KOSENA GRAMMAR

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November, 1974.

Ma 499.1269 KZE

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Kosena Grammar

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1 INTRODUCTION

Auyana-Kosena is spoken by 6,500 people of the Eastern Highlands District of Papua New Guinea. It is a member of the Gadsup-Auyana-Awa-Tairora language family. The data used in this paper is from the Kosena dialect.

The purpose of this paper is to record my understanding of the grammar of Kosena at this point in time. This is the first draft of the paper. In some sections more examples than may be necessary have been recorded. Morphemes, stems, words, phrases and Clauses are described. Sentence, Paragraph and Discourse levels have been described in a separate paper.

1.1 Orthography

There are five vowels

```
i, e, o, u and A (a symbolizes A)
```

e, o and ^ may be lengthened

There are twelve single consonants

- p symbolizes initial p and medial p:
- t symbolizes intial t and medial t:
- k symbolizes initial k and medial k:

- symbolizes glottal stop
- symbolizes r and 1
- symbolizes f and b
- n symbolizes n and n

nk

There are thirteen consontant clusters

mр mb kw nkw 'n nt nd¹ m

ng g₩ ngw 1 W symbolized by ' for high tone and low tone is unmarked. Tone is

1.2 Symbols

- : filled by
- = consists of
- + obligatory item
- + optional item
- / without space between words, means portmanteau morpheme, complex morpheme with more than one meaning
- either one item or other may occur
 - preceding a form, is suffix
 - between forms is morpheme break
 - following a form, is prefix
 - () items between such brackets considered a unit
 - $\langle \hspace{0.1cm}
 angle$ item inside brachets represents class of morphemes
 - -> rewrite as
 - Ø zero morpheme

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1.3 Abbreviations

| | | | the second of th |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| acc | accompaniment | dem | demonstrative |
| Acc | Accompaniment Tagmeme | Dem NP | Demonstrative Noun |
| acq | acquisition | | Phrase |
| acq n | acquisition noun | dem s | demonstrative stem |
| Acq | Acquisition Allotagma | desc | descriptive |
| ani | animate | desc s | descriptive stem |
| ani dem | animate demonstrative | Desc NP | Descriptive Noun Phrase |
| ani n | animate noun | desig | designatory |
| antic soj | anticipatory subject | desid | desiderative |
| App NP | Appositional | dim | diminutive |
| | Noun Phrase | dir | directional |
| asp | aspect | dist past | distant past |
| assert | assertative | ds | different subject |
| | | DS - | Different Subject Clause |
| benef | benefactive | dsv | different subject verb |
| | | | |
| C | consonant | Eq C1 | Equative Clause |
| C1 « | Clause | | |
| col numb | collective number | fut | future |
| Com | Comment Tagmeme | • | |
| Com mker | Comment Tagmeme | G | Glottal class |
| | marker | gen | general |
| comp | completive | imp Imp | imperative Imperative |
| conc | Concession | ina | inanimate |
| cont | continuative | ind | indicative |
| Cont Act VP | Continued Action Verb Phrase | Ind | Indicative |
| contraf | contrafactual | Info | Information Tagmeme |
| contraex | contraexpectation | inst | instrument |
| conj | conjunction | Inst | Instrument Tagmeme |
| Co-ord NP | Co-ordinate Noun Phrase | intens | intensifier |
| Co-ord LocP | Co-ordinate Locative | intent | intentive |
| | Phrase | IntCl | Intransitive Clause |
| c-t-e-r | contrary-to-expected- result | IO | Indirect Object Tagmeme |
| cust | customary | iogen | indirect object general |
| - | · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · | IO _{spec} | Indirect Object specific |
| | | | |

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|--------------------------|---|--------------------|---|
| inter | interrogative | Mod NumP | Modified Numeral Phrase |
| Inter | Interrogative | mv | motion verb |
| Inter Com Inter Com mker | Interrogative Comment Tagmeme Interrogative Comment | mvs mvp | motion verh stem Motion Verb Phrase |
| * Inter Desig | marker Interrogative | n N | noun Nasal Class |
| inter loc | Designatory | neg | negative |
| inter n | interrogative locative interrogative noun | Neg | Negative Tagmeme |
| * inter desc | interrogative descriptive | neg com | negative command nominal |
| Inter MP | Interrogative Noun Phrase | ns num | noun stem |
| inter temp | interrogative temporal | Num NP | Numeral Noun Phrase |
| Inter TempP | Interrogative Temporal Phrase | numb | number |
| intr | intransitive | 0 | Object Tagmeme |
| iv | intransitive verb | Obj | Object Tagmeme |
| ivs | intransitive verb stem | obj | object ragmeme |
| iVP | intransitive Verb Phrase | obj pro | object pronoun |
| lim loc | limitation locative | per | person |
| Loc | Location Tagmeme | perf | perfect |
| Loc Cl | Locative Clause | permis | permissive |
| Loc gen | locative general | Pint | intransitive Predicate |
| locgen | locative general | pl Pm | plural Motion Predicate |
| Loc P | Locative Phrase | pos | possessive |
| Locspec | Locative specific | post PosNP | positional |
| | Manner Clause Manner Tagmeme | PosNP ₂ | Possessive Noun Phrase 1 Possessive Noun Phrase 2 |
| MC1 | Motion Clause | prest | present |
| mker | marker | prohib | prohibitive |
| mo | motion | pro | pronoun |
| Mod NP | Modified Noun Phrases | pro ref | pronominal referent |

stative

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|--------------------|-------------------------|--|------------------------|
| Ptr . | transitive Predicate | Ţ | 7 Time Tagmeme |
| PurpCl | Purpose Clause | temp | |
| | | temp ns | temporal noun stem |
| R | reduced verb stem | Temp C1 | Temporal Clause |
| ref | referent | TempP | Temporal Phrase |
| ref n | referent noun | | |
| Ref | Referent Tagmeme | At the surprise of | |
| repet | repetitive | All the second s | treprisit a acide |
| Repeat Act | VP Repeated Action | time gen | time general |
| resem | Verb Phrase resemblance | Time spec | Time specific |
| | | Top | Topic Tagmeme |
| S | stem | tr | transitive |
| S | Subject Tagmeme | TrCl | Transitive Clause |
| sbj | subject | ts | tense |
| Sbj | Subject Tagmene | t v | transitive verb |
| sbj _{een} | subject general | tvs | transitive verb stem |
| Sbj | Subject specific | tVP | transitive Verb Phrase |
| sbj per | subject person | Δ | Vowel class |
| abj pro | subject pronoun | v | verb |
| sg | singular | VS | verb stem |
| Simult | Simultaneous Clause | V P | Verb Phrase |
| simult | simul taneous | | |
| simult v | simultaneous verb | | |
| spec | specific | | |
| spec num | specific numeral | | |
| ss | same subject | | |
| SS | Same Subject Clause | | |
| 3SV | same subject verb | | |

2 Morphophonemics

2.1 Morphophonemic Classes

All Kosena morphemes may be divided into one of three morphophonemic classes namely:-

Vowel (V) class, those morphemes which end with a vowel,

Nasal (N) class, those morphemes which end with a nasal and

Glottal (G) class, those morphemes which end with a glottal stop e.g.

| Vowel Class | Nasal Cl | Class Glottal Class | | lass |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| kisaaV sweet potato | kuN | axe | maiG | pit |
| moráV one | <u>eíyaiN</u> | four | kaeG | two |
| ákíV short | anóN | big | <u>kítoG</u> | little |
| anóV his mother | aúraN | his eye | <u>ává</u> G | his younger brother |
| -neiV instrument | -piN | in | -kwaraG | accompaniment |
| <u>iyó</u> V go up | <u>kumó</u> N | go down | puwóG | die |
| awanaV see him | <u>asiná</u> N | remove | aráG | chop |
| seV say | -maN | nominal | amé G | give him |
| kwé-V continuative | - <u>in</u> | he | -tuwaG | completive |
| | maaN | this | | |

-man nominal, has two allomorphs, namely

-man occurs with V and N class morphemes e.g.

moráv one + -man nominal = morá-ma one

 $\frac{\text{anon}}{\text{big}} + \frac{-\text{man}}{\text{nominal}} = \frac{1}{\text{anom-ba}}$ big

-'aN occurs with G class morphemes e.g.

kaeG two + - 'aN nominal = kae- 'a two

Nasal class morpheme causes a following inital nasal to become a voiced stop - Section 2.2.1. page 12.

All non-verb stems and kwé-V'continuative' may also be divided into one of two tone classes namely:

10

tone class 1, those morphemes which cause the following morpheme(s) in a close-knit sequence to perturb to low tone and

tone class 2, those morphemes which cause the following morpheme(s) in a close-knit sequence to perturb to high tone.

A close-knit sequence may be a word which is a non-verb or any Modified Noun Phrase. <u>kwé-V</u> 'continuative' will cause tone perturbation in verbs.

Tonexclassixeorphonesxarexasxfolious

Tone class 1 morphemes e.g.

| <u>moráVl</u> | one | morá-kisaama | one sweet potato |
|---------------|-----------|---------------|---------------------|
| kítoGl | little | kíto-ka'a | in a little while |
| anóNl | big | anón-kisaama | big sweet potato |
| ándáVl | vine | anda-raamba | like a vine |
| aaváyaaVl | morning | aaváyaa-vimba | in the morning |
| aanoVl | later | aáno-ma | later |
| kwé-Vl cor | tinuative | kwé-gumo | they are going down |
| | . 4. | | |

Tone class 2 morphemes e.g.

| kneeV2xxcontinuetive | | lones sumo | they are going down |
|----------------------|-------|--------------|---------------------|
| miN2 | that | min-tantaá'a | that thing |
| noN2 | water | nom-pá'á | at the river |
| kaweG2 | good | kawe-kisaama | good sweet potato |
| kaeG2 | two | kae-kisaama | two sweet potatoes |

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2.2 Morphophonemic Rules

Morphophonemic changes are progressive, non-contiguous regressive and loss of stem final vowel as follows:

2.2.1 Progressive

When two morphemes are jaxtaposed certain morphophonemic changes result.

These occur at morpheme boundaries within words and between words within Modified Noun Phrases. Exceptions are stated at appropriate places.

Yowel class morphemes cause the following changes:

An initial k of a following morpheme within a word becomes g e.g.

<u>kisaaV2</u> sweet potato + -kwaraG with = kisaa-gwara'a with sweet potato

ayoviVl her adult brother + -koV stative = ayovi-goma her adult brother

An initial \underline{p} of a following morpheme within a word becomes \underline{v} e.g.

anaV2 bamboo + -piN in = ana-vimbá in bamboo

<u>kigauVl</u> garden + -paG at $= \underline{kigau-va'a}$ at the garden

An initial t of a following morpheme and a recent becomes y. e.g.

<u>kisaaV2</u> sweet potato + -toN plural = <u>kisaa-yómbá</u> many sweet potatoes

<u>moráVl</u> one + <u>/tantaaG</u> thing = <u>morá-yantaa'a</u> one thing

Nasal class morphemes exhibit the following changes:

The final masal is lost before silence e.g.

anoNl big + -maN nominal = anom-ba big

<u>póiVl</u> pig + -<u>maN</u> nominal = <u>pói-ma</u> pig

noyaaGl fish + -'aN nominal = noyaa-'a fish

```
The final masal becomes \underline{m} before bilabials e.g.
```

```
anóMl
             big
                             + poiVl
                                       pig
                                             = anom-poima
    ó'oNl
             another
                             + paroiV2 arrow = o'om-paroima another arrow
    tanóN1
             ground oven
                                             = tanóm-pimba in ground oven
                             + -piN
                                       in
The final nasal becomes n before alveolars, velars and vowels e.g.
    iyaN2
                          + -toN
                                      plural = iyan-tombá lots of dogs
             dog
    anóNl
             big
                          + tamayoGl stick = anon-tamayo'a big stick
    iyaN2
             dog
                          + -kwaraG
                                             = iyan-kwara'a with a dog
                                      with
    anóNl
             big
                          + kisaaV2 sweet
                                    potato
                                             = anon-kisaama big sweet potato
    anóN1
                          + iyaN2 dog=
             big
                                             = anon-iyamba big dog
    anóN1
             big
                          + kun2
                                             = anon-kumba
                                   axe
                                                            big axe
Nasal class morphemes cause a following initial nasal to become a
voiced stop having the same point of articulation as the original masal e.g.
```

iyáN2 dog + -maN nominal = iyam-ba dog anóNl big + maraV2 ground = anom-barama big ground kuN2 + -neiV instrument = kun-dei with an axe axe anóM1 big + numaV2 bird = anon-dumama big bird

TARE:

```
Glottal class morphemes exhibit the following:
```

The final glottal stop is lost preceding morphemes with initial stop e.g.

maiG2 pit + -kavaN along = mai-kavamba beside the pit

kaeG2 two + kuN2 axe = kae-kumba two axes

maiG2 pit + -piN in = mai-pimbá in the pit

kaeG2 two + poiVl pig = kae-poima two pigs

maankaG2 here + -'oNdesignatory = maanka-'o here

The final glottal stop becomes r preceding initial vowel e.g.

kaeG2 two + iyaN2 dog = kaer-iyamba two dogs

kwiyoG make path + ankani he will

benef.him = kwir-ankani he will make a path for him

The final glottal stop is retained before initial masals e.g.

avaGl his younger

28 To 136.

brother + -maaG plural = ava'-maa'a his younger brother

kaeG2 two + maraV2 ground = kae'-marama two grounds

tamayoGl stick + -neiV instrument = tamayo'-nei with a stick

kaeG2 two + numaV2 bird = kae'-numama two birds

agambáráG measure + -mai Manner

Tagmeme marker = agambá'-mai measuring

The final glottal stop is lost preceding morphemes with initial glottal stop e.g.

kaeG2 two + -'aN nominal = kae-'a two

¹ verb stem reduction is described in Section 3.3.1 page 43.

frank

2.2.2 Regressive non-contiguous

Verb stem final $\{\underline{o};\underline{e}\}$ + $C\{\underline{i};\underline{a}\}$ becomes \underline{i} + $C\{\underline{i};\underline{a}\}$ e.g. \underline{i} yo up + $\underline{-n}$ future tense + $\underline{-i}$ yo 2nd singular person becomes \underline{i} yi $\underline{-n}$ -iyo You will go up.

<u>inkaisé</u> fear + -n future tense + -i 3rd person singular becomes <u>inkaisí-n-í</u> He will fear.

o do + -ra past tense + -i 3rd singular person becomes u-ra-i

He did.

se say + -ra past tense + -i 3rd singular person becomes si-ra-i

He spoke.

2.2.3 Loss of stem final vowel

Verb stem final $\{\underline{o} ; \underline{e}\} + \{\underline{i} ; \underline{u}\}$ becomes $\{\underline{i} ; \underline{u}\}$ e.g.

kumó go down + -um 1st singular person becomes kum-úm I go down.

kumó go down + -i 3rd singular person becomes kúm-í He goes down.

inkaisé fear + -um lst singular person becomes inkais-um I fe

inkaisé fear + -i 3rd singular person becomes inkais-i He fears.

3 MORPHEME INVENTORY

Morphemes may be stems, affixes or stem forming particles.

3.1 Stem Forming Particles

Stem forming particles may be Pronominal Referent Morphemes or a small class of Stem Formatives. These are listed with some examples of the stems they form. They also occur under the specific stem type which they help to form.

3.1.1 Pronominal Referent Morphemes

Pronominal Referent Morphemes obligatorally occur with certain noun stems i.e. kin term stems, body part stems and bodily processes and state stems and occur with certain transitive verb stems. For overall simplicity of descriptive these morphemes are treated as part of the complex stems, not as inflectional affixes.

Pronominal referent morphemes indicate the possessor of the body part or kin term and indicate the object, direct or indirect, of the transitive verb and bodily processes or state, which occur in Idiomatic Verb Phrases.

| | singular non-singular | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| 2nd and 3rd persons | Ø ; <u>a</u> - | <u>t-; tu-; tin-; ti-</u> | |
| lst persons | <u>s-</u> ; <u>su-</u> | ; <u>sin-</u> ; <u>si-</u> | |

```
s- and t- occur preceding o; aa; i; u
su- " tu- " " w
sin- " tin- " " k
si- " ti- " elsewhere

Ø occurs preceding o; aa; i
an- " " elsewhere
```

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si-samaiVl my foot su-wétáN2 my leg s-óiGl my mouth t-oig their mouths tu-wétáN2 their legs tí-samaiVl their feet ø-oigl your mouth a-nowavl his mother a-vowaV2 her father Ø-aaGl his ear a-wiGl his name a-raivl his desire sú-wiGl my name si-ráiVl my desire a-wa'naaV help him áí-saaV ask him si-saa ask me su-wa'naaV help me a-uyoraGR escort him a-wanaV see him an-kaV for him s-uyoraGR escort me su-wánaV see me sin-kaV for me

3.1.2 Stem Formatives

There are a number of stem forming particles which occur with other stems to form animate noun stems, demonstrative stems or parameter pronoun stems. These particles are:

naG male person

naV male or female person or inanimate

waV male or female person

wiV male or female persons

kánísóroVl council + naG = kánísóronaGl councillor

miN2 that + waV = miwaV2 that person

maa N2 this + wiV = miwiV2 these people

maaN2 this $+ \underline{naV} = \underline{maandaVl}$ this

3.2 Affixes

Affixes may be described under three general headings i.e.

- 3.2.1 Verbal affixes
- 3.2.2 Locational affixes
- 3.2.3 Nominal affixes

3.2.1 Verbal affixes

Verbal affixes may be prefixes or suffixes. There are two types of prefixes i.e. directional morphemes and <u>kwé-Vl</u> 'continuative' which is closely related to tense.

Verbal prefixes

Directional morphemes

sequential or simultaneous relations with the action indicated in the cdir)

verb. (a) Directional morphemes indicate a sequential relation between the direction and the action indicated in the verb. (b) Bi-directional morphemes have the same relation as the set above in (a), but indicate direction and return. (c) Positional morphemes indicate a simultaneous relation between the position and the action indicated in the verb.

These are second order prefixes and are optional.

| directi moveme | | directional sequential | | শ্রমান ক্রিক্তির বিশ্বর বিশ বিশ্বর বিশ্বর | positional |
|-------------------|-----------|------------------------|-------------|--|------------------|
| | | direct | round about | bi-directional | simultaneous |
| up ——— | | u-V uma-V * | uma-V | usa-V up then down | mo-V |
| down | - | ku-N kuma-N * | kuna–V | kunta-V down then up | maru-N moru-N |
| along | towards | ta-V N * | | taya-V come | ma-G |
| | away from | ko-V / ku-V koma-N | | koya-V go then come along | me-V |

* occur with mono-syllabic stems

Directional morphemes occur with

transitive verb stems e.g. ko-awanarai. He want and saw it. intransitive verb stems ta-mérai. He came to stay.

ko-kwé-gwaewasa They go and sleep and

Bi-directional morphemes occur with one verb stem only i.e. 'return' and are treated as complex verb stems. Section 3.3.1

Positional morphemes occur with

transitive verb stems e.g. <u>mó-amakai</u>. He gave it to her up there.

intransitive verb stems <u>mé-gwantowana</u> He turned round from her and she

kwe-Vl 'continuative' (cont) indicates an action which is in progress at the present time or is a customary action at the present time. It is first order prefix and is optional. It occurs prefixed to verb stems and the non-verb stem of an Idiomatic Verb Phrase. When occurring with a different subject verb or simultaneous verb, there must be agreement with the present tense form of the subject person/tense morphemes.

pukaa'á <u>íma kwé-naum</u>.

tobacco no cont-I eat
I don't smoke. / I am not smoking.

kwé-agaraar ankai.

cont-show he for him

He is showing him.

kwé-tavisu-wa-na

cont-pull-they/present tense-it
They pull it and it

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Verbal Suffixes

Suffixes may be aspect, tense, subject person or mood morphemes.

Aspect Suffixes

Aspect suffixes m are first order suffixes and are optional.

The following chart gives the distribution of each aspect in regards to the type of verb stem each occurs with, transitive, intransitive or motion and also in regards to the type of verb structures, final, different subject, same subject or simultaneous, which represents the distribution of the Clauses in higher constructions.

| | fin | al V | ds | ▼ . | | នន | ▼ | | sim | ult v | |
|---------------------|-----|--|----|------|-----|----|----------|-----|-----|-------|-----|
| | tr | intr mot | tr | intr | mot | tr | intr | mot | tr | intr | mot |
| -koV stative | + | | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | |
| -taV all gone | + | | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | |
| ankaV benef1 | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | |
| maraGR put1 | + | + | + | + ' | | + | + , | | + | + | |
| tuwaGR comp1 | .+ | | + | | | + | | | + | | |
| -ma perf | | ************************************** | | | | + | * | + | | | |
| -uwa_c-t-e-r | • | | | | | + | | | | | |
| -em repet | | | | | | + | | + | | | |
| -niy intent | | • | | | | + | | + | | | |
| - <u>esa</u> permis | | | + | | + | | | | | | |

These forms may also occur as verb stems, benefactive, put and leave, respectively. R indicates verb stem reduction, see Section 3.3.1

-koV stative aspect (stat) indicates that the action is in a state of being, or that the non-verb is in a state of being.

-koV occurs with N and G class verb stems

-goV occurs with V class verb stems

The verb stems which have been found with with stative aspect are as follows:

transitive verb stems

intransitive verb stems

anásaV finish

kasa'náV dry

araataV hold down gently

kawausiVR it heals

káátaV cover kayoráGR offended

umaV do kwaéV

sleep

ankaiséVR break (stick)

pisináNR extinguish fire

tuvamóNR split

tararáGR break (string)

tavaaéGR tear

uwaéGR wipe

'flee' peráGR

-taV 'all gone' aspect indicates that the action has completely finished the object of that action or, in the mease of intransitive verbs, that the subject is all finished.

-taV occurs with N and G class verb stems

-saV occurs with V class verb stems

The verb stems which have been found with 'all gone' aspect are as follows: transitive verb stems

transitive verb stems

intransitive verb stem

naV eat

puwóGR die

simaV say

umaV do

mayaVR take

atiyéVR pour

asaéGR split

peraGR 'flee'

ankaV benefactive (benef) indicates an action performed on behalf of, for the benefit of or instead of someone else. This morpheme is a complex one, formed by the pronominal referent morpheme plus ka benefactive stem.

This may also occur as a transitive verb stem.

The verb stems which have been found with benefactive aspect are as follows:

transitive verb stems

intransitive verb stems

kaátaV cover

aisotáV line up

simaV say

kwaéV lie down/sleep

umaV do

iyáVR dress ..

kausoráVR hang bag from head

kaavoGR open mouth

kwiyóGR spit

tatoraGR hold

maraGR perfect aspect (perf) indicates that the results of the action The same form occurs maraGR as the verb 'put'. are continuing.

(At this stage I can't distinguish the difference between this and -ma perfect aspect.)

The verb stems which have been found with this aspect are as follows:

transitive verb stems

tie

intransitive verb stem

torupaV come and gather

atáV thatch

kárároV Vo do

seV say

toV plug water bamboo

utáV bury

> agayáVR cook/write

atiyéVR pour

kauvó. VR steam

kwisóVR cook in bamboo

mayáVR take

aunáNR taboo

inkamóNR hit him

chop/wring bark aráGR

araráGR cut crosswise

avóGR paint

kúraraGR take a light

kuveráGR keep

peráGR 'flee'

tuvuwoGR kill

uwiyeGR spread -tuwaGR completive aspect (comp) indicates completion of the action.

The same form occurs tuwaGR as the verb 'leave'.

