

1. Stem

1.1 Simple Stems

Simple stems in Nend tend to be only two to three syllables in length. Any word comprised of four or more syllables is probably some kind of compound stem.

1.2 Compound Stems

Nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs can all be manifested by compound forms. Of these only compound nouns and verbs are discussed below. The basic principles of compounding nouns and verbs can be applied to adjectives and adverbs as well.

1.2.1 Compound Noun Stems

Compound noun stems are very common in Nend. Typically, they are constructed from a noun plus another noun or a noun plus an adjective. Both of these types will be examined in turn, followed by a discussion of the criteria which distinguish compounds from phrases of the same basic structure.

1.2.1.1 Coordinate Noun Compound

Coordinate noun compounds are those in which neither noun can be exclusively identified as the head. Several examples are give below. Morphemes in compound constructions are separated by the = sign throughout the paper.

| COMPOUND NOUN | LITERAL TRANSLATION | MEANING |
|------------------|---------------------|---------|
| <i>oman=ajki</i> | arm=egg | wrist |
| <i>ema=min</i> | point=hole | nose |
| <i>mil=oma</i> | pig=fish | animal |

- 1) *Mac, mil=oma-ndiv kilim nda-mg-an-j.*
finish pig=fish-BEN just walk-p-HP-3.HB
'Then they just used to walk around for animals (i.e. hunted for animals).'

1.2.1.2 Modifier-Modified Noun Compound

This class of compounds is composed of a head noun plus an adjective or another noun. While the adjective or other noun does, in a sense, modify the noun, the resultant meaning is not entirely a sum of the meanings of the parts. Rather, the compound has a more extended or arbitrary meaning.

| COMPOUND NOUN | LITERAL TRANSLATION | MEANING |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>nt=akwi</i> | grass=snake | deathadder |
| <i>ay=ampila</i> | tree=place | village |
| <i>ap=imbil</i> | bird=good | bird of paradise |
| <i>ahay=sapil</i> | bamboo=long | knife |
| <i>andami=nti</i> | leg=red | wild fowl |

- 2) *Mbi ap=imbil angwilami-m-a-l.*
 3.S bird=good turn.into-NDEF-HP-3
 'She turned into a bird of paradise.'

1.2.1.3 Distinguishing Compounds from Parallel Higher Level Constructions

Both of the above types of compound nouns have parallels in higher level constructions. The coordinate noun compounds correspond to the noun clusters (see section 3.1.1.3.1). The modifier-modified compounds often have structurally and phonetically identical counterparts on the noun phrase level (see section 3.1). For example, compare the two sentences:

- 3) *Nzi apa imbil w-em-en.*
 1s.S bird good see-YP-1s
 'I saw a good bird.'
- 4) *Nzi ap=imbil w-em-en.*
 1s.S bird=good see-YP-1s
 'I saw a bird-of-paradise.'

Phonetically the above two utterances are identical. They are written differently to reflect the fact that the compound is viewed as a single lexical item while the phrase is seen as being composed of two distinct lexical items. This difference is apparent in the way that the plurals are formed. 'Many birds of paradise' is expressed as *ap=ibil-akŋ ap=imbil* while 'many good birds' is expressed as *ap-akŋ apa imbil*.

Semantically, the modifier-modified compound differs from the noun phrase by the fact that the former is semantically non-compositional while the latter is semantically compositional.

The same factors help distinguish coordinate compounds from noun clusters. Compare the cluster *ay min* 'tree hole' or 'hole in a tree' with the compound *ay=ampila* 'village (tree=place)'. The former is semantically compositional while the latter is not.

An additional factor also helps distinguish between clusters and compounds. Noun clusters are in a modifier-modified relationship, with one of the elements functioning as head. In the above example *ay* 'tree' modifies the head *min* 'hole'. This characteristic is not shared by the coordinate noun compounds.

1.2.2 Compound Verb Stems

There are a limited number of verb roots in Nend, probably fewer than 150. By means of compounding, however, the number of available verb stems is almost limitless.

The internal semantics of compound verb stems can be quite complex. In some compound verb stems the subject changes from one root to the next. In others, subject, object, and adverb incorporation introduce non-verbal elements into the compound verb stem. Finally, some verb roots, when used in compounds, produce compounds of a different verb class. These various types of compound verb stems are discussed below.

1.2.2.1 Simple Compound Verb Stem

Simple compound verb stems are comprised of two or more verb roots across which the subject remains the same. The meanings of these compounds are usually, but not always, semantically compositional. Some examples of compound verbs are given below.

| ROOT 1 | ROOT 2 | COMPOUND VERB STEM |
|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>ŋga</i> drop | <i>ama</i> put | <i>ŋg=ama</i> put down |
| <i>hila</i> carry | <i>ñi</i> stay | <i>hila=ñi</i> hold |
| <i>wali</i> break | <i>ŋga</i> drop | <i>wali=ŋga</i> bend over |

- 5) *Oman=ent-on* *hil=oh-e* *hila=ñ-e* *hil=ay-ndala-n.*
 arm=design-INT carry=go-SS carry=stay-SS carry=come-FUT-2
 'You will take (him) and keep (him) and bring (him) safely (hand=design).'

In the above chart, the first two examples illustrate compound verbs that are semantically a sum of their parts. The last example has a more extended meaning.

A number of verb roots occur only in compounds. Some, like *hila* 'carry' and *avi* 'throw', require either a directional or a stative component to complete the meaning. This is illustrated with the three compounds of *hila* in example (5) above.

1.2.2.2 Compound Verb Stem Involving a Change of Subject

Within some compound verb stems, the subject changes from one verb root to the next. This is marked in Nend by the third person different subject marker *z* inserted between the two roots. Internal change of subject is especially common in verbs expressing physical manipulation of an object.

| ROOT | | ROOT | | COMPOUND STEM | |
|--------------|-------|-------------|---------|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>avi</i> | throw | <i>ngga</i> | descend | <i>avi-zi=ngga</i> | throw down |
| <i>akɲil</i> | pour | <i>ngwi</i> | go in | <i>akɲili-zi=ngwi</i> | pour into |
| <i>ŋa</i> | get | <i>wali</i> | break | <i>ŋa-zi=wali</i> | break by hand |

- 6) *Ongilangen mban avi-zi=ng-e kilim nga=ŋ-in.*
 sago.beater ND throw-3.DS=descend-SS just descend=stay-3
 'I threw the sago beater down and just went to sleep.'

1.2.2.3 Valence Changing Compound Verb Stem

Compounding can be used as a means of lowering the valence of a transitive verb root. This is accomplished by adding the verb root *aha* 'happen, sprout' to the transitive verb root. Examples are given below.

| TRANSITIVE STEM | | INTRANSITIVE STEM | |
|-----------------|----------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>apay</i> | pull out | <i>apay=aha</i> | fall out |
| <i>endua</i> | open | <i>endua=aha</i> | peel off (int) |
| <i>ivihali</i> | twist | <i>ivihal=aha</i> | turn (int) |

- 7) *Ahi kehamb apay=aha-ndal-i.*
 axe FD.SP.S pull.out=happen-FUT-3
 'That axe (head) will come off.'

1.2.2.4 Compound Verb Involving Non-Verbal Elements

Not all components of a compound verb need be a verb root. Nouns and adverbs can also be incorporated into compound verb stems. The most common of the adverbs used in this capacity are the directionals. These adverbs indicate a direction or location in relation to the speaker. They form compound verb stems with the motion verbs *o* 'go' and *ay* 'come'. Some compound verb stems of this type using the verb root *ay* 'come' are given in the following chart.

| DIRECTIONAL | | COME | | COMPOUND VERB | |
|-------------|------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>eva</i> | across | <i>ay</i> | <i>evah=ay</i> | come across | |
| <i>ak</i> | uphill | <i>ay</i> | <i>ak=ay</i> | come uphill | |
| <i>el</i> | upstream | <i>ay</i> | <i>el=ay</i> | come upstream | |
| <i>avi</i> | downstream | <i>ay</i> | <i>avih=ay</i> | come downstream | |

Other adverbs can be incorporated into the verb stem. The adverb *oman=enta* 'well (arm=design)', for example, occurs with the verb root *si* 'do' to form *oman=enta=si* 'fix'.

- 8) *Nan-ndiv* *ilinj uc-e* *oman=enta=s-e*
 2s.OBJ-BEN spear sharpen-SS arm=design=do-SS

ɛŋgwa-ŋ.
 give-1s.IMP

'I must sharpen and prepare a spear for you and give it (to you).'

Nouns can also be incorporated into compound verb stems. These nouns can have any of several semantic roles in relation to the verbal element of the compound. Some examples are given below.

| | | |
|----------|---|--------------------|
| location | <i>zi=ompil=ama</i> head=top=put | carry on the head |
| patient | <i>ondo=ompali=wa</i> bottom=top=see | examine thoroughly |
| patient | <i>oŋki=ɛŋgwa</i> knot=give | buy |

- 9) *Al ucai=lul* *oŋk=ɛŋgwa-ŋi-n* *al-e* *o-ndala-liŋ.*
 1p.S tree.type=granule knot=give-PRB-1 say-SS go-FUT-1p
 'We will go to buy rice (tree.type=granule).'

1.2.2.5 Distinguishing Compound Verb Stems from Parallel Higher Level Constructions

Unlike compound noun stems, for which we must rely on semantics to distinguish them from phrase level constructions, compound verb stems are distinguishable as such by an inflectional device. The negative construction in Nend brackets the verb word with the non-definite particle *m* (see section 2.9.2.1.1). This mechanism provides a convenient means of distinguishing compound verb stems from serial verb and clause level constructions.

Using this test, we find that some combinations occur as both compound verb stems and higher level constructions.

- 10) *Nzi olam han m-oman=enta=si-m.*
 1s.S house MD NDEF-arm=design=do-NDEF
 'I did not fix that house.'
- 11) *Nzi ntig han oman=enta mi-si=m.*
 1s.S work MD arm=design NDEF-do-NDEF
 'I did not do that work well (arm=design).'

1.3 Derived Stems

The single derivational process that exists in Nend is the derivation of nominal forms from verbs by means of reduplication. The Nend reduplicated verb functions much like the English gerund or participle. Thus the reduplicated verb can function nominally and adjectivally as well as verbally. Example (12) below illustrates the adjectival use of the

reduplicated verb while the nominal use is illustrated in example(13). Further discussion of the use of the reduplicated verb form to indicate same subject simultaneous action is found in section 2.9.1.1.1.

- 12) *Ya ka-h ohila han et=o-m-a-l.*
 talk talk-RED big MD depart=go-NDEF-HP-3
 'The big talking (oncs), they left behind.'
- 13) *Mah=ol-oli-v la-z fi-ndi-fi-in.*
 die=hit-RED-S do-3.DS stay-TP-stay-1s
 'Being sick (die=hit) made me stay.'

2. Word

Under the word level I will discuss nouns, pronouns, adjectives, particles, demonstratives, interrogatives, adverbs, and verbs.

2.1 Nouns

There are five categories of nouns in Nend. They are distinguished only by the ways in which they form the plural. These classes are: proper nouns, kinship nouns, human nouns, mass nouns and concrete nouns.

2.1.1 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns are distinguished from other types of nouns by the fact that they have a single definite referent. Thus they do not normally have a plural form. Also there are severe restrictions on the number of other elements that can occur in a noun phrase having a proper noun in the head position. Most phrases with a proper noun as head have only that single component. At most, one other component is allowed.

- 14) *Awilaj-v mbi anci-l-men mbi mapij.*
 Awilaj-S 3.S woman-3-ACC 3.S behind
 'As for Awilaj, he along with his wife, he (came) later.'

2.1.2 Kinship Nouns

The category of kinship nouns is distinguished from other categories in two ways. First, kinship nouns form plurals in a distinctive manner. Second, each kinship relationship is expressed by three different terms, depending on whether the relationship is in reference to the speaker, the addressee, or to a third person.

2.1.2.1 Plural Formation

The plural is formed by the addition of the suffix *-onj* to the kinship noun stem. This suffix is placed before any case marking affixes or clitics. In the formation of the plural of the addressee forms, the morpheme *onj* is placed before the *al* morpheme that is characteristic of these forms. Likewise, in the third person, the plural morpheme occurs before the third person marker *-l*.

| KINSHIP TERM | PLURAL FORM | MEANING |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>yakŋ</i> | <i>yakŋonj</i> | father |
| <i>aziŋ</i> | <i>aziŋonj</i> | older sibling |
| <i>yapaj</i> | <i>yapajonj</i> | niece |
| <i>miŋil</i> | <i>miŋonjil</i> | mother (3) |
| <i>yaŋal</i> | <i>yaŋonjal</i> | mother(addressee) |

- 15) Mac *yaŋ-onji-v* *hił=ahev=oh-e* *im-mg-emi-l.*
 finish mother-p-S carry=across=go-SS cook-p-YP-3
 'Then, the mothers took (it) inside and cooked.'

2.1.2.2 Alternate Kinship Terms

With only one or two exceptions, each kinship relationship is expressed by three different terms depending on the relationship of the referent to the speech act participants. The following chart gives some examples of this threefold kinship term system.

| MOTHER | FATHER | OLDER SIBLING | GRANDMOTHER | PERSON |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------|
| <i>yaŋ</i> | <i>yakŋ</i> | <i>aziŋ</i> | <i>aviŋ</i> | 1 |
| <i>yaŋal</i> | <i>onal</i> | <i>aynal</i> | <i>avijał</i> | 2 |
| <i>miŋil</i> | <i>wanił</i> | <i>yanił</i> | <i>paŋił</i> | 3 |

Although there are patterns evident in the construction of the various terms, there are no concrete rules for deriving one from another.

- 16) Mbi *miŋil-men* *mi-na-m;* *mbi wanił-men* *ni-m-a-l.*
 3.S mother-ACC NDEF-eat-MDEF 3.S father-ACC stay-NDEF-HP-3
 'He did not eat with his mother; he stayed with his father.'

2.1.3 Human Nouns

This is a small closed class comprised of nouns having, with one exception, human referents. The one exception is *uvi* 'dog.' The fact that dogs have a special status is further attested by the occasional use of kinship terms to refer to them. This class forms plurals by the addition of the suffix *-kila*. The members of this class are given below.

| NOUN | PLURAL FORM | MEANING |
|--------------|------------------|----------|
| <i>wilam</i> | <i>wilamkila</i> | man |
| <i>anci</i> | <i>ancikila</i> | woman |
| <i>nol</i> | <i>nolikila</i> | boy |
| <i>nanci</i> | <i>nancikila</i> | girl |
| <i>say</i> | <i>saykila</i> | youth |
| <i>ohila</i> | <i>ohilakila</i> | ancestor |
| <i>uvi</i> | <i>uvikila</i> | dog |

- 17) *Mbi noli-kila ya ka-h han et=o-m-a-l.*
 3.S son-p talk talk-RED MD depart=go-NDEF-HP-3
 'They left behind those sons who could talk.'

These nouns may also take the "plural" construction discussed below in 2.1.4.

2.1.4 Concrete Nouns

This class is comprised of nearly everything not included in the above classes. This class does not have, strictly speaking, a plural construction. Rather there is a construction that signifies 'several' or 'many'. This construction involves adding the suffix *-akɿ* to the head noun and then repeating the head noun. If the number of referents is only two or three this construction would not be used. Thus it is clear that this is not a true plural.

| NOUN | PLURAL FORM | MEANING |
|--------------|------------------------|------------|
| <i>wilam</i> | <i>wilam-akɿ wilam</i> | man |
| <i>apa</i> | <i>ap-akɿ apa</i> | bird |
| <i>say</i> | <i>say-akɿ say</i> | adolescent |
| <i>ay</i> | <i>ay-akɿ ay</i> | tree |
| <i>olam</i> | <i>olam-akɿ olam</i> | house |

A shortened form of the above is constructed by omitting the repeated noun head. This shortened form is used instead of the longer form with coordinate noun heads.

- 18) *Wilam-akɿ anci-akɿ o-mi-liɿ pilitim m-ah elipil m-ah.*
 man-many woman-many go-NDEF-1p fire NDEF-EX torch NDEF-EX
 'Many of us men and women might go without fire or a torch.'

2.1.5 Mass Nouns

A small class of nouns does not form plurals. These nouns designate mass entities. This class includes such words as *yamb* 'water' and *ɿkilaɿaz* 'sand'.

2.2 Pronouns

There are three series of pronouns in Nend: subject, object, and possessive. The pronouns generally have as referents only those nouns comprising the class of human nouns

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discussed above. An exception occurs in legends and fables where normally non-human objects are vested with human characteristics.

The object and possessive series have distinct forms for each of first, second and third person singular and plural. In the subject series, only the first person has distinct forms for the singular and plural.

2.2.1 Subject Pronouns

These pronouns fill the subject slot in a clause. They have the following forms.

| | 1ST PERSON | 2ND PERSON | 3RD PERSON |
|------|------------|------------|------------|
| SING | <i>nzi</i> | <i>am</i> | <i>mbi</i> |
| PLUR | <i>al</i> | <i>am</i> | <i>mbi</i> |

In the first person, the forms are different for the singular and plural while in second and third persons the forms are identical for singular and plural. The context and the subject person-number endings on the verb make clear the number of the subject, so distinctive forms are not needed for singular and plural.

19) *Al mapig o-ndala-liq.*

1p.S behind go-FUT-1p
'We will go later.'

20) *Mbi ahev=ay-e ñi-mgi-z-and ay-m-a-l.*

3.S across=come-SS stay-p-3.DS-SIM come-NDEF-HP-3
'They came out, and while they stayed, he came.'

2.2.2 Object Pronouns

Object pronouns fill the patient slot in the clause. They are also used to fill the subject slot in equative clauses under certain circumstances. Object pronouns can be cliticized like nouns. Unlike the subject pronouns, the object pronouns have different forms for all persons and numbers. This is probably required by the absence of object person-number affixation on the verb. The forms of the object pronouns are shown below.

| | 1ST PERSON | 2ND PERSON | 3RD PERSON |
|------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| SING | <i>yan</i> | <i>nan</i> | <i>ndin</i> |
| PLUR | <i>aliq</i> | <i>andiq</i> | <i>ndiq</i> |

21) *Mac av-e ndiq kilim et=ay-oliq.*

finish do.thus-SS 3p.OBJ just depart=come-1p
'Then we just left them.'

22) *Yan-ndiv say cmga ng=am-mbal.*

1s.OBJ-BEN youth other descend=put-2p.IMP
'Leave another youth for me.'

2.2.3 Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns share some morphemes with both the subject and object pronouns. The first person pronoun is unique in that it has an alternate form. The common form is constructed from the *y* of the object pronoun with the oblique clitic. The alternate form substitutes the subject pronoun *nzi* for the object form.

| | 1ST PERSON | 2ND PERSON | 3RD PERSON |
|------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|
| SING | <i>ihind/nzikind</i> | <i>amakil</i> | <i>mbikil</i> |
| PLUR | <i>aliḡind</i> | <i>amandiḡ</i> | <i>mbindiḡ</i> |

- 23) *Al aliḡind ay=ampila yipila-ḡ o-ndala-liḡ.*
 1p.S 1p.POS tree=place old-LI go-FUT-1p
 'We will go to our old village.'

