (both different-subject and same-subject medial). The semantic role of this object could be either that of *patient* (if inanimate) or *experiencer* (if animate)—the one who undergoes the action. Or it could be *recipient*—the one associated with a change of possession of something. Grammatically, some verbs cross-index the indirect object ('I gave the book *to him*') while others cross-index the direct object ('She hit *the dog*'). However, there is no difference in the form of verb prefixes that index direct object versus those that index indirect object. See the below paradigms for the verbs *imá* 'give' (for which the prefix agrees with the indirect object) and *isut* 'chase, follow' (for which the prefix agrees with the direct object).

With some verbs, object cross-indexing is achieved through 'regular' verb prefixation; with others, the person/number of the cross-indexed object is referenced through the use of 'irregular' suppletive verb stems (§5.3.2).

Six verb roots take verb prefixation that is for the most part 'regular' in pattern. For example, the prefix that references a first person singular object is *na-* '1SG.OBJ' for all regular object cross-indexing verbs, while the second person non-singular prefix is *sá-* '2NSG.OBJ'. For these verbs, the form referencing a third singular object is taken as the basic form of the verb. There is no regular third singular object prefix—three of the six verbs begin with /i/, two with /e/, and one with /ta/. As a result, the first syllable of the third singular object cross-indexing verbs is interpreted as part of the verb stem. This first syllable drops out when the object prefix is added for the cross-indexing of objects that are not third singular.

The object cross-indexing prefixes are identical in form to the first syllable of their corresponding possessive pronoun (§3.3.2) and emphatic personal pronoun (§3.2.1). There is no distinction between dual and plural when objects are cross-indexed on verbs.

TABLE 5.4. REGULAR OBJECT CROSS-INDEXING PREFIXES

	SG	NSG
1	<i>na-</i>	<i>ná-</i>
2	<i>ka-</i>	<i>sá-</i>
3		<i>yá-</i>

Paradigms for the six ‘regular’ object cross-indexing verbs follow below. The forms given show the object prefix followed by the verb root, with morpheme breaks shown. For the third singular forms, only one morpheme, the root, is shown because the object cross-indexing initial syllable is interpreted as part of the root. The forms listed below never actually occur in the language because all verbs are obligatorily followed by further verb morphology, such as tense and subject-agreement.

TABLE 5.5. OBJECT PREFIXES FOR *IMÁ* ‘GIVE’

	SG	NSG
1	<i>na-má</i>	<i>ná-má</i>
2	<i>ka-má</i>	<i>sá-má</i>
3	<i>imá</i>	<i>yá-má</i>

TABLE 5.6. OBJECT PREFIXES FOR *INÁ* ‘SAY TO’

	SG	NSG
1	<i>na-ná</i>	<i>ná-ná</i>
2	<i>ka-ná</i>	<i>sá-ná</i>
3	<i>iná</i>	<i>yá-ná</i>

TABLE 5.7. OBJECT PREFIXES FOR *ELE* ‘SHOW’

	SG	NSG
1	<i>na-le</i>	<i>ná-le</i>
2	<i>ka-le</i>	<i>sá-le</i>
3	<i>ele</i>	<i>yá-le</i>

TABLE 5.8. OBJECT PREFIXES FOR *TÁRAWÁ* ‘SHOOT’

	SG	NSG
1	<i>na-rawá</i>	<i>ná-rawá</i>
2	<i>ka-rawá</i>	<i>sá-rawá</i>
3	<i>tárawá</i>	<i>yá-rawá</i>

TABLE 5.9. OBJECT PREFIXES FOR *ISUT* 'FOLLOW, CHASE'

	SG	NSG
1	<i>na-sut</i>	<i>ná-sut</i>
2	<i>ka-sut</i>	<i>sá-sut</i>
3	<i>isut</i>	<i>yá-sut</i>

TABLE 5.10. OBJECT PREFIXES FOR *ENGOT* 'ESCORT'

	SG	NSG
1	<i>na-ngot</i>	<i>ná-ngot</i>
2	<i>ka-ngot</i>	<i>sá-ngot</i>
3	<i>engot</i>	<i>yá-ngot</i>

5.3.2 'Irregular' object cross-indexing: suppletion

Six object cross-indexing verbs do not adhere to the above pattern, but instead have 'irregular' forms. While it is possible to recognise partial patterns (e.g., an initial *n* for all forms cross-indexing a first singular object), it is not possible to conclusively separate the verb root from the object prefix. Thus for these irregular verbs, the forms are considered fused. Verb suppletion is present for many forms of these verbs. Paradigms for these 'irregular' verbs follow.

TABLE 5.11. IRREGULAR OBJECT FORMS FOR *TÁ* 'GET'

	SG	NSG
1	<i>nehá</i>	<i>náhá</i>
2	<i>kehá</i>	<i>sáhá</i>
3	<i>tá</i>	<i>ihá</i>

TABLE 5.12. IRREGULAR OBJECT FORMS FOR *KA* 'LOOK AT'

	SG	NSG
1	<i>nahá</i>	<i>náhá</i>
2	<i>kahá</i>	<i>sáhá</i>
3	<i>ka</i>	<i>kápá</i>

1NSG and 2NSG forms are identical for the above verbs *tá* and *ka*. The meaning is partially derived from context.

TABLE 5.13. IRREGULAR OBJECT FORMS FOR SA ‘RELEASE, LEAVE’

	SG	NSG
1	<i>nepma</i>	<i>nápma</i>
2	<i>kepma</i>	<i>sápma</i>
3	<i>sa</i>	<i>yápma</i>

TABLE 5.14. IRREGULAR OBJECT FORMS FOR UT ‘HIT, KILL’

	SG	NSG
1	<i>nut</i>	<i>náráhá</i>
2	<i>kut</i>	<i>sáráhá</i>
3	<i>ut</i>	<i>ráhá</i>

Ut ‘hit, kill’ is unique in that it is a consonant-final verb in the singular, but a vowel-final verb in the non-singular.

TABLE 5.15. IRREGULAR OBJECT FORMS FOR SÁ ‘BITE’

	SG	NSG
1	<i>ne</i>	<i>nánge</i>
2	<i>ke</i>	<i>sánge</i>
3	<i>sá</i>	<i>yánge</i>

TABLE 5.16. IRREGULAR OBJECT FORMS FOR *INGIRUNGI* ‘TRICK, TEST’

	SG	NSG
1	<i>nang~na-rungi</i>	<i>náng~ná-rungi</i>
2	<i>kang~ka-rungi</i>	<i>sáng~sá-rungi</i>
3	<i>ing~irungi</i>	<i>yáng~yá-rungi</i>

Ingirungi ‘trick, test’ is unique among verbs in that the verb always occurs with a reduplicated root. The obligatory reduplication does not carry any aspectual meaning, such as iterative aspect, that reduplication normally confers on verbs. The root first takes the regular object cross-indexing prefix, and this prefixed verb is then reduplicated according to the common CVC pattern (first consonant, first vowel, last consonant). Thus the prefix occurs twice. Because of this unusual construction, this verb is included with the other irregular object cross-indexing verbs.

5.3.3 Cross-indexing an object with an SVC

Many transitive verbs use object cross-indexing strategies other than verb prefixation or verb suppletion. Some of these transitive verbs achieve object

cross-indexing through the use of a serial verb construction (SVC). See §7.3 for a description of SVCs.

The first verb in this construction is always the verb *táng* ‘get’ or its various other forms (see Table 5.11). When used in this construction, *táng* is not a verb with full semantic meaning—nothing is being ‘gotten’ when the verb is used in this construction. Instead, it is used solely for a grammatical purpose—that of cross-indexing the object of the second verb in the construction, which is the main verb of the clause and has regular semantic meaning.

- (24) *Nehá-ng* *mará-e-k.*
 get.1SG.OBJ-SV cut-PRES-3SG
 ‘He cut me.’
- (25) *Náhá-ng* *mirak tá-tá* *ku-ine-mán.*
 get.1NSG.OBJ-SV awake do-2SG.DS.SEQ go-FUT-1PL
 ‘Wake us up and (then) we will go.’
- (26) *Kámut-e* *nehá-ng* *usá-ine-ráng.*
 die-1SG.DS.SEQ get.1SG.OBJ-SV cover-FUT-2/3PL
 ‘I will die and they will bury me.’

Verbs of motion become transitive when found in this object cross-indexing serial verb construction.

- (27) *Tewe* *ihá-ng* *áwá-ng* *yák=yá*
 bow.and.arrows get.3NSG.OBJ-SV come-SV string.bag=AGT
át-tu-ráng=káin *ti-ngga...*
 exist-RP-2/3PL=ALL put-SS.SEQ
 ‘I brought (lit. got them and came) the bow and arrows and put them where my string bags were...’
- (28) *Sukngam* *suli-ngga* *ihá-ng* *ku-ng* *yu-ngga...*
 cassowary hunt-SS.SEQ get.3NSG.OBJ-SV go-SV sell-SS.SEQ
 ‘Let’s hunt cassowary and take them and sell them...’

In the following set of examples, (29) and (31) show how the verb *hárámut* ‘be surprised’ and the adjunct nominal construction *heronge tá* ‘be happy’ are used intransitively. Examples (30) and (32) show how these same

two verbs are transitivised by placing them in an SVC with the verb *tá* (*náhá* in (30) and *ihá* in (32)) are forms of the verb (*tá*).

- (29) *Ámna náráwa=yá wa nará-ngga ikik*
 man woman=AGT 3 perceive-SS.SEQ great.surprise

hárámut-tu-ráng.

be.surprised-RP-2/3PL

‘The people heard this and were greatly surprised.’

- (30) *Náhá-ng hárámut-Ø tá-e-ráng.*
 get.1NSG.OBJ-SV surprise-SV do-PRES-2/3PL

‘They surprised us.’

- (31) *Heronge tá-e-k.*
 happiness do-PRES-3SG

‘She was happy.’

- (32) *Ihá-ng heronge tá-e-k.*
 get.3NSG.OBJ-SV happiness do-PRES-3SG

‘She made them happy.’

5.3.4 Zero object marking

Use of the SVC object cross-indexing strategy is not obligatory. If the object is explicitly stated just before the verb, or if the object is otherwise understood from context, the speaker may choose to omit the object cross-indexing verb. Compare examples (26), (33) and (34), which all have the verb *usá* ‘cover’.

- (33) *Yonyon=kálu náráwa tátáwi wa usá-t...*
 afternoon=DIR woman elderly 3 cover-2/3PL.DS.SEQ

‘Towards evening, they buried the old woman, and...’

- (34) *Ále=yá ta-n tum rut-tang*
 rain=AGT precipitate-3SG.DS.SEQ covering pick-SS.SEQ

usá-ngga áwá-u-t.

cover-SS.SEQ come-RP-1SG

‘It was raining and I picked a (banana leaf) covering and covered (myself) and came.’

For some verbs, such as *usáng* ‘cover’, object marking through either strategy – SVC object cross-indexing or zero object marking – is equally acceptable, with no difference in meaning. However, for other verbs, only one of these two strategies is acceptable. Using the other strategy results in a significant change in meaning.

Some verbs cannot be preceded by some forms of the verb *tá* in an attempted SVC object cross-indexing construction because it would instead result in a symmetrical SVC (§7.3.1) with another meaning altogether. When the verb *maráng* ‘cut’ has a third singular object, the SVC object cross-indexing strategy may not be used (even though this strategy may be used for objects of other person/number combinations – see (24)). Instead, the object must be explicitly mentioned before the verb, as in (35). If the verb *maráng* were to be preceded by *táng*, it would instead result in the meaning ‘refuse, withhold’.

- (35) *Kárang mará-t áwá-n...*
 bamboo cut-2/3PL.DS.SEQ come-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘They chopped down a bamboo stalk and it came (down), and...’

On the other hand, some verbs must have their object cross-indexed by being preceded by a form of the verb *táng*. Otherwise, the meaning of the verb would be different. The adjunct nominal construction *mirak táng* ‘wake up someone’ must be preceded by a form of the verb *táng* – see (25). (The object may optionally be included as well, preceding the SVC construction.) If instead only the object is stated, without a form of the verb *táng*, *mirak táng* is no longer an adjunct nominal construction and has a different meaning.

- (36) *Másikep mirak¹⁹ tá-ng.*
 sugar.glider alive get.3SG.OBJ-2SG.IMP
 ‘Capture the sugar glider alive.’

As the above examples illustrate, Nukna verbs and the object cross-indexing strategies they employ is a topic of considerable complexity. Meanings that are derived from these strategies are often lexically determined. A full reckoning is beyond the scope of this study.

¹⁹ *Mirak* means ‘awake’, ‘alive’ and ‘new’.

5.4 Final vs. medial verbs

Nukna is a typical Papuan (non-Austronesian) language that employs clause-chaining, anticipatory switch-reference, and final and medial (non-finite) verbs. All verbs are either fully-inflected final verbs, or medial verbs which are never inflected for tense or mood, and only sometimes inflected for person/number. Medial verbs are obligatorily marked with anticipatory switch-reference.

Final verbs take the most complicated verb suffixation. They are ‘fully-inflected’, meaning they are always inflected for person/number and mood, and often also for tense. Any medial verb or string of medial verbs will eventually be followed by a final verb. The tense and mood (and sometimes the person/number as well) of this final verb will extend to all the medial verbs that precede it. See §8.3 for the interaction of medial and final verbs in sentence structure.

Medial verb suffixes communicate the relationship between the current clause and the immediately following clause. If the subjects of both clauses are identical (co-referential), the medial verb is not marked with anything other than a ‘same-subject’ suffix indicating that the following clause has the same subject as the current clause (see §8.3.1 for examples). If the subject of the following clause is different than the subject of the current clause, the medial verb is marked with a person/number suffix. This suffix indicates what the person and number of the current clause’s subject is, as well as indicating that the subject of the following clause will be different (see §8.3.2 for examples). This system of medial verb suffixation is commonly referred to as ‘anticipatory switch-reference’, since the medial verb suffix ‘anticipates’ whether the next clause’s subject will be the same or different.

In addition to marking whether the following clause’s subject is the same or different, some medial verb suffixation also indicates the temporal relationship between the two clauses—whether they occurred simultaneously or sequentially.

5.4.1 Different-subject medial verbs

For different-subject medial verbs, there are two sets of endings, one set indicating that the two clauses occurred more or less in temporal sequence (sequential medial verbs), with the other set indicating that the two actions occurred at overlapping times (simultaneous medial verbs). In both cases, the different-subject suffix usually also indicates a clausal boundary (the exception being different-subject serial verbs—see §7.3.3).

Simultaneous different-subject medial verbs

The following tables show the verb suffixes for different-subject simultaneous medial verbs. Note that for both simultaneous and sequential different-subject verbs, the third person singular suffixes are identical to those of the second/third dual. Context alone allows the hearer to decide which is being referenced.

The simultaneous different-subject medial suffixes for vowel-final verbs and consonant-final verbs are very similar. In most cases, they differ only by the initial morpheme of the suffixes—/n/ versus /ng/. This difference can be explained by morphophonemics, whereby the last morpheme of consonant-final verbs (which can only be /n/ or /t/) causes the initial consonant /ng/ of the suffix to assimilate to the same point of articulation and become /n/. However, both sets of suffixes are still listed because there are other differences between the first dual and first plural forms which cannot be explained through morphophonemic alternations.

TABLE 5.17. SIMULTANEOUS DIFFERENT-SUBJECT SUFFIXES—V-FINAL

	SG	DU	PL
1	-ngáre	-ngáte	-ngátne
2	-ngára	-ngarán	-ngarát
3	-ngarán		

TABLE 5.18. SIMULTANEOUS DIFFERENT-SUBJECT SUFFIXES—C-FINAL

	SG	DU	PL
1	-náre	-nánde	-náne
2	-nárá	-nárán	-narát
3	-nárán		

Sequential different-subject medial verbs

The following tables show the verb suffixes for different-subject sequential medial verbs. The two sets of suffixes are nearly identical, the only difference being that for C-final verbs, the vowel *á* occurs at the beginning of each suffix (except for first person singular). It is likely that both sets have the same underlying form, that of the C-final verbs. Since the mid-central vowel *á* almost always loses out to another vowel when they come together at a morpheme break (§2.5.2), it is elided when suffixed to V-final verbs.

TABLE 5.19. SEQUENTIAL DIFFERENT-SUBJECT SUFFIXES—V-FINAL

	SG	DU	PL
1	-e	-te	-tne
2	-tá	-n	-t
3	-n		

TABLE 5.20. SEQUENTIAL DIFFERENT-SUBJECT SUFFIXES—C-FINAL

	SG	DU	PL
1	-e	-áte	-átne
2	-átá	-án	-át
3	-án		

5.4.2 Same-subject medial verbs

Same-subject medial verbs that indicate a relationship of temporal sequence between the current clause and the following clause are by far the most common type of medial verb. This is due to the nature of discourse, whereby a single actor or set of actors doing actions in temporal sequence is the most common situation found in stories and everyday conversation. As with different-subject medial verb suffixes, the same-subject sequential medial verb suffix indicates a clause boundary.

TABLE 5.21. SAME-SUBJECT MEDIAL VERB SUFFIXES

V-final verbs	-ngga
C-final verbs	-tang

Vowel-final same-subject medial verbs are unique among medial verbs, and among all verbs in general, in that the unexpected event suffix can attach

to the end of a vowel-final same-subject medial verb form (see §9.5). This suffix does not attach to any other type of verb.

There is no simultaneous same-subject medial verb suffix, but simultaneous time in same-subject situations can be indicated through use of the iterative aspect (see §6.2.6).

5.5 Serial verbs

A serial verb is formed by adding the serial verb marker 'SV' to the bare verb stem. Serial verbs are closely related in form to same-subject medial verbs, especially to that of vowel-final verbs (cf. *ku-ng* 'go-SV' and *ku-ngga* 'go-SS.SEQ'). The critical difference in meaning is that medial verbs signal the end of a clause, while serial verbs do not. Table 5.22 shows the forms of the serial verb marker. For consonant-final verbs, a serial verb is unmarked, and is indicated here by null '-Ø'.

TABLE 5.22. SERIAL VERB SUFFIXES

V-final verbs	-ng
C-final verbs	-Ø

Since serial verbs have clause-level implications, further discussion and examples are presented in §7.3.

5.6 Existential verbs

Three verbs indicate existence in Nukna. The meanings of these three verbs are nearly identical. English glosses for all three of these verbs are 'exist, stay, remain, be'. However, there are slight differences in their usage.

The basic default existential verb root is *át*, which is used in the vast majority of situations.

- (37) *Káráp ketnán át-tang hiring hita-ng*
 tree on.top.of exist-SS.SEQ jump jump-SV
ha-ng son iná-u-k...
 fall.down-SV again say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 ‘He was on top of the tree and he jumped down and again said to her...’

The second existential verb root, *wat*, can be optionally used in place of *át* in narratives that took place a long time ago. This is simply a story-telling stylistic variation. The verb *wat* does not indicate that the narrative is myth or legend; the events in the narrative are still considered to have actually happened, just as *át* is used to mark existence.

- (38) *Singile=yá tek kinan wat-tang...*
 Singile=AGT blanket inside exist-SS.SEQ
 ‘Singile was inside the blanket, and...’

The third existential verb root, *it*, can be optionally used in place of *át* to indicate that the subject of the verb should be viewed with pity. This verb root is often used in stories when one of the characters is encountering difficulties and/or mistreatment. The verb root *it* is used in an aspectual construction in (39). All three existential verb roots can be used in aspectual constructions in which verbs of existence play a part, such as the progressive aspect (§6.2.1) or the durative aspect (§6.2.4).

- (39) *Utni wa re=kálu ku-ine-k ing=ya*
 ghost 3 where=DIR go-FUT-3SG thus=DAT
karámati-ngga it-tu-k.
 listen-SS.SEQ exist-RP-3SG
 ‘She [the poor thing!] was listening to hear which way the ghost would go.’

5.7 Verb phrase

5.7.1 Simple verb phrase

The simple verb phrase consists of an optional adverb phrase followed by an obligatory verb, which can be either a final verb or a medial verb.

- (40) *Támun hási-u-ráng.*
 conch.shell blow-RP-2/3PL
 ‘you(PL)/they blew a conch shell.’
- (41) *Tumtumá me-e-k.*
 slowly speak-PRES-3SG
 ‘He speaks slowly.’
- (42) *It-ná=káin yare ku-u-k.*
 house-3SG.POSS=ALL directly go-RP-3SG
 ‘He went straight to his house.’

5.7.2 Serial verb constructions

Serial verbs have been analysed as two or more verbs found in the same clause. Thus, they are discussed under the section on clause structure (see §7.3).

5.7.3 Light verb constructions and adjunct nominals

Verb phrases may consist of a generic, or ‘light’, verb (usually *tá* ‘do’) preceded by an adjunct nominal. According to Foley (1986), ‘adjunct nominals serve to restrict the range of meaning of the generic verb, to make it more specific, so that it normally corresponds to a single English verb in translation.’ The adjunct nominal supplies the semantic content of the light verb construction, while the light verb supplies the grammatical content—tense, aspect, mood, person and number, and whether the construction is functioning as a medial or final verb.

The most common light verb in many languages, including Nukna, is the verb meaning ‘do’.

- (43) *It ná husik tá-inde-mát.*
 house this destruction do-IF-1DU
 ‘We two are about to destroy this house.’
- (44) *Son náráwa wa=yá hurik tá-ngga*
 Again woman 3=AGT turn.around do-SS.SEQ
Ilamung=ya ku-u-k.
 Ilamung=DAT go-RP-3SG
 ‘The woman turned around and returned to Ilamung.’
- (45) *Rangguk tá-ng kip-ná wa káti-ng*
 machete get.3SG.OBJ-SV skin-3SG.POSS 3 strike-SV
rákít tá-u-t.
 cut.off do-RP-1SG
 ‘I got my machete and I struck its skin and cut it off.’
- (46) *Wa=hára át-tang skol-ná tá-n*
 3=LOC exist-SS.SEQ school-3SG.POSS do-3SG.DS.SEQ
sálikngi-n=ku áwá-u-k.
 finish-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP come-RP-3SG
 ‘He stayed there and attended his school, and when it was finished, he came back.’
- (47) *Káráp tá-ng hip tá-u-k.*
 wood get.3SG.OBJ-SV lift.up do-RP-3SG
 ‘He lifted up the wood.’

The following examples highlight the verb *ti* ‘put’ as a light verb after an adjunct nominal.

- (48) *Wa=hára kásáng kilak ti-u-mán wa na-u-mán.*
 3=LOC betel.nut hiddenness put-RP-1PL 3 eat-RP-1PL
 ‘We chewed the betel nut that we had hidden there.’
- (49) *Ihá-ng urum ti-u-k.*
 get.3NSG.OBJ-SV gathering put-RP-3SG
 ‘He gathered them together.’

- (50) *It=yá há páyung ti-ngárán*
 place=AGT PERF darkness put-3SG.DS.SIM
ka-ng-kue-t.
 see.3SG.OBJ-SV-IMPF.PRES-1SG
 'It is indeed becoming dark, and I am seeing it.'

Adjunct nominals versus adverbs of manner

Adjunct nominals and adverbs of manner (§7.7.2) have enough similarities that it is necessary to take a closer look. First of all, both occupy the same grammatical position in the verb phrase—normally directly before the verb. Secondly, some adjunct nominals can be modified by the intensifier *hánám*, which otherwise only modifies adjectives and adverbs. Compare (51) with (47) above.

- (51) *Káráp tá-ng hip hánám tá-u-k.*
 wood get.3SG.OBJ-SV lift.up INTENS do-RP-3SG
 'He lifted the wood right up.'

However, there are several differences between adjunct nominals and adverbs of manner which clearly show that they are separate grammatical categories. First, adjunct nominals are very closely tied grammatically to their following light verb. Very little can come between the two (the intensifier *hánám* (§7.7.3), the perfect particle *há* (§6.4.1) and the incomplete particle *emá* (§6.4.5) are examples of things that can). Adverbs of manner are freer in their position in the sentence.

Second, there is no restriction, other than collocational, as to which verbs adverbs of manner can modify. For example, a person could potentially do many types of actions *sokmuná* 'quickly'. However, adjunct nominals are restricted to usually one, or at most two, light verbs.

Third, when an action is conveyed by a verb modified by an adverb, the main semantic meaning is carried by the verb itself. The adverb merely delimits the action by specifying in what manner the action was carried out. With adjunct nominal constructions, however, the main meaning of the action is carried by the adjunct nominal itself, and little if any semantic meaning is carried by the light verb.

5.7.4 Experiencer verb phrase

When a person is the semantic experiencer of a predication, that person is often not encoded as the grammatical subject. Instead, the person is cross-indexed on the verb as an object prefix. The verb used for these type of constructions is *imá* ‘give’ and is always inflected with a third person singular subject suffix.

- (52) *Kalot na-má-e-k.*
 forgetfulness 1SG.OBJ-give-PRES-3SG
 ‘I forget.’ (Lit. ‘It gives me forgetfulness.’)
- (53) *Towet ná-má-e-k.*
 smoke 1NSG.OBJ-give-PRES-3SG
 ‘Smoke gets in our eyes.’ (Lit. ‘It gives us smoke.’)
- (54) *Haing yá-má-e-k.*
 hunger 3NSG.OBJ-give-PRES-3SG
 ‘They are hungry.’ (Lit. ‘It gives them hunger.’)
- (55) *Kot na-má-e-k.*
 cold 1SG.OBJ-give-PRES-3SG
 ‘I am cold.’ (Lit. ‘It gives me cold.’)
- (56) *Áyak imá-e-k.*
 shortness.of.breath give.3SG.OBJ-PRES-3SG
 ‘She is out of breath.’ (Lit. ‘It gives her shortness of breath.’)

5.7.5 Negative verb phrase

The negative verb phrase consists of the proclitic *ma=* followed by the verb phrase. In some cases, the tense marker of the verb will also be slightly different than it would be in the positive. See §6.2 and §6.5 and their respective subsections for examples of negative verb phrases.

5.8 Adverb phrase

The adverb phrase consists of an adverb followed by an optional adverb of intensity. For examples, see §7.7.2 and §7.7.3.

6. *Tense, aspect, modality, mood*

This chapter continues to focus on Nukna verbs, presenting an overview of tense, aspect, modality, and mood, and outlining the various types of each. Tense (§6.1) and mood (§6.5) are ‘associated with the sentence as a whole, situating the event described by it in time, or indicating what kind of speech event is being performed by the utterance—a statement, question, command etc’ (Foley 1986:143). As is typical for Papuan languages, aspect (§6.2) and modality (§6.3) ‘tend to be indicated lexically, most commonly by specialised uses of verb-stems in serial constructions’ (ibid.). Particles are also employed for some types of aspect and modality (§6.4).

6.1 Tense

Nukna has two past tenses, referred to in this work as **remote past** and **near past**; a **present tense**; and three future tenses, referred to as **immediate future**, **future**, and **dubitative future**. Tense serves to situate an event in time, signalling when an event happened, is happening, or will happen. However, two of these tenses serve another function outside of the grammatical tense system. The future tense and the dubitative future tense are similar to each other in meaning, the main difference being that events marked with future tense are expected to occur, while events marked with the dubitative future are viewed with a degree of uncertainty as to the probability of their future occurrence. It is the difference between ‘He will go’ and ‘He will probably go’ in English. This distinction is not one of grammatical tense, but of *status*, which expresses the actuality of an event. Nukna blends tense and status in these two future-oriented verb paradigms. For the sake of expediency, however, these are referred to simply as *tenses*. Further discussion of the distinctions between the future tense and the dubitative future tense is provided in §6.1.2.

The six tenses have the following time references:

TABLE 6.1. TIME REFERENCE OF TENSES

Present	now, or earlier today
Near past	yesterday
Remote past	day before yesterday, or earlier
Immediate future	usually right away, but in some cases extending to within the next couple of hours
Future	non-immediate future, including later today; status is certain
Dubitative future	non-immediate future, more than a week into the future and following; status is uncertain but likely

The present tense can refer not only to the present moment, but also to any time earlier today. Therefore, it would not be amiss to refer to it as a third past tense, along with the near past and the remote past. However, because it also refers to the present moment, we will continue to label it as the *present tense*. The reader will note that for examples that include a verb inflected for the present tense, the free translation will sometimes be in the present tense, and sometimes in the past tense, based on the context. If the free translation is in the past tense, it is understood that it is referring to *earlier today*.

Tense is found only on final verbs, and not on medial verbs of any type. For final verbs, the tense markers are used with the indicative and interrogative moods (but not with other moods). Additionally, some of them are found marking certain aspects (§6.2.1 and §6.2.7). In all of these cases, unlike many Papuan languages, the tense and person/number subject agreement markers can be identified separately from each other—in other words, they are not fused. This feature of the indicative and interrogative moods is in contrast to all other moods in which the tense and person/number markers are in fact fused. The person/number subject agreement markers are presented in §5.2.1.

Table 6.2 lists the tense markers. The dubitative future tense form for consonant-final verbs is homophonous with the habitual aspect form for consonant-final verbs (see §6.2.2).

TABLE 6.2. TENSE MARKERS

	V-final verbs	C-final verbs
Present	-e	-ta
Near past	-Ø	-a
Remote past	-u	-tu
Immediate future	-inde	-nánde
Future	-ine	-ne
Dubitative future	-inda	-nánda

See §5.2.2 for examples of verbs with tense marker suffixes.

6.1.1 Immediate future tense

The immediate future tense has semantic features that are similar to those of grammatical aspects. It is overwhelmingly used to indicate that a person is about to do something in the very next moment, or within a few minutes (occasionally it will extend to the next hour or two), and has the illocutionary force of expressing intention or desire. With these characteristics, the immediate future tense is very similar to what some grammarians call the ‘prospective aspect’.

Indeed, another Finisterre-Huon language, Yopno, has what is called the ‘imminent aspect’ (Reed 1989). Its meaning is identical to Nukna’s immediate future tense: the speaker is indicating that an action is about to occur immediately. However, in Yopno, this meaning is encoded by means of an aspectual verb suffix; according to Reed it is not a tense.

Yet another strategy for indicating action that is about to occur is found in Selepet, another Finisterre-Huon language. In Selepet, what is called the ‘immediate intentive’ is encoded by means of a verb phrase (McElhanon 1970).

Despite these other strategies found in languages related to Nukna, there are still several reasons why the immediate future should be considered a tense in Nukna. First of all, the form of the immediate future morpheme is nearly identical to the future tense morpheme, with just one phoneme separating them: *-inde* ‘IF’ versus *-ine* ‘FUT’. While this is not a strong reason on its own, the fact that they are related in form does at least suggest a similarity in function. Second, the immediate future morpheme occurs in the same suffix

slot in the verb as other tenses (this is not the case in Yopno and Selepet). Third, the most closely related languages to Nukna, Yau and Timbe, each have two future tenses, one indicating ‘near future’ and the other indicating ‘remote future’. What each language means by ‘near’ and ‘remote’ may differ from Nukna, but both tenses do exist in these related languages. It would be unlikely for Nukna as a closely-related language to not also have two distinct future tenses, one ‘near’ and the other ‘remote’.

Yau (Lauver and Wegmann 1990) has two future tenses, named ‘near future’ and ‘remote future’, which indicate ‘later today or tonight’ and ‘tomorrow and after’, respectively. Timbe (Foster 1972:24) has both an ‘immediate future’ tense and a ‘distant future’ tense, though Foster does not more specifically define what time reference each has.

In Komba, another Finisterre-Huon language, we find a verb tense which is named the ‘immediate future tense’. Southwell (1971) describes this tense as indicating an ‘action which will take place immediately or in an hour or two’. This matches exactly with Nukna’s immediate future tense.

6.1.2 Future tense vs. dubitative future tense

As briefly discussed above, the distinction between the future tense and the dubitative future tense is one of status. When using the future tense, the speaker is asserting that he believes there is a high degree of certainty that the events will in fact occur. With the dubitative future tense, while there is an expectation that events will occur, there is some measure of doubt that exists in the mind of the speaker and, as a result, in the minds of the hearers. It is important to emphasise that when the dubitative future is used, the expectation is that the event will most likely occur. It is not a 50-50 proposition (this is in contrast to occurrences of the dubitative particle (see §6.4.2), in which much more doubt is expressed.

Other differences between the two tenses also exist. The future tense has a wider range of time reference. It can be used to refer to any event that will occur in the future, from about an hour after the time of speaking, to any point on into the future. Contrastively, the dubitative future cannot refer to events in the close future—that is, later today, tomorrow, and on through the next week

or so. Instead, it is used for events occurring several weeks away or more, on into the distant future.

Finally, the dubitative future cannot be used if the speaker has a specific time in mind. For example, if a person said, 'I will go to the coast on Christmas day,' she could not use the dubitative future, even if Christmas day was several months away and she was doubtful whether or not she would actually go. She would be obligated to use the future tense. Less specific time references, such as 'next year' or 'January' are acceptable with the dubitative future.

In summary, a person would use the future tense in the following situations: if the event is close in time (within the next week or so); *or*, if he is mentioning a specific day or days on which the event is to occur; *or*, if he wishes to assert his belief in the certainty that a far-off event will in fact occur.

A person would use the dubitative future tense in the following situations: if the event is not close in time; *and*, if the event is also going to take place at a time that is unknown or unspecific; *and*, if there is also some degree of uncertainty in the mind of the speaker as to whether or not the event will occur. In other words, a person using the dubitative future communicates that the event will not be occurring soon, that he has no specific time in mind for when it might occur, and though he expects the event to occur, there is in fact some doubt in his mind that it will actually occur.

Table 6.3 summarises the differences between the two tenses:

TABLE 6.3. FUTURE AND DUBITATIVE FUTURE IN CONTRAST

	Future tense	Dubitative future tense
Status	certain	uncertain, but likely
Time reference of event	non-immediate future, later today and following	non-immediate future, more than a week into the future and following
Specificity of time reference	specific and non-specific	non-specific only

6.2 Aspect

Aspect expresses the internal temporal structure of an event—whether it is completed, ongoing, or some other temporal aspect.

According to Foley (1976:143), aspect in Papuan languages ‘tend[s] to be indicated lexically, most commonly by specialised uses of verb-stems in serial constructions.’ In this regard, Nukna is certainly no exception. The majority of cases of aspect are indicated in this fashion, though some are expressed through particles (§6.4).

6.2.1 Progressive aspect

STEM + SS.SEQ + *át* + TENSE + PERS/NUM

The progressive aspect indicates an action that is ongoing and uninterrupted. To encode this aspect the main verb stem is followed by the same-subject sequential morpheme *-ngga*, which is then followed in a clause-chaining construction by the verb root *át* ‘to be, stay, remain, exist’. This is then followed by a tense suffix and then by a person/number subject agreement suffix. No morpheme itself indicates progressive aspect; rather, it is the construction as a whole that does so.

The tense suffixes are those used for consonant-final verbs, since the verb *át* belongs to this category.

- (1) *Me hárot-tang át-tu-ráng.*
talk tie.up-SS.SEQ exist-RP-2/3PL
‘They were making a plan.’
- (2) *Ho-ngga át-tu-k.*
go.down-SS.SEQ exist-RP-3SG
‘He was going down.’

The verb root *át* is also used as a stative in narrative to indicate that a person stayed somewhere, or that time passed between events in the story. When the stative verb is preceded by a same-subject medial verb, the construction looks very similar to that of the progressive aspect, the difference being that the progressive aspect is one phonological word, while

constructions where *át* is a stative verb are two phonological words. In regular speech, for the progressive aspect, the final *a* of *-ngga* causes the initial *á* of *át* to elide, leaving only *a*. This elision does not regularly occur when *át* is used as a stative. However, the pronunciation can be nearly identical in rapid speech. Context usually makes it clear which is which.

- (3) *Kunggatamán.*
 ku-ngga át-ta-mán
 go-SS.SEQ exist-PRES-1PL
 'We are going.'
- (4) *Kungga átamán.*
 ku-ngga át-ta-mán
 go-SS.SEQ exist-PRES-1PL
 'We go and (then) we stay.'

Verbs with progressive aspect can also be used in a medial verb position. They can be marked for same-subject or different-subject, just as any indicative medial verb can. The relevant medial verb suffixes attach to the aspectual verb *át* just as they do in the indicative. Example (5) below gives an example of a different-subject medial verb, while (6) gives an example of both a same-subject medial progressive and a different-subject medial progressive in the same sentence.

- (5) *Ket-na yawon-tang át-náre ang=yá*
 hand-1SG.POSS wash-SS.SEQ exist-1SG.DS.SIM dog=AGT
ku-u-ráng.
 go-RP-2/3PL
 'While I was washing my hands the dogs went.'
- (6) *Sopsopmá wa=yá yáre-ng kang-ka-ng*
 slippery 3=DAT step-SV ITER~see.3SG.OBJ-SV
áwá-ngga át-tang rahán-na pet-ná=kálu
 come-SS.SEQ exist-SS.SEQ eye-1SG.POSS sharp-3SG.POSS=DIR
ka-u-t=ku kunap tái ná=yá
 see.3SG.OBJ-RP-1SG=TOP snake ATT this=AGT

ku-ngga *át-án* *ka-ngga* *ikik*
 go-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ great.surprise

háramut-tu-t.

be.surprised-RP-1SG

‘Because of the slipperiness, I was watching my step and coming along, and out of the corner of my eye I saw this big snake going along, and I saw it and was greatly surprised.’

The negative progressive is formed simply by adding the negative proclitic *ma=* to the verb inflected for the progressive aspect.

(7) *Páyung* *kinan* *re* *ku-ngga* *át-tang* *it=yá*
 darkness inside only go-SS.SEQ exist-SS.SEQ place=AGT

ma=hakngi-ngga *át-án* *ku-u-mán.*

NEG=become.light-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ go-RP-1PL

‘We were just going along in the dark, and it wasn’t becoming light, and we went on.’

6.2.2 Habitual aspect

STEM + SV + HABITUAL + PERS/NUM

The habitual aspect indicates that an action is commonly and regularly practiced. However, unlike the progressive aspect (§6.2.1) and the imperfective aspect (§6.2.3), it does not include an element of continuity. That is, the action is not done continuously, but rather periodically, from time to time.

The habitual aspect does not have tense like the progressive aspect does. Other than the person/number suffixes, there is only one form of the habitual aspect. However, it cannot be used to refer to just any time—past, present, or future. When it is used, the habitual aspect refers to the somewhat recent past (within a few years or so at the most) up until just before the present time. It says nothing about whether a person who has been habitually doing an action will continue to do that action in the present or the future. The habitual aspect differs in this respect from the imperfective aspect, which indicates that a habitual action will continue.

For vowel-final verbs, the habitual aspect, like the progressive, is based on the verb *át* 'to be, stay, remain, exist'. Habitual aspect for consonant-final verbs may also be based on *át*, but the connection is less obvious. While it is possible to discern possible morpheme breaks within the habitual suffix, these are far from clear, and for the sake of simplicity, the habitual suffix is here considered a unitary whole. As befitting the serial verb-like nature of most aspectual constructions in Nukna, the serial verb suffix (*-ng* for vowel-final verbs, and $-\emptyset$ for consonant-final verbs) follows the main verb stem, just before the habitual suffix.

TABLE 6.4. HABITUAL ASPECT SUFFIXES

V-final verb	C-final verb
-ngáta-	-nánda-

- (8) *Kálu kándáng isut- \emptyset -nánda-ráng.*
 road straight follow.3SG.OBJ-SV-HAB-2/3PL
 'You(PL) habitually behave properly.' (Lit. 'You habitually follow the straight road.')
- (9) *Ka=wu yangon galas rewe*
 2SG.EMPH=TOP fishing.spear goggles only
ihá-ngga károng ku-ng-ngáta-lák.
 get.3NSG.OBJ-SS.SEQ lightly.loaded go-SV-HAB-2SG
 'You yourself habitually get only the fishing spears and goggles and go lightly-loaded.'

The negative habitual is formed by adding the negative proclitic *ma=* to the positive habitual form.

- (10) *Káman álosim=yá dokta=yan=káin ma=ku-ng-ngáta-k.*
 one good=AGT doctor=GEN=ALL NEG=go-SV-HAB-3SG
 'Well people do not go to a doctor.'
- (11) *Kálu kándáng wa ma=isut- \emptyset -nánda-ráng.*
 road straight 3 NEG=follow.3SG.OBJ-SV-HAB-2/3PL
 'You(PL) do not habitually follow the right road.'

The habitual forms of consonant-final verbs are homophonous with other verb forms. The positive habitual form (that is, without the negative *ma=*) of

consonant-final verbs is homophonous with the dubitative future tense (§6.1.2). The negative habitual form (that is, with the negative *ma=*) of consonant-final verbs is homophonous with the prohibitive mood (§6.5.5). Context alone differentiates between meanings.

6.2.3 Imperfective aspect

STEM + SV + IMPERFECTIVE + PERS/NUM

The imperfective aspect indicates an action that has both a progressive element and a habitual element. The actor is in the middle of doing something (progressive), and will continue to do that action (habitual). However, unlike the progressive, the imperfective aspect does not require that the action be continuous and uninterrupted (however, it can be). In that sense, it can be episodic in nature, as the habitual aspect is.

The imperfective inflection is based upon the verb *ku* ‘go’. As with the progressive aspect, verbs marked with the imperfective aspect are also inflected for tense. The present, future, immediate future, and dubitative future imperfective morphemes are identical to their indicative present counterparts for the verb *ku* ‘go’. However, the remote past and near past imperfective morphemes are slightly different from their perfective (default) counterparts. In Table 6.5 the imperfective aspect/tense suffixes are given. The tense morphemes (§5.2.2), attached to the verb *ku* ‘go’, are also given so that their forms can be easily compared.

