

13 Valency changing processes

As with many, but by no means all, languages, there are a variety of morphosyntactic means of indicating that a verb is being used with more, or less, than the number of arguments that it subcategorises for in its lexical entry. There are no morphological devices for lowering the number of core arguments of a verb (passives or antipassives, reflexives or reciprocals), as is common in languages of New Guinea, but there are a number of ways of accomplishing these goals with periphrastic constructions or multi-verb predicates. A putative passive uses a complex periphrastic construction with serial verbs; the reflexive construction maximally uses *nòe* ‘body’ as a marker of reflexivity, though the only indication that the valency is other than canonically bivalent is that possessive marking on a subject-possessed body (or body part) may be omitted. The reciprocal construction too appears to be a subset of a normal construction of nominal coordination, but there are some small morphosyntactic possibilities that allow us to think of this as representing a separate morphosyntactic category of its own.

Periphrastic constructions are also used to indicate causation for most verbs, a valency-increasing device, but applicatives have their own dedicated suffix, and so are the only valency-changing process that involves bound morphology. Partly this is definitional: an applicative must involve morphology on the verb, otherwise it is termed a serial verb construction (which is also a possibility that is realised in Skou, and discussed more in 12.4). Nonetheless, the applicative is interesting for genuinely having bound morphological instantiation (reflecting a proto-Skou morpheme **nə*, with approximately the same meaning: applicative/dative), where the other valency changing devices do not.

These different constructions, while structurally quite diverse, are unified in the fact that they act as (clause-level) valency changing devices, and so are all treated together in this chapter.

13.1 Causatives

There are no regular and completely productive morphological causative morphemes in Skou, a pattern that is typical of Papuan languages in general, where typically a range of semantically explicit resultative constructions are employed. The two most productive ways of forming monoclausal causatives are both analytical, using one of the verbs *li* ‘say, ‘do’ and *leng* ‘‘give’’, and having the base predicate appear following the verb, in the position used to encode obliques. Examples of each can be seen in (1) and (2), which show causative forms of base predicates which are monovalent and bivalent, respectively; (1)' and (2)' show the base predicate on which the causatives are built.

- (1) *Pe nì=li pe=ti-ti.*
 3SG.F 1SG=do 3SG.F=3SG.F.go-3SG.F.go
 ‘I sent her.’
 (that is, ‘I made her go.’)
- (1)' *Pe pe=ti.*
 3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.F.go
 ‘She went.’
- (2) *Pe (ya) nì nì=leng pe=p-ang.*
 3SG.F thing 1SG 1SG=give 3SG.F=3SG.F-eat
 ‘I fed her.’
 (that is, ‘I made her eat.’)
- (2)' *Pe ya pe=p-ang.*
 3SG.F thing 3SG.F=3SG.F-eat
 ‘She ate (something).’

We shall examine these two strategies, and other, more lexicalised, methods used to encode causation, in the following sections, starting with the most productive causatives formed with *li* ‘do’, and then looking at other analytical causatives formed with *leng* ‘give’. Following this a short account of some of the lexicalised causative pairings will be discussed.

13.1.1 Bicausal causativisation with *li* ‘do’

In the absence of such a lexically suppletive form that marks the bivalent causation of a monovalent state, causation is most commonly expressed bicausally, with the general verb *li* ‘do’ as the causative verb. Other. The following example shown that the simple stative predicate *fu* ‘be afraid’ can be used either monovalently or bivalently, with the subject of the verb being in both cases the experiencer of the state.

Monovalent predicate, only experiencer S

- (3) *Nì=fu i li.*
 1SG=afraid be do
 ‘I’m afraid.’

Bivalent predicate, experiencer A and effector P:

- (4) *Nì móenðeng nì=fu i li.*
 1SG crocodile 1SG=afraid be do
 ‘I’m afraid of crocodiles.’

An alternative, causative reading, ‘scare’ rather than ‘fear’, in which the experiencer is the sentence’s notional object, and the effector of the fear is the subject, can be expressed with the addition of the causative *li* ‘do’, and a marker of switch reference (see 19.xx). This is shown in (5), with (6) added to show the different domains of agreement. Note that with the feminine noun *móenðeng* ‘crocodile’ as subject the verb must display the feminine form of *li*, *tue*. Clearly the *li* in (4) cannot be agreeing with the crocodile, but can only represent aspectual marking for the predicate *fu* ‘afraid’.

Causative, A added

- (5) *Móendèng* *pe=tue=ko* *nì=fu* *i li.*
 crocodile 3SG.F=3SG.F.do=OBV 1SG=afraid be do
 'The crocodile scared me.'
- (6) *Nì=li=ko* *ku* *ke=fu* *i li.*
 1SG=do=OBV child 3SG.NF=afraid be do
 'I scared the child.'

We can model the different argument patterns seen in the sentences above with the diagram in table xx158. Here a line connecting an argument and a verb indicates that it is that argument which is the morphological subject of that verb.

Table 158. Correlations between monovalent, bivalent, and causative codings with *li* 'do'

Intransitive	(3)'	Experiencer _{SUBJ}		Verb _{fu}
			└──────────────────────────────────┘	
Transitive	(4)'	Experiencer _{SUBJ}	Effector _{OBJ}	Verb _{fu}
			└──────────────────────────────────┘	
Causative	(5)', (6)'	Effector _{SUBJ}	Verb _{li}	Experiencer _{SUBJ} Verb _{fu}
			└──────────┘	└──────────┘

Of these, only (5) and (6) represent instances of causativisation. Here the structure is that shown in (7), not (8).

Causative organisation

- (7) *li* ' SUBJ, PRED SUBJ '
- (8) * *li* ' SUBJ, OBJ PRED SUBJ '

Note that there is no object for the main clause. That is, we cannot talk of *nì* 'me' in (5) being the object of the sentence, despite the English translation. A more grammatical-functions faithful translation might be 'The crocodile arranged matters so that I was afraid.', except that in Skou 'matters' is pleonastic. Evidence that there is no object for *li* comes from attempts to put pronominal objects in the object position in the matrix clause, as in the ungrammatical (8).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|-----------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|
| | SUBJ | OBJ | V | | |
| (9) | * <i>móendèng</i> | <i>nì</i> | <i>pe=tue=ko</i> | <i>nì=fu</i> | <i>i li</i> |
| | crocodile | 1SG | 3SG.F=3SG.F.do=OBV | 1SG=afraid | be do |
| | 'The crocodile scared me.' | | | | |

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It is not true that all instances of verbs or predicates that employ *li* 'do' added are causative verbs. As will be discussed in more detail in chapter 14, there are plenty of nominal + verb predicates using the generic verb *li* 'do' as their inflecting component. While a full discussion of these N+V predicates will be deferred until the next chapter, we can mention the following different uses of *li* 'do' in predication, either as part of a simple predicate, or to add either a P or an A to an otherwise monovalent predicate.