-tuwaGR occurs with N and G class verb stems

call

bury

utáV

-suwaGR occurs with V class verb stems which reduce

-yuwaGR occurs with V class verb stems which are unreduced

(N.B. occurs with past, present or future tense, kun-kwe-may preceed)

The verb stems which have been found with completive aspect are as follows: transitive verb stems

| káráV. | cut | inkamoNR | hit him |
|---------|--|-----------|------------------|
| amentáV | push her | pisináNR | extinguish fire |
| ánása⊽ | finish | agayáVR | cook/write |
| aráátaV | hold down gently | atiyéVR | pour |
| isáV | hear | ankaiséVR | break |
| kááta√ | cover | kausóVR | steam |
| kwantaV | tum | mayáVR | take |
| naV | eat | araGR | ring bark |
| vmaV | do | aruwóGR | stretch limb out |
| şimaV | say | ameG | give him |
| taviséV | pull | kwiyuvóGR | sweep |
| | and the second district of the second of the | | * |

-ma perfect aspect (perf) indicates that the results of the action are still in evidence during the following action i.e. the following clause. (At this stage I can't distinguish the difference between this and maraGR'put' perfect aspect.) The following Clause may contain a verb in the present, past or future tense.

The verb stems which have been found with this aspect are as follows:transitive verb stems

| áítoV | put into bag | mayáVR | take |
|---------|--------------|----------|----------------|
| amentáV | push her | aavóGR | grasp in mouth |
| isáV | hear | airáGR | carry him |
| káráV | cu t | kotoráGR | pluck grass |
| οV | do | kwaráGR | hunt |
| taviséV | pull | u√óGR | dig |
| | | tavaaéGR | tear |

motion verb stems

koyauweraGR return coming

usauweráGR return down

-uwa contrary-to-expected-result aspect (c-t-e-r) indicates that the expected result is frustrated or the action is performed in vain.

The verb stems which have been found with this aspect are as follows:-

avaká oV search for him

seV say

transitive verb stems

-em repetitive aspect (repet) indicates that the action is continued for a long time.

The verb stems which have been found with this aspect are as follows:
transitive verb stem motion verb stems

ob Vo

iyóVR

go/come up

koV

go along

teV

come along

-<u>niy</u> intentive aspect (intent) indicates the intention to perform an action. Occurs with 2nd and 3rd subject persons. If 1st person is desired the desiderative mood is used instead.

The verb stems which have been found with this aspect are as follows:

transitive verb stems

eat

motion verb stems

mayaVR take

iyóVR

go/come up

naV

kumóNR

go/come down

oV do

-esa permissive aspect (permis) indicates that someone has permitted another person to perform such anaction.

The verb stems which have been found with this aspect are as follows:

transitive verb stems

motion verb stems

agayáVR

cook/write

koV

go along

naV

eat

te₹

come along

Tense Suffixes

Tense suffixes (ts) are second order suffixes and are obligatory. They are not all primarily related to time, terms and definitions are given below:

distant past (dist past) indicates that an action has taken place prior to a few days ago.

near past indicates that an action has taken place on the previous day.

past indicates that an action has taken place in some past time or that

it must take place before the next action.

past tense covers all the time spans of past and may be used for same. near past is used to emphasize that the action took place on the previous day. distant past is used in Legends and also in comtemporary narratives.

<u>present</u> - unmarked time indicates that the action is a present one or that it takes places in a series or sequence of actions.

continuative indicates an action which is in progress at the present time or is a customary action at the present time. This occurs as first order prefix and is described on page 18.

future (fut) indicates an action which has not yet taken place.

customary indicates a past action which used to occur as a tradition or habit.

The following cart gives the distribution of the various tense morphemes in regards to final, ds, ss and simult verbs:

| | final | ss | 'ds | simult |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| distant past | - <u>ka</u> | -ka | sbj per/past ts | sbj per/past ts/simult |
| near past | -eira | ? ¹ | ? 1 | <u>+ -eira</u> |
| past | - <u>ka</u> | <u>-ka</u> | sbj per/prest ts | sbj per/prest ts/simult |
| present | ø ² | ø 2 | | |
| continuative | kwé-Vl | kwé0Vl | + <u>kwe-Vl</u> | + <u>kw6-V1</u> |
| future | -naao | Ø | sbj per/fut ts | sbj per/fut ts/simult |
| customary | -emae | | | |

ago. With final verbs and ss verbs -ka suffix occurs and with ds and simult verbs past tense occurs as complex morphemes with subject persons.

These are listed under subject persons in the next section.

near past tense indicates that an action has taken place on the previous day. -eira occurs with final verbs and occurs preceding subject person / ts / simult morphemes in simultaneous verbs. It must agree with the present tense form of this complex morpheme. (More work is needed in this area.) Examples follow:

toómbá n-éíra.ø

kwaasai s-éíra.ø

food eat-near past-they

news say-near past-they

They ate food yesterday.

They talked yesterday.

kum-éira-um.

iy-éíra-um.

come down-near past-I

go up-near past-I

I came down yesterday.

I went up yesterday.

^{1 ?} indicates lack of data.

² Ø zero form indicates that that particular tense is implies.

³ stem final vowel is lost.

koasa'mar-éíra-unda

go chop-near past-I/prest/simult

I went and cut (more wood and left it there)

mar-eira-unda

put-near past-I/prest/simult

I put it there yesterday

past tense indicates that an action has taken place in some past time or that it must take place before the next action.

With final and ss verbs -ka occurs following N and G class morphemes and

-ra occurs following V class morphemes.

With ds and simult verbs past tense occurs as complex morphemes with subject persons. See next section under subject persons.

kun-ká-i.

na-rá-i.

go down-past-he

eat-past-he

He went down.

He ate.

na-r-é-'a 1

agaima-k-é-sa l

eat-past-ss-I

write-past-ss-they

When I've eaten I'll

When they'd written it they

future tense indicates an action which has not yet taken place.

With final verbs -naao occurs with singular and plural persons

-yaao occurs with dual persons

ao is lost when -um lst sg/pl persons occurs or
-u lst dual person occurs

aao is lost when -iyo 2nd sg person occurs or
-i 3rd sg person occurs.

With ds and simult verbs future tense occurs as complex morphemes with subject persons, which are listed in the next section.

¹ a + e becomes e

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ko-nááo. Ø

ná-na-um.

go-fut-they

eat-fut-I

They will go.

I will eat.

mé-n-i-ye.

kó-ya-u-yo.

stay-fut-he-indicative

go-fut-we two-interrogative

He will stay.

Will we two go?

Customary suffix indicates a past action which used to occur as a tradition or habit. -emae occurs with final verbs.

íma tí'a

Ø-ema-1-mbani.

no their sickness do-customary-it-mood

They didn't become sick.

naaopa'a t-émaé-Ø-mbani.

home come-customary-they-mood

They would come home.

íma kanavínkén-kísáá

n-émáé-Ø-mbani.

no sweet potato from ash eat-customary-they-mood

They didn't eat sweet potatoes from the ashes.

kwikombó n-émaén-kwasai

sénáe.

cane eat-they used to-talk I want to say

I want to tell about cane swallowing.

avo kwiraavei umai ma-emae-Ø-mbani.

so with laughing stay-customary-they-mood

So they'd laugh and have no ill feelings.

min-anon-aai'a tiy-smae-g-mbani.

that-big-fight fight-customary-they-mood

They would have a big fight.

matinkantuw-émáé-Ø-mbani.

there kill them-customary-they-mood

They killed them there.

 $^{1 \}quad \underline{e} + \underline{i} \quad \text{becomes} \quad \underline{i}$

Subject Person Suffixes

Subject person suffixes are third order suffixes and are obligatory.

There are four sets as follows:

- (a) Subject person morphemes which occur with final verbs. There are two sub-sets, one occurring following future tense and the other occurring following present and past tense.
- (b) Subject person morphemes which occur with ds verbs. These are complex morphemes indicating subject person and tense. Hence there are three sub-sets for future, present and past tenses.
- (c) Subject person morphemes which occur with simult verbs. These are complex morphemes indicating subject person, tense and simultaneous verb. There are three sub-sets for future, present and past tense.
- (d) Anticipatory subject person morphemes which occur with ds and ss verbs.

 These morphemes indicate the subject person of the following Clause.

 They occur following same subject morpheme in ss verbs and following ds per/ts morphemes in ds verbs, making them fourth order suffixes in such cases.

Anticipatory subject morphemes may also occur suffixed to the fillers of other Tagmemes in Clauses agreeing with the subject person in the Predicate or the Indirect Object if such occurs. They substitute for the closing suffix in such cases.

final subject person charts are as follows:

| ~ | future tense | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------|-------|-----|--|--|--|--|--|
| persons | lst | 2nd | 3rd | | | | | |
| singular | | -iyoN | -iV | | | | | |
| plural | -umN | øν | | | | | | |
| dual | -uV | -iV | | | | | | |

| present and past tense | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|------|----------------|-----|--|--|--|--|
| persons | lst | 2nd | 3rd | | | | |
| singular | | N ¹ | -iV | | | | |
| plural | -umN | -, | V I | | | | |
| dual | -uV | 1 | 7 1 | | | | |

^{1 -.} indicates lengthening of the previous vowel

different subject person / tense charts

| | tense | ense future | | | present | | | past | | | |
|---|----------|-------------|------|------|---------|-----|------|------|-----|------|------|
| | persons | lst | 2nd | 3rd | lst | 2nd | 3rd | lst | | 2nd | 3rd |
| | singular | U | -ina | -ina | | -na | -isa | -war | | -una | -twa |
| | plural | -na | | | -una | - | -wa | _wa1 | | | uwa |
| - | dual | -уа | -1 | .ya | -uya | - | -уа | -way | ra. | - | uya |

subject person / tense / simultaneous charts

| tense | fu | ture | | present | | | past | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------|------------|------------|------|-------|---------|-------|-------|--|
| persons | lst. | 2nd | 3rd | lst | 2nd | 3rd | lst | 2nd | 3rd | |
| singular | | -inda | -inda V | | -nda | -imba | | -unda | -umba | |
| plural | -nda ∀ | | | -unda V | | -mba | -wanda | -0 | mba | |
| dual | ?' l | -iy | amba | -uyam | ba 3 | , 1 | -uyamba | ? | 1 | |

morphophonemic rules $\{\underline{e} \; ; \; \underline{o}\} + \{\underline{i} \; ; \; \underline{u}\}$ becomes $\{\underline{i} \; ; \; \underline{u}\}$ $\underline{aa} + \{\underline{i} ; \underline{u}\} becomes \{\underline{ai} ; \underline{au}\}$

+ u becomes o with past tense charts only

It would appear from the above two sets of three charts that certain Only those which occur subject person / tense morphemes are identical. The following forms are different either in the same boxes are identical. in the tone pattern of the suffix or the tone pattern of the verb stem. More investigation is needed in the area of tone perturbation in verbs. The similar forms are listed below: (those which have a different tone)

and 2nd person singular/present 1st person singular/future 1st person sg/pl/present

and 2nd person singular/past

1st person dual/future 1st person dual/present

and 2nd/3rd person dual/present and 2nd/rd person dual/past

1 indicates lack of data

2nd person singular/future and 3rd person singular/future

2nd person singular/past

and 3rd person singular/past

Anticipatory subject morphemes

| | lst | 2nd | 3rd |
|----------|-------|------|---------|
| singular | -'aQ | ØV | -naV |
| plural | -taaV | -'aQ | -saV |
| edual | | caiV | -saraiV |

Anticipatory subject morphemes occurring with non-Predicates are as follows:

Locative

Predicate

kesinaaopa-taa konaum.

my village-we I/we will go

We'll reach my village.

Subject

Predicate

keyaá-yaa

mavaum.

I/they only-we I/we stay

Only we three stay.

Subject

Predicate

keyaa-rai

máyáai.

I/they only-we2/you2 you2/they 2 stay

Only you two stay.

Object

Predicate

aasípáá-yaa

kwégusaum.

cane wall-we we are weaving

We (plural) are weaving a cane wall.

Object

Predicate

aasípáá-rai

kwégusau.

cane wall-we2/you: 2 we 2are weaving

We two are weaving a cane wall.

keiráímo teyasamo

toónkáí ésa

siménaao.

we two will come if they food-we2/you2

they'll give us

If we two come

they'll give us food.

keyáárika-kai-ma

keyáárika-taa-ma

I myself-dual-nom

I myself-plural-nom

We ourselves (dual)

We ourselves (plural)

Mood Suffixes

Mood morphemes have their main significance in Sentence constructions.

They are described here as verb suffixes, giving the distribution in

Sentence types where applicable. The following moods occur: (imp)

Imperative indicates a command or necessity to perform an action. (desid)

Desiderative indicates a desire to perform an action. (ind)

Indicative indicates that an action is viewed as a simple statement of

fact or that a non-verb construction is in a state of existence. (inter)

Interrogative indicates a question.

Assertative indicates a strong affirmation of an act being performed or,
with a non-verb construction, a strong affirmation of its
existence.

Negative Command (neg com) indicates an action is forbidden as potentially harmful.

Prohititive (prohib) indicates an action is forbidden.

Concession (conc) indicates a strong affirmation of an act being performed but implies that the following act will counter balance it.

Contrafactual (contraf) indicates that the action did not occur and implies that had it occurred the following action would have occurred.

Contraexpectation (contraex) indicates that the action did not occur as expected and implies that the following action took precedence.

Reason indicates the reason for an action but is not a strong implication but rather like sequence of actions.

There are two sets of complex morphemes which indicat subject person and mood. These are third order suffixes. They are subject person/desiderative mood and subject person/imperative mood.

There are nine more sets of morphemes indicating mood. These occur as fourth order suffixes, following final subject person morphemes or subject person / tense morphemes or anticipatory subject morphemes.

Most of these latter sets have two respiration allomorphs each, one which follows V class morphemes and the other which follows N class.

| | sbj per/imp mood | | | sbj per/desiderativ mood | | |
|-------------|------------------|--|--------|--------------------------|---------|--|
| singular | lst | 2nd | 3rd | lst | 2nd 3rd | |
| -no | | -yoino follows <u>i</u> _o elsewhere | | -nae | -inkwae | |
| plural | plural -ro | | -igwae | | | |
| dual -kaiyo | | 1 | -yae | | | |

| | indicative | interro | gative | interroge | ative ass | ertative |
|--|-------------|-----------|--------|-----------|------------------------|----------|
| follows N class i.e. 1st sg/pl and 2nd sg persons | -ne | -na | | -no | -m p | 0 |
| follows V class i.e. 3rd sg, 2nd/3rd pl, duals | -ye follows | | | | | |
| follows G class i.e. non-verbs | -re | -ra | } | | | |
| negative com. prob | nibitive co | ncesssion | cont | | contraex- pectation | 4 |
| -navo -nav | rai -n | danivo | -kak | | -sina | -ma |
| -yayo -vai | _m | banivo | -rak | ai | | |

Certain combinations of mood morphemes occur and need more investigation.



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Distribution of mood morphemes is shown in the following chart:

| mood | Sentence or Clause type | non-final Clauses | final Clauses | final verbs | other verbs | non-verbs |
|--------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| imp | Imperative S | | | | | |
| desid | Positive Reason S | | | | ss v | |
| ind | Intentive S closes quotation | | | | | |
| -wa inter | Inter Clauses | | | | ds v | |
| -o inter_ | Interrogative S | | + | + | | |
| assert | Reason-Result S | . | | <u> </u> | | |
| neg.com | Negative Reason S | | | | | |
| prohib | | + | | + | | 1 |
| conc | Concession-Result S | + | 1 | + | | |
| contraf | Contrafactual S | + | | + | | |
| contraez | Contraexpection S | + | | + | <u> </u> | |
| reason | | + | | | ds v ss v simul | t v |
| | | | | | | |

3.2.2 Locational affixes

Locative suffixes indicate location in space or time.

First order suffixes may be movement or location as follows:

-paG to, at i.e. active

-kaG at i.e. non-active

or may be stationary as follows:

-piN in, on

-kavaN along, beside

Second order suffix is -keN from, indicating movement away from or after in time.

-paG and -kaG are described as part of certain complex locative stems in section 3.3.7. page 65.

-paG, -kaG and -piN occur in certain word, phrase and clause constructions in manifest Location Tagmemes.

-paG and -piN occur in certain word, phrase and clause constructions to manifest Time Tagmemes.

-kavall occurs in certain word constructions to manifest Location Tagmemes.

-keN 'from' may only occur following another locative suffix, most commonly -paG but sometimes -piN and manifests Location and Time Tagmemes.

3.2.3 Nominal affixes

There are first, second and third order suffixes. Distribution is given throughout in appropriate places.

First order suffixes may be of three types i.e.

- (a) basically Tagmeme markers on the Clause level
- (b) Co-ordinate Noun Phrase morpheme
- (c) morphemes indicating the internal state of the noun or pronoun.

(a) Tagmeme markers may be:

-o Vocative

-neiV Instrument

-nankakeN Source

-taaG Acquisition

Also see thirds order suffixes, closing suffixes which include Tagmeme markers.

<u>Vocative -o</u> is used in calling a person's attention. It is suffixed to personal names and certain kin term stems, e.g.

Konkáa-o (personal name)

Timótinavo-o kesinó-o

Timoti's father-o my mother-o

Instrument (instant) -neiV indicates the instrument with which an action is performed. It occurs with inanimate noun stems including certain body part stems, and with numeral stems. It indicates the Instrument Tagmeme.

paroi-nei with an arrow morá-nei with one

óntan-dei with a stone kae'-néi with two

tamayo'-nei with a stick ayaan-dei-ma with his hand

Source -nankakeN indicates the source material from which an object is made. It occurs with demonstrative or inanimate noun stems.

It indicates the Source Allotagma of the Instrument Tagmeme.

taai-nankákéN from timber

sanón-dánkákéN with glue

mara-nankákéN with the ground

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Acquisition (acq) -taaC indicates an object one is making a trip to acquire. It occurs with inanimate noun stems excluding body part stems. It indicates the Referent Tagmeme, Acquisition Allotagma. -taaC occurs with N and C class morphemes and -yaaC occurs with V class morphemes.

kwaasai-yaaG for talk

kun-taáG for the axe

ko-taaG for wing beans

- (b) Co-ordinate Noun Phrase morpheme
- Conjunction (conj) -iyai indicates the co-ordination of two persons.

 It occurs with personal names in Co-ordinate Noun Phrases.

 Maásákéti-iyai Ópiriso-iyai ... and
- (c) morphemes indicating the internal state of the noun or pronoun are as follows: -koV stative

-taaV limitation

-iyaaiN diminutive

-teV intensifier

-tavaiV referent

four types of number suffixes

Stative (stat) -koV individualizes the noun stem it is suffixed to, it indicates it to be in a state of being. See also sections 3.2.1, 3.3.2 and 3.3.3. It occurs with animate and inanimate noun stems including body part stems.

taai-gó the tree('s name is...) aarai-gó the woman (is there) aúran-ko-ma (I'm afraid of) her eyes paroi-gó arrow('s point) taá-ko-ma their ears (they didn't know) morá-inin-ko one woman (came) min-kwásaí-gó (meaning of) that story kígau-go garden (then grew) iyampóí-go-na boy's (food) maan-umbáí-yántáá-kóm-bá (take away) this difficulty

<u>Limitation</u> (lim) -<u>taaV</u> indicates only that item mentioned to the exclusion of others. It occurs with animate noun stems and pronouns.

-taaV occurs with N and G class morphemes and

-yaaV occurs with V class morphemes

inaamarú-yááV only girls kwaan-tááV only possums

Diminutive (dim) -<u>iyaaiN</u> indicates the non-existence of the item mentioned.

It occurs with animate noun stem, excluding kin terms and body part stems.

iyampó-iyaain-inim-ba childless woman (<u>i</u> + <u>i</u> becomes <u>i</u>)

ayaan-iyaain-kwaasi armless man

Intensifier (intens) -teV indicates an intense degree of the action or state.

It occurs with inanimate noun stems including body part stems.

It frequently occurs in Idiomatic Verb Phrases.

-teV occurs with N and G class morphemes and

-yeV occurs with V class morphemes ending with i and

-weV occurs with other V class morphemes.

ánkú-te-ma íní. It'll smell terribly.

táugwi-te-ma urái. It was very cold (weather).

aamoi-yé kwéi. He is very excited.

kigau-we ivo. He certainly works hard.

ivi-té tai. He's always crying.

Referent (ref) -tavaiV indicates a wide area including 'concerning', 'because of', 'for the purpose of' and indirect object. It occurs with animate or inanimate noun stems and interrogative noun stems,

It also occurs with verbs and is handled under Result Sentence. -tavaiV occurs with N and G class morphemes

-yavaiV occurs with V class morphemes.

namuro-yavai¥ awanasuwesa they looked for the enemy and aruntaváí éna she is mourning and

taatavai uraa. They were afraid.

náawa-tavai concerning who

ima kanágáápa-tavai sirái tai. I do net like the native village.

Number (numb) Suffixes

A noun stem without number suffix does not necessarily indicate singular number, it is just not being specific. Number suffixes are of four types i.e. collective number,

those which occur with noun and pronoun and kin term stems, those which occur with kin term stems exclusively and those which are basically Clause level.

Collective number (col.numb) -toN indicate a collection of items. with animate noun stems excluding kin term stems and inanimate It occurs noun stems excluding body part stems.

-toN occurs with N and G class morphemes and -yoN occurs with V class morphemes.

iyampóí-yoNl many boyds

kwaan-tóN2 many possums

nováá-toN1 many fish

mai-tóN2 many pits

Noun and pronoun number suffixes

| | occur with | N and G c | lass morphe | mes with | ı V class |
|---------------|------------|-----------|-------------|------------|------------|
| dual number | | -kaiV | | -raj | |
| trial number | | -kauV / | -kaum | | ıV / −raum |
| plural number | | ø | | -raw | |

animate noun stems e.g. kwiyompakewai-raiVl two people from heaven

minkwaasi-raiV2 those two people

kwayo'na-raim three servants

kwiyompakenda-rawaCl ones from heaven

kin term stems e.g. <u>avako-raiVl</u> his two younger brothers

<u>amanaako-raiVl</u> his two adult sisters

<u>ayovigo-raiVl</u> her two adult brothers

<u>aunko-raiVl</u> his/her two younger brothers

certain body part stems e.g. siyáán-kaiVl my hands-two i.e. ten pronoun stems e.g. mindá-raiVl they two

mindá-rawaGl they plural

Kin term number suffixes

| | occur with | kin term stems | occur wi | th kin ter | 'pairs' |
|--------|------------------------|----------------|----------|------------|--------------------|
| | V class | N and G class | V and G | class | many organizations |
| dual | -rasaraiV ^l | -kaisaraiV | Ø | | |
| plural | -isaiV | -maaG | -nonda | | |

l -raiV also occurs
-saraiV also occurs

kin term stems e.g. awaaó-rásáráíV his two brothers ááninko-rasaraiV his sons

two two

aun-kairasaiV his, younger sisters

anowa-isaiV his mothers aanim-baaG his sons

tinówa-isaiVl their mothers aum-baaG his younger sisters

avo-isaiV his fathers ayaamum-baaG his daughters

anaanowa-isaiV his older sisters amanaa'-maaG his adult sisers

awaa-isaiV his older brothers ayo'-maaG her adult brothers

aunava'-maaG his younger

brothers and sisters

kin term 'pairs' e.g. <u>keáínavoí-nonda</u> these father and sons

<u>kearaavanoí-nonda</u> these mother and daughters

<u>keávarawai-nonda</u> these many brothers

<u>keákwá'-nonda</u> these husband and wives

dual may occur with some kin term 'pairs'

keunándá-ráiV2 these two sisters

Anticipatory subject morphemes may also be used to indicate dual and plural number. These occur with locatives, pronoun and noun stems and manifest Location, Subject and Object Tagmemes are listed under section 3.2.1. They may also occur with kin term stems possessed by first person, where number suffix refers to the possessor, or kin term stems possessed by third person, where number suffix refers to the possessed e.g.

kesinó-raiV our (two of us) mother - occurs in Subject Tagmeme

kesinón-kaiV our (two of us) mother - occurs in Object Tagmeme

kesinó-yaaV our (three of us) mother

kesívá-taaV our (three of us) younger brother

These could be treated as complex possessive pronoun morphemes.

anówa-saraiV his/her two mothers

avowa-saraiV his/her two fathers

anaanowa-saraiV his/her two older sisters

Second order suffixes indicate an external relationship. These are:

-kaaN resemblance

-kwaraG accompaniment - active

-teV accompaniment - non-active

-na possessive morphemes

Resemblance (resem) -kaaN indicates a person or object is like another.