TABLE 6.5. IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT TENSE SUFFIXES

	Imperfective aspect/ tense suffixes	Tense suffixes with the verb ‘go’
Remote past	<i>-kiu</i>	<i>ku-u</i>
Near past	<i>-ki</i>	<i>ku-Ø</i>
Present	<i>-kue</i>	<i>ku-e</i>
Immediate future	<i>-kuinde</i>	<i>ku-inde</i>
Future	<i>-kuine</i>	<i>ku-ine</i>
Dubitative future	<i>-kuinda</i>	<i>ku-inda</i>

- (12) *Tek hinang-ná=kálu kilak*
 covering hole-3SG.POSS=DIR hidden
ka-ng-kiu-málák.
 see.3SG.OBJ-SV-IMPF.RP-2/3DU
 ‘They two continued to (habitually) secretly watch him through a hole in the covering.’
- (13) *Mukam=yá tá-ngga át-tang wa=ya páyung*
 cloud=AGT do-SS.SEQ stay-SS.SEQ 3=DAT darkness
ti-ng-kue-k.
 put-SV-IMPF.PRES-3SG
 ‘It is cloudy and so it continues to be dark.’
- (14) *Sánin kálu wa rewe*
 2PL.EMPH.POSS road 3 only
isut-Ø-kue-ráng.
 follow.3SG.OBJ-SV-IMPF.PRES-2/3PL
 ‘You(PL) continue to (habitually) follow only your own way.’

The negative imperfective is formed simply by adding the negative proclitic *ma=* to the imperfective verb form.

- (15) *Ilámung=káin ma=ku-ng-kiu-k.*
 Ilámung=ALL NEG-go-SV-IMPF.RP-3SG
 ‘She habitually did not go to Ilámung.’

6.2.4 Durative aspect

STEM + SS.SEQ + *át* + IMPERFECTIVE + PERS/NUM

The durative aspect indicates that some action will continue on for some unspecified time into the future, relative to the time of the action. In the present tense, the durative aspect usually indicates that the action is happening *right now*, at the time of the utterance. However, while unusual, it is also possible for an ongoing project, such as house-building, to be spoken of with the durative aspect even if the actual work is not going on at the time of the utterance (e.g., at night).

While the progressive and habitual aspects are based on the verb root *át* ‘be, stay, remain, exist’, and the imperfective aspect is based on the verb root *ku* ‘go’, the durative aspect is based on both of these verbs together in a serial verb construction. Again, the durative is an aspect that co-occurs with a tense inflection.

TABLE 6.6. DURATIVE ASPECT/TENSE

Remote past	<i>átkiu</i>
Near past	<i>átki</i>
Present	<i>átkue</i>
Immediate future	<i>átkuinde</i>
Future	<i>átkuine</i>
Dubitative future	<i>átkuinda</i>

- (16) *Pínggu=káin kap*
 sacred.men’s.house=ALL song
ha-ngga átkiu-ráng.
 sing.and.dance-SS.SEQ DUR.RP-2/3PL
 ‘They were singing and dancing at the sacred men’s house and continued to do so.’²⁰
- (17) *Iráp=yá alek=hára wa kahet-tang átkuine-ráng.*
 bird=AGT sky=LOC 3 fly-SS.SEQ DUR.FUT-2/3PL
 ‘The birds will be flying in the sky and will continue to do so.’
- (18) *Remo=wu me-ngga átkiu-k.*
 Remo=TOP speak-SS.SEQ DUR.RP-3SG
 ‘Remo was speaking and continued to do so.’

The negative durative aspect is formed by simply adding the negative clitic *ma=* to the front of the durative verb construction.

²⁰ I realize that the free translations used for durative aspect verbs are a bit clunky in English. They have been deliberately translated in this way to highlight the aspectual difference between the durative aspect and other aspects.

- (19) *Hái mirak ma=tá-ngga átkiu-ráng.*
 garden new NEG=do-SS.SEQ DUR.RP-2/3PL
 ‘They were not making a new garden, and they continued to not do so.’

6.2.5 Summary of the above aspects

While the habitual aspect is relatively distinct in meaning, much semantic overlap exists between the progressive, imperfective, and durative aspects. In many cases, native speakers freely substitute one for the other in elicited sentences and claim that the meaning has not changed at all.

The major difference between the three seems to be the time focus of the aspect. For instance, while an action in the progressive aspect can theoretically extend on for a long period of time, *extended duration* is not in focus. The focus is on the fact that the action is *ongoing and uninterrupted*.

With the imperfective aspect, the action may or may not be *ongoing and uninterrupted*, and the focus is instead on the fact that the action is occurring for an extended period of time—*extended duration* is in focus. Thus while in many utterances, either could be substituted for the other without changing the primary meaning of the clause, the aspectual focus of the verb would be changed. For example, if one is in the middle of a house building project, and is working on the house at the time of the utterance, it would be acceptable to use either the progressive (‘I am building’) or the imperfective (‘I continue to build’). Both would be acceptable answers to the question, ‘What are you doing?’ However, there are also cases where one cannot be substituted for the other. If instead of presently working on the aforementioned house, one is sitting around the fire at night telling others about the house project, one could not use the progressive aspect, because one is not actually building the house at the present moment. The imperfective would be an acceptable utterance in this latter situation.

Finally, with the durative aspect, both *extended duration* and the *ongoing and uninterrupted* nature of the action are in focus. Taking up the house building example again, if one was presently working on the house, it would be acceptable to use the durative aspect, highlighting both the *ongoing and*

uninterrupted nature of the work at the time of the utterance, and its *extended duration* over a period of time.

The closest English equivalents of these three aspects are as follows:

- Progressive: ‘I am doing that.’
- Imperfective: ‘I continue to (habitually) do that.’
- Durative: ‘I am doing that and continue to do that.’

This analysis seems to fit nicely with the verb roots that these three aspects are based upon. The progressive is based upon *át* ‘be, stay, remain, exist’. Thus in the progressive, the focus is on the fact that the action is ‘staying’ or ‘existing’. It is ‘existing’ right now, and it is not starting and stopping—it is ‘staying’.

The imperfective is based upon *ku* ‘go’, and the focus is on the fact that the action is of *extended duration*—the action is going and continuing on into the future, relative to the time of the action.

The durative is based on both *át* and *ku*, and the focus is on both the *ongoing and uninterrupted* nature and the *extended duration* of the action.

6.2.6 Iterative aspect

CVC Redup + STEM + SV

When a verb is marked for the iterative aspect, it indicates that the clause has an aspect of iteration or repetition. The verb marked for iterative aspect is first inflected with the serial verb suffix, indicating that it and the following verb are being viewed as one event. The inflected verb is then reduplicated according to the common Nukna pattern of reduplication: CVC (first consonant, first vowel, last consonant).

The marked verb must then be followed by another clause-final verb (either a medial verb or a final verb). In some cases, this is a form of the light verb *tá* ‘do’.

- (20) *Umi pátum* *punggin-lá=yá* *hiláksi-ngga* *bot*
 lake wave-3SG.POSS=AGT break-SS.SEQ boat
ketnán ***hang~ha-ng*** *tá-u-k.*
 on.top.of ITER~fall-SV do-RP-3SG
 ‘The lake’s waves were breaking and repeatedly falling on top of the boat.’
- (21) *Jesu=yá* *ket-ná=yá*
 Jesus=AGT hand-3SG.POSS=INSTR
*ihá-ng-kápá-n*²¹ *álo* ***háng~hále-ng***
 get.3NSG.OBJ-SV-see.3NSG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ okay ITER~become-SV
tá-u-ráng.
 do-RP-2/3PL
 ‘Jesus touched them with his hand and person after person became well.’

In cases where the marked verb is followed by some verb other than the light verb *tá* ‘do’, the iterative aspect affects both verbs. The marked verb is designated as occurring at the same time as the following verb. Additionally, the action marked with the iterative aspect occurs repeatedly or for an extended duration, just as when it is followed by the light verb ‘do’.

In most cases, both actions are continuing on together simultaneously, as in (22), where the woman is singing a song and lamenting (crying) for the dead man at the same time.

- (22) *Kap-ná* ***mang~mantá-ng*** *kut-Ø* *má-u-k.*
 song-3SG.POSS ITER~sing-SV cry-SV BEN.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 ‘She was singing her song while lamenting him.’

²¹ This SVC is a figure of speech meaning ‘touch’. Its literal meaning is ‘get them and see them’. Both verbs in the SVC have object prefixes, which change according to the recipient of the touch. The first verb is marked for both person and number (singular or non-singular), while the second is marked for number, but not person – it always uses the third person singular object or third person non-singular object forms of the verb *ka* ‘look at/see’ (e.g., if this SVC had a third singular object, it would be *tá-ng-ka-n*, while a first singular object would be marked as *nehá-ng-ka-n*. A first plural object would be marked as *náhá-ng-kápá-n*). See §5.3.2 for the full paradigms of the verbs *tá* and *ka*.

- (23) *Silák it-ná káng~kápá-ng*
 wild.fowl house-3SG.POSS ITER~see.3NSG.OBJ-SV
ára-ngga ále yáílá=káin ára-ng
 climb.up-SS.SEQ mountain=ALL climb.up-SV
he-u-k.
 arrive-RP-3SG
 ‘He was watching for wild fowl nests while climbing up and then he arrived at (the top of) the mountain.’
- (24) *Son kálu sang~sare-ng ára-ngga átkiu-málák.*
 again path ITER~cut.grass-SV climb.up-SS.SEQ DUR.RP-2/3DU
 ‘They two were again cleaning the path while climbing up and they continued to do that.’
- (25) *Tangtangngá káman ára-ngga ka-u-málák*
 dry one climb.up-SS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3DU
wa=ya nang~nará-ng ha-u-málák.
 3=DAT ITER~perceive-SV climb.down-RP-2/3DU
 ‘While they two climbed down, they were thinking about a dry spot that they had seen when they had climbed up.’

In other cases, the two actions do not occur simultaneously, but rather, there is a repetitive back-and-forth relationship between the actions. In (26), ‘do those things’ is referring to an earlier part of the narrative which listed some actions that the participants did each and every day. The sentence is saying that they repeatedly did those things each day while they repeatedly slept each night at their house.

- (26) *It-náni=káin rung~ruhá-ng wa=ina*
 house-1PL.POSS.ALL ITER~sleep-SV 3=SML
tá-ng-kiu-mán.
 do-SV-IMP.F.RP-1PL
 ‘We continued to repeatedly sleep at our house and repeatedly do those things.’

When the iterative aspect occurs in a sentence where a verb of motion is involved, this verb of motion tends to come last (see various examples above).

However, it is permissible to change the order and put the verb of motion first without affecting the meaning. When the iterative aspect occurs in a sentence where there is no verb of motion, the two verbs involved can come either first or last—there is no difference in meaning, and no preference for one coming first before the other (perhaps there is a difference in focus, but that has not yet been determined). Native speakers say that (27) and (28) are identical in meaning.

- (27) *Sungngi nang-na-ng meme tá-u-mán.*
 food ITER~eat-SV talking do-RP-1PL
 ‘We talked while eating.’
- (28) *Meme táng-tá-ng sungngi na-u-mán.*
 talking ITER~do-SV food eat-RP-1PL
 ‘We ate while talking.’

It is possible to speak of more than two actions being done simultaneously by the same actor. In the following elicited sentence, the actor is doing four things concurrently. The first three are all marked with the iterative aspect, while the fourth is a fully-inflected clause-final verb.

- (29) *Imum háng-hási-ng kálu sang-sare-ng iráp*
 whistle ITER~blow-SV path ITER~cut.grass-SV bird
káng-kápá-ng ku-u-t.
 ITER~see.3NSG.OBJ-SV go-RP-1SG
 ‘As I went I was whistling and cleaning the path and watching birds.’

For consonant-final verb roots, the iterative aspect construction is slightly different than that of vowel-final verb roots. There are two differences, the first being that polysyllabic consonant-final verb roots are reduplicated according to the CVC reduplication pattern, but monosyllabic consonant verb stems are not. Monosyllabic verb roots are instead repeated in an alternating pattern with the verb *tá* ‘do’ (see discussion preceding (32) for more details).

The second difference has to do with the serial verb suffix. As with vowel-final verb roots, the serial verb suffix is first added to the verb root of consonant-final verb roots. However, recall that the serial verb suffix for

consonant-final verbs is null $-\emptyset$ (§5.5). In iterative aspect constructions, it is not acceptable to leave the bare verb root without any surface ending. To avoid this, the light verb *tá* ‘do’ is added.

For polysyllabic consonant-final verb roots, the verb root is first reduplicated according to the CVC pattern, and then the verb *tá*, in its serial verb form, follows it, also in reduplicated iterative form.

- (30) *Nangge=yá sungngi tát-támot-∅ táng-tá-ng*
 child=AGT food ITER~wrap.up-SV ITER~do-SV
kutkáyawát tá-u-ráng.
 wailing do-RP-2/3PL
 ‘The children wailed while wrapping up the food.’
- (31) *Ámna=yá rámbut mará-ngga ti-t*
 man=AGT wild.sugarcane cut-SS.SEQ put-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
naráwa=yá hát-hárot-∅ táng-tá-ng
 woman=AGT ITER-tie.up-SV ITER~do-SV
ku-ngga át-tu-ráng.
 go-SS.SEQ exist-RP-2/3PL
 ‘The men cut the wild sugarcane and put it (on the ground), and the women were tying it up (into bundles) while coming along.’

For monosyllabic consonant-final verb roots, an alternating ABAB pattern must be used. First comes the verb root, followed by the serial verb form of the verb *tá* ‘do’. Then both are repeated, as in (32). Reduplicating the verb root and then reduplicating the verb *tá* ‘do’, as can be done with polysyllabic consonant-final verb roots, would result in an ungrammatical sentence, as in (33).

- (32) *Yuttáng~yut-∅-tá-ng áwá-u-k.*
 ITER~laugh-SV-do-SV come-RP-3SG
 ‘She came while laughing.’
- (33) **Yut~yut-∅ táng-tá-ng áwá-u-k.*
 ITER~laugh-SV ITER~do-SV come-RP-3SG
 ‘She came while laughing.’

6.2.7 Completive aspect

STEM + SV + *-háli* + TENSE + PERS/NUM

The completive aspect is used when the speaker wishes to indicate that an action was done completely or entirely. Unlike several other aspects that are based on verbs that have meanings apart from their aspectual functions (e.g., aspects based on *át* ‘exist’ or *ku* ‘go’), the completive is based on *-háli* which has no other meaning apart from its aspectual meaning. However, *-háli* is similar in form to two verbs - *hále* ‘become’, and *hali* ‘scatter (seed)’, ‘knock down (fruit)’. Either could be the historical source of the completive *-háli*. The second, *hali*, is especially intriguing when taking into account Foley’s discussion regarding verb serialization and the completive aspect: ‘Verbs like “throw aside” or “put into” denote disposing of an object and having nothing further to do with it, at least for the time being, so their extension to indicating completed aspect is not too far-fetched’ (1986:145).

The completive *-háli* can be inflected with either medial verb inflection (as in (34)) or final verb inflection (as in (35)–(37)).

- (34) *Kap sáponga tá-ng-háli-t=ku son*
 song prayer do-SV-CMPL-2/3PL.DS.SEQ=TOP again
nán=yá ku-u-mán.
 1PL=AGT go-RP-1PL
 ‘Once they were finished singing and praying, we set off again.’
- (35) *Yáungán re áram wa erek pi-ng-háli-u-ráng.*
 night only hole 3 whole dig-SV-CMPL-RP-2/3PL
 ‘It was only at night that they finished digging the entire hole.’
- (36) *It-náti wa pukon tá-ng-háli-ine-mát.*
 house-1DU.POSS 3 completely do-SV-CMPL-FUT-1DU
 ‘We two will completely finish building our house.’

- (37) *Kutná kutná wa=wu ámna wa=hára erek*
 everything 3=TOP man 3=LOC whole

át-Ø-háli-e-k.

exist-SV-CMPL-PRES-3SG

‘These things, the man completely had them all.’ (Lit. ‘These things, they completely existed at him’)

6.2.8 Extended action aspect

When a speaker wishes to indicate that an action was done for an extended period of time, he may choose to repeat the action verb multiple times in succession. This is the same as an English construction such as, ‘He went and went and went, on and on and on.’ This type of construction is more common in narratives, especially when describing a long journey.

The repeated verb can be either a final verb or a medial verb. The final verb marking, or the same-subject or different-subject marking of the medial verb, will be repeated each time the verb is repeated. When a serial verb construction indicates verb aspect, either only the second verb is repeated (as in (39)), or both verbs are repeated, though not in a back and forth order—first the first verb is repeated, and then the second is repeated (as in (40)).

- (38) *Kámá=yá ha-ng pin~pi-n tá-ngga*
 some=AGT climb.down-SV INTENS~dig-NMLS do-SS.SEQ
tá-ngga tá-ngga árám wa erek pi-ng-háli-u-ráng.
 do-SS.SEQ do-SS.SEQ hole 3 whole dig-SV-CMPL-RP-2/3PL
 ‘Some climbed down and took turns digging, digging, digging, and they completely dug the entire hole.’
- (39) *Yolop-na át-tang ka-ngga*
 still-1SG.POSS exist-SS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
it-e it-e it-e men...
 exist-1SG.DS.SEQ exist-1SG.DS.SEQ exist-1SG.DS.SEQ FRUS
 ‘I stayed still and was watching and watching and watching, but in vain...’

- (40) *Wa=hára=nan tárut-tang ku-u-k ku-u-k*
 3=LOC=ABL get.up-SS.SEQ go-RP-3SG go-RP-3SG
- ku-u-k ku-u-k wa=wu ku-ngga ku-ngga*
 go-RP-3SG go-RP-3SG 3=TOP go-SS.SEQ go-SS.SEQ
- ku-ngga it-án it-án*
 go-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
- it-án it-án...*
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
- ‘From there he got up and he went and went and went and went,
 and he was going and going and going, on and on and on and on,
 and...’

For several more examples of the extended action aspect, see Appendix 6.

The extended action aspect is similar to the iterative aspect, in that both describe an action that took place repeatedly or continuously over an extended period of time. The difference is that the iterative aspect describes two or more actions that take place simultaneously over an extended period of time, while the extended action aspect describes just a single action. Also, the extended action aspect is usually used as a discourse device in stories, especially when describing long journeys, while the iterative aspect has a broader scope of use.

6.3 Modality

‘Modality is an inflectional category relating to the intention of the actor and his potential or actual performance of the action’ (Foley 1986:152). In Nukna, modality can be expressed either by free particles or through verb serialisation. This section deals with modality expressed through verb serialisation. Modality (and also aspect) which is expressed through the use of particles will be discussed in §6.4.

6.3.1 Conative modality

The conative modality describes situations where the actor is trying to do some action. As is the case with most Papuan languages (Foley 1986:152), the conative is expressed with a serial verb construction involving the verb ‘see’,

though this verb is not obligatory in Nukna. Also involved is the noun *tárák* which means, among other things, ‘example’ or ‘manner’. The sense is that someone tries to do something in the manner that others do, or following the example of others. The verb ‘see’ shows that there is no certainty whether or not the actor will succeed in the action. The actor will have to ‘see’ how it turns out.

- (41) *Kálu ná tárák-ka ku-ngga ka-in.*
 road this manner-2SG.POSS go-SS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-1SG.IMP
 ‘I must try to travel this road like you do.’
- (42) *Sáwim tárák-ná tá-ngga ka-ng.*
 swimming manner-3SG.POSS do-SS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-2SG.IMP
 ‘You must try to swim.’
- (43) *Kásáng árá-ngga ku-ku=ya tárák tá-u-t.*
 betel.nut climb.up-SS.SEQ NMLS~go=DAT manner do-RP-1SG
 ‘I tried to climb up the betel nut tree.’
- (44) *Kásáng árá-ngga ku-ku=ya tárák*
 betel.nut climb.up-SS.SEQ NMLS~go=DAT manner
tá-ngga ka-ine-t.
 do-SS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will try to climb up the betel nut tree.’

Any of the above examples which use the verb root *ka* ‘see.3SG.OBJ’ would have an identical meaning if the verb meaning ‘see’ was removed, and the immediately preceding medial verb made into a final verb. For example, if in (44), *tánga kainet* were changed to *táinet*, the meaning would not change. Conversely, if *táut* in (43) were made into a medial verb, *tánga*, and the verb *kaut* ‘I saw’ were added to the end of the sentence, the meaning would also not change.

6.3.2 Causative modality

Causative constructions indicate that the actor caused a change of state in some object by causing a secondary actor to act in a certain way. Causatives are indicated through clause chaining constructions, using the common verb

roots *tá* ‘do’ and *me* ‘speak, say’. The former is used when the actor does some physical action to cause something to come about, while the latter is used when the actor causes something to happen by saying something.

- (45) *Ko me-tá uni=yá tárikngi-ine-k.*
 2SG.AGT speak-2SG.DS.SEQ water=AGT become.dry-FUT-3SG
No me-e uni=yá ráná-ine-k.
 1SG.AGT speak-1SG.DS.SEQ water=AGT be.filled-FUT-3SG
 ‘You say something that causes the water to be emptied; I will say something that causes the water to be filled up.’ (Lit. ‘You speak and the water will become dry; I will speak and the water will be filled up.’)
- (46) *Ámna yáin-lá=yá me-t*
 man head-3SG.POSS=AGT speak-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
ámnanáráwa=yá yáup tá-u-ráng.
 people=AGT work do-RP-2/3PL
 ‘The head men said something that caused the people to do the work.’ (Lit. ‘The head men spoke and the people did work.’)
- (47) *Ámna yáin-lá=yá tá-t ámna*
 man head-3SG.POSS=AGT do-2/3PL.DS.SEQ man
naráwa=yá kálu sare-u-ráng.
 woman=AGT path cut.grass-RP-2/3PL
 ‘The head men did something that caused the people to clean the trail.’

In (47) the head men did something to cause the people to clean the trail, but what they did is not explicitly stated. This sort of construction is less common than ones where the action that was done to cause something else to happen is explicitly stated, as in (48)–(50).

- (48) *Kanu=yá hurik tá-n táp kinan=káin*
 canoe=AGT turning do-3SG.DS.SEQ ocean inside=ALL
kámuk ha-ngga...
 all fall-SS.SEQ
 ‘The canoe turned over and caused us all to fall into the sea...’

- (49) *Káe káto tái wa=yá sut-ná wa*
 sun strong ATT 3=AGT skin-3SG.POSS 3
ka-ng káták tá-n kokoli-ngga
 see.3SG.OBJ-SV hardness do-3SG.DS.SEQ change-SS.SEQ
pukaya ku-u-k.
 crocodile go-RP-3SG
 ‘A strong sun shone on his skin and made it hard and caused him to change into a crocodile.’
- (50) *Káe=yá hále-ngga hái wa*
 sun=AGT become-SS.SEQ garden 3
ka-ng-kiu-k me ále=yá ta-ngga
 see.3SG.OBJ-SV-IMPF.RP-3SG and rain=AGT precipitate-SS.SEQ
ha-ng káti-ng-kiu-k tá-n má=yá
 fall-SV strike-SV-IMPF.RP-3SG do-3SG.DS.SEQ taro=AGT
kimbát hánám árá-ng he-u-ráng.
 green INTENS climb.up-SV grow.up-RP-2/3PL
 ‘The sun came out and shone on the garden, and the rain fell on the ground, and this caused the taro to grow well.’ (Lit. ‘very green’)

6.3.3 Desiderative modality

Desiderative constructions are formed through a nominalised verb phrase marked with the dative clitic, followed by a form of the verb *nará* ‘perceive’, as in (51). Alternatively, the desiderative modality can be formed by a verb root inflected with the purpose/reason suffix, *-inán* ‘PURP’, (see §8.6.1) followed by a form of the verb of perception, as in (52).

- (51) *Komutu=káin ku-ku=yá nará-e-t.*
 Komutu=ALL NMLS~go=DAT perceive-PRES-1SG
 ‘I want to go to Komutu.’
- (52) *Komutu=káin ku-inán nará-e-t.*
 Komutu=ALL go-PURP perceive-PRES-1SG
 ‘I want to go to Komutu.’

Optionally, the word *pahán* ‘insides’ can be added to the beginning of the sentence. *Pahán* is the origin of desire and other emotions. This construction indicates a stronger desire than constructions without *pahán*.

- (53) *Pahán-lá náráwa tá-inán nará-e-k.*
 insides-3SG.POSS woman get.3SG.OBJ-PURP perceive-PRES-3SG
 ‘He really wants to marry a woman.’

When someone desires for another to do something, both subjects occur in succession in the sentence. Both are marked as agentive subjects, with either the agentive marker, as in (54); as agentive pronouns, as in (55); or with the topic marker, as in (56). The first actor is the one with the desire, and the second actor is the one who is desired to do the action. The second actor’s action is encoded as a complement clause consisting of a nominalised verb phrase marked with the dative clitic, and this is then followed by the verb of perception, which is cross-indexed for subject with the first actor.

- (54) *Wa=yá Robin=yá taun=káin ku-ku=ya*
 3=AGT Robin=AGT town=ALL NMLS~go=DAT

nará-e-ráng.
 perceive-PRES-2/3PL
 ‘They want Robin to go to town.’

- (55) *No ko taweng ho~hose=ya*
 1SG.AGT 2SG.AGT taro.sp NMLS~cut=DAT

nará-e-t.
 perceive-PRES-1SG
 ‘I want you to harvest taro.’

- (56) *Ámna tátáwi ná=wu nangge-ná=yá sungngi*
 man elderly this=TOP child-3SG.POSS=AGT food

imá~má=ya nará-u-k.
 give.3SG.OBJ~NMLS=DAT perceive-RP-3SG
 ‘This old man wanted his child to give him food.’

6.3.4 Frustrative modality

When a person intends to do something, but the intended action is not realised, a serial verb construction is used to encode the frustrative modality. The first element, a verb, is always marked with a different-subject medial verb suffix. This verb references the action that the actor intended to do but could not complete. The second element is always *men*. Native speakers say this is a contraction of *muná hále-n* ‘no become-3SG.DS.SEQ’. As such, this second element can also be thought of as ending in a different-subject medial verb suffix.

- (57) *Sungngi na-tne men kátu át-tu-ráng.*
 food eat-1PL.DS.SEQ FRUS part exist-RP-2/3PL
 ‘We ate the food, but weren’t able to finish it and some was left over.’
- (58) *‘It ná=wu ní=yá tá-e-k?’ íng me-ngga*
 house this=TOP who=AGT do-PRES-3SG thus say-SS.SEQ
karáp=ya suli-t men sa-ngga
 footprint=DAT seek-2/3PL.DS.SEQ FRUS leave-SS.SEQ
ruhá-u-ráng.
 sleep-RP-2/3PL
 ‘They said, “Who builds this house?” and they searched for footprints but they couldn’t find any and they gave up and went to sleep.’
- (59) *Kásáng árá-ngga ku-e men*
 betel.nut climb.up-SS.SEQ go-1SG.DS.SEQ FRUS
ha-e-t.
 climb.down-PRES-1SG
 ‘I tried to climb up the betel nut tree, but wasn’t able and I went back down.’

- (60) *Ámna tátáwi wa=ya áwá-ná wa=wu*
 man elderly 3=DAT wife-3SG.POSS 3=TOP

hále-ngga it-án men...
 wait-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ FRUS

‘His [poor] wife was waiting for the old man (her husband), but in vain...’

6.4 Particles expressing aspect and modality

Several particles in Nukna have epistemic modality-like meaning, in that they express the probability of an event actually occurring (see §6.4.1, §6.4.2, and §6.4.3). One expresses deontic modality as it references the ability to act (see §6.4.6). Others have aspectual meaning, in that they express the event’s temporal flow, or lack thereof (see §6.4.4 and §6.4.5). These particles are more naturally grouped in this section, rather than in the above sections for aspect and modality, because structurally they are quite different than aspect and modality constructions that are based on serial verb constructions.

6.4.1 Perfect

The perfect is used when the speaker wishes to indicate that an action was already done (past), or that an action certainly is being done (present), or certainly will be done (future). The use of the perfect is quite common. An approximate English gloss is ‘already’ for actions done in the past, while in the present and future, the English glosses ‘indeed’ or ‘certainly’ fit well.

The particle *há* is used to indicate the perfect. Its place in the sentence is right before the verb it modifies.

- (61) *Kutná kutná erek há tiyawí-ng-háli-tá=ku*
 everything whole PERF prepare-SV-CMPL-2SG.DS.SEQ=TOP

nán=yá há áwá-ine-mán.
 1PL=AGT PERF come-FUT-1PL

‘Once you have already completely prepared everything, we will indeed come.’

- (62) *No kula=wu Sonda=hára ing=ya há*
 1SG.AGT today=TOP Sunday=LOC thus=DAT PERF
nará-ngga áwá-ng-ngáta-t=wu ma=kalot
 perceive-SS.SEQ come-SV-HAB-1SG=TOP NEG=forgetfulness
na-má-Ø-k.
 1SG.OBJ-give-NEG.NP-3SG
 ‘Indeed I know that today is Sunday, and I habitually come (to church), and so I did not forget (Lit. it did not give me forgetfulness).’
- (63) *Káe=yá há ku-ng ha-ngga átkiu-k=ku*
 sun=AGT PERF go-SV climb.down-SS.SEQ DUR.RP-3SG=TOP
wa=yá=ku ná=wu hilápmá re át-ta-k
 3=AGT=TOP this=TOP morning only exist-PRES-3SG
ing=ya nará-ng-kiu-málák.
 thus=DAT perceive-SV-IMPF.RP-2/3DU
 ‘The sun was indeed going down and continuing to do that, (but) they continually thought that it was only morning time.’
- (64) *Pingnga ná=wu Singile wa=yá tá-u-k iná*
 story this=TOP Singile 3=AGT do-RP-3SG but
málám=ku há kámut-tu-k.
 3SG.EMPH=TOP PERF die-RP-3SG
 ‘This story is about Singile (lit. Singile did it), but she herself has already died.’

Grammatical objects and obliques normally occur before the perfective particle (though see (74) for an exception).

- (65) *Galas há ti-in.*
 goggles PERF put-1SG.IMP
 ‘I indeed must put on the goggles.’
- (66) *Hamelengan=káin há ku-in.*
 Hamelengan=ALL PERF go-1SG.IMP
 ‘I indeed must go to Hamelengan.’

- (67) *Me káto há me-u-t.*
 word strong PERF speak-RP-1SG
 ‘I have indeed promised (Lit. spoke a strong word).’
- (68) *Kák=yan me wa há nará-e-k.*
 2SG=GEN word 3 PERF perceive-PRES-3SG
 ‘Indeed, he hears your words.’

When verbs such as ‘do’, ‘become’, or ‘put’ have a light verb function, any adjunct nominal (a noun which is closely tied to the light verb and provides much of the meaning of the verbal clause—see §5.7.3) usually occurs after the perfect particle, but can also occur before the perfect particle.

- (69) *Retisi=yá Borine=yot há sansan tá-n...*
 Retisi=AGT Borine=COM PERF separation do-2/3DU.DS.SEQ
 ‘Retisi and Borine had separated from each other (when)...’
- (70) *It=yá há páyung ti-ngárán*
 place=AGT PERF darkness put-3SG.DS.SIM
ka-ng-kue-t.
 see.3SG.OBJ-SV-IMPF.PRES-1SG
 ‘Indeed it is getting dark (lit. putting darkness) and I am seeing it.’
- (71) *Yayará há tátáwi hále-u-málák.*
 two.together PERF elderly become-RP-2/3DU
 ‘They two had already become old.’
- (72) *Kálu há káto tá-e-t.*
 door PERF strong do-PRES-1SG
 ‘I already locked the door.’

- (73) *Na hánámá siot-ná=káin*
 1SG.EMPH just shirt-3SG.POSS=ALL
tá-ng-ka-ine-t wa=wu há álo
 get.3SG.OBJ-SV-see.3SG.OBJ-FUT-1SG 3=TOP PERF okay
hale-ine-t.
 become-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will just touch his shirt, and it will be that I will indeed be healed
 (Lit. become okay).’

The perfect particle *há* can be modified by the intensifier *hánám*. This construction indicates that the certainty of the action occurring is even greater than if just the perfect particle alone had been employed.

- (74) *Nát=ku há hánám kák=yot kák=yan*
 1DU=TOP PERF INTENS 2SG=COM 2SG=GEN
tombong=ya ku-ine-mán.
 people.group=DAT go-FUT-1PL
 ‘Indeed, we two certainly will go with you to your people.’
- (75) *Ko náut=ya nará-ngga na-ná-ine-lák*
 2SG.AGT what=DAT perceive-SS.SEQ 1SG.OBJ-say.to-FUT-2SG
wa=wu no há hánám ka-má-ine-t.
 3=TOP 1SG.AGT PERF INTENS 2SG.OBJ-give-FUT-1SG
 ‘Whatever you want, tell me and, indeed, I certainly will give it to you.’

The perfect plus a possessive pronoun

The perfect marker *há* can be modified by the set of possessive pronoun suffixes. This is an unusual construction in that the possessive pronoun suffixes usually only modify nouns (see §3.3.1).

When this construction is used, the possessive suffix attached to *há* agrees with the subject of the clause. This is in addition to the obligatory verbal subject cross-indexing as well as any overt subject. The meaning of this construction is that the action conveyed by the following verb was done thoroughly and exhaustively. In (76), the birds have simply eaten the seeds,

but in (82) the addition of *há-yáni* indicates that they not only ate the seeds, but that they completely finished them all—none were left.

- (76) *Iráp=yá áwá-ng táulá na-u-ráng.*
 bird=AGT come-SV seed eat-RP-2/3PL
 ‘The birds came and ate the seeds.’

- (77) *Iráp=yá áwá-ng táulá há-yáni na-u-ráng.*
 bird=AGT come-SV seed PERF-3PL.POSS eat-RP-2/3PL
 ‘The birds came and completely ate up all the seeds.’

Predominately, this construction occurs before verbs of motion. In these cases, the meaning is that the person went to some location where his permanent place of residence was located. In other words, the person ‘went home’. This construction can also be used to indicate that a person left his old home and moved more or less permanently to a new location. Context or inside knowledge is necessary to know which is indicated—the person’s present home or a new location of residence.

If a resident of Hamelengan village went for a visit to Yalumet, one would say:

- (78) *Yalumet=káin ku-u-k.*
 Yalumet=ALL go-RP-3SG
 ‘He went to Yalumet.’

But if that person went and settled permanently in Yalumet, one would say:

- (79) *Yalumet=káin há-ná ku-u-k.*
 Yalumet=ALL PERF-3SG.POSS go-RP-3SG
 ‘He went and settled at Yalumet.’

In (80) two men return to their village after being caught in the jungle at night without any food. *Há-yándi* is used because they are returning home.

- (80) *Hilápmá hánám=ku há-yándi*
 morning INTENS=TOP PERF-3DU.POSS

ha-ngga át-tu-málák.
 climb.down-SS.SEQ exist-RP-2/3DU

‘Early in the morning, they two were climbing down and returning home.’

Example (81) is similar to the above example, except that now three people are returning home.

- (81) *It-yáni=ya há-yáni áwá-u-ráng.*
 village-3PL.POSS=DAT PERF-3PL.POSS come-RP-2/3PL
 ‘They came home to their village.’

In (82) an old man from the village of Nukem has been living with his daughter and son-in-law in another village for an extended period of time. Finally, he feels the pull of home and wants to return to live once again in his own village. Thus he uses the word *há-na* to indicate that he wants to return permanently. If he had only wanted to visit his old village, and then return to live with his daughter, he would have omitted *há-na*.

- (82) *It-ná=ya ku-ku=ya pahán-lá=yá*
 village-3SG.POSS=DAT NMLS~go=DAT insides-3SG.POSS=A GT

tiyawí-n=ku yá-ná-u-k, ‘Kulá
 get.ready-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP 3NSG.OBJ.say.to-RP-3SG okay

nák=ku há-na ku-inde-t.’
 1SG=TOP PERF-1SG.POSS go-IFUT-1SG

‘His heart was ready to return to his village, and so he said to them, “Okay, I am going to return permanently to my home.”’

6.4.2 Dubitative

The dubitative particle is used when the speaker wishes to express uncertainty about something that he or she is asserting. Possible English glosses are ‘I suspect’, ‘I suppose’, ‘I think’, and ‘might’.

When the dubitative is used to refer to future events (see (86)), the event is less certain than the dubitative future tense (§5.2.2 and §6.1.2). Unlike the

dubitative future tense, the dubitative particle can be used to refer to future events of the same day, the next day, and through the next week.

The dubitative particle usually occurs between the subject noun phrase and the verb phrase.

- (83) *Kunap hám ka-e-ráng?*
 snake DUB see.3SG.OBJ-PRES-2/3PL
 'Did they really see a snake?'
- (84) *Wa=yá hám nák=yan put manek tá-u-k.*
 3=AGT DUB 1SG=GEN pig thievery do-RP-3SG
 '(I think) it was he who stole my pig.'
- (85) *Ná=wu nangán put wa=yá hám wa=ina*
 this=TOP 1SG.EMPH.GEN pig 3=AGT DUB 3=SML
áwá-ngga tá-e-k.
 come-SS.SEQ do-PRES-3SG
 'I suspect that this is my very own pig that comes and does like that.'
- (86) *Táp=káin hám ku-ine-k.*
 beach=ALL DUB go-FUT-3SG
 'He might go to the beach.'

The dubitative particle can modify clauses with negative polarity, expressing the speaker's uncertainty that something did not happen.

- (87) *Moses=yan papia=káin kámá ma=hám sángi-u-ráng.*
 Moses=GEN book=ALL some NEG=DUB read-RP-2/3PL
 'I suppose that you(PL) haven't read some of the book of Moses.'

The dubitative particle can be added to a yes/no question to express the speaker's doubt as to whether the action referred to in the question actually happened. In (88) the speaker expects that the action being referred to ('You spoke about me') did not actually happen (i.e., 'You must have been speaking about someone else.')

- (88) *Nák=ya hám me-e-lák?*
 1SG=DAT DUB speak-PRES-2SG
 ‘You’re not speaking about me, are you?’

The dubitative particle in conjunction with the simulative pronoun *wáina* ‘like that’ can modify units of measurement to indicate that the amount mentioned is an approximation.

- (89) *Wa=káin yara ten hám wa=ina át-tu-ráng.*
 3=ALL year ten DUB 3=SML exist-RP-2/3PL
 ‘They lived there for around ten years.’

- (90) *Táp yará kilo hám wa=ina ná*
 salt two kilogram DUB 3=SML this
na-má-n tá-ngga áwá-e-t.
 1SG.OBJ-give-3SG.DS.SEQ do-SS.SEQ come-PRES-1SG
 ‘He gave me about two kilograms of salt, and I got it and came
 (earlier today).’

6.4.3 Dubitative with the perfect

The dubitative particle can be combined with the perfect particle. When this construction is used, the speaker infers from evidence that the assertion is true, even though it cannot be confirmed.

- (91) *It=yá há hám yongi-ng-kue-k.*
 place=AGT PERF DUB become.night-SV-IMPF.PRES-3SG
 ‘Surely it must be getting dark.’

In (92) the woman (who is referred to as ‘our mother’ because she is an ancestor of the people hearing the story) was incredibly frightened by an evil spirit, to the point where the storyteller suspects that she must have soiled herself.

- (92) *Mam-náni wáik kámun hiyat-ná há hám*
 mother-1PL.POSS bad faeces urine-3SG.POSS PERF DUB
tá-u-k enendu ma=me-ng tunggap tá-u-k.
 do-RP-3SG but NEG=say-SV make.known do-RP-3SG
 ‘Our messed-up mother surely must have pooped and peed herself,
 but she didn’t reveal that (so we don’t know for sure).’
- (93) *Kák káráp ma=na~na=ya ka-ná-u-t*
 2SG tree NEG=NMLS~eat=DAT 2SG.OBJ-say.to-RP-1SG
wa=hára=nan há hám na-e-lák?
 3=LOC=ABL PERF DUB eat-PRES-2SG
 ‘You surely ate from the tree I told you not to eat from, didn’t you?’

6.4.4 Defective

The defective particle *hála* is used to indicate that an action almost happened. This adverbial particle has not been observed in any position other than immediately preceding the verb it is modifying, except when the defective particle is modified by the intensifier *hánám* (see (98)).

- (94) *Ang=yá put hála tá-u-ráng.*
 dog=AGT pig almost get.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3PL
 ‘The dogs almost caught the pig.’
- (95) *Liplip=yá áwá-ngga hurák nangge-ná*
 hawk=AGT come-SS.SEQ chicken child-3SG.POSS
hála ihá-e-k.
 almost get.3NSG.OBJ-PRES-3SG
 ‘The hawk came and almost took the chicks.’
- (96) *Utni páyom=yá náráwa káman=ya nangge=not*
 spirit wild=AGT woman one=DAT child=3SG.POSS.COM
hála yánge-u-k.
 almost bite.3NSG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 ‘A wild spirit almost bit a woman and her child.’

- (97) *Áwá nangge-na yá-ná-ngga=ku yut-tang*
 wife child-1SG.POSS 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-SS.SEQ=TOP laugh-SS.SEQ
hála kámut-tu-mán.
 almost die-RP-1PL
 ‘I told my wife and children, and we almost died laughing.’
- (98) *Wa=yá ilalák tá-ngga hála hánám kámut-tang*
 3=AGT sickness do-SS.SEQ almost INTENS die-SS.SEQ
át-tu-k.
 exist-RP-3SG
 ‘He was sick and came very close to dying.’

6.4.5 Incomplete

The incomplete particle *emá* is used to indicate that an action is still ongoing—it is not yet completed. This adverbial particle occurs immediately before the verb phrase it is modifying, unless the verb phrase includes an adjunct nominal (§5.7.3), in which case *emá* can occur either before or after the adjunct nominal—see (102) and (103).