Table 159. Lexical valency increase strategies

		INTR	(+A)	(+P)
<i>re</i>	‘go’	go	do go	
<i>ráue há</i>	‘laugh’	laughter do		laughter hit
<i>fu</i>	‘afraid’	afraid _{ADJ}	do afraid _V	afraid _V

The relevance of these N+V predicates in a discussion of causation is that there is one class of verbs which show an absolute restriction from appearing in a causative construction formed with *li* ‘do’, and are presented in clearly biclausal sentences with switch reference between the cause and the effect, such as the following.

- (10) *Ang ne=ti-ti=ko móe bing.*
 fish.poison 1PL=1PL.do-RED=OBV fish PL.die
 ‘We wring out the fish-poison roots, and the fish die.’

Here the complex predicate *ang li* ‘do fish poison = poison fish’ cannot be causativised with a *li* causative, since this lexical verb is already present in the simple non-causative predicate, and there is a constraint (an operation of the obligatory contour principle, forbidding adjacent like entities) that prevents identical verbs following each other. This means that (11) is ungrammatical.

- (11) **ang ne=ti-ti(=ko) ke=li=ko móe bing*
 fish.poison 1PL=1PL.do-RED=OBV 3SG.NF=do=OBV fish PL.die
 ‘He made us wring out the fish-poison roots to kill the fish.’
 ‘He made us wring out the fish-poison roots killing the fish.’

In order to causativise the clause in (10), we must use a separate clausal construction with a more semantically explicit verb, as in (12). In this sentence the verb *lóeng* ‘say, tell’ is a separate clause that is linked by switch reference morphology to the base predicate.

- (12) *Ne te=r-íng=ko ang ne=ti-ti*
 1PL 3PL=3PL.say.PL=OBV fish.poison 1PL=1PL.do-RED
 (=ko móe bing).
 =OBV fish PL.die
 ‘They told us to wring out the fish-poison roots (to kill the fish).’

Generally the *li* causative strategy cannot be used with lexically bivalent predicates. A construction such as (13) is thus ungrammatical, as mentioned above, and so are (14) and (15). Replacing *te ti ko* with *te ríng ko* (as in (12)) in these examples would make grammatical sentences.

- (13) **ne te=ti=ko ang ne=ti-ti*
 1PL 3PL=3PL.do=OBV fish.poison 1PL=1PL.do-RED
 ‘They told us to wring out the fish-poison roots.’
- (14) **ne te=ti=ko ang ne=yú-yú*
 1PL 3PL=3PL.do=OBV fish.poison 1PL=search.for-RED
 ‘They told us to look for the fish-poison roots.’
- (15) **ne te=ti=ko naké ne=jí-jí*
 1PL 3PL=3PL.do=OBV dog 1PL=PL.hit-RED
 ‘They told us to hit the dogs.’

Another example of the ungrammaticality of *li* as a causative with a bivalent predicate can be seen in the strongly rejected (16), in which the base predicate uses the verb *li* as well.

- (16) * *ang* *ne=ti-ti(=ko)* *ne=ti=ko* *móe* *(te=)bìng*
 fish.poison 1PL=1PL.do-RED=OBV 1PL=1PL.do=OBV fish 3PL=PL.die
 ‘We wring out the fish-poison roots, killing the fish.’

13.1.2 Causatives formed with (*ké*) *leng* ‘give’

Causatives formed with ‘give’ are not as common as are the causatives formed with ‘do’ which we have already examined, both in terms of the predicates that are found in this construction and in terms of sampled frequencies in texts and in conversation. For these reasons we can more easily define a set of semantic characteristics of the verbs that may appear with this causativising construction than for those that appear with *li* ‘do’. One example has already been seen in (2), and further examples will be presented in the following sections.

Firstly, though, the verb ‘give’ which is used as a causative marker is not the entire verbal collocation that is used in translation equivalents of ‘give’ in English (or *kasi* in Papuan Malay). Recall from 5.4.4 and 7.8 that the predicate ‘give’ is formed with a complex ‘get’ + ‘give’ construction, *ké leng*, as in the following example, contrasted with the causative construction in (17).

- (17) *Te=Táng* *hòe-tè* *pe=wé r-ung* *nì.*
 3PL=bird sago-3PL.GEN 3SG.F=get.F 3SG.F-give 1SG
 ‘She gave me some rice.’
- (18) *Te=Táng* *hòe-tè* *pe=r-ung* *nì=k-ang.*
 3PL=bird sago-3PL.GEN 3SG.F=3SG.F-give 1SG=1SG-eat
 ‘She fed me some rice.’

Note the ungrammaticality of using the simple verb *leng* ‘give’ in a main clause without *ké* ‘get’ (or one of the other verbs of getting), and conversely the ungrammaticality of using the complex ‘get’ + ‘give’ collocation in a causative construction.

- (19) * *te Táng hòe tè pe rung nì*
 (20) * *te Táng hòe tè pe wé rung nì kang*

That this use of *leng* has grammaticised to become a general causative marker, and not just a causative with predicates associated with the transfer of some property, can be deduced from the existence of sentences such as (21) (compare with (12) in the previous section).

- (21) *Ne* *te=r-ing=ko* *ang* *ne=ti-ti.*
 1PL 3PL=3PL-give.PL=OBV fish.poison 1PL=1PL.do-RED
 ‘They made us wring out the fish-poison roots.’

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Causatives formed with ‘give’ are not uncommon in languages of the world. In the next section we will take a short excursus to examine some prominent uses of ‘give’ as a causative marker in various languages.