2.3 Adjectives

That Nend has a class of adjectives, as distinct from nouns and adverbs, is attested by inflection and distribution. Adjectives are not able to take the nominal plural affixes. Adjectives but not adverbs can fill the adjective phrase slot in the noun phrase. In the case where a word functions in more than one word class the above tests help determine its primary identity. For example, *ohila* 'big' can be used as either an adjective or as a noun. In the latter case it has the meaning 'ancestor'. It cannot, however, take any of the plural affixes, even in its nominal usage. Thus it is classified as an adjective.

Discussion of adjectives will be limited to examining numerals and color adjectives, as well as modification of adjectives.

2.3.1 Classes of Adjectives

2.3.1.1 Numerals

The number system in Nend is base two and only reliably goes up to the number four. The numerals are given below.

| NUMBER | NUMERAL | LITERAL TRANSLATION |
|--------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | <i>pamoh</i> | 'one' |
| 2 | <i>undamaj</i> | 'two' |
| 3 | <i>undama=pam</i> | 'two=one' |
| 4 | <i>undamaj=vam</i> | 'two=only' |

The numerals for three and four are compounds. Beyond four the number system begins to break down. That is, different people count in different ways and there is no consensus as to a correct counting system. Traditionally there was an extensive counting system based on body parts but this has been lost. Today most counting above four is done using Tok Pisin or English.

2.3.1.2 Colors

Nend divides the color spectrum into seven colors. These terms and their corresponding colors are given below.

| | |
|-----------------|------------|
| <i>okam</i> | white |
| <i>pil</i> | black |
| <i>nti</i> | red/orange |
| <i>nimbil</i> | yellow/tan |
| <i>opang</i> | blue/grey |
| <i>akɲil</i> | green |
| <i>elaumbil</i> | brown |

2.3.2 Affixation on Adjectives

The intensifier *-on* is the only inflectional affixation allowed on adjectives. This suffix occurs on adjectives of all classes. Modification of adjectives by other adjectives is discussed in section 3.2.

- 24) *Ay han aŋkalipil-on.*
tree MD strong-INT
'That tree is very strong.'

2.3.3 Comparison of Adjectives

Comparison is accomplished by juxtaposing two descriptive clauses with the last clause including one of two means of intensification, either the intensive suffix *-on* or an adjective phrase.

- 25) *Ay han ohila; mban ohila kivah.*
tree MD big ND big bad
'That tree is big; this one is very big.'
- 26) *Ay han ohila; mban ohil-on.*
tree MD big ND big-INT
'That tree is big; this one is very big.'

2.4 Particles

2.4.1 Particles Marking Syntactic and Semantic Categories of Noun Phrases

A number of clitics mark either syntactic or semantic categories of the noun phrase in Nend. Some, like the subject marker *-v*, mark syntactic categories under which are one or more semantic categories. Most of the other clitics, however, serve to mark semantic categories. All of these clitics are bound to the last element in the noun phrase.

2.4.1.1 Subject *-v*

The syntactic category of subject is marked by the clitic *-v*. A wide range of semantic case roles are marked by this clitic as the following examples demonstrate. Due to

morphophonemic processes the *-v* is realized as a *-mb* when the preceding consonant is a nasal.

2.4.1.1.1 Agent

The agent is an entity encoded as a subject which possesses the qualities of [+control] and [+volition].

- 27) *Mijili-v olam ompil ŋa-zi=poli-m-a-l.*
 mother-S house top get-3.DS=break-NDEF-HP-3
 'The mother broke open the top of the house.'

2.4.1.1.2 Causer

According to Foley (1986) a causer is an "uncontrolled, unmanipulated, but also non-volitional entity bringing about a change of state or experience in the undergoer." Causers are often inanimate objects or emotions. When a causer acts on a human patient, the patient is almost always fronted to the P1 position in the clause (see section 4.1.1). The following examples illustrate this shift as well as the role of causer in Nend.

- 28) *Yan ahay esa-v andam esa mban akok-em-l.*
 1s.OBJ bamboo part-S leg part ND cut-YP-3
 'A piece of bamboo cut me on this knee. (As for me, a piece of bamboo cut (me) on this knee.)'
- 29) *Yan aŋkwi-v aha-z mac et=ay-em-en.*
 1s.OBJ anger-S happen-3.DS finish depart=come-YP-1s
 'It made me angry so I left and came. (As for me, anger happened so then I left and came.)'

In the above two examples the fronting of the patient arguments probably reflects in part the relative importance of the participants.

2.4.1.1.3 Agent of a Descriptive Clause

Usually the subject of a descriptive clause is unmarked, i.e. in the patient role. Occasionally, however, when the subject is seen as having control or exercising volition over the state expressed by the clause, then it is marked by the subject clitic.

- 30) *Mila kehamb aŋkwi-nsind.*
 pig FD.SP.S anger-CHA
 'That pig is vicious.'

2.4.1.1.4 Experiencer

Like the causer, the experiencer has [-control] and [-volition]. The experiencer, however, functions as the subject of an intransitive verb.

- 31) *Ay-v ngol-i.*
tree-S fall-3
'A tree fell down.'

2.4.1.2 Locative and Instrument -ŋ

The clitic *-ŋ* marks the semantic categories of locative, goal, instrument, and means. Like the other clitics of this class, it occurs on the end of the noun phrase. When the last consonant of the noun phrase is a *-n*, the *-n* elides and is replaced by the *-ŋ*. Following are examples of the usage of this clitic.

2.4.1.2.1 Locative

This clitic can mark both spatial and temporal location.

- 32) *Noli-li-v olam inca-ŋ ŋ-i.*
son-3-S house inside-LI stay-3
'The son was in the house.'
- 33) *Tihil emga-ŋ mole unsa mbikil ŋg=ami-ndal-i.*
moon other-LI bride.price yam 3s.POS descend=put-FUT-3
'Next month he will pay his bride price.'

2.4.1.2.2 Spatial Goal

The goal of the motion or action is marked by the clitic *-ŋ*.

- 34) *Ay=ampila yipila-ŋ o-ndala-liŋ a-m-a-l.*
tree=place old-LI go-FUT-1p say-NDEF-HP-3
'"We will go to the old village," she said.'

2.4.1.2.3 Path

The path is the "locales or locale transversed in motion..." Longacre (1976). This too is marked by the locative/instrument clitic in Nend.

- 35) *Mac yamb ampa-ŋ avih=et=oh-em-oliŋ.*
finish water side-LI downstream=depart=go-YP-1p
'Then we left and followed the side of the stream downstream.'

2.4.1.2.4 Instrument

Instrument is also marked by the clitic *-ŋ*.

- 36) *Mbi mpamind mbikil haŋ ay-mg-m-a-l.*
3.S light 3s.POS MD.LI come-p-NDEF-HP-3
'They came with its light (i.e. the light of the moon).'

2.4.1.2.5 Means

Closely related to, but distinct from the instrumental usage of the locative clitic, is its use to mark the semantic role of means.

- 37) *Wilam mbanamb apa-ŋ ay-ŋ-inj.*
 man ND.SP.S bird-LI come-PRB-3
 'This man will come by plane.'

2.4.1.3 Benefactive -*ndiv*

The clitic *-ndiv* encodes both reason or purpose and the benefactor of an action. It does not encode the related notion of recipient. Less frequently, it is used to mean 'concerning' or 'about'. The examples below illustrate the uses of this particle. Further investigation needs to be made concerning the possibility that this particle has as its underlying form the oblique particle *-nd* and the agent particle *-v*.

2.4.1.3.1 Benefactive

In its basic function, the clitic *-ndiv* marks the benefactor of an action.

- 38) *Ndin-ndiv oman=enta vih-i.*
 3s.OBJ-BEN arm=design tie-3
 'He tied (it) up well (arm=design) for him.'

2.4.1.3.2 Purpose and Reason

Both purpose and reason are encoded by this clitic. This is the most common use of the benefactive clitic.

- 39) *Mac mila=oma-ndiv kilim nda-mg-an-j.*
 finish pig=fish-BEN just walk-p-HP-3.HB
 'Then they just used to walk around for animals (i.e. hunted for animals).'
- 40) *Mbi ins-e ins-e ins-i, apa nol kehandiv.*
 3.S dance-SS dance-SS dance-3 bird son FD.SP.BEN.
 'He danced and danced and danced, that is, because of those baby birds.'

2.4.1.3.3 Topic

The topic about which a person speaks is often marked by the benefactive clitic. Here the meaning roughly corresponds to 'concerning' or 'about.'

- 41) *Nan handiv ka-ndi-k-in a-m-a-l.*
 2s.OBJ MD.BEN talk-TP-talk-1s say-NDEF-HP-3
 '“That is what I told you about,” she said.'
- 42) *Al mila-ndiv ka-liŋ.*
 1p.S pig-BEN talk-1p
 'We are talking about pigs.'

2.4.1.4 Oblique *-nd*

The most common use of the oblique clitic is to mark possession. Besides this, however, are a number of other uses including marking attributive and origin. There also appears to be some overlap with the benefactive clitic in that the oblique sometimes marks reason. Examples of these various functions of the oblique marker are given below.

2.4.1.4.1 Possession

The oblique clitic can be affixed to nouns and proper names to mark the possessor of an item.

- 43) *Mauswara-nd ilikŋ han mbi-em-oliŋ.*
Mauswara-O greens MD pick-YP-1p
'We picked the greens that belong to Mauswara.'
- 44) *Tihil-nd ensa Alikim.*
moon-O name Alikim
'The moon's name was Alikim.'

2.4.1.4.2 Origin

The marking of place of origin is a common use of the oblique. In this function, the head of the noun phrase to which the noun with the oblique clitic refers is left unstated, as in example (49) below.

- 45) *Mac Nolibu-nd hamb ka-mg-l ...*
finish Nolibu-O MD.S talk-p-3
'Then (those ones from) Nolibu said ...'
- 46) *Yan Pasinkap-nd, Joseph Marainj.*
1s.OBJ Pasinkap-O Joseph Marainj
'I am from Pasinkap, Joseph Marainj.'

2.4.1.4.3 Attributive

The oblique marker can be used to make a noun or verb stem function attributively as in the following examples.

- 47) *Akwi-nd ya ka-ndal-in.*
snake-O talk talk-FUT-1s
'I will tell a story about a snake.'
- 48) *ñaka angwilam-i, unsa anta-nd.*
yam.type turn.into-3 yam jungle-O
'He turned into a kind of yam, a wild yam.'

2.4.1.4.4 Goal

This semantic category is distinct from that discussed earlier under the locative clitic. There the goal of the action was in some sense a locale. The goal that is marked by the oblique marker is a person or entity towards which the action of a verb is directed. This goal may not be affected by the action or even aware of the action taking place.

- 49) *Aliq mila-v kil la-z say-nd oleng-cng l-in al-em-en.*
 1p.OBJ pig-S heavy do-3.DS youth-O call-RED do-1s say-YP-1sO
 ‘‘The pig was heavy on us so I was calling for the young people,’’ I said. (As for us, the pig did heavy...)’

In the context of the story from which this sentence is taken, the speaker was not directing his calling to any specific person. In fact he did not even know if anyone was around to hear his call. This non-specificity of the goal seems to be an important component of this usage of the oblique marker. Four sentences previously in the same text that the above example was taken from, the speaker calls out for a specific person and that person is marked as a patient.

- 50) *Ng=am-c Raphael olengi-ŋ olengi-ŋ olengi-ŋ nend.*
 descend=put-SS Raphael call-1s.DS call-1s.DS call-1s.DS no
 ‘I put (it) and called and called and called Raphael, but no.’

A further example of the oblique marker encoding non-local goal is give in example 51.

- 51) *Kindau-v mbi unsa-nd m-e ...*
 Kindau-S 3.S yam-O die-SS
 ‘Kindau died for food ...’

The above idiom means that ‘He was very hungry.’ or ‘He wanted food very badly.’ Here the goal is an indefinite inanimate object. Thus it can be considered a goal only in an extended sense of the word.

2.4.1.4.5 Coordination of Agent

The oblique affix is used to mark the proper names of dual agents when each is to be given equal status.

- 52) *Herman-nd Henry-nd mb-oz o-mg-ning-i, enka zij eka-ŋ-in al-e.*
 Herman-O Henry-O 3.S-first go-p-TP-3 sago leaf slice-PRB-1s say-SS
 ‘Herman and Henry, they went first, that is, to cut sago leaves.’
- 53) *Aliqind say undimaj, Selniusi-nd Timothy-nd, ay-c*
 1p.POS youth two Selnius-O Timothy-O come-SS
hilawi-mg-em-l, aliq.
 help-p-YP-3 1p.OBJ

‘Two of our young people, Selnius and Timothy, came and helped us.’

2.4.1.5 Accompaniment *-men*

Accompaniment is expressed by affixing the suffix *-men* to the object form of the noun, pronoun, or name of the person accompanying. In the corpus of data so far obtained, only persons (encoded as pronouns, kinship terms, or names) are marked with *-men*. Note that accompaniment with a subject, even if the subject is singular, generally requires plural number marking on the verb.

- 54) *Mac nzi Ompand-men watim o-liq.*
 finish 1s.S Ompand-ACC later go-1p
 'Then I went later with Ompand.'
- 55) *Yamigil-men lanil-men aḡkwa=fi-e weli-mg-z.*
 older.sister-ACC younger.sibling-ACC step.on=stay-SS watch-p-3.DS
 'The older sister and younger brother stood and watched...'

2.4.1.6 'Characterized by' *-nsind*

The suffix *-nsind* 'characterized by' allows a noun to function as either an adjective or an adverb. In adjectival usage the suffix is commonly used to allow a noun to function as a predicate adjective in an equative clause.

- 56) *Mila han aḡkwi-nsind.*
 pig MD anger-CHA
 'That pig is vicious.'
- 57) *Mac nti-nsind nd-em-en, mila emamp.*
 finish blood-CHA walk-YP-1s pig like
 'Then with blood (bleeding) I walked, like a pig (that has been shot).'

2.4.1.7 Vocative *-a*

The vocative is indicated by the suffix *-a*. It is used only with proper names and kinship terms.

- 58) *Nam-a o-e yakḡ-onj ka-v ali-mgi-m-a-l.*
 younger.sibling-VOC go-SS father-p talk-2s.IMP say-p-NDEF-HP-3
 'They said, "Younger brother, go, talk to the fathers.'"
- 59) *Caw-a, ken w-in han avi-z=ay-v.*
 older.sister's.husband-VOC FD see-1s MD throw-3.DS=come-2s.IMP
 'Brother-in-law, throw the ones I see there here.'

2.4.2 Other Particles

The suffixes discussed above functioned to relate arguments to one another or to the predicate within the clause. The following suffixes serve to relate the arguments of a clause to the participants within the larger context of the discourse or setting of the speech event.

A complete understanding of the meaning of a particular particle in a particular instance can be gained only in light of this larger context.

2.4.2.1 Particle *-ez* 'also'

The clitic *-ez* has the meaning 'also' or 'too'. It may occur with noun phrases having the case roles of subject, object/recipient, beneficiary, and locative/instrument.

- 60) *Mac Kindau-v-ez mi-ŋga=ŋi-m.*
 finish Kindau-S-too NDEF-descend=stay-NDEF
 'Then Kindau also was not asleep.'
- 61) *Yan-ez eŋgwa-v.*
 1s.OBJ-too give-2s.IMP
 'Give (it) to me too.'

2.4.2.2 Particle *-oz* 'first'

This clitic occurs on the end of the noun phrase. Like *-ez*, it can occur on noun phrases having the subject, object/recipient, beneficiary, and locative/instrument case roles.

- 62) *Nzi wali-ŋ-oz o-e ŋ-e yambi-ŋ o-ndal-in.*
 1s.S garden-LI-first go-SS stay-SS water-LI go-FUT-1s
 'First I will go to the garden and stay and then I will go to the water.'
- 63) *Ndin-ndiv-oz isa-ŋ ŋg=ami-l.*
 3s.OBJ-BEN-first ground-LI descend=put-3
 'He put (some) on the ground for him first.'
- 64) *Mac mb-oz na-mg-i, undima=pam.*
 finish 3.S-first eat-p-3 two=one
 'Then they ate first, the three (of them).'

2.4.2.3 Particle *-ang* 'also'

This particle is much broader in distribution and function than the ones discussed above. It functions on the sentence level, marking logical relations of clauses (see section 5.3). It is affixed to both nouns and verbs, having essentially the same meaning in each instance. Here we will examine its use on the noun phrase.

While the clitic *-ez* also means 'too', there is a basic difference between the two. The particle *-ez* expresses the idea that the subject acted in accord with others. The particle *-ang*, on the other hand, has a contrastive force, meaning 'also separately'. This particle can be affixed to either the subject or to the object in a clause.

- 65) *Nolibu, Aiome mb-on-ang oli-mgi-l.*
 Nolibu Aiome 3.S-INT-also hit-p-3
 '(The men from) Nolibu and Aiome, they themselves also played.'

- 66) *Yamb-agg mi-na-mg-im.*
 water-also NDEF-cat-p-NDEF
 'They did not drink water either.'

2.4.2.4 Particle *emamp* 'like'

The particle *emamp* 'like' functions in a noun phrase to give a noun an adverbial or adjectival function. The former is illustrated in example (67) while the latter is illustrated in example (68).

- 67) *Tihil hamb clipil emamp ŋi-m-a-l.*
 moon MD.S torch like stay-NDEF-HP-3
 'The moon was like a torch (shone like a torch).'

- 68) *Naip han ihind emamp.*
 knife MD 1s.POS like
 'That knife is like mine.'

2.4.2.5 Particle *-on* Intensifier

The particle *-on* may be suffixed to nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs as well as to the demonstratives. When suffixed to adjectives and adverbs it means 'very'. When affixed to a noun this particle often has an exclusive force. Example (69) below illustrates this. When affixed to a pronoun it functions reflexively as in example (70).

- 69) *Nzi ongilangen-nsind-on ŋgw=ev-in.*
 1s.S sago.beater-CHA-INT go.in=across-go.1s
 'I went inside with just a sago beater.'

- 70) *Dom, Oto, nz-on han-av-e o-em-oliŋ.*
 Dom Oto 1s.S-INT MD-do.thus-SS go-YP-1p
 'Dom, Oto, and I myself went, yesterday.'

- 71) *Iliv ŋimb-e uciŋ-on ŋ=inci-nd-inc-in, ndin.*
 Bow gather-SS slowly-INT get=pull-TP-pull-1s 3s.OBJ
 'I got the bow and very slowly pulled, that is, him.'

2.4.2.6 Focus *-h*

Typically the subject is the participant that is in focus in the clause. The suffix *-h* serves to elevate the prominence of other elements of the clause, marking them, rather than the subject, as being in focus. Core arguments of the clause having the roles of patient and recipient can be marked with *-h*. Likewise peripheral arguments such as time adverbs can be marked with this suffix (example 74). So far, in the core arguments, only human participants or non-human participants endowed with human characteristics have been found to take this suffix.

72) *Al Ompand-h onca ŋg=am-e hil=ay-liŋ, eŋka ziŋ-nsind.*
 1p.S Ompand-FOC inside descend=put-SS carry=come-1p sago leaf-CHA
 'We put Ompand in the middle and brought (him), along with the sago leaves.'

73) *O-e Henry-h Anton-h o-e empa=sam*
 go-SS Henry-FOC Anton-FOC go-SS road=place

kiv-em-oliŋ nta onca handih
 pass.by-YP-1p sword.grass inside MD.SET

'We went and went and passed Henry and Anton on the road, inside the sword grass.'