- (99) *Ámna káman náráwa emá*
 man one woman INCMPL
sa-ng má-t...
 release-SV BEN.3SG.OBJ-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
 ‘They hadn’t yet given a certain man (lit. released to him) a wife...’
- (100) *Ánutu nangge-ná=yan rám=ku emá áwá-ine-k.*
 God son-3SG.POSS=GEN time=TOP INCMPL come-FUT-3SG
 ‘The son of God’s time has not yet come/is still coming.’
- (101) *Sán=yá emá ruhá-ngga sek*
 2NSG=AGT INCMPL sleep-SS.SEQ rest
nará-ngga átkue-ráng me?
 perceive-SS.SEQ DUR.PRES-2/3PL YNQ
 ‘Are you(PL) still sleeping and resting?’

- (102) *Nangge emá muk (emá)*
 child INCMPL breast.milk INCMPL
yá-má-ngga át-ta-ráng.
 3NSG.OBJ-give-SS.SEQ exist-PRES-2/3PL
 ‘They are still nursing the children. (Lit. giving them breast milk).’
- (103) *It=yá emá páyung (emá) ti-ine-k.*
 place=AGT INCMPL darkness INCMPL put-FUT-3SG
 ‘It is not yet dark.’
- (104) *Muransi=yá wa iná-ngga emá me*
 Muransi=AGT 3 say.to.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ INCMPL talk
tá-ngga át-nárán ámma kámá=yá áwá-ng
 do-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SIM man some=AGT come-SV
iná-u-ráng...
 say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3PL
 ‘Muransi spoke to him and while he was still talking, some men came and said to him...’
- (105) *Ále yáilá wa=wu mulangán hánám emá*
 mountain 3=TOP far.away INTENS INCMPL
ku-ngga át-náre mápamá wa=yá
 go-SS.SEQ exist-1SG.DS.SIM heaviness 3=AGT
nehá-n kámut-ne-t.
 get.1SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ die-FUT-1SG
 ‘The mountain is very far away—while I am still going, the disaster will get me and I will die.’

6.4.6 Abilitative

The abilitative particle is used to indicate that someone is able or has permission to do some action. The abilitative particle has the same form as the adjective *álo*, which has the meanings ‘okay’, ‘adequate’, or ‘enough’. In some cases, it can also mean ‘good’ or ‘well’. This meaning is extended to modify actions where the actor is able or adequate to perform that action.

The following examples illustrate when *álo* is not used as the abilitative particle. In these examples, the primary meanings ‘okay’, ‘adequate’, ‘enough’, or ‘good’ are conveyed.

- (106) *No ren=yá kehá-ng álo tá-t*
 1SG.AGT who.PL=AGT get.2SG.OBJ-SV good do-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
kuram tá-ng yá-má-ine-t.
 blessing do-SV 3NSG.OBJ-BEN-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will bless whomever does good to you.’
- (107) *Nangge wa álo át-ta-ráng me rina?*
 child 3 okay exist-PRES-2/3PL or how
 ‘Are the children well or how are they?’
- (108) *Sup-ná wa álo át-ta-k me rina?*
 money-3SG.POSS 3 enough exist-PRES-3SG or how
 ‘Is his money enough or not?’

When *álo* carries the meaning of ‘good’, it is often followed by the adjective *kámá* ‘some’, as in (109). This is a stronger form of ‘good’ than simply *álo* by itself. The same sentence without *kámá* (as in (110)) would indicate that someone did something merely adequately.

- (109) *Álo kámá tá-u-lák.*
 good some do-RP-2SG
 ‘You did well.’
- (110) *Álo tá-u-lák.*
 good do-RP-2SG
 ‘You did okay.’

The abilitative particle *álo* modifies the verb to indicate ability in (111)–(113) and to show permissibility in (114)–(115).

- (111) *Álo hiring hita-ine-t.*
 ABIL jump jump-FUT-1SG
 ‘I am able to jump the jump.’

- (112) *Hitung wa álo sángi-nggim me?*
 star 3 ABIL count-2/3SG.IRR YNQ
 ‘Would you be able to count the stars?’
- (113) *No nukngá álo hálang imá-má=yan*
 1SG.AGT another ABIL help give.3SG.OBJ~NMLS=GEN
tá-ng toli-in.
 get.3SG.OBJ-SV straighten-1SG.IMP
 ‘I must create another who is able to give him help.’
- (114) *Na-na=ya nará-ngga álo na-ine-lák.*
 NMLS~eat=DAT perceive-SS.SEQ ABIL eat-FUT-2SG
 ‘(If) you want to eat, you can eat.’
- (115) *Kutná kutná kátu=wu álo ihá-t*
 everything part=TOP ABIL get.3NSG.OBJ-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
ku-ine-mán iná nángá~nangge-sáni=wu erek
 go-FUT-1PL but PL~children-2PL.POSS=TOP whole
yápma-ine-ráng.
 leave.3NSG.OBJ-FUT-2/3PL
 ‘As for your things, you(PL) can get them and we will go, but as for your children, you must leave all of them.’
- The speaker can ask permission of another to do something by adding the abilitative *álo* before a form of the verb *sa* ‘leave, let go’ or ‘allow’.
- (116) *Álo sa-n no ku-ng it isikimo*
 ABIL allow-2/3DU.DS.SEQ 1SG.AGT go-SV village small
wa=káin át-e...
 3=ALL exist-1SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘You two, allow me to go and stay at that small village...’
- (117) *Álo sa-tá no bali kámon-tang urum*
 ABIL allow-2SG.DS.SEQ 1SG.AGT barley gather-SS.SEQ pile
ti-ine-t me?
 put-FUT-1SG YNQ
 ‘Will you allow me to gather barley and put it into a pile?’

6.5 Mood

Nukna has the following moods: indicative, interrogative, imperative, prohibitive, apprehensive, irrealis, and evidential. A verb in any of these moods is considered a final verb (see §5.4), with the exception of verbs in the evidential mood, which can be either final verbs or medial verbs.

6.5.1 Indicative mood

STEM + TENSE + PERS/NUM

All indicative final verbs are marked with an obligatory tense suffix, directly following the stem. This is then followed by an obligatory person/number subject agreement suffix.

The indicative presents statements and also questions (see the following section). See (1)–(4) in §5.2.1 and (5)–(11) in §5.2.2 for examples of indicative statements.

6.5.2 Interrogative mood

Verb forms in the interrogative mood are identical to those in the indicative mood. The two moods will from here on be referred to collectively as the ‘indicative mood’. Polar interrogatives are formed by adding the Yes/No Question marker *me*, which is related to the coordinating conjunction (‘and’ / ‘or’), to the end of a declarative statement.

Content interrogatives are formed by the use of question words (such as *who?*, *where?* *what?* *why?*, etc.). See §3.2.2 for a list of these question words. All interrogatives are accompanied by rising intonation at the end of the utterance.

- (118) *Ko Siang=káin ku-inde-lák me?*
 2SG.AGT Siang=ALL go-IF-2SG YNQ
 ‘Are you about to go to Siang?’
- (119) *Náut=yá áwá-ngga át-ta-k?*
 what=AGT come-SS.SEQ exist-PRES-3SG
 ‘What is coming?’

6.5.3 Negative indicative and interrogative moods

ma + STEM + NEGATIVE TENSE + PERS/NUM

In the negative, the interrogative mood forms are identical to the negative indicative mood forms, just as they are respectively in the positive indicative. They will collectively be referred to from here on as simply the ‘negative indicative mood.’ Again, question words or the Yes/No Question marker, along with rising intonation, distinguish between the two moods.

The negative proclitic *ma*= is prefixed to the negative form of any indicative or interrogative verb.

In the negative indicative mood, there are only three tenses. All three future tenses are conflated into one, and the distinction between present and near past is also neutralised. The negative tense marker covering the present and near past is identical to that of the positive near past tense marker (this negative tense marker will be referred to as the ‘near past negative tense’). The negative remote past is identical to the positive remote past. Only the negative future has a different tense marker than what is found in the set of positive tense markers.²²

TABLE 6.7. NEGATIVE TENSE MARKERS

	V-final verbs	C-final verbs
Near past	-Ø	-a
Remote past	-u	-tu
Future	-indá	-nándá

- (120) *Pahán-lá=yá kándáng ma=hále-u-k.*
 insides-3SG.POSS=AGT straight NEG=become-RP-3SG
 ‘He was not in agreement.’ (Lit. ‘His insides did not become straight.’)

²² The future negative tense markers *-indá* and *-nándá* should not be confused with the dubitative future markers or the prohibitive markers, which are very similar, differing only by the final vowel: *-inda* and *-nanda*.

- (121) *Mulangán ku-ine-ráng wa=wu ang hák-yáni=wu*
 far.away go-FUT-2/3PL 3=TOP dog bark-3PL.POSS=TOP

ma=nará-índá-t, me put sá-ine-ráng
 NEG=perceive-NEG.FUT-1SG and pig bite.3SG.OBJ-FUT-2/3PL

wa=wu ma=kápá-índá-t.

3=TOP NEG=see.3NSG.OBJ-NEG.FUT-1SG

‘They will go far away, and because of this I won’t hear the dogs’
 barking, and they will bite the pig and I won’t see them.’

- (122) *Ma=nará-Ø-t.*

NEG=perceive-NEG.NP-1SG

‘I don’t know.’

6.5.4 Imperative mood

STEM + IMPERATIVE PERS/NUM

The imperative mood is used when the speaker wishes to exhort, command, or (especially in cases where inanimate objects are being addressed) express a wish that people act or things happen in a certain way. Grammatically, there is only one type of imperative; however, the force of commands and exhortations can range from very strong commands to polite requests, depending on tone of voice, non-verbal cues, and the social relationship between the addresser and the addressee.

The imperative mood endings for the two classes of verbs are identical or similar, except for second person singular. A few of the imperative person/number suffixes have partial similarities to the person/number subject agreement suffixes, including 2/3 dual (*-málák*), 2/3 plural (*-ráng*), and the second singular of consonant-final verbs (*-lák*).

TABLE 6.8. IMPERATIVE MOOD—V-FINAL VERBS

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>-in</i>	<i>-ndín</i>	<i>-nín</i>
2	<i>-ng</i>	<i>-ndimálák</i>	<i>-niráng</i>
3	<i>-ik</i>		

TABLE 6.9. IMPERATIVE MOOD—C-FINAL VERBS

	SG	DU	PL
1	-in	-tin	-nin
2	-lák	-timálák	-niráng
3	-ik		

When the imperative mood is used, the time focus is on the present. If the speaker wishes to command someone to do something in the future, he or she would use the future imperative (discussed below).

- (123) *Náráwa yará wa na-má-niráng!*
 woman two 3 1SG.OBJ-give-2/3PL.IMP
 ‘You(PL) give me the two women!’

- (124) *It=yá yongi-ik ing=ya*
 place=AGT become.dark-3SG.IMP thus=DAT
hále-ngga át-narán...
 wait-SS.SEQ exist-2/3DU.DS.SIM
 ‘They(DU) were waiting for it to become dark when...’ (Lit. ‘It must become dark,’ and thus they were waiting when...’)

The following example clearly shows how the imperative mood applies across the entire sentence.

- (125) *Nan, ku-ngga silák kámá tá-ngga*
 father go-SS.SEQ wild.fowl.egg some get.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
áwá-tá si-na-nin.
 come-2SG.DS.SEQ cook-eat-1PL.IMP
 ‘Father, go and get some wild fowl eggs and come back and we will cook and eat them.’

Future imperative

The future imperative is used when the speaker wants to command or exhort someone to do something in the future (including later the same day, as in (126)), or to begin doing something now and continue to do it in the future (127). It is also used to express wishes (‘May it be that...’).

The future imperative mood suffixes are identical to those of the future tense of the indicative mood. Context alone differentiates between the two moods. It might be that the future indicative is simply a statement with the illocutionary force of a future command. For example, in English, a parent with a child who does not want to attend school might say to him, ‘You will go to school tomorrow.’

- (126) *Nem, ko=ku rina me-n umi=yá*
 cousin 2SG.AGT=TOP what say-3SG.DS.SEQ water=AGT
tárikngi-ine-k wa nará-ine-lák.
 become.dry-FUT-3SG 3 perceive-FUT-2SG
 ‘Cousin, you must/will hear what he says to make the water become dry.’
- (127) *No rám ingkálu me yángorá ná*
 1SG.AGT time right.now talk advice this
ka-ná-e-t wa=wu kándáng hánám
 2SG.OBJ-say.to-PRES-1SG 3=TOP straight INTENS
nará-ine-lák
 perceive-FUT-2SG
 ‘This advice that I give you right now, you must really think about it.’

Different-subject imperatives

Different-subject sequential verbs (§5.4.1) are also used to give commands. Different-subject verbs are medial verbs and thus cannot end a sentence. However, an exception occurs when they are used as commands. In these cases, it is implied that another action will naturally follow the action being commanded. Thus, while, on the surface, different-subject commands end a sentence, in the minds of native speakers they are always followed by some other action.

A common different-subject command is *kutá* ‘you go and...’. The implication is that the addressee needs to move along so that something else that the speaker has in mind can occur. One will often hear parents say this to their small children as the parents walk behind their children along a path.

- (128) *Ku-tá!*
 go-2SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘Go and...’

The following was said to me as I walked to the river to fill up my water container. The implication was that the speaker would fill up the container for me.

- (129) *Kárang na-má-tá.*
 container 1SG.OBJ-give-2SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘Give me the container (lit. ‘bamboo’) and... (I will fill it up for you).’

6.5.5 Prohibitive mood (negative imperative)

ma + STEM + PROHIBITIVE + PERS/NUM

The prohibitive mood is used to command someone *not* to do something, or to forbid someone from doing something. The prohibitive mood suffixes are homophonous with the dubitative future indicative suffixes. Only the negative marker *ma*= differentiates between the two.

For consonant-final verb roots, the prohibitive mood forms are also homophonous with the habitual forms (§6.2.2).

TABLE 6.10. PROHIBITIVE MOOD SUFFIXES

V-final verb	C-final verb
-inda-	-nánda-

- (130) *Kuk ma=tá-inda-lák.*
 anger NEG=do-PROHIB-2SG
 ‘Don’t be angry.’
- (131) *Sokmuná ma=ruhá-inda-mán.*
 quickly NEG=sleep-PROHIB-1PL
 ‘We must not go to sleep quickly.’
- (132) *Tuwet wáik wa ma=na-inda-lák.*
 tobacco bad 3 NEG=smoke-PROHIB-2SG
 ‘Don’t smoke marijuana.’

- (133) *Nangge wa ma=ka-e kámut-nánda-k.*
 child 3 NEG=see.3SG.OBJ-1SG.DS.SEQ die-PROHIB-3SG
 ‘I must not see the child die.’
- (134) *Na=hára ma=ná-sut-nánda-lák.*
 this=LOC NEG=1NSG.OBJ-drive.away-PROHIB-2SG
 ‘Do not drive us away from here.’
- (135) *Ámna ma=ut-nánda-lák. Márámamák*
 man NEG=kill.3SG.OBJ-PROHIB-2SG adultery
ma=tá-inda-lák.
 NEG=do-PROHIB-2SG
 ‘Do not kill people. Do not commit adultery.’

6.5.6 Apprehensive mood

STEM + APPREHENSIVE PERS/NUM

The apprehensive mood is used to express the wish or hope that something feared or undesirable will not occur. In some cases it is used as a warning.

The apprehensive mood suffixes are also identical or very similar between the two verb classes.

TABLE 6.11. APPREHENSIVE MOOD—V-FINAL VERBS

	SG	DU	PL
1	- <i>inggom</i>	- <i>ndinggom</i>	- <i>ninggom</i>
2	- <i>ilon</i>	- <i>ndimálon</i>	- <i>nirot</i>
3	- <i>iwon</i>		

TABLE 6.12. APPREHENSIVE MOOD—C-FINAL VERBS

	SG	DU	PL
1	- <i>inggom</i>	- <i>tinggom</i>	- <i>ninggom</i>
2	- <i>ilon</i>	- <i>timálon</i>	- <i>nirot</i>
3	- <i>iwon</i>		

- (136) *Ang ne-iwon.*
 dog bite.1SG.OBJ-3SG.APP
 ‘I hope the dog doesn’t bite me.’

- (137) *Ha-ng k-ut-íwon.*
 fall-SV 2SG.OBJ-hit-3SG.APP
 ‘Don’t fall!’ (Lit. ‘May it not be that (you) falling down, it (the ground) hits you.’)
- (138) *Kari=yá áwá-ngga n-ut-íwon.*
 car=AGT come-SS.SEQ 1SG.OBJ-hit-3SG.APP
 ‘I hope the car doesn’t come and hit me.’
- (139) ‘*Sopsopmá=hára ha-ng n-ut-tang silák*
 slipperiness=LOC fall-SV 1SG.OBJ-hit-SS.SEQ wild.fowl.egg
káti-ng mákmárák tá-ínggom,’ *ing me-u-t.*
 strike-SV smash.open do-1SG.APP thus say-RP-1SG
 ‘I said, “I better not fall at a slippery place and strike the wild fowl eggs (on the ground) and smash them.”’
- (140) *Ang ma=kápá-e put isut-tang*
 dog NEG=see.3NSG.OBJ-1SG.DS.SEQ pig chase.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
ku-nírot.
 go-2/3PL.APP
 ‘It will be bad if I don’t see the dogs chase the pig and go away.’
- (141) *Kup-ka wa=yá kámut-án páyung*
 bamboo.torch-2SG.POSS 3=AGT die-3SG.DS.SEQ darkness
kinan át-ílon.
 inside exist-2SG.APP
 ‘I hope your bamboo torch doesn’t go out and leave you in the dark.’

6.5.7 Irrealis mood

STEM + IRREALIS PERS/NUM

The irrealis mood has a limited scope and is employed for contrafactual and hypothetical events. Other non-actual events, such as future events, events marked with the apprehensive mood, or events marked with the dubitative particle, to give a few examples, are not marked with the irrealis mood.

For the irrealis mood, in all numbers (singular, dual, and plural), the only distinction in person is between first person and non-first person. In the whole of the Nukna language, the irrealis mood paradigm is the only one that does not distinguish between second and third person singular.

The irrealis mood suffixes are identical between the two verb classes except that, in the endings of the vowel-final verbs, each suffix begins with a velar nasal. This might be due to prenasalisation following a vowel, in which case the suffixes would be identical between the two classes. When an irrealis suffix attaches to consonant-final verb roots, it results in a syllable which begins with a voiced stop (e.g., *átgem*). Voiced stops in the syllable onset position are not found anywhere else in the Hamelngan dialect of the Nukna language. For verb roots ending in /n/, while it might appear orthographically that the resulting verb form includes a velar nasal (*mongim*), in reality there is a syllable break between the /n/ and /g/, thus, *mon.gim*.

The negative irrealis is formed simply by adding the negative proclitic *ma=*, without any difference in the rest of the verb affixation.

TABLE 6.13. IRREALIS STATUS—V-FINAL VERBS

	SG	DU	PL
1	-nggem	-nggatem	-nggatnem
2	-nggim	-nggalán	-nggalát
3			

TABLE 6.14. IRREALIS STATUS—C-FINAL VERBS

	SG	DU	PL
1	-gem	-gatem	-gatnem
2	-gim	-galán	-galát
3			

- (142) *Yangon galas wa=wu no ihá-nggem*
 fishing.spear goggles 3=TOP 1SG.AGT get.3NSG.OBJ-1SG.IRR
iná wa=wu málám=yá ihá-há=ya
 but 3=TOP 3SG.EMPH=AGT get.3NSG.OBJ-NMLS=DAT
me-e-k.
 speak-PRES-3SG
 ‘I could get the fishing spears and goggles, but he himself says that he’ll get them.’
- (143) *It káman=yá yáni hore-t yará*
 village one=AGT 3PL.EMPH separate-2/3PL.DS.SEQ two
hále-n erawá-nggalát wa=wu it wa=wu
 become-3SG.DS.SEQ fight-2/3PL.IRR 3=TOP village 3=TOP
há wáik hále-nggim.
 PERF bad become-2/3SG.IRR
 ‘(If) a village would separate themselves and become two and fight with one another, (then) that village would indeed become bad.’
- (144) *Upme sim iná=ku utni=yá nánge-ngga*
 later somewhat and=TOP ghost=AGT bite.1NSG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
na-nggim!
 eat-2/3SG.IRR
 ‘Just a bit later and the spirit would have biten us two and eaten us!’
- (145) *Ámna=yá kárang yon-galát wa=yá=ku álosim.*
 man=AGT bamboo split-2/3PL.IRR 3=AGT=TOP good
 ‘If the men would split bamboo, it would be good.’
- (146) *Ni=yá háláng na-má-nggim?*
 who=AGT help 1SG.OBJ-give-2/3SG.IRR
 ‘Who might give me help?’

The following examples show use of the irrealis mood to indicate contrafactual statements. The irrealis mood is marked only on the last verb in the sentence, but the mood applies to the entire sentence.

- (147) *Páyok=yá áwá-u-k iná=ku kap há*
 in-law=AGT come-RP-3SG and=TOP song PERF

ut-gim.

hit.3SG.OBJ-2/3SG.IRR

'If the in-law had come, he would have sung and danced.'

- (148) *Ámna wa=yá na-ná-u-k iná há ku-nggem.*
 man 3=AGT 1SG.OBJ-say.to-RP-3SG and PERF go-1SG.IRR

'If the man had told me, then I indeed would have gone.'

- (149) *Ko ma=nehá-ng háti-ng sa-tá*
 2SG.AGT NEG=get.1SG.OBJ-SV push-SV release-2SG.DS.SEQ

ku-u-k iná gol ti-nggem.

go-RP-3SG and goal put-1SG.IRR

'If you had not pushed me, I would have scored a goal.'

6.5.8 Evidential mood

Final Verb: **STEM(V-final) + SV + *tá + e* + PERS/NUM**

STEM(C-final) + *táng/náng + tá + e* + PERS/NUM

Medial Verb: **STEM(V-final) + SV + *tá* + DS PERS/NUM**

STEM(C-final) + *táng/náng + tá* + DS PERS/NUM

The evidential mood is used when the speaker wishes to indicate that what is being stated was not directly observed; in other words, either the speaker or the agent (when telling a story about someone else) was not an eyewitness. This includes experiences that were heard but not seen, or smelled but not seen.

Evidentials are not obligatory; that is, the speaker may choose to use a regular indicative verb instead of an evidential to describe something that was not directly observed. Use of the evidential mood is marked, and serves to emphasise the fact that something was not directly observed.

The evidential mood can refer to two different types of situations: first, it can refer to when a person hears or smells an event but does not see it. This covers situations such as when a person hears someone chopping a tree in the forest, but does not see the chopping; when a person outside a house overhears

someone else talking inside the house; or when a person smells something cooking but can't see it.

Second, it can refer to when a person recounts some event that he or she did not actually observe because he or she was not physically present when the event occurred; in other words, the information was told to that person by someone else and is second hand. It is hearsay (see (152) below).

Evidentials have both a final verb form, and a different-subject medial verb form. The final verb evidential has only a present tense form. To speak of an event in the past or the future with a final verb form, a non-evidential verb must be used. For vowel-final verbs, the main verb stem is followed by the serial verb marker *-ng*, then the verb root *tá* 'do', then by the present tense suffix *-e* (the result of *tá* followed by *-e* is *te*, following regular Nukna morphophonemic processes (§2.5.2), and finally by the appropriate person/number final verb suffix.

For consonant-final verbs, the evidential is formed in a similar way to that of vowel-final verbs, but the construction is a bit more complicated. First, the verb stem is followed by *-táng* or *-náng*. The two are in free variation, and either can be used without affecting the meaning. Next comes the verb root *tá* 'do', then the present tense suffix *-e*, and finally the final verb person/number suffix.

Different-subject medial evidentials do not encode tense (as with all medial verbs), but take their tense from a following final verb, and as such it is possible to speak of events in the evidential mood in any tense if a different-subject evidential form is used. The different-subject evidentials have the exact same form as the final verb evidentials, except that the present tense suffix *-e* is not present (as befits a medial verb), and instead of a final verb person/number suffix, they take a different-subject medial verb person/number suffix.

- (150) *Káráp hose-ng-tá-e-ráng. No ku-ngga*
 tree chop-SV-do-PRES-2/3PL 1SG.AGT go-SS.SEQ
kápá-in.
 see.3NSG.OBJ-1SG.IMP
 ‘(I hear that) they are chopping down the tree. I should go and see them.’

Evidential constructions are often found with the verb *nará* ‘perceive’, either preceding the evidential verb in a topic-comment construction, as in (151), or following the different-subject evidential in a clause chaining construction, as in (152).

- (151) *Nará-u-k=ku ku-ng kep=kálu ha-ngga*
 perceive-RP-3SG=TOP go-SV outside=DIR exit-SS.SEQ
málám=yá át-tu-k=kálu wa
 3SG.EMPH=AGT exist-RP-3SG=DIR 3
ku-ngga át-táng-tá-n,...
 go-SS.SEQ exist-EVID-do-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘She heard it leave and go outside and it was going toward where she herself was, and...’
- (152) *Ing=ya wa=ina me-ng-tá-t nará-u-mán*
 thus=DAT 3=SML speak-SV-do-2/3PL.DS.SEQ perceive-RP-1PL
ing me-e-t.
 thus speak-PRES-1SG
 ‘That’s what they said, and we heard it, and that’s what I’m telling (now).’

As mentioned above, using an evidential verb is not obligatory, but is a marked form. In (152) the evidential verb *mengtát* could be changed to *me-t* ‘speak-3SG.DS.SEQ’. This verb is equivalent in meaning to *mengtát* except for the evidential meaning. The meaning of the resulting sentence would be the same, except that the focus on the second-hand status of the information would not be as strong.

Example (153), with two evidential verbs in it, concludes the discussion of evidentials.

- (153) *Kulá át-tang nará-u-k=ku pum=yá*
 okay exist-SS.SEQ perceive-RP-3SG=TOP fluids.of.corpse=AGT
- hási-ng-tá-n son nará-u-k=ku*
 blow-SV-do-3SG.DS.SEQ again perceive-RP-3SG=TOP
- utni=yá katambatái wa tá-ng áwá-ng*
 ghost=AGT coffin 3 get.3SG.OBJ-SV come-SV
- kálu maming=káin sa-n*
 road big=ALL release.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ
- ping hánám ha-ng-tá-n,...*
 bang INTENS fall-SV-do-3SG.DS.SEQ
- ‘Okay, after a while he smelled the bodily fluids of a corpse (lit. ...he perceived that the bodily fluids of a corpse blew...), and also he heard the ghost bring the coffin along the main path and drop it with a great bang, and...’

7. *The clause*

This chapter presents an overview of the clause, focusing on clause types (§7.1), including transitive, intransitive, ditransitive and negative clauses; the four types of non-verbal clauses (§7.2); serial verb constructions (§7.3); frontshifting and endshifting (§7.4); and the topic-comment construction (§7.5). A discussion of how grammatical relations are indicated is found in §7.6, with a description of the agentive, instrument and dative markers. Finally, §7.7 outlines adverbs, including temporal adverbs and adverbs of manner and intensity.

7.1 **Clause types**

Types of clauses in Nukna include transitive, intransitive, ditransitive and negative clauses.

7.1.1 **Transitive clause**

$\pm \text{TP} \pm \text{NP}_{\text{subj}} \pm \text{AccompP} \pm \text{NP}_{\text{instr}} \pm \text{NP}_{\text{do}} \pm \text{NP}_{\text{io}} \pm \text{LP} + \text{VP}$

All of the elements in the transitive clause are optional except for the verb phrase. The order of the optional peripheral elements in the transitive clause is not rigid, although clauses generally adhere to the above order.

The temporal phrase normally occurs at the beginning of the clause, followed by the subject noun phrase. Following this are the accompaniment phrase, the instrument noun phrase, the direct object noun phrase, the indirect object noun phrase, and the locative phrase.

It is usual to have no more than two or three of these elements in one clause. Some have not been found in the same clause; for example, the instrument noun phrase and the indirect object noun phrase have not been found to co-occur, most likely due to the fact that the verbs with which the indirect object noun phrase is found do not take instruments.

Since person/number is obligatory on final verbs, the subject of a clause or sentence is often not overtly stated elsewhere in the sentence, especially if it is clear from context who is doing the action of the verb. The same holds true for the object of object cross-indexing verbs. Thus it would be perfectly acceptable to have a transitive sentence that is just one word, consisting of a final verb. This naturally occurs more commonly in everyday speech, and less commonly in narrative discourse.

- (1) *Yápma-u-ráng.*
 leave.3NSG.OBJ-RP-2/3PL
 ‘You(PL)/they left them.’

7.1.2 Intransitive clause

± TP ± NPsubj ± AccomP ± LP + VP

The elements of the intransitive clause are identical to those of the transitive clause, with the obvious exceptions—the object phrases. Also, the instrument phrase has never been found in an intransitive clause. Like the transitive clause, all elements of the intransitive clause are optional except for the verb phrase, and the order of the optional peripheral elements in the intransitive clause is not rigid, although clauses generally adhere to the above order.

- (2) *Áwá-ná=yá* *hít-ná=hára*
 wife-3SG.POSS=AGT shoulder-3SG.POSS=LOC
tuhá-ngga *át-tu-k.*
 hang-SS.SEQ exist-RP-3SG
 ‘His wife was hanging on his shoulder.’

7.1.3 Ditransitive clause

Ditransitive verbs have two arguments in addition to the subject. One of these is the recipient or addressee. The recipient is animate and is cross-indexed on the verb as an object prefix. The other argument is the patient. It is usually inanimate, and is not cross-indexed on the verb. Nukna has three ditransitive verbs: *ele* ‘show’, *imá* ‘give’, and *iná* ‘say to/tell’ (see

§5.3.1 for their paradigms). If both the recipient and the patient are overtly stated before the verb, the normal word order would have the patient first, and the recipient second.

- (3) *Kípmanɡ nangge-ná imá-u-k.*
 worm son-3SG.POSS give.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 ‘He gave a worm to his son.’
- (4) *Káwák ná kák ráulá yá-má-e-t.*
 land this 2SG descendants 3NSG.OBJ-give-PRES-1SG
 ‘I give this land to your descendants.’

The two arguments can be reversed in order without any change of meaning if it is obvious from context which is the recipient and which is the patient. For example, in (5) it would be absurd to interpret the meaning in such a way that Pig-Faeces (an animate character in a Nukna story) was being told to the ‘idea’. Obviously, the idea was being told to Pig-Faeces, and thus word order is not important for the patient and the addressee.

- (5) *Kuhát=yá put kámun-lá nanará wa*
 frog=AGT pig faeces-3SG.POSS thought 3
iná-n...
 say.to.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘Frog told the idea to Pig-Faeces, and...’

Since recipients are animate, and patients are often inanimate, it is often the case that the two are able to be reversed in order without a change in meaning. However, where both recipient and patient are animate, the standard word order must be followed, or the meaning is affected. For example, the following elicited examples have different meanings.

- (6) *No ang pukaya imá-u-t.*
 1SG.AGT dog crocodile give.3SG.OBJ-RP-1SG
 ‘I gave the dog to the crocodile (to eat).’
- (7) *No pukaya ang imá-u-t.*
 1SG.AGT crocodile dog give.3SG.OBJ-RP-1SG
 ‘I gave the crocodile to the dog (to eat).’

7.1.4 Negative clause and the scope of polarity

When a clause is negated with the negative marker *ma=*, the scope of negation does not normally extend beyond the marked clause. Exceptions will be discussed later on in this section.

In (8) the negative marker *ma=* marks the verb *kápá* ‘see.3NSG.OBJ’, and the negation does not extend to the following verb in the clause chain, *isut* ‘follow.3SG.OBJ’. In (9) the negative proclitic marks the last verb in the sentence, *tá* ‘do’, which is in final verb form. Even though the person/number, tense, and mood of the final verb extend back through the clause chain to the medial verb *naránga*, the negative polarity does not. It is limited to the single verb that the negative proclitic marks.

- (8) *Ang ma=kápá-e put*
 dog NEG=see.3NSG.OBJ-1SG.DS.SEQ pig
isut-tang ku-nirot.
 follow.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ go-2/3PL.APP
 ‘It will be bad if I don’t see the dogs and they chase the pig and go away.’
- (9) *Kuhát=yá wa nará-nga kuk ma=tá-u-k.*
 frog=AGT 3 perceive-SS.SEQ anger NEG=do-RP-3SG
 ‘Frog heard this and wasn’t angry.’

In serial verb constructions (SVC) (see §7.3), the negative marker applies to the entire SVC as expected, since an SVC is monoclausal. The negative marker can appear before the first verb in an SVC, but often marks the last verb. In the following example, the negative proclitic marks the third and final verb, *arak* (this is the surface form), but negative polarity extends to the first and second verbs—*nápmang* and *kung*.

- (10) *Málám=ku nán nápmang ku-ng*
 3SG.EMPH=TOP 1PL leave.1NSG.OBJ-SV go-SV
mulangán=káin ma=át-a-k.
 far.away=ALL NEG=exist-PRES-3SG
 ‘He did not leave us and go and stay far away.’

When two or more verbs are in an SVC, the polarity extends across the entire SVC, as already stated. However, if the same two verbs are separated by a clause boundary, the negative polarity does not extend to both verbs. The following two examples are identical except for the clause boundary marked by the *-ngga* ‘SS.SEQ’ in (12).

- (11) *Yalumet=káin ku-ng yáup ma=tá-índá-t.*
 Yalumet=ALL go-SV work NEG=do-NEG.FUT-1SG
 ‘I will not go to Yalumet and work.’
- (12) *Yalumet=káin ku-ngga yáup ma=tá-índá-t.*
 Yalumet=ALL go-SS.SEQ work NEG=do-NEG.FUT-1SG
 ‘I will go to Yalumet and not work.’

While negative polarity does not normally extend across clause boundaries, it can do so when a native speaker pragmatically interprets a chain of events in such a way that it makes sense for the polarity to apply to more than just the clause that the negative marker *ma=* modifies. In (13) there is a clause boundary between the two verbs (marked by *-ngga* ‘SS.SEQ’), but the negative polarity extends to both verbs, because climbing up a betel nut tree and picking some of the fruit are actions that normally occur together (alternately, it would also be grammatical to place the negative marker on the first verb, *árángga*, which would have an identical meaning to (13)).

- (13) *Kásáng ketnán árá-ngga ma=rat-tu-k.*
 betel.nut on.top.of climb.up-SS.SEQ NEG=pick-RP-3SG
 ‘He didn’t climb up the betel nut tree and pick some.’

If someone wanted to actually say that someone climbed the betel nut tree, but did not pick any fruit—an action that runs contrary to expectation—the natural way to do so would be to use two independent clauses joined by the conjunction *enendu* ‘but’—a conjunction that expresses contraexpectation (see §8.2.2).

- (14) *Kásáng ketmán árá-u-k enendu*
 betel.nut on.top.of climb.up-RP-3SG but

ma=rat-tu-k.

NEG=pick-RP-3SG

‘He climbed up the betel nut tree but didn’t pick some.’

Along the same lines as (13), all five verbs in (15) share negative polarity, even though there is a clause boundary between the third and fourth verbs (the first, second, and fourth verbs are serial verbs, and so this sentence has two clauses—the clause boundary is marked on the third verb *tángga*). The native speaker knows intuitively that the entire sentence has negative polarity because it would not make sense for someone to *not* break open a house, and then go enter inside of it. They would need to first break open the house before they could enter it. (This is assuming a scenario where a person does not have permission to enter a house and the door is locked.)

- (15) *Ma=áwá-ng it káti-ng márák tá-ngga ku-ng*
 NEG=come-SV house strike-SV open do-SS.SEQ go-SV

ha-u-k.

enter-RP-3SG

‘He didn’t come and break open the house and enter it.’

In (16) there is a grammatical clue which shows that negative polarity applies to the entire sentence. The negative marker *ma=* marks the first verb (which is not an SVC like in (15), but now marks a clause boundary), and the final verb has a form that is only found when the verb is marked for negative polarity. See §6.5.3 and §6.5.5 for verb endings that only occur on verbs of negative polarity. Thus the negative marker *ma=* must apply to the entire sentence, across all three clauses.

- (16) *Ma=áwá-nnga it káti-ng márák tá-ngga ku-ng*
 NEG=come-SS.SEQ house strike-SV open do-SS.SEQ go-SV

ha-índá-k.

enter-NEG.FUT-3SG

‘He will not come and break open the house and enter it.’

Regarding the three clauses in (16), if the speaker wishes to emphasise that the actions certainly will not happen, it is grammatically acceptable to preface each clause with the negative marker.

- (17) *Ma=áwá-ngga it ma=káti-ng márák tá-ngga*
 NEG=come-SS.SEQ house NEG=strike-SV open do-SS.SEQ
ma=ku-ng ha-indá-k.
 NEG=go-SV enter-NEG.FUT-3SG
 ‘He will not come, will not break open the house and will not enter it.’

If the first verb, meaning ‘come’, were to be in an SVC with the following set of verbs *káting márák tángga* (which are themselves an SVC), then the negative marker could only be applied twice, at maximum, because there would now be only two clauses.

- (18) *Ma=áwá-ng it káti-ng márák tá-ngga*
 NEG=come-SV house strike-SV open do-SS.SEQ
ma=ku-ng ha-indá-k.
 NEG=go-SV enter-NEG.FUT-3SG
 ‘He will not come and break open the house, and will not enter it.’

If a speaker wishes to follow a clause that has negative polarity with a clause that has positive polarity, a participle construction can be used (see §5.2.4). That is, the verb in the first clause will become a participle. This is not a common construction, but can be used to make it explicit that negative polarity does not extend beyond the single marked verb (which has become a participle). Nungon, the language to the west of Nukna, has this same construction (Sarvasy 2015:220).

- (19) *Káwak ma=pi-ená kuk tá-u-k.*
 ground NEG=dig-PART anger do-RP-3SG
 ‘She, not digging the ground, was angry.’
- (20) *Ko áwá-ngga it ma=yali-ená ku-ng ha-ine-lák.*
 2SG come-SS.SEQ house NEG=open-PART go-SV enter-FUT-2SG
 ‘You came and, without breaking open the house, went inside.’

This section is merely a short overview. The relation of scope of polarity to Nukna clause structure is a complicated topic and would benefit from further study.

7.2 Non-verbal clause

Types of non-verbal clauses are equative, attributive, possessive and existential. The first three types consist of a NP subject and a subject complement, which are usually joined by an intervening demonstrative pronoun, either *wa* or *ná*, followed by the topic clitic =*wu* (see §7.5 for other uses of the topic clitic). Because they have no verb and thus no tense, they can refer to either past or present, depending on the context. Future equative, attributive and possessive clauses have not been attested.

The fourth type, existential clauses, employs the defective verb *pálak* to convey attribution, temporary possession, or the manner in which some action was done.

7.2.1 Equative clause

+ NP ± DemPro=*wu* + CompP

- (21) *Pingnga wa=wu wa re.*
 story 3=TOP 3 only
 ‘The story is just that.’
- (22) *Nano wa=wu ámma tátáwi.*
 Nano 3=TOP man elderly
 ‘Nano was an old man.’

Example (23) has two equative clauses—one negative and the other positive. Negative equative clauses are made negative by the word *muná* ‘no’, which follows the complementary clause.

- (23) *Bae=yá utni ka-u-k wa=wu utni muná,*
 Bae=AGT ghost see.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG 3=TOP ghost no
wa=wu Sunde ámna Hemiringnu.
 3=TOP Sunde man Hemiringnu
 ‘The ghost that Bae saw wasn’t a ghost; it was Hemiringnu, the man from Sunde.’

7.2.2 Attributive clause

- (24) *Náku álo.*
 Ná=ku álo.
 1SG=TOP okay
 ‘I am okay.’
- (25) *Umi wa=wu maming táwi hánám.*
 river 3=TOP big INTENS
 ‘The river is very large.’

Occasionally, the demonstrative pronoun followed by the topic clitic =*wu* is omitted.

- (26) *Kák ámna káto hánám.*
 2SG man strong INTENS
 ‘You are a very strong man.’

7.2.3 Possessive clause

- (27) *Pingnga ná=wu Apalap ámna Nano wa=yan.*
 story this=TOP Apalap man Nano 3=GEN
 ‘This story is about Nano, the man from Apalap.’
- (28) *Hái wa=wu Kepeteri=yan.*
 garden 3=TOP Kepeteri=GEN
 ‘That garden is Kepeteri’s.’

7.2.4 Existential clause

+ NP + *pálak*

A non-verbal existential clause is formed when the word *pálak* ‘exist’ is added to the end of a noun phrase. *Pálak* does not take any verb morphology. This construction often indicates that someone physically has a certain item. However, *pálak* does not indicate ownership of that object. Thus, the man in (29) simply has an axe; whether or not it’s his axe or another’s is not referenced.

- (29) *Ámna káráwasi-ná pálak.*
 man axe-3SG.POSS exist
 ‘The man has an axe.’
- (30) *Ket-na putun pálak.*
 hand-1SG.POSS sore exist
 ‘My hands have sores.’
- (31) *Káwak umi-ná pálak.*
 ground water-3SG.POSS exist
 ‘A land that has water.’
- (32) *Náráwa wa=wu náun-lá pálak.*
 woman 3=TOP husband-3SG.POSS exist
 ‘The woman is married.’
- (33) *Ámna máto kutná kutná-yáni pálak...*
 man young everything-3PL.POSS exist
 ‘The young men that are rich...’

Sometimes, this construction indicates that a person has something in a metaphorical sense; in other words, they are *characterised* by a certain trait.

- (34) *Ámna yáin-lá wa wa=wu ámna kut-ná*
 man head-3SG.POSS 3 3=TOP man name-3SG.POSS
pálak.
 exist
 ‘That head man is a prestigious man.’ (Lit. ‘his name exists.’)