13.1.2.1 ‘Give’ as a causativiser in other languages

Many languages form productive causatives from the verb that is also the translation equivalent of ‘give’. This is commonly found in languages of Southeast Asia, and in Hokkien, an influential trade language in the region, as in the following examples.

Ambonese Malay

- (22) De su=kas-bajalang beta-ng tete.
 3SG PF=give-walk 1SG-GEN grandfather
 ‘He sent my grandfather away.’
 (compare with Betang tete su bajalang ‘My grandfather has gone.’)
- (23) De su=kas kado sama tete.
 3SG PF=give present PREP grandfather
 ‘He gave a present to grandfather.’

Hokkien

- (24) *Wa ho i zi png.*
 1SG CAUS 3SG cook rice
 ‘I made him cook rice’
 (compare with *Wa zi png ho i* ‘I cooked rice for him.’)
- (25) *Wa ho i png.*
 1SG CAUS 3SG rice
 ‘I gave him (some) rice’

This common typological pattern is also found in languages of New Guinea, such as Alambalak (Bruce 1984: xx) and Papuan Malay (Donohue to appear).

Alambalak

- (26) *H_{nu}-t doh-t hay-ni-më-t-t.*
 high.water-3SG.F canoe-3SG.F CAUS-go-R.PST-3SG.F-3SG.F
 ‘The high water took (away) my canoe.’
 (compare with *ni* ‘go.’)
- (27) *Na yën-r hëhrampan hay-më-an-r*
 1SG child-3SG.M medicine give-R.PST-1SG-3SG.M
 ‘I gave a child medicine.’

Papuan Malay

- (28) De=su=kas=tidor sa=pu=ana.
 3SG=PERF=CAUS=sleep 1SG=POSS=child
 ‘She’s already put my child to sleep.’
 (compare with Sa pu ana su tidor ‘My child has gone to sleep.’)
- (29) De=su=kas kladi sama de=pu=ana.
 3SG=PERF=give taro DAT 3SG=POSS=child
 ‘She’s given taro to her child.’

Clearly the use of ‘give’ as a means of increasing the valency of a clause, and so marking it as expressing causation (arguably the least marked form of valency increase), is quite widespread. With this quick survey in mind, we can return to the use of *leng* in Skou as a causativiser.

13.1.2.2 The analysis of ‘give’ as a causativiser in Skou

While there is an analogy to this use of ‘give’ (by which I refer to the Skou verb *leng*) as a causative verb in Skou, the analysis of the verb in sentences like this is complicated. Although glossed as, and used as the translation equivalent of ‘give’, this verb does not normally occur on its own with three arguments (see 5.4.4). This can be seen in sentence (30), which is not acceptable, even though all the arguments appear in the correct positions.

- (30) * *móe nì=leng mè.*
 fish 1SG=give 2SG
 ‘I gave you a fish.’

Rather, a serial construction is used, with *ké* ‘get’ (or the appropriate feminine or plural form of the verb, *wé* or *lóe*), introducing the theme argument, and *leng* adding a recipient argument, as can be seen in (31). Note that *ké* ‘get’ can be used without *leng*, although it does not then have the transferral sense that is found with the combination *ké leng*, and it can only take two arguments, as in (32).

- (31) *Móe nì=ké leng mè.*
 fish 1SG=get give 2SG
 ‘I gave you a fish.’

- (32) *Táng nì=ké.*
 bird 1SG=get
 ‘I got (caught) a bird.’

These data imply that *ké leng* is a complex predicate made up of two verbs, and that *ké* and *leng* should be analysed as having the following subcategorisation frames:

- (33) *ké*: ‘get agent , theme ’
 (34) *leng*: ‘“give” agent , OBL: recipient ’

That is, the verb *leng* subcategorises for a subject and an obliquely-coded (that is, positionally postverbal) argument, while *ké* subcategorises for two preverbal arguments. There is no position in the subcategorisation frame for *leng* for the item transferred, the theme, in the construction. Together, these predicates combine to yield a three-place predicate with both theme and recipient:

- (35) ‘give to: *ké*: get agent, theme *leng*: “give” agent , recipient ’

From this discussion we can identify two important differences in the verb *leng* in Skou and translations of ‘give’ in other languages, differences that are relevant to the grammaticalisation of the verb to a function as a causativiser:

- *leng* in Skou is a verb that subcategorises for two arguments, not three;
- *leng* in Skou does not serve the predicative function of ‘give’ on its own, but must appear with a version of *ké* ‘get’ for completeness, in order to code the theme.

In many cases the only way to express causation is with an entirely different construction. One very productive version of this strategy involves an adjunct nominal construction with an alternation between an monovalent variant with the light verb *li* ‘do’, and a bivalent variant with a base-bivalent verb, such as *ká* ‘hit, affect’.

Monovalent

- (36) *Nì ráue nì=li.*
 1SG laughter 1SG=do
 ‘I laughed.’
 (Another possible way to encode this meaning is *Ráue nì=há* ‘I stand (at) laughter.’ / ‘I laugh.’)

Bivalent

- (37) *Nì ke ráue nì=ká.*
 1SG 3SG.NF laughter 1SG=hit
 ‘I laughed at him.’

- (38) * *nì ke ráue nì li*

- (39) * *nì ráue nì ká*

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13.1.3 Causatives with *lóeng* ‘say’

In some cases *lóeng*, which serves as a complement-taking verb meaning ‘say, order, tell, command’, appears in a causative complement construction. Only indirect causative can be expressed in this manner.

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- (99) *Áì lóeng=ko ke=toe,*
 father say=OBV 3SG.NF=3.come
 ‘God arranged for him to come, ...’
- (99) *ke=a=toe=pa,*
 3SG.NF=FOC=3.come=INSTR
 ‘and he came, and then ...’

This type of only loosely grammaticalised causative is common in languages of New Guinea, and it is in fact contentious as to whether this is a causative construction or simply a complement formed with the main verb *lóeng* ‘say, command, tell’. The ungrammaticality of causatives formed with *lóeng* from appearing with nonsentient subjects (or, indeed, subjects not gifted with language) is evidence that there is only a limited degree of grammaticalisation involved with this predicate, at best.

13.1.4 Causatives via serial verb constructions

By far the most frequently encountered means of expressing a causative event is via a serial verb construction. Where a semantically more explicit verb is available, it is very marked to use one of the generic causative marking strategies presented earlier in this chapter.