74) *Ili-h oman=ent-on ikŋi-ndala-n.*
 today-FOC hand=design-INT shoot-FUT-2
 'Today you will shoot well (hand=design).'

Another use of this particle is to mark the content of a quote. In this use the suffix is affixed to the non-specific patient form of the demonstrative. See sections 2.5.3.9 and 5.5 for further discussion of this usage.

Finally this suffix is optionally used to mark the name of the subject in an equative clause (see section 4.1.2). Further investigation needs to be made into the semantics involved in this usage.

2.4.2.7 Contrastiveness -p

Chafe (1976) states that contrastiveness marks out one candidate from a set of possible candidates. In many languages this marking is done by means of stress or intonation. Nend does not use accent or intonation to mark contrastiveness. Rather, contrastiveness is marked by the suffix -p. The contrastive marking need not be confined to the arguments of a clause. It can also be used to mark an entire clause. An example of this is in sentence (76) where a reason clause is marked with this suffix.

The following sentence illustrates the use of this suffix to mark both the subject and the object. The context of the sentence is that the nephew had just transformed himself into a lizard and back again. Now the uncle is going to take his turn and show what he can do.

75) *Mac yapaj, yan-ip weli-v ic, nzi-p la-ŋ-and.*
 finish nephew 1s.OBJ-CT watch-2s.IMP say.3s 1s.S-CT do-1s.DS-SIM
 'That's enough nephew, watch me, while I do (it),' he said.'

In the following example the clitic is placed on the verb (actually covering the whole clause). Here the people were trying to find out the reason for their being given a gift of a pig. They finally determine that it was for no other reason than that they were hungry.

76) *Na-ŋi-n a-liŋ-ip ay-e aliŋi-ndiv s-e ŋg=ami-nd-ami-n.*
 eat-PRB-1s say-1p-CT come-SS 1p.OBJ-BEN do-SS descend=put-TP-put-2
 '(Just because) we wanted to eat, you came and did it for us and put it.'

2.4.2.8 Potentiality *toh*

The particle *toh* is a modal that expresses potentiality. It is not bound to a particular word or position in the clause. Rather, it follows the word in the clause which is the point of uncertainty. Thus it functions in much the same way as intonation and emphasis function in English to mark the point of uncertainty in a sentence. When this particle directly follows the verb in a verb phrase, it usually has the entire clause as its scope rather than just the verb itself. Note that the particle *toh* bears a resemblance to the question particle *oh*.

- 77) *Mili-ŋ-am* *apa-v ay-ndal-i toh.*
 one.day.from.today-LI-only bird-S come-FUT-3 maybe
 'Tomorrow the airplane might come.'
- 78) *Mila-v toh n-em-il.*
 pig-S maybe cat-YP-3
 'Maybe it was a pig that ate it.'

2.4.2.9 *-am* 'only'

The suffix *-am* 'just, only' is seldom used without an accompanying affix, either the subject marker *-v* or the locative/instrument marker *-ŋ*. The former is used when the suffix *-am* marks subjects. The latter is used when *-am* is suffixed to any other arguments. The only exception appears to be when *-am* is used with subject pronouns. In this case, the intensifier *-on* is used in conjunction with *-am*.

- 79) *Say-v-am kizal eka-ndala-mg-i.*
 youth-S-only grass slice-FUT-p-3
 'Just the youths will cut the grass.'
- 80) *Akŋili-ŋ-am akŋili-ŋ-am al=avi-z=ay-m-a-l.*
 green-LI-only green-LI-only fold=throw-3.DS=come-NDEF-HP-3
 'He threw down just the green ones.'
- 81) *Nz-on-am o-ndal-in.*
 1s.S-INT-only go-FUT-1s
 'Just I myself will go.'

2.4.3 Locative Postpositions

A small closed class of postpositions indicate location. These occur directly following the noun head in the noun phrase. Some of these are given below.

| POSTPOSITION | MEANING |
|--------------|---------|
|--------------|---------|

| | |
|----------------|------------|
| <i>kwi</i> | under |
| <i>insi</i> | on top of |
| <i>onca</i> | in, among |
| <i>inca</i> | inside |
| <i>emaming</i> | along side |

- 82) *Laka onca-ŋ ŋgw=ev=o-m-a-l.*
 sky inside-LI go.in=across=go-NDEF-HP-3
 'It went into the sky.'
- 83) *Apa hamb olam kwi handih nda-ndi-mbil-i.*
 bird MD.S house under MD.SET walk-RED-PR-3
 'The bird is walking around under the house.'

2.5 Demonstratives

Demonstratives comprise the central part of the Nend system of deixis. They are used to perform a number of grammatical, syntactic, and pragmatic functions from the word through the discourse level. The demonstrative co-occurs with various affixes. Section 2.5.1 contains a discussion of the forms that the demonstratives take. The general functions that the demonstratives perform are covered in section 2.5.2. The specific functions performed by the individual demonstratives are discussed in section 2.5.3.

2.5.1 Forms of the Demonstratives

There are three basic demonstratives in Nend. These measure distance of the referent from the speaker or from another point of reference designated by the speaker. Each of these three demonstratives in turn has both a basic form and an expanded form which has a contrastive or specifying role. The forms that the demonstratives take are given below with the basic or non-specific forms on the left and the expanded or specific forms on the right.

DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

| | Near | | Mid | | Far | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Patient | <i>mban</i> | <i>mbanan</i> | <i>han</i> | <i>hanan</i> | <i>ken</i> | <i>kehan</i> |
| Subject | | <i>mbanamb</i> | <i>hamb</i> | | <i>kemb</i> | <i>kehamb</i> |
| Oblique | <i>mband</i> | <i>mbandand</i> | <i>hand</i> | | <i>kend</i> | <i>kehand</i> |
| Locative/ Instrument | | <i>mbanag</i> | <i>hag</i> | | <i>keg</i> | <i>kehag</i> |
| Beneficiary | <i>mbandiv</i> | <i>mbandandiv</i> | <i>handiv</i> | | <i>kendiv</i> | <i>kehandiv</i> |
| Allative | <i>mbaniimb</i> <i>kehaniimb</i> | | <i>hav?</i> | | <i>kenimb</i> | |
| Setting | <i>mbandih</i> | | <i>handih</i> | | <i>kendih</i> | <i>kehandih</i> |
| Exclusion | | <i>mbanagam</i> | <i>hagam</i> | | <i>kegam</i> | <i>kehagam</i> |
| Focus | <i>mbanih</i> | | <i>hanih</i> | | <i>kenih</i> | <i>kehanih</i> |
| Contrastive | <i>mbanip</i> | <i>mbananip</i> | <i>hanip</i> | | <i>kenip</i> | <i>kehanip</i> |
| Emphatic | <i>mbandandih</i> | | | | | |
| Non-definite | <i>man</i> | | | | | |

The patient form of the demonstrative is the unmarked form. All other forms are constructed by adding clitics or suffixes to that patient form. Most of the demonstratives formed in this way function to indicate case roles of the noun phrase of which they are a part. Some of the forms, specifically those used locatively, are unique in that their affixation does not correspond to the normal case role clitics.

The expanded forms of the near and mid demonstratives are constructed by reduplicating the last two segments of the non-specific form. The expanded form of the far demonstrative is produced by adding the mid patient form *han* to the *ke* of the far demonstrative.

2.5.2 General functions of the Demonstrative

The demonstrative has various functions from the word level through the discourse level. Its function on each of those levels is different. The expanded forms of the demonstrative also differ in meaning and function from the base forms.

2.5.2.1 Expanded Demonstrative Forms

While the non-specific form of the demonstrative indicates distance from a given point of reference, the expanded form functions to distinguish the referent from a larger group.

- 84) *Ken w-in han avi-z=ay-v, nti kehan.*
 FD sec-1s MD throw-3.DS=come-2s.IMP red FD.SP
 'Throw those that I see there, that is, the red (ones).'

In the context of the story there are two kinds of birds that could be the referent of *ken win han*. The speaker further specifies which ones he wants by using *kehan* and the color adjective. In most of the Nend examples, the contrastive sets are not so explicitly defined in the context.

- 85) *Ay=enta kehan mbikil m-ah.*
 tree=design FD.SP 3s.POS NDEF-EX
 'Those carvings are not theirs.'

In the story from which example (83) is taken, no larger set of carvings contrasting with the carvings under discussion is explicitly defined. However, there is an implied contrast between carvings in general and the ones that he is singling out for mention.

Not every possible non-specific or specific form actually occurs. Only one of the mid demonstrative non-specific forms has a corresponding specific form. In the near demonstrative column, several of the positions have only one of the two possible forms present. Because the specific form functions essentially to clarify the identity of the referent, it is most common in the far demonstrative, where there is the most possibility for confusion as to the identity of the referent.

2.5.2.2 Spatial Division

Demonstratives are used as deictic spatial indicators. The near, mid, and far demonstratives refer to the area encompassed by the speaker's conceptual horizon. This conceptual horizon is defined by the locations of the participants in a speech event, and differs from one speech event to another. Thus one Nend speaker used the far distant demonstrative to warn her sister of an approaching pig which was no more than twenty feet away from the speaker. Another factor contributing to the relativity of the distances indicated by the demonstratives is the speaker's ability to shift the deictic center from himself to any other point. From the new deictic center the speaker outlines a setting for the narrative within which the demonstratives function to divide the space.

- 86) *Ajkwā=ñ-e mbanaj sihawel-cl ñi-m-a-l.*
 step.on=stay-SS ND.SP.LI look.up-RED stay-NDEF-HP-3
 'He stood and stayed looking up here.'

Example (84) is taken from a legend. The deictic center of this episode is the tree at which the actor is standing, and the demonstratives reflect this orientation.

2.5.2.3 Tracking of Discourse Participants

The demonstratives function to distinguish key participants from peripheral participants in a discourse. Key participants are usually marked by the near demonstrative, even at the point of their initial introduction to the narrative. Other participants are usually marked with the mid or far demonstratives.

2.5.2.4 Mark Embedded Clauses

Relative clauses and clauses embedded in a topic-comment construction are marked by a demonstrative. In the case of relative clauses the demonstrative is marked with the appropriate clitic indicating the case role of the clause. When marking the topic in a topic-comment construction, the demonstrative takes either the patient or the beneficiary form, depending on the logical relationship of the topic to the comment clause. For examples, see sections 4.3.1, 5.2.1, 5.2.2, and 5.4.

2.5.3 Function of Various Demonstrative Forms

2.5.3.1 Patient

The patient form functions on several levels. On the word level it is used independently as a demonstrative adverb indicating location and also to mark the subject in a non-verbal clause.

87) *Nzi mban ŋkañi-ndal-in.*

1s.S ND sit-FUT-1s
'I will sit here.'

88) *Yag, mban uti?*

mother ND what?
'Mother, what is this?'

When used as a locative it may be modified by a location adverb.

89) *Mbi ñag mban sakwama-z awi mb-ah.*

3.S high ND look.up-3,DS possum EXO-EX
'He looked high up here and there was a possum.'

The patient form of the demonstrative is most commonly used as a part of the noun phrase in the patient or location slot. In the patient position the demonstrative may have a deictic locative force as well as being used as a definite article.

90) *Apa han wa-liŋ, mamta.*

bird MD see-1p.DS dead
'We saw the bird and it was dead.'

91) *Trinde han, mac imin aŋan kilim akol-oliŋ.*

Wednesday MD finish clothes string.bag just assemble-1p
'On Wednesday, we got our clothes and string bags together.'

The patient form of the demonstrative marks embedded clauses in a topic-comment sentence construction (see section 5.2).

92) *Eŋka mb-ah oz-oz ñi-ndal-i han ozi-v-e ŋg=am-e*
Sago EXO-EX pulverize-RED stay-FUT-3 MD pulverize-TR-SS descend=put-SS

el=o-ndal-in.
upstream=go-FUT-1s

'If he is still there pulverizing sago, I will pulverize all of it and put it and go upstream.'

2.5.3.2 Subject

The use of the subject form of the demonstrative is limited to marking noun phrases and relative clauses filling the role of subject of a clause.

- 93) *Apa hamb kwa olam inca-ŋ-on aŋkwa-l.*
 Bird MD.S call house inside-LI-INT call.out-3
 'The bird cried out inside the house.'
- 94) *Wilam mila-v k-emi-l hamb okahi-nd-ah-i.*
 man pig-S bite-YP-3 MD.S die-TP-RED-3
 'The man that the pig bit yesterday died.'

2.5.3.3 Locative/Instrument

This form of the demonstrative is used in the instrument (example (97)) and locative noun phrases (examples (95) and (96)). In its locative usage the demonstrative can mark both temporal and spatial location. Because semantically it simply indicates a location, the locative demonstrative can be used in the same contexts as both the setting and the allative demonstratives.

- 95) *Oŋkimpɪ kwi haŋ aŋkwa=ŋ-e ...*
 basket under MD.LI step.on=stay-SS
 'He stood under the basket ...'
- 96) *Friday haŋ ŋayah-e o-e o-e-m utiŋk ŋ-oliŋ.*
 Friday MD.LI get.up-SS go-SS go-SS-NDEF canoe get-1p
 'We got up Friday and went and went and got a canoe.'
- 97) *Nan ay=pa mbanəŋ-on oli-ndala-liŋ.*
 2s.OBJ tree=spine ND.SP.LI-INT hit-FUT-1p
 'We will hit you with this tree=spine (stick).'

2.5.3.4 Oblique

This form is used in oblique noun phrases.

- 98) *Mol hand ensa Mphat.*
 crocodile MD.O name Mphat
 'The crocodile's name was Mphat.'
- 99) *Wilam ay=ampila mbanandi-v ntiŋ ŋa-ndala-mg-i.*
 Man tree=place ND.SP.O-S work get-FUT-p-3
 'The men from this village will work.'

2.5.3.5 Beneficiary

The demonstrative marked with the beneficiary clitic occurs in noun phrases indicating purpose (example (101)) and reason (example (100)).

- 100) *Mbi ins-c ins-c ins-i, apa nol kchandiv.*
 3.S dance-SS dance-SS dance-3 bird son FD.SP.BEN
 'He danced and danced and danced, that is, because of those baby birds.'
- 101) *Mbi empa=sam osali-mgi-nigg-i eḡka zi hil=o handiv.*
 3.S road=place clear-p-TP-3 sago leaf carry=go MD.BEN
 'They cleared a road, for taking the sago leaves.'

Related to the above is the benefactive demonstrative used to mark reason-result relationships between clauses. The embedded clause, filling the P1 position in the main clause (see section 4.1.1.), is marked by the benefactive demonstrative. One example will suffice to illustrate this. For a full discussion of interclausal relations see section 5.2.

- 102) *Mil mila ikḡ-cm-en handiv wali-ḡ*
 one.day.from.today pig shoot-YP-1s MD.BEN garden-LI

m-o-ndala-m.
 NDEF-go-FUT-NDEF

'I shot a pig yesterday, so I will not go to the garden.'

This form of the demonstrative also marks the noun phrase encoding the topic of a speech act.

- 103) *Aiome oliḡ handiv ka-ndal-in.*
 Aiome go.1p MD.BEN talk-FUT-1s
 'We went to Aiome, that is what I will talk about.'

2.5.3.6 Setting

The setting for an action or event is indicated by the suffix *-ndih* on the demonstrative. This suffix is the same as that marking completive aspect.

- 104) *P-unsig mban mbi singeweam-c mbandih vih-i empa=sam akal-c.*
 spine-bone ND 3.S tilt.up-SS ND.SET tie-3 road=place block-SS
 'He tilted up the spines and tied them up here blocking the road.'
- 105) *Empa aliha-ḡ ken handih hilimbi-mgi-l.*
 road middle-LI FD MD.SET cook-p-3
 'They cooked there in the middle of the road.'

The setting demonstrative is also used in the formulaic ending of a story. In this usage the intensive affix *-on* is suffixed to the mid setting demonstrative. The meaning that results is completive.

- 106) *Mac mbikil ya handih-on, ankwivi-nd ya han.*
 finish 3s.POS talk MD.SET-INT hawk-O talk MD
 'That is all of his story, the story about the hawk.'

2.5.3.7 Allative

The allative demonstrative indicates the location towards which the action proceeds. It is formed by adding the exophoric reference particle *-mb* to the non-specific patient form of the demonstrative.

- 107) *Mbi mbanimb ay-e et=anjkw=o-m-a-l.*
 3.S ND.ALL come-SS depart=descend=go-NDEF-HP-3
 'She came here and left and went down.'
- 108) *Ilikj ziq ampila-ndiv mbanimb ngwav=o-ndal-in.*
 greens leaf place-BEN ND.ALL descend=go-FUT-1s
 'I will go down here to the place for tulip leaves.'

2.5.3.8 Exclusion

The exclusion demonstrative is formed from the locative/instrument demonstrative and the exclusion particle *-am*. It can occur in noun phrases filling both locative and patient case roles in the sentence. (see section 2.4.2.7)

- 109) *Alahimil-nd mbi haqam si-z ni-mg-an-j.*
 Alahimil-O 3.S MD.LI.EXC do-RED stay-p-HP-3
 'The Alahimil (men) usually stayed doing only that.'

2.5.3.9 Focus

The focus demonstrative is formed by placing the suffix *-h* on the patient form of the demonstrative. The mid demonstrative so marked is very common in Nend. It is used to mark an embedded quotation in the partial quote formula. In head-tail linkage the demonstrative alone often takes the place of the full quote (see sentence (110)).

- 110) *Ka-mgi-m-a-l, ntiq mban imbil oh kivah oh ali-mgi-m-a-l.*
 talk-p-NDEF-HP-3 work ND good QU bad QU say-p-NDEF-HP-3
Hanih al-al ka-mgi-m-a-l.
 MD.FOC say-RED talk-p-NDEF-HP-3
 'They said, "Is this work good or bad?" they said. Saying that, they talked.'

2.5.3.10 Contrastive

This demonstrative is formed by combining the patient form with the contrastive particle *-p*.

- 111) *Uvi emga kenip ufi-nd?*
 dog other FD.CT who-O
 'That other dog belongs to whom?'

2.5.3.11 Emphatic

The emphatic demonstrative is used to indicate immediacy. It is possible that the underlying form of this demonstrative is a combination of the near demonstrative, the first person object pronoun, and the completive suffix.

- 112) *Mbañandih-on ay-v.*
ND.EMP-INT come-2s.IMP
'Come right now.'

2.5.3.12 Non-definite

The non-definite demonstrative is formed from the [-definite] morpheme *m* and the unmarked demonstrative form *an*. This demonstrative occurs only in the construction of certain interrogative forms. It indicates an unknown or uncertain distance from the deictic center.

- 113) *Han uti-m-an ay?*
MD what-NDEF-D tree
'What kind of tree is that?'

2.6 Interrogatives

There are two types of interrogative words in Nend: those that have an implicit deictic center and those that do not. Both types serve to elicit information.

2.6.1 Centered Interrogatives

A number of interrogatives, including those eliciting location and time, have a clearly defined deictic center, usually that of the speaker. Where and when are usually asked from a point of reference of here and now. This is indicated in Nend by the use of the first person singular subject pronoun *nzi* to mark this set of interrogatives.

2.6.1.1 *Nzihandih* 'Where?'

'Where?' in Nend is formed from the morpheme *nzi* plus the mid setting demonstrative *handih*. This interrogative fills the locative position in the clause.

- 114) *Mbi nzi-handih o-nd-i?*
3.S 1s.S-MD.SET go-TP-go.3s
'Where did he go?'