- (35) *kutná kutná átkuku-yáni pálak...*
 everything life-3PL.POSS exist
 ‘All things that have life...’

Other times, *pálak* is used to indicate in what manner an action was done. In these cases the construction is followed by the verb which it qualifies.

- (36) *Ámna náráwa=wu narángpak pálak ku-u-ráng.*
 man woman=TOP worry exist go-RP-2/3PL
 ‘The people went with worry.’
- (37) *Utni=yá sima sárum-ná=kálu siriksárok*
 ghost=AGT garden.house back-3SG.POSS=DIR rustling
pálak ku-u-k.
 exist go-RP-3SG
 ‘The ghost went with rustling noises toward the back of the house.’
- (38) *Pungam pálak nukngá=yá nukngá=ya ketnán*
 group.yell exist other=AGT other=DAT on.top.of
ketnán ha-u-ráng.
 on.top.of fall-RP-2/3PL
 ‘With a great yell they fell one on top of the other.’
- (39) *Málám yángyáng pálak ping~pitá-ng áwá-u-k.*
 3SG.EMPH shiver exist ITER~be.afraid-SV come-RP-3SG
 ‘She herself was trembling with fear while she came.’

To negate this construction the word *pálak* is replaced with the word *muná* ‘no’ (cf. example (29)).

- (40) *Ámna káráwasi-ná muná.*
 man axe-3SG.POSS no
 ‘The man does not have an axe.’

7.3 Serial verb constructions

Serial verbs constructions (SVC) are a common feature of Papuan clause-chaining languages. ‘A serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, ...describe what is conceptualised as

a single event, ...have just one tense, aspect and polarity value, ...[and] may also share core and other arguments' (Aikhenvald 2006:1). The verbs in an SVC refer to what is conceptualised by the speakers of the language as a single event, even if it is possible to break up the event into its constituent actions. Sometimes the meaning of the SVC follows from its constituent verbs, while in other cases the meaning of the SVC cannot be easily predicted—the whole is not the sum of its parts.

As Foley explains in his section on verb semantics in Papuan languages (Foley 1986:113), Papuan languages are characterised by 'get[ting] by with a much reduced inventory of verbs from the point of English,' because they often describe complex actions by breaking them into their constituent sub-actions. For example, while in English we would use one verb to describe the action of 'bringing' something, Nukna uses two verbs which have the meanings 'get' and 'come'. To convey this meaning, these two verbs are found in an SVC.

The serial verb marker (*-ng* 'SV' for vowel-final verb stems, and \emptyset 'SV' for consonant-final verb stems) attaches to the bare verb stem of the first verb in an SVC, and also to any intermediate verbs if there are more than two verbs in the SVC. The initial verb (or verbs) is then followed by a medial verb or a final verb (either of which marks the clause boundary).

There is one attested SVC-like construction that combines two bare vowel-final verb roots, rather than using the serial verb marker. It is quite likely that this is simply a case of a lexicalised compound (§5.2.3).

- (41) *si-na-u-ráng*
 cook-eat-RP-2/3PL
 'You(PL)/they cooked and ate.'

7.3.1 Symmetrical serial verb constructions

'Symmetrical serial verb constructions consist of two or more verbs each chosen from a semantically and grammatically unrestricted class' (Aikhenvald 2006:3). The verbs of symmetrical SVCs in Nukna are related very tightly grammatically. Nothing can interpose between the two verbs, and they must

share mood, aspect, and polarity. In some cases, the verbs of a symmetrical SVC have become so tightly associated that they have become lexicalised.

In Table 7.1 the first verb takes the serial verb marker *-ng* or \emptyset 'sv', while the second verb takes the same-subject medial verb marker *-ngga* 'SS.SEQ'. Of course, this same-subject medial verb could be replaced in these examples with any verb form that marks a clause boundary, namely any other medial verb form or any final verb form.

TABLE 7.1. SYMMETRICAL SVC EXAMPLES

SVC	Individual meanings of verbs	SVC meaning
<i>iná-ng suli-ngga</i>	'say.to.3SG.OBJ', 'look for'	'inquire'
<i>tá-ng háti-ngga</i>	'get.3SG.OBJ', 'push'	'pass by'
<i>iná-ng toli-ngga</i>	'say.to.3SG.OBJ', 'straighten, fix'	'teach'
<i>me-ng sa-ngga</i>	'speak', 'leave, release'	'claim something as yours'
<i>tá-ng ti-ngga</i>	'get.3SG.OBJ', 'put'	'give birth to a child'
<i>tare-ng káti-ngga</i>	'step', 'strike'	'stop moving and stand still'
<i>yare-ng ha-ng ti-ngga</i>	'step', 'climb down', 'put'	'step on top of'
<i>se-ng suli-ngga</i>	'do.repeatedly', 'look for, hunt'	'travel around, wander around'
<i>iná-ng se-ngga</i>	'say.to.3SG.OBJ', 'do repeatedly'	'nag, ask persistently'
<i>ka-ng nará-ngga</i>	'see.3SG.OBJ', 'perceive, want'	'desire, covet'
<i>ka-ng hile-ngga</i>	'see.3SG.OBJ', 'open mouth'	'complain'
<i>se-ng káti-ngga</i>	'stab' 'collide'	'look fixedly at'
<i>káti-ng marák²³ tá-ngga</i>	'strike' 'break open'	'break open by striking'
<i>uyi-ng puti-ngga</i>	'pull' 'fasten'	'tie a knot'
<i>tá-ng mará-ngga</i>	'get.3SG.OBJ', 'chop'	'withhold'
<i>ut-\emptyset kámut tá-ngga</i>	'hit.3SG.OBJ', 'kill'	'kill by hitting'

The order of the component verbs of an SVC tends to be iconic—that is, they follow the temporal sequence of the sub-events. For example, from the above list, in the SVC meaning 'desire, covet', the verb *ka* 'see' occurs first, followed by the verb *nará* 'perceive, want'.

In some SVCs, there is a cause-effect relationship between the component verbs. For example, from the list above, in the SVC meaning 'break open by striking', the first verb *káti* 'strike' is the cause, and the second verb (along

²³ In this example, *marák* 'opening' is an adjunct nominal, and *tá* 'do' is functioning as a light verb.

with its adjunct nominal) *márák tá* ‘break open’ is the effect. In the same way, in the SVC meaning ‘kill by hitting’, the first verb *ut* ‘hit.3SG.OBJ’ is the cause, and the second verb *kámut tá* ‘kill’ is the effect.

7.3.2 Asymmetrical serial verb constructions

‘Asymmetrical serial verb constructions include a verb from a grammatically or semantically restricted class’ (Aikhenvald 2006:3). In Nukna, the verb from a restricted class is either a motion verb or the verb *tá* ‘get’.²⁴ Asymmetrical SVCs do not have the tight grammatical relationship that symmetrical SVCs have. However, these verbs take the same suffix as the symmetrical SVCs (i.e., they are identical in form), they encode what is conceptualised as a single event, they are not marked with a suffix marking a clause-boundary, and they share a subject argument (usually) or an object argument (sometimes).

The following examples have the verb *tá* ‘get’²⁵ as the first verb of the asymmetrical SVC. Semantically, the verb *tá* ‘get’ indicates that the actor gets the object in order to do the immediately following action.

- (42) *Put kámun-lá=ya sulí-ngga ihá-ng*
 pig faeces-3SG.POSS=DAT look.for-SS.SEQ get.3NSG.OBJ-SV
punyut hánám sá-ng sa-n ku-ng
 filled INTENS bite.3SG.OBJ-SV release-3SG.DS.SEQ go-SV

wa=hára át-án...
 3=LOC exist-3SG.DS.SEQ

‘She looked for pig faeces and she got some and bit off a large bite, and put it into the side of her mouth, and...’ (note: like people do when they chew betel nut) (Lit. ‘...bit off a large bite, and released it, and it went and stayed there.’)

²⁴ Some of the examples of symmetrical SVCs also use the verb *tá* ‘get’, but in these cases, the verb is not used literally. In asymmetrical SVCs the verb is used literally.

²⁵ *tá* ‘get’ is an irregular object-prefix verb (§5.3.2)—thus the irregular form *iháng* in (42).

- (43) *Yang-ná wa tá-ng umi=káin ma-ngga...*
 tail-3SG.POSS 3 get.3SG.OBJ-SV river=ALL throw-SS.SEQ
 ‘(I) got its tail and threw it in the river...’

The following examples have a motion verb as the first verb of the asymmetrical SVC. The verb of motion indicates motion toward somewhere with the intention of doing, or in order to do, the action of the second verb in the SVC. In (44) clearly the going and the eating are two separate, distinct actions, but they are viewed as one unitary action because the ‘going’ is for the purpose of the ‘eating’.

- (44) *Nák ka kang~ka-rungi-ngáre ku-ng*
 1SG 2SG.EMPH REDUP~2SG.OBJ-trick-1SG.DS.SIM go-SV
pálipuk na-e-lák.
 truly eat-PRES-2SG
 ‘I tricked you and you went and actually ate it!’
- (45) *Utni=yá wa nará-ngga ku-ng kálu mungnga*
 ghost=AGT 3 perceive-SS.SEQ go-SV door doorway
isut-tu-k.
 push.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 ‘The ghost heard him and went and pushed on the door.’
- (46) *Ko ha-ng nák=yan silák*
 2SG.AGT climb.down-SV 1SG=GEN wild.fowl.egg
na-e-lák.
 eat-PRES-2SG
 ‘You climbed down and ate my wild fowl eggs!’

A key characteristic of SVCs is that the component events of the SVC are conceptualised as a single event in the mind of the speaker. He or she may decide to use the same set of verbs, but with different verb morphology, to describe an event that is not conceptualised as a single event. To illustrate this point, the following two examples contain the same set of verbs. In the first, all three verbs are being viewed as one single action. In the second, the first verb is being viewed as one action, while the other two are being viewed as

another separate action, with the implication that some period of time elapsed between the first action and the second. This is signalled grammatically by the use of a serial verb in the first instance, and a medial verb, which marks a clause boundary, in the second instance.

- (47) *Sup tá-ng sa-n ku-e-k.*
 stone get.3SG.OBJ-SV release.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ go-PRES-3SG
 ‘He grabbed the stone and threw it (all in one motion).’ (Lit. ‘He got the stone, released it, and it went.’)

- (48) *Sup tá-ngga sa-n*
 stone get.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ release.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ
ku-e-k.
 go-PRES-3SG
 ‘He grabbed the stone, and then (after some time) threw it.’

In (49) the getting of the machete is viewed as part of the same action as the striking and cutting off of the skin. Thus, an SVC is used. In this sentence, it is possible to change the serial verb *táng* to the medial verb *tánga*. This would have the effect of separating the getting of the machete from the rest of the action. It would imply that there was an interval of time between the getting and the cutting. Conversely, it would not be permissible to change the serial verb *kátng* to the medial verb *kátngga*, because they are in a tight symmetrical SVC construction (*rákít* is an adjunct nominal preceding the light verb *táuk* and thus is not interposing between the two verbs of the symmetrical SVC). The striking and the cutting off are describing one single inseparable action. An SVC must be used in this instance.

- (49) *Rangguk tá-ng kip-ná wa káti-ng*
 machete get.3SG.OBJ-SV skin-3SG.POSS 3 strike-SV
rákít tá-u-k.
 cut.off do-RP-3SG
 ‘He got the machete and cut off its skin.’

SVCs can be nested, that is, a symmetrical SVC can be found embedded in a higher level asymmetrical SVC. Example (49) is one such case. *Kátng rákít táuk* is a symmetrical SVC, which then forms an asymmetrical SVC with the

verb *táng*. Another example of nesting of SVCs follows—*ut kámut táuk* is a symmetrical SVC which forms an asymmetrical SVC with the verb *kung*.

- (50) *Ámna wa=yá ku-ng put ut-Ø kámut*
 man 3=AGT go-SV pig hit.3SG.OBJ-SV die
tá-u-k.
 do-RP-3SG
 ‘The man went and killed the pig.’

7.3.3 Different-subject SVCs

The alert reader may have noticed that in (42) and (47), one of the verbs in the SVC has a different-subject medial verb suffix. A different subject SVC, or ‘switch-function SVC’, is formed when the subject of the second verb of the SVC is identical to the object of the first verb.

The difficulty with different-subject SVCs in Nukna is that there are no obvious grammatical markers that distinguish different-subject SVCs from different-subject clause chains. The verb morphology marking each is identical, calling into question whether different-subject SVCs exist at all in Nukna.

In support of the existence of different-subject SVCs, we find references to them in the grammars of other areal languages. Among these are Yau (Lauver and Wegmann 1990) and Awara (Quigley 2002). In Awara, Quigley notes that there are no lexical or grammatical differences between different-subject SVCs and different-subject clause chains, but she does describe the semantic and phonological differences between them. Her description fits perfectly with the situation found in the Nukna language:

Different-subject serial-verb constructions differ from clause chains in that serial constructions refer to a single event which indicates a causal relationship while clause chains refer to multiple events and indicate purely temporal relationships. In addition, serial-verb constructions are typically pronounced under a single intonational contour with no pauses between the verbs, while clause chains often have a phonological pause between the clauses (Quigley 2002:110).

Semantically, different-subject SVCs are conceptualised as a single event by native speakers. In (51) the releasing of the stone and the stone's subsequent going are one single event. It is not possible to conceive of them as two separate events.

- (51) *Sup sa-e ku-u-k.*
 stone release.3SG.OBJ-1SG.DS.SEQ go-RP-3SG
 'I threw the stone' (Lit. 'I released the stone, and it went.')

- (52) *Simendi=yá Bakeri yáin-lá=hára háti-ng*
 Simendi=AGT Bakeri head-3SG.POSS=LOC push-SV
sa-n ku-e-k.
 release.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ go-PRES-3SG
 'Simendi pushed Bakeri's head.' (Lit. 'Simendi pushed Bakeri's head, released it, and it went.')

If a different-subject SVC has negative polarity, this is marked by the negative marker *ma=* attaching to the first verb of the different-subject SVC. This affects the polarity of both verbs in the SVC. As noted earlier (see §7.1.4), the force of the negative marker *ma=* does not normally extend across clause boundaries. However, since pragmatic considerations can allow the scope of the negative to extend across multiple clauses, the fact that negative polarity extends to both verbs in a different-subject SVC is not conclusive evidence that both are members of a single clause.

- (53) *Sup ma=sa-e ku-u-k.*
 stone NEG=release.3SG.OBJ-1SG.DS.SEQ go-RP-3SG
 'I didn't throw the stone.' (Lit. 'I didn't release the stone, and it didn't go.')

In (54) it would be grammatically possible to attach the negative marker *ma=* to the second verb, *kuk*. However, people's initial reaction to this construction was almost always to laugh and shake their heads. Native speakers had a difficult time thinking of any scenario where someone would say 'I released the stone, it didn't go'. One person finally replied that if someone attempted to throw a stone, but the stone never left their hand because it was stuck there by glue or something else sticky—a highly unusual

scenario—then they could say *sup sa-e ma=ku-u-k* ‘He released it and it didn’t go’.

The following example is similar. The releasing (*san*) and the falling (*hang*) describe one complex event, namely ‘dropping’. Negativising the first verb makes the entire event have a negative polarity (‘he didn’t drop it’).

- (54) *Kásáng kep-ná wa sa-n*
 betel.nut skin-3SG.POSS 3 release.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ
ha-ng umi árám tái wa=hára káti-n...
 fall-SV pond ATT 3=LOC strike-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘He dropped (lit. ‘he released it, it fell’) the betel nut skin and it struck the pond, and...’

7.3.4 Benefactives and other functions of SVCs

Serial verb constructions are also used to express a wide variety of grammatical concepts. Many of these have been described elsewhere in this study. SVCs are used for the evidential mood (§6.5.8), the habitual aspect (§6.2.2), the imperfective aspect (§6.2.3), the iterative aspect (§6.2.6), and the completive aspect (§6.2.7). SVCs are also used for marking an intransitive verb as transitive (§5.3.3), for comparatives (§8.7), and for one particular discourse marker (§9.2). Finally, they are also used to mark benefactives, as discussed below.

The benefactive is marked on the verb through a serial verb construction. The first verb is marked as a serial verb and is then followed by a form of the verb *imá* ‘give’. Just as the verb meaning ‘give’ is cross-indexed for recipient, the verb *imá*, when employed as a benefactive, is obligatorily marked with a prefix cross-indexing the person and number of the beneficiary. These prefixes are identical to those found with the verb meaning ‘give’ (see §5.3.1), but with two exceptions. First, the third singular object form meaning ‘give.3SG.OBJ’ is *imá*, while the third singular benefactive form is just *má* (55)–(56). Second, the second singular benefactive *kamá* (58) has an allomorph *yamá* when following a *t*-final verb (59).

- (55) *Put mantá-ng má-u-t.*
 pig callOut-SV BEN.3SG.OBJ-RP-1SG
 ‘I called for my pig.’
- (56) *Simendi=yot nát=yá yut-Ø má-ngga*
 Simendi=COM 1DU=AGT laugh-SV BEN.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
hála kámut-tu-mát.
 almost die-RP-1DU
 ‘Simendi and I laughed at him, and we almost died (laughing).’
- (57) *Nák rewe yáup sa-ng na-má-tá*
 1SG only work release-SV 1SG.OBJ-BEN-2SG.DS.SEQ
sungngi ikihák tá-ng-ngáta-t.
 food load do-SV-HAB-1SG
 ‘You habitually leave all the work to me, and (so) I carry the load of food.’
- (58) *No rina tá-ng ka-má~má=ya*
 1SG.AGT what do-SV 2SG.OBJ-BEN~NMLS=DAT
nará-e-lák?
 perceive-PRES-2SG
 ‘What do you want me to do for you?’
- (59) *kutná kutná át yamek*
 kutná kutná át-Ø ka-má-e-k
 everything exist-SV 2SG.OBJ-BEN-PRES-3SG
 ‘everything you have’ (Lit. ‘everything (that) exists for you’)

7.4 Order

The basic order of the clause is SOV. However, frontshifting and endshifting can be used. Endshifting is most common in oral speech as a clarification or repair device. Any noun phrase, including locatives (60)–(61), subjects (62), objects, and possessives (63), can be endshifted.

- (60) *Keseti=yá umihum=káin ehe~he=ya ku-u-k,*
 Keseti=AGT pool=ALL stand.watch~NMLS=DAT go-RP-3SG

yanggit=káin.

hunting,blind=ALL

‘Keseti went to stand watch at the pool, ... in the hunting blind, I mean.’

- (61) *Kátu=yá punggip turi-t, kánang=káin,*
 part=AGT trap bend.down-2/3PL.DS.SEQ jungle=ALL

kulá kátu=yá silák=ya ku-u-ráng.

okay part=AGT wild.fowl.egg=DAT go-RP-2/3PL

‘Some set traps, ... in the jungle, I mean...., okay, and some went for wild fowl eggs.’

- (62) *Kula Siang=káin Nomen=yan porot*
 today Siang=ALL Nomen=GEN house.stud

ká~káti=ya ku-e-k, Sinewi=yá.

NMLS~fasten=DAT go-PRES-3SG Sinewi=AGT

‘Today he went to Siang in order to nail Nomen’s house studs, ...that is, Sinewi (went).’

- (63) *Yáup tá~tá=ya it=káin ku-u-ráng, Sombembe=yan.*
 work NMLS~do=DAT house=ALL go-RP-2/3PL Sombembe=GEN
 ‘They went to the house to do work, ... that is, to Sombembe’s (house).’

Frontshifting is used to topicalise the fronted constituent. Any noun phrase, except subject noun phrases, can be fronted, including object noun phrases (64)–(66), locative noun phrases (67), and nominalised verb phrases (68). Subject noun phrases cannot be fronted because they already normally occur at the beginning of a clause; they can be topicalised by the topic enclitic (§7.5).

- (64) *Nák=yan kárúwasi ni=yá manek tá-u-k?*
 1SG=GEN axe who=AGT thievery do-RP-3SG
 ‘My axe—who stole it?’

- (65) *Kák no k-ut-ne-t.*
 2SG 1SG.AGT 2SG.OBJ-hit-FUT-1SG
 ‘It is you I will hit.’
- (66) *Kápik wa=yá imá-e-k.*
 knife 3=AGT give.3SG.OBJ-PRES-3SG
 ‘It is the knife she gives to her.’
- (67) *Kánang=káin nangge-na=yá ku-inde-k.*
 bush=ALL child-1SG.POSS=AGT go-NF-3SG
 ‘To the bush—my child is about to go.’
- (68) *Bari ká~káti=ya ámma=yá táp=káin ku-u-ráng.*
 ball NMLS~strike=DAT man=AGT beach=ALL go-RP-2/3PL
 ‘To play soccer—the men went to the coast.’

7.5 Topic

The topic marker is used extensively and has a wide range of applications beyond just marking a topicalised constituent. Some of these applications are on the discourse level, but will be described in this section. Because the topic marker has so many varied uses, a full description of the marker is beyond the scope of this study. This section will give only an introduction to the topic marker.

Note that, because of the free variation between =*ku* and =*wu* in some environments (see §2.6.2), both of these allomorphs will be retained in these examples, and indeed throughout this study. Other allomorphs of the topic enclitic (=bu / =pu / =du / =tu / =gu) which result from predictable morphophonemic processes will be represented by the underlying form =*ku*.

A noun phrase can be topicalised by adding the topic marker to the final word of the noun phrase. The topic marker creates a Topic-Comment construction, with the topic preceding the marker, and the comment following it. The topic is something which is ‘known information’ in the speech utterance, about which the speaker wishes to give more information (in the

comment). Native speakers will usually pause after the topic marker, unless they are speaking very rapidly.

- (69) *It wa=hára=wu ámna náráwa táup hánám*
 village 3=ALL=TOP man woman many INTENS
át-kiu-ráng.
 exist-IMPF.RP-2/3PL
 ‘At that village, very many people lived.’
- (70) *Ámna yáin-lá=ku káman rewe tá-ng*
 man head-3SG.POSS=TOP one only get.3SG.OBJ-SV
tunggap tá-u-ráng.
 make.known do-RP-2/3PL
 ‘As for head men, they only chose one.’

Sometimes the topic marker is used to mark a contrast between the marked constituent and some other constituent (71)–(73).

- (71) *Wásingngán=yá kandángá káman*
 Wasingngan=AGT ridge one
isut-tang át-án Hending
 follow.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ Hending
málám=ku umi kurat=kálu áro-u-k.
 3SG.EMPH=TOP water streambed=DIR go.up-RP-3SG
 ‘Wasingngan was following a ridge, while Hending, he himself ascended by way of the streambed.’
- (72) *Kátu=yá erek ruhá-ng-háli-u-ráng wa=wu*
 some=AGT everyone sleep-SV-CMPL-RP-2/3PL 3=TOP
Musoka=ku rina ruhá-ine-t ing=ya usá-ng
 Musoka=TOP how sleep-FUT-1SG thus=DAT cover-SV
sumsurum tá-ngga át-kiu-k.
 uncomfortable do-SS.SEQ exist-IMPF.RP-3SG
 ‘Everyone else had gone to sleep, but as for Musoka, he thought “How will I sleep?”, and he covered himself up but couldn’t get comfortable.’

Example (73) contrasts the marked pair of men with other men mentioned earlier in the narrative.

- (73) *Pani káling Token=yá=ku umi=káin riri*
 Pani and Token=AGT=TOP river=ALL hook
puti~ti=ya ku-u-málák.
 fasten~NMLS=DAT go-RP-2/3DU
 ‘Pani and Token, they went to the river to fish with hooks.’

The topic marker can be used to mark a time reference and highlight that something happened at that particular time.

- (74) *Rám káman=ku sungngi si-ine-mán ing=ya*
 time one=TOP food cook-FUT-1PL thus=DAT
me-u-mán.
 speak-RP-1PL
 ‘One day, we talked and said we should cook some food.’
- (75) *Yonyon=kálu=ku áwá-u-mán.*
 afternoon=DIR=TOP come-RP-1PL
 ‘As the afternoon was getting on, we came.’

On a discourse level, the topic marker can topicalise entire clauses. When it is suffixed to the end of a clause (often to the clause-final verb), it indicates that the entire clause is the topic or theme. What follows will be a comment about the topicalised clause. The topic marker can attach to either a final verb or a medial verb.

In (76) the topic marker is attached to the final verb *kauk* ‘she saw it’, and specifies what it is that she saw. In this case, the topic marker is functioning like a complementiser. Perhaps it was once a straightforward topic marker, but has had its range of meaning extended to include this type of construction.

- (76) *Naráwa káman=yá ku-ng kilak át-tang*
 woman one=AGT go-SV hidden exist-SS.SEQ
ka-u-k=ku am wa=yá son
 see.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG=TOP pandanus 3=AGT again
ha-ng ámna hále-ngga it
 climb.down-SV man become-SS.SEQ house
tá-ngga át-án...
 do-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘A woman went and hid herself and saw the pandanus climb down
 again and change into a man and it was building the house, and...’

In (77) the topic marker attaches to the medial verb ‘arrived’ and signals that what follows is what they did upon their arrival.

- (77) *It-náti=káin áwá-ng he-ngga=ku*
 house-1DU.POSS=ALL come-SV arrive-SS.SEQ=TOP
sungngi-náti si-ngga na-u-mát.
 food-1DU.POSS cook-SS.SEQ eat-RP-1DU
 ‘We arrived at our house, and we two cooked our food and ate it.’

The topic marker is also used in equative clauses (see §7.2.1 for further examples).

- (78) *Nano wa=wu ámna tátáwi.*
 Nano 3=TOP man elderly
 ‘Nano was an old man.’

The topic marker can also be used in an equative construction to mark as prominent an entire preceding clause. Note also that it is possible to have multiple topic markers in the same sentence, as in (80).

- (79) *Put sá-ine-ráng wa=wu*
 pig bite.3SG.OBJ-FUT-2/3PL 3=TOP
ma=kápá-indá-t.
 NEG=see.3NSG.OBJ-NEG.FUT-1SG
 ‘Their biting of the pig—I won’t see it.’

- (80) *Rámá rámá kátu=yá ále yáup-yáni=ya*
 all.the.time some=AGT entirety work-3PL.POSS=DAT
kung-kiu-ráng wa=wu neng>nembo<n yará ná=wu
 go-IMPF.RP-2/3PL 3=TOP <reciprocal>cousin two this=TOP
ít=hára tambáng át-kiu-málák.
 house=LOC idle exist-IMPF.RP-2/3DU
 ‘All the time, some (of the people) would habitually go to their
 work, (but) in regard to this the two mutual cousins would
 habitually sit idly at their house.’
- (81) *Nangge wa yápma-ngga áwá-e-ráng=ya*
 child 3 leave.3NSG.OBJ-SS.SEQ come-PRES-2/3PL=DAT
wa me-e-ráng wa=wu nák=yan songgo.
 3 speak-PRES-2/3PL 3=TOP 1SG=GEN meat
 ‘These children that they left behind, that they are talking about—
 they are my meat.’

Finally, the topic marker can also mark entire clauses in reason/result constructions (see §8.6.2).

7.6 Grammatical relations

Nukna uses a combination of word order, case markers, and verb agreement to indicate grammatical relations.

Nukna follows a nominative-accusative pattern in the cross-indexing of core nominals (subjects and objects) on the verb. Both transitive and intransitive subjects are marked on the verb as suffixes, while grammatical objects are often marked as verb prefixes. Word order also distinguishes between subjects and objects, with subjects normally coming first in the clause. Finally, case markers are often found on the subject. These include the agentive marker (§7.6.1), as well as the topic marker (§7.5). Objects are not marked.

Peripheral nominals are marked by case enclitics. Some peripheral nominals and the enclitics that mark them have already been described in this

work (see §2.6 and §4). Two that have not yet been described are included here: instrument (§7.6.2) and dative (§7.6.3).

7.6.1 Agentive marker

Many Papuan languages have a marker which is found marking agentive-like subjects. This same marker usually also marks grammatical instrument. In Nukna, this marker is an enclitic that has the underlying form =*yá* (see §2.6.1).

The agentive marker is usually found marking the subjects of clauses (if those subjects are overtly stated). The marker attaches to the last word of the subject noun phrase. While it is possible in some sentences to omit the agentive marker and have the sentence still be grammatical, this is unusual. This is described more fully below.

- (82) *Ámna káman=yá yalom kip-ná kot-kot*
 man one=AGT coconut shell-3SG.POSS NMLS~peel

tá-u-k.

do-RP-3SG

‘A man shelled coconuts.’

- (83) *Put=yá porá isikimo káman ha-u-k.*
 pig=AGT cliff small one climb.down-RP-3SG

‘The pig climbed down a small cliff.’

- (84) *It=yá yongi-u-k.*
 place=AGT become.dark-RP-3SG

‘It became dark.’

Historically, in many areal languages, e.g. Foloपा (Anderson and Wade 1988), it has been noted that this type of marker behaves similarly to an ergative marker. However, in Nukna there are significant differences that preclude us from calling it an ergative marker: the agentive marker is found marking the subjects of both transitive and intransitive clauses; its use is in many cases optional; and it can be used to mark an entire clause by attaching to the last word of the clause, which is normally a verb (see §8.1).

A salient quality of the agentive marker is that of control. This is especially clear with the verb of existence, *átang*. Examples (85)–(86) are based on a story about a wild spirit that is sitting up in a tree when a woman comes walking down the trail. The spirit jumps down and starts harassing this woman. These two examples are identical except that in the second, the subject is marked with the agentive marker.

- (85) *Utñi páyom tái káman káráp ketnán kilak*
ghost wild ATT one tree on.top.of hidden

wat-tang...

exist-SS.SEQ

‘The wild spirit was on top of the tree, and...’

- (86) *Utñi páyom tái káman=yá káráp ketnán kilak*
ghost wild ATT one=AGT tree on.top.of hidden

wat-tang...

exist-SS.SEQ

‘The wild spirit was on top of the tree, and...’

The meaning of these two sentences is identical, except for the idea of control or intentionality. In (85) the wild spirit just happens to be up in the tree when the woman comes walking down the trail. It was not planning to waylay her, nor was it purposely waiting for her. In (86), however, the agentive marker changes the meaning so that now the wild spirit is up in the tree with the intention of waylaying the woman as she comes down the trail.

Examples (87)–(88) are about a group of women. In (87), which is not marked with the agentive marker, the meaning is that the women were living together in one group. Example (88), where the subject is marked with the agentive marker, has a different meaning, namely that the women were holding meetings to discuss issues. The difference between these two sentences is the idea of control or intentionality.

- (87) *Náráwa urum káman át-kiu-ráng.*
woman gathering one exist-IMPF.RP-2/3PL

‘The women lived altogether.’

- (88) *Náráwa=yá urum káman át-kiu-ráng.*
 woman gathering one exist-IMPF.RP-2/3PL
 ‘The women habitually met together.’

This idea of control can also be found with the homophonous instrument marker =*yá* ‘INSTR’ (see §7.6.2). An instrument exhibits control, in that it affects the patient it acts upon.

However, for clauses governed by the vast majority of verbs, the idea of control is not so strong that native speakers recognise a lack of control by the agent when the agentive marker is omitted. For example, for a transitive verb like ‘build’, omitting the agentive marker from the subject does not convey the meaning that the person building does not have control over his actions. Whether the marker is there or not, native speakers understand that the subject of the sentence is the one controlling the action and building something. However, there is a slight semantic difference between using the agentive marker and not using it. When the agentive marker is omitted, native speakers assert that the meaning has not changed from when the marker is included, but that when the marker is included the force of the sentence is ‘stronger’. This fits with the idea that the agentive marker confers more control to the subject of the sentence.

With that being said, it should be noted that the vast majority of subjects in narrative texts are marked with either the agentive marker or the topic marker. It is unusual to find a subject unmarked, except in very specific cases (see below). Marking subjects with the agentive marker seems to be the default unmarked strategy. Subjects marked with the topic marker emphasise the subject, while unmarked subjects, while rare, tend to deemphasise the subject.

However, there are cases where the agentive marker does in fact place emphasis on the subject of the sentence. If I came to Mawi’s house and asked where he was, his wife could answer like this, without using the agentive marker:

- (89) *Mawi ruhánga át-ta-k.*
 Mawi sleep-SS.SEQ exist-PRES-3SG
 ‘Mawi is sleeping.’

However, if I came to his house and deduced that someone was sleeping inside because of noises I heard, or because I saw through the door someone's feet sticking out from under a blanket, and I asked, 'Who is sleeping in there?', Mawi's wife would answer:

- (90) *Mawi=yá ruhánga át-ta-k.*
 Mawi=AGT sleep-SS.SEQ exist-PRES-3SG
 'Mawi is sleeping.'

In (89) the question is not focused so much on the person of Mawi, but on where he is or what he is doing. And thus the agentive marker is not used. In (90) the question is focused on the person who is doing the action. Thus, the subject of the reply is marked with the agentive marker. In this case, the agentive case is functioning similarly to a topic marker.

And indeed the agentive and topic markers do function similarly in that they are both used to place varying amounts of emphasis on the subject. The subject of a clause can be marked with either the agentive marker or the topic marker, or it can be marked by both, or in a few cases by neither (see below for examples).

There is one case where the marking of the subject of the clause with the agentive marker is obligatory. When two core nominals—a subject and an object—are both present such that confusion could arise as to who is the agent and who is the recipient or patient, the agent must be marked with the agentive marker. This is in spite of the fact that normal word order puts the agent first and the patient second.

- (91) *Kuhát=yá put kámun-lá iná-u-k...*
 frog=AGT pig faeces-3SG.POSS say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 'Frog said to Pig-Faeces...'

Subjects not marked by the agentive marker

Where there is a evident lack of control over the action of the verb, subjects are not marked with the agentive marker. The most common occurrence of subjects not marked with the agentive marker is when the verb is the verb of existence, *átang*.

- (92) *Nák át-ta-t.*
 1SG exist-PRES-1SG
 ‘I am here.’
- (93) *Uláp it káman át-tu-k.*
 long.ago village one exist-RP-3SG
 ‘Long ago there was a village.’
- (94) *Kák kawin-la át-ta-lák.*
 2SG abdomen-2SG.POSS exist-PRES-2SG
 ‘You are pregnant.’

It is also quite common for subjects to not be marked with the agentive marker when the verb has negative polarity.

- (95) *Nán ma=nará-Ø-mán.*
 1PL NEG=perceive-NEG.NP-1PL
 ‘We don’t know.’
- (96) *Nák kandák ma=tá-u-t.*
 1SG wrong NEG=do-RP-1SG
 ‘I didn’t do wrong.’

The subjects of equative, attributive and possessive clauses may not be marked with the agentive marker. See §7.2.1—§7.2.3 for more examples.

- (97) *Kák ámna kusák.*
 1SG man lie
 ‘You are a liar.’
- (98) *Nák ámna álosim muná.*
 1SG man good no
 ‘I am not a good man.’

The interaction of the topic and agentive markers

The functions of the topic (see §7.5) and agentive markers are varied and complicated, and a full description is beyond the scope of this study. One example of this complexity is given here.

Native speakers use the topic and agentive markers to give varying degrees of emphasis to subjects. If a person saw two people and asked them what they were doing, he or she could use any of the following four combinations of markers on the subject:

- (99) *Sán náut tá-ng-kue-málák?*
 2NSG what do-SV-IMPF.PRES-2/3DU
 ‘What are you two doing?’
- (100) *Sán=yá náut tá-ng-kue-málák?*
 2NSG=AGT what do-SV-IMPF.PRES-2/3DU
 ‘What are you two doing?’
- (101) *Sán=ku náut tá-ng-kue-málák?*
 2NSG=TOP what do-SV-IMPF.PRES-2/3DU
 ‘What are you two doing?’
- (102) *Sán=yá=ku náut tá-ng-kue-málák?*
 2NSG=AGT=TOP what do-SV-IMPF.PRES-2/3DU
 ‘What are you two doing?’

Example (99) is the least strong or forceful way of asking this question (and is also not commonly used). Moving down, (100) is a bit stronger than (99), and so on, down to (102), which is the strongest and most forceful way of asking this question.

As discussed previously, the agentive marker expresses to a certain extent the idea of control. Thus, when the above question is asked, if the agentive marker is put on the subject, some degree of control and intentionality is attributed to the subject, and the question is stronger than if control is not attributed to the subject. The topic marker signals what the sentence or question is about, and can also contrast actors with others. When this marker is added to the subject, it also strengthens the force of the question by more strongly emphasising the subject. When both the agentive and topic markers are added to the subject, the subject is not only being emphasised, it is also being attributed a certain sense of control over the actions being done. Thus, with both markers, the force of the question is the strongest of all.

7.6.2 Instrument marker

As mentioned in §7.6.1, instrument is marked by an enclitic that is either homophonous or identical to the agentive marker, depending on one's viewpoint. The instrument marker =yá 'INSTR' marks a noun phrase when that noun phrase is used as a tool to act upon something else. It is possible for a sentence to include both the agentive marker and the instrument marker, as in (104) and (106).

- (103) *Tewe káto=yá tárawá-u-ráng.*
 bow.and.arrows strong=INSTR shoot.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3PL
 'They shot it with a strong bow.'
- (104) *Ále márum-ná tái wa=yá há ka-ngga*
 area owner-3SG.POSS ATT 3=AGT PERF see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
rangguk-ná=yá pana káti-ng rákit tá-u-k.
 machete-3SG.POSS=INSTR middle strike-SV cut.off do-RP-3SG
 'The owner of the area had already seen him, and he cut him in half with his machete.'
- (105) *Rám ná át-nánda-mán wa=wu kutná kutná tá-ngga*
 time this exist-HAB-1PL 3=TOP everything do-SS.SEQ
ku-ine-mán wa=wu sup=yá re tá-ngga
 go-FUT-1PL 3=TOP money=INSTR only do-SS.SEQ
ku-ine-mán.
 go-FUT-1PL
 'This time that we live in, everything we do, we must do it with money.'
- (106) *Káyam=yá áwá-ng kámá kápik=yá ráhá-ng*
 enemy=AGT come-SV some knife=INSTR hit.3NSG.OBJ-SV
kátkámut tá-ine-ráng.
 death do-FUT-2/3PL
 'Enemies will come and strike them with knives and kill them.'

7.6.3 Dative marker

The dative marker =*ya* ‘DAT’ is quite versatile and assigns case relations to noun phrases such as goal, purpose/reason (see §8.6.1), and recipient. It can also refer back to entire clauses in a reason/result construction (§8.6.2).

Goal:

- (107) *Karáp=ya suli-t...*
 footprint=DAT look.for-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
 ‘They searched for a footprint, and...’
- (108) *It-yándi=ya ku-u-málák.*
 village-3DU.POSS=DAT go-RP-2/3DU
 ‘They two headed for their village.’

Purpose:

- (109) *It-yáni tá-tá=ya ku-u-ráng.*
 house-3PL.POSS NMLS-do=DAT go-RP-2/3PL
 ‘They went in order to build their house.’

Concerning:

- (110) *Uniniyong=yá skul-ná=ya nará-ngga*
 Uniniyong=AGT school-3SG.POSS=DAT perceive-SS.SEQ
Sapmanga=káin ku-u-k.
 Sapmanga=ALL go-RP-3SG
 ‘Uniniyong thought about his schooling and (so) he went to Sapmanga.’

Recipient/Beneficiary:

- (111) *Nát=yá heronge táwi kák=ya nará-ine-mát.*
 1DU=AGT happiness big 2SG=DAT perceive-FUT-1DU
 ‘We two will feel great happiness towards you.’

- (112) *Nambá-ka=ya* *rina rina*
 mother.in.law-2SG.POSS=DAT whatever
tá-ng má-ngga áwá-ng-kue-lák wa=wu
 do-SV BEN.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ come-SV-IMP.F.PRES-2SG 3=TOP
erek hánám há me-t nará-u-t.
 entire INTENS PERF speak-2/3PL.DS.SEQ perceive-RP-1SG
 ‘Everything you have done for your mother-in-law continuing until
 now, I have heard all about it.’

7.7 Adverbs

Adverbs are a relatively small closed class of words that in general immediately precede the verb phrase that they modify. There is no affixation that distinguishes adverbs from other words in the sentence.

7.7.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs can occur at the beginning of a clause, in which case they modify the entire clause. When temporal adverbs occur in the adverb slot directly before a verb phrase, they modify only the verb.

- (113) *Uláp káwak Kánáwem wa=hára it táwi káman*
 earlier ground Kanawem 3=LOC village big one
át-kiu-k.
 exist-IMP.F.RP-3SG
 ‘Before, there was a big village at Kanawem.’
- (114) *Na=hára=ku it-náti tangtang*
 this=LOC=TOP village-1DU.POSS close.to
áwá-e-mát=ya=ku átni-ngga máriya
 come-PRES-1DU=DAT=TOP go.around-SS.SEQ later
ha-ine-lák.
 enter-FUT-2SG
 ‘We have come here, close to our village, so you hang around (here)
 and enter (the village) later.’

For most adverbs of time referring to the past, the scope of reference is fuzzy. Opinions as to how far back a certain adverb of time can extend often vary from person to person. When definitions below are marked with an asterisk, this indicates an imprecise scope of reference. Unmarked definitions are relatively precise in scope of reference. Adverbs of time include the following:

TABLE 7.2. ADVERBS OF TIME

<i>uláp</i>	*earlier—from earlier today to about 10 years ago or so
<i>uláp uláp</i>	*much earlier—about 20 years ago or more
<i>uláppon</i>	*a long time ago—in the distant past, about 100 years ago or more
<i>uláp uláppon</i>	*a very long time ago—in the very distant past, several hundreds or thousands of years ago
<i>kak</i>	*more than a week or so earlier
<i>kulapálik</i>	right now
<i>inggálu</i>	right now
<i>upme</i>	later today
<i>máriya</i>	later today extending to any time in the future
<i>kuipmán</i>	day before yesterday
<i>kuip</i>	yesterday
<i>kula</i>	today
<i>tembát</i>	tomorrow
<i>tembátnáya</i>	the next day
<i>hilápmá</i>	morning
<i>yonyon</i>	afternoon
<i>káen</i>	daytime
<i>yáungán</i>	night time
<i>son</i>	again
<i>sonson</i>	repeatedly
<i>kálak</i>	first
<i>pukon</i>	last
<i>waháraryon</i>	at the same time
<i>rám kámá</i>	some time
<i>rámá rámá</i>	all the time
<i>rám káman</i>	one time, one day

The last item of the above list, *rám káman*, is used extensively in narrative to indicate the beginning of mainline action in the story.