- (99) *Ke=balèng=ing a te=jí=ko ke=wung.*
 3SG.NF=man=the 3PL=PL.hit=OBV 3SG.NF=die
 ‘They killed the man.’

- (99) # *Te=ti=ko* *ke=balèng=ing a* *ke=wung.*
 3PL=3PL.do=OBV 3SG.NF=man=the 3SG.NF=die
 ‘They killed the man.’

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13.2 Applicatives

The applicative construction in Skou is restricted to appearing with monovalent verbs, with which it is used to indicate that a goal is being treated as the object of the clause. The applicative construction is signalled by the suffixal morpheme *-na*, which appears on the verb.⁵⁷ Simple examples of sentences with and without the applicative are shown in (99) and (99).

- (99) *Ni=ha* *Te Jáwung.*
 1SG=walk Nyao
 ‘I walked from Nyao.’ / ‘I walked (around) in and about Nyao.’
- (99) *Ni=ha-na* *Te Jáwung.*
 1SG=walk-APPL Nyao
 ‘I walked to Nyao.’
 * ‘I walked around in and about Nyao.’

The following ungrammatical sentences show attempts to build an applicative construction based on a bivalent verb (or trivalent predicate) which subcategorises for a goal. Although this goal is coded postverbally, in the position where obliques (other than locations) are found, it is functionally an object. Both of the following sentences are grammatical if the applicative morpheme is omitted, as seen in (99) and (99), but as they stand with the applicative morpheme in (99) and (99) they are ungrammatical.

- (99) * *pe* *taíngbe=ing a* *pe=w-é* *r-ung-na*
 3SG.F money=the 3SG.F=3SG.F-get 3SG.F-give-APPL
yu-pe-pè=pe
 brother-3SG.F.DAT-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT
 ‘She gave the money to her brother.’
- (99) *Pe* *taíngbe=ing a* *pe=w-é* *r-ung*
 3SG.F money=the 3SG.F=3SG.F-get 3SG.F-give
yu-pe-pè=pe.
 brother-3SG.F.DAT-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT
 ‘She gave the money to her brother.’
- (99) * *pe=fí-na* *ke*
 3SG.F=meet-APPL 3SG.NF
 ‘She bumped into him.’
- (99) *Pe=fí* *ke.*
 3SG.F=meet 3SG.NF
 ‘She bumped into him.’

⁵⁷ This morpheme shows cognates in many languages of the are, such as Barupu (Macro-Skou) *-na*, possibly related to I’saka *-na* 1SG.DAT. It is also found in Sissano (Austronesian, Oceanic) *-na*. Interestingly, none of the more closely related Skou family languages (from figure 1, section 1.4) show any reflexes of this morpheme, and it is hard to find outside the Piore river branch of the family.

These are verbs with a subject and an object, but which exceptionally encode the object postverbally, after the manner of obliques, and it is the fact that the postverbal argument is an object that prohibits it from appearing in an applicative construction. Animate, and even human obliques may participate in applicative constructions, as can be seen in (99) and (99).

(99) *Nì=ha-na te.*
1SG=walk-APPL 3PL
'I walked up to them.'

(99) *Pe=w-a tà-na áni-pè=pe.*
3SG.F=3SG.F=walk running-APPL mother-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT
'She ran to her mother.'

Note also the following sentence, which also has *ha* 'walk' as the main verb, and allows a goal without the use of an applicative. The goal is in this case licensed through the use of a structure involving a serial verb; in the sentence below the verb 'go' is what allows the goal to be mentioned, since the verb *ha* on its own only allows a location or source as oblique arguments. (The verb in this sentence appears in the 'unmarked' third person form, but the 1SG is also possible: *Nì ha re Te Jáwung.*)

(99) *Nì=ha te Te Jáwung.*
1SG=walk 3SG.F.go Nyao
'I walked up to them.'

Rather than appearing with general motion verbs, the applicative suffix is more commonly found with an explicit manner-of-motion verb, such as *ha tà* 'run', as in (99).

(99) *Nì=ha tà-na báng.*
1SG=walk running-APPL beach
'I ran to the beach.'

(99) #/? *Nì=re-na báng.*
1SG=go-APPL beach
'I went to the beach.'

In cases such as these the paradigmatic contrast with a non-applicative structure is less clear, since the manner of motion verbs (apart from *ha* 'walk') do not allow for a goal oblique, but require serialisation with a separate motion verb to code this element. Sentences illustrating the ungrammaticality of a manner-of-motion verb appearing with an oblique goal, and the serialisation strategy, are shown in the next pair of sentences, to be compared with (99), which shows an applicative attached to the verbal element.

(99) *Nì=ha tà báng.*
1SG=walk running beach
* 'I ran to the beach.'

(grammatical with the reading 'I ran about on the beach.' – see below for a discussion of the significance of this grammatical reading, and the ways in which they are syntactically differentiated.)

(99) *Nì=ha tà te báng.*
1SG=walk running 3SG.F.go beach
'I ran to the beach.'

Here the contrast is between a verb + serial motion verb and a bare verb, rather than being between a bare verb and an applicative-suffixed verb; functionally, the serial verb construction allows the same options that the applicative does, the overt mention of the goal in the clause.

There is a contrast between the verb + serial motion verb and the verb + applicative suffix, as we shall see later, even though superficially they present the same morphosyntactic profile, a bare NP goal being permitted to appear following the verb(s) at the end of the clause. Certain grammatical tests, however, show that they are not identical.

Note that from the above sentences we can see that there is no requirement for the verb+applicative to appear with a direction of motion verb; we might expect there to be, on the basis of sentences with no applicative, in which the manner of motion verb must appear with a directional verb if a goal is to be encoded. This is not required in a clause with an applicative, though it is still possible, as seen in the examples below.⁵⁸

(99) *Nì=ha tà-na* *o* *báng.*
 1SG=walk running-APPL seawards beach
 'I ran to the beach.'

(99) *Nì=ha tà-na* *o* *re báng.*
 1SG=walk running-APPL seawards go beach
 'I ran to the beach.'