It occurs with kin term stems, inanimate noun stems excluding body part stems, with temporal stems and locatives.

-kaaN occurs with N and G class morphemes and -raaN occurs with V class morphemes.

<u>kesúnkon-kaaN</u> like my younger sister <u>andá-raaN</u> like a vine <u>naaová-raán-kwáásí</u> before-like-person <u>ivé-kaaN</u> like now i.e. an old man

Uyaasimpa-kááN like Uyaasimpa(village)

Accompaniment (acc) There are two accompaniment morphemes -kwaraG implies a more active accompaniment, that is the one doing the accompanying and -teV implies a non-active accompaniment that is the one who is being accompanied.

-kwaraG occurs with N and G class morphemes and

-gwaraG occurs with V class morphemes.

Occur with animate noun stems including kin term stems and inanimate noun stems, numeral stems and pronoun stems. May follow stative or referent morphemes.

e-gwara-'a kwiniyono. Will you go too?

owé ke-gwara-'a konaumne. Yes, I'll go too.

kesinontavai-gwara kesivontavai-gwara-'a kwesinkai.

I'm wanting my mother and father.

aaraigwara kwaai-gwara-'a taroruraiye. He made men and women.

kisaa-gwara tusi agayaao. Cook sweet potato with the pumpkin.

iyampoigo-gwara-e. She has a child.

kwaai-gwara-ra'i. Is she married?

mora-gwara siyo. Say it again.

kweu-kwara-kwaasi men with shields

-teV occurs with N and G class morphemes and

-yeV occurs with V class morphomes following i,

-weV occurs with V class morphemes following u,

-seV occurs with other V class morphemes and

-eV occurs with personal names.

Occurs with animate noun stems, including kin term stems, with pronoun stems and personal names. It may follow stative or number morphemes.

e-sé méniye. He'll be with you.

kesimanaamaa-te with my adult sister

nompín-kwán-té marapá-kwán-té kawáá okaiyó. You (2) care for the water and ground creatures!

kesáánin-te ke-sé kumóyauye . My son and Will come down.

minakwa'a awaininkon-té awaikon-té usaveraakaiyo. The couple, the husband and wife must go up inside!

Possessive (pos) morphemes indicate possession and differentiate between singular and plural persons. They occur with animate noun and pronoun stems, and occur as the possessor in Possessive Noun Phrase 1. They may be suffixed to stative or number

-na singular possessive

-ti plural possessive

kesinó-na my mother's

<u>iyámpóí-ti</u> boys'

iyámpóigo-na boy's

kaer-inin-kai-ti two women's

Third order suffixes are closing suffixes, indicating a non-verb word construction or non-verb Phrase construction. They are:-

.-maN nominal

-moN designatory

-we indicative

-wa interrogative

Comment Tagmeme marker

Interrogative Comment Tagmeme marker

Interrogative designatory

Nominal (nom) -maN indicates a non-verb word construction or a non-verb

Phrase construction. -maN occurs with V and N class morphemes and

- an occurs with G class morphemes.

iyámpóí-raiVl boy-two + nom = iyámpóírai-ma two boys

iyáN2 dog + nom = iyám-bá dog

keV2 I + nom = ke-ma I

minkáG2 there + nom = minká-'á there

kaeG2 two + nom = kae-'a two

anon-kwaasiVl big man + nom = anon-kwaasi-ma a big man

Designatory (desig) -moN indicates that attention is being focussed on that particular construction. It occurs with any non-verb or non-final verb with inflectional affixes.

-moN occurs with N and V class morphemes and -'oN occurs with G class morphemes.

<u>í-mo</u> <u>amakwara-'ó</u> <u>kwyain-kwaasi</u> no-desig with meat-desig it is-person

A person who is thin

you-desig no-desig home-desig you go-desig

If you don't go home

naaém-bo ke-mó kowé-'o

later-desig I-desig i go-desig

If I go later

kwaai-mo omba mayuvuwim-bo
men-desig while they are doing while she hits her there-desig
Because they are men While she hits her there

Indicative (ind) see Section 3.2.1. page 33

Interrogative (inter) -wa occurs with the filler of any Tagmeme in an Interrogative Clause, except the Predicate in the final Clause of a Sentence. see Section 3.2.1. page 33

Comment Tagmeme marker (Com mker) may be of two types i.e.

(a) indicative mood may be used as a Comment Tagmeme marker e.g.

iyampoigogwara-re.
boy with - she is

She has children.

- (b) a class of complex morphemes which indicate person as well as the Comment Tagmeme are as follows:
 - -i or -iye implies 3rd person singular and indicative
 -one implies 2nd person singular and indicative
 -une implies 1st person singular and indicative.
 These forms are derived from oV 'do' verb.

Interrogative Comment Tagmeme marker (Inter Com mker) is a class of complex morphemes which indicate person as well as the Inter Com Tagmeme. These are:

-wa'iyo implies 3rd person singular and interrogative

-wa'ono implies 2nd person singular and interrogative

-wa'um implies 1st person sg or plural and interrogative

-wa'oyo implies 1st person dual and 2nd and 3rd persons non-sg. and inter.

The final CV is lost when occurring non-final in a Clause.

w becomes n following N class morphemes and

y following V class morphemes ending with i and

r following G class morphemes.

Interrogative Designatory (Inter Desig)

-no indicates that attention is being focussed on that particular construction and it is in question. It occurs with pronouns, demonstratives and personal names. It always follows N class morphemes so it's form is -do.

maandan-do How about this? mindan

mindan-do How about that?

eman-do How about you?

kemán-do How about me?

Puwaa'nan-do How about Puwaa'na?

3.3 STEM TYPES AND CONSTRUCTIONS

Kosena stems may be divided into two major classes, verb and non-verb stems. Verb stems are those which may occur with tense and person suffixes. Non-verb stems are those which do not so occur. Verb stems may be divided into transitive, intransitive and motion verb stems, depending on what type of Clause construction each may occur in.

Non-verb stems may be divided into nouns, which may be animate, inanimate or temporal; personal name; pronouns; demonstratives; numerals; descriptives; locatives; temporals; interrogatives which may be locative, noun animate or inanimate or temporal; and specific stems.

Structurally stems may be:

- (a) simple, consisting of one morpheme.
- (b) complex, consisting of pronominal referent plus stem or
 directional morpheme plus stem or
 stem plus locative suffix or
 stem plus stem forming particle,
- (c) compound, consisting of two stems.

The resulting stems function on the word and Phrase level as single units.

3.3.1 Verb stems

Types of verb stems

Morphophonemic classes have been described in Section 2.1. One other feature which applies to verb stems is described here. All N and G class verb stems reduce (R) when past tense or aspect suffixes or another stem is juxtaposed. Only some V class verb stems reduce. Verb stems therefore are listed as NR, GR and VR and V, the latter being the sub-class of V stems which do not reduce. Rules of reduction follow:

- (1) The final vowel of a stem final nasal plus vowel is reduced and the nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of the following stop e.g.

 pisiná extinguish fire becomes pisín-ka-i he extinguished fire kumó come/go down becomes kum-ká-i he went down tuvamó hit becomes tuván-ka-i he hit him

 This can only apply to N class verb stems.
- (2) The final vowel of a stem final CVV or CVVV is reduced e.g.

 tavaaé tear becomes tavaá-ká-i he tore it

 asaé split wood becomes asá-ká-i he split wood

 This has only been found with G class verb stems.
- (3) The final vowel of a stem final aya is reduced e.g.

 tuvayá blow fire becomes tuvai-rá-i he blew fire

 agayá cook/write becomes agai-rá-i he cooked it

 This has only been found with V class verb stems.
- (4) The final CV of stems other than the above mentioned, reduce e.g. he poured it atí-ra-i * becomes atiyé pour . i-rá-i he went up becomes iyó go/come up he swept it kwiyú-ká-i becomes kwiyuvo sweep to-ka-i he held it becomes tora hold inkai-ra-i he was afraid becomes inkaisé fear

This may occur with V or G class verb stems.

Verb stems may be transitive, intransitive or motion. Transitive verb stems occur in constructions where an Object Tagmeme may occur.

Intransitive verb stems may not so occur. Motion verb stems occur in constructions where the Acquisition allotagma of the Referent Tagmeme

Verb stems may end with a, o or e.

stem Verb structure

The structure of verb stems may be:

- (1) simple, consisting of one morpheme,
- (2) complex, consisting of a pronominal referent plus verb stem or directional morpheme plus verb stem or

may occur but intransitive verb stems may not so occur.

(3) compound, consisting of two verb stems, either simple or complex.

Reduplicated verb stems are handled under Verb Phrases in section 5.1.

Transitive verb stems may be simple, complex or compound.

Intransitive verb stems may be simple or complex.

Motion verb stems may be simple or complex.

Transitive verb stems

asinállR

aunaNR

simple e.g. anasaV finish aitoV seV sav put into bag isáV hear káráro V tawiséV demolish tie itáV prevent οV do káráV cut naV eat utáV bury vaV shoot agayáVR coo/write atiyeVR pour arikwisóVR hang up maváVR take inkaiséVR fear kauvóVR steam tuvayáVR blow fire karakwiyeVR care for pisinaNR extinguish fire avamóNR split wood anáNR sharpen tuvamonR hit

remove from pit

taboo

aruwóGR asaéGR split sew 'flee' peráGR kwiyuvóGR sweep ring bark piyéGR pod aráGR tuvuwoGR kill tavaaéGR tear break tararaGR uvóGR dig uwaéGR wipe tuwáGR lose

complex e.g.

ØááyaV call him
á-íyóvaV , doctor him
a-mentáV push him
an-kaV benefactive
á-úvaV he's alive
a-wánaV see him

a-iraGR carry him
a-uwaGR leave him
a-uyoraGR escort him
ØinkamoNR hit him

a-úsóV waken him

a-meG give him a-vuwoGR stare at

R escort him

Compound e.g.

aruwoGR sew + ameG give him = arur-ame sew and give him

simáv say + ameG give him = simá-me tell him

káráV cut + timeG give them = kárá-time cut and give them

agayáVR write + simeG give me = agai-símé write and give me

vamav shoot + ameG give him = vama-me shoot and give him

asinaNR remove + naV eat = asin-da remove and eat

mayáVR take + maráGR put = mai-mará marry uwaéGR wipe + naV eat = uwa'-na lick

Intransitive verb stems

simple e.g. kwaéV sleep/lie down

kwantaV turn round agandaV rest

kwayaVR stay - inanimate

mayaVR stay - animate

puwóGR die

Kosena Grammar Motion verb stems

(...

koV go along
koV go along, long distance
iyóVR go/come up
kumóNR go/come down

- complex e.g. consists of directional or bi-directional morphemes plus certain bound verb stems e.g.
 - + bi-directional morpheme + verb stem, bound usa-uweraGR go up but return down kunta-uweraGR go down but return up taya-uweraGR come along but return away from koya-uweraGR go away from but return towards
 - + directional morpheme + verb stem, bound
 kó-maataV go across (river)
 usá-maataV go up across
 usamaat-owana he got into boat
 kó-yaataV passby going along
 tá-yaataV pass by coming along
 usá-yaataV pass by going up

tá-yaaitaV pass by coming along usayaaita-mai kwaasi the man who excelled

3.3.2 Noun stems

Noun stems may be animate, inanimate, temporal or personal names.

A Vowel class noun stem will change to a Nasal class to indicate that that word or Phrase is the manifestation of the Indirect Object Tagmeme

in a Clause, e.g.

anówaVl his mother becomes anówaNl

iyankóV2 dog becomes <u>iyankóN2</u>

MapeVl personal name becomes MapeNl

The structure of noun stems may be:

- (1) simple, consisting of one morpheme,
- (2) complex, consisting of a pronominal referent plus body par stem, bodily processes or state stem or kin term stem or
- (3) compound, consisting of various stems plus stem forming particle,
 animate noun stem plus animate noun stem,
 inanimate noun stem plus inanimate noun stem, or
 reduplicated noun stems.

Other complexities are described as they are applicable.

Stem forming particles and bound noun stems are listed with examples, then other animate noun stems, with examples and structure, then other inanimate noun stems with examples and structure, then temporal noun stems and personal names.

Stem formatives

There are a number of stem forming particles which occur with other stems to form complex animate noun stems, demonstratives or per pronoun stems.

These particles are: naG male person

naV male or female person or inanimate

wav male or female person

wiV male or female persons

They occur with kin term, inanimate noun, numeral, descriptive, locative stems or verbs to form animate noun stems.e.g.

kaweG2 good + naG = kawe'náG2 the good person

anóVl his mother + waV = anówaVl his mother

kánísóroVl council + naG = kánísóronaGl councillor

 $\underline{\text{o'oNl}}$ another + $\underline{\text{waV}}$ = $\underline{\text{o'owaVl}}$ another person

pukai he died + naG = pukainaGl the dead person

kwiyompakeN from

heaven + naV = kwiyompakendaVl one from heaven

 $\frac{\text{anoNl}}{\text{big}}$ big + $\frac{\text{naV}}{\text{anondaVl}}$ big one / leader

 $\underline{\text{moraVl}}$ one + $\underline{\text{naG}}$ = $\underline{\text{moranaGl}}$ one person / someone

Bound noun stems

There are a number of noun stems, animate or inanimate which are bound on the Phrase Level i.e. they substitute for other noun stems to form Noun Phrases. These bound noun stems are:

| animate | <u>iniN</u> | married woman |
|-----------|--------------|------------------|
| | arasiV | unmarried girl |
| animate | waiV / y | waiN person / it |
| or | kwall | creature |
| inanimate | <u>úraNl</u> | reality |
| inanimate | tantaaG | thing |
| 1 | <u>iG</u> | custom / way |

Animate noun stems

| simple e.g | . human | non-human | |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | aarai.V2 woman | noyááG2 | fish |
| | kwaaiV2 man | póíVl | pig |
| | inaamarúV2 girl | iyáN2 | dog |
| | iyámpóíVl boy | kwaaN2 | possum |
| | ivówáG2 teenage | initiate iraank | avayaaN2 snake |
| | maaviV2 young ini | tiate numaV2 | bird |
| | kwaásiVl person | kwaiVl | rat |

complex i.e. pronominal referent plus kin term stems. For first and second person a fused form of pronoun and pronominal referent is a used. See also possessive pronouns in Section 4.3. For third person singular pronominal referent occurs plus kin term stem plus way bound noun stem or -koV stative morpheme or o. These are not interchangeable.

kesi-voV2 my father ena-voV2 your father
a-vo-waV2 his / her father

| Generation once removed | l aísaánkoVl man's parent-in-law son-in-law | l anáávúkoVl woman's parent-in-la daughter-in-mlaw |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| ego's | airowaV2 man's sibling-in-law | amaaigóV2 woman's sister- |
| | woman's brother-in- law | in-law |
| | áwááyaoVl man's brother's wife | |
| | woman's husband's bro | ther |
| | awaikoV2 husband | awaininkoV2 wife |

¹ these are reciprocal kin terms

| Generat | ion male | male an | d/or female | female |
|------------------|--|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| thrice removed | | aikwa'naáoVl great grand parents | | |
| twice removed | | áísaavukoVl father's parents | anaavúgóVl mother's father | arááráóVl mother's mother |
| once removed | avowáV2 father/ father's brother | amaamugóV2 father's sister | anaaogóV2 mother's brother | anowaVl mother/ mother's sister |
| | | | husband of s sister / wife of s brother | |
| | ayovigoVl woman's adult brother | anógaaoVl cross cousin | | amanaakoVl man's adult sister l |
| | awaaóV2 older brother 1 | | * | anaanowaV2 older sister 1 |
| , | ávákoVl younger brother | | ankariii 1994 halay da'a' Anda'a di Thay ii Maga alahayaya Uu Wagiiba a na a sabaya a sabaya a | aunkoVI younger sister |
| once removed | 2 aaninkoVl son | anaávéigoVl cross niece/nephew | | 2 ayaamunkoVI daughter |
| twice removed | | anówainkoVl grandchild | | |

There are a few kin terms which are a fusion of two kin term stems e.g.

anóvowiVl his parents

aúnavaGl his younger sister and brother

ava'awaaVl his younger and older brothers

l child of the people ego'calls father and mother

² also child of a man's brothers and child of a woman's sisters

There are a few kin terms which indicate 'pairs' of relationships.

These occur with the demonstrative stem <u>keV2</u> 'this, near' or with

miN2 'that'. <u>keV2</u> occurs if the 'pair' is in sight and <u>miN2</u> if out of sight.

ke-ainavoiVl father and son - nearby

min-ainavoiVl father and sons - out of sight

ke-araavanoiV2 mother and daughter

ke-unandav2 sisters

ke-aváráwáí V2 brothers

ke-akwaG2 married couple

ke-akuN2 family

There are a few kin terms which exhibit other complexities:

anowavl her mother + araankanl old woman + -kov stative =

anowa-araankankoVl her old mother

compound e.g.

+ animate noun stem + animate noun stem

human

inaamarúV2 girl + iyampóíVl boy = inaamaiyampóíV2 unweaned boy
(ru is lost)

<u>aaraiV2</u> woman + <u>kwaaiV2</u> man = <u>aaraigwaiV2</u> men and women (change of tone)

non-human

kwaivl rat + kwaan2 possum = kwaigwaan1 animals

póíVl pig + áráaGl offspring = póráaGl piglets (ia is lost)

numaV2 bird + kwaiV1 rat + kwaaN2 possum = numakwaikwaN1 birds and
animals
(change of tone)

Inanimate noun stems

simple e.g. unaaN2 string bag taaiV2 tree

iraV2 fire naaN2 house

teG2 banana tooN2 food

kisaaV2 sweet potato

There are a few body part stems which do not occur with the pronominal referent, the are:

naaeV2 blood naaN2 breast asiVl skin

complex e.g. + pronominal referent + body part stem

s-uranl my / our eyes a-uranl your/his/her eyes t-uranl your/their Following examples are given in third person singular forms:

<u>aaGl</u> his ear <u>aintaaVl</u> chest <u>aisamaiVl</u> foot

aiG2 nose amaaiN2 chin/jaw amaaviV1 tongue

arauN2 knee aruN2 liver aruGl thigh

<u>aúVl</u> body <u>aúV2</u> seed <u>auN2</u> joint

aúraNl eye <u>awétáN2</u> lower leg <u>ayááNl</u> hand

complex e.g. + pronominal referent + bodily processes or states

<u>aáVl</u> his breath <u>aáiVl</u> hunger <u>aigaeV2</u> embarrassment

aíGl pain/sickness aneG2 person augavaGl sleepiness

awiGl name araiVl desire

The following examples occur in Idiomatic Verb Phrases with no nominal suffix:

aisaaV ask him avakaV search for him awa'naaV help him

ávol his tiredness

There are some body part stems which are structurally interesting, as follows: pronominal referent + body part stem (which may be reduced) followed by an inanimate noun stem and in some cases followed by bound noun stem or collective plural morpheme. The following stems and suffixes

occur: assamaiVl his foot aruN2 his liver naV bound noun stem

ayaaNl his hand auN2 his joint -toN collective plural

a'nóN2 his head anáV1 leaves

aiG2 his nose amaG2 flesh/muscle

ávoll centre pole

anuV2 mountain

ayauVl his hair/feathers/fur

ayaan-aruNl his palm of hand <u>ais-aruNl</u> his sole of foot ayaan-au Nl elbow/wrist <u>ais-auNl</u> ankle

ayaan-aun-toNl knuckles ais-aun-toNl toe joints

ayaan-amaiVl hand(not arm) ais-amaiVl foot (not leg)

ayaan-anaVl fingers ais-anaVl little toes

ayaan-amaGl arm flesh ais-amaGl leg flesh

ayaan-avon-daVl thumb ais-avo-daVl big toe

ayaan-anuVl inside of elbow ais-anuVl back of knee

a'non-tauVl head hairs ai-tauVl moustache

compound e.g. + inanimate noun stem + inanimate noun stem

noN2 water + ana V2 bamboo = nonana V2 bamboo for water

noN2 water + taareiV2 style = nontaareiV2 bridge

aaN2 path + taareiV2 style = aantaaréiV2 gate 1

iraV2 firewood + aamaNl bark = iraamaNl bark for firewood

unaáN2 string bag + kwátóiVl skirt = unaánkwátóiVl clothes 1

¹ note tone changes

+ noun stem, inanimate + noun stem, animate

kwaaGl bark cape + numaV2 bird = kwaa'numaVl decorations for dancing

+ noun stem, animate + noun stem, inanimate

numa V2 bird + ayááN1 his hand = numáyááN2 decorations for dancing

reduplicated noun stems are of four types

- (1) giving sense of many in number
- (2) giving sense of movement back and forth
- (3) giving sense of repetition
- (4) giving sense of intense degree
 - (1) naaó'-naaoCl villages <u>mégwi-megwiVl</u> rafters <u>ó'owan-o'owaNl</u> others of various kinds
 - (2) pare-paréNl butterfly <u>nínki-ninkiGl</u> hic-coughs

 paró-paroGl hand clapping <u>parí-paríGl</u> as in the phrase

 paríparír-aaNl vehicle path
 - (3) All but final (C)CV of stem is lost and replaced by naa.

 Tone pattern is not always predictable.

kampa'-naampáG2 falsehood <u>ésé'-naaseGl</u> moans karónké'-naankeGl spotty <u>kwaaga-náágaVl</u> mocking

(4) Vowel change occurs:

suri-saariVl disarray <u>inai-naiV2</u> beg suwi-suwaaGl pleasure

Temporal noun stems

Temporal noun stems are of two types (a) those which occur with other stems to form Temporal Phrases and (b) those which occur with locative suffixes to form temporal words.

- (a) kwaya'waiVl mid-day kwiyoNl moon
 no'waaNl night nosa'waaNl night
 tawaiVl day
- (b) <u>aaváyaaVl</u> tomorrow morning <u>iraróNl</u> dawn

 <u>aáúGl</u> wet season <u>aatáíVl</u> dry season

 kanaaV2 time

Personal names

Personal names are all of the Vowel class and change into the Nasal class when occurring in the Object Tagmeme, directs or indirect. Names of objects or any allowable combination of sounds may form personal names. Names may begin with \underline{Y} or \underline{W} which are not initial phonemes in the rest of the language.

TimótiVl a boy's name <u>AapeVl</u> a man's name

A'ináaVl a woman's name

Substitutes for personal names occur.e.g.

+ personal name (N class) + kin term stem

<u>TimotiN1</u> + avoV2 his father = <u>TimotinavoV1</u> Timoti's father

TimotiN1 + anov1 his mother = TimotinanoV1 Timoti's mother

A'inaanl + awaiko her husband = A'inaanawaikoVl A'inaa's husband This type of construction is used as a substitute for a given name, to avoid name taboos e.g. in-laws and within the 'family' circle. Given names are used by outsiders.

3.3.3 Pronoun stems

Pronoun stems which manifest Subject Tagmeme are all of the Vowel class.

They change to the Nasal class to manifest Object Tagmemes, direct or indirect. Some general observations may be made:

<u>keV</u> or <u>keiV</u> implies a nearness to the speaker and miN implies a distance from the speaker.

This can be observed not only in pronoun stems but also with the stems of kin term 'pairs'. Except for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular stems, all personal pronoun stems are complex constructions. nav stem forming particle occurs with 2nd and 3rd person non-singular forms.