7.7.2 Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner are limited in number because many adverbial-like meanings are expressed through serial verb phrases and adjunct nominals.

For a discussion of similarities and differences between adverbs of manner and adjunct nominals, see §5.7.3.

- (115) *Kápik=yá kárang máta kururung mará-e-t.*
 knife=INSTR bamboo mouth cut.straight chop-PRES-1SG
 ‘I cut the mouth of the bamboo tube off straight with a knife.’
- (116) *Át-tang hurung hánám ku-ng sima kinan*
 exist-SS.SEQ suddenly INTENS go-SV garden.house inside
ha-u-k.
 enter-RP-3SG
 ‘It was there, and then very suddenly it went and entered the garden house.’
- (117) *Sokmuná ma=ruhá-inda-mán.*
 quickly NEG=sleep-PROHIB-1PL
 ‘We must not go to sleep quickly.’

7.7.3 Adverbs of intensity

Adverbs of intensity, unlike other adverbs, do not modify verbs, but instead modify adjectives (118)–(119), other adverbs (120), postpositions (121), and adjunct nominals (122).

The adverb *hánám* ‘very’ increases the intensity of the nominal or adverb that it modifies, while the adverb *sim* ‘somewhat’ decreases the intensity of what it modifies. The adverb *ingmen* ‘really’ indicates that the action was done with all-out effort.

- (118) *wáik sim*
 bad somewhat
 ‘somewhat bad’

- (119) *hásák sim*
 long somewhat
 ‘somewhat long’
- (120) *Balusi=yá uk hánám ha-e-k.*
 airplane=AGT drop.suddenly INTENS fall-PRES-3SG
 ‘The airplane dropped very suddenly.’
- (121) *Urum táwi wa yápma-ngga kep*
 gathering big 3 leave.3NSG.OBJ-SS.SEQ outside
sim ku-ngga...
 somewhat go-SS.SEQ
 ‘He left the big group and went a little way outside, and...’
- (122) *Nangge=yá ang-yáni wa sa-t*
 child=AGT dog-3PL.POSS 3 release-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
ha-ngga hák ingmen tá-u-k.
 exit-SS.SEQ bark really do-RP-3SG
 ‘The children released their dog, and it exited (the house) and was really barking.’

8. *Complex sentence structure*

This chapter covers subjects related to complex sentence structure that have not been covered previously. Some aspects of complex sentence structure that have already been described include the following: contrafactual (§6.5.7); desideratives (§6.3.3); ability and permissibility (§6.4.6); and causatives (§6.3.2). This chapter begins with a look at cases of the agentive marker found marking entire clauses (§8.1), followed by a discussion of clause-level coordination, including both contrastive and non-contrastive (§8.2). The key topic of clause chaining is explored in §8.3, with sections on same-subject, different-subject and included-subject clause chaining. §8.4 deals with complementation, including a fairly in-depth treatment of inner speech. The characteristics of relative clauses in Nukna are laid out in §8.5, followed by an overview of the various types of adverbial clauses in §8.6. This chapter concludes with a short look at how comparison is handled in Nukna (§8.7).

8.1 **Clauses marked with the agentive marker**

As mentioned previously, the agentive marker has to do with control. When the agentive marker attaches to the end of a clause, it has the function of indicating that the clause it is attached to is ‘controlling’ or making possible the following clause. The action in the second clause proceeds from the action that took place in the first clause. This construction also acts as a discourse marker, providing ‘space’ between the actions in a story.

When the agentive marker modifies a clause, it is found in the following construction: first comes the final, fully-inflected verb of the clause. This verb is always a final verb (i.e., not a medial verb). Next, a marker that is homophonous to the third singular possessive marker *-ná* attaches to the verb, and finally the agentive marker attaches to the previous marker. The marker *-ná* surfaces as *-ngá* when following a velar consonant. Since all final verbs end in either an alveolar or a velar consonant, the surface form of this construction is either *=náyá* or *=ngáyá*.

- (1) *Rangguk tá-u-t=ná=yá hose-e*
 machete get.3SG.OBJ-RP-1SG=3SG.POSS=AGT cut-1SG.DS.SEQ
ha-ng kip-ná=yá re
 fall.down-SV skin-3SG.POSS=AGT only
tánggári-ngga át-án...
 hang.by.a.little-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
 'I got my machete, and then I cut it and it fell down and it was hanging just by its skin, and...'
- (2) *Am wa=yá son ámma hále-ngga*
 pandanus 3=AGT again man become-SS.SEQ
ha-ng-kiu-k=ná=yá it wa
 climb.down-SV-IMPF.RP-3SG=3SG.POSS=AGT house 3
tá-ngga át-nárán...
 do-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SIM
 'The pandanus would become a man again and climb down, and then he would be working on the house when...'

This construction is often used when the narrative describes a journey undertaken for the purpose of performing some action. In these cases, the verb of motion is included twice, once in final verb form before the agentive marker, and once in medial verb form after the agentive marker.

- (3) *Rám káman kánang ku-u-t=ná=yá ku-ng*
 time one jungle go-RP-1SG=3SG.POSS=AGT go-SV
silák hirat-tang...
 wild.fowl clear.away-SS.SEQ
 'One day I went to the jungle, and I went and was clearing away wild fowl nests, and...'

8.2 Coordination

Four conjunctions join clauses or sentences while indicating that the clauses or sentences are of equal syntactic importance. Two of these

conjunctions indicate non-contrastive coordination, while the other two indicate contrastive coordination.

8.2.1 Coordinate conjunctions

Two conjunctions indicate that there is non-contrastive coordination between the clauses or sentences joined by the conjunction. These conjunctions are also used to join together elements at the word and phrase level (§3.9.1 and 3.9.3)

Coordinate conjunction *me*

The coordinating conjunction *me* is used to join non-contrastive clauses or sentences.

- (4) *Ang hák-yáni=wu ma=nará-índá-t, me put*
 dog bark-3PL.POSS=TOP NEG=perceive-NEG.FUT-1SG and pig
sá-ine-ráng wa=wu ma=kápá-índá-t.
 bite.3SG.OBJ-FUT-2/3PL 3=TOP NEG=see.3NSG.OBJ-NEG.FUT-1SG
 ‘I won’t hear the dogs’ barking or see them biting the pig.’
- (5) *Tuwet wáik wa ma=na-índa-lák me umi*
 tobacco bad 3 NEG=smoke-PROHIB-2SG and water
káto wa ma=na-índa-lák.
 strong 3 NEG=drink-PROHIB-2SG
 ‘Don’t smoke marijuana or drink alcohol.’
- (6) *Ang=yá rina rina tá-ng-kiu-k wa=wu*
 dog=AGT whatever do-SV-IMPF.RP-3SG 3=TOP
kálap sauna=yá wa=ina=yon tá-ng-kiu-k, me
 k.o.wallaby=AGT 3=SML=same do-SV-IMPF.RP-3SG and
ang=yá náut sungngi ka-ng-kiu-k wa=wu
 dog=AGT what food see.3SG.OBJ-SV-IMPF.RP-3SG 3=TOP

kátu kálap sauna imá-n na-ng-kiu-k.
 part k.o.wallaby give.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ eat-SV-IMP.F.RP-3SG
 ‘Whatever the dog did, the wallaby did the same, and whatever food
 the dog found, he gave part of it to the wallaby, and the wallaby ate
 it.’

The coordinate conjunction *me* is also used to express alternation between two items or ideas—the meaning expressed by the conjunction ‘or’ in English. It is also used as a question tag on yes/no questions (see §3.2.2).

- (7) *Abraham=yá páli-ine-k me káto*
 Abraham=AGT succumb-FUT-3SG or strong
hále-ine-k, ’ ing=ya Ánutu=yá iná-u-k...
 become-FUT-3SG thus=DAT God=AGT say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 ‘To see whether Abraham would succumb or be strong, God said to
 him...’

Coordinate conjunction *hang*

On the clause or sentence level, the conjunction *hang* can be used to indicate that further information is being given regarding the same subject—‘and also...’.

- (8) *Rám-na há sálikngi-u-k, hang*
 time-1SG.POSS PERF be.finished-RP-3SG and.also
náun-na=wu tátáwi. Rina tá-ngga=ku
 husband-1SG.POSS=TOP elderly how do-SS.SEQ=TOP
no nangge tá-ng ti-ine-t?
 1SG.AGT child get.3SG.OBJ-SV put-FUT-1SG
 ‘My time has already been finished, and also my husband is elderly.
 How could I give birth to a child?’

8.2.2 Contrastive conjunctions

Two conjunctions indicate that there is contrast between the two clauses or sentences joined by the conjunction.

Weak contrastive conjunction *iná*

The first conjunction, *iná*, is a conjunction that indicates a weaker contrast between two clauses or sentences. In some cases, the contrast is weak enough that it sounds more natural in English to use the conjunction ‘and’, rather than ‘but’.

- (9) *Taon=káin=ku kimbon isiki-ki-mo wa=yá re át-Ø*
 town=ALL=TOP fly small-PL 3=AGT only exist-SV

ná-má-e-ráng, iná kimbon yángomá mamíng
 1NSG.OBJ-BEN-PRES-2/3PL but fly black big

tá-táwi wa=wu kánang=káin re át-ta-ráng.
 PL~big 3=TOP bush=ALL only exist-PRES-2/3PL
 ‘In town we only have small flies, and/but the big black flies are only in the jungle.’

- (10) *Píngnga ná=wu náráwa kut-ná Yawá*
 story this=TOP woman name-3SG.POSS Yawa

wa=yá ára ka-u-k, iná Yawá
 3=AGT dream see.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG but Yawa

málám=ku há kámut-tu-k.
 3SG.EMPH=TOP PERF die-RP-3SG

‘This story was seen in a dream by a woman named Yawa, but she herself has already died.’

Strong contrastive conjunction *enendu*

The other contrastive conjunction, *enendu*, indicates a strong contrast between the two contrasted items or ideas. There is usually a sense that the clause or sentence following the conjunction is contrary to expectation based on the information in the clause or sentence that precedes the conjunction.

- (11) *It wa=hára=wu ámna náráwa táup hánám*
 village 3=LOC=TOP man woman many INTENS
át-kiu-ráng, enendu ámna yáin-lá=ku káman
 exist-IMPF.RP-2/3PL but man head-3SG.POSS=TOP one
rewé tá-ng tunggap tá-t...
 only get.3SG.OBJ-SV make.known do-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
 ‘In that village lived very many people, but as for head men, they
 only chose one...’
- (12) *Roki málám ‘kari kinan hita-in,’ íng=ya*
 Roki 3SG.EMPH car inside jump-1SG.IMP thus=DAT
hiring hita-u-k enendu kari=yá há
 jump (n.) jump-RP-3SG but car=AGT PERF
ku-n pandák tá-n kari=yá
 go-3SG.DS.SEQ miss do-3SG.DS.SEQ car=AGT
sa-ngga há ku-u-k.
 leave.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ PERF go-RP-3SG
 ‘Roki, in order to jump inside the car, jumped, but the car was
 already going and he missed, and the car left him and went off.’

8.3 Clause chaining

Clause chaining is the primary way that clauses are conjoined. A clause boundary is marked by either a final verb or a medial verb. A clause chain consists of multiple clauses strung together. Each clause in the chain is closed by a medial verb until the clause chain itself is closed by a clause with a final verb. Only the final verb is marked for tense and mood, and this applies to the entire clause chain. See §5.4 for further discussion.

Medial verbs are marked for sequential or simultaneous time, as well as indicating if the subject of the following clause is the same or different than the subject of the current clause (switch-reference). See §5.4.1–5.4.2 for an overview of the form and function of medial verbs.

8.3.1 Same-subject

When a clause has the same subject as the following clause, its verb is marked with the same-subject medial verb ending (*-ngga* for vowel-final verb stems, and *-tang* for consonant-final verb stems). Same-subject medial verbs have only one form (unlike different-subject medial verbs), indicating that the two clauses joined by the medial verb are occurring in sequential order. To indicate that one actor did two things at the same time, the Iterative Aspect is used (see §6.2.6). There is no limit to how many medial verb clauses can occur, one after the other. Long chains of successive same-subject medial verbs are commonly found when a single actor or set of actors' actions are described, as in (13).

- (13) *Wa=hára urum tá-ngga kap mantá-ngga sáponga*
 3=LOC gathering do-SS.SEQ song sing-SS.SEQ prayer
tá-ngga sa-ngga ha-ngga ku-ngga
 do-SS.SEQ leave.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ exit-SS.SEQ go-SS.SEQ
hánghánáng tá-ine-ráng.
 separation do-FUT-2/3PL
 'They will meet there and sing songs and pray and after that they will exit (the house) and go and separate.'

When a same-subject medial verb is encountered, that verb's subject is marked on a following verb. This marked verb will be the next final verb or different-subject medial verb in the sentence. In (13) all the verbs in the sentence take their subject from the final word in the sentence, *táineráng*. In (14) the same-subject medial verbs *áwáng* and *kangga* both have their subject 'we' marked on the following different-subject medial verb *árátne* (this is the surface form). All three of these verbs, along with the following different-subject medial verb *usát*, take their tense (remote past) and mood (indicative) from the final verb *ruhumán*.

- (14) *Áwá-ngga náráwa tátáwi kámut-tu-k wa*
 come-SS.SEQ woman elderly die-RP-3SG 3

ka-ngga át-átne wa
 see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ exist-1PL.DS.SEQ 3

usá-t=tu kulá ruhá-u-mán.
 cover-2/3PL.DS.SEQ=TOP okay sleep-RP-1PL

‘We came and saw the old woman who had died, and we remained (for a while), and they buried her and then we slept.’

When the subject of a same-subject clause chain is explicitly stated, that subject is stated before the first clause. In (15), *kálo* is the subject of the following three verbs, *árángga*, *kungga* and *hálenggiuk*.

- (15) *Pára polep káman wa=ya kálo wa=yá*
 banana banana.sp one 3=DAT new.shoot 3=AGT

ára-ngga ku-ngga=ku kápik hále-ng-giu-k.
 climb.up-SS.SEQ go-SS.SEQ=TOP knife become-SV-IMPF.RP-3SG

‘The new shoot of a *polep* banana stalk habitually grew up and became a knife.’ (note: seen repeatedly in a recurring dream)

However, an exception to this rule involves two verbs of perception, *ka* and *nará*. When either of these two verbs follows a different-subject verb which describes what it is that the subject of *nará* or *ka* has seen or heard, that subject is not stated until after the verb *nará* or *ka*. This juxtaposition is most likely a reflection of the close pragmatic relationship between the preceding action and the hearing or seeing of that action.

- (16) *Me huphuráp yá-ná-u-k wanyon*
 talk previously 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-RP-3SG same
- yá-ná-n nará-ngga árong náráwa*
 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-3SG.DS.SEQ perceive-SS.SEQ then woman
- yará son irat imá-ngga tá-ng*
 two again sugarcane give.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ get.3SG.OBJ-SV
- háti-ngga ku-u-málák.*
 pass.by-SS.SEQ go-RP-2/3DU
- ‘The same words he said to them previously, he said to them again,
 and they heard this and then the two women again gave him
 sugarcane and passed him by and went.’

8.3.2 Different-subject

When the subject of the following clause is different than the subject of the current clause, the verb of the current clause is marked with a different-subject suffix. This suffix encodes the person and number of the subject of the current clause, as well as signalling that the subject of the subsequent clause will be different (‘anticipatory switch-reference’). There are two types of different-subject medial verb endings, the more common one marking a sequential temporal relationship between the two clauses, and the other marking a simultaneous temporal relationship.

Sequential different-subject

- (17) *Náráwa tátáwi wa=yá má wa si-n*
 woman elderly 3-AGT taro 3 cook-3SG.DS.SEQ
- na-u-ráng.*
 eat-RP-2/3PL
- ‘The elderly woman cooked the taro and they ate.’

- (18) *Yá-má-tne* *wa=yá na-ngga heronge*
 3NSG.OBJ-give-1PL.DS.SEQ 3=AGT eat-SS.SEQ happiness
tá-u-ráng.
 do-RP-2/3PL
 ‘We gave (it) to them and they ate and were happy.’
- (19) *Náun-na* *ná=wu rina=hára áwá-n*
 husband-1SG.POSS this=TOP when=LOC come-3SG.DS.SEQ
ka-ine-t?
 see.3SG.OBJ-FUT-1SG
 ‘When will this husband of mine come and I will see him?’

Simultaneous different-subject

- (20) *Ámna=yá it tá-ngga át-nárán náráwa=yá*
 man=AGT house do-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SIM woman=AGT
áwá-u-ráng.
 come-RP-2/3PL
 ‘While the man was building the house, the women came.’
- (21) *Át-náne kulá sut-ná párumá wa=yá*
 exist-1PL.DS.SIM okay skin-3SG.POSS yellow 3=AGT
áwá-u-k.
 come-RP-3SG
 ‘While we were (here), the white man came.’
- (22) *Ti-ngárát ámna=yá me-u-ráng, ‘Na=hára*
 put-2/3PL.DS.SIM man=AGT say-RP-2/3PL this=LOC
át-tang mungan ná-má-ine-k’
 exist-SS.SEQ smell 1NSG.OBJ-give-FUT-3SG
 ‘While they were putting it (there), the men said, “It will be here
 and smell bad to us.”’

There is no limit to how many times a sentence can switch back and forth between two or more subjects. In (23) the sentence changes from third dual (the two men are the subject), to third singular (‘it became dark’), to third

singular again but with a different subject than the previous clause (the son-in-law), to third singular again but with yet another subject (father-in-law), and finally back to third dual (with the original subject of two men). Only the very last verb is marked for tense, aspect, and mood.

- (23) *Yáli-ngga* *ha-ngga* *át-nárán* *it=yá*
 turn-SS.SEQ climb.down-SS.SEQ exist-2/3DU.DS.SIM place=AGT
- pukon* *páyung* *ti-n* *ámna-ná*
 completely darkness put-3SG.DS.SEQ father.in.law-3SG.POSS
- kimo* *wa to* *mará-ngga* *imá-n*
 small 3 walking.stick cut-SS.SEQ give.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ
- kulá* *ketnán ketnán* *tá-n=ku*
 okay guide.by.hand do-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP
- ha-ngga* *át-tu-málák.*
 climb.down-SS.SEQ exist-RP-2/3DU

‘While they(DU) turned around and were climbing down, the place became completely dark, and he cut a walking stick and gave it to his poor father-in-law, and he was being guided by hand, and they two were climbing down.’

8.3.3 Included-subject

A same-subject medial verb suffix is used when a different-subject medial verb suffix would be expected in two grammatical situations. In the first situation, the subject of the second verb is *included* in the subject of the first verb. In the second situation, the subject of the first verb is *included* in the subject of the second verb. Therefore these constructions are referred to as included-subject medial verbs. Note that there is no difference in form between a same-subject medial verb and an included-subject medial verb.

The first situation where an included-subject is used is when the grammatical relationship between Verb 1 and Verb 2 meets all of the following criteria:

- i. Verb 1 is greater in number than Verb 2 on the singular-dual-plural scale.

- ii. Verb 1 and Verb 2 are both first person or both second person.
 iii. The subject of Verb 2 is a subset of the subject of Verb 1.

Only six person/number combinations between Verb 1 and Verb 2 meet the first two criteria. Of course, the third criterion must also be met before an included-subject would be found. The six sets of subjects that meet the first two criteria are as follows:

TABLE 8.1. INCLUDED-SUBJECT COMBINATIONS

Verb 1	1PL	1PL	1DU	2PL	2PL	2DU
Verb 2	1DU	1SG	1SG	2DU	2SG	2SG

- (24) *Sán=yá sungngi si-ngga ko na-u-k.*
 2NSG=AGT food cook-SS.SEQ 2SG.AGT eat-RP-3SG
 ‘You(PL) cooked the food, and you(SG) ate.’ (you(SG) is part of you(PL))
- (25) *Nát=yá put ut-tang no*
 1DU=AGT pig kill.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ 1SG.AGT
tá-ngga áwá-e-t.
 get.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ come-PRES-1SG
 ‘We two killed the pig, and I got it and came.’

For all other combinations of subjects where the two subjects are different, a different-subject suffix must be used, even if the subject of Verb 2 is included in the subject of Verb 1. In (26) *ko* ‘you(SG)’ is part of *nán* ‘we’, but a different-subject medial verb still must be used because the two subjects are not both first person or both second person.

- (26) *Nán=yá siket ihá-ngga áwá-tne*
 1PL=AGT wild.banana.sp get.3NSG.OBJ-SS.SEQ come-1PL.DS.SEQ
ko yári-u-lák.
 2SG.AGT sew-RP-2SG
 ‘We got wild banana leaves and came, and you sewed them (onto the roof of the house).’

The second situation where an included-subject is used is when the grammatical relationship between Verb 1 and Verb 2 meets both of the following criteria:

- i. Verb 1 is an object cross-indexing verb (see §5.3.1) or a verb that cross-indexes the object through a serial verb construction (see §5.3.3).
- ii. The subject of Verb 2 includes both the subject and the object of Verb 1.

(27) *Wa=yá wa=ina iná-ngga ku-u-málák.*
 3=AGT 3=SML say.to.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ go-RP-2/3DU
 ‘She said like that to him and they two (including her) went.’

(28) *It-ná yare ku-ngga áwá nangge*
 house-3SG.POSS directly go-SS.SEQ wife child
kápá-ngga songgo-yáni wa si-na-u-ráng.
 see.3NSG.OBJ-SS.SEQ meat-3PL.POSS 3 cook-eat-RP-2/3PL
 ‘He went directly to his house and saw his wife and children, and they (including him) cooked and ate the meat.’

If a different-subject medial verb is used in a sentence similar to (27), the meaning would be that neither of the two people who went was the one who spoke, as in (29).

(29) *Wa=yá wa=ina iná-n ku-u-málák.*
 3=AGT 3=SML say.to.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ go-RP-2/3DU
 ‘She said like that to him, and they two (not including her) went.’

8.4 Complementation

Complements either follow the subject and precede the verb (as in the case of desideratives), or they follow both the subject and the verb (as in the case of causatives and speech reports).

8.4.1 Speech reports

Speech reports refer to direct speech, indirect speech, and also ‘inner speech’. ‘Speech reports are extremely versatile: besides reporting actual speech events, they are employed to express internal speech and thought,

desire and intention of third person, reason and purpose, and a few other related meanings' (Aikhenvald 2008:484).

There is no structural difference between Quotation and Cognition (think/know) speech report constructions. Quotation uses verbs of speaking, which are *me* 'speak, say' and *iná* 'say.to', while Cognition uses the verb of perception, *nará* 'perceive, think, know'—this verb is also used to cover the meanings of the English words 'hear', 'smell', 'taste', 'feel', 'like', and 'want').

Speech reports typically have four elements in the following order:

- i. a clause ending in a final verb, either of speech or cognition (optionally, the quote formula word *ing* can precede this first speech or cognition verb);
- ii. the quotation of speech or thought (speech unit), which is a full clause or more, following all the rules of clause structure;
- iii. a closing quote formula word—either:²⁶
 - a. *ing* 'thus';
 - b. *ingga* (underlying form *ing=ya* 'thus=DAT');
 - c. *wáina* 'like that' (underlying from *wa=ina* '3=SML'); or
 - d. *ingga wáina*, a combination of (b) and (c).
- iv. and finally another verb of speech or cognition. Usually the same verb that began the speech report is repeated here, as either a medial verb or a final verb. Thus the speech act is framed on either end by a verb of speech or cognition, and also by quote formula words before (optional) and after (obligatory).

Direct speech reports

The following five examples illustrate the prototypical construction for direct speech reports. After (31) the speech unit itself is omitted (indicated by '...'), since it is not necessary to the illustration of the construction itself, and the speech units themselves can sometimes be quite long. The following are

²⁶ At this point I find little rhyme or reason as to which closing quote formula word is used in any particular instance. They seem to be interchangeable. This would be an interesting area for further study.

examples of verbs of speech with *ingga* (30), *ing* (31), *wáina* (32), and *ingga wáina* (33).

- (30) *Ámna wa=yá yá-ná-u-k, 'Yarán, re=káin*
 man 3=AGT 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-RP-3SG 2/3DU where=ALL
ku-inde-málák?' ing=ya yá-ná-u-k.
 go-IF-2/3DU thus=DAT 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-RP-3SG
 'He said to them, "You two, where are you about to go?"'
- (31) *Ámna náráwa=yá me-u-ráng 'Na=hára át-tang*
 man woman=AGT speak-RP-2/3PL this=LOC exist-SS.SEQ
mungan ná-má-ine-k,' ing me-ngga...
 smell INSG.OBJ-give-FUT-3SG thus speak-SS.SEQ
 'The people said, "It will be here and it will smell bad to us,"
 and...'
- (32) *Náráwa yará=yá iná-u-málák '...' wa=ina*
 woman two=AGT say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3DU 3=SML
iná-ngga...
 say.to.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
 'The two women said to him, "...", and...'
- (33) *Kuhát=yá iná-u-k '...' ing=ya wa=ina*
 frog=AGT say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG thus=DAT 3=SML
iná-n...
 say.to.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ
 'The frog said to him, "...", and...'

Example (34) shows a verb of cognition:

- (34) *Náun-lá=wu há nará-u-k, '...'*
 husband-3SG.POSS=TOP PERF perceive-RP-3SG
ing=ya nará-u-k.
 thus=DAT perceive-RP-3SG
 'Her husband indeed thought, "...".'

This speech report construction, seen in (30)–(34), is quite common in Nukna sentence structure. Occasionally, though, there is a deviation from this norm. The following examples illustrate some of the deviations that can occur in speech reports.

Occasionally, the first verb is dropped (the final verb in the construction is never dropped).

- (35) *Put kámun-lá=yá ‘...’ ing me-ngga...*
 pig faeces-3SG.POSS=AGT thus speak-SS.SEQ
 ‘Pig-Faeces said, “...”, and...’

Once in a while, either the first or second verb will not be one of the two verbs of speech or the verb of cognition. Instead it will be another verb that has to do with the act of speaking, such as in (36), where the first verb phrase means ‘made a plan’.

- (36) *Me káman hárot-tu-málák, ‘...’ ing me-ngga...*
 talk one tie.up-RP-2/3DU thus speak-SS.SEQ
 ‘The two of them made a plan, “...”, and...’

Sometimes, a noun phrase constituent of the first verb is repeated with the second verb.

- (37) *Put kámun-lá iná-u-k, ‘...’ ing=ya*
 pig faeces-3SG.POSS say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG thus=DAT
wa=ina put kámun-lá iná-u-k.
 3=SML pig faeces-3SG.POSS say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 ‘He said to Pig-Faeces, “...”.’

At times, the second verb is modified by an adverbial phrase.

- (38) *Kuhát iná-u-k, ‘...’ ing=ya wa=ina kuk*
 frog say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG thus=DAT 3=SML anger
hánám iná-u-k.
 INTENS say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 ‘He said to the frog, “...” thus he very angrily said to him.’

Semi-direct speech reports

True indirect speech reports, with shift of personal, temporal, and spatial deixis, have not been attested. However, semi-direct speech reports, where some references shift while others do not, have been observed. In (39), from a first person narrative, three men, including the story-teller, are visiting another village. The story-teller quotes himself as saying to his two friends, ‘Let’s go see the house of the two men who came to our village.’ However, in the actual text he does not say ‘to our village’. He says ‘here’ because when he is telling the story, he is back in his own village. The use of ‘here’ instead of ‘our village’ clearly shows that the quotation is not a direct quotation. Other than this shift in spatial reference, the speech report’s construction is identical to a direct speech report.

- (39) ‘*Amna yará na=hára áwá-u-málák wa=yan it*
 man two this=LOC come-RP-2/3DU 3=GEN house
ka-nin,’ *ing me-ngga...*
 see.3SG.OBJ-1PL.IMP thus speak-SS.SEQ
 ‘I said that we should go see the house of the two men who came
 here [to our village] and...’

8.4.2 Inner speech

It is quite common to find speech reports where actual speech acts are not communicated. Instead, these speech reports encode intention, purpose, apprehension, or goal. These types of speech reports, also referred to as ‘inner speech’, can be easily distinguished from reports of actual speech acts because the framing is different. In these cases, no verbs of speech or thought occur, either before or after the speech report. The only framing found with these types of speech reports is the obligatory use of *ingga* ‘thus=DAT’ directly following the speech unit. Following this framing word, non-speech verbs of action, such as verbs of motion or doing, are found.

The words of the speech unit itself appear in the format of a direct speech report; that is, the personal, temporal, and spatial references appear as they would if the person had actually spoken them at the time and place where the events in the narrative were taking place.

Inner speech encodes the purpose of (when followed by motion verbs or the verb ‘do’) or the reason for (when followed by other verbs) the action in the main clause. See §8.6.1 for other strategies for marking purpose/reason.

The following sections examine these indirect speech reports as they occur with various non-speech verbs.

Inner speech with motion verbs

When inner speech reports are followed by a motion verb, the words of the speech report comprise the intended purpose for which the actor is moving.

With verbs of motion (and also with the verb ‘do’—see below), the final verb of the inner speech unit is always in the imperative mood.

- (40) *‘Páyung=káin ku-ndin’ ing=ya ku-u-málák.*
 darkness=ALL go-1DU.IMP thus=DAT go-RP-2/3DU
 ‘They two went in order to go to the dark place.’ (Lit. ‘“Let us two go to the dark place,” they (said) and went.’)

- (41) *‘Umi áram táwi=hára ku-ng ha-in,’*
 pond big=LOC go-SV go-SV climb.down-1SG.IMP
ing=ya ku-ng áram tákto=hára át-tu-k.
 thus=DAT go-SV hole next.to=LOC exist-RP-3SG
 ‘He went and stayed next to the pond with the purpose of climbing down into the big pond.’ (Lit. ‘“I must climb down into the big pond,” he (said) and he went and stayed next to the pond.’)

Example (42) shows an inner speech report imbedded inside a direct speech report. Also, this example highlights the fact that in these types of constructions the speech unit is simply the yet unrealised intention of the actor. This intention may or may not be fulfilled, depending on what happens next in the sequence of events. In (42), two women have the intention of hunting frogs and crayfish as they make their way up the streambed on their way back to their village. However, they are not able to fulfil this intention because they are abducted by a bush spirit that they meet on their way up the streambed.

- (42) *Naráwa yará=yá iná-u-málák 'Muná, nát=ku*
 woman two=AGT say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3DU no 1DU=TOP
"kuhát tahát maming-náti=ya sung~suli-ng umi
 frog crayfish.sp-1DU.POSS=DAT ITER~look.for-SV water
kurat-ná isut-tang ku-ngga
 streambed-3SG.POSS follow.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ go-SS.SEQ
it-náti=ya ku-ndin," ing=ya
 village-1DU.POSS=DAT go-1DU.IMP thus=DAT
áwá-ng-kue-mát,' ing=ya iná-u-málák.
 come-SV-IMP.F.PRES-1DU thus=DAT say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3DU
 'The two women said to him, "No, we thought we would hunt for
 frogs and crayfish as we followed the streambed along and then we
 would go to our village, and for this reason we are coming along."'

Inner speech with 'do' verb

Inner speech reports can also be followed by the verb *tá* 'do'. Again, as when followed by motion verbs, the inner speech unit conveys the intention of the actor. However, in these cases the verb 'do' indicates that the actor, in order to fulfil that intention, acted in some way (other than moving to a new location). A possible translation of this relationship would be 'She acted in order to...'. When followed by the verb 'do', the final verb of the speech unit is in the imperative mood.

When a speech report is followed by the verb 'do', this verb does not necessarily signal that the actors actually did the actions mentioned in the speech unit. These actions may or may not be ultimately realised. In (43) the people were preparing for a journey to the beach. As a part of those preparations, they were getting their things together, including their string bags, their children, and all the other things they needed. The speech unit is followed by the verb 'do'. However, at this point in the story, they did not actually go (start the journey) with all of these items in their possession, because the village chief broke into their preparations and gave them some new, unexpected instructions for preparing for their journey. Thus we see that the words in the speech unit are only the intended actions of the actors; the

verb ‘do’ means they were doing something in order to achieve their intended goal. Whether or not they achieved their goal is not known until later in the narrative.

- (43) *Tembát-ná=ya* *hilápmá* *hánám* *tárut-tang*
 tomorrow-3SG.POSS=DAT morning INTENS get.up-SS.SEQ

‘*yák,* *nangge,* *kutná kutná* *ihá-ngga*
 string.bag child everything get.3NSG.OBJ-SS.SEQ

ku-nin,’ *ing=ya* *tá-ngárát...*
 go-1PL.IMP thus=DAT do-2/3PL.DS.SIM

‘The next day, early in the morning, they got up and acted in order to get their string bags, children, and all their things, and to go, and while they were doing that...’ (Lit. ‘...they got up and “Let’s get our string bags, children, and all our things, and go,” and for that they did, and while they were doing that...’)

In (44) something is coming through the bush towards the actor. He thinks it must be a bush spirit and he is afraid. He intends to chop at it with his bush knife when it arrives. However, the actor never accomplishes his intended goal of cutting the spirit, because when it arrives it turns out to be one of his own pigs.

- (44) *Kápi-k-na* *maming* *tá-ngga* ‘*áwá-n*
 knife-1SG.POSS big get.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ come-3SG.DS.SEQ

hose-in,’ *ing=ya* *tá-u-t.*
 cut.down-1SG.IMP thus=DAT do-RP-1SG

‘I got my big knife and made ready to cut (the thing) when it came.’ (Lit. ‘I got my big knife and “(When) it comes, I must cut it,” and for that I did.’)

In (45) a village man was eating ice cream for the first time. Having grown up in a remote place, he was unaccustomed to eating foods that melted. The ice cream was dripping all over his hands and clothes, though he was trying his best to eat it without making a big mess.

- (45) *Tá-ng árá-ng ti-ngga kándáng na-in,*
 get.3SG.OBJ-SV climb.up-SV put-SS.SEQ correctly eat-1SG.IMP
ing=ya tá-ng-kiu-k.
 thus=DAT do-SV-IMPF.RP-3SG
 ‘He continued to act in order to bring it up and put it (to his mouth)
 and eat it correctly.’

Inner speech with other verbs

Inner speech reports can be followed by verbs other than verbs of motion or the verb ‘do’. The following examples are not exhaustive of the various verbs that can occur in inner speech constructions.

In (46) the words in the speech unit are the *reason* why the verb following the speech act was done. This is in contrast to many of the examples already given in which the words in the speech unit were the purpose – the intended or expected result or goal – of the verb following the speech unit.

- (46) *Ámna náráwa=yá na-ngga ‘Álo na-e-mán,*
 man woman=AGT eat-SS.SEQ enough eat-PRES-1PL
ing=ya kátu sa-t...
 thus=DAT part leave-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
 ‘The people ate and, because they had enough, they left part (of the
 food) and...’

In (47), while *kanet* is a speech verb (‘I say to you’), the speech unit plus *ingga* is not referenced by *kanet*, which is referring to ‘this advice’. The speech unit instead describes the man’s *purpose* for giving advice to his son.

- (47) *‘Nát=yá heronge tá-ng tunggap*
 1DU=AGT happiness get.3SG.OBJ-SV make.known
tá-ine-mát,’ ing=ya kula me yángorá ná
 do-FUT-1DU thus=DAT today advice this
ka-ná-e-t.
 2SG.OBJ-say.to-PRES-1SG
 ‘Today I tell you this advice so that we two (your mother and I) will
 become happy.’ (Lit. ‘We two must create happiness.’)

In (48)–(49) the inner speech report is followed by the verb *hále* ‘wait’. In these cases, the speech unit describes what the actor is waiting for. In (48), what the actor is waiting for never occurs, while in (49), what the actors are waiting for does in fact eventuate.

- (48) *Kap ut-tang át-nárát wa=wu*
 song hit.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ exist-2/3PL.DS.SIM 3=TOP
 ‘Áwá-ine-k,’ *ing=ya hále-ngga át-án*
 come-FUT-3SG thus=DAT wait-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
át-án át-án át-án
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
men...
 in.vain
 ‘They were singing and dancing, and she was waiting for him to come, and she was waiting and waiting and waiting, but in vain, and...’
- (49) *Imu si-si tá-ngga erek*
 food.for.travel NMLS~cook do-SS.SEQ whole
ti-ng-háli-ngga ‘It=yá yongi-ik,’
 put-SV-CMPL-SS.SEQ place=AGT become.night-3SG.IMP
ing=ya hále-ngga át-narán it=yá
 thus=DAT wait-SS.SEQ exist-2/3DU.DS.SIM place=AGT
yongi-n ruhá-u-málák.
 become.night-3SG.DS.SEQ sleep-RP-2/3DU
 ‘They two cooked the food for the journey and finished packing it, and they were waiting for it to get dark, and it became dark and they went to sleep.’

Inner speech with the apprehensive mood

In (50)–(51) the final verb of the speech unit is in the apprehensive mood (§6.5.6). The main verb following *ingga* indicates that the action the actor takes is to ensure that what he fears might happen, will not in fact happen.

- (50) *'Kari=yá áwá-ngga nut-iwon,' ing=ya kari*
 car=AGT come-SS.SEQ hit.1SG.OBJ-3SG.APP thus=DAT car
kálu-ná re hále-ngga áwá-u-k.
 road-3SG.POSS only watch-SS.SEQ come-RP-3SG
 'He watched only the road so that a car wouldn't come and hit him,
 and he came.' (Lit. "May it not be that a car comes and hits me,"
 thus he watched only the road and came...')
- (51) *'Ang inam-yáni ma=kápá-e*
 dog presence-3PL.POSS NEG=see.3NSG.OBJ-1SG.DS.SEQ
ku-nirot,' ing=ya Nano rahán-lá=wu ang
 go-2/3PL.APP thus=DAT Nano eye-3SG.POSS=TOP dog
put=hára re se-ng káti-ngga át-án...
 pig=LOC only stab-SV strike-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
 'Nano was fixing his eyes on nothing but the dogs and the pig, so
 that he wouldn't lose sight of the dogs and they would go off...'
 (Lit. "May it not be that I don't see the dogs' presence and they
 go," thus Nano was fixing his eyes...')

Inner speech with sensory verbs

In some cases the speech unit includes a question word, while at the same time the verb following *ingga* is a sensory verb. In these cases, the speech unit expresses what the actor is hoping to find out through his or her senses.

- (52) *Tare-ng káti-ngga 'Ang=yá rina tá-ine-ráng?' ing=ya*
 step-SV collide-SS.SEQ dog=AGT how do-FUT-2/3PL thus=DAT
kápá-u-k.
 see.3NSG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 'He stood still and looked to see what the dogs would do.'

- (53) *'Náut=yá áwá-ngga át-ta-k?' ing=ya*
 what=AGT come-SS.SEQ exist-PRES-3SG thus=DAT
hále-ngga ka-u-t=ku put tái wa=yá
 watch-SS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-RP-1SG=TOP pig ATT 3=AGT
áwá-ngga át-án...
 come-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
 'I watched to see what was coming and I saw a pig coming...'
- (54) *Tek-ná kinan át-tang 'Útni wa*
 covering-3SG.POSS inside exist-SS.SEQ ghost 3
re=kálu ku-ine-k?' ing=ya kárámati-ngga át-tu-k.
 where=DIR go-FUT-3SG thus=DAT listen-SS.SEQ exist-RP-3SG
 'She stayed inside her covering and was listening to hear which way
 the spirit would go.'

Further comments regarding inner speech

In most of the above cases, one can imagine that the words of the speech unit could have actually been spoken by the actors (even though they probably were not). However, in other cases, it is quite clear that the words of the speech unit could not have been spoken. In (55), perhaps one could imagine that they *thought* the words 'We are asleep'. But even this does not fit in well with the rest of the sentence. The women were trying to communicate to another person that they were asleep. However, it was neither the spoken word nor their thoughts, but their physical actions (lying still) that were doing the communicating of the (false) proposition that they were asleep.

- (55) *Náráwa yará yándi=wu 'ruhá-e-mát' ing=ya*
 women two 3DU.EMPH=TOP sleep-PRES-1DU thus=DAT
kusák pile-ngga át-tang tek
 untruth tell.a.lie-SS.SEQ exist-SS.SEQ covering
hinang-ná=kálu kilak ka-ng-kiu-málák.
 hole-3SG.POSS=DIR secretly look.3SG.OBJ-SV-IMP.F.RP-2/3DU
 'The two women, they were pretending to be asleep and they
 secretly watched him through a hole in the covering.'

To conclude the discussion of inner speech reports, the following example of three such constructions in close proximity in a narrative thread is provided. This extended example allows these constructions to be better observed in their narrative context. It also demonstrates how common this construction can be in narrative.

The first two examples of these speech reports are followed by the verb 'do'. The final example is one in which the speech unit ends with a verb in the apprehensive mood. The three times that *ingga* (which closes out the speech units) occurs are highlighted.