A positional variation of this is allowed only for applicative verbs, and not for non-applicative verbs, and that involves the placement of the motion verb. In the non-applied verb the sequence must be manner verb – motion verb – goal, as seen in (99), and (99) below, but with the applicative it is possible for the motion verb to appear following the goal as well, as in (99). This is not possible for a non-applied verb, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (99).

(99) *Ná* *nì=hú=na* *Pa ìlong re.*
 paddle 1SG=paddle=APPL Tami river go
 'I paddled to the Tami river.'

(99) *Ná* *nì=hú* *re Pa ìlong.*
 paddle 1SG=paddle go Tami river
 'I paddled to the Tami river.'

(99) * *ná nì hú Paìlong re*

Similarly, the requirement that manner of motion verbs must appear with an orientation verb ('come', 'go' or a directional verb) is also relaxed when there is an obvious orientation implicit in the applicative.

(99) *Nì=ha tà-na* *báng i li.*
 1SG=walk.running-APPL beach be do
 'I'm running to the beach.'

The applicative can only be used to code a goal oblique. In (99) and (99) we saw that the inherent source associated with *ha* 'walk' is replaced by a goal object when the verb is suffixed with the applicative. Similarly, when the oblique argument is a location and not a goal, the applicative cannot be used. This can be seen in sentences in which the oblique appears following an auxiliary complex with 'be' and 'do', encoding a continuous tense/aspect xxx, which position can only be used to code locations, and not goals. In this case the applicative may not appear.

⁵⁸ Similar constraints on the appearance of serial verb constructions with verbs that take the instrumental applicative marker are reported for Meyah (Gravelle 2001).

- (99) *Nì=ha tà i li báng.*
 1SG=walk.running be do beach
 ‘I’m running around on the beach.’

- (99) * *nì ha tà na i li báng.*

The examples xxxxxx

We have established that there is a distinct applicative construction, and examined in broad detail the kinds of verbs with which it is found. The following section shall describe the status of the goal in the applicative construction, which might be thought to be somewhat ambiguous, given that the position of the goal in the clause does not change, remaining in postverbal position regardless of whether the verb is marked with an applicative morpheme or not.

13.2.1 *The status of the goal in applicative constructions*

Since the typical position for objects of bivalent verbs is preverbal, and the typical position for oblique arguments is postverbal, there is usually an easily verifiable distinction between the two different grammatical functions based on their position with respect to the verb. In the case of goals, however, we find that they are postverbal when there is no applicative morpheme on the verb, typical for an oblique participant, and are also postverbal when the verb is found with an applicative morpheme. Clearly, if these goals in applicative constructions are Ps, they are atypical Ps. Since some Ps of bivalent verbs are lexically marked to that they appear in postverbal position, we must allow for the possibility that they are, in fact, the P of a bivalent clause, and so here we shall address the question of the status of the goal in applicative constructions.

We can show that, while the goal of a simple direction verb is an oblique, and not a P, the goal of a verb marked with the applicative is a P. In short, the ability of the goal in a subordinate clause to appear as the object of the main clause in (99)’, in which the goal appears as the applicative object of the verb *ha tà na* ‘run to’, matches the behaviour of recipient objects such as the recipient of *ké leng* ‘give’. Although they are coded postverbally, they behave as do preverbal objects for raising purposes. In contrast, there is no possible object-of-main-clause coding option available for the goal of the non-applicativised verb in (99), which is unambiguously oblique by virtue of being the oblique complement of the verb *re* ‘go’.

- (99) *Ke nì=fue ke=k-a tà-na báng.*
 3SG.NF 1SG=see 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-walk.running-APPL beach
 ‘I saw him running to the beach.’
- (99)’ *Báng nì=fue ke=k-a tà-na.*
 beach 1SG=see 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-walk.running-APPL
 ‘I saw him running to the beach.’
- (99) *Ke nì=fue ke=k-a tà ti báng.*
 3SG.NF 1SG=see 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-walk.running 3SG.NF.go beach
 ‘I saw him running to the beach.’
- (99)’ * *ke báng nì fue ke ka tà ti*

compare with ungrammaticality of xxxxxxxxxxxx.maybe for a human goal?

Similarly, the recipient ‘goal’ of a giving predicate, while postverbal, may appear as the object of a matrix clause, showing that it, too, is a postverbal P, and not a postverbal oblique.

Subject of lower clause appears as object of matrix clause

- (99) *Pe* *nì=fu* *rópu* *pe=w-é* *r-ung* *ke.*
 3SG.NF 1SG=see.F book 3SG.F=3SG.F-get 3SG.F-give 3SG.NF
 ‘I saw her giving him the book.’

Recipient object of lower clause appears as object of matrix clause

- (99) *Ke* *nì=fue* *rópu* *pe=w-é* *r-ung.*
 3SG.NF 1SG=see book 3SG.F=3SG.F-get 3SG.F-give
 ‘I saw him, her giving a book (to).’

Theme object of lower clause appears as object of matrix clause

- (99) *Rópu* *nì=fue* *pe=w-é* *r-ung* *ke.*
 3SG.NF 1SG=see 3SG.F=3SG.F-get 3SG.F-give 3SG.NF
 ‘I saw her giving the book to him.’

XXXXXXXXXX

More details on the raising construction shown here, and the restrictions on which nominals may participate in the sort of raising seen in (99)' and (99)', can be found in 3.11, where complementation and raisings involved in these constructions are dealt with in more depth.

13.3 The passive

It is a general feature of the non-Austronesian languages of Melanesia that they lack voice alternations, either passives or antipassives (Foley 2000). This would at first glance also appear to be true of Skou, but unusually for the New Guinea region Skou has a verb, *wí*, clearly related to, but distinct from, *wé* ‘get (feminine object)’, which functions in many ways like a non-specific passive. Compare the following two sentences:

- OBJ PRED:V
 (99) *Nì* *ke=ká.*
 1SG 3SG.NF=hit
 ‘He hit me.’
- SUBJ PRED: [N+V]
 (99) *(Nì)* *mòng* *nì-wí.*
 1SG wound 1SG-get
 ‘I got hit.’

Just as in English, it is possible to mention the *by*-phrase agent of in the ‘passive’ clause, and in this case the agent is coded as an oblique argument of the verb, appearing in postverbal position. The following sentence shows that it is possible to overtly code the agentive *by*-phrase in the ‘passive’ version of the clause seen in (99).