2.6.1.2 *Nzim* 'Wherever?'

'Wherever?' in Nend is formed by affixing the non-definite particle *m* to *nzi*.

- 115) *Ay=ampila amakil nzi-m?*
tree=place 2s.POS 1s.S-NDEF
'Where is your village?'

Another interrogative ‘wherever?’ is formed by affixing *hav* to the first singular subject pronoun. The difference in meaning and usage between *nzim* and *nzihav* is a topic for further research.

2.6.1.3 *Nzihandihag* ‘When?’

The interrogative ‘when?’ is formed by adding the setting and the locative/instrument mid demonstratives to *nzi*.

- 116) *Nzi-handi-hag* *o-ndala-n?*
 1s.S-MD.SET-MD.LI go-FUT-2
 ‘When will you go?’

2.6.1.4 *Nzihanavi* ‘How?’ ‘How Many?’

The manner interrogative is a verbal form. It combines the pronoun *nzi* with the mid-demonstrative and the verb *avi* ‘do thus.’ When used as ‘how?’ or ‘how many?’, *avi* is marked with the same subject suffix.

- 117) *Nzi nzi-han-av-e* *wal uyi-mi-ñ?*
 1s.S 1s.S-MD-do.thus-SS garden stab-NDEF-1s
 ‘How can I possibly work a garden?’
- 118) *Am tihil nzi-han-av-e* *ñi-ndala-n?*
 2.S moon 1s.S-MD-do.thus-SS stay-FUT-2
 ‘How many months will you stay?’

When this interrogative is inflected as a final verb and fills a verb position in the clause, its meaning is ‘What should (...) do?’

- 119) *Nzi-han-avi-m* *a-l, Konrad-v.*
 1s.S-MD-do.thus-1p.IMP say-3 Konrad-S
 ‘‘‘What shall we do?’’ he asked, that is, Konrad.’

2.6.2 Non-centered Interrogatives

These interrogative words fill nominal slots in the sentence. Functioning as nouns they are able to take the nominal case markers. Unlike the above interrogatives, these forms have no deictic anchorage.

2.6.2.1 *Uti* ‘What?’

The interrogative ‘what’ is *uti*.

- 120) *Mban uti?*
 ND what?
 ‘What is this?’

- 121) *Awaz uti-g na-mi-n?*
betel.nut what?-LI eat-NDEF-1s
'What can I eat the betel nut with?'

'Why?' is formed from *uti* plus the beneficiary clitic *-ndiv*.

- 122) *Am uti-ndiv nol amakil han oli-n?*
2.S what-BEN son 2s.POS MD hit-2
'Why did you hit your son?'

The interrogative *uti* plus the non-definite demonstrative *man* forms the interrogative 'whatever' or 'what kind of'. *Utiman* often serves as a pre-head modifier in a noun phrase.

- 123) *Han uti-m-an ay?*
MD what-NDEF-D tree
'What kind of tree is that?'

2.6.2.2 *Uñi* 'Whom?'

The interrogative 'whom' is *uñi*. The agent form 'who' is formed by adding the agent affix *-v (-mb)*.

- 124) *Nan uñi?*
2s.OBJ whom?
'Who are you?'
- 125) *Uñi-mb malivay eka-ndala-mg-i?*
who-S dance slice-FUT-p-3
'Who are going to perform the dance?'

Adding the accompaniment suffix *men* to *uñi* forms the interrogative *uñimen* 'with whom'. This interrogative fills the accompaniment slot in the clause.

- 126) *Am uñi-men ay-mg-em-an?*
2.S who-ACC come-p-YP-2
'Whom did you come with yesterday?'

2.7 Negation

There are three negative words used in Nend: *mah* 'not', *apal* 'none' and *nend* 'no.' Due to their semantic similarity they will all be discussed together.

2.7.1 *Nend* 'no'

The negative morpheme *nend* has an appositional force. It is used mainly on the clause and sentence level. Its use is commonly accompanied by heavy ellipsis; *nend* being used in place of an entire proposition. This is illustrated in the following sentence. Notice that there is no final verb in the sentence. Rather the negative word replaces what would have been the entire last clause.

- 127) *Ng=am-e Raphael olengi-ŋ olengi-ŋ olengi-ŋ, nend.*
 descend=put-SS Raphael call-1s.DS call-1s.DS call-1s.DS no
 'I put (it) and called and called and called Raphael, but no.'

Sometimes the final clause is explicitly stated along with *nend*.

- 128) *Nkañ-c aŋan mbikil mban ampihic-e wa-z, nend, awaz apal.*
 sit-SS string.bag 3s.POS ND search-SS see-3.DS no betelnut none
 'He sat and searched his string bag and looked but no, there was no betelnut.'

This same function of *nend* can also occur in medial clauses. In this case the negative is combined with the pro-verb *la* 'do.'

- 129) *Ngwav=oh-e uvita-nd imbiz wa-mgi-z, nend la-z, mac evah=o-mgi-l.*
 down.hill=go-SS doctor-O fence see-p-3.DS no do-3.DS finish across=go-p-3
 'They went down and looked at the doctor's area, but no (he was not there), so then they went across.'

Nend is used as part of the polar question construction. In this construction the positive proposition is stated first followed by the negative word. The two are joined by the interrogative particle *oh*.

- 130) *Mbi malivay eka-ndala-mg-i-oh nend-oh?*
 3.S dance slice-FUT-p-3-QU no-QU
 'Are they going to dance or not.'

2.7.2 Mah 'not'

The negative word *mah* is constructed from the non-definite particle *m* plus the existential particle *ah*. While *nend* is basically contrastive in force, *mah* is an existential or stative negative. It is used to modify adjectives and adverbs and to negate clauses.

Mah is used on the word level with the meaning 'without'. Here it has a negative existential force.

- 131) *Nzi cokay m-ah.*
 1s.S tobacco NDEF-EX
 'I do not have any tobacco.'
- 132) *Mbi ya m-ah ñi-mg-a-nj.*
 3.S talk NDEF-EX stay-p-HP-3
 'They used to stay silently.'

On the phrase level, *mah* modifies adjectives.

- 133) *Olam han imbil m-ah.*
 house MD good NDEF-EX
 'The house is not good.'

On the clause level *mah* is used in the negative medial verb construction. This construction uses the unaffixed verb stem followed by *mah* followed by the pro-verb *la* 'do.'

- 134) *Yamb ankwá m-ah la-z olám asi-ndal-in.*
water step.on NDEF-EX do-3.DS house cover-FUT-1s
'If it does not rain, I will build the house.'

2.7.3 *Apal* 'none'

Apal has the meaning 'none' or 'none left.' In the following example it has a usage very similar to that of *nend* in sentence (127).

- 135) *Wilam mbanamb mac wa-z apal.*
man ND.SP.S finish see-3.DS none
'The man then looked and (there was) no (snake).'

Apal is used in conjunction with *mah* in a construction that has a more emphatic meaning of 'none.'

- 136) *Wilam m-ah apal.*
man NDEF-EX none
'There are no men.'

Finally *apal* can form a medial clause with the pro-verb *la* 'do' which means roughly 'there were none left.'

- 137) *Eg-e-mi-z apal la-z unsa=ntig eggwa-m-a-l.*
vomit-SS-NDEF-3.DS none do-3.DS yam=? give-NDEF-HP-3
'He continued to vomit and when there was nothing left, she gave him some yam.'

2.8 Adverbs

Adverbs are not bound to the verb. Instead, they are relatively free in their positioning, often occurring in the P1 or P3 positions in the clause (see section 4.1.1.) or in other locations within the clause itself.

The sets of fillers for the classes of adverbs are much smaller than what we find in English, for example, because many verbs include information as to manner and location as part of the semantic content of the verb itself.

After discussing the various adverb classes, inflectional affixation on adverbs will be examined. Finally we will look at the adverbial use of other parts of speech.

2.8.1 Classes of Adverbs

Three classes of adverbs are discussed below. These include manner adverbs, time adverbs, and place adverbs.

2.8.1.1 Manner Adverbs

Adverbs indicating manner have as their scope the action of the verb. They modify in some way the action or state indicated by the verb.

- 138) *Wilam mbanamb opiha ntiŋ ŋa-ndi-ŋ-i.*
 man ND.SP.S poorly work get-TP-get-3
 'This man worked poorly.'
- 139) *Ansam ol-e ela kilim mpa-mgi-l.*
 last hit-SS fight just fight-p-3
 'They played the last (game) and for no reason fought.'

2.8.1.2 Time Adverbs

These adverbs are divided into two sets: those indicating specific days, and those referring to a more general period of time.

2.8.1.2.1 Days

The Nend system of counting days is based upon the number of days removed from today. There are six days indicated in the counting system. They are:

| DAY | NUMBER OF DAYS REMOVED FROM TODAY |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>il</i> | zero |
| <i>mil</i> | one |
| <i>ñil</i> | two |
| <i>ekanj</i> | three |
| <i>kambil</i> | four |
| <i>iki</i> | five |

When the reference is to a future event the particle *-ŋ-am* 'LI-only' is added to the adverb. A further use of *il* is to mean 'now' rather than more generally 'today'.

- 140) *Ñili-ŋ-am* say *aliŋind hamb Aiome o-ndala-mg-i.*
 two.days.from.today-LI-only youth 1p.POS MD.S Aiome go-FUT-p-3
 'Day after tomorrow our young people will go to Aiome.'
- 141) *Dom Oto nz-on han-av-e o-em-oliŋ, mil.*
 Dom Oto 1s.S-INT MD-do.thus-SS go-YP-1p one.day.from.today
 'Dom, Oto and I myself went, yesterday.'

2.8.1.2.2 Other Time Adverbs

This set includes those adverbs like 'previously' and 'later', and those indicating particular times of the day.

- 142) *Nend, njiminj olam mban asi=l=ama-ndal-in.*
 no later house ND cover=do=put-FUT-1s
 'No, later I will cover (put the roof on) the house.'
- 143) *Ol=aka-z nkeningen mband-on na-m-a-l.*
 hit=cut-3.DS drum morning-INT get-NDEF-HP-3
 'Dawn broke (hit=cut) and early in the morning she hit (got) the drum.'

In *Nend*, years are counted by gardens, *wal*. Within the year there are two seasons, *lapili-nd* 'time of sun' and *apiñi-nd* 'time of famine' (rainy season).

2.8.1.2.3 Verbs with an Adverbial Force

Several verbs are used to indicate time. These function in much the same way as the time adverbs. Typically these verbs occur as the initial clause in a sentence and are inflected as third person different subject medial verbs, as in sentences (143) and (144).

- 144) *Navi-z-and awakŋ-e ka-ndala-liŋ.*
 this.time-3.DS-SIM assemble-SS talk-FUT-1p
 'When it is this time of day, we will assemble and talk.'

2.8.1.3 Place Adverbs

These adverbs mark a location in reference to either the location of the speaker or to another location marked as deictic center by the speaker. These adverbs are all similar in form. They are constructed by adding the location adverb to the exophoric reference morpheme *mbi*. When the location adverb begins with a vowel, the consonant *h* is inserted. Several examples are given below.

| ADVERB | MEANING |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>mbingwaw</i> | down ridge |
| <i>mbiŋkwi</i> | down hill |
| <i>mbihakwi</i> | up hill |
| <i>mbihaviha</i> | down stream |
| <i>mbihela</i> | up stream |
| <i>mbihip</i> | close to |
| <i>mbihevah</i> | the other side of the water |

Those adverbs indicating a location up or down hill from the deictic center are also used in the more general sense of merely up or down.

- 145) *Raphael-nd ay=ampila mbi=ngwaw handih ñ-i.*
 Raphael-(C) trec=place EX=down.ridge MD.SET stay-3
 'Raphael's area is down there.'

The following chart shows how space is divided by the location adverbs.

| | UP | DOWN | | ACROSS |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| STREAM | <i>ela</i> | <i>avih</i> | STREAM/VALLEY | <i>evah</i> |
| RIDGE | <i>awal</i> | <i>ngwav</i> | JUNGLE-CLEARING BOUNDRY | <i>ngwev</i> |
| HILL | <i>akw</i> | <i>ngkw</i> | ENCLOSURE BOUNDRY | <i>ahew</i> |
| HILL (close) | | <i>ngw</i> | HILL OR RIDGE | <i>ngkw</i> |

2.8.2 Affixation on Adverbs

The only affixation to occur on adverbs is the intensifier *-on*. This can occur on any of the classes of adverbs.

- 146) *Ol=aka-z* *ngkeningen* *mband-on* *ng-m-a-l*.
 hit=cut-3.DS drum morning-INT get-NDEF-HP-3
 'Dawn broke (hit=cut) and early in the morning she hit (got) the drum.'
- 147) *Oman=ent-on* *hil=oh-e* *hila=fi-e* *hil=ay-ndala-n*.
 arm=design-INT carry=go-SS carry=stay-SS carry=come-FUT-2
 'You will take (him) and keep (him) bring (him) safely (arm=design).'
- 148) *Kilim-on ay-in*.
 just-INT 'come-1s
 'I came for no reason at all.'

2.8.3 Adjectives and Nouns as Adverbs

Occasionally certain adjectives can be used as adverbs. There is no derivational affixation marking this usage.

- 149) *Han-ndiv arkalipil oli-mgi-l, opaj han*.
 MD-BEN strong hit-p-3 ball MD
 'For this reason they kicked it very hard, that is, the ball.'
- 150) *Say hamb elahel nda-mgi-j*.
 youth MD.S crazy walk-p-3
 'The young people walk around crazily.'

Likewise, certain nouns can be used as adverbs.

- 151) *Pusi-v malih nd-i*.
 cat-S murderer walk-3
 'The cat stalked (or sneaked).'

2.9 Verbs

The verb is the most morphologically complex of the Nend word classes. Inflectional affixes include those indicating tense, aspect, and mode, as well as person and number agreement with the subject of the clause. Further complexity is introduced by the distinction between medial and final verb affixation. Only those verbs occurring sentence

final are fully inflected for tense, aspect and mode. Verbs occurring sentence medially have a different set of suffixes. These suffixes indicate whether or not the subjects of the medial verb and of the following verb are correspondent. Further affixation indicates the temporal relationship between the two verbs.

Although there is some overlap in the morphology of medial and final verbs, these two types will be discussed separately. Under medial verbs will be examined the morphological distinctions between same and different subject and between temporal succession and overlap. Under final verbs will be discussed the full range of tense, aspect, and mode suffixes as well as the suffixes marking subject agreement. The use of the [-definite] status affix will be examined in some depth.

2.9.1 Medial Verbs

All non-final verbs are considered to be medial verbs. This category includes verbs marked for same versus different subject, reduplicated verb stems, and non-affixed verb roots and stems. Medial verbs are typically not marked for tense and mode, these being understood from the tense and mode of the final verb.

2.9.1.1 Same Subject versus Different Subject

Medial verb morphology can be divided into the categories of same and different subject. Suffixes on medial verbs indicate whether the subject of the following verb will be correspondent with that of the medial verb. These verbs are also affixed to indicate whether the action of the verb is conceived of as occurring prior to or simultaneous with the action of the following verb.

2.9.1.1.1 Same Subject Medial Verbs

The same subject medial verb morphology is not complex. A single suffix marks the fact that the following verb shares the same subject. This suffix says nothing about the person and number of the subject. It does, however, indicate that the action of the verb occurs prior to that of the following verb. The same subject medial verb is formed according to the following formula:

Verb Stem Same Subject ([-Definite])

The morpheme marking same subject is *-e*.

- 152) *Al hilimb-e n-e mac l-e ...*
1p.S cook-SS eat-SS finish do-SS
'We cooked and ate and finished ...'
- 153) *Ohila aliqindi-v ñ-e qayah-e ay-mg-im-a-l.*
Big 1p.POS-S stay-SS get.up-SS come-p-NDEF-HP-3
'Our ancestors stayed, got up, and came.'

Durative action or action that continues over a long time is marked by the [-definite] status affix (see section 2.9.2.1.3). This affixation is usually combined with the repetition of the

verb and has the effect of removing the action from the main story line and assigning it a background position in the narrative.

- 154) *N-e-m n-e-m na=ng=amim-a-l.*
 eat-SS-NDEF eat-SS-NDEF eat=descend=put-NDEF-HP-3
 'He ate and ate and ate them all.'
- 155) *Ay-e-m ay-e-m ay-e-m uyi mban ahevi=kiloli-liq.*
 come-SS-NDEF come-SS-NDEF come-SS-NDEF place ND across=flee.p-1p
 'We came and came and came and arrived at this place.'

As stated above, the unmarked form of the medial verb indicates temporal succession. In order to mark temporal overlap, the same subject and different subject medial verbs employ different devices. Reduplication of the verb stem is used to indicate same subject temporal overlap. See section 0.5.5 for a full discussion of the mechanics of verb stem reduplication.

- 156) *Wilam mbanamb ya ka-h nda-j.*
 man ND.SP.S talk talk-RED walk-3.HB
 'This man usually talks while he walks.'
- 157) *Apa hamb nda-nd kwawal-i.*
 bird MD.S walk-RED call-3
 'The bird flew while it called.'

2.9.1.1.2 Different Subject Medial Verbs

Different subject affixation indicates that the subject of the following verb will be different from that of the present subject. Unlike the same subject medial suffix, the different subject affixes agree with the person and number of the subject of the verb. These suffixes are given below.

| | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|------------|----------|--------|
| 1ST PERSON | -ŋ | -liq |
| 2ND PERSON | | -n |
| 3RD PERSON | | -z |

In the first person singular and the third person these suffixes are the same as those used in the imperative, while in the first person plural and second person they are the same as those of the set 1 endings (see section 2.9.2.2).

The basic different subject medial verb is formed according to the following formula.

Verb Stem (Plural) ([-Definite]) Person (Temporal Overlap)

The person suffixes have already been discussed. The plural marker is *-mg*. The marker indicating that the action of the verb overlaps that of the following verb is *-and*. The [-definite] marking is discussed fully in section 2.9.2.1. Examples of the different subject medial verb are given below.

- 158) *Wa-liŋ yambi=kwil ohila ŋ-em-il.*
 see-1p.DS flood=? big stay-YP-3
 'We looked and there was a big flood.'
- 159) *Ndin ikŋi=pali-z aŋkilam-e ŋg=oli-z miŋil-v*
 3s.OBJ shoot=bind-3.DS fall.down-SS descend=hit-3.DS mother-S
ahev=ay-m-a-l.
 across=come-NDEF-HP-3
 '(She) shot him and he fell down and he fell and the mother came out.'
- 160) *Ekwa wa-z-and ensa mbikil oleggi-m-a-l.*
 dream see-3.DS-SIM name 3s.POS call-NDEF-HP-3
 'While he was seeing a dream, it called his name.'
- 161) *Nzi ŋi-mi-ŋ ŋi-mi-ŋ ŋi-mi-ŋ-and, mila ihiliv.*
 1s.S stay-NDEF-1s.DS stay-NDEF-1 stay-NDEF-1s.DS-SIM pig noise
 'I stayed and stayed and while I stayed, (there was) pig noise.'

2.9.1.1.3 Combination of Same and Different Subject Affixation

It is possible for both same and different subject affixes to occur on the same verb. The context in which this construction occurs is where there is a change of subject but not a loss of control by the original subject over the situation.