- (56) *Nangge=yá yáup wa tá-ngga át-kiu-ráng. Utni*
 children=AGT work 3 do-SS.SEQ exist-IMP.F.RP-2/3PL ghost
- páyom=yá it yali-ngga átkiu-k. Kulá utni*
 wild=AGT house open-SS.SEQ DUR.RP-3SG okay ghost
- páyom ná=wu 'It yali-ng áwá-ng kálu mungnga*
 wild this=TOP house open-SV come-SV doorway
- káti-ng márák tá-ngga ku-ng ha-ng nangge*
 strike-SV smash do-SS.SEQ go-SV enter-SV children
- ráhá-in,' ing=ya tá-ng át-án*
 kill/hit.3NSG.OBJ-1SG.IMP thus=DAT do-SV exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
- nangge=yá ang-yáni wa sa-t*
 children=AGT dog-3PL.POSS 3 release.3SG.OBJ-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
- ha-ngga hák ingmen tá-ngga 'Utni páyom*
 exit-SS.SEQ bark really do-SS.SEQ ghost wild
- sá-in,' ing=ya tá-u-k. Tá-n*
 bite.3SG.OBJ-1SG.IMP thus=DAT do-RP-3SG do-3SG.DS.SEQ
- utni páyom=yá ang ka-ngga*
 ghost wild=AGT dog see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
- 'Ne-iwon,' ing=ya unam yokyok-ná*
 bite.1SG.OBJ-3SG.APP thus=DAT stone.axe k.o.spear-3SG.POSS

wa *hira-n* *ha-n* *ha-ngga*
 3 scatter-3SG.DS.SEQ fall-3SG.DS.SEQ exit-SS.SEQ

hita-u-k.

jump-RP-3SG

'The children were doing this work and continued to do so. The wild spirit was breaking open the house and continued to do so. Okay then, the wild spirit was acting in order to open the house and strike and smash open the doorway and go inside and attack the children, and the children released their dog and it went out and was really barking and acted in order to bite the wild spirit. It was acting (to do this) and the wild spirit saw the dog, and so that it wouldn't bite him, he threw his stone axe and his spears down and left (the doorway) and jumped (down off the house porch).'

Unlike direct speech reports, inner speech reports do not have any framing at the beginning of the speech unit. As a result, there are no sentence markers that signal the beginning of the speech unit, which sometimes results in ambiguity. Consider the first speech report in (56). *Ingga* marks the end of the speech unit, but where does it begin? If it begins at *it* 'house', then the sentence is saying that the wild spirit acted in order to open up the house, smash open the doorway, enter the house, and attack the children, but it says nothing about whether any of those actions were actually accomplished. But if the speech unit begins at *kung hang* 'enter', then the meaning is that the wild spirit did in fact open the house and smash the door, and now it was acting in order to enter inside and attack the children. In this latter interpretation, only the entering and attacking haven't been accomplished yet. This type of ambiguity can sometimes be resolved through context.

8.4.3 Manipulatives

In addition to causative constructions (§6.3.2), manipulation can be encoded by means of a speech report accompanied by the speech verb *iná* 'tell, say to'.

- (57) *Ámna táup hánám wa=yá me tá-ng*
 man many INTENS 3=AGT talk do-SV
má-ngga iná-u-ráng 'Kilak
 BEN.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3PL quiet
át-lák!' ing iná-u-ráng.
 exist-2SG.IMP thus say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3PL
 'Lots of men rebuked him and told him to be quiet.'
- (58) *Málám 'Náut kámá kámá imá-t*
 3SG.EMPH what some some give.3SG.OBJ-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
na-ik' ing=ya yá-ná-u-k.
 eat-3SG.IMP thus=DAT 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-RP-3SG
 'He himself told them to give her something to eat.'

Another way to encode manipulatives is to use a basic sequential clause chaining construction. The manipulation is not overtly marked, but is left implied. Again, the verb *iná* 'tell' is used in this type of manipulative construction.

- (59) *Iná-tne sa-u-k.*
 say.to.3SG.OBJ-1PL.DS.SEQ release-RP-3SG
 'We told him (to stop), and he stopped.'
- (60) *Málám ámna náráwa wa yá-ná-n*
 3SG.EMPH man woman 3 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-3SG.DS.SEQ
káwak=hára wa putu-ng ha-ng át-tu-ráng.
 ground=LOC 3 sit-SV climb.down-SV exist-RP-2/3PL
 'He told the people (to sit down on the ground), and they sat down on the ground and stayed.'

8.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RC) have six primary characteristics, which are described in the following sections. Functions of the relativised noun phrase are discussed in §8.5.7. The RCs in all examples in this section are marked in brackets and their heads are bolded.

8.5.1 Restrictive

All relative clauses are restrictive, meaning that they serve to identify a referent by limiting or restricting a set of possible referents.

8.5.2 Internally-headed

Relative clauses are internally-headed, meaning that the head noun occurs inside the RC, as opposed to outside of it, as in English RCs. In (61) the head of the RC is *nanará* ‘idea’, which is located within the RC. This ‘idea’ is both what Frog said and what Pig-Faeces heard.

- (61) *Put kámun-lá=yá [kuháat=yá nanará wa*
 pig faeces-3SG.POSS=AGT frog=AGT idea 3
me-u-k] wa nará-ngga heronge nará-u-k.
 say-RP-3SG 3 perceive-SS.SEQ happiness perceive-RP-3SG
 ‘Pig-faeces heard [the **idea** that Frog said], and was pleased.’

- (62) [*No yá-ná-e ang tá-ng*
 1SG.AGT 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-1SG.DS.SEQ dog get.3SG.OBJ-SV
ma-ngga sa-t kep=káin
 throw-SS.SEQ release.3SG.OBJ-2/3PL.DS.SEQ outside=ALL
ha-e-k] wa=yá son kinan=káin áwá-inde-k.
 exit-PRES-3SG 3=AGT again inside=ALL come-IF-3SG
 ‘[The **dog** that I told them to get and throw outside] is about to come back inside.’

In (61)–(62) the internally-headedness of the RC is unambiguous. The word order allows for no other interpretation. However, in many other Nukna RCs, it is ambiguous whether the RC is internally-headed or postnominal. In these cases, the unambiguous cases inform the analysis of the ambiguous cases—that is, I maintain that all RCs are internally-headed, though this cannot be proven for a subset of RCs.

The ambiguity of some RCs is highlighted in the examples below, where the RC is first analysed as postnominal (63), and secondly as internally-headed (64). The word order allows for either analysis. In (63) the head, *naráwa*

tátáwi ‘elderly woman’, is analysed as being outside of the RC, while in (64) the head is analysed as being inside the RC.

- (63) *Náráwa tátáwi [kámút-tu-k] wa ka-ngga*
 woman elderly die-RP-3SG 3 see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
át-átne...
 exist-1PL.DS.SEQ
 ‘We were looking at **the old woman** [who had died], and...’
- (64) [*Náráwa tátáwi kámút-tu-k] wa ka-ngga*
 woman elderly die-RP-3SG 3 see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
át-átne...
 exist-1PL.DS.SEQ
 ‘We were looking at [**the old woman** who had died], and...’

When the relativised noun phrase is functioning as the subject within the RC, and the RC as a whole is taking the place of a subject noun phrase, two agentive markers are sometimes present, one marking the noun phrase and the other marking the demonstrative pronoun *wa* that closes out the relative clause (the presence of the agentive marker on the relativised noun phrase is not obligatory). The presence of two agentive markers supports the internally-headedness of Nukna RCs. The agentive clitic found on the noun phrase ties the noun phrase to the following verb phrase within the RC, leading to the conclusion that the noun phrase is also inside the RC. The second agentive clitic marks the whole RC as being the agentive subject of a following verb phrase outside of the RC. The two words marked by agentive clitics are underlined in the following examples.

- (65) *Wa=ina mantá-n nará-ngga [ámna wa-yá kálak*
 3=SIM yell-3SG.DS.SEQ perceive-SS.SEQ man 3=AGT first
áwá-ngga át-u-ráng] wa=yá me tá-ng
 come-SS.SEQ exist-RP-2/3PL 3=AGT talk do-5V
má-ngga ing iná-u-ráng, “Yolop át-lák!”
 BEN-SS.SEQ thus say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3PL quiet exist-2SG.IMP
 ‘He yelled like that and [**the men** who had come first and were there], they heard him, rebuked him, and said, “Be quiet!”’

- (66) *Máriya [ren=yá kák=kán kálu me rina tá-ngga*
 later who.PL=AGT 2SG=GEN path talk what do-SS.SEQ
át-a-ráng] wa=yá na=hára áwá-ng
 exist-PRES-2/3PL 3=AGT this=LOC come-SV
he-t=tu wa=ina ka-ine-t.
 arrive-2/3PL.DS.SEQ=TOP 3=SIM see.3SG.OBJ-FUT-1SG
 ‘Later (when) those who are accusing you arrive here, I will see
 (what they are saying).’

8.5.3 No relative pronoun

Relative clauses do not employ a relative pronoun.

8.5.4 No gaps

Because an RC is internally-headed, it is itself a full clause (i.e., there are normally no gaps). ‘Gaps’ that normally occur in Nukna clause structure are acceptable in the RC (e.g., omission of explicit reference to the clause’s subject because it is already cross-indexed by verb suffixation). In (67) an overt subject is missing but is understood to be ‘they’ because of the verbal subject cross-indexing.

- (67) [*Supsungan ku-u-ráng] wa=yá áwá-t...*
 (3PL) *Supsungan go-RP-2/3PL 3=AGT come-2/3PL.DS.SEQ*
 ‘[The ones who went to Supsungan] returned, and...’

8.5.5 Final verb ending

The verb in an RC must be a final verb. This usually means a verb in the indicative mood, but the verb in a RC can also take habitual or progressive aspects. Nukna, as a clause-chaining language, distinguishes between final and medial (non-final) verbs. Final verbs normally close a sentence and are fully-inflected, while medial verbs are minimally inflected. Because RCs are subordinate, they can employ final verbs without signalling the end of a

sentence. In (68), *áwumálák* ‘they two came’ is in the indicative mood, which is a final verb form.

- (68) [*Ámna yará na=hára áwá-u-málák wa=yan*
 man two this=LOC come-RP-2/3DU 3=GEN
it ka-nin.
 house see.3SG.OBJ-1PL.IMP
 ‘Let’s look at the house of [the two men who came here].’

8.5.6 Closed by demonstrative pronoun

The RC is obligatorily closed by the pronoun *wa*, immediately following the final verb. *Wa* is both the third person personal pronoun (‘he, she, it, they’) and the demonstrative pronoun ‘that’. Since the RC takes the place of a noun phrase in the sentence, the clause-closing pronoun *wa* takes the cliticisation that various noun phrases in Nukna would normally take. For RCs taking the place of a subject noun phrase, *wa* takes the agentive clitic =*yá* (67); for RCs filling the object noun phrase slot, *wa* remains unmarked (61); for RCs filling the possessive noun phrase slot, *wa* takes the genitive clitic =*yan* (68); and for RCs filling an oblique slot, *wa* takes the appropriate clitic, such as the locative clitic =*hára* (69).

- (69) [*Rám wa ku-u-k wa=hára kari=yá yáungán*
 day 3 go-RP-3SG 3=LOC car=AGT night
áwá-ngga...
 come-SS.SEQ
 ‘On [the day that he went], a car came at night, and...’

8.5.7 Functions of the relativised noun phrase

In previous examples, it has been shown how the relativised noun phrase can function as the subject within the RC (67)–(68); or as an oblique (69). The relativised noun phrase can also function as an object within the RC (70), or as a possessor (71). Example (71) is translated material—a possessor RC has not yet been found in a natural text.

- (70) [*Wa=hára kásáng kilak ti-u-mán*] *wa na-u-mán.*
 3=LOC betel.nut hidden put-RP-1PL 3 eat-RP-1PL
 ‘We chewed [**the betel nut** that we had hidden there].’
- (71) [*Ámna kut-ná ní=yan hái=káin no*
 man name-3SG.POSS who=GEN garden=ALL 1SG.AGT
kula yáup tá-e-t] *wa=wu Nelson.*
 today work do-PRES-1SG 3=TOP Nelson
 ‘[**The name** of the man in whose garden I worked today] is
 Nelson.’

Due to the nature of clause-chaining and switch-reference, the relativised noun phrase in (72) functions both as an object and a subject within the RC. *Káráp* ‘fire’ or ‘firewood’ is the object of *sin* ‘he lit’, and also the subject of *rangga* ‘it was burning’. This is confirmed grammatically by the presence of a different-subject suffix on the verb *sin*. (Also see (62) for a similar example, in which the dog is the object of *táng mangga sat* ‘throw’ and the subject of *kep káin haek* ‘exit outside’).

- (72) [*Káráp si-n ra-ngga át-u-k*] *wa*
 fire light-3SG.DS.SEQ burn-SS.SEQ exist-RP-3SG 3
se-ng kátkámut tá-u-k.
 poke-SV dead/off do-RP-3SG
 ‘He poked out [**the fire** that he had lit and was burning].’

8.6 Adverbial clauses

8.6.1 Verbs marked for purpose/reason

Nukna allows purpose and/or reason to be marked in two ways. Of the two, the first (-*ínán* ‘PURP’) is the stronger and more explicit way to mark purpose, and the same form can also be used to mark reason. The second way, which marks the nominalised verb form with the dative marker =*ya*, is only used to mark purpose. These same two strategies are used to form desiderative constructions (see §6.3.3). Also, see §8.4.2, on inner speech, for another strategy for marking purpose/reason.

Marking purpose/reason with *-inán*

Verb roots may be marked with *-inán* (vowel-final verbs) or *-nán* (consonant-final verbs) ‘PURP’ to indicate purpose or reason. The marked verb (Verb 1) is obligatorily followed by another verbal clause (Verb 2). Verb 1 is the purpose or reason for which the action of Verb 2 is undertaken, or the reason why the state described by Verb 2 exists (see (77) for an example of a state). Examples (73), (74), (75), and (78) encode purpose. Examples (76) and (77) encode reason.

- (73) *No it=káin ku-inán kutná kutná-na*
 1SG.AGT village=ALL go-PURP everything-1SG.POSS

tiyawí-e-t.

get.ready-PRES-1SG

‘I got all my things ready in order to go to the village.’

- (74) *Lílip=ya sulí-inán ha-ngga ku-u-k.*
 hawk=DAT hunt-PURP exit-SS.SEQ go-RP-3SG
 ‘He left in order to hunt for hawks.’

- (75) *Bae=yá ka-u-k=ku málám*
 Bae=AGT see.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG=TOP 3SG.EMPH

ut-nán=ina ha-n, kilak
 hit.3SG.OBJ-PURP=SML go.down-3SG.DS.SEQ hidden

ka-ngga át-tu-k wa sa-n
 see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ exist-RP-3SG 3 leave-3SG.DS.SEQ

wat-án hurik hánám tá-ngga hururung
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ turn.around INTENS do-SS.SEQ running

re ha-ngga ku-u-k.
 just depart-SS.SEQ go-RP-3SG

‘Bae saw him coming down as if he were going to strike him, and he stopped watching him secretly and turned right around and ran away.’

- (76) *Ang=yá márum-ná san-lá nará-ngga*
 dog=AGT owner-3SG.POSS neck-3SG.POSS perceive-SS.SEQ
'sungngi si-ng na-má-inán mantá-e-k'
 food cook-SV 1SG.OBJ-BEN-PURP call-PRES-3SG
ing=ya hururung ingmen áwá-u-k.
 thus=DAT run really come-RP-3SG
 'The dog heard its owner's voice and thought,²⁷ "He calls in order
 to feed me," and so it came running really fast.'
- (77) *Yap=yá árá-ng he-inán alek=yá*
 moon=AGT climb.up-SV rise-PURP sky=AGT
yamyami-ngga út-ta-k.
 shine-SS.SEQ exist-PRES-3SG
 'The sky is shining because the moon is rising.'

More than one verb clause can be subordinated by the purpose/reason marker, as in (78).

- (78) *Yalom ihá-ngga áwá-inán ku-u-ráng.*
 coconut get.3NSG.OBJ-SS.SEQ come-PURP go-RP-2/3PL
 'They went in order to get coconuts and come back.'

Marking purpose with the dative marker =ya

Purpose can also be marked by attaching the dative marker =ya to the reduplicated nominalised form of the verb (see also §3.3.4, example (81) and following).

- (79) *It-yáni tá~tá=ya ku-e-ráng.*
 house-3PL.POSS NMLS~do=DAT go-PRES-2/3PL
 'They went in order to build their house.'

²⁷ "He calls in order to feed me" is an example of inner speech (§8.4.2), and the verb 'thought' in the free translation is implied in the Nukna. In this example, *naránga* should not be translated as 'thought', but instead as 'heard', which is evident due to its position in the sentence, immediately following what was heard – *san-lá* 'his voice'.

- (80) *Nán=yá Bungawat ku-ku=ya tárut-tang*
 1PL=AGT Bungawat NMLS~go=DAT get.up-SS.SEQ
ku-u-mán.
 go-RP-1PL
 ‘We got up in order to go to Bungawat, and we went.’

8.6.2 Reason and result

Nukna has two types of reason/result constructions, and one result/reason construction.

Reason/result

The reason/result sentence is the normal unmarked way to mark a reason/result relationship between two sentences. There are two ways to encode reason/result.

The first is to join two independent sentences with the reason/result marker *wataku* (this is the surface form; examples below will give the underlying form). This marker is formed from three morphemes, namely the third person pronoun *wa* ‘3’; the dative marker *=ya* ‘DAT’; and the topic marker *=ku* ‘TOP’. Sometimes the topic marker is not present, leaving only *wata*. Once in a while, the third person pronoun *wa* is not present, and the dative marker attaches directly to the end of the preceding clause. Both sentences in this reason/result construction must conclude with a final verb or be an equative, attributive or possessive clause (83), unless there is a case of ellipsis (84).

- (81) *Nanará wa ko nará-e-lák, wa=ya=ku*
 thought 3 2SG.AGT perceive-PRES-2SG 3=DAT=TOP
ka kálak áring=ya hita-ngga ku-tá
 2SG.EMPH first over.there=DAT jump-SS.SEQ go-2SG.DS.SEQ
kahá-ngga=ku no ku-ine-t.
 see.2SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ=TOP 1SG.AGT go-FUT-1SG
 ‘You had the idea, so you yourself jump over there first, and I will watch you, and then I will go.’

- (82) *Káe=yá álosim át-ta-k, wa=ya=ku umi*
 sun=AGT very.good exist-PRES-3SG 3=DAT=TOP river
kurat=káin ku-ndin.
 watercourse=ALL go-1DU.IMP
 'It's a nice sunny day, so let's go to the river.'
- (83) *Nák ámna álosim muná, wa=ya=ku*
 1SG man very.good no 3=DAT=TOP
rup-ka=káin ma=áwá-índá-t.
 personal.space-2SG.POSS=ALL NEG=come-NEG.FUT-1SG
 'I am not a very good man, so I will not come up close to you.'
- (84) *Kánang=káin, wa=ya=ku ing iná-u-k...*
 jungle=ALL 3=DAT=TOP thus say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 '(They were) in the jungle, so he said to him...'

The second way to form a reason/result construction is to join two sentences with the reason/result marker *hálendu*. This marker is made up of the verb *hále* 'happen' followed by the third singular different-subject sequential marker *-n*. This is then followed by the topic marker *=ku*. Both sentences in this reason/result construction must conclude with a final verb or be an equative clause. The reason/result marker *hálendu* is often paired with the pro-form *wáina* to refer back to previous action: *wáina hálendu* 'it happened like that, so...'. The marker *hálendu* can also be used to mark conditionality (see §8.6.5).

- (85) *Ámna málám wa=wu káráman-ná yongut-ená*
 man 3SG.EMPH 3=TOP ear-3SG.POSS block.up-PART
hang me-ná muná wa=ina
 and.also talk-3SG.POSS no 3=SML
hále-n=ku ang=yá rina ku-u-ráng
 happen-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP dog=AGT how go-RP-2/3PL
wa=ina=yon átni-ngga sut-ná táup
 3=SML=same travel.around-SS.SEQ body-3SG.POSS many

ut-tu-k.

hit.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG

‘The man was deaf, and also he was mute, and because of this, wherever the dogs went, he had journeyed the same way and his body had taken a beating.’

- (86) *It-yánda* *wa mirak tá-ng sa-n*
 house-3DU.POSS 3 new do-SV leave-2/3DU.DS.SEQ
- át-án* *kátu wa erek ma=tá-ng-háli-ená*
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ part 3 whole NEG=do-SV-CMPL-PART
- hále-n=ku*** *áwá-ná=yá*
 happen-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP wife-3SG.POSS=AGT

iná-u-k...

say.to.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG

‘They built their new house, but left part of it unfinished, so his wife said to him...’

Result/reason

The result/reason construction is marked, and serves to highlight the reason. To form a result/reason sentence, two independent sentences are joined by the word *náuta* ‘because’. This word is formed from the word *náut* ‘what’ and the dative marker =*ya* ‘DAT’ (*náuta* also means ‘why’ when put at the beginning of a clause). Sometimes the reason clause is also concluded with *wata* (88). As with the reason/result construction, both sentences in a result/reason construction must conclude with a final verb or be an equative clause.

- (87) *Nano=yá* *ku-ng* *wa=hára* *re* *háram-ná*
 Nano=AGT go-SV 3=LOC only leg-3SG.POSS
- hut-án* *ang=yá* *sá-ng* *kámut-Ø*
 pull.out-3SG.DS.SEQ dog=AGT bite.3SG.OBJ-SV die-SV
- ta-u-ráng,* ***náut=ya*** *tewe* *sáut=ku* *erek*
 do-RP-2/3PL what=DAT bow.and.arrows spear=TOP every.one

kálu=káin ut-tang káti-ng tá-táwat
 path=ALL hit.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ strike-SV NMLS~snap

tá-u-k...
 do-RP-3SG

‘Nano went and right there he pulled its legs out from under it, and the dogs bit it to death, because the bow and arrows and the spears had all hit the path and snapped...’

- (88) *Kálu re=kálu umi áring=ya ku-ine-mát?*
 path where=DIR river over.there=DAT go-FUT-1DU

ing=ya me inán kanán tá-u-málák, náut=ya umi
 thus=DAT talk discussion do-RP-2/3DU what=DAT river

wa=wu maming táwi hánám wa=ya.
 3=TOP big INTENS 3=DAT

‘They discussed which way they would cross the river, because the river was very big.’

8.6.3 Temporal

A clause can function as a temporal adverbial clause without any special markings other than the marker =*hára* ‘LOC’. This subordinate verbal clause indicates the time at which the main clause took place (as described in §4.2.4, the locative marker =*hára* also has a temporal function). The verb of the dependent clause must be a final verb.

- (89) *Rámá ráma umi kurat=káin ku-ng-ngáta-mát=hára*
 all.the.time river watercourse=ALL go-SV-HAB-1DU=LOC

nák rewe yáup sa-ng na-má-tá...
 1SG only work leave.3SG.OBJ-SV 1SG.OBJ-BEN-2SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘Every time we two go to the river, you leave all the work for me, and...’

- (90) *Ná=káin át-tang ku-u-mán=hára=ku*
 this=ALL exist-SS.SEQ go-RP-1PL=LOC=TOP
iráp-yáni=hára ku-u-mán.
 bird-3PL.POSS=LOC go-RP-1PL
 ‘When we left here, we went on their airplane.’
- (91) *It=yá haing hang kaukát-tu-k=hára wa*
 place=AGT about.to.become.light exist-RP-3SG=LOC 3
ha-ngga ku-u-málák.
 depart-SS.SEQ go-RP-2/3DU
 ‘When it was about to become light, they two departed and went.’

8.6.4 Locative

A clause can function as a locative adverbial clause without any special markings other than the allative marker =*káin* ‘ALL’. This subordinate verbal clause indicates the location at which the main clause took place (as described in §4.2.5, the allative marker =*káin* also has a locative function). The verb of the subordinate clause must be a final verb.

- (92) *Tewe ihá-ng áwá-ng son*
 bow.and.arrows get.3NSG.OBJ.SV come.SV again
yák=yá át-tu-ráng=káin ti-u-t.
 string.bag=AGT exist-RP-2/3PL=ALL put-RP-1SG
 ‘He brought his bow and arrows and put them back where his string bags were.’
- (93) *Skul tá-ine-lák=káin me yángorá ná=yá*
 school do-FUT-2SG=ALL talk advice this=AGT
pin-ka tá-ngga át-án...
 care-2SG.POSS do-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘This advice will take care of you (in the place) where you go to school, and...’

- (94) *Yáup-yáni sa-ngga sa-t*
 work-3PL.POSS leave.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ leave-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
át-án kásáng tuwet-yáni
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ betel.nut tobacco-3PL.POSS
tá-tá=ya=wu nán=yá át-Ø-kiu-mán=káin
 do~NMLS=DAT=TOP 1PL=AGT exist-SV-IMPF.RP-1PL=ALL
wa áwá-ng-kiu-ráng.
 3 come-SV-IMPF.RP-2/3PL
 ‘They would leave their work, and then they would come to where
 we were, to smoke and chew betel nut.’

8.6.5 Conditionality

Nukna has two ways of marking conditionality. One way is to use the conditionality marker *iná* ‘if’, which is homophonous with the weak contrastive conjunction (§8.2.2). This is the less common way of the two.

- (95) *Iná no hánámá hánám suri-ng*
 if 1SG.AGT without INTENS send-SV
yá-má-e ku-ine-ráng wa=wu
 3NSG.OBJ-BEN-1SG.DS.SEQ go-FUT-2/3PL 3=TOP
kálu=hára hále-t yángom ti-n
 path=LOC watch-2/3PL.DS.SEQ black put-3SG.DS.SEQ
ha-ine-ráng.
 fall.down-FUT-2/3PL
 ‘If I send them away without anything, they will grow faint on the
 road and fall down.’

- (96) *Iná ámna náráwa 50 kándáng át-ená=yá it*
 if man woman fifty straight exist-PART=AGT village
kinan át-át wa raták ihá-ng
 inside exist-2/3PL.DS.SEQ 3 anyway get.3NSG.OBJ-SV
lem tá-ine-lák?
 destruction do-FUT-2SG
 ‘If there are fifty straight-existing people in the village, will you still destroy them?’

The other way to mark conditionality, which is the more common of the two, is to use the sentence conjunction *hárendu*. This conjunction can also mark reason/result (see §8.6.2).

- (97) *Hánámá káwak=yan ingirungi~ngi=kálu*
 without.purpose ground=GEN test.3SG.OBJ~NMLS=DIR
áwá-e-k hále-n=ku wa
 come-PRES-3SG happen-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP 3
isut-lák.
 drive.away.3SG.OBJ-2SG.IMP
 ‘If this thing coming is just an earthly trial, send it away.’
- (98) *Ko álák=kálu ku-tá hále-n=ku*
 2SG.AGT right=DIR go-2SG.DS.SEQ happen-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP
no kandák=kálu ku-ine-t, hang ko
 1SG.AGT left=DIR go-FUT-1SG and 2SG.AGT
kandák=kálu ku-tá hále-n=ku no
 left=DIR go-2SG.DS.SEQ happen-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP 1SG.AGT
álák=kálu ku-ine-t.
 right=DIR go-FUT-1SG
 ‘If you go to the right, I will go to the left, and if you go to the left, I will go to the right.’

8.7 Comparison

Comparison does not use comparative or superlative words like the English ‘more’, ‘fewer’ ‘bigger’, ‘most’, ‘least’, etc. Instead, comparison can be encoded through a pair of clauses.

- (99) *Siang=ku mulangán sim hang Supsungan=ku*
 Siang=TOP far.away somewhat and Supsungan=TOP

enanggon.

nearby

‘Siang is farther away than Supsungan.’ (Lit. ‘Siang is somewhat far away and Supsungan is nearby.’)

A second way that comparisons are encoded is through the serial verb construction *táng háting*, which means to ‘pass by’ or ‘surpass’.

- (100) *Háláng-ná wa=wu nák háláng-na*
 power-3SG.POSS 3=TOP 1SG power-1SG.POSS

tá-ng

get.3SG.OBJ-SV

hátí-e-k.

push-PRES-3SG

‘He has more power than me.’ (Lit. ‘His power surpasses mine.’)

9. Discourse considerations

This chapter discusses important discourse features in Nukna, including tail-head linkage (§9.1) and temporal connectors (§9.2). Another discourse feature, emphatic pronouns in apposition, was covered in §3.9.4. Rounding out this chapter is a list of Nukna exclamations (§9.3) and a brief look at the hesitation particle (§9.4).

9.1 Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage is used extensively in Nukna, both in oral and written discourse structure. Tail-head linkage consists of repeating the last verb or verb phrase of the previous sentence using medial verb inflection instead of final verb inflection. This repetition serves to bind the text together while also marking the different important episodes of the text.

The following passage highlighting tail-head linkage is taken from an oral narrative text and has six instances of tail-head linkage. In this passage, tail-head linkage is preferred over clause-chaining because the events communicated in this example are episodic, occurring over a long period of time, and are not closely linked in a temporal or causal way. In order to highlight the repetition inherent in tail-head linkage, this repetition is preserved in the English translation.

- (1) *Ulap Supsungan wa=hára it táwi hánám*
before Supsungan 3=LOC village big INTENS
- át-kiu-ráng. Át-tang sa-t*
exist-IMPF.RP-2/3PL exist-SS.SEQ leave-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
- át-án wa=hára át-tang yáni*
exist-3SG.DS.SEQ 3=LOC exist-SS.SEQ 3PL.EMPH
- hore-u-ráng. Hore-ngga kámá=yá Nukem*
separate-RP-2/3PL separate-SS.SEQ some=AGT Nukem

ku-u-ráng. *Ku-ng* Nukem=káin át-kiu-ráng wa=ya
 go-RP-2/3PL go-SV Nukem=ALL exist-IMPF.RP-3PL 3=DAT

uriwa káman=wu Supsungan=nan áмна káman
 daughter one=TOP Supsungan=ABL man one

áwá-ng tá-u-k. Tá-ng áwá-ng
 come-SV get.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG get.3SG.OBJ-SV come-SV

wa=hára át-nánda-ráng. Át-tang wa=ya
 3=LOC exist-HAB-2/3PL exist-SS.SEQ 3=DAT

nángá-nangge me yá-uriwa maming tá-táwi
 PL~son and PL-daughter big PL~big

hále-ená át-tang=ku áмна tátáwi kimo
 become-PART exist-SS.SEQ=TOP man elderly small

Nukem=kálu ku-u-k wa=yá áwá-u-k. Wa=yá
 Nukem=DIR go-RP-3SG 3=AGT come-RP-3SG 3=AGT

áwá-ngga *Supsungan=káin áwá-n...*

come-SS.SEQ Supsungan=ALL come-3SG.DS.SEQ

‘Before the people lived (existed) at the very big village of Supsungan. They lived, and then after that, they lived there and they themselves separated. They separated and some went to Nukem. They went and from those that lived at Nukem there was a daughter, and a man from Supsungan came and married her. (Lit. ‘got her’). He married her and came (back) and they lived there. They lived and from this there were many sons and daughters that were born, and so the little old man (the wife’s father) who had gone to Nukem came. He came to Supsungan, and...’

Occasionally other clausal elements such as objects (2), locatives (3), or even subjects (see the last sentence in (1)) are also repeated. In some cases, more than one clause is repeated (4). The repeated verb is sometimes more general than the original verb, and this generic verb, in conjunction with the word *wáina* ‘like that’, can refer back to the entire preceding clause (see (5)–(6)).

- (2) ...*ále yáilá=káin támun hási-u-ráng. Támun*
 mountain=ALL conch.shell blow-RP-2/3PL conch.shell
hási-t nará-ngga sa-tne
 blow-2/3PL.DS.SEQ perceive-SS.SEQ leave-1PL.DS.SEQ
át-án...
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘...on the mountain they blew the conch shell. They blew the conch shell, and we heard it, and then...’
- (3) *Kunap wa=wu huláti-ngga yang-ná=káin yáre-u-k.*
 snake 3=TOP start-SS.SEQ tail-3SG.POSS=ALL step-RP-3SG
Yang-ná=káin yáre-ngga sa-n
 tail-3SG.POSS=ALL step-SS.SEQ leave-3SG.DS.SEQ
át-án...
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘The snake—first he stepped on its tail. He stepped on its tail, and after that...’
- (4) ...*son yáli-ngga son ha-ngga át-tu-málák.*
 again turn-SS.SEQ again climb.down-SS.SEQ exist-RP-2/3DU
Yáli-ngga ha-ngga át-narán
 turn-SS.SEQ climb.down-SS.SEQ exist-2/3DU.DS.SIM
ít=yá pukon páyung ti-n...
 place=AGT completely darkness put-3SG.DS.SEQ
 ‘...they two turned back and were climbing back down. They turned and while they were climbing down it became completely dark, and...’

- (5) *Má wa=wu káwak=hára káto re sánggati-ngga*
 taro 3=TOP ground=LOC strong only be.stuck-SS.SEQ
át-tu-k. Wa=ina át-án=ku ang málám
 exist-RP-3SG 3=SML exist-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP dog 3SG.EMPH
hururung ingmen ku-ng...
 run really go-SV
 ‘The taro was stuck fast in the ground. It was like that, and so the dog really ran and went and...’
- (6) *Yáni=wu kámuk má wa hut~hut=ya*
 3PL.EMPH=TOP all taro 3 NMLS~pull.out=DAT
uyi-u-ráng, enendu ma=hut-tu-ráng.
 pull-RP-2/3PL but NEG=pull.out-RP-3PL
Wa=ina hále-n=ku pusi=yá ku-ng...
 3=SML become-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP cat=AGT go-SV
 ‘They all pulled on the taro in order to pull it out, but they couldn’t pull it out. It happened like that, and so the cat went and...’

9.2 Temporal connectors

Another way of connecting sentences together is through the use of temporal connectors. Most of these connectors have their basis in other words in the language that have meaning apart from the temporal. Only one temporal connector, *kulá*, does not have another non-temporal function.

Table 9.1 gives the forms and meanings of the various temporal connectors. Their non-temporal meanings are also provided.

TABLE 9.1. DISCOURSE TEMPORAL CONNECTORS

Nukna	Meaning	Non-temporal meaning
<i>kulá</i>	'okay then' (introduces a new sub-episode in the discourse)	-
<i>hang</i>	'and then, next' (ties together in sequence two separate parts of the discourse) 'and also' (adds something more to what came before)	<i>ha-ng</i> 'climb.down-SV'
<i>árong</i>	'then, afterwards,'	<i>áro-ng</i> 'go.up-SV'
<i>átang</i>	'after a while'	<i>át-tang</i> 'exist-SS.SEQ'
<i>(rám) wahára</i>	'at that time'	<i>wa=hára</i> '3=LOC' ('there')
<i>(rám) ore wahára</i>	'during that time'	<i>ore wa=hára</i> 'middle 3=LOC' (‘in the middle’)
<i>átang árongga</i>	'after some time, after a while'	<i>át-tang áro-ngga</i> 'exist-SS.SEQ go.up-SS.SEQ'
<i>wata márina káin</i>	'following that'	<i>wa=ya márin-ná=káin</i> '3=DAT backside-3SG.POSS=ALL' (‘at the back of that’)
<i>son hang</i>	'furthermore'	<i>son ha-ng</i> 'again climb.down-SV'

The clitic =yon ‘same’ can also be added to *wahára* or *ore wahára* to produce the meanings ‘at the same time’ and ‘during the same time’, respectively.

The temporal connector *kulá* can be paired with some other temporal connectors, specifically *hang*, *árong*, *átang*, and *átang árongga*. *Kulá* precedes the other temporal connector and indicates that, in addition to the second temporal connector’s meaning, a new sub-episode in the story is being introduced.

Temporal Connectors—*san árán* and *sangga*

One final temporal connector is included here, even though it operates on the clause level, because it also establishes a temporal connection between different parts of the discourse.

This connector is a commonly-occurring discourse feature that is used to separate clauses, while also indicating that the action in the first clause has been completed and the actor is moving on to the action in the second clause. This discourse feature is formed by a serial verb construction consisting of different-subject sequential forms of the verbs *sa* ‘leave, release.3SG.OBJ’ and *át* ‘exist, stay, be’ (or its alternate forms, *wat* or *it*). The first different-subject verb, based on *sa*, cross-indexes the subject of the first clause. The second different-subject verb, based on *át*, is always in the third singular different-subject form.

- (7) *Kuyang=hára sek nará-ngga sa-tne*
 Kuyang=LOC rest perceive-SS.SEQ leave-1PL.DS.SEQ
- wat-án kásáng tom-náni*
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ betel.nut mustard.plant-1PL.POSS
- ihá-ng wa=hára kilak ti-ngga sa-ngga...*
 get.3NSG.OBJ-SV 3=LOC hidden put-SS.SEQ leave-SS.SEQ
 ‘At Kuyang we rested, and then after that we got our betel nut and
 mustard plant and hid them there and left...’

Taken literally, the discourse marker *satne warán* (surface form) in (7) means, ‘we left it, it stayed.’ This is in reference to the act of resting which immediately precedes *satne warán* in the sentence. In other words, they stopped resting and went on to do something else.

In (8), the literal meaning of the discourse feature *san warán* is ‘he left it, it stayed.’ This is in reference to his act of arriving at Sapmanga.²⁸ He completed his arrival at Sapmanga, and now is going to do something else.

²⁸ This does not mean that he left Sapmanga, as can be seen by his next action of finding his two friends within Sapmanga itself.

- (8) *Sapmanga=káin ku-ng he-ngga sa-n*
 Sapmanga=ALL go-SV arrive-SS.SEQ leave-3SG.DS.SEQ
wat-án kulá ku-ng nuk kápá-ng
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ okay go-SV friend see.3NSG.OBJ-SV
tunggap tá-ngga...
 make.known do-SS.SEQ
 ‘He arrived at Sapmanga, and after that, okay, he went and found
 his two friends, and...’

In (9), the literal meaning and the discourse meaning of *san áran* both have relevance in the mind of the native speaker. A river has swept away the corpse of a man and then deposited it downstream on the sand near the shoreline. The verb *san* could apply to the river’s leaving of the corpse on the sand, i.e., ‘The river left it and it was there.’ Or *san áran* could be the discourse marker which indicates that first the river put the corpse on the sand, and then later the sun dried out its skin. In fact, native speakers have said that it is not an either/or proposition; that both meanings are equally valid and present in their minds when they hear it.

- (9) *Keráme umi=yá tá-ng ku-ng táp*
 Kerame water=AGT get.3SG.OBJ-SV go-SV ocean
kurat=káin sán=hára ti-ng sa-n
 shoreline=ALL sand=LOC put-SV leave-3SG.DS.SEQ
át-án káe káto tái wa=yá sut-ná wa
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ sun hard ATT 3=AGT skin-3SG.POSS 3
ka-ng káták tá-n kokoli-ngga
 see.3SG.OBJ-SV dry.and.hard do-3SG.DS.SEQ change-SS.SEQ
pukaya ku-u-k.
 crocodile go-RP-3SG
 ‘The Kerame river took him and put him on the sand at the beach,
 and then after that, the strong sun shone on his skin and dried it out
 and he changed into a crocodile.’

When the subject of the two clauses is identical, the speaker may choose to use the medial verb *sangga* ‘leave, release-SS.SEQ’ instead of the

different-subject construction. Whichever is used, the meaning is the same. Obviously, *sangga* cannot be used when the subjects are different because *sangga* itself indicates that the subjects of the two clauses are the same. In those cases, the different-subject construction must be used.

In (10), context requires that *sangga* function as a discourse marker, indicating that after she slept, she went on to do something else. *Sangga* could not be referring to leaving the village (which she does end up doing later in the narrative), because after *sangga* occurs, she still has not left the village. Instead she speaks to her cousins of her intention to leave.

- (10) *Rám kimo wa=hára kápá-ng ruhá-ngga*
 time little 3=LOC see.3NSG.OBJ-SV sleep-SS.SEQ

sa-ngga málám-ilom-ná yá-ná-u-k,
 leave-SS.SEQ cousin-PL-3SG.POSS 3NSG.OBJ-say.to-RP-3SG

‘*Nák=ku son táp=ya ku-inde-t,*’...

1SG=TOP again beach=DAT go-IFUT-1SG

‘She visited with them for a short time and stayed the night, and after that she said to her cousins, “I am going to return to the coast,”...’

9.3 Exclamations

The following words are used as exclamations or interjections, either in isolation or at the beginning of a clause or sentence.

TABLE 9.2. EXCLAMATIONS

<i>o</i>	yes
<i>muná</i>	no
<i>pasáwak</i>	oops!
<i>iss</i>	used to express annoyance
<i>á</i>	used to express mild surprise
<i>wá</i>	used to express mild surprise
<i>áyeye</i>	used to express great surprise or fear
<i>háye</i>	used to express fatigue
<i>áú</i>	used to express disinterest
<i>háyiwu</i>	ouch!
<i>o</i>	used to express sympathy or pity

<i>o</i>	acknowledgement of someone taking their leave
<i>siko</i>	used to express satisfaction when someone else 'got what they deserved'
<i>e</i>	oh no!
<i>i</i>	oh no!
<i>ásss</i>	used to express sympathy or incredulity at something big that has happened
<i>hae</i>	used to startle someone or get someone's attention
<i>hop</i>	used when lifting something heavy
<i>áyi-i</i>	oh my! wow!
<i>nanggula</i>	oh my! wow!
<i>we</i>	you/he got what you/he deserve(s)!
<i>we we we...</i>	come on, you wimp!
<i>yo-e</i>	when you suddenly remember something you forgot to do or lost
<i>yo-i</i>	whoa!
<i>rep ya muná</i>	shame on you! (have you no shame?)
<i>se</i>	thank you [not commonly used]

9.4 Hesitation particle

The hesitation particle *náutná* is used in speech when the speaker is trying to think of what to say next, and its frequency of use varies from speaker to speaker. It is equivalent to the English 'um' or 'uh'. The hesitation particle is derived from the word *náut* 'what'.