- SUBJ PRED: [N+V] OBL:agentive *by*-phrase
 (99) *(Nì)* *mòng* *nì-wí* *ke.*
 1SG wound 1SG-get 3SG.NF
 ‘I got a wound from him.’

Peripherally we may note that an alternative interpretation for the postverbal position is as the affected location in an external possession construction, as in the following example:

- (99) *Mòng* *nì=wí* *táŋge*.
 wound 1SG-get leg
 ‘I got hit in the leg.’

The interpretation of the postverbal nominal is not problematic, given the animacy and agentivity levels of body parts. Note, most interestingly, that the subject of this ‘passive’ construction is the possessor, not the possessum. In fact, we find that the ‘passive’ cannot appear with *táŋge* as the subject:

- (99) * *táŋge* *mòng* *(ke=)wí*.
 leg wound (3SG.NF=)get

This implies that, as is typical for many languages of, say, South-east and East Asia, and is also true of Papuan Malay, the ‘passive’ is more than simply a device predicated on discourse and syntactic motivation, but also contains a significant amount of semantic restructuring as well. Specifically, there is a strong sense of adverse affect built into the semantics of such a predicate, and this in turn stipulates that the subject in the passive predicate must be animate.

13.3.1 *The status of mòng wí as a ‘passive’ construction*

I have been using scare quotes around the word ‘passive’ when describing this construction. There are several issues salient in the analysis of the *mòng wí* constructions, and the ones that I shall address here, possibly the more salient, are the following:

- in what sense does the *mòng wí* construction ‘correspond’ to the active *ká* ‘hit’ predicate? Is the correspondence the same as is found in other languages with ‘true passives’?
- how productive does a syntactic process have to be to be called a ‘construction’ – are we justified in discussing a ‘passive construction’, or are we dealing with a lexically unusual verb?
- in what sense is the patient in a *mòng wí* construction the syntactic subject? Could it not be thought of as an object, which exceptionally shows proclitic agreement on the verb?

We shall address the last of these points first, simply because it is the one most subject to empirical testing, and then examine the other two issues.

13.3.2 *Patient as subject, agent as oblique*

We can offer evidence for the idea that the patient in these constructions is the subject.⁵⁹ We can apply tests for subjecthood, which indicate that the patient is indeed a subject, and that the agent is oblique. The tests that we can refer to involve:

⁵⁹ It would be more ‘general’ to discuss the grammatical status of the syntactic roles A and P, rather than the semantic roles agent and patient. Since, in the case of Skou, there is only one passive alternation, we are justified in being explicit without needing to fear losing generality.

- the restriction of floated quantifiers;
- behaviour in negative sentences;
- behaviour in switch-reference marked clause chains.

The results obtained from examining these different constructions shall be presented one by one in the following sections.

13.3.2.1 Floated quantifiers and *mòng wí*

Floated quantifiers are restricted to the P of a bivalent clause, or the single core argument, the S, of a monovalent one (see 16.3 for discussion). In a construction with *mòng wí* as the predicate, a floated quantifier can only be restricted to the theme, not the (implied or overt) agent, nor the adjunct nominal *mòng*. This suggests that *mòng* is simply part of the complex predicate, and cannot be considered an argument of the verb (in this respect it behaves somewhat different to at least some other adjunct nominal + verb constructions – see chapter 14).

- (99) *Mòng te=r-í fátà.*
 affect 3PL=3PL-get.PL all
 ‘They all got hit.’
 * ‘They got hit a lot.’ (*‘They got a lot of hitting/affect.’)

Compare this sentence and the interpretation of the floated quantifier with the following active sentence, using the plural form of the verb *ká* ‘hit’.

- (99) *Te=ing a te ke=jí fátà.*
 3PL=the 3PL 3SG.NF=hit.PL all
 ‘They hit them all.’
 * ‘They all hit them.’

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The verb in the predicate here shows the same alternation in terms of suppletion as is found with the verb *wé* ‘get (feminine object)’, adding further weight to the idea that the two verb roots are related. In the *mòng wí* ‘be hit’ construction, however, the variation in form of the verb is dependant on the number of the subject. Since number agreement (in terms of vowel alternations of suppletive forms) on the verb depends on the features of either the S or the P, this means that, if in examples such as (99) the use of a form of *lóe* ‘get.PL’ depends on the number of the participant being hit, and cannot depend on the amount of hitting, then the hitting cannot be interpreted as a P. The use of subject clitics on the verb agreeing with the hit participant shows that this argument cannot be a P either, and so must be interpreted as the S in the clause.

This implies that the clause is monovalent, and implies that *mòng* must be interpreted as an adjunct nominal (though the choice of the verb *lóe* that indicates a plural object implies that, if it is an adjunct nominal, then it is an adjunct nominal that is an argument of the verb, and not simply part of the predicate). It also means that the construction must in fact be a true passive, since it involves reducing the valency of the clause as a whole.

Note that it is not possible to interpret *fátà* as modifying *mòng*, even when that is the only plausible nominal in the clause. Compare the grammatical (99) above with the following ungrammatical sentence, in which the subject is singular, and so the quantification is not allowed:

(99) * *mòng nì=wé fátà.*
 affect 3PL=get.F all
 ‘I got hit a lot.’

(99) * *mòng nì=lóe fátà.*
 affect 3PL=get.PL all
 ‘I got hit a lot.’

When we examine the behaviour of this construction in questions we find that the theme cannot be quite so unambiguously identified as the subject. The following is an acceptable question:

(99) *Bá mòng pe=wí?*
 who affect 3SG.F=get
 ‘Who was hit?’

An alternative that is found in other questions about the identity of the subject, using interrogative clitics on the verb instead of the regular third person pronominal clitics, is not acceptable, as can be seen in (99).

(99) * *Mòng bá=wí?*
 affect who=get
 ‘Who was hit?’

This implies that there is a xxxxx

Given these facts about the construction involving *mòng wí*, we must ask whether we are justified in calling it a ‘passive’, or if it is simply a verb that, like nonagentive verbs or inverted predicates (see 5.4.1.2 and 5.4.3.4), codes an affected subject. The difference, of course, is that this is a predicate with a specified (albeit optional) oblique agent as well as the affected subject. This means that this is a monovalent clause, with a single S, and should not be thought of as having an ‘inverted’ predicate (see 5.4.3.4), in which the more animate, topical argument is coded as P and the inanimate cause is the A.