- 162) *Na-mg-e-mi-z na-mg-e-mi-z unsiŋ-mb-am ŋi-m-a-l.*
 eat-p-SS-NDEF-3.DS eat-p-SS-NDEF-3.DS bone-S-only stay-NDEF-HP-3
 'They ate and ate and there were just bones left.'
- 163) *Nd-e-mi-ŋ nti hamb okalaw-emi-l.*
 walk-SS-NDEF-1s.DS blood MD.S clot-YP-3
 'I walked and the blood clotted.'

In all of the examples of this construction found so far, the [-definite] morpheme *-m* occurs between the same and different subject affixes.

2.9.1.1.4 Partitioning of Referents

Not every change of subject is marked by different subject affixation. When the subjects of the medial verb and the following verb are in the same person, for example, the subject of the medial verb is first person singular and that of the following verb is first person plural, then the medial verb is marked as same subject. This is shown in the following chart.¹

¹ Note that the subject of the third person singular verb must be included in the group that comprises the subject of the third person plural verb for the medial verb to be marked as same subject.

| SUBJECT VERB 1 | SUBJECT VERB 2 | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|----|----|----|----|----|
| | 1s | 1p | 2s | 2p | 3s | 3p |
| 1s | SS | SS | DS | DS | DS | DS |
| 1p | SS | SS | DS | DS | DS | DS |
| 2s | DS | DS | SS | SS | DS | DS |
| 2p | DS | DS | SS | SS | DS | DS |
| 3s | DS | DS | DS | DS | SS | SS |
| 3p | DS | DS | DS | DS | SS | SS |

2.9.1.2 Other Medial Forms

Both the unaffixed verb stem and the reduplicated verb stem are used sentence medially. Of the two, the latter has the widest distribution. Besides being used to indicate same subject simultaneous action it is also used as a nominal and in the formation of the present tense (see sections 1.2.3.1 and 2.9.2.3.1.6). The unaffixed verb stem, on the other hand, is mainly used in verb phrases (see sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2.1).

2.9.2 Final Verb Morphology

The morphology of the sentence final verb is much richer than that of the sentence medial verb. The final verb is fully inflected for tense, aspect, and mood as well as person and number of the subject. The final verb is constructed by adding affixes in the following order.

{[-Definite]}
Verb Stem
{(IncreaseTransitivity)}
{(Plural)}
{[-Definite]/Habitual}
{(Tense)}
Person
{[-Definite]}

In the following sections, these categories of affixes are discussed, starting with those that occur farthest from the verb stem.

2.9.2.1 Temporal [-Definite] and [+Definite]

Foley (1986) shows that it is common for Papuan languages to have in the verb system distinctions of both tense and status. Status expresses the actuality of the event, whether it has been realized or not. Nend has this two tiered system, but with the category of status defined differently. Instead of a realis-irrealis distinction, Nend maintains a distinction between those actions which are temporally [-definite] and those which are temporally [+definite]. Those actions which can be assigned a definite point on the time continuum are temporally [+definite]. Those which cannot are temporally [-definite]. In some cases this marking corresponds with the irrealis-realism distinction, for example in the [-definite]

marking on the imperative and prohibitive modes. There are however points of divergence from a strict realis-irrealis system, such as in the [-definite] marking on the historic past.

Although tense and status have been distinguished as two separate categories, there is much interaction between them in Nend. The past tenses, with the exception of the historic past, divide the past time continuum into definite periods. For example, something described in the yesterday past is known to have occurred between sunset of last night and sunset the night before. Therefore, events referred to in the present tense back through the far past tense are [+definite]. Conversely, future events are [-definite]. Because they have not yet occurred, they cannot be assigned a location on the time continuum. As long as this convention is not broken, overt status marking is not required. Only when the convention of past events being [+definite] is broken is there any need for overt status marking on verbs already marked for tense.

Status marking has a number of functions in the verb morphology. Various usages of the status marking are illustrated below.

2.9.2.1.1 Negative

Negation, like prohibition and contrafactual, is inherently [-definite] in status. Negative action is irrealis in nature and is therefore not able to be assigned a point on the time continuum. The use of the [-definite] affix to mark negation is the one case in which the [+definite] past tenses and the [-definite] marking combine. The negative of the various tenses is formed by prefixing and suffixing the verb with the [-definite] marker *-m* as illustrated in the following formula.

[-Definite] Verb Stem (Plural) Tense [-Definite]

Negated forms in the immediate and far past tenses are identical because these tenses are both manifested by \emptyset .

164) *Aliḡind hamb Aiome-ḡ m-o-mḡ-em-m.*
1p.POS MD.S Aiome-1.I NDEF-go-p-YP-NDEF
'Our (men) did not go to Aiome yesterday.'

165) *Am ndin unsa m-cḡkwana-m.*
2.S 3s.OBJ yam NDEF-give.food-NDEF
'You did not give him food.'

Negation of the contrafactual mode is manifested only by prefixing the *-m* to the verb. The actual manifestation of the contrafactual involves the [-definite] marker.

166) *Al empa=sam mi-wa-mi-liḡ.*
1p.S road=place NDEF-see-NDEF-1p
'We would not be able to see the road.'

2.9.2.1.2 Prohibitive and Contrafactual

Prohibitive and contrafactual modes are discussed together because of their similarities in form and meaning. The formation of the prohibitive and contrafactual modes is similar (identical for the first and second persons), as manifested by the following formula:

Verb Stem (Plural) [-Definite] Person

- 167) *Am ankilama-m-in*
 2.S fall.down-NDEF-2
 'Do not fall down.'
- 168) *Mbi ay-mg-m-il han ya ka-m-ilin.*
 3.S come-p-NDEF-3 MD talk talk-NDEF-1p
 'If they had come, we would have talked.'

Prohibition and contrafactuality are characterized by their hypothetical nature. In neither case is it possible to assign the event to a point on the time continuum. For further discussion and examples see sections 2.9.2.3.3.1 and 2.9.2.3.3.2.

2.9.2.1.3 Durative Aspect on Medial Verbs

So far, we have examined the use of the [-definite] morpheme to mark action that is temporally [-definite] by virtue of its irrealis nature. Following is a discussion of the uses of this morpheme to mark realis action that is, for one reason or another, temporally [-definite].

The [-definite] morpheme may indicate realis action within a known time frame when durative aspect is indicated with a medial verb. By using the [-definite] marker the action is conceptualized as temporally indefinite. This use is often combined with repetition to mark on-going action of long duration.

The [-definite] marker can be used with both same and different subject medial verbs according to the following formulas.

Same subject: Verb Stem SS Suffix [-Definite]

- 169) *Ampih-e-m ampih-e-m ampih-e-m ampaha-v-i.*
 weave-SS-NDEF weave-SS-NDEF weave-SS-NDEF weave-TR-3
 'He wove and wove and wove it all.'

Different Subject:

Verb Stem (Plural) (SS Suffix) [-Definite] DS Suffix

- 170) *ŋgalowi-mg-e-mi-z* *ŋgalowi-mg-e-mi-z*
sit.together.p-p-SS-NDEF-3.D sit.together.p-p-SS-NDEF-3.DSS

ŋ=ak=avi-zi=ŋga-m-a-l
get=cut=throw-3.DS=descend-NDEF-HP-3

'They sat together and sat together and it became light (get=cut=throw=descend).'

This simultaneous use of the same and different subject affixation is discussed more fully in section 2.9.1.1.3.

2.9.2.1.4 Historic Past

The [-definite] affix is used to mark the historic past tense. Generally this tense is used for events that have occurred in the distant past and which are, because of that distance from the present, difficult to establish within a specific time frame. The historic past is also used relatively. Events that may have occurred quite recently are marked by the historic past when the speaker wants to emphasize or exaggerate the length of time that has elapsed since the event occurred. In both the normal and relative uses, the historic past is [-definite]. Because past tenses are [+definite] by virtue of their referring to real events, it is necessary to mark the exception that occurs in this tense. Note, though, that the *-m* morpheme does not occur on the historic past habitual or on the negated historic past. In the case of the former, habitual action is by its very nature temporally [-definite]. Therefore, further overt marking is unnecessary. In the case of the latter, the use of the [-definite] marker to indicate negation makes further [-definite] marking unnecessary.

The historic past tense is formed according to the following formula.

Verb Stem (Plural) [-Definite] Tense Person

- 171) *Ohila aliŋind-v ŋayah-e ay-mg-m-a-l han ka-ndal-in.*
big 1p.POS-S get.up-SS come-p-NDEF-H MD talk-FUT-1sP-3
'I will tell about how our ancestors got up and came.'

2.9.2.2 Person

Person marking is obligatory on final verbs. There are eight different sets of person endings that are used with the various tenses and modes. These sets are described below.

Person Sets

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|----|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1s | <i>in</i> | <i>en</i> | <i>jīn</i> | <i>jīn</i> | <i>ñ</i> | <i>ñ</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>ŋ</i> |
| 1p | <i>liŋ</i> | <i>oliŋ</i> | <i>liŋ</i> | <i>liŋ</i> | <i>liŋ</i> | <i>liŋ</i> | <i>liŋ</i> | <i>m</i> |
| 2 | <i>n</i> | <i>an</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>an</i> | s:v p:val |
| 3 | <i>i</i> | <i>l</i> | <i>l</i> | <i>j</i> | <i>l</i> | <i>nj</i> | <i>nj</i> | <i>z</i> |

There are no separate markers for singular and plural in the second and third persons, with the exception of set 8. Set number eight is used with the imperative mode. The other sets are used with the following tenses and modes.

- Set 1: today past, immediate past, present, future
- Set 2: yesterday past, far past
- Set 3: historic past
- Set 4: habitual aspect
- Set 5: contrafactual mode
- Set 6: prohibitive mode
- Set 7: future potential mode
- Set 8: imperative mode

Note that there is much similarity between sets, particularly in the first person plural and second persons.

2.9.2.3 Tense, Aspect and Mode

Because the markers for these three categories occur in the same slot in the verb, they will be discussed together. Most of the tenses and modes are marked by distinct affixes. When tense and mode are not overtly marked, they are indicated instead by the distinct person suffix associated with the tense and mode.

These markers are affixed to the verb according to the following formulas.

Future Tense: Verb Stem Tense (Plural) Person

All others: Verb Stem (Plural) Tense Person

2.9.2.3.1 Tense Markers

2.9.2.3.1.1 Historic Past

Historic past tense marks action that has occurred in the remote past, generally conceived of as from several years ago on back. Besides this absolute use of the historic past, there is also a relative use. In this relative usage, the historic past marks events of more recent occurrence in relationship to even more recent events. The relative use of the historic past is a common means of expressing hyperbole.

The basic historic past affix is *and*, although there is some irregularity. When *and* is followed by a person suffix starting with *-j* the *d* elides. Also in the third person, the *and* is realized as just *a*.

- 172) *Ndin wehil-chil ŋiñ-ŋ-am aŋkw-aŋgw fi-m-a-l.*
 3s.OBJ watch-RED laughter-LI-only call.out-RED stay-NDEF-HP-3
 'She stayed watching him and just laughing.'
- 173) *Nzi Madang o-e ekwang ay-m-an-jin.*
 1s.S Madang go-SS again come-NDEF-HP-1s
 'I went to Madang and came back.'

2.9.2.3.1.2 Far Past

The far past refers to events that have occurred from two days ago on back to several years ago. There is some overlap with the historic past tense. There is no distinct morpheme marking this tense. Rather the tense is indicated by person ending set 2, coupled with the absence of tense marking.

- 174) *Avi-ŋ nihil haŋ uyi-l.*
 do.thus-1s.DS spear MD.LI stab-3
 'I did that and he stabbed (it) with a spear.'
- 175) *Na-liŋ mpi=kali-z mac ay-oliŋ.*
 eat-1p.DS belly=?-3.DS finish come-1p
 'We ate and our bellies were full then we came.'

2.9.2.3.1.3 Yesterday's Past

The yesterday's past marks events that occurred between sunset last night and sunset the night before. These limits are not strictly rigid but they are generally observed. This tense is marked by the morpheme *-em*.

- 176) *Impompil ohila mban hil=ay-em-oliŋ.*
 ridge big ND carry=come-YP-1p
 'We brought (it) to the big ridge here.'
- 177) *Ay-e wali-z mac Dom-v wal-em-il.*
 come-SS yell-3.DS finish Dom-S yell-YP-3
 'He came and yelled and then Dom yelled.'

2.9.2.3.1.4 Today Past

The today past is used to refer to events that occur roughly from sundown yesterday until a few hours ago. Although there is some overlap in usage between the yesterday's past and the today past when referring to events that occur at night, the sunset division is generally held.

The construction of the today past is unique among Nend tenses. In the singular and the first person plural, the today past is formed by attaching the suffix *-nd* to the verb stem and then repeating the last root of the verb stem. To this construction the person endings of set 1 are attached. The formula for this construction is:

Singular: Verb Stem *-nd* Repeated Root Person(1)

In the second and third person plural the today past is constructed by adding the plural marker to the verb stem followed by the morpheme *-ning* and then the person endings.

Plural: Verb Stem Plural *-ning* Person(1)

Some examples of this construction are given in the following chart using the single root verb *na* 'eat', the multiple syllable single root verb *asi* 'cover', and the compound verb stem *avi-zi=ŋga* 'throw-3.DS=descend (throw down)'.

TODAY PAST CONSTRUCTION

| | <i>na</i> | <i>asi</i> | <i>avi-zi=ŋga</i> |
|----|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1s | <i>na-ndi-n-in</i> | <i>asi-nd-as-in</i> | <i>avi-zi=ŋga-ndi-ŋg-in</i> |
| 2s | <i>na-ndi-na-n</i> | <i>asi-nd-asi-n</i> | <i>avi-zi=ŋga-ndi-ŋga-n</i> |
| 3s | <i>na-ndi-n-i</i> | <i>asi-nd-as-i</i> | <i>avi-zi=ŋga-ndi-ŋg-i</i> |
| 1p | <i>na-ndi-na-liŋ</i> | <i>asi-nd-asi-liŋ</i> | <i>avi-zi=ŋga-ndi-ŋga-liŋ</i> |
| 2p | <i>na-mgi-ningi-n</i> | <i>asi-mgi-ningi-n</i> | <i>avi-zi=ŋga-mgi-ningi-n</i> |
| 3p | <i>na-mgi-ning-i</i> | <i>asi-mgi-ning-i</i> | <i>avi-zi=ŋga-mgi-ning-i</i> |

2.9.2.3.1.5 Immediate Past

The immediate past is used to mark action that has occurred within the last several hours up to the present. Another use of this tense is as the historical present. In this usage, distant past events are referred to by the immediate past tense, thus adding vividness to the narration.

This tense is indicated by \emptyset and set 1 person markers, as demonstrated by the following formula.

Verb Stem (Plural) Person(1)

- 178) *Am olam ndih asi-mgi-n oh?*
 2.S house COMP cover-p-2 QU
 'Did you finish the house?'
- 179) *Nol mbikili-v ankilam-i.*
 son 3s.POS-S fall.down-3
 'His son fell down.'

2.9.2.3.1.6 Present

The present tense indicates action that is currently in process. Like the today past, the present tense uses the reduplicated verb stem in its formation. In the singular and first person plural, the reduplicated stem is followed by the present affix *mbila* and the set 1 person suffixes. In the second and third person plural the verb stem is not reduplicated. The simple verb stem is followed by the plural marker and the tense and person suffixes.

180) *Il aliq alom=ak-ahi-mbil-i en.*
 today 1p.OBJ stubborn=cut-RED-PR-3 say.1s
 ‘‘Today it is not cooperating with us.’’ I said.’

181) *Wilam hamb ay-mgi-mbil-i.*
 man MD.S come-p-PR-3
 ‘The men are coming.’

2.9.2.3.1.7 Simple Future

The simple future is used to mark events and actions that the speaker wants to assert will definitely occur. The tense is formed by adding the suffix *-ndala* to the verb stem according to the following formula.

Verb Stem Future Suffix (Plural) Person(1)

182) *Nol, andali-v-oz ay-ndal-i.*
 son shadow-S-first come-FUT-3
 ‘Son, the shadow will come first.’

2.9.2.3.2 Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect is marked by a combination of an aspectual marker *-l* and a specific set of person suffixes (set 4). The aspectual marker occurs only in the first person plural and the second person and only in the past tenses which are [+definite]. It does not occur in the historic past habitual. There are only two habitual forms: one covering back through the far past and the other for the historic past. For a paradigm of the habitual aspect, see the appendix.

183) *Mbi uti-ŋ ikr-e hil=ay-z-and al na-li-liŋ?*
 3.S what-LI shoot-SS carry=come-3.DS-SIM 1p.S eat-HB-1p
 ‘What does he shoot with and bring and we usually eat?’

184) *Wilam hamb pusi na-mgi-j.*
 man MD.S cat eat-p-3
 ‘Those men eat pussy cats.’

2.9.2.3.3 Mode

Lyons (1977) defines modality as ‘‘a means used by a speaker to express his opinion or attitude towards the proposition that the sentence expresses or the situation that the

proposition describes.” In the framework of this definition, there are four modes in Nend: imperative, contrafactual, prohibitive, and probable future. Of these, the contrafactual and prohibitive have already been discussed briefly in the section on temporal definiteness.

2.9.2.3.3.1 Imperative

In the imperative mode the speaker is making a judgement as to the importance or necessity of an action. Nend encodes this by a distinct set of person suffixes (set 8). There is no separate mode marker. While the second and third person imperative coincides well with the English imperative, the first person can have a hortative force.

- 185) *Mac kilim o-m.*
finish just go-1p.IMP
'That's enough, let's just go.'
- 186) *Mbi medisn mban n-e na-vi-z.*
3.S medicine ND eat-SS eat-TR-3.IMP
'She must eat and eat all of this medicine.'
- 187) *Am olami-ŋ o-v.*
2.S house-LI go-2s.IMP
'You go home.'

2.9.2.3.3.2 Prohibitive

The prohibitive mode is formed with the [-definite] affix *-m* and the set six person markers. In this mode the speaker is making a judgement about the negative desirability of the action or event. Often this mode is not used strictly as a prohibition, but may have the force of “it would not be good if it happened.”

- 188) *Av-e ankilama-mi-n.*
do.thus-SS fall.down-NDEF-2
'Don't fall down.'
- 189) *Uvi kehamb nan ka-mi-nj.*
dog FD.SP.S 2s.OBJ talk-NDEF-3
'It would not be good if that dog would bite (talk) you.'

2.9.2.3.3.3 Contrafactual

The contrafactual construction is alternately marked as a mode and as a tense by different authors. I have chosen to call it a mode because of its structural similarity to the prohibitive mode. The same marker that indicates the prohibitive mode is used to mark the contrafactual. Also the person suffix sets are very similar, differing only in the third person. Since the prohibitive is modal and the contrafactual shares those structural characteristics, it seems appropriate to call the contrafactual a mode in Nend.

Contrafactuality is marked by the [-definite] affix *-m* and by the use of set 5 person markers. The contrafactual mode is used to express hypothetical action and ability, both positive ability and, by using a question construction, negative ability.

- 190) *Lapil imbili-v kila-mi-l han o-mi-liŋ.*
 sun good-S look.for-NDEF-3 MD go-NDEF-1p
 'If the sun had shone (look for) we would have gone.'
- 191) *Nzi imbil nohoh han na-mi-ñ.*
 1s.S good food MD eat-NDEF-1s
 'I can eat that food.'
- 192) *Nzi-han-av-e mila ikŋi-mi-ñ.*
 1s.S-MD-do.thus-SS pig shoot-NDEF-1s
 'How can I shoot a pig?' or 'I can't shoot a pig.'