- (11) *Nát=yá sup sa-u-mát wa=yá, náutná,*
 1DU=AGT money release.3SG.OBJ-RP-1DU 3=AGT uh
- hurik-ngá ka-ngga me wa=yá,*
 turn.around-3SG.POSS see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ and 3=AGT
- náutná, topmá ka-ngga nát=yá heronge*
 uh repayment see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ 1DU=AGT happiness
- táwi kák=ya nará-ine-mát.*
 big 2SG=DAT perceive-FUT-1DU
 'We two gave money (lit. 'released') and as a result, uh, we two
 will see a return, and as a result, uh, we two will see a repayment,
 and we two will feel happiness because of you.'

9.5 Unexpected event marker

When a speaker wishes to indicate the unexpectedness of an event, he or she may mark a verb with the verbal suffix *-n*. However, only the vowel-final same-subject medial suffix *-ngga* can be marked in this way (and no other suffix can attach to any type of medial verb suffix (§5.4.2)). This limited distribution distinguishes the unexpected event marker *-n* from the two homophonous verbal suffixes *-n*, one of which marks third singular different-subject sequential medial verbs, with the other marking non-first person dual different-subject medial verbs (§5.4.1).

The unexpected event suffix is often found on verbs of motion, though it is not restricted to these (see (15)).

In the following example, three men are travelling together from one village to another, when they get caught by nightfall and decide to spend the night in the jungle. However, one of the men wants the group to hike on through the night, so he waits until the other two have slept a short while, and then he wakes them up, telling them they have slept nearly all night and it is almost dawn. However, once they start hiking, the two men notice that the sun is not coming up. Unexpectedly (for the two men), they hike on for hours through the jungle in the dark, guided only by an electric torch.

- (12) *Tárut-án ku-nìn, it=yá ha-inde-k,*
 get.up-2/3DU.DS.SEQ go-1PL.IMP place=AGT become.light-IF-3SG
ing yá-ná-ngga, wa=hára=nan tárut-tu-mán
 thus 3NSG.OBJ.say.to-SS.SEQ 3=LOC=ABL get.up-RP-1PL
wa=wu tos=hára rewe átni-ngga-n
 3=TOP torch=LOC only travel.around-SS.SEQ-UNEXP
átni-ngga-n átni-ngga-n
 travel.around-SS.SEQ-UNEXP travel.around-SS.SEQ-UNEXP
ingmen Kuyang=káin áwá-ng he-u-mán.
 at.last Kuyang=ALL come-SV arrive-RP-1PL
 ‘‘Get up, let’s go! It’s about to get light,’’ I told them, and we got up from there and by electric torch we went and unexpectedly we went on and on (in the dark), and at last we arrived at Kuyang.’

- (13) *Káyam=ya pitá-ngga ku-nin ing=ya*
 enemy=DAT be.afraid-SS.SEQ go-1PL.IMP thus=DAT
hururung ku-ngga-n pendeliwong
 running go-SS.SEQ-UNEXP large.hole
kinan ha-u-ráng.
 inside go.down-RP-2/3PL
 ‘They feared the enemy and (said), “Let’s go!” and they ran away
 and unexpectedly fell inside a large hole.’
- (14) *Bae tái wa=yá ku-u-k=ku sut-na*
 Bae ATT 3=AGT go-RP-3SG=TOP body-1SG.POSS
ut-ne-t ná muná wa=hára
 hit.3SG.OBJ-FUT-1SG this no 3=LOC
átnu-ngga-n átnu-ngga-n
 travel.around-SS.SEQ-UNEXP travel.around-SS.SEQ-UNEXP
ityot ityot wa=hára áyak-ná tá~táwi
 fall.of.darkness 3=LOC shortness.of.breath-3SG.POSS PL~big
 3=LOC
wa=hára it-ná Supsungan=ya ku-u-k.
 3=LOC village-3SG.POSS Supsungan=DAT go-RP-3SG
 ‘Bae’s (running away) was like this, he was going and going
 without caring if he got hurt and it was getting dark and he was
 really out of breath and he went toward his village, Supsungan.’
- (15) *Ánutu=yá Hagar rahán-lá tá-ng rong tá-ng*
 God=AGT Hagar eye-3SG.POSS get.3SG.OBJ-SV clean do-SV
má-n hále-ngga-n=ku umi árám
 BEN.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ look-SS.SEQ-UNEXP=TOP water hole
káman ka-u-k.
 one see.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 ‘God opened Hagar’s eyes and she looked and unexpectedly saw a
 water hole.’

9.6 Attention marker

The attention marker is used when the speaker wants to alert the hearer that something of unusual interest or importance is about to be communicated. By using this marker, the speaker grabs the hearer's attention and builds anticipation for what is about to happen. While the attention marker can be found at any point in a story, it is quite often used to mark a story's climax. Usage varies from speaker to speaker – some use it sparingly, while others pepper their narratives with the attention marker. Note example (16) in which the marker is used twice in the same sentence.

The attention marker, *tái*, is very similar in form to *maming tái* and *táwi*, which both mean 'big, great, important'. Grammatically, it only modifies nouns, occurring after any modifying adjectives, but before the demonstrative.

- (16) *Ámna tái málám=ku son kokoli-ngga*
 man ATT 3SG.EMPH=TOP again change.into-SS.SEQ
- kunap maming táwi hále-ngga kálu mungnga=hára*
 snake big become.SS.SEQ doorway=LOC
- ráná-ng árá-ng sa-n wat-án,*
 coil.up-SV climb.up-SV leave-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
- yáin-lá tái wa sa-n ku-ng náráwa*
 head-3SG.POSS ATT 3 leave-3SG.DS.SEQ go-SV woman
- yará=yá ruhá-ngga át-kiu-málák wa=ya*
 two=AGT sleep-SS.SEQ exist-IMPF.RP-2/3DU 3=DAT
- torong-yáнди=káin wa sa-n ku-ng*
 above-3DU.POSS=ALL 3 leave-3SG.DS.SEQ go-SV
- át-kiu-k.*
 exist-IMPF.RP-3SG
 'The man would change into a big snake and he would coil himself up in the doorway, and after that he would put his big head above where the two women would be sleeping.'

- (17) *Ku-ng át-án, ále márum-ná táí wa=yá*
 go- SV exist-3SG.DS.SEQ area owner-3SG.POSS ATT 3=AGT
há ka-ngga rangguk-ná=yá pana
 PERF see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ machete-3SG.POSS=INSTR middle
káti-ng rákit tá-u-k.
 strike-SV cut.off do-RP-3SG
 ‘He was going (but) the owner of the area had already seen him, and he cut him in half with his machete.’
- (18) *Áwá-ng he-n, nembo-ná=yá*
 come-SV arrive-3SG.DS.SEQ cousin-3SG.POSS=AGT
ka-u-k=ku nembo-ná táí ná=wu
 see.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG=TOP cousin-3SG.POSS ATT this=TOP
ku-ng put kámun-lá pálipuk na-ngga milun-ná
 go-SV pig faeces-3SG.POSS true eat-SS.SEQ lips-3SG.POSS
yángom ti-n áwá-n ka-ngga
 black put-3SG.DS.SEQ come-3SG.DS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
yut-Ø má-u-k.
 laugh-SV BEN.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG
 ‘She arrived back and her cousin saw that this cousin of hers had gone and actually eaten the pig faeces and it had made her lips black, and then she had returned, and her cousin saw this and laughed at her.’

For further examples of the attention marker, see (6) in §6.2.1, (9) in §9.2, and (14) in §9.5.

10. Lexical considerations

This chapter gives a very brief overview of some lexical considerations in Nukna, including abstractions (§10.1) and figures of speech (§10.2).

10.1 Abstractions

Abstract nouns, both derived and underived, are found in Nukna. Derived abstract nouns are in the form of nominalised verbs.

TABLE 10.1. DERIVED ABSTRACT NOUNS

Verb Stem		Noun	
<i>pítá</i>	'be afraid'	<i>píták</i>	'fear'
<i>kámút</i>	'die'	<i>kákámút</i>	'death'
<i>nará</i>	'perceive'	<i>nanará</i>	'knowledge'
<i>áku</i>	'live'	<i>átkuku</i>	'life'
<i>naráng háti</i>	'think strongly, focus'	<i>naráng hák hátik</i>	'belief'

TABLE 10.2. NON-DERIVED ABSTRACT NOUNS

<i>kalot</i>	'forgetfulness'
<i>kuk</i>	'anger'
<i>ukuro</i>	'sorrow'
<i>heronge</i>	'happiness'
<i>háláng</i>	'power, authority'
<i>ilap</i>	'generosity'

10.2 Figures of speech

10.2.1 Simile

- (1) *Wa=wu sup=ina.*
 3=TOP stone=SML
 'He is stubborn.' (Lit. 'He is like a stone.')

- (2) *Wa=wu koram=ina.*
 3=TOP eel=SML
 ‘He is hard to hold on to.’ (e.g., in a rugby game; Lit. ‘He is like an eel.’)

10.2.2 Metaphor

Many animals are used in metaphors describing the behaviour of a person. Several are listed in Table 10.3.

TABLE 10.3. EXAMPLES OF ANIMAL METAPHORS

Nukna	English	Human behaviour described
<i>ang</i>	dog	a male who sleeps around
<i>kambárom</i>	butterfly	a female who sleeps around
<i>hánuk</i>	rat	a thief of food that grows in the ground
<i>siwa</i>	bat	a thief of food that grows in trees and on stalks
<i>iráp</i>	bird	a person who won't settle down in one place
<i>put</i>	pig	a person who eats a lot of food
<i>kálap</i>	tree kangaroo	a person who is good at climbing trees
<i>liplip</i>	hawk	a male who steals a young woman

Other metaphors not involving animals follow:

- (3) *Ámna wa=wu umi=yot áwá-e-k.*
 man 3=TOP water=COM come-PRES-3SG
 ‘He is a peaceful man.’ (Lit. ‘He is a man that comes with water.’)
- (4) *Ámna elák-ná yará.*
 man tongue-3SG.POSS two
 ‘A man who says one thing to one person, and another thing to someone else.’ (Lit. ‘A man with two tongues.’)
- (5) *Me hárot-tu-ráng.*
 talk tie.up-RP-2/3PL
 ‘They made a plan.’ (Lit. ‘They tied up talk.’)

- (6) *Umi Kárang Pálak=yot umi Rináng Hulán=yot*
 river Karang Palak=COM river Rinang Hulan=COM
erawá-ngga Pukapmán hále-ngga ho-e-k.
 fight-SS.SEQ Pukapman become-SS.SEQ go.down-PRES-3SG
 ‘The Karang Palak stream and the Rinang Hulan stream join
 together and become the Pukapman stream and it goes down.’ (Lit.
 ‘the waters fight’)
- (7) *Kátu=yá sungngi songgo-yáni tá-ngga*
 others=AGT food meat-3PL.POSS get.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ
si-na-ngga át-át, nán=yá kesák
 cook-eat-SS.SEQ exist-2/3PL.DS.SEQ 1PL=AGT short.supply
át-ninggom, me nangge=yá rahán-yáni murá-nirot.
 exist-1PL.APP and child=AGT eye-3PL.POSS vomit-2/3PL.APP
 ‘May it not be that others have food and game and they are cooking
 and eating it, and we are without, and may it not be that the children
 are looking longingly at them.’ (Lit. ‘vomiting their eyes’)

10.2.3 Euphemism

- (8) *Káwak=káin ku-in.*
 ground=ALL go-1SG.IMP
 ‘I need to go to the toilet.’ (Lit. ‘I’m going to the ground’)
- (9) *Kák=yan yonggam yák-ka nará-e-t.*
 2SG=GEN k.o.string.bag-2SG.POSS perceive-PRES-1SG
 ‘I want to marry your daughter.’ (Lit. ‘I like your string bag.’)
- (10) *Kák=yan pára tátná/pisolá-ka*
 2SG=GEN banana first.bunch/last.bunch-2SG.POSS
nará-e-t.
 perceive-PRES-1SG
 ‘I want to marry your firstborn/lastborn daughter.’ (Lit. ‘I like your
 first/last bunch of bananas.’)

10.2.4 Metonymy

- (11) *Wa=yan milun-ná tá-ngga wa=ina*
 3=GEN lips-3SG.POSS get.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ 3=SML
me-inde-t.
 speak-IF-1SG
 ‘I am going to speak on his behalf.’ (Lit. ‘I am going to get his lips and speak like that.’)
- (12) *Wa=yan kurákmáta-ná tá-ngga urum=hára*
 3=GEN face-3SG.POSS get.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ meeting=LOC
áwá-e-k.
 come-PRES-3SG
 ‘She comes to the meeting in his place.’ (Lit. ‘She gets his face and comes to the meeting.’)
- (13) *Supsungan=ya hále-ine-mán.*
 Supsungan=DAT wait-FUT-1PL
 ‘We will wait for the people from Supsungan.’ (Lit. ‘We will wait for Supsungan.’)

10.2.5 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are often used to shame a person and influence the person’s behaviour.

- (14) *Karáman-ka muná me?*
 ear-2SG.POSS no YNQ
 ‘You aren’t listening to what I say, but you should.’ (Lit. ‘Don’t you have ears?’)
- (15) *Nák=ya táup?*
 1SG=DAT many
 ‘I can’t do this work by myself, help me.’ (Lit. ‘Am I many?’)

- (16) *Wa=ina hánámá át-ne-lák?*
 3=SML without.purpose exist-FUT-2SG
 ‘Don’t be so lazy, get to work.’ (Lit. ‘Will you stay there like that doing nothing?’)
- (17) *Náut tá-e-lák?*
 what do-PRES-2SG
 ‘Don’t do that.’ (Lit. ‘What are you doing?’ Spoken in a context where the speaker knows what the other person is doing and disapproves of that action.)

10.2.6 Synecdoche

Synecdoche is used extensively to speak about emotions and thoughts. The seat of emotions is the *pahán*, which literally means ‘all the insides of a person’, and does not refer to just one specific organ such as the heart, liver or stomach.

- (18) *Pahán-lá=yá kándáng ma=hále-u-k.*
 insides-3SG.POSS=AGT straight NEG=become-RP-3SG
 ‘He was not in agreement.’ (Lit. ‘His insides did not become straight.’)
- (19) *Kák=yan pahán mápamá wa há nará-e-k.*
 2SG=GEN insides heavy 3 PERF perceive-PRES-3SG
 ‘He already knows about how you feel downhearted.’ (Lit. ‘heavy insides’)

10.2.7 Personification

Animals are commonly personified in folk tales. Occasionally non-animate entities are personified, for example: a pandanus fruit (see (76) in §7.5) or pig faeces (see (5) in §7.1.3, (131) in §3.9.2, and (61) in §8.5.2).

Appendix 1: Traditional number system

Higher numbers were traditionally expressed by sometimes very long phrases according to a base-twenty system which utilised fingers, hands, feet, and complete persons. Modern counting consists of the use of the vernacular terms for one, two, and three; plus the English-based Tok Pisin numbers for anything higher than three. There is no theoretical limit to how high one could count using the traditional Nukna number system, though in the days when the Nukna were a pre-currency society, using high numbers was not a part of everyday life. The highest example given here is 59, which illustrates how long the numbers could become.

Literal translations, when given, are indicated below the gloss. *Ket* is glossed in this section as 'hand', though it refers to the entire arm as well as the hand, and *háram* will be glossed as 'foot', though it refers to the entire leg as well as the foot.

1. *káman*
one
2. *yará*
two
3. *kaláhu*
three
4. *yará nuknuk*
two friends
Lit. 'two double friends'
5. *ket num=kálu kámuk*
hand one.side=DIR all
Lit. 'the whole hand on one side'

6. *ket num=kálu kámuk, hang ket num=kálu káman re*
 hand one.side=DIR all and hand one.side=DIR one only
 Lit. 'the whole hand on one side, and only one on the hand on the other side'
7. *ket num=kálu kámuk, hang ket num=kálu yará re*
 hand one.side=DIR all and hand one.side=DIR two only
 Lit. 'the whole hand on one side, and only two on the hand on the other side'
8. *ket num=kálu kámuk, hang ket num=kálu kaláhu*
 hand one.side=DIR all and hand one.side=DIR three
 Lit. 'the whole hand on one side, and three on the hand on the other side'
9. *ket num=kálu kámuk, hang ket num=kálu yará nuknuk*
 hand one.side=DIR all and hand one.side=DIR two friends
 Lit. 'the whole hand on one side, and two double friends on the hand on the other side'
10. *ket numnum kámuk*
 hand both.sides all
 Lit. 'all on the hands on both sides'
11. *ket numnum kámuk, háram=kálu káman re*
 hand both.sides all foot=DIR one only
 Lit. 'all on the hands on both sides, (and) on the foot only one'
12. *ket numnum kámuk, háram=kálu káman yará*
 hand both.sides all foot=DIR one two
 Lit. 'all on the hands on both sides, (and) two on one foot'
13. *ket numnum kámuk, háram=kálu káman kaláhu*
 hand both.sides all foot=DIR one three
 Lit. 'all on the hands on both sides, (and) three on one foot'
14. *ket numnum kámuk, háram=kálu káman yará nuknuk*
 hand both.sides all foot=DIR one two friends
 Lit. 'all on the hands on both sides, (and) two double friends on one foot'

15. *ket numnum kámuk, háram=kálu num=kálu kámuk*
 hand both.sides all foot=DIR one.side=DIR all
 Lit. ‘all on the hands on both sides, (and) all on the foot on one side.’
16. *ket numnum kámuk, háram=kálu num=kálu kámuk,*
 hand both.sides all foot=DIR one.side=DIR all
hang háram num=kálu káman re
 and foot one.side=DIR one only
 Lit. ‘all on the hands on both sides, all on the foot on one side, and only one on the foot on the other side’
17. *ket numnum kámuk, háram=kálu num=kálu kámuk,*
 hand both.sides all foot=DIR one.side=DIR all
hang háram num=kálu yará
 and foot one.side=DIR two
 Lit. ‘all on the hands on both sides, all on the foot on one side, and two on the foot on the other side’
18. *ket numnum kámuk, háram=kálu num=kálu kámuk,*
 hand both.sides all foot=DIR one.side=DIR all
hang háram num=kálu kaláhu
 and foot one.side=DIR three
 Lit. ‘all on the hands on both sides, all on the foot on one side, and three on the foot on the other side’
19. *ket numnum kámuk, háram=kálu num=kálu kámuk,*
 hand both.sides all foot=DIR one.side=DIR all
hang háram num=kálu yará nuknuk
 and foot one.side=DIR two friends
 Lit. ‘all on the hands on both sides, all on the foot on one side, and two double friends on the foot on the other side’
20. *ámna káman=yan ket háram kámuk*
 man one=GEN hand foot all
 Lit. ‘all of one man’s hands and feet’

21. *ámna káman=yan ket háram kámuk, ámna káman=yan*
 man one=GEN hand foot all man one=GEN
ket=kálu káman re
hand=DIR one only
 Lit. 'all of one man's hands and feet, (and) only one on the hand of (another) man'
25. *ámna káman=yan ket háram kámuk, hang ámna*
 man one=GEN hand foot all and man
káman=yan ket num=kálu kámuk
one=GEN hand one.side=DIR all
 Lit. 'all of one man's hands and feet, and all on the hand on one side of (another) man'
30. *ámna káman=yan ket háram kámuk, hang ámna káman=yan*
 man one=GEN hand foot all and man one=GEN
ket numnum kámuk
 hand both.sides all
 Lit. 'all of one man's hands and feet, and all on the hands on both sides of (another) man'
40. *ámna yará=yan ket háram kámuk*
 man two=GEN hand foot all
 Lit. 'all of two men's hands and feet'
59. *ámna yará=yan ket háram kámuk, ámna káman=yan ket*
 man two=GEN hand foot all man one=GEN hand
numnum kámuk, háram=kálu num=kálu kámuk, hang
 both.sides all foot=DIR one.side=DIR all and
háram num=kálu yará nuknuk
 foot one.side=DIR two friends
 Lit. 'all of two men's hands and feet, (and) of (another) man, all on the hands on both sides, all on the foot on one side, and two double friends on the foot on the (other) side'

Appendix 2: Nouns ending in /N/ and possessive suffixes

See §3.3.2 for a discussion related to the language data in this appendix.

TABLE A2.1. ALIENABLE NOUNS WHICH TAKE 3SG.POSS SUFFIX -LÁ

Nukna	Gloss	1SG.POSS	2SG.POSS	3SG.POSS
<i>tanggán</i>	cemetery	<i>tanggánna</i>	<i>tanggála</i>	<i>tanggálá</i>
<i>tingsun</i>	bird sp.	<i>tingsunna</i>	<i>tingsula</i>	<i>tingsulá</i>

TABLE A2.2. ALIENABLE NOUNS WHICH TAKE 3SG.POSS SUFFIX -NÁ

Nukna	Gloss	1SG.POSS	2SG.POSS	3SG.POSS
<i>hun</i>	extended family	<i>hunna</i>	<i>hunya</i>	<i>hunná</i>
<i>kálin</i>	bird sp.	<i>kálinna</i>	<i>kálinya</i>	<i>kálinná</i>
<i>kawán</i>	land	<i>kawánna</i>	<i>kawánya</i>	<i>kawánná</i>
<i>kimbán</i>	tree sp.	<i>kimbánna</i>	<i>kimbánya</i>	<i>kimbánná</i>
<i>kimbon</i>	housefly	<i>kimbonna</i>	<i>kimbonya</i>	<i>kimbonná</i>
<i>kumin</i>	crayfish	<i>kuminna</i>	<i>kuminya</i>	<i>kuminná</i>
<i>kuyamen</i>	louse	<i>kuyamenna</i>	<i>kuyamena</i>	<i>kuyamenná</i>
<i>man</i>	yell	<i>manna</i>	<i>manya</i>	<i>manná</i>
<i>máran</i>	bundle	<i>máranna</i>	<i>máranya</i>	<i>máranná</i>
<i>mun</i>	roof truss	<i>munna</i>	<i>munya</i>	<i>munná</i>
<i>muyan</i>	bandicoot sp.	<i>muyanna</i>	<i>muyanya</i>	<i>muyanná</i>
<i>pin</i>	summons	<i>pinna</i>	<i>pinya</i>	<i>pinná</i>
<i>punpuran</i>	twins	<i>punpuranna</i>	<i>punpuranya</i>	<i>punpuranná</i>
<i>rámán</i>	house wall	<i>rámánna</i>	<i>rámánya</i>	<i>rámánná</i>
<i>ron</i>	wallaby sp.	<i>ronna</i>	<i>ronya</i>	<i>ronná</i>
<i>sán</i>	sand	<i>sánna</i>	<i>sánya</i>	<i>sánná</i>
<i>sinsin</i>	litter	<i>sinsinna</i>	<i>sinsinya</i>	<i>sinsinná</i>
<i>táhun</i>	cricket	<i>táhunna</i>	<i>táhunya</i>	<i>táhunná</i>
<i>támen</i>	flea	<i>támenna</i>	<i>támenya</i>	<i>támenná</i>
<i>támun</i>	conch shell	<i>támunna</i>	<i>támunya</i>	<i>támunná</i>

Nukna	Gloss	1SG.POSS	2SG.POSS	3SG.POSS
<i>tawon</i>	border	<i>tawonna</i>	<i>tawonya</i>	<i>tawonná</i>
<i>tun</i> ²⁹	possum sp.	<i>tunna</i>	<i>tunya</i>	<i>tunná</i>
<i>uran</i>	grass sp.	<i>uranna</i>	<i>uranya</i>	<i>uranná</i>
<i>uwán</i>	greens sp.	<i>uwánna</i>	<i>uwánya</i>	<i>uwánná</i>
<i>yamán</i>	reef	<i>yamánna</i>	<i>yamánya</i>	<i>yamánná</i>
<i>yámon</i>	ant	<i>yámonna</i>	<i>yámonya</i>	<i>yámonná</i>
<i>yangon</i>	fishing spear	<i>yangonna</i>	<i>yangonya</i>	<i>yangonná</i>
<i>yin</i>	bird sp.	<i>yinna</i>	<i>yinya</i>	<i>yinná</i>

TABLE A2.3. INALIENABLE NOUNS WHICH TAKE 3SG.POSS SUFFIX -LÁ

Nukna	Gloss	1SG.POSS	2SG.POSS	3SG.POSS
<i>ráhun</i> ³⁰	root	<i>ráhunna</i>	<i>ráhula</i>	<i>ráhulá</i>
<i>kámun</i> ³¹	faeces	<i>kámunna</i>	<i>kámula</i>	<i>kámulá</i>
<i>káráwen</i>	front of lower leg	<i>káráwenna</i>	<i>káráwela</i>	<i>káráwelá</i>
<i>kawin</i> ³²	abdomen	<i>kawinna</i>	<i>kawila</i>	<i>kawilá</i>
<i>kombán</i>	stomach	<i>kombánna</i>	<i>kombála</i>	<i>kombálá</i>
<i>pahán</i> ³³	insides	<i>pahánna</i>	<i>pahála</i>	<i>pahálá</i>
<i>pan</i>	upper leg	<i>panna</i>	<i>pala</i>	<i>palá</i>
<i>putun</i>	sore	<i>putunna</i>	<i>putula</i>	<i>putulá</i>
<i>rahán</i>	eye	<i>rahánna</i>	<i>rahála</i>	<i>rahálá</i>
<i>rándán</i>	back of lower leg	<i>rándánna</i>	<i>rándála</i>	<i>rándálá</i>
<i>san</i>	front of neck	<i>sanna</i>	<i>sala</i>	<i>salá</i>
<i>tun</i> ³⁴	body joint	<i>tunna</i>	<i>tula</i>	<i>tulá</i>
<i>tunggun</i> ³⁵	egg/testicle	<i>tunggunna</i>	<i>tunggula</i>	<i>tunggulá</i>

²⁹ Note that *tun* 'body joint' is inalienable, while *tun* 'possum sp.' is alienable.

³⁰ A tree's roots are inalienable to itself; If a tree could speak, it would say: *nák ráhunna*, 'my roots'; a person would say of the roots of a tree he owns: *nákkán káráp ráhulá*, 'my tree's roots'.

³¹ Faeces is inalienable; saying *nákkán kámun* (alienable) would mean 'my outhouse'.

³² The abdomen is inalienable unless it is used by extension to mean someone is pregnant (e.g., *Watán kawin átak*, 'She is pregnant'; or *Nákkán kawin átak*, (said by a man) 'She is pregnant by me.').

³³ The actual *pahán* 'insides' of a person is inalienable, but if you talk about a person's insides abstractly, then it is alienable (e.g., *Nákkán pahán káin naret*, 'I felt in my heart (Lit. my insides)').

³⁴ Note that *tun* 'body joint' is inalienable, while *tun* 'possum sp.' is alienable.

³⁵ A chicken talking about its own eggs, or a man talking about his testicles, would say: *nák tunggunna*, 'my eggs/testicles'; a person talking about the eggs he got from a wild fowl would

Nukna	Gloss	1SG.POSS	2SG.POSS	3SG.POSS
<i>yamun</i>	penis	<i>yamunna</i>	<i>yámula</i>	<i>yámulá</i>
<i>yáin</i>	head	<i>yáinna</i>	<i>yáila</i>	<i>yáilá</i>
<i>yukin</i>	hip	<i>yukinna</i>	<i>yukila</i>	<i>yukilá</i>
<i>náun</i>	husband	<i>náunna</i>	<i>náula</i>	<i>náulá</i>

TABLE A2.4. INALIENABLE NOUNS WHICH TAKE 3SG.POSS SUFFIX *-NÁ*

Nukna	Gloss	1SG.POSS	2SG.POSS	3SG.POSS
<i>káráman</i>	ear	<i>kárámanna</i>	<i>kárámanya</i>	<i>kárámánná</i>
<i>milun</i> ³⁶	lips	<i>milunna</i>	<i>milunya</i>	<i>milunná</i>
<i>pungan</i>	back of neck	<i>punganna</i>	<i>punganya</i>	<i>punganná</i>
<i>ulin</i>	vein/artery	<i>ulinna</i>	<i>ulinya</i>	<i>ulinná</i>
<i>nan</i>	father	<i>nanna</i>	<i>nanya</i>	<i>naning</i>

say: *nákkán silák tunggulá*, 'my wild fowl eggs'. In neither case could one say: *nákkán tunggun*.

³⁶ The mouth of a person is inalienable; saying *nákkán milun* would be in reference to words spoken by someone that someone else could take as a message.

Appendix 3: Nukna kinship terms

The following table contains an exhaustive summary of Nukna kinship terms. The right-most column, entitled ‘reciprocal term(s)’, lists all of the possible reciprocal kinship terms for each kinship term listed in the first column. For example, those who would call a particular woman *mam*, ‘mother’, would be referred to by that woman as either *nangge*, ‘son’, or *uriwa*, ‘daughter’, depending on their gender. Most kinship terms have just one or two reciprocal kinship terms, but *nangge* and *uriwa* have six possibilities. When two relatives refer to each other by the same kinship term (e.g., *málám*, *to*, *tahi*, etc.), this is indicated by the label ‘self-reciprocal’.

TABLE A3.1. NUKNA KINSHIP TERMS³⁷

Nukna	General meaning	Precise meaning with closest English equivalent		Reciprocal term(s)
<i>mam</i>	mother	M	mother	<i>nangge</i> ; <i>uriwa</i>
<i>nan</i>	father	F	father	<i>nangge</i> ; <i>uriwa</i>
<i>nangge</i>	son; also generic term for child; nephew (see also <i>urim</i> ; <i>tárip</i> ; <i>tahi</i>)	S BS wo man’s ZS WBS HBS WZS wo man’s cousin’s son	son nephew nephew nephew nephew nephew first cousin, once removed	<i>nan</i> ; <i>mam</i> ; <i>nandi</i> ; <i>nano</i> ; <i>manti</i> ; <i>mamo</i>
<i>uriwa</i>	daughter; niece (see also <i>urim</i> ; <i>tárip</i> ; <i>tahi</i>)	D wo man’s BD wo man’s ZD WBD HBD WZD wo man’s cousin’s daughter	daughter niece niece niece niece niece first cousin, once removed	<i>nan</i> ; <i>mam</i> ; <i>nandi</i> ; <i>nano</i> ; <i>manti</i> ; <i>mamo</i>

³⁷ The following abbreviations are used in this kinship table: M—mother; F—father; D—daughter; S—son; Z—sister; B—brother; GC—grandchild; GP—grandparent; W—wife; H—husband; O—older; Y—younger.

Nukna	General meaning	Precise meaning with closest English equivalent		Reciprocal term(s)
<i>sisi</i>	grandfather; grandfather-in-law; great uncle	grandfather spouse's grandfather GP's B great-GP's nephew man's GC (male or female)	grandfather grandfather-in-law great uncle first cousin, twice removed grandchild	<i>e</i> ; <i>sisi</i> (self-reciprocal)
<i>pawo</i>	grandmother; grandmother-in-law; great aunt	grandmother spouse's grandmother GP's Z woman's GC (male or female) great-GP's niece	grandmother grandmother-in-law great aunt grandchild first cousin, twice removed	<i>e</i> ; <i>pawo</i> (self-reciprocal)
<i>e</i>	grandchild; grandchild-in-law; grandniece; grandnephew	GC GC's spouse sibling's granddaughter sibling's grandson aunt or uncle's great-GC	grandchild grandchild-in-law grandniece grandnephew first cousin, twice removed	<i>sisi</i> ; <i>pawo</i>
<i>tat</i>	older brother; older sister; cousin from parent's older sibling (see also <i>nem</i> ; <i>málám</i>)	OB OZ parent's older sibling's child, except for same gender cross cousin	older brother older sister cousin	<i>kulak</i> ; <i>yit</i>
<i>kulak</i>	younger brother; male cousin from parent's younger sibling (see also <i>nem</i> ; <i>málám</i>)	YB parent's younger sibling's S, except for same gender cross cousin	younger brother male cousin	<i>tat</i>

Nukna	General meaning	Precise meaning with closest English equivalent		Reciprocal term(s)
<i>yit</i>	younger sister; female cousin from parent's younger sibling (see also <i>nem</i> ; <i>málám</i>)	YZ parent's younger sibling's D, except for same gender cross cousin	younger sister female cousin	<i>tat</i>
<i>nem(bo)</i>	same gender cross cousin	man's FZS man's MBS woman's FZD woman's MBD	cousin cousin cousin cousin	<i>nem</i> (self-reciprocal)
<i>málám</i>	opposite gender cousin or sibling (see also <i>tat</i> ; <i>kulak</i> ; <i>yit</i>)	man's female cousin woman's male cousin man's Z woman's B	cousin cousin sister brother	<i>málám</i> (self-reciprocal)
<i>nandi</i>	uncle who is parent's older sibling (see also <i>iya</i>)	FOB FOZH MOZH F's parent's older sibling's S	uncle uncle uncle first cousin, once removed	<i>nangge</i> ; <i>uriwa</i> ; <i>urim</i>
<i>nano</i>	uncle who is parent's younger sibling (see also <i>iya</i>)	FYB FYZH MYZH F's parent's younger sibling's son	uncle uncle uncle first cousin, once removed	<i>nangge</i> ; <i>uriwa</i> ; <i>urim</i>
<i>mami</i>	aunt who is parent's older sibling (see also <i>tahi</i>)	FOZ MOZ FOBW GP's older sibling's D	aunt aunt aunt first cousin, once removed	<i>nangge</i> ; <i>uriwa</i>
<i>mamo</i>	aunt who is parent's younger sibling (see also <i>tahi</i>)	FYZ MYZ FYBW GP's younger sibling's D	aunt aunt aunt first cousin, once removed	<i>nangge</i> ; <i>uriwa</i>
<i>urim</i>	man's brother's child (nephew or niece)	man's B's child man's male cousin's child	nephew or niece first cousin, once removed	<i>nandi</i> ; <i>nano</i>

Nukna	General meaning	Precise meaning with closest English equivalent		Reciprocal term(s)
<i>iya</i>	maternal uncle	MB M's male cousin	uncle first cousin, once removed	<i>tárip</i>
<i>tárip</i>	man's sister's child (nephew or niece)	man's Z's child man's female cousin's child	nephew or niece first cousin, once removed	<i>iya</i>
<i>tahi</i>	maternal uncle's wife; husband's sister's child	MBW HZ child	aunt nephew or niece	<i>tahi</i> (self-reciprocal)
<i>áwá</i>	wife	W	wife	<i>náun</i>
<i>náun</i>	husband	H	husband	<i>áwá</i>
<i>sáut</i>	great-grandfather; man's great-grandchildren	great-grandfather man's great-GC	great-grandfather great-grandchild	<i>sáut</i> (self-reciprocal)
<i>to</i>	great-grandmother; woman's great-grandchildren	great-grandmother woman's great-GC	great-grandmother great-grandchild	<i>to</i> (self-reciprocal)
<i>silum</i>	wife's mother	WM	mother-in-law	<i>kuwa</i>
<i>kuwa</i>	woman's daughter's husband	woman's DH	son-in-law	<i>silum</i>
<i>nambá</i>	son's wife; husband's parent	SW H's parent	daughter-in-law parent-in-law	<i>nambá</i> (self-reciprocal)
<i>ámna</i>	man's daughter's husband; wife's father	man's DH WF	son-in-law father-in-law	<i>ámna</i> (self-reciprocal)
<i>rámi</i>	sister-in-law; brother-in-law; cousin-in-law	man's BW man's WOZ woman's YZH man's cousin's wife (except for <i>mani</i> – FOBSW and MOZSW) woman's cousin's husband	sister-in-law sister-in-law brother-in-law cousin-in-law cousin-in-law	<i>rámi</i> (self-reciprocal) <i>páyok</i>

Nukna	General meaning	Precise meaning with closest English equivalent		Reciprocal term(s)
<i>mani</i>	sister-in-law; cousin-in-law	woman's BW woman's HZ woman's cousin's wife man's FOBSW man's MOZSW H's female cousin	sister-in-law sister-in-law cousin-in-law cousin-in-law cousin-in-law cousin-in-law	<i>mani</i> (self-reciprocal)
<i>páyok</i>	brother-in-law; sister-in-law; cousin-in-law	man's ZH woman's OZH man's WB man's WYZ man's cousin's H	brother-in-law brother-in-law brother-in-law sister-in-law cousin-in-law	<i>rámi</i> ; <i>páyok</i> (self-reciprocal)

Appendix 4: Kinship terms – pluralisation and collectives

See §3.3.3 for a discussion related to the data presented in this appendix

All kinship terms listed in this appendix are inalienable nouns which take obligatory possession, but that possession has been omitted here for simplicity's sake.

There are three basic strategies for pluralising kinship terms, with some combining of strategies. The first two strategies are as follows: 1) reduplication of the kinship term in part or in whole, and 2) addition of the prefix *ya-*. Additionally, some kinship terms employ both strategies 1 and 2. The above strategies are, for the most part, mutually exclusive, some being found with some kinship terms, while others are found with other kinship terms. Since these strategies are mutually exclusive, the kinship terms that use these are listed in just one column in Table A4.1, though they are grouped according to strategy.

The third strategy, adding *ilom*, is listed in the last column. Nine kinship terms can only be pluralised with this third strategy (i.e., they cannot take strategies 1 or 2), while six kinship terms cannot be pluralised by this third strategy – they must employ one of the first two strategies. Finally, seventeen kinship terms can be pluralised by both strategy 3 and either strategy 1 or 2.

When a kinship term cannot be modified by a particular strategy, this is indicated in the table by a dash. A few kinship terms can take either strategy 1, or both 1 and 2. These are indicated by placing *ya-* in parentheses.

TABLE A4.1. KINSHIP PLURALISATION STRATEGIES

Nukna	English³⁸	Strategy 1 - redup	Strategy 3 - ilom
<i>mam</i>	mother	<i>mamam</i>	<i>mam ilom</i>
<i>nan</i>	father	<i>nanan</i>	<i>nan ilom</i>
<i>áwá</i>	wife	<i>áwáwá</i>	<i>áwá ilom</i>
<i>náun</i>	husband	<i>nánáun</i>	<i>náun ilom</i>
		Strategy 2 – ya	
<i>uriwa</i>	daughter	<i>yáuriwa</i>	-
<i>pawo</i>	grandmother	<i>yapawo</i>	<i>pawo ilom</i>
<i>nem(bo)</i>	cousin	<i>yanembo</i>	<i>nem(bo) ilom</i>
<i>málám</i>	cousin	<i>yamálám</i>	<i>málám ilom</i>
<i>nandí</i>	uncle	<i>yanandí</i>	<i>nandí ilom</i>
<i>nano</i>	uncle	<i>yanano</i>	<i>nano ilom</i>
<i>mamti</i>	aunt	<i>yamamti</i>	<i>mamti ilom</i>
<i>mamo</i>	aunt	<i>yamamo</i>	<i>mamo ilom</i>
<i>tahi</i>	maternal uncle's wife	<i>yatahi</i>	<i>tahi ilom</i>
<i>silum</i>	mother-in-law	<i>yasilum</i>	-
<i>nambá</i>	daughter-in-law	<i>yanambá</i>	<i>nambá ilom</i>
<i>ámna</i>	father-in-law	<i>yámna</i>	<i>ámna ilom</i>
<i>mani</i>	sister-in-law	<i>yamani</i>	<i>mani ilom</i>
		Strategies 1 and 2	
<i>kulak</i>	younger brother	<i>yakukula(k)</i>	-
<i>urim</i>	nephew/niece	<i>yáumurim</i>	-
<i>tárip</i>	nephew/niece	<i>yatáptárip</i>	-
<i>páyok</i>	brother-in-law	<i>yapákpáyok</i>	<i>páyok ilom</i>
		Strategy 1 or strategies 1 and 2	
<i>nangge</i>	child, son	(<i>ya</i>) <i>nángxánangge</i> (<i>ya</i>) <i>nánánangge</i>	-
<i>nuk</i>	friend	(<i>ya</i>) <i>nuknuk</i>	<i>nuk ilom</i>
		None	
<i>sisi</i>	grandfather	-	<i>sisi ilom</i>
<i>e</i>	grandchild	-	<i>e ilom</i>
<i>tat</i>	older sibling	-	<i>tat ilom</i>
<i>yit</i>	younger sister	-	<i>yit ilom</i>
<i>iya</i>	maternal uncle	-	<i>iya ilom</i>
<i>sáut</i>	great-grandfather	-	<i>sáut ilom</i>

³⁸ These are simplified meanings—in many cases they are the closest basic English equivalent. For the extended and complete meanings of Nukna kinship terms, see Appendix 3.