Subject person pronoun stem chart

| | singular | dual | plural |
|------------|----------|---------|--------|
| 1st person | keV2 | * keiV2 | keV2 |
| 2nd person | eV2 | kein | áVl |
| 3rd person | kweV2 | mind | áV1 |

* becomes <u>keN2</u> in
Object pronouns

keV2 man also be used for 3rd plural

3.3.4 Demonstrative stems (dem)

Demonstrative stems indicate the position in space relative to the speaker.

They may occur in contrastive pairs, but there is overlap.

min2 that maan2 this

kin1 only that kaan1 only this

men2 that, other keV2 this, near

keV2 occurs with 1st person and 2nd person pronouns and kin term 'pairs',
miN2 occurs with 3rd person pronouns and kin term 'pairs'.

maaN2 occurs with this bank of the river and

meN2 occurs with the 'other bank of the river'.

The following forms occur as part of certain locative stems:

meV2 up there meN2 down there meG2 along there

3.3.5 Numeral stems

(num)

Numeral stems may indicate specific number or general number. Structurally they may be (1) simple, consisting of one morpheme or

- (2) complex, consisting of stem plus -kaG locative suffix or
- (3) compound, consisting of
 - (a) noun stem plus number suffix,
 - (b) noun stem plus numeral stem or
 - (c) locative plus numeral stem.

The latter are structurally Phrases, but are handled here for convenience.

In specific numerals, only one to three are generally used. Numbering items is not a common practice and if needed, the Pidgin-English may be used. simple e.g. specific numeral (specinum) general numeral

moráVl one o'oNl another sawivaGl many/plenty kaeG2 two kaumboV2 three amapaG1 all eiyaiNl four amipaGl all éva'aaseiVl five évakaG1 some

complex e.g. general number

évakaraGl at some

occurs with waiv to form <u>évakarawaivl</u> some people compound e.g.

+ noun stem + number suffix

siyaan-kaiVl ten i.e. my hands-two

+ noun stem + numeral stem

(avaG over, movement)

ava'moraéVl six

avakaetéVl seven

avakaumboéV2 eight

avaréivaiNl nine

+ locative + numeral stem

sísamaivakemba moráVl eleven

" kaeG2 twelve

kaumboV2 thirteen

éiyaiNl fourteen

" éva'aaseiVl fifteen

ava moraéVl sixteen

avakaetéVl seventeen

avakaumboéVl eighteen

avaréiyaiNl nineteen

3.3.6 Descriptive stems

Descriptive (desc) stems may be classified as:

- (1) those which modify nouns and verbs i.e. those which occur as modifiers in Descriptive Noun Phrases and in Manner Tagmemes, or
- (2) those which only modify nouns and
- (3) those which only modify verbs.
- (1) kaweG2 good sawiGl bad anoNl big

 reduplicated stems giving sense of intense degree:

 very

 kawer-aweG2 good sawi-sawaaVl very bad
- (2) <u>akiVl</u> short colours as follows:

<u>ayaátaáGl long/tall sokóNl blue avutáN2 black/brown</u>
<u>kítoGl little karogaroN2 red sevóN2 yellow</u>

kwayaN2 white

complex stems are as follows:

- + <u>ááeVl</u> before + -kaaN resemblance = <u>ááeraaNl</u> old
- + teG2 banana + ávuVl ripe = terávuVl yellow

Colour substitutes:

kanaV2 ash - used for white naseVl blood %- used for red

(3) complex stems are as follows:

+ anóNl big + -kaG locative suffix = anónkaGl loudly reduplicated stem = kavegaveV2 quickly

3.3.7 Locative stems

Locative stems are those stems which indicate location-in-space and occur in constructions on higher lyels. Structurally they may be

- (1) simple, consisting of one locative stem,
- (2) complex, consisting of place name (village, garden or ground),

 demonstrative stem, directional stem or positional stem

 plus -paG active or -kaG non-active locative suffix or
- (3) compound i.e. reduplicated stem or two stems plus -pag locative suffix. simple e.g.

égwaaGl near <u>móiV</u> inside

sanaaN2 above <u>mósáV</u> up

nampaG2 below moruN down

_ <u>móruna</u> down

complex e.g.

+ place name + -paG active locative suffix

UyaasimpaG2 a Kosena hamlet

AiyurampaG2 Government Agricultural Station

KainantúváG2 district office and township

+ demonstrative stem + -kaG non-active locative suffix

maankaG2 here minkaG2 there menkaG1 long distance

+ demonstrative stem + -paG active locative suffix

maaváG2 here miváG2 there némpaG1 long distance

meivaG2 up there long way mevíváG2 up there fair way

mempaG2 down there long way mempivaG2 down there fair way

mepaG2 along there long way mepivaG2 along there fair way

+ positional stem + -kaG non-active locative suffix

avakáG2 over/out of way avoraG2 in open

aakaakáG2 in sunshine paakáG2 outside/ shallow

kusanka@ lengthwise nanka@ long distance

+ directional stem + -paG active locative suffix

attpaG2 hidden <u>kaapaG2</u> horizontal

<u>aápaGl</u> in shade <u>kokupaGl</u> vertical

maapaGl outside kupaGl vertical

améndaampaGl underneath avovúmáyáápaGl above

awampaG2 edge/ end maa'aruvaG1 outside house

amempaGl on mountain side

compound e.g.

reduplicated stems giving sense of two or more in number

evarevacl each end oparopacl different places

<u>aákaraakaGl</u> at her ears (remember) <u>nánka'nankaGl</u> distances (spaces between words)

+ demonstrative stem + noun stem + -paG active locative suffix

maanavapaG2 this side of river menavapaG2 that side of river

+ possessive pronoun + o 'presence' + -paG active locative suffix

kesópaGl my presence enópaGl your presence

3.3.8 Temporal stems

Temporal stems indicate the location in time. They may be general-relative or specific time. The latter must agree with presment, past and future tense of the verb in the Predicate Tagmeme of the Clause.

The structure may be simple or compound.

specific time

simple e.g.

| present | past | future |
|----------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| ives now | naaóváG2 before | aánoVl - later |
| | | |
| | <u>tindauVl</u> yesterday | saraGl tomorrow |
| | ayúnkáVl two d | ays hence |

general-relative time

aivaG2 first aaeVl before / early naaeNl behind / last

compound e.g.

specific time

+ demonstrative stem + temporal stem

meN2 down there + ayunkaVl two days hence = menayunkaVl 3 days hence

general-relative time

in reduplicated temporal stem

aasiyaasiV2 always

3.3.9 Interrogative stems

Interrogative stems may be locative, noun or temporal.

Interrogative locative (inter loc) stem may substitute for a locative stem.

nááVl where - active or location

nááll where - non-active or position

Interrogative noun (inter n) stem may substitute for a noun stem.

They may be animate or inanimate.

animate

 $\underline{\text{n\'{a\'{a}Vl}}}$ where + $\underline{\text{waV}}$ stem forming particle = $\underline{\text{n\'{a}\'{a}waVl}}$ who, singular $\underline{\text{n\'{a\'{a}Vl}}}$ where + $\underline{\text{wiV}}$ " " = $\underline{\text{n\'{a\'{a}\'{w}iVl}}}$ who, plural inanimate

nóraVl what

noiNl what

nóiNl what + tantaaG thing = nóintantaaGl what thing

náaNl where + naV stem forming particle = náandaVl where thing

Interrogative temporal (inter temp) stem may substitute for the first stem in a Temporal Phrase.

nosa when

3.3.10 Specific stems

There are a number of stems which function in specific place in Sentences and do not substitute for other stems.e.g.

póGl so <u>éGl</u> if <u>a'áoVl</u> don't <u>owé</u> yes also the negative stem <u>íVl</u> no

4 WORD TYPES AND CONSTRUCTIONS

Words may be divided into two major construction types, verbs and non-verbs. Verbs are those word constructions which may occur with tense and subject person morphemes and non-verbs are those word constructions which do not so occur.

4.1 Verbs

Four types of verb structure occur i.e. final, different subject (ds), same subject (ss) and simultaneous (simult) verbs. Final verbs occur with tense and final subject person/mood or final subject person and optional mood. ds verbs occur with ds person/tense and anticipatory subject (antic sbj) morphemes. ss verbs occur with same subject person morpheme and antic. sbj. morphemes. simult verbs occur with subject person/tense/simult morphemes.

Depending on the distribution within the Sentence, one of the above verb types will occur:

final verbs manifest Predicate Tagmemes in final Clauses of Paragraphs.

ds verbs manifest Predicate Tagmemes in final Clauses of Sentences.

ss verbs manifest Predicate Tagmemes in non-final Clauses of Sentences.

simult verbs manifest Predicate Tagmemes in non-final Clauses which

have time overlap with the following Clause.

These four types of verb structure may be sub-classified as transitive, intransitive and motion verbs, depending on the verb stem which occurs. Following are formulae for these three types of verbs, each one has alternative readings for tense, subject person and mood to suit final, ds. ss and simult verb types.

```
transitive verb(tv) = +kwé +dir +tvs +asp + ts+ final sbj.per+mood | sbj per/mood | sbj per/mood | sds per/ts | sds v | ss + antic sbj | ss v | sbj per/ts/simult | simult v
```

Transitive verb consists of an optional kwe-V1 'continuative' morpheme which is in agreement with the tense morpheme, it may only occur with the present tense. Then follows an optional directional morpheme, either directional or positional, followed by an obligatory transitive werb stem, followed by an optional aspect morpheme, followed by the specific readings for specific verb types. These are:(1)for final verb - an obligatory tense, followed by either final subject person and optional mood or by subject person/mood complex morpheme. (2) for different subject verb - an obligatory different subject person/tense complex morphemes. (3) for same subject verb - an obligatory -e 'same subject' morpheme followed by an obligatory anticipatory subject morpheme. (4) for simultaneous verb - an obligatory subject person/tense/simultaneous complex morpheme.

intransitive verb(iv) = +kwé- +dir +ivs +asp + { as tv formula } Intransitive verb consists of an optional kwé-Vl 'continuative' morpheme which is in agreement with the tense morphemes, it may only occur with the present tense. Then follows an optional directional morpheme, either directional or positional, followed by an obligatory intransitive verb stem. followed by an optional aspect morpheme, followed by the specific readings for final, ds, ss and simultaneous verbs as given for transitive verb above.

myre magnetic more and a second more and a secon

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Kosena Grammar motion verb (mv) = $\pm \underline{kwe} - + \underline{mvs} + \underline{asp} + \{\underline{as} \ tv \ formula \}$

Motion verb consists of an optional kwe-V1 'continuative' morpheme which is in agreement with the tense morphemes, it may only occur with present tense. Then follows an obligatory motion verb stem, followed by an optional aspect morpheme, which may only be -em 'repetitive' aspect. Then follows the specific readings for final, ds, ss and simult verbs as given for transitive verb above.

Examples:

transitive final verbs

ma-tinkan-tuw-émáe-Ø-mbani.

towards-hit him-comp-cust-they-mood

They would kill them there.

uma-tinka-naao-Ø-we.

do-benef-future-they-ind

They will do it for them.

tatoraa-Ø-vai.

hold-they-prohibitive

They mustn't catch me out.

transitive ds verbs

time-wa-sarai

give to them-they/prest-they dual

They gave it to them and they(dual)

kwé-tavisu-wa-na

cont-pull-they/prest-it

They pull it and it

vá-suwa-igwae.

shoot-comp-they/desid mood

They want to shoot (birds).

tuwa-u-navo (Negative Reasons S)

leave-I-neg.com

I mustn't leave it

asá-ta-ra-i.

split-'all gone' aspect-past-he

He has split all the wood up.

kara-yuwaa-wa-na

cut-comp-they/prest-it

They cut it away and it

agaisim-ina-'a

cook/give me-you/fut-I

You'll cook, give to me and I'll

kaáta-g-uwa-na

cover-stative-it/past-he

It covered (them) and he

vamam-ina-na

shoot/give her-he/fut-she

He'll shoot, give to her andshe

transitive ss verbs

s-uwa-e-na

say-contrary/to/expected/result-ss-he

He spoke in vain and

<u>aa-k-e-sa</u>

hold in mouth-past-ss-they

They held it in their mouths

and then

avaká-uwa-e-'a

search for him-contrary to expected result-ss-I

I searched for him in vain and

sinkami-niy-o-na-wa'i.

hit me-intentive-ss-he-Inter Com mker

Is it that he intends to kill me?

kum-bai-mar-é-na

go down-take-put-ss-she

She went down and took (baby) and

ku-simá-suw-e-taa

go-say-comp-ss-we (plural)

We went and spoke about it and

Ø-em-e-'a

do-repetitive-ss-you(pl)

You (pl)went on and on doing it

ma-uta-suw-e-sa

towards-bury-comp-ss-they

They buried them there and

kwi-ma-e-sa

cook-perfect-ss-they

They cooked it and

kwi-mar-e-sa

cook-put-ss-they

They cooked it and

transitive simultaneous verbs

ma-yuvuw-imbo

towards-hit-she/prest/simult/desig

and the second of the second o

While she hits her there

ank-omba

benef for him-she/past/simult

While she gave birth to him

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<u>maimó már-ómba</u>

ambush put-they/past/simult

While they set an ambush

intransitive final verbs

kwaya-i-yo.
stay-it-interrogative
Is there any?

koyo-ku-ra-i.
offend-stative-past-he
He was offended.

mé-kaiyo.
stay-dual imperative
You (dual) stay!

intransitive ds verbs

me-gwant-owa-na
away from-turn-he/past-she
He turned around from her and she

intransitive ss verbs

kun-kw-é-na

go down-say-ss-it

It went down and was there and

intransitive simult verbs

kwé-ga-imba
cont-become-he/prest/simult
While he became (an old man)

-acces Contract Prints action lawns biggin kwé-s-umba cont-say-they/past/simult While they were speaking

u-kwé-gwae. Ø
go up-cont-sleep-they
They go up and sleep.

kwé-ga-i-vo (Reason-Result S)
cont-burn-it-assertative
It is burning so

agaandaa-no.
rest-we imperative
We must rest.

ko-kwe-gwae-wa-na
go-cont-sleep-they/prest-she
They go and sleep and she

motion final verbs

usáuwera-Ø-i.

return down-prest-he

He went up and came down.

ko-ro.

go-plural imperative

You (plural) go!

k-ú-sina. (Contraexpectation S)

go-I- contraexpectation

I would have gone.

iy-éíra-um.

go up-near past-I

I went up yesterday.

kó-nááo-Ø-mbanivo (Concession-Result S)

to-future-they-concession

They will go but

motion ds verbs

kúm-ísa-sa

go down-he/prest-they

He went down and they

t-esa-ina-'a

come-permissive-he/fut-I

He'll allow me to come and I'll

kwe-go-uwa-sa

cont-go-it/past-they

It(time) goes by and they

(N.B. kwe-Vl does occur with past)

(so need to change paper thruout)

motion ss verbs

kw-em-e-na

go-repetitive-ss-he

He went on and on and

ti-niy-e-Ø-o.

come-intentive-ss-you-inter

Do you intend coming?

motion simult verbs

t-unda-rakai

come-I/prest/simult-contrafactual

If I had have come

t-umba

come-they/past/simult

While they came

Non-verbs

A non-verb as the sole manifestation of a Tagmeme in a Clause or a non-verb as the head of a non-verb Phrase will occur with a closing suffix.

However a non-verb which occurs as a modifier in a non-verb Phrase will not occur with a closing suffix and therefore could consist of only a non-verb stem. So non-verbs may be described as non-verb stems, with or without suffixes, occurring in a higher level construction.

Non-verbs may be nouns, personal names, pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, descriptives, locatives, temporals, interrogative words and specific words.

Any non-verb may occur with -man 'nominal' as the closing suffix or with -mon 'designatory' as the closing suffix. Any non-verb including negative stem and excluding other specific stems, may occur with -wa 'interrogative' as the closing suffix, in which case this word manifests a Tagmeme which is in question in an Interrogative Active Clause. Or may occur with -wa'iyo 'Inter Comment marker' as the closing suffix, in which case it manifests the Interrogative Comment Tagmeme. Or may occur with -ne 'indicative' as the closing suffix, in which case it manifests the Comment Tagmeme. Any noun, personal name, pronoun, demonstrative or interrogative noun may occur with a possessive suffix instead of the closing suffix, in which case that word is the possessor in a PosNP,

In the following pages non-verbs are described with their appropriate closing suffixes, naming the word construction and its distribution, then giving the interrogative form, indicative form and possessor form as applicable. Occas ionally the closing suffix is omitted, but nominative is implied when no closing suffix occurs, so it is written as obligatory.

4.2 Nouns

Nouns may be animate, inanimate or temporal, depending on the type of noun stem occurring. The structure of a noun will depend on which Tagmeme it manifests in the Clause. To some extent this will also determine the type of noun stem occurring in the construction too.

A Moun consists of a noun stem followed by either a Tagmeme marker or by an optional internal state and an optional externals relationship morpheme followed by a closing suffix.

Specific readings of this formula with their distribution are as follows:

(1) n = + n.s. + Tagmeme mker + closing suffix

e.g.

kesinó-o 'my mother'

Aape-o

Timotinavo-o 'Timoti's father'

An instrument noun consists of an inanimate noun stem which may be a body part stem or a numeral stem following by -neiV instrument morpheme followed by a closing suffix. This manifests the Instrument Tagmeme.

 $\underline{\text{taáN2}}$ club + $-\underline{\text{neiV}}$ + $\underline{\text{nom}}$ = $\underline{\text{taán-dei-ma}}$ with a club $\underline{\text{ontaN1}}$ stone + $-\underline{\text{neiV}}$ + $\underline{\text{nom}}$ = $\underline{\text{ontan-dei-ma}}$ with a stone $\underline{\text{moráV1}}$ one + $-\underline{\text{neiV}}$ = $\underline{\text{nom}}$ = $\underline{\text{morá-nei-ma}}$ with one $\underline{\text{ayaáN1}}$ his hand + $-\underline{\text{neiV}}$ = $\underline{\text{ayaándei}}$ with his (own) hands

source noun = + demonstrative + - + closing suffix inanimate n.s

A source noun consists of either a demonstrative or an inanimate noun stem followed by -nankakeN source morpheme followed by a closing suffix.

-nankakeN could be said to consist of -naG stem forming particle +

-kaG non-active locative suffix + -keN 'from'. This construction

manifests Source allotagma of Instrument Tagmeme.

Specific readings of the above formula are:

+ demonstrative + -nankakeN + closing suffix

maandáVl this + -nankakeN + nom = maandá-nankakem-ba from this

(he'll make new coins)

mindáNl that + -nankakeN + desig = mindán-dankakem-bo (if she hits her) in that way (she'll die)

+ inanimate noun s + -nankakeN + closing suffix

mara V2 ground + -nankakeN + nom = mara-nankakem-ba (he made fireplace)
with the ground

taaiV2 tree + -nankakeN + nom = taai-nankakém-ba (he made door) from timber

sanóN2 sap + -nankakeN + nom = sanón-dánkákém-bá (he made it) with glue

acquisition noun = + inanimate n.s. + -taaG + closing suffix An acquisition noun consists of an inanimate noun stem, excluding body part stems, followed by -taaG acquisition morpheme followed by a closing suffix. This construction manifests Acquisition allotagma of Referent Tagmeme.

kwaasaiVl news + $-\tan G$ + nom = kwaasai-yaa-'a (she went) to talk

kuN2 axe + $-\tan G$ + nom = kun-taa-'a (he went) for an axe

koG2 wing beans + $-\tan G$ + nom = ko-taa-'a (she went) for wing beans

(2) + n.s. + internal state + closing suffix animate noun stem

<u>aaraiV2</u> woman + -koV stative $+ nom = \underline{aarai-go-ma}$ the woman

inaamarúV2 girl + -taaV limitation + nom = inaamarú-yáá-má only girls

iyampoiVl boy + -iyaaiN diminutive+nom = iyampo-iyaaim-ba childress

<u>namuroV2</u> enemy + -tavaiV referent = <u>namuro-yavai</u> for the enemy

noyááGl fish + -toN collective pl+nom = noyáá-tom-ba lots of fish

<u>kwayó'náV2</u> servant+ -<u>kaum</u> trial = <u>kwayó'ná-ráúm</u> 3 servants

keáínávóíV2 father & son + -nonda plural = keáínávóí-nónda father and sons

kwiyompakendaVl one from heaven + -kawaG pl = kwiyompakenda-rawa-'a

ones from heaven

iyampoiVl boy + -koV stative + pos = iyampoi-g-na the boy's
inanimate noun stem

taaGl their ears + -koV stative + nom = taa-ko-ma their ears

ayaaNl his hand + -iyaaiN diminutive +nom= ayaan-iyaaim-ba armless

<u>iviG2</u> cry + -teV intensifier = <u>ivi-té</u> cry plus plus

tááci their ears + -tavaiv referent = táá-tavai regarding their ears

maiG2 pit + -toN collective pl +nom= mai-tom-ba lots of pits noN2 water + -tavaiV referent + inter = non-tavai-ya for water?

(3) + n.s. + external relationship + closing suffix

animate noun stem

kesúnkoNl my younger sister + -kaaN resemblance + nom = kesúnkon-kaam-ba like my younger sister

inanimate noun stem

ándáVl vine + -kaaN resemblance + nom = ándá-raam-ba like a vine

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(4) + n.s. + internal state + externals relationship + closing suffix animate noun stem

<u>iyampóíVl</u> boy + -koV stative + -kwaraG acc + ind = iyampóí-go-gwara-re she has children

inanimate noun stem

kesinóNl my mother + -tavaiV referent + -kwaraG acc =

kesinón-tavai-gwara

and for my mother

kesímánaaGl my adult sister + -maaG plural + -teV acc =

kesímánaa-maa-te and my adult sisters

(5) + n.s. + closing suffix animate noun stem

kwaaiV2 man + nom = kwaai-ma man / men

anondaVl big one + inter = anonda-ra the leader?

iyampoiVl boy + -ti pos = iyampoi-ti the boys'

kesinóVl my mother + -na pos = kesinó-na mymother's

inanimate noun stem

kampaG2 falsehood + inter = kampa-rá lie? / lies?

Personal names

Personal name stems occur with a nominal suffix when manifesting Subject or Object Tagmemes. All personal names are of the V class when occurring in the Subject Tagmeme and change to N class when occurring in the Object, direct or indirect.

<u>TimotiVl</u> boy's name + pos = <u>Timoti-na</u> Timoti's

Personal names may be possessed:

+ pos pro + personal name

kesí Timóti = kesí Timóti 'my Timoti'

4.3 Pronouns

Pronouns may substitute for nouns in Subject and Object Tagmemes. To the basic pronoun stems, dual, trial and plural number suffixes are added as given in the following two charts for subject and object pronouns:

subject pronoun chart

| ************************************** | singular | dual | trial | plural |
|--|----------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1st person | keV2 | keiráíV2 | kesááV2 | |
| 2nd person | eV2 | keináraiVl | keinárauVl | mkeinárawaGl |
| 3rd person | kweV2 | mindáraiVl | mindárauVl | mindárawaGl |

object pronoun chart

| | singular | dual | trial | plural |
|------------|----------|----------|-------------|--------------|
| lst person | keN2 | kenkáíV2 | kentá | áV2 |
| 2nd person | eN2 | | | |
| 3rd person | kweN2 | (as | for subject | chart above) |

Various nominal suffixes may occur with pronouns e.g.

-taaV mlimitation

-teV accompaniment, non-active

-kwaraG accompaniment, active

-yaarikaG reflexive

Locative suffixes may occur with pronouns e.g.

-paG active locative kem-paG2 (you trust) in me

kwe-yaa-vaGl (he took and placed) him alone

-kaG non-active locati.

kwe-yáá-raGl (it grew) by itself

ken-kaG2 (he cared) for me

More investigation is needed.

To these forms a closing suffix is added to form a pronoun word construction

e.g. $\underline{\text{keV2}}$ I + nom = $\underline{\text{ke-ma}}$ I

eV2 you + desig = e-mo you

keV2 I. + ind = ke-we it is I

keinaraiVl you two + ind = keinarai-ye it is a you two

<u>keV2</u> I + Inter Com mker = <u>ke-wa'iyo</u> is it I?