13.3.2.2 Negation and *mòng wí*

The negation of a clause with a nominal that appears in a postverbal position, and is nominally oblique, such as locations or goals, results in the ‘oblique’ argument appearing preverbally, with the syntactic properties of an object (see 3.11). Subjects and objects do not show this sort of behaviour.

If the agent in a *mòng wí* construction shows similar behaviour, we can assume, in the absence of any counter-evidence, that the agent is grammatically oblique. With this in mind, compare (99), repeated here as (99), with its negative equivalent, (99). Note also the ungrammatical sentence in (99), in which *ke* appears between *mòng* and the verb.

(99) *Mòng nì=wí ke.*
 wound 1SG=get 3SG.NF
 ‘I got a wound from him.’

(99) *Ke mòng nì=wí ka.*
 3SG.NF wound 1SG=get NEG
 ‘I didn’t get a wound from him.’

(99) * *mòng ke nì wí ka*

The fact that *ke* appears postverbally in (99), the position typically associated with adjuncts and obliques, suggests that in (99) it is coded as a non-core argument: either an adjunct or an oblique. Furthermore, the fact that *ke* cannot appear between *mòng* and *wí* is evidence that *mòng* is not an object in the clause. When, as a result of negating a clause with both an object and an oblique, a clause with two objects is produced, the order of those objects is not fixed with respect to each other. This can be seen in (99) and (99), which negative equivalents of (99) (see also the discussion in chapter 16).

(99) *Naké ke=ká líhi.*
 dog 3SG.NF=hit garden
 'He hit the dog in the garden.'

(99) *Líhi naké ke=ká ka.*
 garden dog 3SG.NF=hit NEG
 'He didn't hit the dog in the garden.'

(99) *Naké líhi ke ká ka.*
 'He didn't hit the dog in the garden.'

It should be mentioned that a more 'neutral' negation of (99) would be that seen in (99), in which the location is simply not mentioned. Having any mention of an oblique in a negated clause implies some degree of contrastive or pragmatic focus on that constituent.

(99) *Naké ke=ká ka.*
 dog 3SG.NF=hit NEG
 'He didn't hit the dog.'

By comparison a location in a negated clause headed by a complex N+V predicate cannot appear between the N and the V, as shown in the following sentences.

(99) *Naké nì kóeng ke=ká líhi.*
 dog 1SG tooth 3SG.NF=hit garden
 'The dog bit me in the garden.'

(99) *Naké líhi nì kóeng ke=ká ka.*
 dog garden 1SG tooth 3SG.NF=hit NEG
 'The dog didn't bite me in the garden.'

(99) *Naké nì líhi kóeng ke ká ka.*
 'He didn't hit the dog in the garden.'

(99) * *naké nì kóeng líhi ke ká ka*
 'He didn't hit the dog in the garden.'

The fact that *ke* cannot intrude between *mòng* and *wí* in (99) shows that *mòng* does not display the positional properties of objects. It appears, then, that the agent in one of these constructions is truly an oblique nominal, and that *mòng* is truly part of the predicate, as the first part of an N+V construction, and is not the object in a bivalent clause.

13.3.2.3 Switch reference and *mòng wí*

One test for subjecthood in Skou involves the behaviour of the nominals in a sentence with switch reference morphology. If we examine such a sentence, seen here in (99), we can see that the clause marked with *=pa*, the morpheme used in same-subject conjunction, is used to monitor the identity of the affected argument of the first clause with the S argument in the

second clause. This shows that the proclitic agreement on the verb does indeed index the subject of the clause, since this same argument is selected as the pivot in switch reference structures.

- (99) *Hans mòng ke=wí Theo=pa, ke=moe ti pá.*
 Hans wound 3SG.NF=get Theo=INSTR 3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF.go house
 ‘Hans_i got hit by Theo_j, and Ø_i/*_j went back home.’

If we wish to conjoin the agent of the first clause with the agent of the second clause, we must use the obviative marker =*ko* that is used to conjoin two clauses that do not share the same subject, as can be seen in (99).

- (99) *Hans mòng ke=wí Theo=ko, ke=moe ti pá.*
 Hans wound 3SG.NF=get Theo=OBV 3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF.go house
 ‘Hans_i got hit by Theo_j, and then Theo_j/*_i went back home.’
 OR ‘Theo_j hit Hans_i, and then Ø_j/*_i went back home.’

Chapter 19 presents a more detailed discussion of the forms and functions of the switch reference system in Skou, showing that same versus different ‘subject’ is not always the category that is monitored by this morphology, which means that this test is not entirely unequivocal.

13.3.3 On productivity and grammatical constructions

The issues raised by the putative passive construction in Skou are quite intriguing. It is not unknown for a language to ‘buck the trend’, and display features that are not typical of its region or its genetic group, such as the appearance of a passive in Skou. While it is true that Papuan languages tend to lack voice systems, there are occasional exceptions to this. Tanglapui shows a restricted inverse systems, being contrastive only with high-transitive verbs (Donohue 1996). Saweru operates with a voice systems that is monitored by variation in the amount of inflection on the verb, apparently acquired through contact with neighbouring Austronesian languages, which possess similar typologies. It is most likely that there are other examples of non-canonical voice systems in evidence in other, less well-described Papuan languages.

The issue that we must confront with the Skou passive, however, is of a different kind: how productive must an alternation be to ‘count’ as being productive, and so a regular part of the grammar?

Ideally, of course, a paradigm is fully productive for an entire lexical class; in the case of a voice system, the ‘ideal’ voice system would productively operate over the entire lexical set of verbs. Yet even in languages with clear voice alternations there are lexical exceptions: English, for instance, allows *I resembled her*, with the subject being the A, but not **She was resembled by me*, with the reverse coding. Similarly, but showing the opposite preference, Tagalog allows *tinakot* ‘fear’ in main clauses, with a P subject but not *tumakot*, the ‘actor voice’ equivalent with an A subject.⁶⁰ *Tukang Besi* (Donohue 1998) allows *molinga’e* ‘forget’ with the P as subject, but not *molinga* with A as subject. It is clear that some level of exceptionality is tolerated in the grammarians’ notion of a voice system. It seems, however, that a ‘productive’ voice system must allow at least the primary transitive verbs to participate in the alternation. We are not

⁶⁰ A small number of verbs in English only appear in clauses with passive morphology: *reincarnate*, *repute*, *rumour*, for example. Others are only rarely found in active clauses; see Dingare (2001) for further details.

surprised at the English system which allows the alternation in high transitive bivalent verbs, yielding the pair *hit*: *be hit*, but not with low-transitive verbs, and so we lack pairs such as *resemble*: **be resembled*.