2.9.2.3.3.4 Probable Future

Nend has two future tense/status constructions, the simple future tense and the probable future mode. The simple future tense is discussed above in section 2.9.2.3.1.7. This tense is used when the speaker wants to assert that the event will definitely occur. The probable future mode is used to mark two kinds of events. First it is used to indicate events that in the the speaker's judgement are likely to actually occur. Thus the use of this construction introduces a small element of uncertainty to the assertion. Second, this construction marks events that will, in the speaker's judgement, actually occur, but at some indefinite time in the future.

In terms of a certainty-uncertainty continuum, this mode marks a point mid-way between the simple future on the one side and the use of the modal particle *toh* 'maybe' with the verb on the other side.

This construction combines the characteristics of both tense and mode. It marks the action as occurring in the future (tense) as well as indicating the speaker's opinion as to the certainty of that event (mode). I am calling it a mode because it fits in the definition of mode discussed above and also because of its similarity in form to the the prohibitive mode.

The probable future mode is formed from the affix *-ŋ* and the set 7 person suffixes. Note that the affix used to mark this mode is the same that is used to mark location/instrument on noun phrases. The construction is according to the following formula.

Verb Stem (Plural) *-ŋ* Person(7)

- 193) *Mil-ŋ-am Isowak-nd hamb ay-mgi-ŋi-ŋi.*
 one.day.from.today-LI-only Isowak-O MD.S come-p-PRB-3
 'Tomorrow the (men) of Isowak will come.'

The following example illustrates the most common use of the probable future mode, that is, to mark intent or purpose. This is more fully discussed in section 5.2.3 below.

- 194) *Nzi yamb i-ŋi-n al-e el=o-mbil-in.*
 1s.S water bathe-PRB-1s say-SS upstream=go-PR-1s
 'I am going upstream to wash.'

2.9.2.4 Number

Nend marks the number of the subject on the verb. This can be accomplished either through using plural forms of the verb or the plural marker or both.

2.9.2.4.1 Plural Marker

The affix that signifies plural subject is *-mg*. This is used only with second and third person plural subjects, not first person plural ones. With the exception of the future tense, this marker precedes the tense and modal affixes. In the future tense it follows those affixes.

- 195) *Mbi wal aka-mg-emi-l.*
 3.S garden cut-p-YP-3
 'They cut the garden (yesterday).'
- 196) *Mbi olam asi-ndala-mg-i toh.*
 3.S house cover-FUT-p-3 maybe
 'Maybe they will build the house.'

2.9.2.4.2 Plural Verb Forms

A limited number of verbs have both a singular and plural form. When the subject is plural, including the first person plural, the plural forms of the verbs are used. The plural marker may or may not be used on the plural verb form, depending on whether the speaker conceives of the subject collectively or individually. The following chart lists some singular verbs and their plural counterparts. Both sets may be used in both medial and final positions in the sentence.

| SINGULAR VERB | PLURAL VERB |
|---------------|----------------|
| <i>okali</i> | <i>kiloli</i> |
| <i>ɲkañi</i> | <i>ɲgaliwi</i> |
| | flee |
| | sit |

- 197) *Han akɲilangw-e ɲgaliwi-m-a-l, osa anci.*
 MD put.on.shoulder-SS sit.together.p-NDEF-HP-3 man woman
 'They hung it on their shoulders and sat, that is, the men and women (did).'

2.9.2.5 Increase Transitivity

The suffix *-vi* has the affect of increasing the transitivity of the verb. When the predication is applied to all the members of a specified group, the suffix *-i* is affixed to the verb stem. This marks the highest degree of transitivity. Transitivity marking is affixed closest to the verb stem of any affixation.

- 198) *Oz-e-m oz-e-m oz-e-m oz-v-e*
 pulverize-SS-NDEF pulverize-TR-SS pulverize-SS-NDEF pulverize-SS-NDEF

ng=am-e *k-in* ...
descend=put-SS talk-1s

'I pulverized and pulverized and pulverized it and pulverized it all and put it and said ... '

- 199) *Ay han ndih* *aka-vi-mg-emi-l*.
tree MD COMP cut-TR-p-YP-3
'They finished cutting all the trees.'

3. Phrase

3.1 Noun Phrases

There are only a small number of types of noun phrases in Nend. These include the basic noun phrase, the coordinate noun phrase, and the plural noun phrase. Each of these will be discussed separately.

3.1.1 Basic Noun Phrase Syntax

The basic noun phrase has nine slots, of which only about half can be filled in any given phrase. The slots given in their order of occurrence are:

Possessive
Attributive Noun Phrase
Head Noun
Adjective Phrase
Adjective Phrase
Attributive Noun Phrase
Possessive
Locative Postposition
Demonstrative

Of the above, only the head noun is obligatory. Each of the above slots will be discussed in terms of its possible fillers and its co-occurrence constraints.

3.1.1.1 Possessive

There are two possessive slots in the noun phrase. Only one of these slots can be filled in any given phrase. If there are three or more constituents in a given noun phrase the first position will be filled unless a demonstrative concludes the noun phrase. The first position serves to decrease the post-nominal semantic load in the phrase or to give emphasis to the possessive. The fillers of this slot include possessive pronouns and proper nouns marked with the oblique clitic. The fillers can themselves be embedded noun phrases.

- 200) *ilinj mbikil*
spear 3s.POS
'his spear'

- 201) *mbikil ilinj*
 3s.POS spear
 'his spear'

The difference between the above two is in what is being focused upon. In example 201 the possessor receives the focus, but in example 200 the object receives the focus. A more expanded noun phrase is given in example 202.

- 202) *Rapael-nd anij wal ohila*
 Rapael-O banana garden big
 'Rapael's big banana garden'

3.1.1.2 Attributive Noun

A noun with the oblique suffix can be used to modify another noun. (see section 2.4.1.4.3) In this case the attributive noun occupies a position immediately preceding the head noun or following the adjective phrase. The possessive slot does co-occur with the attributive slot, necessitating the positional dichotomy proposed here on structural as well as the implicit semantic grounds.

- 203) *amakil unsa esa-nd olam*
 2s.POS yam part-O house
 'your seed yam house'

- 204) *anjkwivi-nd ya*
 hawk-O talk
 'a story about a hawk'

It is possible for these slots to be filled by embedded noun phrases. The embedded noun phrases usually occur following the head noun.

- 205) *wilam uyi emga-nd hamb*
 man place other-O MD,S
 'the man from another village'

3.1.1.3 Noun Head

The simplest noun phrase consists solely of a noun head. Any noun as well as proper nouns, pronouns, kinship terms, plural noun phrases, and relative clauses can function as the head of a noun phrase. Noun clusters and repeated nouns can also function as noun heads. These latter two categories are discussed separately below.

Certain fillers of the noun head position introduce restrictions on what other elements can occur in the noun phrase. Proper nouns seldom take modifiers other than a single post-head attributive noun (example 210). Likewise a plural noun phrase filling the head position can take at most a single modifier, either an adjective phrase or an attributive noun, and a demonstrative (example 209). A pronoun in the head position of a noun phrase can only take a single numerical modifier (example 207).

- 206) *lanil mbikil hamb*
 younger.sibling 3s.POS MD.S
 'his younger sibling'
- 207) *Al undimaj o-e mila ifi mban w-em-oliq.*
 1p.S two go-SS pig track ND see-YP-1p
 'The two of us went and saw those pig tracks.'
- 208) *Mbi apa pam ay-1 han na-1.*
 3.S bird one come-3 MD get-3
 'He took the plane that came first.'
- 209) *Mbi ay=ampila-akj ay=ampila migam o-e ...*
 3.S tree=place-many tree=place all go-SS
 'They went to all the villages ...'
- 210) *John Astangu-nd*
 John Astangu-O
 'John from Astangu'

3.1.1.3.1 Noun Cluster

Compound nouns function as single lexical items on both a semantic and syntactic level. Noun clusters, on the other hand, function as multiple lexical items on both levels.

Typically the nouns in a noun cluster are in a modifier-modified relationship. Examples of some noun clusters are given below.

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>ay</i> tree | <i>min</i> hole | 'hole in tree' |
| <i>mila</i> pig | <i>ifi</i> track | 'pig track' |
| <i>anig</i> banana | <i>zig</i> leaf | 'bananaleaf' |

The noun cluster is distinguished from the compound noun in the way it forms the plural. The compound noun forms the plural like other single nouns. The noun cluster does not. Rather than taking a plural suffix, the noun cluster is made plural by means of a phrase or descriptive clause using one of the words for 'many'.

- 211) *O-e wa-z mila ifi ohil-on mb-ah.*
 go-SS see-3.DS pig track big-INT EXO-EX.
 'He went and looked and there were many pig tracks.'

The noun cluster is distinguished from the coordinate noun phrase (section 3.1.2) by the absence of the word *han=ave* following the cluster. Coordinate noun phrases usually are terminated with this word. Also there are phonological differences between the two. The

noun cluster is pronounced as a single unit, i.e. there is no pause between the elements. The coordinate noun phrase, on the other hand, has definite pauses between elements. Finally, the noun cluster is usually composed of only two semantically related items. The coordinate phrase, however, is composed of two or more items that may be quite diverse.

3.1.1.3.2 Repeated Noun

The diminutive of a noun is indicated by full repetition of the noun. This diminutive form functions as the head of a noun phrase. I distinguish repetition from reduplication because the phonemes on the repeated portion do not undergo the morphophonemic transformations that accompany reduplication (see section 0.5.5).

| NOUN | | REPEATED NOUN | |
|-------------|------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>iliv</i> | bow | <i>iliv iliv</i> | toy bow |
| <i>olam</i> | house | <i>olam olam</i> | shelter/blind |
| <i>alaz</i> | flying fox | <i>alaz alaz</i> | small bat |

- 212) *Miqangil-il-iv iliv iliv apkwai-e epgwa-m-a-l.*
 uncle-3-S bow bow string-SS give-NDEF-HP-3
 'The uncle strung a toy bow and gave it.'

3.1.1.4 Adjective Phrase

The noun can be modified by up to two adjective phrases. If two adjective phrases occur in one noun phrase, the first adjective phrase will be manifested by a single adjective. The order of occurrence of adjective types is generally as follows:

Color > Other Qualities > Number

- 213) *mila ŋkiñ ohila*
 pig black big
 'a big black pig'
- 214) *mila ŋkiñ ohila kivah*
 pig black big bad
 'a very big black pig'
- 215) *say ohila ka m-ah*
 youth big large NDEF-EX
 'a very small boy'

3.1.1.5 Locative Postposition

The locative postpositions are discussed above in section 2.4.3. When these occur without a demonstrative following, they have the locative/instrument clitic *-ŋ* attached. If the locative postposition is followed by one of the demonstratives, it does not take the locative/instrument clitic.

- 216) *O-e Henry-h Anton-h o-e empa=sam kiv-em-oliq, nta*
 go-SS Henry-FOC Anton-FOC go-SS road=place pass.by-YP-1p sword.grass

onca handih.
 inside MD.SET

'We went and went and passed Henry and Anton on the road, inside the sword grass.'

- 217) *Nol ŋ-e zi ompil insi-ŋ ŋg=ami-m-a-l.*
 son get-SS head top on.top-LI descend=put-NDEF-HP-3
 'She got the son and put (him) on top of (her) head.'

3.1.1.6 Demonstrative

The final position in the noun phrase is filled by the demonstrative.

- 218) *alah mpil haŋ*
 tree.type shade MD.LI
 'in the shade of the *alah* tree.'
- 219) *mila kwaz ihind mban*
 pig wounded 1s.POS ND
 'my wounded pig here'

3.1.2 Coordinate Noun Phrase

The coordinate noun phrase is treated as a separate phrase type because it has multiple heads and also because it is limited in the number of other constituents allowed. There is no coordinating conjunction in Nend. Rather, the noun heads are simply juxtaposed, often with a slight pause between elements. There seems to be no limit to the number of noun heads that can be joined in a coordinate noun phrase (up to six have been observed). Usually no modifiers are allowed on this type of noun phrase, except an initial possessive pronoun. The word *han=av-e* 'do.thus-SS' closes the coordinate noun phrase.

- 220) *Nz-on William Maks Tavan han-av-e im-e n-oliq.*
 1s.S-INT William Maks Tavan MD-do.thus-SS cook-SS eat-1p
 'I myself and William and Maks and Tavan together we cooked and ate.'
- 221) *Al iliv elipil pilitim han-av-e ŋ-e kilim o-em-oliq.*
 1p.S bow torch fire MD-do.thus-SS get-SS just go-YP-1p
 'We got the bow, torch, and fire and just went.'

3.2 Adjective Phrase

The adjective phrase has already been discussed briefly in section 3.1.1.4. The adjective phrase occurs as a modifier describing, intensifying, or negating the head noun. The adjective phrase is composed of a head adjective followed by one or two other adjectives

which serve to modify the head. The last adjective in the phrase may be further modified by the intensifier *-on*.

222) *Kilipa mban ankalipil kivah.*
 Vine ND strong bad
 'This vine is very strong.'

223) *O-e wa-z akwi ohila kivah, akwiḡki, imbil m-ah.*
 go-SS see-3.DS snake big bad python good NDEF-EX
 'He went and looked and (there was) a very big snake, a python, a huge (one).'

In both of the above examples 'bad' and 'not good' lose their primary meaning and function instead merely as intensifiers. Thus, in example (223) *imbil mah* adds further emphasis to the *ohila* 'big.'

3.3 Verb Phrases

There are several types of verb phrases in Nend. These include the negation phrase used with medial verbs, the serial verb phrases that indicate aspects, modal verb phrases, and the simple phrase.

3.3.1 Negative Verb Phrase

Negation of a medial verb involves using a combination of the unaffixed verb root, the negative existential morpheme *m-ah*, and the pro-verb *la* 'do.' This is the only way that a medial verb can be negated. This same construction is used in negating the embedded clause in a topic-comment construction (example (226)). Here, however, the pro-verb is inflected as a final verb.

224) *Wilam mbanamb ya ka m-ah la-z, nzi m-o-m.*
 man ND.SP.S talk talk NDEF-EX do-3.DS 1s.S NDEF-go-NDEF
 'This man did not talk, so I did not go.'

225) *Nzi mil=oma wa m-ah l-e ay-in, ckwangḡ.*
 1s.S pig=fish see NDEF-EX do-SS come-1s again
 'I did not see a bandicoot, so I came back.'

226) *Yamb ankwā m-ah la-mi-l han, wal hilizi-mi-liḡ.*
 water step.on NDEF-EX do-NDEF-3 MD garden burn-NDEF-1p
 'If it had not rained we would have burned the garden.'

3.3.2 Aspectual Verb Phrases

Aspect is usually indicated syntactically in verb phrases rather than morphologically. Pro-verbs, repetition and reduplication, and aspectual markers are all means of indicating aspect in Nend.

3.3.2.1 Iterative Aspect

Iterative aspect indicates action that occurs repeatedly over a period of time. It is expressed by a serial verb construction composed of a repeated verb root followed by the pro-verb *la* 'do.' The pro-verb can occur as a medial or final verb.

- 227) *Hil=ay mbilami mbilami la-mg-an-j.*
 carry=come show show do-p-HP-3
 'They used to bring and show (it) again and again.'
- 228) *Niihil η-e aηkwa=ni aηkwa=ni la-l nda-η-and ...*
 spear get-SS step.on=stay step.on=stay do-RED walk-1s.DS-SIM
 'I got a spear and while I walked around standing (here and there) ...'

Example (229) below illustrates an alternative form of the above construction. In this example a single verb stem is not repeated. Rather a pair of verb stems which are complementary in meaning is used with the pro-verb *la* 'do'. This too expresses iterative aspect.

- 229) *Olam-ndiv hil=o hil=ay l-e kila-liη, nend.*
 house-BEN carry=go carry=come do-SS look.for-1p.DS no
 'We walked back and forth and looked for a house, but no.'

3.3.2.2 Durative Aspect

Durative aspect is indicated by the use of the verbs *nda* 'walk,' *hila* 'carry,' or a combination of the two *ndahila* or *hilanda* 'walk'. (I am not yet sure of the difference in meaning between the two.) The verb to which the aspectual verbs refer may be reduplicated or it may be marked with the same/different subject endings.

- 230) *Mac nzi ni-ni nd-e ni-η-and Henry-v ak=ay-l.*
 finish 1s.S stay-RED walk-SS stay-1s.DS-S Henry-S up=come-3IM
 'Then I stayed a while and while I stayed Henry came up.'
- 231) *Malivay ek-e nda=hil-e eka-mgi-z-and mac cawi-li-v*
 dance slice-SS walk=carry-SS slice-p-3.DS-SIM finish brother.in.law-3-S
ka-m-a-l...
 talk-NDEF-HP-3
 'They sang for a while and while they sang the brother-in-law said...'
- 232) *Mac ic-e nd-e-m oma anta mban ak=oli-mgi-m-a-l.*
 finish scoop-SS walk-SS-NDEF fish jungle ND cut=hit-p-NDEF-HP-3
 'Then they scooped and scooped and tore apart this fish habitat.'

3.3.2.3 Completive Aspect

Completive aspect is indicated by the completive aspect marker *ndih* preceding the verb. This marker can occur with both medial and final verbs.

- 233) *Amakil maliv mban ndih hil=ay-in.*
2s.POS spirit ND COMP carry=come-1s
'I have brought your spirit here.'
- 234) *Ndih o-e ay-e evah=o-nd-i.*
COMP go-SS come-SS across=go-TP-go.1s
'He went all the way and came and went across.'

A related phrase combines the above with the demonstrative *hambon* following the verb. Thus it has the appearance of a relative or embedded clause but nevertheless it stands alone. It has the meaning 'almost'.

- 235) *Nzi ndih arkilam-in hamb-on.*
1s.S COMP fall.down-1s MD.S-INT
'I almost fell down.'

3.3.3 Connative Mode

Foley (1986) states that connative modality indicates that "the actor tries to perform the action". In Nend the focus of this mode is not on whether or not the actor can perform the action. Rather, the focus is on what the result of the action will be. Connative modality in Nend indicates that the result of the action is in doubt.

This mode is marked by the suffix *-l* on the verb followed by the verb *wa* 'see'.

- 236) *Ng=ami-l wa-v. Na-ndal-i oh nend oh.*
descend=put-CON see-2s.IMP eat-FUT-3 QU no QU
'Put it and see (what will happen). Will he eat it or not?'
- 237) *Mpa-l wa-mi-n.*
fight-CON see-NDEF-2
'Do not poke it to see (what will happen).'

3.3.4 Simple Verb Phrase

Many adverbs are not bound to the verb and are able to occur in several places in the clause. These include the locative and temporal adverbs. Adverbs indicating manner affect the verb more closely and are thus more closely bound to the verb. Therefore, this comprises a part of one type of verb phrase. The manner adverb precedes the verb in the phrase. The adverb *kilim* which is used in the following example has a number of meanings including, 'without delay', 'for no reason', and 'without preparation'.

- 238) *Wilam mbanamb olav kilim angwilam-i.*
man ND.SP.S wallaby just turn.into-3
'The man just turned into a wallaby.'
- 239) *Mban alig opiha si-mg-i.*
ND 1p.OBJ poorly do-p-3
'They are doing wrong to us here.'