<u>kweV2</u> he $+ -t\acute{a}$ limitation + ind = <u>kwe-yaé-we</u> it is only he

 $\underline{\text{keV2}}$ I + $-\underline{\text{seV}}$ acc + $-\underline{\text{rai}}$ dual + inter = $\underline{\text{ke-sé-rai-ya}}$ may I too (go)?

 $\underline{\text{keV2}}$ I + $\underline{-\text{taaV}}$ limitation + $\underline{-\text{rai}}$ dual+ nom = $\underline{\text{ke-yaa-rai-ma}}$ we two only

keinárau you 3 + -taaVlimitation + nom = keinárau-yaa-ma you 3 only

 $\underline{\text{kweV2}}$ he + - $\underline{\text{yaarikaG}}$ reflexive + nom = $\underline{\text{kwe-yaarika-'a}}$ he himself Possessive morphemes may substitute for the closing suffix with the resulting construction occurring as the possessor in a PosNP₁.

Possessive morphemes occur with the object pornoun forms, which are given in the following chart.

possessive pronoun chart

| | singular | dual | trial | plural |
|------------|----------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| lat person | ke-sí | kenkaí-sí | kentáá-s | |
| 2nd person | e-ná | keinárai-ti | keinárau-ti | keinárawa-ti |
| 3rd person | kwe-ná | mindárai-ti | mindárau-ti | mindárawa-ti |

2nd and 3rd persons of non-singular may occur as kenti 'your /their'

In section 3.3.2 kin term stems are given with the 3rd person singular pronominal referent morpheme. Possessive pronouns may occur with kin term stems too e.g.

kesi-no my mother

kenkaisi-no our (dual) mother

kentaasi-nó our (plural) mother

kenkaisi-nó-rasai our (dual) two mothers

kentaasi-nó-isai our (plural) three mothers

These forms are noun constructions, with closing suffixes.

4.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives may be animate or inanimate. Animate demonstratives substitute for pronouns. Both may occur in Subject and Object Tagmemes. The demonstrative stems which occur are:

miN2 that maaN2 this kiN1 only that kaaN1 only this
The stem forming particles which occur are:

naV for inanimate waV for animate singular wiV animate plural demonstrative (dem) = + dem.s + stem forming particle + closing suffix

An animate demonstrative consists of a demonstrative stem followed by wav or wiv 'stem forming particles' followed by a closing suffix.

An inanimate demonstrative consists of a demonstrative stem followed by naV 'stem forming particle' followed by a closing suffix.

These stem forming particles change from V class to N class when occurring in the Object Tagmeme.

animate demonstrative

miN2 that + waV sg + nom = mi-wa-ma that person

maaN2 this + wiV pl + nom = Naa-wi-ma these people

min that + wav sg + inter = mi-wa-wa that person?

miN that + waV sg + Inter Com m er = mi-wá-wá'iyo is it that

inanimate demonstrative

miN2 that $+ \underline{naV} + \underline{nom} = \underline{\underline{min-da-ma}}$ that

kíNl only that + naV = kin-da only that

kaall only this + naV = kaan-da only this

4.5 Numerals

Numerals may occur as modifiers in a Noun Phrase, in which case they occur without a closing suffix. Numerals may occur as the head of a Numeral Phrase or as the sole manifestation of a Tagmeme in which case a closing suffix occurs.

numeral (num) = + numeral stem + closing suffix

moraVl one + nom = mora-ma one

moráVl one + inter = morá-wa one?

kaeC2 two + Inter Com mker = kae-ra'i is it two?

A numeral stem may substitute for a noun stem to form an instrument noun e.g. moraV one + -meiV instru + closing suffix = mora-nei-ma with one

4.6 Descriptives

Descriptives may occur as modifiers in a Noun Phrase, in which case they occur without a closing suffix. Descriptives which are the sole manifestation of a Tagmeme occur with a closing suffix.

descriptive (desc)= + desc.s. + closing suffix

kaweG2 good + nom = kawe-'á good

kaweG2 good + inter = kawe-ra good?

kitoGl little + Inter Com mker = kito-ra'iyo is it the little one?

4. 7 Locatives

Locatives manifest Location Tagmemes in Clauses.

A locative consists of either a locative stem or one of the following;

demonstrative,
demonstra

+ locative stem + keN 'from' + closing suffix

maankaG2 here + -keN + nom = maanka-kem-ba from here

sanaaN2 above + nom = sanaam-ba above

 $\underline{avoraG2}$ in open + nom = $\underline{avora-'a}$ in open

UyaasimpaG2 hamlet name + nom = Uyaasimpa-'á at

evarevaGl each end + nom = evareva-1a at each end

+ descriptive stem + loc suffix + -keN + closing suffix

 $\frac{\text{akiVI}}{\text{short}}$ short + -paG + nom = $\frac{\text{aki-va-'a}}{\text{at short}}$ at short

 $\underline{\text{kaweG2}} \text{ good} + \underline{-\text{kaG}} + \text{nom} = \underline{\text{kawe-ka-'a'}} \text{ good place}$

 $\frac{\text{ayaátaáGl long} + -\text{paG} + -\text{keN}}{\text{long hand}} + \text{nom} = \frac{\text{ayaátaá-pa-kem-ba}}{\text{long hand}}$

anóN1 big + -kaG + inter = anón-ka-ra (is it burning) big?

+ inanimate noun stem + loc suffix + - keN + closing suffix

 $\underline{\text{kanaV2 ash}}$ + $-\underline{\text{piN}}$ + $-\underline{\text{keN}}$ + $\underline{\text{nom}}$ = $\underline{\text{kana-vin-kém-bá}}$ from the ashes

 $\underline{anuV2}$ moutain + $\underline{-piN}$ + nom = $\underline{anu-vim-ba}$ in the valley

uwoi√2 pit pit

shoots + -kaG + -keN + nom = uwoi-ra-kem-ba (I got salt) for pit pit shoots

<u>kuriV2</u> fence + -<u>kavaN</u> + nom = <u>kuri-rávám-bá</u> along the fence

mara V2 ground + -piN + -keN + inter = mara-vin-ké-ná from the ground?

<u>kigauVl</u> garden + -paG + Inter Com mker = <u>kigau-va-ra'iyo</u> is it at the garden?

+ numeral stem + loc suffix + closing suffix

<u>eíyaiNl</u> four + -kaG + nom = <u>eíyain-ka-'a</u> (split)into four pieces

kaeG2 two +-kaG + nom = kae-ka-'a (how much) for two

 $\underline{\text{moraVl}}$ one $+ -\underline{\text{paG}} + \text{nom} = \underline{\text{mora-va-'a}}$ (put it) there

+ demonstrative + loc suffix $+ - \underline{\text{keM}}$ + closing suffix

 $\frac{\text{mindáVl}}{\text{that}} + -\text{kaG} + -\frac{\text{keN}}{\text{keN}} + \text{nom} = \frac{\text{mindá-ra-kem-ba}}{\text{lock from that key}}$

mindávl that + -kaG + nom = mindá-ra-'a (how much) for that

+ pronoun + loc suffix + closing suffix

 $\underline{\text{keN}}$ me + $-\underline{\text{kaG}}$ + nom = $\underline{\text{ken-ka-'a}}$ (you work) for me

 $\underline{\text{keN}}$ me + -paG + nom = $\underline{\text{kem-pá-'a'}}$ (you trust) in me

+ verb with inflectional affix + loc suffix + closing suffix

4.8 Temporals

Temporals indicate the Location in Time. They occur as exponents of the Time Tagmeme. Depending on the type of temporal stem chosen, they may be general-relative time or specific time. The latter must agree with present, past and future tense of the verb in the Predicate Tagmeme of the Clause.

Temporals consist of a temporal noun stem, certain descriptive stems, or certain noun stems certain demonstrative stems followed by a locative suffix and an optional -ken 'from'; or a temporal stem may occur. Then follows a closing suffix. The locative suffixes which may occur are: -piN 'in', -paG 'at', active and -kaC 'at', nonactive. Following are examples of specific readings of the above formula:

(1) + temporal stem + closing suffix specific time

aánoVl later = aano-ma later + nom sáraGl tomorra = sara-'a tomorrow + nom = ayúnká-ma 2 days hence ayunkáVl 2 days hence + nom = menáyúnká-mà 3 days hence menayúnkáVl 3 days hence + nom tindauVl yesterday = tindau-ma yesterday + nom = naaova-'a before naaóvaG2 before + nom ívéGl now + inter = ive-ra now? + Inter Com mker = <u>ive-ra'i</u> is it now?

general-relative time

```
xwayaxwaiXlx:mid*dax
                          ¥ Man
                                  x kwayatwaixoa midxday
natuaxXI night
                                  * noiveauxha night
                          X MAM
aivaG2 first
                                  = aiva-'á first
                          + nom
ááeVl before/ early
                                  = <u>ááe-ma</u> before / early
                         + nom
naaeNl behind/last
                         + nom
                                  = naaém-ba behind/last
kwaayuVl temporary
                                 = kwaayu-ma temporary
                         + nom
aasiyaasiV2 always
                         + nom
                                 = aasiyaasi-ma always
```

- (2) + temporal noun stem(a) + closing suffix

 kwaya'waiVl mid-day + nom = kwaya'wai-ma mid-day

 no'waaNl night + nom = no'waam-ba night

 kwiyoNl moon + nom = kwiyom-ba month
- (3) + temporal noun stem(b) + locative suffix + closing suffix

 aavayaaVl tomorrow a.m. + -piN + nom = aavayaa-vim-ba in the morning time

 aauGl wet season + -paG + nom = aau-pa-'a in the wet season

 aataiVl dry season + -paG + nom = aatai-va-'a in dry season

 iraroNl dawn + -kaG + nom = iraron-ka-'a at dawn
- (4) + descriptive stem + locative suffix + closing suffix $\frac{akiVl}{akiVl}$ little + $\frac{-kaG}{n}$ + nom = $\frac{aki-ra-'a}{n}$ in little while $\frac{ayaataaGl}{n}$ long + $\frac{-kaG}{n}$ + nom = $\frac{ayaataa-ka-'a}{n}$ in long time $\frac{aGl}{n}$ enough + $\frac{-kaG}{n}$ + inter = $\frac{a-ka-ra}{n}$ permanently?
- (5) + demonstrative stem + loc suffix + $-\underline{\text{keN}}$ + closing suffix $\underline{\text{miN2}}$ that + $-\underline{\text{paG}}$ + $-\underline{\text{keN}}$ + $\underline{\text{nom}}$ = $\underline{\text{min-ka-kém-ba}}$ then $\underline{\text{miV2}}$ that + $-\underline{\text{paG}}$ + $\underline{\text{nom}}$ = $\underline{\text{mi-va-'a}}$ then

(6) + noun stem + locative suffix + closing suffix

 $\underline{\text{umaraN2}}$ baby $+ -\underline{\text{kaG}}$ + nom = $\underline{\text{umaran-ká-'á}}$ when I was a baby $\underline{\text{aáiN2}}$ base $+ -\underline{\text{kaG}}$ + nom = $\underline{\text{aáin-ka-'a}}$ at the beginning

4.9 Interrogatives

Interrogative locative

Interrogative locative may substitute for a locative, occurring in Interrogative Location Tagmeme or Interrogative Comment Tagmeme.

interrogative locative = + inter.loc.s + loc suffix + -ken + closing suffix

Interrogative locative consists of an intermogative locative stem followed by either -paG active or -kaG non-active locative suffix, optionally followed by -keN 'from', followed by either -wa interrogative or Interrogative Comment marker as the closing suffix.

<u>nááVl</u> where, active + -paG + inter = náá-va-ra where - at what place

 $\underline{\text{náánl}}$ where, non-active + $-\underline{\text{kaG}}$ + inter = $\underline{\text{náán-ka-ra}}$ where - in what position

náaVl where, active + -paG + -keN + inter = náá-va-ke-na from where

náaVl where, active + -paG + Inter Com mker =

náa-va-ra'i where is it?

náá-va-ra'o where have you been?

Interrogative noun

Interrogative noun consists of an interrogative noun stem followed optionally by - number of manifesting an Object Tagmeme,; obligatorally by - referent if manifesting a Referent Tagmeme; obligatorally by - instrument if manifesting an Instrument Tagmeme; or an interrogative locative stem followed by a closing suffix.

Various readings of the above formula follow:

- + interrogative noun stem, inanimate + instrument + closing suffix

 noiNl what + -neiV inst: + inter = noin-dei-ya with what
- + interrogative noun stem, inanimate + referent + closing suffix

 noiNl what + -tavaiV referent + inter = noin-tavai-ya about what?
- + interrogative noun stem, inanimate + plural + closing suffix

 <u>nóraVl</u> what + -yaaV plural + inter = <u>nóra-yaa-wa</u> what (will we say)
- + interrogative noun stem, inanimate + closing suffix

 $\underline{\text{noiNl}}$ what + inter = $\underline{\text{noi-na}}$ what

 $\underline{\text{noraVl}}$ what $\underline{+}$ inter = $\underline{\text{nora-wa}}$ what $\underline{/}$ $\underline{\text{nora}}$ what

náánda where thing + nom = náánda-ma where thing

```
+ interrogative noun stem, animate + closing suffix

nááwaVl who, singular + nom = nááwa-ma who, singular

nááwaVl who, singular + inter = nááwa-wa who, singular

nááwiVl who, plural + nom = nááwi-ma who, plural

nááwaVl who, singular + pos = nááwa-na whose
```

+ interrogative locative stem + Inter Comment marker

<u>nááVl</u> where, áctive + Inter Com mker = <u>náá-wa'iyo</u> who is it?

<u>náá-wa'i</u> who is it?

<u>náá-wa'ono</u> who are you?

Interrogative descriptive

Interrogative descriptive may substitute for a descriptive as the modifier in a Noun Phrase or occur in a Manner Tagmeme, modifying the verb in the Predicate. The structure is like that of the Manner Clause.

interrogative descriptive = + inter.n.s, inanimate + umai + closing suffix

Interrogative descriptive consists of an inanimate interrogative noun stem followed by <u>umai</u> 'doing' which is the verb 'do' plus <u>mai</u> Manner marker, optionally followed by a closing suffix, depending on the distribution.

```
noravl what + umai doing = reasonate nora-umai how much (food) /
why (have you come to hit me) /
how (will it break)
```

nóraVl what + umai doing + inter = nóra-umai-ya how (will we do the killing)

nóraVl what + umai doing + Inter Com mker = nóra-umai-ya'iyo how much is it:

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More inventigation is needed for the following, which are just listed:

nóraVl what + -paG active locative + -keN from + nom =

nora-pa-kem-ba how (is he sick)

nora-pa-ke how (will I cook it)

 $\underline{n\acute{o}iN1}$ what + $\underline{-kaG}$ non-active locative + inter = $\underline{n\acute{o}in-ka-ra}$ how (will he care for them)

4.10 Specific words

There are a number of stems which function in specific places in Sentences or Clauses and do not substitute for other stems, these occur with specific suffixes to form words, as follows:

póGl so + antic sbj = pó-'a so-I

pó-sarai so-you dual

Occurs between the two Clauses in Cause and Effect Sentences.

écl if + antic sbj = : é-sa if-they

é-kai if-we dual

Occurs between the two Clauses in Future Conditional Sentences.

a'áoVl don't + nom = a'áo-ma don't

<u>iVl</u> no + nom = <u>i-ma</u> no

iVl no + inter = i-ya no?

<u>iVl</u> no + Comment Tagmeme marker = <u>i-man-i</u> it is no.

5 PHRASE TYPES AND CONSTRUCTIONS

On the basis of their distribution within the Clause, Phrases are divided into:

Verb Phrases which manifest Predicate Tagmemes,

Noun Phrases which manifest Subject and Object Tagmemes,

Locative Phrases which manifest Location Tagmemes,

Temporal Phrases which manifest Time Tagmemes and

Interrogative Phrases which may be:

Locative and manifest Interrogative Location Tagmeme.

Temporal and manifest Interrogative Time Tagmeme,

Noun and manifest Interrogative Object Tagmeme or

Interrogative Comment Tagmeme.

5.1 Verb Phrases

Verb Phrases are of four types: Impersonal Verb Phrases,

State of Being Verb Phrases,

Idiomatic Verb Phrases and

Repetitive Verb Phrases.

5.1.1 Impersonal Verb Phrases

These meterological phrases consists of a limited number of inanimate nouns followed by a limited number of verbs. The noun may occur with -teV 'intensifier'.

aa'á atmosphere + ta call becomes aa'á kwétai. It's raining.

aa'á atmosphere + kai it burns " aa'á kwégai. It's sunny.

aa'á atmosphere + éna ends becomes aa'á énkwi. It's dark.

aa'á atmosphere + inkaráGR becomes aa'á inkárái. Rain has stopped.

undáma wind + toráGR becomes úndáma tokái. The wind blew.

koko'á hot + oV do becomes koko-témá kwéi. It is very hot.

5.1.2 State of Being Verb Phrases

States of being are expressed by Verb Phrases which consist of either a body part with obligatory pronominal referent followed by verb with 3rd person singular subject; or body part with obligatory pronominal referent followed by verb with 3rd person singular subject and obligatory pronominal referent; or by inanimate noun followed by verb with 3rd person singular subject and obligatory pronominal referent.

A free form Subject never occurs in a Clause where these Phrases occur, but an Indirect Object may occur manifested by an object pronoun, which agrees with the pronominal referent of the verb and body part. The specific situations the verb may be modified, see below *.

The non-verb may occur with -teV 'intensifier'.

+ \body part bodily processes or state + -teV intensifier + verb with 3rd sg sbj taa'a their ears + kai it burns becomes taa'a kwegai. They're afraid.

aa'a his ears + kai it burns becomes aa'a kwegai. He's afraid.

saa'a my ears + kai it burns becomes saa'a kwegai. I'm afraid.

kemba me + saa'a my ears + kai it burns = kemba saa'a kwegai. I'm afraid.

sigaemá my embarraszment + oV do = sigaemá kwei. I'm embarrassed. simaaimba kwetai. I'm yawning. simaaímbá my chin + ta call = simu'a kwevai. My stomach's full. símú'a my stomach + va shoot = I'm tired. + kai it burns = sivo kai. = sísamaima pukái. My foot's asleep. sísamaima my foot + puwó die = sirumbá kwéi. I'm sormy / have pity. sirumbá my liver + oV do sirumbá my liver + sáwi'a bad + oV = sirumbá sawi'a kwéi. I'm annoyed. sirumba my liver + kawe'a good + oV = sirumba kawe'a kwei. I'm happy. sí-te-ma my pain-intens + oV do = sítema kwéi. (My foot) is very painful. = sí'a kwéi. I'm sich/ in pain. + <u>o</u>∇ do si'a my pain

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súgáva'a my sleepiness + oV do = súgáva'a kwéi. I'm nodding to sleep.

+ bodily process or state + transitive verb with pronominal referent and 3rd person singular subject

sáai my hunger + benef verb = sáai kwésinkai. I'm hungry

sí'a my pain + éna end + benef aspect = sí'a ésinkai. I'm recovering.

+ inanimate noun + as above

untamba cough + 22 benef verb = untamba kwesinkai. I have a cough.

5.1.3 Idiomatic Verb Phrases

These groups of Verb Phrases consist of two parts, a limited number of non-verbs which include some body parts and bodily processes or state which have pronominal referent, followed by a limited number of verbs which are formed from ten verb stems. The two parts are inseparable i.e. no other Clause level item may separate them and they are non-substitutable with other verbs or non-verbs. —teV 'intensifier' may occur with the non-verb. The following types occur:

- (1) + <u>lwe-V1</u> 'continuative' + non-verb (no nomimal suffix) + verb (any subject person may occur)
- (2) + non-verb (optional nominal suffix) + kwé-Vl + verb (any subject person)
- (3) + non-verb (optional nominal suffix) + $\underline{kwe-Vl}$ + verb (3rd per sg.sbj)
- (4) + reduplicated non-verb (optional nominal suffix) + kwe-V1 + verb (any subject person may occur)

The verb stems which occur are:

ankaV benefactive <u>isáV</u> hear <u>kaiV</u> it burns

<u>kauvóVR</u> steam <u>maráVR</u> put <u>oV</u> do

<u>peráGR</u> 'flee' <u>seV</u> say <u>taV</u> call

vaV shoot

kesuwiráima my laugh "

```
(1) + kwé-Vl + non-verb (no nominal suffix) + verb (any subject person)
    agaraaCl demonstration + ankaV benef = agaraa sinkai. He shows me.
    avaG over, movement
                                         = ava sinkai. He moves out of
                                                       my way.
                                         = masinkarai. She gave birth to me.
    maG
    aisaaV ask him
                     + oV do = to ask him
    sisaaV ask me
                                = to ask me
    sivakaV search for me "
                               = to search for me
    súwa'naaV help me
                               = to help me
    paapa
            confess
                                = to confess/ bring matter into open
            wash clothes
    seseV
                                = to wash clothes
(2) + non-verb (+ -teV intensifier) + kwé-Vl + verb (any subject person)
    ánkú'a smell
                   + \underline{isav} hear = to smell (with nose)
    saaka'a my ears, at + maraVR put = to remember
    aamoimá pleasure
                          + oV do = to be pleased / excited
    aamoiV2 pleasure + -teV + nom"
                                       = to be very pleased / excited
    imayaama thoughts
                                       = to think
    kisuvú'a cook
                                       = to cook
    meyaamba trade
                                       = to trade
    námáima weeds
                                       = to weed
    kwéyáwé scatter
                                       = to scatter (people)
    <u>aakaraaka'a</u> at herears
                                       = to keep on remembering
    nombá water
                         + peraGR 'flee' = redict to wash oneself
    naamba house
                                         = to go to a meeting / school
    kwiraima laugh
                                       = to laugh
                       + seV say
    awiraima his laugh
                                       = to laugh at him
```

= to laugh at me

```
Kosena Grammar
```

awima his urine

```
oyáima whistle + seV say = to whistle

aamoimá pleasure + taV call = to be soft / weak

áwí'a his name " = to name him / say his name

imá song " = to sing and dance

ivi'á cry " = to cry / wail

áwáyo'a small stature + va shoot = to be immature of stature

tanaambá fall " = to fall over (person)

uwaa'á sorcery " = to make sorcery on someone
```

(3) + non-verb (\pm -teV intensifier) \pm kwe-Vl + verb (only 3rd per sg sbj) + kaiV it burns = it is ripe ávuma ripe = it tastes delicious áséima delicious = it tastes sour / tart oraa'á sour uwima salt = it tastes salty = he has leprosy auma his body = he is excreting aiyama his body excreta " + kauvoVR steam = she is pregnant amu'a her stomach =it is big + oV doanomba big apumá straight = it is straight = he is shaking with fear ayantamba his bones = it is good kawe'á good = it is bad sáwi'a bad = it is crowded / tightly squeezed sisipaama squeeze toto'a slow = it is slow going = it is the wet season ááu'a wet season + seV say

= to urinate

```
araíma his desire
                    + taVcall
                                     = to want
ayawaima famine
                                     = it is famine
marima searth tremor .
                                     = it is an earth : tremor
umbaima Heavy/difficult "
                                     = it is heavy / difficult
aváá'a wild
                     + vaV shoot
                                     = it went wild
ikaa'á hot taste
                                   = i it tastes hot
namoima smoke blackened "
                                     = it is smoke blackened
taukaa'a mouldy
                                     = it is mouldy
```

(4) reduplicated non-verb + kwé-Vl + verb oV 'do (any subject person)

This type of Verb Phrase indicates continued action, movement back and forth, repetition or intense degree. The non-verb reduplicated stems are described under nouns, section 3.3.2 and locatives, section 3.3.7.

txreduplicatedxnonexerb

| <u>aakaraaka'a</u> at her ears + | oV do | = to go on remembering |
|----------------------------------|------------|---------------------------------|
| nínkininki'a hic-coughs | n. | = to hic-cough |
| paróparo'a clap hands | H: | = to clap hands |
| toratora'á shake | 11: | = to shake e.g. in earth tremor |
| tuwatuwa'a bang/knock | t r | = to bang/knock e.g. plates |
| ésé'naase'a moan and moan | tT | = to go on moaning |
| paruvará to rub arms and legs | n. | = to greet someone |
| surisaari disarray | # 1 | = to be in disarray |

5.1.4 Repetitive Verb Phrases

Repetitive Verb Phrases may be of two types: Continued Action Verb Phrases and Repeated Action Verb Phrases, which latter have three varieties.