Nukna	English	None	Strategy 3 - <i>ilom</i>
<i>to</i>	great-grandmother	-	<i>to ilom</i>
<i>kuwa</i>	son-in-law	-	<i>kuwa ilom</i>
<i>rámi</i>	sibling-in-law	-	<i>rámi ilom</i>

TABLE A4.2. COLLECTIVE KINSHIP TERMS

Nukna	English	Collective	Comment
<i>mam</i>	mother	-	
<i>nan</i>	father	-	
<i>nangge</i>	child, son	-	
<i>uriwa</i>	daughter	-	
<i>sisi</i>	grandfather	<i>nengsisin</i>	a person and his or her grandfather
<i>pawo</i>	grandmother	<i>nengpawon</i>	a person and his or her grandmother
<i>e</i>	grandchild	-	covered by <i>nengsisin</i> or <i>nengpawon</i>
<i>tat</i>	older sibling	-	
<i>kulak</i>	younger brother	-	
<i>yit</i>	younger sister	-	
<i>nem(bo)</i>	cousin	<i>nengnembon</i>	mutual cross cousins of the same gender
<i>málám</i>	cousin	<i>nengmálám</i>	mutual cousins of the opposite gender
<i>nandi</i>	uncle	<i>nengnandin</i>	a person and his or her uncle
<i>nano</i>	uncle	<i>nengnanon</i>	a person and his or her uncle
<i>mamti</i>	aunt	<i>nengmamtin</i>	a person and his or her aunt
<i>mamo</i>	aunt	<i>nengmamon</i>	a person and his or her aunt
<i>urim</i>	nephew/niece	-	covered by uncle/aunt reciprocal terms
<i>iya</i>	maternal uncle	<i>nengiyan</i>	a person and his or her maternal uncle
<i>tárip</i>	nephew/niece	-	covered by <i>nengiyan</i>
<i>tahi</i>	maternal uncle's wife	<i>nengtahin</i>	a person and his or her maternal uncle's wife
<i>áwá</i>	wife	<i>náunáwán</i>	a married couple
<i>náun</i>	husband	<i>náunáwán</i>	a married couple
<i>sáut</i>	great-grandfather	-	
<i>to</i>	great-grandmother	-	
<i>silum</i>	mother-in-law	<i>nengsilum</i>	a man and his mother-in-law
<i>kuwa</i>	son-in-law	-	covered by <i>nengsilum</i>
<i>nambá</i>	daughter-in-law	<i>nengnambán</i>	a woman and her parents-in-law
<i>áma</i>	father-in-law	<i>nengáman</i>	a man and his father-in-law
<i>rámi</i>	sibling-in-law	<i>nengrámin</i>	
<i>mani</i>	sister-in-law	<i>nengmamin</i>	
<i>páyok</i>	brother-in-law	<i>nengpáyok</i>	
<i>nuk</i>	friend	<i>nengnuk</i>	mutual friends

Appendix 5: Glossed written text

Nano Hunts a Pig

This story was written by Muransi Lingong in Hamelengan village in 2008.

- (1) *Pingnga náwu Apalap ámma Nano watán.*
 pingnga ná=wu Apalap ámma Nano wa=yan
 story this=TOP Apalap man Nano 3=GEN
 ‘This story is about Nano, the man from Apalap.’

- (2) *Nano wa=wu kárámaná tungá.*
 Nano wa=wu káráman-ná tungá
 Nano 3=TOP ear-3SG.POSS blocked.up
 ‘Nano is deaf.’

- (3) *Rám káman Nano málám itnáhára*
 rám káman Nano málám it-ná=hára
 time one Nano 3SG.EMPH house-3SG.POSS=LOC

átang kánangná kuin ingga
 át-tang kánang-ná ku-in ing=ya
 exist-SS.SEQ jungle-3SG.POSS go-1SG.IMP thus=DAT

naránga san áran, árong
 nará-nga sa-n át-án árong
 perceive-SS.SEQ leave-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ then

tewe kápik angná mantánga
 tewe kápik ang-ná mantá-nga
 bow.and.arrows knife dog-3SG.POSS call-SS.SEQ

hangga kuk.
 ha-nga ku-u-k.
 exit-SS.SEQ go-RP-3SG

‘One day, Nano was at his house, and he thought, “I should go to the jungle,” and then after that he (got) his bow and arrows and his knife, and he called his dogs, and he departed and went.’

- (4) *Málám kukngáyá kung umi kurat*
 málám ku-u-k=ná=yá ku-ng umi kurat
 3SG.EMPH go-RP-3SG=3SG.POSS=AGT go-SV water streambed
- káman hangga umi yawingga hákáp má*
 káman ha-ngga umi yawi-ngga hákáp má
 one climb.down-SS.SEQ water ford-SS.SEQ steep
- isikimo káman árángga árángga áráng*
 isikimo káman árá-ngga árá-ngga árá-ng
 small one climb.up-SS.SEQ climb.up-SS.SEQ climb.up-SV
- hiuk.*
 he-u-k
 arrive-RP-3SG
 ‘He went and after some time he went down into a watercourse and forded the stream and went up a small steep slope, and he went up and up and arrived (at the top).’
- (5) *Wahára átang ále kuiná káman*
 wa=hára át-tang ále kuiná káman
 3=LOC exist-SS.SEQ area non-mountainous one
- isutang honggatuk.*
 isut-tang ho-ngga át-tu-k
 follow.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ go.down-SS.SEQ exist-RP-3SG
 ‘From there he was following a relatively flat strip of land and going down.’
- (6) *Wahára honggatang kaukku*
 wa=hára ho-ngga át-tang ka-u-k=ku
 3=LOC go.down-SS.SEQ exist-SS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG=TOP
- ále wahárawu put páyombá rina kámá ingmen*
 ále wa=hára=wu put páyom=yá rina kámá ingmen
 area 3=LOC=TOP pig wild=AGT what some really
- pinangguk tá-ngga sat*
 pi-na-ng-ku-k tá-ngga sa-t
 dig-eat-SV-go-NMLS do-SS.SEQ leave-2/3PL.DS.SEQ

puthára re sengkátínggarán, ang
 put=hára re se-ngkátí-ngga át-án ang
 pig=LOC only look.at.fixedly-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ dog

Nano put isutang kurat káman
 Nano put isut-tang kurat káman
 Nano pig follow.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ streambed one

hauráng.

ha-u-ráng

climb.down-RP-2/3PL

‘Worried that he wouldn’t be able to see the dogs and they would go off, Nano was keeping his eyes fixed only on the dogs and the pig, and the dogs and Nano chased the pig and they climbed down into a watercourse.’

- (9) *Son áwáng kurat isuturáng.*
 son áwá-ng kurat isut-tu-ráng.
 again come-SV streambed follow.3SG.OBJ-RP-2/3PL
 ‘They came back again (towards the direction they had originally come from) and followed the streambed.’
- (10) *Kung putá porá isikimo káman hauk.*
 ku-ng put=yá porá isikimo káman ha-u-k
 go-SV pig=AGT cliff small one climb.down-RP-3SG
 ‘The pig went and climbed down a small cliff.’
- (11) *Nano ang kung waháranyon hauráng.*
 Nano ang ku-ng wa=hára=yon ha-u-ráng
 Nano dog go-SV 3=LOC=same climb.down-RP-2/3PL
 ‘Nano and the dogs went and also climbed down it.’

- (12) *Kulá putá áwáng hákápma árángga*
 kulá put=yá áwá-ng hákápma árá-ngga
 okay pig=A GT come-SV steep climb.up-SS.SEQ
kuk.
 ku-u-k
 go-RP-3SG
 ‘Okay then the pig came and climbed up a steep slope and it went on.’
- (13) *Nano ang áwáng hákápma áraráng.*
 Nano ang áwá-ng hákápma árá-u-ráng.
 Nano dog come-SV steep climb.up-RP-2/3PL
 ‘Nano and the dogs came and climbed up the steep slope.’
- (14) *Árángga hitáenákáin áráng*
 árá-ngga hitáená=káin árá-ng
 climb.up-SS.SEQ hill=ALL climb.up-SV
hiurángngáyá putá áwáng
 he-u-ráng=ná=yá put=yá áwá-ng
 arrive-RP-2/3PL=3SG.POSS=A GT pig=A GT come-SV
ot kátohára kuk.
 ot káto=hára ku-u-k.
 stinging.nettle strong=LOC go-RP-3SG
 ‘They climbed up (the slope), and they climbed up a hill and arrived (at the top), and then the pig went into a patch of strong stinging nettle.’
- (15) *Nano ang kung ot kátohára wanyon*
 Nano ang ku-ng ot káto=hára wanyon
 Nano dog go-SV stinging.nettle strong=LOC also
tinggaturáng.
 tí-ngga át-tu-ráng
 put-SS.SEQ exist-RP-2/3PL
 ‘Nano and the dogs went and also were going into the stinging nettle.’

- (16) *Kulá anggá put hála tát*
 kulá ang=yá put hála tát
 okay dog=AGT pig almost get.3SG.OBJ-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
- putá narán men áwáng káráp*
 put=yá nará-n men áwá-ng káráp
 pig=AGT perceive-3SG.DS.SEQ FRUS come-SV tree
- táwarená tárangkálu kun Nano ang*
 táwat-ená tárang=kálu ku-n Nano ang
 snap-PART underneath=DIR go-3SG.DS.SEQ Nano dog
- áwáng wakáluyon kuráng.*
 áwá-ng wa=kálu=yon ku-u-ráng
 come-SV 3=DIR=same go-RP-2/3PL
- ‘Okay then, the dogs almost caught the pig, and the pig was becoming tired, and it passed underneath a fallen tree, and Nano and the dogs came and went the same way.’
- (17) *Anggá kung put tánggarát*
 ang=yá ku-ng put tá-angga át-át
 dog=AGT go-SV pig get.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ exist-2/3PL.DS.SEQ
- Nanoyá kung wahára re háramá*
 Nano=yá ku-ng wa=hára re háram-ná
 Nano=AGT go-SV 3=LOC only leg-3SG.POSS
- hurán anggá sánggámut táuráng,*
 hut-án ang=yá sá-ng-kámut-Ø tá-u-ráng
 pull.out-3SG.DS.SEQ dog=AGT bite.3SG.OBJ-SV-die-SV do-RP-2/3PL
- náuta tewe sáutu erek kálukáin*
 náut=ya tewe sáut=ku erek kálu=káin
 what=DAT bow.and.arrows spear=TOP every.one path=ALL
- utang kátíng tátáwat táuk*
 ut-tang kátí-ng tá~táwat tá-u-k
 hit.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ strike-SV NMLS~snap do-RP-3SG

<i>háľendu</i>	<i>wata</i>	<i>teweyá</i>
háľe-n=ku	wa=ya	tewe=yá
become-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP	3=DAT	bow.and.arrows=INSTR

matárawuk.

ma=tárawá-u-k

NEG=shoot.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG

‘The dogs went and caught the pig, and Nano went and right there he pulled its legs out from under it, and the dogs bit it to death, because the bow and arrows and the spears had all hit the path and snapped, and as a result he did not shoot it with the bow and arrows.’³⁹

- (18) *Ketnáyá* *háramá* *hutuk.*
ket-ná=yá háram-ná hut-tu-k
hand-3SG.POSS=INSTR leg-3SG.POSS pull.out-RP-3SG
‘He pulled its legs out from under it with his hands.’
- (19) *Kulá* *wahára* *átang* *sekná* *naránga*
kulá wa=hára át-tang sek-ná nará-nga
okay 3=LOC exist-SS.SEQ rest-3SG.POSS perceive-SS.SEQ
- kásáng* *tuwet* *tánga* *kulá* *páup* *uyinga*
kásáng tuwet tá-nga kulá páup uyi-nga
betel.nut tobacco do-SS.SEQ okay vine pull-SS.SEQ
- táng* *put* *máran* *tingga,* *ting*
tá-ng put máran tí-nga tí-ng
get.3SG.OBJ-SV pig bundle put-SS.SEQ put-SV
- san* *arán* *sutnáya*
sa-n át-án sut-ná=ya
leave-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ body-3SG.POSS=DAT

³⁹ Nano was deaf and so he had to follow closely behind the dogs, wherever they went, or he would lose them. Because of this, the path he took was exceptionally rough, and as a result, all his spears and arrows were damaged.

naruku *láwit* *watá* *rina* *kámá* *hánám* *wa*
 nará-u-k=ku láwit wa=yá rina kámá hánám wa
 perceive-RP-3SG=TOP pain 3=AGT what some INTENS 3

árán, *náuta* *ámna* *málám* *wawu*
 át-án náut=ya ámna málám wa=wu
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ what=DAT man 3SG.EMPH 3=TOP

kárámaná *yongurená,* *hang* *mená* *muná*
 káráman-ná yongut-ená hang me-ná muná
 ear-3SG.POSS block.up-PART and.also talk-3SG.POSS no

wáina *háleudu* *anggá* *rina*
 wa=ina hále-n=ku ang=yá rina
 3=SML become-3SG.DS.SEQ=TOP dog=AGT how

kuráng *wáinanyon* *átningga* *sutná*
 ku-u-ráng wa=ina=yon átni-ngga sut-ná
 go-RP-2/3PL 3=SML=same travel.around-SS.SEQ body-3SG.POSS

táup *utuk.*
 táup ut-tu-k
 many hit.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG

‘Okay, he stayed there and rested, chewed betel nut and smoked, and, okay then, he got some vine and tied up the pig into a bundle, and after this he perceived that his body had all kinds of pain, because the man was deaf, and also he was mute, and because of this, wherever the dogs went, he had journeyed the same way and his body had taken a beating.’

- (20) *Sekngá* *kándáng* *narángga,* *árong* *put* *máran* *wa*
 sek-ná kándáng nará-ngga árong put máran wa
 rest-3SG.POSS correct perceive-SS.SEQ then pig bundle 3

táukngáyá *itná* *yare*
 tá-u-k=ná=yá it-ná yare
 get.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG=3SG.POSS=AGT village-3SG.POSS directly

<i>kungga</i>	<i>áwá</i>	<i>nangge</i>	<i>kápánga</i>	<i>songgoyáni</i>
ku-SS.SEQ	áwá	nangge	kápá-nga	songgo- yáni
go-SS.SEQ	wife	child	see.3NSG.OBJ-SS.SEQ	meat-3PL.POSS

wa *sinauráng.*

wa *si-na-u-ráng*

3 cook-eat-RP-2/3PL

‘He rested until he felt better, and then he got the bundled-up pig, and then he went directly to his village and saw his wife and child(ren) and they cooked and ate their meat.’

Appendix 6: Glossed oral text

A Young Woman Trespasses on the Men's Sacred Ground

This story was told by Mawi Hone in Hamelengan village in 2011.

- (1) *Uláp it káman átang ámna náráwa*
 uláp it káman át-tang ámna náráwa
 before village one exist-SS.SEQ man woman
- nenggimo yará iháng kehán*
 nenggimo yará ihá-ng kehá-n
 youth two get.3NSG.OBJ-SV get.2SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ
- táng yámáng sat árán,*
 tá-ng yá-má-ng sa-t át-án
 do-SV 3NSG.OBJ-BEN-SV leave-2/3PL.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
- ámna watá náráwa wa emá máto*
 ámna wa=yá náráwa wa emá máto
 man 3=AGT woman 3 INCMPL childless
- engot kung itnákáin*
 engot-Ø ku-ng it-ná=káin
 escort.3SG.OBJ-SV go-SV house-3SG.POSS=ALL
- san árán, ámna*
 sa-n át-án ámna
 leave.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ man
- málám punggukáin kuk.*
 málám pingu=káin ku-u-k.
 3SG.EMPH sacred.men's.house=ALL go-RP-3SG
 'Before, there was a village, and two young people were given in marriage to each other, and after this the man brought the woman

while she was still childless to his house, and he left her there and the man went to sacred men's house.⁴⁰

- (2) *Pinggukáin* *kuk* *wawu* *kung* *wakáin*
pinggu=káin ku-u-k wa=wu ku-ng wa=káin
sacred.men's.house=ALL go-RP-3SG 3=TOP go-SV 3=ALL
- átang* *kap* *mantánggiuk* *wawu*
át-tang kap mantá-ng-kiu-k wa=wu
exist-SS.SEQ song sing-SV-IMPF.RP-3SG 3=TOP
- áwánáwu* *itnákáin* *átang*
áwá-ná=wu it-ná=káin át-tang
wife-3SG.POSS=TOP house-3SG.POSS=ALL exist-SS.SEQ
- salá* *wa* *naránga* *naránga*
san-lá wa nará-nga nará-nga
voice-3SG.POSS 3 perceive-SS.SEQ perceive-SS.SEQ
- naránga* *itang* *itang* *itang*
nará-nga it-tang it-tang it-tang
perceive-SS.SEQ exist-SS.SEQ exist-SS.SEQ exist-SS.SEQ
- 'Náuna* *náwu* *rinahára* *áwán*
náun-na ná=wu rina=hára áwá-n
husband-1SG.POSS this=TOP when=LOC come-3SG.DS.SEQ
- kainet?'* *ingga* *hálenggairán*
ka-ine-t ing=ya hále-nga it-án
see.3SG.OBJ-FUT-1SG thus=DAT wait-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
- irán* *irán* *málám* *árong*
it-án it-án málám árong
exist-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ 3SG.EMPH then

⁴⁰ Newlyweds often do not live with each other for months or even years after they are married if the man has not yet built a suitable house, so a fair amount of time may have passed between their marriage and when he brought her to his house. Also, note that the sacred men's house was outside the village, about 10-15 minutes' walk away.

<i>párengngá</i>	<i>hátetná</i>	<i>tawáng</i>
páreng-ná	hátetná	tawá-ng
grass.skirt-3SG.POSS	short	fasten.clothes-SV

<i>san</i>	<i>árán</i>	<i>yákgá</i>	<i>haknga</i>
sa-n	át-án	yák-ná	haknga
leave-3SG.DS.SEQ	exist-3SG.DS.SEQ	string.bag-3SG.POSS	white

<i>mirak</i>	<i>káman</i>	<i>táng</i>	<i>san</i>
mirak	káman	tá-ng	sa-n
new	one	get.3SG.OBJ-SV	leave-3SG.DS.SEQ

<i>árán</i>	<i>pinggukáin</i>	<i>kuk.</i>
át-án	pinggu=káin	ku-u-k
exist-3SG.DS.SEQ	sacred.men's.house=ALL	go-RP-3SG

'His going to the sacred men's house was like this: He went and stayed there and he habitually sang, and this singing—his wife was at her house and she heard his voice, and she was hearing it and hearing it and hearing it, and was waiting for him while wondering, "When will this husband of mine come so I can see him?", and she was waiting and waiting and waiting, and then she fastened on her short grass skirt, and after that she got her new white string bag, and after that she went to the sacred men's house.'

- (3) *Pinggukáin* *kukngáyá* *kung*
 pinggu=káin ku-u-k=ná=yá ku-ng
 sacred.men's.house=ALL go-RP-3SG=3SG.POSS=AGT go-SV

<i>yanggit</i>	<i>hulákáin</i>	<i>kilak</i>	<i>átkiuk.</i>
yanggit	hulá=káin	kilak	át-kiu-k.
hunting.blind	base=ALL	hiddenness	exist-IMPF.RP-3SG

'She went to the sacred men's house, and she went and hid herself at the base of a hunting blind.'

- (4) *Kilak* *átang* *kaukngáku*
 kilak át-tang ka-u-k-ná=ku
 hiddenness exist-SS.SEQ see.3SG.OBJ-RP-3SG-3SG.POSS=TOP

<i>náuláyá</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>utang</i>
náun-lá=yá	kap	ut-tang
husband-3SG.POSS=AGT	song	hit.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ

<i>áwánggarán,</i>		<i>kanggairán</i>
áwá-ngga	át-án	ka-ngga
come-SS.SEQ	exist-3SG.DS.SEQ	see.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ

	<i>áwánga</i>	<i>áwánga</i>
it-án	áwá-ngga	áwá-ngga
exist-3SG.DS.SEQ	come-SS.SEQ	come-SS.SEQ

<i>áwánga</i>	<i>rupmá</i>		<i>tangtang</i>	<i>áwáng</i>
áwá-ngga	rup-ná		tangtang	áwá-ng
come-SS.SEQ	personal.space-3SG.POSS		near	come-SV

<i>hen</i>	<i>hiring</i>	<i>táuk</i>	<i>wawu</i>	<i>kung</i>
he-n	hiring	tá-u-k	wa=wu	ku-ng
arrive-3SG.DS.SEQ	jump	do-RP-3SG	3=TOP	go-SV

<i>hitnáhára</i>	<i>tuhánggatak.</i>
hit-ná=hára	tuhá-ngga
shoulder-3SG.POSS=LOC	exist-RP-3SG

‘She was hidden and she saw her husband singing and dancing and coming (towards her), and she was watching him, and he came and came and came, and he arrived right up close to her, and she jumped out, and this jump, it was like this—she went and was hanging on his shoulder.’

- (5) *Hitnáhára* *tuhán* *náulá*
 hit-ná=hára tuhá-n náun-lá
 shoulder-3SG.POSS=LOC hang-3SG.DS.SEQ husband-3SG.POSS

<i>narukngáku</i>	<i>mukngá</i>	<i>kuro</i>	<i>watá</i>
nará-u-k-ná=ku	muk-ná	kuro	wa=yá
perceive-RP-3SG-3SG.POSS=TOP	breast-3SG.POSS	nipple	3=AGT

<i>hang</i>	<i>álálakkáin</i>
ha-ng	álálak=káin
fall.down-SV	armpit=ALL

tánggan

tá-ng-ka-n

get.3SG.OBJ-SV-see.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ

<i>kot</i>	<i>mán,</i>		' <i>O</i>	<i>náwu</i>
kot-Ø	má-n		o	ná=wu
cry-SV	BEN.3SG.OBJ-3SG.DS.SEQ		oh	this=TOP

áwánayá *áwek.'*

áwá-na=yá áwá-e-k

wife-1SG.POSS=AGT come-PRES-3SG

'She hung on his shoulder, and her husband felt the nipple of her breast go down and touch his armpit, and he cried for her, saying, "Oh, this is my wife who has come."⁴¹

- (6) *Wáina* *mengga* *san* *árán*
 wa=ina me-ngga sa-n át-án
 3=SML say-SS.SEQ leave-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ

árong *kapmá* *mantáuk.*

árong kap-ná mantá-u-k

then song-3SG.POSS sing-RP-3SG

'He said that, and after that, then he sang a song for her.'

- (7) '*Nátiku* *sansan* *kulaku* *sansan*
 náti=ku sansan kula=ku sansan
 1DU.EMPH=TOP separation today=TOP separation

nátiku *sansan* *kulaku* *sansan.'*

náti=ku sansan kula=ku sansan

1DU.EMPH=TOP separation today=TOP separation

'"We two are separated, today separated. We two are separated, today separated."⁴²

⁴¹ She was hanging from his shoulder from behind, and so he did not know who it was. As soon as he felt the nipple touching him, he knew it was a woman and realised it was his wife. Also note that he cried for her because coming to the men's sacred ground was forbidden, and he knew she would have to be punished.

⁴² These are the words of the husband's song. In the oral narrative, they are actually sung.

<i>pinghálit</i>		<i>kulá</i>	<i>páyokyáni</i>	<i>wawu</i>
pì-ng-háli-t		kulá	páyok-yáni	wa=wu
dig-SV-CMPL-2/3PL.DS.SEQ	okay	in.law-3PL.POSS		3=TOP

<i>áwána</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>hitnáhára</i>	<i>wána</i>
áwá-ná	wa	hit-ná=hára	wa=ina
wife-3SG.POSS	3	shoulder-3SG.POSS=LOC	3=SML

<i>re</i>	<i>arán</i>	<i>tuhánggarán</i>
re	át-án	tuhá-ngga át-án
only	exist-3SG.DS.SEQ	hang-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ

<i>kap</i>	<i>mantánnga</i>	<i>kukngáyá</i>	<i>kungga</i>
kap	mantá-ngga	ku-u-k=ná=yá	ku-ngga
song	sing-SS.SEQ	go-RP-3SG=3SG.POSS=AGT	go-SS.SEQ

<i>árám</i>	<i>máta</i>	<i>kang</i>	<i>áwálák</i>	<i>tánnga</i>
árám	máta	ka-ng	áwálák	tá-ngga
hole	mouth	see.3SG.OBJ-SV	circle.around	do-SS.SEQ

<i>kap</i>	<i>mantánnga</i>	<i>kuk.</i>
kap	mantá-ngga	ku-u-k
song	sing-SS.SEQ	go-RP-3SG

‘After they heard it, they said, “His wife has come and he is singing her this song.” They said this and after that they came, and some were digging a hole, and then they left off digging it, and others went down and they were taking turns digging it, and they dug and dug and dug, and they completely dug the entire hole, and after that...they completely dug it, and, okay then, their brother-in-law with his wife hanging on his shoulder, just like that, he was singing and he was coming, and he saw the mouth of the hole and he circled the hole and sang and went.’

- (10) *Ten ten ten sopoya waranggu ya ten ten ten...*
 ten ten ten sopo=ya waranggu ya ten ten ten
 - - - k.o.spear=DAT - - - -

(The meanings of most of the words in this song are unknown to native speakers.)

- (11) *Kapmá mantáuk.*
 kap-ná mantá-u-k
 song-3SG.POSS sing-RP-3SG
 ‘He sang the song.’
- (12) *Kapmá mantánga áram máta wa áwálák*
 kap-ná mantá-ngga áram máta wa áwálák
 song-3SG.POSS sing-SS.SEQ hole mouth 3 circle.around
- tánga áran áran áran*
 tá-ngga át-án át-án át-án
 do-SS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ
- áran áran kulá*
 át-án át-án kulá
 exist-3SG.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ okay
- málámilommáyá áwuráng.*
 málám-ilo m-ná=yá áwá-u-ráng
 opposite.sex.cousin-PL-3SG.POSS=AGT come-RP-2/3PL
 ‘He was singing the song and circling the mouth of the hole, singing and circling, singing and circling, on and on; and okay then, her cousins came.’
- (13) *Tewe ihánga áwuráng watá*
 tewe ihá-ngga áwá-u-ráng wa=yá
 bow.and.arrows get.3NSG.OBJ-SS.SEQ come-RP-2/3PL 3=AGT
- áwáng sopo tái watá pánápmáhára*
 áwá-ng sopo tái wa=yá pánáp-ná=hára
 come-SV k.o.spear ATT 3=INSTR side-3SG.POSS=LOC
- tárawát kámutang náulá*
 tárawá-t kámut-tang náun-lá
 shoot.3SG.OBJ-2/3PL.DS.SEQ die-SS.SEQ husband-3SG.POSS
- hitná sangga kung áram*
 hit-ná sa-ngga ku-ng árám
 shoulder-3SG.POSS release.3SG.OBJ-SS.SEQ go-SV hole

kinan han árong usuráng.
 kinan ha-n árong usá-u-ráng
 inside fall-3SG.DS.SEQ then cover-RP-2/3PL

'They got bows and arrows and they came, and then they shot her in the side with a *sopo* spear and she died, and she let go of her husband's shoulder and she fell down inside the hole, and then they buried her.'

- (14) *Usánga sat warán árong áram*
 usá-ngga sa-t wat-án árong áram
 cover-SS.SEQ leave-2/3PL.DS.SEQ exist-3SG.DS.SEQ then hole

máta yáreng yakyawák tánggaku sauráng.
 máta yáre-ng yak yawák tá-ngga=ku sa-u-ráng
 mouth step-SV rubbing.out do-SS.SEQ=TOP leave-RP-2/3PL
 'They buried her and after that, then they rubbed out all signs of the hole with their feet, and then they left.'

- (15) *Wáina.*
 wa=ina
 3=SML
 'It was like that.'

- (16) *Pingnga áwánga wahára wáina sálikngek.*
 pingnga áwá-ngga wa=hára wa=ina sálikngi-e-k
 story come-SS.SEQ 3=LOC 3=SML finish-PRES-3SG
 'The story comes and there like that it finishes.'

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2006. Serial verb constructions in typological perspective. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R.M.W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial verb constructions: a cross-linguistic typology*, 1–68. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2008. *The Manambu language of East Sepik, Papua New Guinea*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, Neil and Martha Wade. 1988. Ergativity and control in Foloqa. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 19: 1–16.
- Claassen, Oren R., and Kenneth A. McElhanon. 1970. Languages of the Finisterre Range—New Guinea. In Stephen A. Wurm (ed.), *Papers in New Guinea linguistics*, vol. 11, 45–78. (Pacific Linguistics A 23.) Canberra: Australian National University.
- Fabian, Grace, Edmund Fabian and Bruce Waters. 1998. *Morphology, syntax and cohesion in Nabak, Papua New Guinea*. (Pacific Linguistics C 144.) Canberra: Australian National University.
- Foley, William A. 1986. *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foster, F.M. 1972. *Essentials for translation, grammar data, Timbe language*. Unpublished ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.
- Lauver, Doug and Urs Wegmann. 1990. Yau grammar essentials. Unpublished ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.
- Lewis, M. Paul, and Gary F. Simons. 2010. Assessing endangerment: expanding Fishman's GIDS. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 55 (2): 103-120.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. 18th edn. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

- Linnasalo, Katri. 2003. *Nek Phonology Essentials*, Unpublished ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.
- McElhanon, Kenneth A. 1970. *The Selepet language within the Finisterre-Huon phylum (New Guinea)*. Canberra: Australian National University PhD thesis.
- McElhanon, Kenneth A. 1978. *Classification of the languages of the Morobe Province*. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- Pennington, Ryan. 2013. *Ma Manda phonology*. MA thesis, Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics.
- Quigley, Susan R. 2002. *Awara Verbal System*. M.A. Thesis. University of North Dakota.
- Reed, Wes. 1989. *Yupna grammar essentials*. Unpublished ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.
- Rueck, Michael, et al. 2003. *Nukna language survey report*. Unpublished ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.
- Sarvasy, Hannah. 2015. *A grammar of Nungon, a Papuan language of Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea*. Cairns, Australia: James Cook University dissertation.
- Southwell, Neville and Gwyneth Southwell. 1971. *Komba essentials for translation, Part 1—Grammar Section*. Unpublished ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.
- Taylor, Matthew. 2006. *Nukna Alphabet Design Workshop Report*. Unpublished ms. Ukarumpa: SIL.
- Van Zanten, Ellen, and Rob Goedemans. 2007. *A Functional Typology of Austronesian and Papuan Stress Systems*. In *Prosody in Indonesian Languages*, edited by Vincent J. van Heuven and Ellen van Zanten, 63–88. LOT Occasional Series 9. The Netherlands: Utrecht University.

Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages: Volumes 1–61

Paper copies of the Data Papers can be ordered from lr-acpub@sil.org.pg, but volumes marked with * are out of print. Most of these materials are now available online at the following address:

<http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/index.asp>

(Volumes 1-31 were titled *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages*.)

Volume	Year	Title of Volume, Languages, and Authors
*1	1973	<i>Three Studies in Sentence Structure</i> (Maring by L. B. Woodward; <i>Abulas</i> by Patricia R. Wilson; <i>Au</i> by David Scorza)
*2	1973	<i>Phonologies of Three Languages of PNG</i> (<i>Biangai</i> by Raymond and Marjorie Dubert; <i>Nii</i> by Al and Dellene Stucky; <i>Yessan-Mayo</i> by Velma Foreman and Helen Marten)
*3	1974	<i>Three Studies in Languages of Eastern Papua</i> (<i>Korafe</i> by Jim and Cindi Farr; <i>Louisiade Archipelago</i> by Jim and Anne Henderson; <i>Iduna</i> by Joyce Hockett)
*4	1974	<i>Phonologies of Four PNG Languages</i> (<i>Baining</i> by Jim and Diana Parker; <i>Urii</i> by Tom Webb; <i>Boiken</i> by Allen and Marlene Freudenberg; <i>Dadibi</i> by George and Georgetta MacDonald)
*5	1974	<i>Golin Grammar</i> by Gordon Bunn
*6	1974	<i>Grammatical Studies in Three Languages of PNG</i> (<i>Washkuk</i> by Ormeal Kooyers; <i>Agarabi</i> by Jean Goddard; <i>Kobon</i> by Marcus and May Dawson)
*7	1974	<i>Studies in Languages of the Ok Family</i> (<i>Mianmin</i> by Jean Smith and Pam Weston; <i>Faiwol</i> by Charlotte Mecklenburg; <i>Telefol</i> by Alan Healy)
*8	1974	<i>Suena Grammar</i> by Darryl Wilson
*9	1975	<i>Abau Language Phonology and Grammar</i> by D. A. Bailey
*10	1976	<i>Higher Level Studies of Two Related Highlands Languages</i> (<i>Agarabi</i> by Jean Goddard; <i>Gadsup</i> by Chester Frantz)
*11	1975	<i>Studies on Literacy and Education (PNG Language and Literature Directory)</i> by Joice Franklin; <i>Bilingual Education</i> by Joy McCarthy; <i>Language Learning Games</i> by Rosemary Young)
*12	1975	<i>Papers in Five Austronesian Languages</i> (<i>Kirivina Idioms</i> by John C. Noel; <i>Tolai Comments</i> by Karl J. Franklin; <i>Dobu Text Analysis</i> by David Lithgow; <i>Banoni Orthography</i> by Peter C. Lincoln; <i>Iamalele Clauses</i> by John and Margaret Beaumont)

- *13 1975 *Phonologies of Five Austronesian Languages* (Tinputz by Roman and Carolyn Hostetler; Petats by Jerry Allen and Matthew Beaso; Patep by Karen Adams and Linda Lauck; Kela by Ken and Margaret Collier; Sursurunga by Don and Sharon Hutchisson)
- *14 1975 *Comparative Wordlists 1.* (Gulf District by Karl J. Franklin and John Z'graggen; Admiralty Islands by W. E. Smythe and John Z'graggen)
- 15 1976 *Grammatical Studies* (Suena by Darryl Wilson; Iduna by Joyce Hockett)
- *16 1976 *Surveys in Five PNG Languages* (Eastern Trans Fly by Lillian Fleischmann and Sinikka Turpeinen; Ambulas by Patricia Wilson; Boiken by Allen Freudenberg; Schraeder Ranges by John Tonson; English-Wasembo Vocabulary by Kenneth McElhanon and Sigkepe Sogum)
- 17 1976 *Grammatical Studies in Patep* by Linda M. Lauck and Karen L. Adams
- 18 1976 *Student Research Papers in Literacy and Education* (articles by Yvonne Genat, Bruce A. Hooley, Gay Brown and Chester S. Street)
- 19 1977 *Phonologies of Five PNG Languages* (Orokaiva by Robert and Marlys Larsen; Yil by Mary Martens and Salmė Tuominen; Ningil by Margaret Manning and Naomi Sagggers; Dobu by Daphne Lithgow; Samo by R. Daniel and Karen A. Shaw)
- *20 1977 *Proceedings of the SIL Consultants Seminar, Ukarumpa 1976* (25 short articles)
- 21 1977 *Language Variation and Survey Techniques* (16 articles)
- *22 1977 *Miscellaneous Papers in PNG Linguistics* (Mianim by Jean Smith and Pam Weston; Selepet by Ken McElhanon; Oksapmin by Marshall Lawrence; Bine by Lillian Fleischmann and Sinikka Turpeinen)
- 23 1978 *Grammatical Studies in Kunimaipa Morphophonemics to Discourse* by Elaine Geary
- *24 1978 *Language Planning and Grammatical Typologies* by Robert Litteral, Robert J. Conrad and Elizabeth Murane
- 25 1979 *Miscellaneous Papers on Dobu and Arapesh* (articles by David Lithgow, Robert J. Conrad and Joshua Lukas)
- *26 1980 *Ambulas Grammar* by Patricia R. Wilson
- 27 1980 *Grammatical Studies* (Fasu by Eunice Loeweke and Jean May; Mt Koiali by Susan Garland)
- 28 1980 *Reports of Vernacular Literacy Programs*, edited by Mary Stringer and Joice Franklin

- 29 1981 *Sociolinguistic Surveys of Sepik Languages* (Wom by Barry and Bonnie Moeckel; Kombio by Nate and Judi Baker; Mehek and Siliput by Robert D. Bugenhagen; Heyo, Pahi and Mayo Pasi by Ian Hutchinson; Beli, Yahang and Laeko Lingaut by Gregory Cooper; Namie by Ronald and Doris Jane Pappenhagen; Busa and Nagatman by Glenn Graham, Pagi and Kilmeri by Robert Brown; Abau by William H. Martin III)
- 30 1982 *Orokaiva Language Lessons and Grammar Notes* by Robert and Marlys Larsen
- 31 1985 *Five Phonological Studies* (Maiani, Miami, Mala and Maia by Jean May and Eunice Loeweke; Burum by Soini Olkkonen; Hewa by Paul W. Vollrath; Saniyo Hiyewe by Jenny Hepburn; Urim by Pirkko Luoma)
- 32 1987 *Halia Grammar* by Jerry and Jan Allen
- 33 1987 *Studies in Melanesian Orthographies*, edited by John M. Clifton (*Kope* by John M. Clifton; *Mufan* by Robert and Jo Ann Conrad, *Gahuku* by Ellis W. Deibler; *Kire* by David Pryor; *Angave* by Richard Speece; *Karkar Yuri* by Dorothy Price; *Kamasau* by Arden and Joy Sanders, *Orthography Issues in New Caledonia* by Stephen J. Schooling; *Practical Spelling* by David and Daphne Lithgow; *Madak* by Robert Lee; *Patep* by Linda Lauck Vissering)
- 34 1986 *Manam Teaching Grammar* by Blaine Turner
- 35 1989 *Bound and Minor Words in Baruya* by Richard Lloyd
- 36 1989 *Studies in Componential Analysis*, edited by Karl Franklin (*Kalo* by Ali Laeka; *Dobu* by Gail Edoni; *Kara* by Ginny Schlie; *Mauwake* by Kwan Poh San; *Miniafia* by David C. Wakefield; *Kara* by Perry Schlie; *Folopa* by Neil Anderson)
- *37 1989 *Two Grammatical Studies*, edited by John R. Roberts (*Tungak* by Lesley Fast; *Nend* by Kyle Harris)
- 38 1991 *Reference Grammar of the Karo/Rawa Language* by Norma R. and Donald F. Toland
- 39 1992 *Namia and Amanab Grammar Essentials*, edited by John R. Roberts (*Namia* by Tom and Becky Feldpausch; *Amanab* by Andy Minch)
- *40 1993 *Phonologies of Austronesian Languages No.2*, edited by John M. Clifton (*Misiman* by Bill Callister; *Sio* by Dawn Soetenga Clark; *Mengen* by Daniel D. Rath; *Kara* by Perry and Ginny Schlie; *Patep* by Linda Lauck Vissering)
- 41 1994 *Phonology and Grammar of Nankina* by Craig and Pat Spaulding
- *42 1996 *Two Non-Austronesian Grammars from the Islands*, edited by John M. Clifton (*Kuot* by Chul-Hwa Chung and Kyung-Ja Chung; *Sulka* by Doug Tharp)

- 43 1998 *Orthography and Phonology Database: Islands and Momase Regions*, compiled by Ritva Hemmilä (*Ambulas, Amele, Boiken, Botn, Buin, Bukawa, Bukiyip, Central Buang, Gende, Guhu Samane, Halia, Kalam, Kobon, Kube, Kunimaipa, Kwanga, Lote, Manam, Menya, Mufian, Nahu, Nehan, Oksapmin, Olo, Patpatar, Ramoaina, Selepet, Sissano, Sursurunga, Timbe, Tolai, Tungag, Urat, Vitu, Wantoat, Waskia, Yupna*)
- *44 1999 *Orthography and Phonology Database: Highlands and Papuan Regions*, compiled by Ritva Hemmilä (*Agarabi, Alekano, Chuave, Dadibi, Dobu, Enga, Ewage, Folopa, Fore, Fuyuge, Gadsup, Gimi, Golin, Huli, Kafe, Kamano-Kafe, Kanite, Kapau, Kewa, Kiriwina, Kiwai, Koriki, Kuman, Managalasi, Maring, Mekeo, Melpa, Misima, Motu, Narak, Nii, Orokaiva, Orokolo, Pawaia, Siane, Sinaugoro, Tairora, Tawala, Toaripi, Umbu-Ungu, Upper Asaro, Wahgi, Wiru, Yagaria*)
- *45 2000 *Sociolinguistics and Literacy Studies: Highlands and Islands*, edited by John Brownie (*Lembena* by Paul Heineman; *Pinai-Hagahai* by Markus Melliger; *Bariai* by Steve and Carol Jean Gallagher)
- *46 2000 *Sociolinguistics and Literacy Studies: South-West, Sepik and Morobe*, edited by John Brownie (*Kaluli* by Andy and Sylvia Grosh; *Konai* by Sören and Britten Årsjö; *Pouye* by Steve Ferree; *Hote* by John and Amy Lindstrom)
- 47 2005 *Phonological Descriptions of PNG Languages*, edited by Steve Parker (*Baruga [Tafota]* by James and Cynthia Farr; *Kuman* by Daryl and Mary Pfantz; *Mato* by Scot and Cherie Stober; *North Wahgi [Yu We]* by Don and Heather Mc Clean, *Sam [Songum, Songumsam]* by Dave and Sarah Troolin; *Seimat [Ninigo]* by Theresa Wilson and Beata Wozna; *Kaluli* by Sylvia and Andy Grosh; *Koluwawa* by Brad and Toni Guderian; *Wuvulu-Aua* by James A. Hafford; *Arop-Lokepby* Jeff D'Jernes and Mary Raymond; *Gizrra* by Nico and Elly van Bodegraven; *Konai [Kalai]* by Sören and Britten Årsjö; *Migabac* by Steve McEvoy; *Pinai-Hagahai* by Markus Melliger)
- 48 2005 *Seimat Grammar Essentials* by Beata Wozna and Theresa Wilson
- 49 2005 *Bariai Grammar Sketch* by Steve Gallagher and Peirce Baehr
- 50 2005 *Siar-Lak Grammar Essentials* by Karen Rowe
- 51 2006 *Vitu Grammar Sketch* by René van den Berg and Peter Bacht
- 52 2007 *Mussau Grammar Essentials* by John and Marjo Brownie
- 53 2007 *Fuyug Grammar Sketch* by Robert L. Bradshaw
- 54 2008 *Lote Grammar Sketch* by Greg Pearson with René van den Berg
- 55 2008 *Kwomtari Phonology and Grammar Essentials*, edited by Murray Honsberger, Carol Honsberger and Ian Tupper (*Phonology Essentials of Kwomtari* by Julia Drew; *Kwomtari Grammar Essentials* by Katharine Spencer)

56	2009	<i>Iyo Grammar Sketch</i> by Paul Minter
57	2011	<i>Abau Grammar</i> by Arnold (Arjen) Hugo Lock
58	2012	<i>Doromu-Koki Grammar Sketch</i> by Robert L. Bradshaw
59	2013	<i>Mato Grammar Sketch</i> by Scot F. Stober
60	2014	<i>Participant Referencing in Gumawana Narrative</i> by Clif Olson
61	2015	<i>Nukna Grammar Sketch</i> by Matthew A. Taylor