3.4 Adverb Phrase

Most adverbial phrases are quite simple, being composed of an adverb followed by a modifier. The modifier is usually an adjective functioning as an adverb.

- 240) *Mbi ankalipil kivah mpa-mg-emi-l.*
3.S strong bad fight-p-YP-3
'They fought very hard.'

4. Clause

4.1 Structure of the Clause

There are two basic clause types in Nend, the verbal and non-verbal clause. Under section 4.1.1, I discuss the basic order of constituents in the verbal clause. Section 4.1.2 includes a discussion of the non-verbal clause structure.

4.1.1 Verbal Clause Structure

The verbal clause structure in Nend, like that of most Papuan languages, is

P2, P1 S O V, P3. (Dik 1978)

In this formula the P1 position is used for "constituents with topic or focus function" (example (241)). The P2 and P3 positions are used for left and right dislocation respectively. The P2 position is usually reserved for constituents functioning as theme. Fillers of this position are set off from the main clause by rising intonation and often by repetition of the pronoun or demonstrative (examples (242) and (243)). Primarily, the fillers of the P3 position serve to further modify or expand upon the predication. This position is set off from the main clause by the dropping intonation and pause associated with the end of an utterance (examples (243), (244), and (245)). The P3 positions can be filled by anything from a single argument up to a series of clauses.

- 241) *Yan ay-v uyi-nd-uy-i.*
1s.OBJ tree-S stab-TP-stab-3
'A tree (root) stuck me.'

- 242) *Mij ohila han, han mbikil mbi=ɲkwi kenimb*
 true big MD MD 3s.POS EXO=down FD.ALL

hila=ɲkw=o-m-a-l.
 carry=down=go-NDEF-HP-3

'The good large fish, those she carried down to her (area) down below there.'

- 243) *Mamili-v, mbi nimpal ɲa-ɲ ɲkaŋ-i, injambili-ɲ.*
 husband-S 3.S bracelet get-RED sit-3 outside-LI
 'The husband, he sat making a bracelet, that is, outside.'

- 244) *Mbi ɲkwilamigg handih ɲgw=ev=o-m-a-l, oli=ɲkil-e.*
 3.S ɲkwilamigg MD.SET go.in=across=go-NDEF-HP-3 hit=split-SS
 'It went down inside (the place called) Nkwilamigg there, having made an impression.'

The following example illustrates that the filler of the P3 position is not limited to a single element.

- 245) *Mac ya imbil eɲgwa-mgi-m-a-l, ndin-h, akwi mban.*
 finish talk good give-p-NDEF-HP-3 3s.OBJ-FOC snake ND
 'Then they gave good talk, that is, to him, the snake.'

Like most Papuan languages, Nend is a verbal language. Most clauses are composed simply of a verb or verb phrase with no arguments whatsoever. It is not uncommon to have multiple clause sentences with no overtly stated arguments.

There is no strict order of nuclear and peripheral arguments in a clause, although there is an order that is generally followed. This order is given below. The peripheral arguments are in parentheses.

SUBJECT (ACC) (REC) (BEN) PATIENT (LOC) (INS) PREDICATE

Of the two kinds of arguments, peripheral and nuclear, the former are the most flexible in their ordering. The locative, instrument, and beneficiary can all occur on either side of the patient and can switch positions with each other. The accompaniment and beneficiary arguments tend to be more fixed in their ordering.

The above is not to say that all of the above arguments are likely, or even possible in a clause. There are pragmatic constraints on packing a clause with arguments. Approximately forty pages of double spaced unglossed text yielded only a handful of clauses with three arguments and none with four. Where more than three arguments are necessary, some are either shifted to the P3 position, or the utterance is expressed by more than one clause. Following are a number of examples that illustrate the basic clause structure in Nend.

- 246) *Ahambil-a, say anci-kila-v ilikɲsa-ndiv mbanimb nda=hili-mgi-j.*
 friend-VOC youth women-p-S greens.type-BEN ND.ALL walk=carry-p-3
 'Friend, young people and women usually walk here for greens.'

- 247) *Apa hamb kwa olam inca-ŋ-on aŋkwa-l.*
 bird MD.S call(noun) house inside-LI-INT call.out-3
 'The bird cried out inside the house.'
- 248) *Nan-ndiv ilinj uc-e oman=enta=s-e eŋgwa-ŋ.*
 2s.OBJ-BEN spear sharpen-SS arm=design=do-SS give-1s.IMP
 'I must sharpen and prepare a spear for you and give it (to you).'
- 249) *Mbi oŋki mbikil mban aŋkwiŋ endua=zi=ŋg-e ŋkafi-m-a-l.*
 3.S kundu 3s.POS ND sap.dots open-DS=descend-SS sit-NDEF-HP-3
 'He took the sap dots off of his kundu and sat down.'
- 250) *Mbi mila han iliv esa-ŋ mamt=oli-l.*
 3.S pig MD bow part-LI dead=hit-3
 'He killed the pig with part of a bow.'
- 251) *Am yan-ndiv mbanan ŋkila=ŋi-mb.*
 2.S 1s.OBJ-BEN ND.SP wait=stay-2s.IMP
 'You wait for me here.'
- 252) *Satade haŋ Aiome-nd Nolibu-nd opaj oli-mgi-l.*
 Saturday MD.LI Aiome-O Nolibu-O ball hit-p-3
 'On Saturday the men from Aiome and Nolibu played ball.'

4.1.2 Non-verbal Clause

Because Nend lacks a copular verb, the descriptive and equative clauses are composed merely of a subject followed by a complement. The subject slot can be filled by a demonstrative or by a noun phrase. The complement may either be a noun phrase or an adjective phrase. In the former, the clause usually functions equatively, while in the latter it usually functions descriptively.

Within clauses functioning equatively, there is some syntactic variation. Pronouns and proper names functioning as the subject of an equative clause may be marked with the focus suffix or they may be left unmarked (patient). Nouns and demonstratives are always marked as patients. Equative clauses are negated by adding the negative word *mah* to the noun or adjective phrase serving as complement.

- 253) *Joe-h aniq ziq enta-nd.*
 Joe-FOC banana leaf design-O
 'Joe is a teacher.'
- 254) *Wilam han aniq ziq enta-nd.*
 man MD banana leaf design-O
 'The man is a teacher.'
- 255) *Yan say m-ah.*
 1s.OBJ youth NDEF-EX
 'I am not a kid.'

Clauses performing a descriptive function are syntactically similar to the equative clauses. The subject of the descriptive clause is marked as a patient. The complement is either an adjective phrase, a noun phrase, or a possessive pronoun.

- 256) *Yambi=kwil han imbil m-ah.*
 water=? MD good NDEF-EX
 'The flood was very high (not good).'
- 257) *Ap=olami-nd ken ihind.*
 bird=house-O FD 1s.POS
 'That house bird (chicken) is mine.'
- 258) *Mila mbanan ilivi-nd m-ah.*
 pig ND.SP bow-O NDEF-EX
 'This pig is not from a bow. (i.e. was not killed by a bow)'

4.2 Classes of Predicates

Reesink (1987) states that Dik's classification of predicates according to the features of "control" and "dynamic" does not allow for optimal generalizations of syntactic rules in Usan. He modifies Dik's system by adding the feature of [Goal] (which I will call Patient) and by using basically semantic criteria to classify predicates. He proposes an eleven category classification system for Usan verbs. Much of Reesink's system can be applied to Nend. After some modifications, I am postulating a nine category system of classifying Nend verbs.

The differences between the Usan system and the one I am proposing for Nend are as follows. Nend does not have a separate class of psychological state verbs. I do not include non-verbal clauses under the state predications as Reesink does. Instead, I prefer to treat the non-verbal clauses completely separately from the verbal predications. While Nend does have verbs that are roughly the same as Usan's position-taking verbs, they are not completely the same. Thus the position category has been redefined to fit Nend. Although I have retained a separate category of speech verbs I am still not completely convinced that it does indeed comprise a separate class.

4.2.1 Action Verbs [+Control +Dynamic +Patient]

This category can be further sub-divided according to whether the action is a physical action or not. Physical action verbs and non-physical action verbs can be further classified by the nuclear and satellite arguments that can occur with the verbs.

Physical action verbs (i.e., *oli* 'hit', *anjwa* 'build', and *hilibi* 'cook') can occur with locative, instrument and benefactive arguments in the clause. Other verbs of this class are more limited. Some, like *olambi* 'carry on the shoulder', do not occur with an instrument for semantic reasons. The following examples manifest physical action verbs.

- 259) *Nan ay=pa mbananj oli-ndala-liq.*
 2s.OBJ tree=spine ND.SP.LI hit-FUT-1p
 'We will hit you with this stick.'

- 260) *Say hamb kizal empa=sami-ŋ eka-mg-i.*
 youth MD.S grass road=place-LI slice-p-3
 'The young people cut the grass in the road.'

Non-physical action predicates such as *ntici* 'covet' and *elokali* 'forbid' do not occur with the instrument or locative. Many are able to occur with the beneficiary.

- 261) *Nzi mila yupil han ihind nol-ndiv ntic-ic nd-in.*
 1s.S pig skin MD 1s.POS son-BEN covet-RED walk-1s
 'I am coveting those shoes for my son.'

4.2.2 Motion Verbs [+Control +Dynamic]

Motion verbs, with the exception of the basic verbs *o* 'go' and *ay* 'come,' are marked for spatial orientation. This marking is by bound spatial affixes on the basic motion verbs.

| Unmarked | Upstream <i>el</i> | Downstream <i>avih</i> |
|----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>o</i> go | <i>el=o</i> go upstream | <i>avih=o</i> go downstream |
| <i>ay</i> come | <i>el=ay</i> come upstream | <i>avih=ay</i> come downstream |

The motion verbs can have the beneficiary and locative as well as the instrument as arguments of the clause. The latter is limited to road, or some form of conveyance.

- 262) *Mac yamb ampa-ŋ avih=oh-em-oliŋ.*
 finish water side-LI downstream=go-YP-1p
 'Then we went upstream along the side of the stream.'

- 263) *Mbi apa-ŋ o-ndala-mg-i.*
 3.S bird-LI go-FUT-p-3
 'They will go by plane.'

The verb *hila* 'hold' can be affixed to any of the motion verbs. This changes the motion verb to a physical action [+Patient] verb. *Hila* does not occur independently of the motion verbs or the stative verb. Further discussion of compound verbs involving the motion verbs is in section 1.2.2.4.

4.2.3 Action Verbs [+Control +Dynamic -Patient]

This category includes such verbs as *amay* 'hide oneself,' *i* 'bathe' and *wali* 'yell'. This category of verbs quite readily takes locative arguments. Beneficiary and instrument arguments are possible with only a few of these verbs.

- 264) *Wilam mbanamb oqkimpikim mban itip=oh-eaŋkwa=ŋ-e* *haŋ*
 man ND.SP.S basket ND slide=go-SS step.on=stay-SS MD.LI

amay-m-a-l.
 hide-NDEF-HP-3

'The man moved the basket away and stood up and hid there.'

- 265) *Al Ompand-men yamb=i-e ay-liŋ.*
 1p.S Ompand-ACC water=bathe-SS come-1p
 'We bathed with Ompand and then we came.'

4.2.4 Position Verbs [\pm Control \pm Dynamic]

Reesink calls this class in Usan position-taking verbs. I am labeling the class slightly differently to reflect the dual nature of this verb class in Nend. Verbs such as *aŋkwa=ŋi* 'step.on=stay (stand)' and *ŋga=ŋi* 'descend=stay (lay down)' can all be [\pm control] and [\pm dynamic]. That is, they can refer either to a state or an action. This possibility of negative control and dynamic makes me want to consider this a separate category from the action verbs discussed in 4.2.3. Inanimate subjects are possible with this class of verbs, hence the [-control]. This class of verbs take the locative but not instrument arguments. Accompaniment arguments are also possible but beneficiary, although possible, seems forced. Most of the verbs of this class are compound verbs consisting of a verb with a directional semantic component and the verb *ŋi* 'stay'.

- 266) *Akalitu yamb ampa waŋin hamb aŋkwa=ŋ-i handih*
 Akalitu water side tree.type MD.S step.on=stay-3 MD.SET

hili-zi=ŋga-liŋ.
 carry-D \bar{S} =descend-1p

'On the bank of Akalitu stream where the *waŋin* tree stands [-C -D], we threw them down.'

- 267) *Yamiŋil-men lanil-men aŋkwa=ŋ-e weli-mgi-z ...*
 older.sister-ACC younger.sibling-ACC step.on=stay-SS watch-p-3.DS
 'The older sister together with the younger brother stood [+C -D] and watched ...'

4.2.5 Speech Verbs [+Control]

The parameter of dynamism does not apply completely to the small class of speech verbs. These verbs include *ka* 'talk' with its several compounds, *amali* 'ask', and others.

The speech verb 'talk' often has an object *ya* 'talk, story' (noun). This is the only object possible with the speech verbs, although modifiers on *ya* make for endless variety. Location, instrument, beneficiary, and accompaniment are all possible arguments in the clause.

- 268) *Wilam mbanamb ya mban ka-m-a-l.*
 man ND.SP.S talk ND talk-NDEF-HP-3
 'This man told this story.'
- 269) *Mbi ya ndin-men ka-mg-cmi-l.*
 3.S talk 3s.OBJ-ACC talk-p-YP-3
 'They talked with him.'

4.2.6 Perception Verbs [\pm Control -Dynamic]

There are two perception verbs in Nend, *wa* 'see, know' and *njihami* 'hear, think.' These verbs can refer to both controlled and uncontrolled perception. Both of these verbs can take Patient arguments although in the case of 'hear' the arguments must be some kind of sound. The beneficiary is used to mark what the subject is thinking about. These verbs do not occur with the locative. Instruments are possible but limited to the appropriate body parts.

- 270) *Miŋangili-li-v njiham-e ka-m-a-l.*
 uncle-3-S hear-SS talk-NDEF-HP-3
 'His uncle heard (that) and talked.'
- 271) *Ay=ampila al wa m-ah kchan o-mi-liŋ.*
 tree=place 1p.S see NDEF-EX FD.SP go-NDEF-1p
 'We could go to a village that we do not know.'

4.2.7 Process-Action Verbs [-Control +Dynamic]

Reesink defines a category of verbs in Usan that he calls process verbs. I am expanding the definition of his category to include verbs that are not process verbs but yet have the same features of [-control] and [+dynamic].

This category includes verbs such as *toli* 'become full', *nta* 'be startled' *ŋkilama* 'fall down' *piloli* 'explode' and *wal=aha* 'break=happen (become broken)'. These verbs do not occur with a goal or instrument argument. Location is possible, as is beneficiary, on some of the verbs of this class.

- 272) *Kwumuŋ mbikil hamb pilol-e andihol ŋayaha-m-a-l.*
 maggot 3s.POS MD.S explode-SS fish get.up-NDEF-HP-3
 'His maggots burst out and turned into fish.'
- 273) *Empa=sam wiloli-z-and o-m.*
 road=place dry-3.DS-SIM go-1p.IMP
 'When the road has dried let's go.'

Included in this class is the small category of verbs indicating times of day. Three verbs are in this group: *ol=aka* 'hit=cut (dawn)', *ŋ=aka* 'get=cut (dawn)', and *navi* 'this time of day.' The only argument possible with these verbs is *uyi* 'place' functioning as subject.

- 274) *Uyi-v ol=aka-z mac awal=o-m-a-l.*
 place-S hit=cut-3.DS finish up=go-NDEF-HP-3
 'It was dawn and then he went up.'

4.2.8 Experiential Verbs [-Control]

This class includes such verbs as *aha* 'happen' *ɲkwasi* 'be tired' and *wil=akal=ama* 'breath=block=put (be out of breath)'. Typically these verbs do not have an overt subject. The experiencer is coded as patient. The force that impinges on the experiencer is either unmarked (patient) or in the oblique case.

- 275) *Yan unsa-nd ah-i.*
 1s.OBJ yam-O happen-3
 'I am hungry.'
- 276) *Yan oman andam ɲkwasi-i.*
 1s.OBJ arm leg tired-3
 'I am tired.'
- 277) *Yan wil=akal=am-i.*
 1s.OBJ breath=block=put-3
 'I am out of breath.'

4.2.9 Existential Verb *ɲi* 'stay, be'

While the existential verb has certain characteristics in common with the stative verbs, there are differences that cause this verb to be put in a separate class. The existential verb can be [+control]. It can also take the beneficiary and accompaniment arguments. These attributes are not shared by the stative verbs.

- 278) *Kindau-men eɲk=ev onca-ɲ ɲi-liɲ-and ...*
 Kindau-ACC sago=across inside-LI stay-1p.DS-SIM
 'While I stayed with Kindau in the sago area (sago=across) ...'
- 279) *Tihil hamb clipil emamp ɲi-m-a-l.*
 moon MD.S torch like stay-NDEF-HP-3
 'The moon was like a torch.'

4.3 Relative Clause

Relative clauses are commonly used in Nend. Semantically they are of two basic types, restrictive and non-restrictive. Syntactically they are all roughly the same.

4.3.1 Relative Clause Construction

The relative clause is constructed of one or more clauses ending in a final, fully inflected verb, followed by a demonstrative. The role of the clause in the main sentence determines the form of the demonstrative. Theoretically there does not seem to be any limit to the

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number of clauses that can be included in a relative clause construction. In practice, though, more than one is relatively rare.

- 280) *Olimanz ñag ñi-m-a-l mbanamb pilawil pil ñil ña-zi=wal-e ...*
tree.type high stay-NDEF-HP-3 ND.SP.S tree.type dry weak get-DS=break-SS
'The one who had been high in the *olimanz* tree broke a dry weak *pilawil* tree ...'
- 281) *Awaz ñg=ami-nd-am-in han kil-in.*
betelnut descend=put-TP-put-1s MD look.for-1s
'I am looking for the betelnut I put (here).'

4.3.2 Non-restrictive and Restrictive Relative Clauses

Syntactically there is no difference between the restrictive and non-restrictive clauses. The only difference is in the semantics. Examples of both are given below.

- 282) *Oma-v aca ka-m-a-l han ka-ndal-in.*
fish-S legend talk-NDEF-HP-3 MD talk-FUT-1s
'I will tell the legend that the fish told.' (restrictive)
- 283) *Wa-z pa-nd pa-nd eka-nd-ek-i han mb-ah.*
see-3.DS spine-O spine-O slice-TP-slice-3 MD EXO-EX
'He looked and there was what he had cut with the spines.' (non-restrictive because there were no others present)

5. Sentence

5.1 Clause Chaining and Switch Reference

The most prominent feature of Nend sentence structure is the system of clause chaining. In this system two or more clauses are linked together by means of affixes that track the grammatical subject of the clauses. These affixes indicate whether the subject of the following clause will be the same as or different from the current grammatical subject. In a clause chain all verbs up to the final verb are marked to indicate switch reference. Only the final verb in the chain is fully inflected. The tense, aspect, and mode indicated on the final verb typically extend through to the entire sentence.

Clause chaining is the norm in Nend. A sentence containing a single predication is fairly rare. Occasionally sentences containing a dozen or more clauses are heard. The following example contains sixteen clauses and the full range of medial verb affixation.