These Verb Phrases may be transitive, intransitive or motion, depending on the type of verb stem which is reduplicated.

(1) Continued Action Verb Phrase

This indicates an action which is continued over a period of time.

Continued Action Verb Phrase (Cont Act VP) = +(verb stem + <u>iG</u>) reduplicated + nominal suffix + verb <u>oV</u> 'do'

Continued Action Verb Phrase consists of a verb stem plus <u>iG</u> which is reduplicated followed by an option nominal suffix followed by the verb <u>oV</u> 'do' with appropriate affixation.

kwai-kwai'a ini. It will go on and on being.

mai'-mai'a kwéi. There will always be (poor people).

uvir-uvi'a kwéi. She is digging and digging.

usáyaair-usayaair esa They pass by one by one going up and agaiváir-agaivai urái. He went on and on stabbing him.

(2) Repeated Action Verb Phrases

These indicate an action which is the repetition of one action.

There are three varieties as follows:

Repeated Action Verb Phrase (Repeat Act VP_1) = + $verb_{\lambda} \pm nominal$ suffix + $verb_{\lambda} = verb_{\lambda} \pm nominal$ suffix

Repeated Action Verb Phrase consists of a verb (minus sbj person, tense and mood) reduplicated followed by an optional nominal suffix followed by the verb oV 'do' with appropriate affixation. The first verb may be an

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Idiomatic Verb Phrase, with only the verb reduplicated, not the non-verb.

síma-sima'a urai. He kept on saying it.

káráruma-kararuma kwéowana They kept on tying (cane) and it to-yo kwéi. She comes regularly.

kárá-kara úmakesa They cut it all up then

náma'-nama kwéesa They go on and on eating and
went down and
kunkárásu-karasu úmaesarai They (dual) cut him all up and
aítu-aitu úmaesarai They (dual) stuffed him into bag and
ovér-ove kwéesa They twisted(tooth) round and round

Idiomatic Verb Phrases as follows:

ivi'á táma-tama'a kwéi. She kept on crying and crying.

tanaambá vágu-vagu éna He kept on falling over and

ái'a umág-umagu éna She keeps on getting sick and

partial reduplication of verb stem as follows: tawisi-naawisi kwéo. They are demolishing (house).

Repeat Act VP₂ = + verb, reduplicated + verb ov 'do'

Repeated Action Verb Phrase consists of a verb (minus subject person, tense and mood) reduplicated either with opposition meaning verb stem or opposite meaning in directional or positional morphemes followed by verb ov 'do' with appropriate affixation. This Verb Phrase indicates the repetition of the action is this way and that.

iré kunké kwéena It goes up and down (description of waves) and mógara mégara kwéuwana He looked this way and that and she móyusu méyusu úmakesa They weave this way and that and

koaéké taéké onavo. You mustn't stay round her and there.

komaé yamae ésa They went out from house helter skelter and koaéké taéké onavo. You mustn't stay round her and there and

Repeat Act $VP_3 = +\frac{ss}{4}$ verb reduplicated

Repeated Action Verb Phrase consists of a verb including - same subject morpheme, reduplicated, the reduplicated form occurring with the appropriate anticipatory subject morpheme.

tarátuwe-yaratuwesa They kept on breaking off (shells) and <u>óisuwe-oisuwesarai</u> They (dual) kept pulling(bits)out of bag and

5.2 Noun Phrases

Noun Phrases are of three general types:

- 5.2.1 Modified Phrases
- 5.2.2 Possessive Noun Phrases and
- 5.2.3 those Phrase types which consists of multi heads.

All these Phrase types occur with a closing suffix, which may be:
nominal suffix, designatory suffix, indicative mood, interrogative mood
or the Interrogative Comment marker. Occassionally the closing suffix is
omitted, but nominal is implied, so closing suffix is considered obligatory.

5.2.1 Modified Phrases

Modified Phrases may be either Modified Noun or Modified Numeral Phrases, the former have a noun manifesting the head and the latter have a numeral manifesting the head. (Mod NP)

Modified Noun Phrases may be animate or inanimate, depending on the type of noun stem occurring in the head. These Phrases may be Demonstrative, Descriptive or Numeral Noun Phrases, depending on the type of stem

occurring as the modifier immediately preceding the head.

These Modified Noun Phrases may become possessive by substituting a possessive animate noun in the head. Such Phrases then occur as the possessor in a Possessive Noun Phrase 1.

These Modified Noun Phrases may become Interrogative by choosing the interrogative mood as the closing suffix. Such Phrases then occur in Interrogative Clauses manifesting the appropriate Tagmemes which are in question.

Demonstrative Noun Phrases

Demonstrative Noun Phrase = + dem.s + noun + closing suffix

Demonstrative Noun Phrase (DemNP) consists of a demonstrative stem followed by a noun, animate or inanimate followed by a closing suffix.

The demonstrative stems which occur are:

maaN2 this miN2 that kaáN1 this only kíN1 that only

kíN1 that only + kwaasaiV1 news + nom = kín-kwasai-ma that little news

kááN1 this only + iyámpoíV1 boy + nom = káán-iyampoi-ma only this boy

miN2 that + iyámpoíraiV1 2 boys + nom = min-íyámpoírai-má those 2 boys

maaN2 this + ininkoV woman + nom = maan-ínínko-má this woman

maaN2 this + nondánkákéN water with + nom = maan-dóndánkákém-bá (wash it)

with this water

Descriptive Noun Phrase (Desc NP) consists of an optional demonstrative stem which has significance on the Discourse Level as it only occurs when the item has been named before in the Discourse, followed by a descriptive stem or temporal stem or by a locative, noun, pronoun or Clause which is followed by an animate or inanimate noun in the head, with a closing suffix.

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Following are various readings of the above formula:

- + dem.s + desc.s. + noun + closing suffix

 miN2 that + anoN1 big + aaiG1 fight + nom = min-anon-aai-'a that

 big fight
- + desc.s. + noun + closing suffix

 anóNl big + noN2 water + nom = anón-dom-ba big river

 kítoGl little + ininkoV woman = nom = kítor-ininko-ma the little

 woman

 sáwíGl bad + mayáíV2 work = inter= sáwí'-mayai-ya is it bad

 work?
- + temporal s. + noun + closing suffix

 <u>ivéGl</u> now + <u>kwaásiVl</u> person = <u>ivé-kwaasi</u> young man

 <u>naaóváí</u>Zbefore + <u>kwaásiVl</u> person = <u>naaóvá-kwaásí</u> old man

 <u>aivaG2</u> first + <u>iyámpóíVl</u> boy + nom = <u>aivar-íyámpóí-má</u> first born
- + locative + noun + closing suffix

 kanavínkén2 from ashes + kisaaV2 sweet potato + nom =

 kanavínkén-kisaá-má sweet potato from ashes

 iravínkén2 from fire + ontan1 stone + nom = iravínkén-ontám-bá

 stone from the fire

 aupáG2 hidden + aaiN2 talk + nom = aupár-aaim-bá secret

 avumpiN2 middle + iyámpóíV1 boy = avumpin-íyámpóí middle child

 in family

+ animate noun + noun + closing suffix

<u>iyámpóiyaaiNl</u> childless + <u>ini N</u> woman + nom = <u>iyámpóiyaain-inim-ba</u> childless woman

<u>aasóGl in-laws + kwaásiVl person = aasó-kwaasi in-laws</u>

<u>megusaaV2</u> orphan + <u>iyámpóíyoNl</u> boys(Obj) + nom = <u>megusaa-íyámpóíyóm-bá</u>

orphan boys (Object)

+ inanimate noun + noun + closing suffix

naaó'-naaoGl villages + kwaaiV2 man = naaó'-naao-kwaai village men

kweukwáráG2 with shields + kwaásiVl person = kweukwárá-kwáásí

men with shields

amaaíN2 chin/jaw + kwaásiVl person = amaaín-kwáásí a diviner

taánkááN2 clublike + tantaaG thing = taánkáán-tántáá-'á a club like
+ nom thing

noN2 water + <u>uraNl</u> reality + nom = <u>nón-uram-ba</u> real water (i.e. not medicine)

- + pronoun + noun + closing suffix

 <u>kenkááNl</u> like me + <u>waiV</u> person + nom = <u>kenkáá-wai-ma</u> someone like me
- + Clause + noun + closing suffix

pusáamó ánkón they placed him as vanguard + kwaásigoVl person + nom = pusáamó ánkón-kwaasigoma the man they'd placed as vanguard

kwaasaiye siN she talks a lot + iniN woman + nom =

kwaasaiye sin-inim-ba talkative woman

púwí he is dead + waiv person = púwí-wai the dead person

púwó they die + tantaag thing + nom = púwón-tantaa-'a death thing

(i.e. sorcery)

naíVhe eats + tantaaG thing + nom = naí-yantaá-'á edible thing

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Numeral Noun Phrase

Numeral Noun Phrase =
$$+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{numeral s.} \\ \text{Mod Num P} \\ \text{Clause} \end{array} \right\} + \text{noun} + \text{closing suffix}$$

Numeral Noun Phase (Num NP) consists of either a numeral stem, Modified

Numeral Phrase or Clause following by an animate or inanimate noun followed

by a closing suffix. Following are various readings of the above formula:

+ numeral s. + noun + closing suffix

morávi one + ininkovi woman + nom = morá-ininko-ma a certain woman

éva'aaseivi five + kwaásivi person = éva'aasei-kwaasi 5 people

évakaGi some + tantaaG thing + nom = évaka-tantaa'a some things

amápaGi ali + uvowán2 insects + nom = amápar-uvowam-ba ali the insects

évakaGi some + ayáántántoni bones + nom = évakar-ayaantantom-ba

some of his bones

moraVl one + aaiN2 talk + nom = mora-aaim-ba agreement

- + Modified Numeral Phrase + noun + closing suffix

 kim-boraVl only one + kwaásiVl person = kim-bora-kwaasi only one person
- + Clause + noun + closing suffix

 <u>évaka-kuN</u> some went down + <u>kwaásiVl</u> person = <u>évaka-kun-kwaasi</u>

 some of the men who went down

Modified Numeral Phrase

Modified Numeral Phrase = : + dem.s + num.s + closing suffix

Modified Numeral Phrase (Mod NumP) consists of a demonstrative stem, either kiNl'that only'or miN2 'that' followed by a numeral stem and a closing suffix.

kinl that only + moravl one = kim-bora only one

kinl that only + kaeG2 two + nom = kin-kae-'a only two

miN2 that + moraVl one = mim-bora that one

5.2.2 Possessive Noun Phrases

Possessive Noun Phrases may be animate or inanime, depending on the type of noun stem manifesting the head. In both types, tone perturbation does not occur across the word boundaries.

They are of two structural types:

Possessive NP₁ consists of a possessor with a possessive suffix followed by the possessed head,

Possessive NP₂ consists of a possessor without a possessive suffix followed by the possessed head with a pronominal referent.

Possessive Noun Phrase

Possessive Noun Phrase (Pos NP₁) consists of pronoun, animate demonstrate, interrogative noun, animate noun or Modified Noun Phrase, all of which are a personal name, possessive followed by an animate or inanimate noun or locative stem or temp.s followed by a closing suffix. Following are readings of the above formula:

- + possessive pronoun + personal name + closing suffix

 <u>kesí my + Timóti</u> boy's personal name = <u>kesí Timóti</u> my Timoti
- + possessive pronoun + noun + closing suffix

 kwená his + akuN family + nom = kwená akum-ba his family

 kentí their + naaó'-naaoGl villages + nom = kentí naaó'-naao-'a

 their villages
- + animate demonstrative + temporal stem + closing suffix

 miwana his + naaéNl behind/later + nom = miwana naaém-ba

 after that one
- + animate demonstrative + noun + closing suffix

 miwiti their + kwatoiVl skirt + nom = miwiti kwatoi-ma their skirts

- + inter possessive noun + locative stem + closing suffix

 naawana whose + umipaCl bush + nom = naawana umipa-'a whose bush
- + inter possessive noun + noun + closing suffix

 naawana whose + kigauVl garden + nom = naawana kigau-ma whose
- + possessive animate noun + noun + closing suffix

 kesivoná my father's + toóN2 food + nom = kesivoná toóm-bá

 my father's food
- kesivara my younger brother's + kwatoiVl skirt + nom =

 kesivara kwatoi-ma my younger brother's skirt

 (N.B. allomorph of possessive for G class enter thruout
- + Numeral Noun Phrase, possessive + noun + closing suffix

 morá-iyampoigona one boy's + toóN2 food + nom = morá-iyampoigona

 toóm-ba one boy's food

Possessive Noun Phrase

Possessive Noun Phrase₂(Pos NP₂) consists of animate demonstrative, animate noun or Modified Noun Phrase followed by either a kin term, body part or bodily processes or state followed by a closing suffix. Following are readings of the above formula:

+animate demonstrative + bodily processes or state + closing suffix

miwiv2 those ones + tuwic1 their names + nom = miwi tuwiia their names

+ animate noun + body part + closing suffix

aaraigóV2 woman + anówaV1 her mother + nom = aaraigó anówa-ma
the woman's mother

awaikó arósáánum-ba her husband's back

+ Desc Noun Phrase + bodily processes or state + closing suffix puwin-kwaasigoVl dead man + awiGl his name + nom =

púwín-kwaasigo awí-'a dead man's name
usayaaitayan-omakoVl highest mountain + awiGl his name + nom =
usayaaitayan-omako awí-'a name of highest mountain

5.2.3 Those Phrase types which consists of multi-heads are: Co-ordinate Noun Phrase and Appositional Noun Phrase.

Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

ameríyaámba taumá flat shells and small shells
a'nombá arosaánumba it's head and it's back (pork)

kin terms e.g.

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awaikoma ayovigoma her husband and her adult brother

personal name with -ivai 'conjunction

Maasaketiyai Opirisoyai and

animate noun with -kwaraG

aaraigwárá kwaaigwárá'á women and men

animate nouns, including kin terms and pronouns with -teV

awaaísaí-ye kwe-se his brothers and he

kesaánin-te ke-se my son and I

awainínko-e anówa-e his wife and his mother

awaininkon-te awaikon-te his wife and her husband (Object)

Desc NP with -teV

nompin-kwan-te marpa-kwan-te the water and land creatures

Possessive Noun Phrase,

kwená akumba kwená kwaási his family and his people

Appositional Noun Phrase

Appositional Noun Phrase (App NP) consists of two heads, manifested by nouns including kin terms, Modified Noun Phrases, Co-ordinate Noun Phrases.

;;or pronoun plus personal name;or Interrogative

Equative Clause plus mindá 'that'; or Modified Noun Phrase plus mindá 'that'.

Restrictions are that kin term may occur in only one head in a Phrase and both heads are manifested by animate or both by inanimate nouns in a Phrase.

Interrogative Equative Clause + mindá 'that'

sontaa kaera'i minda

week two is it that About two weeks

morá sontaawa'i minda

one week is it that About one week

Co-ordination Noun Phrase + kin term kaampaankoe kwiyaoema keavarawaigorasai a bat and a phython, 2 brothers

Desc NP + minda

anom-poi mindá a big pig, that

Co-ord NP + Desc NP

a'nómba arósáanumba miram-poi it's head, it's back, such a pig

prounoun + personal name

kwemá Ayapóma he, personal name

noun + noun, both animate

aarai kware'á the woman, the widow

noun + Desc NP

moránakoma áwáyo-kwaasigoma a certain person, a little man

Desc NP + Desc NP

morá-ininkoma Óvaavin-ininkoma a certain woman, an Ovafina woman

5.3 Locative Phrases

Locative Phrases may be a Noun Phrase plus locative suffix or Co-ordinate Locative Phrase, which is a Phrase with two or more locatives.

Locative Phrase

Locative Phrase = + \begin{cases} \text{Mod NP} \\ \text{Pos NP} \\ \text{App NP} \end{cases} + \text{locative suffix + closing suffix} \\ \text{LocP} \end{cases}

Locative Phrase, consists of a Modified Noun Phrase, Possessive Noun Phrase or Appositional Noun Phrase following by a locative suffix followed by a closing suffix, which may be the anticipatory subject morpheme, see section 3.2.1. Following are readings of the above formula:

- + Demonstrative NP + locative suffix + closing suffix mintááréiV2 that table + -paG + nom = min-tááréi-vá-'a on that
 - maanaaiN2 that talk + -piN + -keN = maan-aaim-pin-kem-ba (say it) in this language
- + Descriptive MP + locative suffix + closing suffix pói'o kweuman-doNl the river where they kill the pigs + manifest -kaG + nom

pói'o kweuman-don-ka-'a at the river where they kill the pigs

- marapa'ó kwanaambó uraron-daauNl inside the house they'd made on the ground + -pag + -ta antic sbj as closing suffix = marapá'ó kwanaambó úmaron-dasum-pa-ta inside the house they had made on the ground
- + Pos MP, + locative suffix + closing suffix awaikó arósáanuNl her husband's back + -kavaN 'along' + nom = awaikó arósáánun-kavam-ba along her husband's back

Locative Co-ordinate Phrase

The second second second second second

Co-ordinate Locative Phrase (Co-ord Loc P) consists of two or more heads manifested by locatives, the final one with a closing suffix.

kigauvake naaopakem-ba from the garden and the village

5.4 Temporal Phrases

Temporal Phrases indicate the location in time. They manifest the Time Tagmeme.

Temporal Phrase = + $\begin{cases} temp.s \\ dem.s \\ spec.num.s \\ verb \end{cases} + \begin{cases} temp.n.s(a) \\ temp.n.s(b) + -\underline{kaG} \end{cases} + closing suffix$

Temporal Phrase consists of a temporal stem, demonstrative stem, specific numeral stem or verb with inflectional affixes following either by a temporal noun stem (a) or by a temporal noun stem (b) plus -kaG locative suffix. Then follows the closing suffix. Demonstrative stems which may occur are: min2 'that', man2 'this'. Following are examples of specific readings of the above formula:

- (1) + temporal stem + temporal noun stem(a) + closing suffix

 ivell now = itemporal noun stem(a) + closing suffix

 ivell now + kwiyonl moon + nom = ive-kwiyom-ba this months

 ivell now + no'waanl night + nom = ive'-no'waam-ba tonight

 aivaC2 first + tawaiVl day + nom = aiva-tawai-ma first day

 aasiyaasiVl always + tawaiVl day + nom = aasiyaasi-tawai-ma each day
- (2) + demonstrative stem + temporal noun stem(a) + closing suffix

 miN2 that + kwiyoNl moon + nom = min-kwiyom-ba that month

 miN2 that + no'waaNl night+ nom = min-do'waam-ba that night

 miN2 that + tawaiVl day + nom = min-tawai-ma that day
- (3) specific numeral stem + temporal noun stem(a) + closing suffix

 moráVl one + táwaiVl day + nom = morá-tawai-ma once

 kaeG2 two + táwaiVl day + nom = kae-táwai-ma twice

 moráVl one + kwíyóNl moon + nom = morá-kwiyom-ba next month

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- (4) + verb + temporal noun stem(a) + closing suffix

 púwí he dies + nosa'waaNl night + nom = púwí-nosa'waam-ba on the

 night someone dies
- (5)+temporal stem + temporal noun stem(b) + $-\underline{\text{kaG}}$ + closing suffix

 <u>iveCl</u> now + $\underline{\text{kanaaV2}}$ time + $-\underline{\text{kaG}}$ + nom = $\underline{\text{ive-kanaa-ra-'a}}$ now-a-days

 <u>naaovaC2</u> before + $\underline{\text{kanaaV2}}$ time + $-\underline{\text{kaG}}$ + nom = $\underline{\text{naaova-kanaa-ra-'a}}$ in olden times
- 5.5 Interrogative Phrases
- 5.5.1 Interrogative Locative Phrase

Interrogative Locative Phrase may substitute for a locative and manifest the Location Tagmeme in an Interrogative Clause.

Inter Locative Phrase = + inter.loc.s + locative + closing suffix

Interrogative Locative Phrase (Inter LocP) consists of an interrogative
locative stem followed by a locative word followed by a closing suffix
which may be -wa interrogative.

<u>naaNl</u> where + <u>naaúmpaGl</u> inside house + inter = <u>naan-daaumpa-ra</u> in which house

5.5.2 Interrogative Temporal Phrase

Interrogative Temporal Phrase may substitute for a temporal and manifest the Time Tagmeme in an Interrogative Clause.

Inter Temporal Phrase =
$$+$$
 (inter. temp.s. + temp.n.s(a)) + closing tinter. ina.n.s. + temp.n.s(b) + $-\underline{kaG}$) suffix

Interrogative Temporal Phrase (Inter TempP) consists of an interrogative an inter insumate new temporal stem followed either by a temporal noun stem (a) or a temporal noun stem (b) plus -kaG locative suffix. Then follows a closing suffix.

nósa when + tawaiVl day + nom = nósa-tawai-ma what day /when nóraVl what + tawaiVl time + -taG + nom = nóra-tawai-ma at what time

5.5.3 Interrogative Noun Phrase

Interrogative Noun Phrase may substitute for a noun and manifest the Object Tagmeme in an Interrogative Clause or may manifest an Interrogative Comment Tagmeme. It may be animate or inanimate depending on the type of noun stem occurring in the head.

Inter Noun Phrase = + inter.loc + n.s. + closing suffix inter.desc

Interrogative Noun Phrase (Inter NP) consists of an interrogative noun stem, interrogative locative (minus closing suffix) or an interrogative descriptive (minus closing suffix)

This is followed by a noun stem, either animate or inanimate followed by a closing suffix.

Following are various readings of the above formula:

inanimate

- (1)+inter_noun stem + noun stem + closing suffix

 noiN1 what + kwaasiV1 person + nom = noin-kwaasi-ye what man

 noiN1 what + mayaiV2 work + inter = noim-bayai-ya what work
- (2) + inter locative + noun stem + closing suffix

 <u>náávakeNl</u> from where + <u>kwaásiVl</u> person = <u>náávaken-kwaasi</u>
 a person from where
 <u>náávakeNl</u> from where + <u>tantaaG</u> thing + inter = <u>náávaken-tantaa-ra</u>
 a thing from where
- (3) + inter descriptive + noun stem + closing suffix

 <u>nóraumai</u> what + <u>toóN2</u> food + inter = <u>nóraumai-too-na</u> how much food

 (4)+inter possessive noun + noun stem + closing suffix

add Pos NPL on pied

6 TAGMEME INVENTORY

Here will be described those functional slots with their manifesting classes which form Clause constructions. These tagmemes may be nuclear or peripheral. Nuclear tagmemes are those which are restricted in their occurrence and determine certain Clause types. Peripheral tagmemes do not determine Clause types, they may occur in more than one Clause type.

Nuclear Tagmemes are: Predicate i.e. Transitive, Intransitive and Motion; Comment; Subject; Topic and Object i.e. Direct and Indirect.

Peripheral Tagmemes are: Time, Location, Negative, Manner, Accompaniment, Instrument, Referent and Information.

6.1 Nuclear Tagmemes

Predicate Tagmemes occur final in Active Clauses. The only

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exception is that Information Tagmeme may follow. Predicate

Tagmemes are obligatory and may be the only Tagmeme occurring

in a given Clause. They are manifested by verbs or Verb

may

Phrases which also indicate the functions of subject person,

indirect object, time and location. They may be Transitive,

Intransitive or Motion Predicates, occurring in Clause

constructions of the same name.

Transitive Predicate (Ptr): {tv; tVP}

Transitive Predicate is manifested by transitive verbs or Transitive Verb Phrases.

Intransitive Predicate (Pint): { iv; iVP }

Intransitive Predicate is manifested by intransitive verbs or Intransitive Verb Phrases.

Motion Predicate (Fm): { mv; mVP }
Motion Predicate is manifested by motion verbs or Motion
Verb Phrases.

Transitive, Intransitive and Motion Predicates may become Interrogative by suffixing an interrogative mood morpheme to the verb. In which case they manifest Predicates in Interrogative Clauses.

Transitive, Intransitive and Motion Predicates may become

Imperative by changing the verb to an imperative verb.

In which case they manifest Predicates in Imperative Clauses.

Comment Tagmeme occurs final in Equative Clauses and is obligatory to that Clause type.

Comment (Com) + desc;n;loc;num;dem;pro;PosNP;ModNP;Active Cl }
+ Com mker

Comment is manifested by a descriptive, noun, locative, numeral, demonstrative, pronoun, Possessive Noun Phrase, one of the Modified Noun Phrases or an Active Clause followed by Comment Tagmeme marker, which may be an indicative mood

morpheme or more commonly a nominal suffix followed by the

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Comment Tagmeme marker which is derived from the verb 'do'.
Occassionally the nominal suffix or the Comment Tagmeme
marker is omitted.

Comment Tagmeme may be Possessive:

Pos Com:+
$$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{ani.n} \\ \text{obj.pro} \end{array}\right\} + -\underline{\text{neiv}} + \text{Com mker}$$

Possessive Comment is manifested by an animate noun which occurs with -koN 'stative' suffix as a Nasal class morpheme or by an object pronoun followed by -neiV indicating possession, optionally followed by nominal suffix and Comment Tagmeme marker which is derived from the verb 'do'.

Interrogative Comment Tagmeme occurs final in an Interrogative Equative Clause and is obligatory to that Clause type.

Interrogative Comment is manifested by the same fillers as the Comment Tagmeme or by an interrogative nouh, interrogative locative, interrogative descriptive, Temporal Phrase or personal name, followed by Interrogative Comment Tagmeme marker or by an optional nominal suffix followed by Interrogative Designatory morpheme.

Interrogative Comment Tagmeme may be <u>Possessive</u>:

Inter Pos Com: + obj pro + -neiV + Inter Com mker

Interrogative Possessive Comment is manifested by an object

Kosena Grammar 117 pronoun followed by -neiV indicating possession, followed by Interrogative Comment Tagmeme marker.

Subject Tagmeme occurs in Active Clauses and may be described as a complex tagmeme i.e. general subject occurring as subject person in the verb and Specific Subject occurring as a free form i.e. personal name, pronoun, animate demonstrative, noun or Noun Phrase. There is agreement between both i.e. if a free form occurs, the subject person of the verb is third person. If the free form is non-human, the subject person is third person singular, even if the non-humans occur with a number suffix. If the free form is human, the number agrees with the subject person number of the verb i.e. singular, dual or plural.

Subject (Sbj): ± Sbj_{spec}: { personal name; pronoun; ani.dem; } + sbj_{gen}:sbj per

Specific Subject may be said to be optional to the Clause. It has significance on the Discourse level i.e. it occurs when a new participant is introduced in the discourse and when there is need to clarify which already introduced participant is referred to. It usually occurs following Time Tagmeme, though it may follow Object Tagmeme. It is manifested by a personal name, pronoun, animate demonstrative, noun either animate or inanimate or any of the Noun Phrases.

General subject is stated or implied in the verb. It occurs

General subject is stated or implied in the verb. It occurs as the subject person morpheme in a final verb, as the tense/

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person morpheme in a different subject verb and in a simultaneous verb and is implied by e 'same subject' morpheme in a same subject verb i.e. it is the same subject as the one stated in the following different subject verb or final verb.

The Subject may be the initator of the action or the noninitiator. The exponents of the Subject Tagmeme when the
subject is the initiator of the action, may be any Noun Phrase,
or personal name. The exponents when the subject is not the
initiator of the action, may be inanimate noun, temporal noun
or inanimate demonstrative.

Topic Tagmeme is optional and occurs initially in an Equative Clause.

Topic (Top): { pro; ani.dem; n; ModNF; FosNP; personal name }

Topic Tagmeme may be manifested by a pronoun, animate demonstrative, noun, Modified Noun Phrase, Possessive Noun Phrase or personal name.

Object Tagmeme indicates the goal of the action of a Transitive Clause. This may be called the Direct Object. Because Transitive Predicate implies a goal, it may be said that the Object Tagmeme is obligatory, though it may only be implied and not stated overtly. If it occurs preceeding + Loc + Ptr

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it is the goal of the action of the Predicate. An Object Tagmeme may occur in a Manner Clause, in which case the Object is the goal of the Manner Clause Predicate and may also be the goal of the main Clause Predicate.

(0)
Object: {dem; n; NP; ina; quoted speech }

Object Tagmeme is manifested by an inanimate demonstrative, a noun or Noun Phrase, which usually contain an inanimate noun stem.

and to product for the agent of the control of the

The Object Tagmeme in a Quotation Clause, is manifested by the quoted speech which must occur with a mood morpheme.

(IO)

Indirect Object Tagmeme may be described as a complex tagmeme. It occurs as a pronominal referent of the transitive verb stem and may optionally co-occur as a free form preceeding + Loc + Ptr.

Indirect Object: To spec dem ani; obj per pro; nani; NP ani + io gen: pro ref

Specific Indirect Object is manifested by an animate demonstrative, object

person pronoun, animate noun or animate Noun Phrase. General indirect

object is manifested by a pronominal referent occurring with the verb stem.

6.2 Peripherial Tagmemes

Time Tagmeme indicates a unit of time or the location in time of an action or event. Time Tagmeme may be described as a complex tagmeme, general time occurring as tense morphemes in the verb and Specific Time occurring as a free form, in the Clause. There must be agreement between both, in regards past, present or future.

Time: + Time spec: { temp: TempP; TempCl } + timegen: ts

Specific Time may be said to be optional, occurring initially in the Clause. However it has its primary significance on the Paragraph or Discourse Level and on these levels it is not optional, but obligatorally present or absent. It is manifested by a temporal, Temporal Phrase or Temporal Clause. General time is always stated or implied in the verb. It is stated by a tense morpheme in a final verb, by a tense/person morpheme in a different subject verb and simultaneous verb. If it is stated by a tense morpheme in a same subject verb it indicates that that action must take place before the action of the following verb. (N.B. may only be past tense form)

If no tense morpheme occurs in a same subject verb it indicates a sequence of actions or events and the tense will be stated in the next different subject verb or final verb.

Location Tagmeme (Loc) indicates the location in space or direction of an action, event, person or thing. It is optional and may be described as a complex tagmeme. General location occurs as a directional or positional prefix to the verb and specific location occurs as a free form, in various positions in the Clause. It it occurs preceding the Predicate, it indicates the location of the action. If it preceeds the Subject it indicates the location of the one performing the action. If it preceeds Instrument or Object it indicates the location of the instrument or object, respectively. The usual position is preceeding Object or Predicate. It may occur preceeding Object and Predicate both, in a given Clause. It may be repeated contiguously, in which case the second manifestation will give a more specific location than the first.

General location only occurs in Transitive and Intransitive Clauses and

specific location may occur in Transitive, Intransitive, Motion Clauses or Equative Clauses. Specific Location has significance on the Discourse level and may be obligatorally absent or present at that level.

Location: \(\perp \) Loc_{\text{spec}}: \{\locative; \text{LocP; LocCl}\} + \loc_{\text{gen}}: \{\text{dir; posit}\}\\

Location Tagmeme is manifested by a locative, Locative Phrase or Locative Clause as the Specific Location and by a directional or positional prefix to the verb as the general location.

Negative (Neg) Tagmeme is optional and occurs preceeding the Manner Tagmeme in Active Clauses and preceeding Comment Tagmeme in Equative Clauses.

Negative : ima

Negative Tagmeme has only one manifestation i.e. ima .

Manner (Man) Tagmeme indicates the way in which an action is performed.

It is optional and occurs following T, S, Neg and preceeding Inst, O, IO, Loc and Predicate in Active Clauses and preceeding Comment in Equative Clauses.

Manner: { descriptive; Manner Cl. }

Manner Tagmeme is manifested by a descriptive or a Manner Clause.

Accompaniment (Acc) Tagmeme occurs in Active Clauses and indicates

participation in an action by someone or something other than the subject

or object. It is optional and occurs preceeding Subject and Predicate.

Accompaniment: { pronoun; n }

Accompaniment is manifested by a personal pronoun, animate or inanimate noun which must include either -kwaraG or -teV the accompaniment suffixes.

Instrument (Inst) Tagmeme is optional and has two allotagmas, Instrument and Source. They both occur in Transitive Clauses, predeeding Object and Predicate. Instrument indicates the instrument by which an action is performed and Source indicates the source of the material from which an object is made.

Instrument : Instrument : {numeral;n; ModNP; ina } + -neiV instrument marker

Source: {n; ModNP; ina} + -nakakeN source marker

Instrument Tagmeme consists of two allotagmas, Instrument manifested by a numeral, inanimate noun, inanimate Modified Houn Phrase plus -neiV instrument marker, and, Source manifested by an inanimate noun or inanimate Modified Noun Phrase plus -nakakeN source marker.

Referent (Ref) Tagmeme is optional and has two allotagmas, Referent and Acquisition. Referent may occur in any Active Clause and Acquisition in Motion Clauses.

Referent Tagma may indicate indirect object or the reason for an action and occurs preceeding Manner, Object and Predicate.

Acquisition Tagma indicates the object one is making a trip to acquire. It occurs preceeding Location and Predicate i.e. Motion Predicate.

Referent : Referent : {n; locative; simult.verb } + -tavaiV referent marker

Acquisiton : n + -taaG acquisition marker

Referent Tagmeme consists of a Referent allotagma manifested by a noun.

locative or simultaneous verb plus -tavaiV referent marker and an Acquisition allotagma manifested by an inanimate noun plus -taaG acquisition marker.

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Information (Inf) Tagmeme is optional and is the only Tagmeme which may follow Predicates. It focuses attention on added information to that given in the Clause already. It may also occur Clause intially in which case it announces the topic of the Clause. It is set apart from the Clause by a pause. It occurs in Active Clauses.

Any non-Predicate Tagmeme may occur as manifesting the Information Tagmeme e.g. Clause final:

Manner : anayunkwara umai 'doing the seeds too'

Instrument: kwenayaandei 'with his own hands'

Location: poi'o kweuman-donka'a 'at the river where they killed

the pigs'

aampa'a 'on the path'

Clause initial:

Object : toomba 'food'

Indirect Object : karapúsimo uráan-kwaasimo 'the men who were gaoled'

T CLAUSE TYPES AND CONSTRUCTIONS

Clauses may be classified on the basis of three different criterion;

- (a) Distribution in higher level constructions,
- (b) Potential for certain Nuclear Tagmemes to occur and
- (c) Different hearer response.
- (a) Clauses may be Final or non-Final. The latter being, Different Subject, Same Subject or Simultaneous Clauses.

Distribution of the Clause in higher level constructions will determine the structure of the verb in the Predicate Tagmeme. Structurally a verb may be final, different subject, same subject or simultaneous. Final verbs occur in Clauses which are final in Paragraphs. Different Subject verbs occur in Clauses which are final in Sentences. Same subject verbs occur in Clauses which are non-final in Sentences. Simultaneous verbs occur in Clauses which are non-final in Sentences and which overlap in time with the next Clause.

This classification is dealth with in more detail in Kosena Sentences,

Paragraphs and Discourses. As it is not so relevant on the Clause level,

it will only be listed as (final v), (ds v), (ss v) or (simult v) beside

the Clause types in the section giving examples i.e. Section 8.

(b) These Clause types may be sub-classified according to their potential for certain Nuclear Tagmemes and the type of verb stem occurring in the Predicate.

Final Clauses may be Equative or Active, i.e. Transitive, Intransitive or Motion. Non-final Clauses are Active Clauses only.

Equative Clauses contain an optional Topic Tagmeme and an obligatory Comment Tagmeme. A Transitive Clause has the potential for Object Tagmemes, direct and indirect and must contain a transitive verb stem in the Predicate.

An Intransitive Clause does not have the potential for Object Tagmemes and must contain an intransitive verb stem in the Predicate. A Motion Clause has the potential for the Acquisition allotagma of the Referent Tagmeme and must contain a motion verb stem in the Predicate.

(c) Clause types may be sub-classified according to the hearer response, which is determined by the occurrence of certain mood morphemes in the verbs manifesting Predicate Tagmemes and in the non-verb manifesting Comment Tagmeme. Final Equative Clauses may be Indicative or Interrogative. Final Active Clauses may be Indicative, Interrogative or Imperative. Different Subject and Same Subject Active Clauses may be Indicative or Interrogative and Simultaneous Active Clauses are Indicative.

The following matrix shows these classifications of Clauses:

| distribution hearer response | | tagmeme potential and verb stem | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|------|--------|--------------|---|
| | | | Acti | ve | Equative | |
| | | | Tr | Intr | Motion | |
| Final | | Indicative Interrogative Imperative | 1 | | | / |
| Non-final | DS | Indicative Interrogative | 1 | / | <i>y</i> | |
| | SS | Indicative Interrogative | 1 | ✓ ✓ | M N | |
| | Simult | Indicative | 1 | ✓ | \checkmark | |

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7.1 Equative Clauses

Only the Comment Tagmeme is obligatory to the Clause. Equative Clauses may be Indicative or Interrogative. The order of Tagmemes is as follows: $(\exists_q \ ^{Cl})$ Equative Clause, $= \ ^{\pm} \ T \ ^{\pm} \ \text{Topic} \ ^{\pm} \ \text{Neg} \ ^{\pm} \ \text{Man} \ ^{\pm} \ \text{Loc} + \text{Comment}$ Apart from Topic and Comment, only one other Tagmeme will occur in any given utterance.

The distinguishing features are:

Indicative Equative Clause - the manifestation of the Comment Tagmeme occurs

with a nominal suffix followed by an optional

Comment Tagmeme marker.

Interrogative Equative Clause - the manifestation of the Comment Tagmeme occurs with the Interrogative Comment Tagmeme marker.

Restriction: Both Topic and Comment may not be manifested by a pronoun in any given utterance.

7.2 Active Clauses

It may be said that only the Predicate Tagmeme is obligatory to the Clause, noting that the verb in the Predicate indicates subject and time as well, in a general not specific sense. Many Clauses occur with only the Predicate Tagmeme, though one or two other Tagmemes are common. If more information is required, an Amplification Sentence is used i.e. the Clause is repeated, adding another Tagmeme. In the introducation to a Discourse up to four non-Predicate Tagmemes are not uncommon, to give the participants and setting of the Discourse.

7.2.1 Transitive Clauses may be Indicative, Interrogative or Imperative.

The relative order of Tagmemes is as follows:

Transitive Clause = $\frac{\pm}{1}$ T $\frac{\pm}{1}$ Acc $\frac{\pm}{1}$ S $\frac{\pm}{1}$ Neg $\frac{\pm}{1}$ Ref $\frac{\pm}{1}$ Man $\frac{\pm}{1}$ Inst $\frac{\pm}{1}$ O $\frac{\pm}{1}$ Info

The distinguishing features are:

Indicative Transitive Clause - The Predicate contains a transitive verb or transitive Verb Phrase with an optional indicative mood morpheme.

Interrogative Transitive Clause - The Predicate contains a transitive verb Phrase with an obligatory interrogative mood morpheme and one other Tagmem may be in question. The manifestation of that Tagmeme occurs with an interrogative mood morpheme also.

Imperative Transitive Clause - The Predicate contains an imperative transitive verb. Usually only the Predicate tagmeme occur though one other may occur.

7.2.2 Quotation Clause is a specific type of Transitive Clause. The Tagmemes which may occur are as follows: T, S, Neg, Ref, Man, O, IO and Loc, apart from the Predicate, which is manifested by a limited number of verbs i.e. se 'say' and simame 'tell'. The Object Tagmeme is manifested by the quoted speech which may be any word, Phrase, Clause. Sentence, Paragraph or Discourse. One example with 73 Clauses has been noted in text. Each final verb must occur with a mood morpheme. If the quoted speech is a single word or phrase, that word or the head word of the phrase must occur with a mood morpheme.

7.2.3 Intransitive Clause may be Indicative, Interrogative or Imperative. The relative order of Tagmemes is as follows:

(Int C)

IntragClause = $\frac{+}{2}$ T $\frac{+}{2}$ Acc $\frac{+}{2}$ S $\frac{+}{2}$ Neg $\frac{+}{2}$ Ref $\frac{+}{2}$ Man $\frac{+}{2}$ Loc + Pint $\frac{+}{2}$ Info

- Ind Int. Clause The Predicate contains an intransitive verb or intransitive

 Verb Phrase with an optional indicative mood morpheme.
- Inter Int. Clause The Predicate contains an intransitive verb or

 Verb Phrase with an obligatory interrogative mood

 morpheme and one other Tagmeme may be in question.

 The manifestation of that Tagmeme occurs with an interrogative mood morpheme too.
- Imperative Int, Cl The Predicate contains an imperative intransitive verb.

 Usually only the Predicate Tagmeme occurs, but one other

 Tagmeme may occur.
- 7.2.4 Motion Clauses may be Indicative, Interrogative or Imperative. The relative order of Tagmemes is as follows: (M^{Cl}) Motion Clause $= \frac{1}{2}$ T $= \frac{1}{2}$ Acc $= \frac{1}{2}$ S $= \frac{1}{2}$ Neg $= \frac{1}{2}$ Man $= \frac{1}{2}$ Loc $= \frac{1}{2}$ Pmotion $= \frac{1}{2}$ Info
 The distinguishing features for Indicative, Interrogative and Imperative Clauses are as for Intransitive Clauses, except that the Predicate must contain a motion verb.

7.3 Embedded Clauses

The distinguishing features are:

Location and Time Tagmemes may be manifested by embedded Clauses which are Active Clauses and may be Transitive. Intransitive or Motion Clauses. The verbs manifesting the Predicate may be simultaneous or final verbs, with no mood morphemes.

Manner Tagmemes may be manifested by embedded Clauses which may only be Transitive Clauses.

One more Tagmeme may be manifested by a particular embedded Clause which is described as a Purpose Clause. More investigation is needed in this area.

7.3.1 Locative Clause

A Locative Clause manifests a Location Tagmeme in a Clause.

Locative Clause (LocCl) = + Active Cl + loc $\frac{+}{-\text{keN}}$ + closing suffix

A Locative Clause consists of an Active Clause, that is, either Transitive. Intransitive or Motion Clause, minus the Location Tagmeme. It is common for the Predicate only to occur, manifested by a verb with its inflectional affixes. The verb is either a simultaneous or final verb. Then follows a locative suffix, either -paG, -kaG or -piN 'in', optionally followed by -keN 'from', followed by the nominal closing suffix. (N.B. it may be possible to use the interrogative closing suffix too.)

Examples:

(N.B. more investigation is needed as to when simultaneous verbs and when final verbs are used in the Predicate Tagmeme of the Locative Clause. For the present the type of verb is listed with the examples given.)

(simultaneous verb - present tense)

agaimaraunda-ra-'a 'where I've written it'

ímo isaúnda-va-'a 'to where I don't know (that's where he's going)' kaatopé-kigau ónda-va-'a 'to where I'm making a potato garden'

(final verb - present tense)

mayain-ka-'a 'at where he was living'
iyampoigoma tin-ka-'a 'at where the boy has come'

tanomba kauvo-pa-'a 'to where they cook the feast'
ima kwaasi mae-pa-'a 'where no people live'
agayaam-pim-ba 'in where they cook'
(final verb - past tense)
kwakaa-pa-'a 'where they had hunted'

7.3.2 Temporal Clause

A Temporal Clause manifests a Time Tagmeme in a Clause.

Temporal Clause (TempCl) = + Active Cl + loc + -keN + closing suffix

A Temporal Clause consists of an Active Clause, that is, either Transitive,
Intransitive or Motion Clause, minus Time Tagmeme. It is common for the

Predicate only to occur, manifested by a verb with its inflectional affixes.

The verb is either a simultaneous or final verb. Then follows -paG locative suffix (infrequently -kaG may occur), followed optionally by -keN 'from',
which gives the sense of 'after', followed by the nominal closing suffix.

There must be agreement in tense between the Temporal Clause and the main Clause.

Examples:

(simultaneous verb - future tense)

násuwaanda-ra-'a 'when I'll have eaten'

kaeká'á sínda-ra-'a 'when he will have spoken twice'

enáinda-ra-'a 'when it will end' i.e. in the evening

(simultaneous verb - present tense)

násuwaunda-ra-'a 'when I will have eaten'

toómbá náunda-ra-'a 'as I have eaten'

máyáunda-ra-kem-ba 'after I was living (there)'

(simultaneous verb - past tense)

máyaawanda-ra-'a 'when I was living (there)'

(final verb - present tense)

enain-ka-'a 'when it ended' i.e. in the evening

aa'á tin-ká-'á 'while it was raining'

atamaraan-ka-'a 'when you were thatching'

ivi'a kweto-pa-kem-ba 'after he had cried'

7.3.3 Manner Clause

A Manner Clause manifests a Manner Tagmeme in a Clause.

Manner Clause (ManCl) = + Transitive Clause + -mai Manner slot marker

A Manner Clause consists of a Transitive Clause minus Manner Tagmeme. It is common for the Predicate only to occur, manifested by a transitive verb or Verb Phrase, minus aspect, tense and person morphemes. The verb stem is followed by -mai Manner slot marker. If an Object Tagmeme occurs it may indicate not only the goal of the Manner Clause Predicate, but the Predicate of the main Clause too. It may become Inter by suffixing an interrogative morpheme. Examples: (non-interrogative)

Examples are given in the setting of the main Clause in which they occur, which Clauses are all Transitive.

Man: ManCl Ptr:tv

tavisi-mái séna

pulling he said and

He begged him and

Man: ManCl Ptr:tv

koagamba'-mai awananiyo.

go measuring you will see

Go and measuring it, you'll know.

Man: ManCl

Ptr:tv

0:ina n

Ptr: tvs-mai

kwai

tuvú' mai

kwimaresa

rats

killing

they cook and

Killing rats they cook them and

Man: ManCl

Ptr:tv

O:mirá

Ptr:tvs_mai

mirá

atuwésa u-mai

thus

doing

they hang

Doing that, they hang(the bark capes) and

Man: ManCl

Loc:loc

Ptr: tv

O:ina n Ptr:tVP_mai

pói

kara-kara umai

mimpí

tukésa

pig

cut-cut doing in there

they leave and

Cutting up the pork into little bits they put it in there and

Man: ManCl

Ptr:tv

Inst:ina n_neiV

Ptr:tvs_mai

paroinei

tuvú' mai

amentayuwowana

with arrows

killing

they pushed her and she

Killing her with arrows, they pushed her and she

Neg: ima

Man : ManCl

Man,:des

Ptr:tvs_mai

íma

inkam-bai

kawe'á

uraana

no

hitting

good

they did

Hitting him, they didn't do it properly (i.e. he didn't die)

It occurs in an Inter Equative Clause, Interrogative example follows. where the Inter Comment Tagmeme is manifested by a transitive verb.

Man: Inter ManCl

Inter Com: simult trv

nóra umai-ya tuvuwonaunda-ya'iyo.

what doing-inter we will kill him-is it.

How will we do the killing?