- 284) *Avi-z-and o-e uyi hamb mac l-e andal hamb osapil*
do.thus-3.DS-SIM go-SS place MD.S finish do-SS shadow MD.S long
ñi-z-and egka ay-e ozi-v-e mac l-e ay-ñi-n
stay-3.DS-SIM sago come-SS pulverize-TR-SS finish do-SS come-PRB-1s
al-e, olami-ñ, ongilangen ñ-e akñi-z-and anci-li-v
say-SS house-LI sago.beater get-SS carry.on.shoulder-3.DS-SIM woman-3-S

ŋka oman=enta ol-e ñ-e mac l-e ŋ-e hahi-ŋi-n
 sago arm=design hit-SS stay-SS finish do-SS get-SS carry.on.head-PRB-1s

al-al la-m-a-l.
 say-RED do-NDEF-HP-3

'While he did that, he (another) went, and the time was finished, and when the shadows were long, he came and pounded all of the sago and finished and wanting to come to the house he got the sago pounder and while he carried it on his shoulder his wife hit the sago and stayed and finished and got it and wanting to carry it on her head, she did it.'

In the above example the switch reference system does not track perfectly the grammatical subject. Similar examples in other languages have caused some to speculate that the switch reference is tracking something besides subject, such as topic, for instance. In examining switch reference in Nend, however, we see that in the vast majority of cases the system does indeed track grammatical subject, even in cases where the subject and topic diverge.

285) *Nda-ŋ nda-ŋ yan ahay esa-v andam=esa mban akok-emi-l.*
 walk-1s.DS walk-1s.DS 1s.OBJ bamboo part-S leg=half ND cut-YP-3
 'I walked and walked and, a piece of bamboo cut me on this knee. (I walked and walked and, as for me, a piece of bamboo cut me on this knee.'

In example (285), the topic does not change even though the subject does. After the change of subject, the topic is maintained by shifting the object *yan* to the P1 position. If the switch reference system were tracking topic we would expect that the first verbs in the sentence would be marked as same subject. That this is not the case shows that the switch reference system basically tracks the grammatical subject, not the topic. This is true in about three quarters of the cases where there is a divergence of subject and topic. The remaining 25% of the occurrences, in which the SR system does not track the subject, are explained in terms of backgrounding. By effectively "skipping over" a clause with the switch reference system, the clause is removed from the story line and put into the category of background or collateral information.

286) *Mac han el-el-e o-e, mila kwaz ihind mban Dom-v iikŋ-e*
 finish MD leave-SS go-SS pig wounded 1s.POS ND Dom-S 1shoot-SS
et=ay-l ...
 depart=come-3

'Then we left it and went, now about my wounded pig, Dom shot it and left it ...'

In the above example, there is a marked topic shift, as well as a change in subject, after the verb 'go'. Thus we would expect to see a different subject ending on 'go'. By failing to follow either the new topic or the new subject the speaker is marking the new information as background. He is explaining to the audience about the pig they are looking for.

In the vast majority of cases the SR system in Nend tracks grammatical subject. Where the switch referencing does not follow the grammatical subject, it is because the following information is background or collateral.

5.2 Sentences Expressing Logical Relations

5.2.1 Reason-result Sentences

There are two ways of expressing reason-result in Nend. The unmarked form is constructed simply by joining two clauses with the first having the appropriate medial affixation on the verb. Here the reason-result relationship is discerned from the context. It is often difficult for an outsider to discern the nature of the logical relationship in these cases of simple juxtaposition. The following examples, however, illustrate what are apparently sentences indicating reason-result.

- 287) *Yan ankwi-v aha-z mac ct=ay-em-en.*
 1s.OBJ anger-S happen-3.DS finish depart=come-YP-1s
 'It made me angry so I left and came. (As for me, it made me angry so then I left and came.)'

Mac as used in the above example is a chunking device used to separate two clauses, sentences, etc. It has the meaning 'then' in these contexts. It does not contribute to the reason-result force of the sentence.

- 288) *Wilam-mb aliq ct=apizi-mgi-z al undima=pam al-on-am*
 man-S 1p.OBJ depart=abandon-p-3.DS 1p.S two=one 1p.S-INT-only
o-em-oliq.
 go-YP-1p

'The men left us behind so just we three alone went.'

The above examples illustrate the most common means of marking reason-result in Nend. The marked construction involves embedding a final clause in the P1 position of the clause. The embedded clause is terminated by the beneficiary demonstrative *handiv*. In this usage the demonstrative functions to mark the first clause as topic about which the second clause comments.

- 289) *Wilam mbanamb nol ol-i handiv ggwañ=ek-i.*
 man ND.SP.S son hit-3 MD.BEN cry=slice-3
 'Because this man hit his son he (the son) is crying.'

5.2.2 If-then Sentences

Like reason-result, if-then relationships are expressed in two ways. The unmarked form involves simple clause chaining. This is the most common way to express if-then relationships. The relationship is implicit in the context (examples (290) and (291)). If the speaker wants to make the logical relationship explicit he can resort to the topic-comment construction discussed above, using the demonstrative to make the initial clause embedded

in the P1 position. In this case though, the patient form of the demonstrative is used and the verbs are in the future tense (examples (292) and (293)).

290) *Nj̄iha-mgi-n imbil n̄i-z imbil al-al ka-ndala-mgi-n.*
 hear-p-2.DS good stay-3.DS good say-RED talk-FUT-p-2
 'You will hear, and if it is good, you will say that it is good.'

291) *Yan amal=okal-e n̄-e ŋa-ndala-n, ntij han.*
 1s.OBJ ask=flee-SS stay-SS get-FUT-2 work MD
 'If you ask me and stay you will work.'

292) *Enka mb-ah oz-oz n̄i-ndal-i han ozi-v-e*
 sago EXO-EX pulverize-RED stay-FUT-3 MD pulverize-TR-SS

ŋg=am-e el=o-ndal-in.
 descend=put-SS upstream=go-FUT-1s.

'If he is still there pulverizing sago, I will pulverize all of it and put it and go upstream.'

293) *Hil=o-n wel aŋkwiv hamb uyi-ndal-i han nan o-e*
 carry=go-2.DS ? hawk MD.S stab-FUT-3 MD 2s.OBJ go-SS

mamt=oli-ndal-in.
 dcad=hit-FUT-1s

'If you take (him) and the hawk shoots (him) I will go and kill you.'

5.2.3 Purpose Sentences

Purpose is expressed by a quote construction. The purpose is stated in the future, usually the probable future mode but sometimes in the future tense. The person is always first person. Following this is the verb *al* 'say' in some medial form. The absence of the pre-quote verb *ka* 'talk' helps to differentiate this construction from a real quote. Besides purpose, this construction also encodes desire. Following are examples of this construction.

294) *Miŋili-v iliv esa-ŋ mamt=oli-ndal-in a-z ka-m-a-l, Awa*
 mother-S bow part-LI dcad=hit-FUT-1s say-3.DS talk-NDEF-HP-3 wait

a-m-a-l.
 say-NDEF-HP-3

'His mother wanted to kill him with a piece of a bow, and he said, "Wait!"'

295) *Ndin ka-ŋi-n a-z et=ay-l.*
 3s.OBJ bite-PRB-1s say-3.DS depart=come-3

'It wanted to/trying to bite him so he left.'

- 296) *Il ntij ga-ti-n al-e o-nd-o-liŋ.*
 today work get-PRB-1s say-SS go-TP-go-1p
 'Today we went in order to work.'

Negative purpose is expressed by essentially the same construction but with the verb in the prohibitive mode instead of the definite future mode. Another difference is that in the negative purpose construction the person suffix on the verb in the purpose construction depends on the actual subject of that verb, rather than just being in the first person.

- 297) *Av-e eza-nd=ikŋ-e okali-mi-nj al-e, handiv engwa-mgi-j.*
 do.thus-SS fear-O=shoot-SS flee-NDEF-3 say-SS MD.BEN give-p-3
 'So that she does not get afraid and run away, that is why they give it.'

5.3 Contra-Expectation Sentence

Sentences expressing contra-expectation are constructed by conjoining two clauses with the conjunctive particle *agg* 'also, but'.

- 298) *Ka-ŋ-and-agg wilam elahel mbanamb ŋ-e hil=o-nd-i.*
 talk-1s.DS-SIM-also man crazy ND.SP.S get-SS carry=go-TP-go.3s
 'I was talking (to him) but the crazy man got it and took it.'

5.4 Contrafactual Sentence

Contrafactuality is also usually expressed in a topic-comment construction. Like the if-then sentences the contrafactual uses the mid-demonstrative *han* to mark the first clause as topic. Both protasis and apodosis constructions are typically in the contrafactual mode.

- 299) *Yamb aŋkwa m-ah la-mi-l han wal hilizi-mi-liŋ.*
 water step.on NDEF-EX do-NDEF-3 MD garden burn-NDEF-1p
 'If it had not rained, we would have burned the garden.'

- 300) *Am yan ka-mi-n han m-o-mi-ŋ.*
 2.S 1s.OBJ talk-NDEF-2 MD NDEF-go-NDEF-1s
 'If you had told me, I would not have gone.'

5.5 Quotation Sentences

The basic quotation sentence is composed of the word *ka* 'talk' in a fully inflected form, followed by the quote itself and the word *al* 'say' in a fully inflected form. It is common for the quoted discourse, if it is lengthy, to be broken into a number of parts, each of which is closed by the word 'say'. The initial verb 'talk', however, only occurs once at the beginning of the quote.

- 301) *Miŋagili-li-v njiham-e ka-m-a-l, O ihind yapaj mac, ndih*
 uncle-3-S hear-SS talk-NDEF-HP-3 oh 1s.POS nephew finish COMP
uyi-nd-uy-i a-m-a-l; miŋili-v ŋ-e ŋa-ti-mbil-i
 stab-TP-stab-3 say-NDEF-HP-3 mother-S stay-SS get-RED-PR-3

a-m-a-l.
say-NDEF-HP-3.

The uncle heard and said, "Oh! That's it for my nephew; (the hawk) shot him," he said. "His mother is there hitting (getting) (the drum)," he said.'

It is not uncommon to have extensive quotes comprising lengthy monologues in this type of construction, with each sentence followed by 'say'.

Another quote formula uses the verb *al* 'say' without the verb *ka* 'talk' preceding it. I am unsure of the difference in meaning or force between the full quote formula explained above and the one illustrated below in example (302). This is a subject for further study.

302) *Njiham-mgi-n imbil ñi-z imbil al-al ka-ndala-mgi-n.*
hear-p-2.DS good stay-3.DS good say-RED talk-FUT-p-2
'Listen and if it is good, saying "good" you will talk (you will say that it is good).'

In head-tail linkage, the demonstrative *hanih* is often substituted for the content of the discourse (example (303)).

303) *Ka-m-a-l, nzi eŋka-ndiv o-mbil-in a-m-a-l. Hanih al-e*
Talk-NDEF-HP-3 1s.S sago-BEN go-PR-1s say-NDEF-HP-3 MD.FOC say-SS
eŋka-ndiv ŋkw=o-m-a-l.
sago-BEN down=go-NDEF-HP-3

'He said, "I am going for sago," he said. Having said that he went down for sago.'

Another use of the verb *al* 'say' without the preceding verb 'talk' is to indicate what a person is thinking about.

304) *Unsa mb-ah al-e k-in.*
yam EXO-EX say-SS talk-1s
'I thought there was some food so I spoke.'

5.6 Questions

There are at least two types of questions indicated in Nend: the simple question and the polar question. These types do not include the questions involving the interrogative words discussed in section 2.6.

5.6.1 Simple Question

The simple question is marked by the particle *oh* 'QU' after the predication. This question is neutral; not expecting a particular answer. The intonation on this kind of question is steady, neither rising nor dropping at the end of the clause. It is possible that these are examples of ellipsis in which the second half of the polar question discussed below is simply left off.

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- 305) *Waia han ka-l imbil-oh? a-l.*
wire MD talk-3 good-QU say-3
'He said about the wire, "Is it good (enough)?", he said.'
- 306) *Am ndih akay-n-oh?*
2.S COMP come.up-2-QU
'Have you come up?' (A typical Nend greeting.)

5.6.2 Polar Question

The polar question presents two alternatives. These may be between two predications or between yes and no. Each clause or each of the alternatives in the polar question are marked by the interrogative particle *-oh*. The intonation at the end of each clause drops slightly.

- 307) *Aiome epali-mgi-l-oh Nolibu epali-mgi-l-oh?*
Aiome win-p-3-QU Nolibu win-p-3-QU
'Did Aiome win or did Nolibu win?'

Another way of expressing the above question would be to state the question using an interrogative word and then state the choices with the question particle on each.

- 308) *Uñi-mb epali-mgi-l: Aiome-oh Nolibu-oh.*
who-S win-p-3 Aiome-QU Nolibu-QU
'Who won: Aiome or Nolibu?'

A polar yes-no question is constructed by placing the interrogative particle at the end of the predication, followed by *nend* and the interrogative particle again.

- 309) *Mili-ŋ-am pater-v ay-ndal-i-oh nend-oh.*
one.day.from.today-LI-only priest-S come-FUT-3-QU no-QU
'Will the priest come tomorrow or not?'

Appendix: Verb Paradigms

Following is a paradigm of the Nend verb. Two verbs are illustrated, na 'eat' and a compound verb nga=ñi 'put=stay (lay down)'.

Historic Past

| | | |
|----|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1s | na-m-an-jin | ngañi-m-an-jin |
| 2s | na-m-andi-n | ngañi-m-andi-n |
| 3s | na-m-a-l | ngañi-m-a-l |
| 1p | na-m-andi-liq | ngañi-m-andi-liq |
| 2p | na-mgi-m-andi-n | ngañi-mgi-m-andi-n |
| 3p | na-mgi-m-a-l | ngañi-mgi-m-a-l |

Historic Past Habitual

| | | |
|----|--------------|-----------------|
| 1s | n-an-jin | ngañ-an-jin |
| 2s | n-andi-n | ngañ-andi-n |
| 3s | n-an-j | ngañ-an-j |
| 1p | n-andi-liq | ngañ-andi-liq |
| 2p | na-mg-andi-n | ngañi-mg-andi-n |
| 3p | na-mg-an-j | ngañi-mg-an-j |

Far Past

| | | |
|----|----------|-------------|
| 1s | n-en | ngañ-en |
| 2s | n-an | ngañ-an |
| 3s | na-l | ngañi-l |
| 1p | n-oliq | ngañ-oliq |
| 2p | na-mg-an | ngañi-mg-an |
| 3p | na-mgi-l | ngañi-mgi-l |

Yesterday's Past

| | | |
|----|-------------|----------------|
| 1s | n-em-en | ngañ-em-en |
| 2s | n-em-an | ngañ-em-an |
| 3s | n-emi-l | ngañ-emi-l |
| 1p | n-em-oliq | ngañ-em-oliq |
| 2p | na-mg-em-an | ngañi-mg-em-an |
| 3p | na-mg-emi-l | ngañi-mg-emi-l |

Today's Past

| | | |
|----|----------------|-------------------|
| 1s | na-ndi-n-in | ngañi-ndi-ñ-in |
| 2s | na-ndi-na-n | ngañi-ndi-ñi-n |
| 3s | na-ndi-n-i | ngañi-ndi-ñ-i |
| 1p | na-ndi-na-liq | ngañi-ndi-ñi-liq |
| 2p | na-mgi-ningi-n | ngañi-mgi-ningi-n |
| 3p | na-mgi-ning-i | ngañi-mgi-ning-i |

Immediate Past

| | | |
|----|----------|-------------|
| 1s | n-in | ngañ-in |
| 2s | na-n | ngañi-n |
| 3s | n-i | ngañ-i |
| 1p | na-liq | ngañi-liq |
| 2p | na-mgi-n | ngañi-mgi-n |
| 3p | na-mg-i | ngañi-mg-i |

Present

| | | |
|----|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1s | na-ni-mbil-in | ngañi-ñi-mbil-in |
| 2s | na-ni-mbila-n | ngañi-ñi-mbila-n |
| 3s | na-ni-mbil-i | ngañi-ñi-mbil-i |
| 1p | na-ni-mbila-liq | ngañi-ñi-mbila-liq |
| 2p | na-mgi-mbila-n | ngañi-mgi-mbila-n |
| 3p | na-mgi-mbil-i | ngañi-mgi-mbil-i |

Future

| | | |
|----|----------------|-------------------|
| 1s | na-ndal-in | ngañi-ndal-in |
| 2s | na-ndala-n | ngañi-ndala-n |
| 3s | na-ndal-i | ngañi-ndal-i |
| 1p | na-ndala-liq | ngañi-ndala-liq |
| 2p | na-ndala-mgi-n | ngañi-ndala-mgi-n |
| 3p | na-ndala-mg-i | ngañi-ndala-mg-i |

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Habitual

| | | |
|----|-------------|----------------|
| 1s | na-jin | ḡgañi-jin |
| 2s | na-li-n | ḡgañi-li-n |
| 3s | na-j | ḡgañi-j |
| 1p | na-li-liḡ | ḡgañi-li-liḡ |
| 2p | na-mgi-li-n | ḡgañi-mgi-li-n |
| 3p | na-mgi-j | ḡgañi-mgi-j |

Probable Future

| | | |
|----|--------------|-----------------|
| 1s | na-ḡi-n | ḡgañi-ḡi-n |
| 2s | na-ḡ-an | ḡgañi-ḡ-an |
| 3s | na-ḡi-nj | ḡgañi-ḡi-nj |
| 1p | na-ḡ-alḡ | ḡgañi-ḡ-alḡ |
| 2p | na-mgi-ḡ-an | ḡgañi-mgi-ḡ-an |
| 3p | na-mgi-ḡi-nj | ḡgañi-mgi-ḡi-nj |

Prohibition

| | | |
|----|--------------|-----------------|
| 1s | na-mi-ñ | ḡgañi-mi-ñ |
| 2s | na-mi-n | ḡgañi-mi-n |
| 3s | na-mi-nj | ḡgañi-mi-nj |
| 1p | na-mi-liḡ | ḡgañi-mi-liḡ |
| 2p | na-mgi-mi-n | ḡgañi-mgi-mi-n |
| 3p | na-mgi-mi-nj | ḡgañi-mgi-mi-nj |

Contrafactual

| | | |
|----|-------------|----------------|
| 1s | na-mi-ñ | ḡgañi-mi-ñ |
| 2s | na-mi-n | ḡgañi-mi-n |
| 3s | na-mi-l | ḡgañi-mi-l |
| 1p | na-mi-liḡ | ḡgañi-mi-liḡ |
| 2p | na-mgi-mi-n | ḡgañi-mgi-mi-n |
| 3p | na-mgi-mi-l | ḡgañi-mgi-mi-l |

Imperative

| | | |
|----|---------------|------------------|
| 1s | na-ḡ | ḡgañi-ḡ |
| 2s | na-mb (v) | ḡgañi-mb (v) |
| 3s | na-z | ḡgañi-z |
| 1p | na-m | ḡgañi-m |
| 2p | na-mbal (val) | ḡgañi-mbal (val) |
| 3p | na-mgi-z | ḡgañi-mgi-z |

Different Subject

| | | |
|----|----------|-------------|
| 1s | na-ḡ | ḡgañi-ḡ |
| 2s | na-n | ḡgañi-n |
| 3s | na-z | ḡgañi-z |
| 1p | na-liḡ | ḡgañi-liḡ |
| 2p | na-mgi-n | ḡgañi-mgi-n |
| 3p | na-mgi-z | ḡgañi-mgi-z |

Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages
Volume 37

Two Grammatical Studies

Edited by John R. Roberts

Summer Institute of Linguistics
Ukarumpa via Lae
Papua New Guinea