7.3.4 Purpose Clause

This Clause type is limited in distribution and in form and is always interrogative in meaning. It occurs immediately preceding an Active Interrogative Clause in a Sentence or it may be considered to manifest a particular Tagmeme in an Active Interrogative Clause. If the latter, then form and the Tagmeme does not have a non-interrogative, 'label' as yet in this analysis. Purpose Clause (PurpCl) = + Obj: \(\begin{array}{c} \inter n \\ \inter n \end{array} \) + Ptr: \(\begin{array}{c} 0 & 'do' \\ \sigma & 'say' \end{array} \)

A Purpose Clause consists of an Object Tagmeme manifested by the interrogative noun <u>nóra-wa</u> 'what' or by the interrogative noun stem <u>nóra</u> 'what', followed by a Transitive Predicate Tagmeme manifested by a transitive verb, either <u>o</u> 'do' or <u>se</u> 'say'. The verb may occur with an interrogative morpheme.

More investigation is needed, but those examples, found to date, are listed below:

nóra sésa what for / why

:PurpCl Neg: ima 0: mirá Ptr: tv

nóra sé-ra ima mira kweoo.

what say-inter no thus they are doing?

Why are they doing that?

:PurpCl Ptr:tv

nora sena siyo.

what he say he says?

Why did he say (that)?

:PurpCl Pm:mv

nora-wa isa-wa kono.

what-inter it do and you-inter you go? Why are you going?

The following matrix gives examples of different Clause types. A blank indicates lack of data and \neq indicates such a Clause type is not possible.

| -11410400 | | | | ties such a clause type is not possible. | | | |
|-----------|-------|-------|--|--|-------------------------|--|--|
| - | | · | Indicative | Interrogative | Imperative | | |
| E. Fi | | Tr | min-ayaantamba kewara'a | iya awanaaraa-o. | isaino. | | |
| | | | kwawanaum. I too know | Have you(pl) not | He must listen! | | |
| | | | that skeleton. | seen it? | | | |
| | | Inta | ese meni-ye. | kawera umaiya meni-yo. | úwoi mékaiyo. | | |
| | | | He will be with you. | Will he live well? | You(2) must stay | | |
| | Final | Mot | kuntaa'a kurai. | naaopa'a koyau-yo. | kwaaó. | | |
| | | | He went for the maxe. | Will we(2) go home? | Go! | | |
| | | Eq | aaraiman-i. | paroi-ya'i. | # | | |
| | | | It is a woman. | Is it an arrow? | | | |
| Sim | | Tr | tuvu'mai amentayuwowana | inkamonana-ya | <i>≠</i> | | |
| | | | Killing her they pushed her and she | Will I kill him and he | And now man upo map map | | |
| | | Int: | kítor-iyampoi púwúwasa | | ≠ | | |
| | DS | | The little boy died and the | y | | | |
| | | Mot | marapá kumísasa | | <i>‡</i> | | |
| | | | It came down on the ground and they | | | | |
| | | Tr | namuroyáváí awánasuwesa | nóin-tantaa-ra mayáníyen | a-o ≠ | | |
| | | | They looked for enemies and | What does he intend to get? | | | |
| | | Int. | káno'a kogwaéna | | <i>±</i> | | |
| | SS | | He went and slept without eating and | | | | |
| | | Mot | teme'a | nósa-tawai-ya tiniye-o | <i>±</i> | | |
| | | 5276 | I came on and on and | At what time do you inter | nd to come | | |
| | | Tr | ámú'a kaumái iyámpói | ≠ | <i>¥</i> | | |
| | | | ankomba Becoming pregnant | | | | |
| | | | she gave birth to a child | | | | |
| | | Int. | minarauma mayaamba | ≠ | ≠ | | |
| | mult | | While they(3) are there | | | | |
| | | i | | ≠ | ≠ | | |
| | | | While he went where there were people living | | | | |

8.1 Examples of Equative Clauses

8.1.1 Indicative Equative Clauses

T: temp Top:PosNPl

Com:ina n

aaemo

kwaaiti uvaemba

nóruwemban-i.

before

men's rites

sacred flutes-are

A long time ago men's rites included sacred flutes.

Top:dem Com:PosNPl.

minda kesi naamban-iye.

that my house-it is

That is my house.

Top:DemNP Com:n

min-inimba kesinoman-i.

that-woman my mother-she is

That woman is my mother.

Top:n Com:DesNP

kesinó anón-inimba.

my mother big-woman

My mother is a big woman.

Top: sbj pro Com: DesNP

kemá anón-inaamaruman-une.

I big-girl-I am.

I am a big girl.

Top:dem Neg:ima Com:desc

mindá íma kawe'án-i.

that no good-it is.

That is not good.

Top:DesNP Com:ina n

mirá emaen-tantaa'a aaimatama.

thus they did-thing fighting between two clans.

That kind of thing is (called) fighting between two clans.

Top:PosNP2

Com:ina n

miwa awi'a

iraantamán-i.

that's name

fire making by friction-it is.

That is called making fire by friction.

Com:desc Man:desc

uwoi

anon-iye.

merely

big-it is

He will be big (no worries about his growing).

Loc:loc

Com: simult mv

naampisiva'a kowiniyondaman-iye.

to coast

you intend going-is it.

Is it that you intend going to the coast?

(N.B. indicative form occurs, but interrogative intonation)

Com:PosNPl

kesí naamba.

umipa'an-iye. kesivona

house шy

my father's bush-it is.

It is my house.

It is my father's bush.

Com: ani n

aaraimán-i.

woman-she is.

It is a woman (not a man).

iyampoiman-one.

boy-you are.

You are a boy.

Com:loc

kaweká an-i.

good place-it is.

It is a good place.

The following examples occur with the indicative mood morpheme.

Com:ani n

iyampoigogwara-re.

boy with-indicative mood

She has children.

Com:dem

kinda-we.

that only-indicative mood

That's all (I have to say).

Com:sbj pro

ke-we.

keyáa-we.

I-indicative mood.

I only-indicative mood.

It is I.

It is only I.

8.1.2 Indicative Equative Clauses with Possessive Comment Tagmeme.

Pos Com:ani n

iyampoigon-dei.

numagon-dei.

boy-possessive.

bird-possessive.

It is the boy's.

It is the bird's.

kesaaninkon-deiman-i.

my son-possessive-it is.

It is my son's.

Pos Com:obj pro

ken-deiman-i.

keinárawa'-nei.

me-possessive-it is.

you (pl)-possessive.

It is mine.

It is yours (pl).

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(isn't n part of stem)

Kosena Grammar

8.1.3 Interrogative Equative Clauses

Top:loc Inter Com:Inter ManCl

kaeka'a nora umai-ya'iyo.

at two what doing-is it

How much is it for two?

Top:DemNP Inter Com:PosNP1

min-damba naawana naa-na'iyo.

that-houe whose house-is it

Whose house is that house?

Top:ina n Inter Com:inter loc

kígauma nááva-ra'i.

garden where-is it

Where is the garden?

Top:ina n Inter Com:num (NB occurs in AppositionalNP)

sontaa kae-ra'i.

week two-is it.

About two weeks

Examples without Topic Tagmeme follow;

Man: Inter ManCl Inter Com: simult tv

nora umai-ya tuvuwonaunda-ya'iyo.

what doing-inter we will kill him-is it.

How will we do the killing?

Inter Com: NumP (NB occurs in Appositional NP)

mora-sontaa-wa'i

one-week-is it

About one week

Inter Com: num

morá-wa'i.

one-is it.

Is it one?

Inter Com: TrCl (with simultaneous verb)

agaimaraunda-wa'i.

tíndau simeíraanda-wa'i.

I have written it-is it.

yesterday you gave me-is it.

Is it where I have written it?

Is it (note) you gave me yesterday?

tiraa'á sínkamiyena-wa'i. (with ss verb) sorcery he intends to hit me-is it.

Is it that he intends to work sorcery on me?

Inter Com:ina n paroi-yá'i. arrow-is it Is it an arrow?

Inter Com: Inter TempP nosa tawai-ya'i. what time-is it When?

Inter Com: Inter NP nora aaí-na'i. what talk-is it. What talk is it?

Inter Com: Num NP eiyain-kwiyo-na'i. four-moon-is it. Is it four months?

Inter Com: Inter NP noin-tantaa-ra'iyo. what-thing-is it. What is that thing?

noramo i-yantaa-ra'iyo.
what do-thing-is it.
What does it do? / How is it used?

Kosena Grammar
Inter Com: Inter PosNPl
naawana umipa-ra'iyo.
whose bush-is it
Whose bush is it?

Inter Com: ani n kwaaigwara-ra'i. man with-is it. Is she married?

The following examples illustrate 1st and 2nd persons as well as 3rd persons;

Inter Com: inter ns; inter n

naa-wa'iyo.

naa-wa'ono.

naawi-ya'o.

who-is it.

who-are you.

who-are they.

Who is he?

Who are you?

Who are they?

Inter Com: Inter NP

naavakewai-ya'o.

naan-iyampoirai-ya oyo.

where person-are you(pl).

who-two boys-are they.

Where are you(pl) from?

Who are these two boys?

Inter Com:ani n anonda-ra'ono.

big person-are you.

Are you the leader?

Inter Com:inter loc

náánka-ra'i.

where(position)-is it.

Where is it? (line in a book)

naanka-wa'o.

where(position)-are they.

Where are they from?

náava-ra'i.

where(position)-is it.

Where is it? (location)

naava-ra'o.

where(location)-are you

Where have you been?

Inter Com: obj pro

Inter Com:sbj pro

ke-ná'i.

ke-wa'i.

ke-wa'iyo.

me-is it.

I-is it.

I-is it.

Is it me?

Is it I?

Is it I?

Inter Com:sbj pro

keyaa-wa'um.

keirai-ya'u.

I only-am I

we two-are we two

Is it only I?

Is it we two?

keinárawa-ra'o.

keinarauyaa-wa'o.

you(pl)-are you(pl).

you(3) only-are you

Is it you(p1)?

Is it you three only?

8.1.4 Inter Equative Clauses with Possessive Inter Comment Tagmenes
Pos Inter Com:obj pro

ken-dei-ya'i.

kenkáí-néi-ya'i.

keinarawa'-nei-ya'i.

me-poss-is it.

us two-poss-is it.

you(pl)-poss-is it.

Is it mine?

Is it ours(dual)?

Is it yours(pl)?

8.1.5 Inter

with Inter Designatory

:dem

maandan-do

mindán-do

this-how about

that-how about

How about this?

How about that?

:sbj pro

:personal name

kemán-do

emán-do

Puwaa 'nán-do

I-how about

you-how about

" -how about

How about me?

How about you?

How about Puwaa'na?

8.2 Examples of Transitive Clauses

8.2.1 Indicative Transitive Clauses

Ptr:tVP (ds verb)

look-look

kwawana-wana kwauwana

they were doing

They kept on going to look (at the body)

aisaa-uwana

ask her-he did and she

He asked her and she

0:DesNP Ptr:tVP (ss verb) sawi-inti nama'nama kweesa

bad-thing eat eat they do and

They go on and on eating bad things

Neg: Ma Ref:loc_tavaiV Ptr:tVP (final verb)

ima kanagaapatavai sirai tai.

no native place ref. I like

I don't like it in the native village.

Ref:TrCl(simult v)_tavaiv Man:desc Ptr:tv (final verb)

súwa'naa uraandayavai u'oi amu.

you helped me ref. merely I give you

Because you helped me I am giving you one for nothing.

Ref:Co-ordNP_tavaiV Ptr:tv (final verb)

kesinontavaigwara kesivontavaigwara'a kwesinkai.

my mother ref. my father ref. I am wanting

I am wanting my mother and father.

Ref:ani n_tavaiV Ptr:tv (ss verb)

namuroyavai awanasuwesa

enemy ref. they look and

They looked for enemies and

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Man: ManCl O:ani n Ptr:tv (simult verb)

ámu'a kaumái iyámpoi ankómba

her stomach cooking boy while she gave birth to

Becoming pregnant she gave birth to a child

S:DemNP Ptr:tv (final verb)

min-kwasai anasai.

that talk it is finished.

That's all.

S:ani n Neg: ima Ptr:tv (final verb)

awaikó ima kwenai. her husband no he eats.

Her husband doesn't eat.

IO:ina n Ptr:tv (ss verb)

marimba koawanesa

magots they go and look and

They go and look at the magots and

O:DemNP S:pro Ptr:tv (final verb)

min-áyáántámbá kegwárá'á kwawanaum. that bones I goo I see it

I too know that k skeleton.

O:ina n IO:ani dem Ptr:tv (ds verb)

ontamba miwi timakaisataa

stones those people he gave them and we

He gave them money and we

Info:IO:DesNP IO:per name O:NumMP Ptr:tv (ss verb)

kárápúsimo uráan-kwaasima Sarámba kae-kwíyomba aména

the men who were gaoled Sara to two-moons he gave him

The men who were gaoled, he gave two months to Sara and

Man: ManCl Ptr:tv (final verb) Info:Inst:ina n_neiV

maimai kweutai kwenayaandei.

taking he buries his hands with

Taking (the body) he buries it with his own hands.

T: temp IO: pro Loc:loc Ptr: tv (ss verb)

aiva'á kembá moi simásimena

first me up he told me and

First he came and told me and

T: TempCl Loc:loc Ptr:tv (ss verb)

Uyaasimpa mayaundara moi simasimena

when I was at Uyaasimpa up he told me and

While I was at Uyaasimpa he came up and told me and

T: temp 0: ina n Ptr: tv (ss verb)

mivákembá toómbá kwakaresa

after there food they gathered and

Then they gathered food and

Inst:ina n_neiV Ptr:tv (ss verb)

kwiyondei asaaesa

vine with they bind and

They bind (the axe) with vine and

Man: ManCl Ptr:tv (ss verb)

kwenaai taagwiya'mai tavikesa

his talk carrying they pull and

Believing what he says they pull (their bow strings)

S:ina n Man:desc Ptr:tv (ds verb)

kigaugo kawe'á isasa

garden good it did and they

The garden did well and they

Man: ManCl Ptr:tv (ds verb)

tuvú'mai amentayuwowana

killing they pushed her and she

Killing her they pushed her and she

0:DesNP Ptr: tv (final verb - desiderative)

kwikombo nemaen-kwasai senae.

they swallowed-talk cane I want to say

I want to tell about how they used to do cane swallowing.

Loc₁:LocP Loc₂:loc 0:ina n Ptr:tv (ss verb)

améraamba maan-avapa taanuka'a úvi marena his talk this bank

at tree roots he twisted

He twisted his tail round the tree roots on this die of the river and

Loc₁:loc Loc,:loc 0:ina n Ptr:tv (ss verb)

úmipa'a mói kwanaamba, umakesa in forest inside shelter they made

The shelter they made was right inside the forest and (i.e. in depths of forest

Loc,:loc Loc2:loc 0:ina n Ptr:tv (ss verb)

nompá! tanómba móru kaumarésa

at river feast down they cooked and

At the river they cooked a feast down there and

8.2.2 Interrogative Transitive Clauses

Ptr:tv inter (final verb)

kweawanaa-no.

Can you see?

Ptr:tv inter (ds verb)

inkamonana-ya

I will hit him-inter

Will I kill him and he

O:ani n Ptr:tVP inter (ds verb)

kwaasi awa'naa onana-ya

person help him I will and he-inter

Will I help the person and he

Info:0:ina n 0:inter n Ptr:tv inter (final verb)

toomba noina nanaum-no.

food what I will eat-inter

Food, what will I eat?

Neg: <u>iya</u> Ptr:tv inter (final verb)

iya awanaaraa-o.

no inter you(pl) saw it-inter

Have you (pl) not seen it?

T: temp Ptr: tv inter (final verb)

ára makwame-o.

already inter you(pl) give her-inter

Have you (pl) already given her (food)?

T:Inter TempP Ptr:tv inter (final verb)

nosa-tawai ankarai-yo.

what-time did it for him-inter

When did it do it for him?

O:ina n Ptr:tv inter (final verb)

kampará si-yo.

false inter he say-inter

Did he lie?

O:Inter PosNPl Ptr:tv inter (final verb)

naawana toona kwagayaa-no.

who inter food inter you cooking-inter

Whose food are you cooking?

Loc:inter loc 0:DemNP Ptr:tv inter (final verb)

náávakena maan-aaimba mairai-yo.

from where inter this-talk he took-inter

From where did he get this talk?

Loc:Inter LocP Ptr:tv inter (final verb)

náán-daaumpara nánaum-no.

whose-house inter we will eat-inter

Whose house will we eat in?

Inst:inter n_neiV inter Ptr:tv inter (final verb)

nóindeiya maitimenaum-no.

with what inter will we get and give them

With what will we buy food for them?

S:inter n inter Ptr:tv inter (final verb)

naawana tuvuwu-no.

who I hit you

Who hit you?

Ref:Inter NP_tavaiV inter Ptr:tv inter (final verb)

noin-tantaatavaiya kwankai-yo.

what-thing ref. inter you want-inter

What do you want?

8.2.3 Imperative Transitive Clauses

Ptr:imp tv

isaao

isaíno.

Listen!

He must listen!

simátimeno.

I must tell them!

naaro.

You (pl) eat!

taviyéro.

You (pl) take care!

Neg: ima Ptr: imp tVP

ima taa'a kaino.

no their ears it mustn't burn.

You mustn't be afraid!

Ptr:imp tv

Info:0:DesNP

isáano

naaopaken-kwasai.

I must hear from home-news

I must hear the news from home!

8.3 Quotation Clauses

O:quoted speech (DesNP indicative) Ptr:se (ss verb) (NB ?Ind Eq Cl) arai-kwaasi-ye sesa

true-men-ind they say and

"They are real men", they say and

O:quoted speech (Ind TrC1)

Ptr:se (ds verb)

ameiraundayavai aamoi umasinkaniyone suwana because I gave to you pleasure you will be for me he said and she "Because I gave it to you yesterday you will be pleased with me." he said and she

O:quoted speech (TrCl, MCt, IndTrCl) Ptr

Ptr:se (ss verb)

emá kuséna'a

iyunasama sinkamo-we

séna

you come and speak go up

hit me-ind he said and

"You came and spoke to me so I came up and they beat me." he said and

S:sbj pro T:temp Ptr:se O:quoted speech(IndTrCl) Ptr:se (ss verb)

kemá minkákembá se'a

kawe'á úmaraa-ne

sé'a

I

then

I say good

you did-ind

I say and

Then I said, "You have done well," I said and

S:DesNP 01:quoted speech (IndTrCl) 02:mirá Ptr:se (ss verb)

amapa-kamaani-kwaasi

ontamba mayanaao-we

mirá sésa

all-Govt-men

stones t

they'll get-ind thus

they say

"They'll get the money." that's what all the Government men said and

O:quoted speech (TrCl, Imp MCL)

Ptr:se (simult verb)

toomba sawiyanka'a nasuwe'a kumo-no kwesimba

food soon I eat I must go down he was saying

"I must go down and eat food soon," he was saying

Kosena Grammar

8.4 Intransitive Clauses

8.4.1 Indicative Intransitive Clauses

Pint:iv (simult verb)

kogwaeraunda

While I had gone and was asleep

S:sbj pro Pint:iv (simult verb)

mindarauma mayaamba

they three while they are

While they are (there)

S:ani n Pint:iv (final verb)

aaraigoma mayai.

woman she is

The woman is (there) i.e. not gone away).

S:DesNP Pint:iv (ds verb)

kítor-iyampoi púwúwasa

little-boy he died and they

The little boy died and they

Acc:pro acc Pint:iv (final verb)

esé

meniye.

you acc

he will be

He will be with you.

Man:desc Pint:iv (ss verb)

kano'a kogwaena

empty he went and slept and

He went and slept without eating and

Man: ManCl Pint: iv (final verb)

kawe'a umai merai.

good doing he was

He lives well

Loc:LocP

Pint:iv (ss verb)

min-ontampa'a

kunkwena

that-stone at

it went down and was

Her body went over that cliff and

Loc:loc

Pint:iv (ds verb)

kwégwaewana

mivá

they are sleeping and he

They were sleeping there and he

Neg:ima

Loc:loc

Pint:iv (final verb)

íma

mararakemba

. sankarai.

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from on ground

it was light

It wan't light on the ground.

S:sbj pro

Loc:loc

Pint:iv (simult verb)

ke

naaumpa'a

umáyáunda

Т

inside house

while I went up and was

While I was up in the house

Ter tavaiv

Pint:iv (ss verb)

mindayavai

mé'a

that ref.

I was and

Because of that I'll stay and

T: temp

Pint:iv (ds verb)

áaema

tamáyowasa

7. 0.

they came and were and they

They came and stayed before and they

8.4.2 Interrogative Intransitive Clauses

Pint:iv inter (final verb)

puwini-yo.

will die-inter Will he die?

Man: Inter ManCl

Pint:iv inter (final verb)

kawe-ra

umai-ya

meni-yo.

good-inter doing-inter

he will be-inter

Will he live well?

S: InterIIP

Pint:iv inter (final verb)

noraumai-too-na

kwayai-yo.

how much-food-inter

it is-inter

How much food is there?

S:ina n

Loc:inter loc

Pint:iv (final verb)

te'á

naáva-ra

kwayai-yo

banana

where-inter

it is-inter

Where is the banana?

S:ani n

Loc:inter loc

Pint:iv (final verb)

enavo

naava-ra

mayai-yo.

your father

where-inter

he is-inter

Where is your father?

8.4.3 Imperative Intransitive Clauses

Pint:imp iv

agaandaano.

We must rest!

Man: dese

Pint:imp iv

úwoi

mékaiyo.

merely

you two stay

You two just stay!

Mosena Grammar

Examples of

8.5 Motion Clauses (N.B. seldom ss verbs)

Pm:mv (ss verb)

Tindicative Motion Clauses

témé'a

I came on and on and

Pm:mv (ds verb)
iyowasa
They went up and they

check tone

Pm:mv (final verb) Info:Loc;loc kurai aampa'a she went on the path

She went, on the path.

Loc:LocP Pm:mv (simult verb)
kwaasimo mayonka'o kumba
man they live at while he went
While he went where there were people living

Loc:loc Pm:mv (ds verb)
marapa kumisasa
on ground it came down and they
It came down on the ground and they

T: temp Pm:mv (ss verb verb with indicative mood)
aavayaama tiniyena-we
tomorrow he intends to come
He intends to come tomorrow.

Ref:acq n Pm:mv (final verb) Ref:acq n Pm:mv (final verb) kuntaa'a kurai. kwaasaiyaa'a kourai. for axe he went for the axe. She went to talk.

8.5.2 Interrogative Motion Clauses

Loc:loc

Pm:mv inter (final verb)

naacpa'a

koyau-yo.

at village

we two will go-inter

Will we two go home?

T:Inter TempP Pm:mv inter (final verb)

nosa-tawai-ya

tiniyo-no.

what-time-inter you will come-inter

At what time will you come?

S:sbj pro Loc:loc

Pm:mv (ss verb with inter mood)

ema

naampisiva'a kowiniye-wa

you

to coast you intend to go-inter

Do you intend going to the coast?

Loc:inter loc Pm:mv inter (final verb)

naavake-na

té-no.

from where-inter you come-inter

From where did you come?

S:ani dem

Loc:inter loc Pm:mv inter (final verb)

miwa

naava-ra

kwi-yo.

that person where-inter

he goes-inter

Where did he go?

Ref:inter ref n -tavaiV

Pm:mv inter (final verb)

nointavai-ya

te-no.

for what-inter

you come-inter

What have you come for?

Ref:inter ref n_tavaiV

Loc:loc

Pm:mv inter (final verb)

nointavai-ya

kigauva'a

kó-nó.

for what-inter

to at garden

you go-inter

What are you going to the garden for?

S:inter pro

Pm:mv inter (final verb)

kesérái-ya

kóyau-yo.

I too dual-inter

we two will go-inter

I too, will we both go?

8.5.3 Imperative Motion Clauses

Pm:imp mv

koaao.

Go: (said in anger)

Pm:imp mv

kwaao.

Go! (said gently)

Pm:imp mv

kouwo.

Go! (implies, and don't return)

Pm:imp mv

tekaiyo.

You two come!

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