Now in Skou we have a situation in which the putative voice system can be described for exactly one predicate, the translation equivalent of ‘hit’. I suggest that it is no accident that this is the one verb to display a voice alternation, since this is the most highly transitive verb in the language. We can make this claim not only on cross-linguistic grounds based on the semantic content of the verb, but also on language-internal morphosyntactic grounds: ‘hit’ is a predicate that shows not only subject agreement but also object marking, through suppletive verb forms (*jí* for plural object, *láng* for feminine object, *ká* otherwise), and which does not (unlike some predicates – see 5.4.3.3) allow for a postverbal alternative coding option for the P. All these factors, plus the semantic representation of the verb, allow us to consider it a primary transitive verb – a perfect exemplar of the kind of verb that should participate in a voice alternation, if any verbs in the language do. Far from being exceptional, the restricted nature of the voice alternation in Skou is simply an example of a language at one extreme end (the lower end) of a continuum that can be observed in the productivity of voice systems in other languages.

13.3.4 Linking between separate lexical items as paradigmatic?

The main question in an analysis of the *mòng wí* construction as a possible passive involves the question of the nature of the putative correspondence between the active predicate *ká* ‘hit’ and the ‘passive’ predicate *mòng wí* ‘be hit’. Unlike active:passive pairs in languages with unproblematic voice alternations, such as English with its analytical passives (*hit*, *be hit*) or Indonesian with a purely morphological voice system (*mem-pukul* ‘hit’, *di-pukul* ‘be hit’), there is no shared lexical material in the Skou pair. The verb roots are not obviously related to each other in any phonological way, synchronically or historically, nor do I wish to argue that there is some ‘underlying level’ at which they are similar. These two predicates are clearly two separate lexemes; the *mòng wí* is, if it is best analysed as a passive, a lexical passive, not a morphological or analytical one. How, then, can we analyse two lexemes as representing an active:passive paradigm? Is this not akin to analysing ‘receive’ in English as the ‘passive’ equivalent of ‘give’?

There are grounds for considering the passive analysis to be the correct one. Firstly, speakers recognise this as a correspondence, in a way that they do not recognise a link between, for instance, *kasi* ‘give’ and *dapa(t)* ‘receive’ in Papuan Malay, or *pukul* ‘hit’ and *kena* ‘suffer’ (also in Papuan Malay), or for that matter between *héng* ‘ask’ and *lóeng* ‘say, answer’ in Skou. Skou people do, however, feel similarly about the relationship between *ké yata li* ‘sell’ and *yata li ké* ‘buy’, which are opposite descriptive predicates, which make use of the same lexical items. This implies that we should ascribe some difference to the lexical representation of *ká* with respect to *mòng wí*, compared to the same speaker’s behaviour with the other pairs.

In English we recognise the connection between conative pairs such as *hit*, *hit at*, and between simple verbs and phrasal verbs, in examples such as *open*, *open up*. With less semantically specified verbs, such as *get*, there is not always either a strong phonological connection, nor an obvious semantic connection, between two possible predicates: compare *get into*, [get into] ‘come to like a lot’, with *get around* [get around] ‘manage to avoid prescribed activity or restriction’. Here the predicates are quite disparate, yet they are felt to be somehow

linked together, more tightly than they are to semantically closer matches: *get around* is not thought of as particularly ‘close’ to *avoid*, nor is *get into* especially related lexically to *appreciate*, even though these are predicates that share many more semantic features in common than the two get-predicates do with each other.

Yet with the pair *ká* ‘hit’ and *mòng wí* ‘be hit’ there is a very close semantic relationship. We cannot use *mòng wí* as an alternative coding device for any predicate other than *ká* ‘hit’; constructions such as those attempted in (99), with a completely non-affective verb, are ludicrous from a Skou perspective.

- (99) * *nì fue nì=wí,* * *nì=fue wí,* * *nì=wí fue,* etc.
 1SG see 1SG=get 1SG=see get 1SG=get see
 “I was seen.”

Clearly the predicate *mòng wí* does, in some sense ‘belong’ with *ká*, regardless of the fact that they do not share any phonological material, just as *láng* ‘hit (feminine)’ and *jí* ‘hit (plural)’ are related to *ká* ‘hit’. We can talk about connections between lexical entries in the absence of those lexical entries being subentries of each other, and that is the relationship between the simplex predicate *ká* ‘hit’ (with all its variants, depending on features of the object), and *mòng wí* ‘be hit’ (again, with variation, depending on the number of the subject).

13.3.5 *mòng wí* as a passive construction

Can we consider the pair *ká* ‘hit’ and *mòng wí* ‘be hit’ to represent the same sort of opposition that is found between the translations given for them in English, namely that of an active:passive pair? To claim that this is so is to afford this construction the status of one member of a voice alternation. But is it valid to describe an alternation as a voice alternation when it only applies to one pair of predicates?

This kind of phenomenon, in which it appears that a lexical item displays the argument-structure characteristics of a passive (rather than being a productive morpheme) has been termed a *lexical passive* (in contrast to a morphological or analytical one). Payne (1997: 205) notes that lexical passives are rare; the appearance of a single lexical passive predicate in Skou, with correspondences only to one other very in the lexicon is, then, not too surprising; more surprising would be the discovery of a language in which every ‘normal’ active verb had a lexical passive counterpart, with no morphologically or syntactically productive voice alternation mechanism. The active correspondant to *mòng wí*, *ká* ‘hit’, is in every sense the most prototypical of bivalent verbs, and if any verb should be eligible to have a lexical passive correspondant it would be *ká*. The unusualness lies then not in the correspondence between a single lexically active verb and its counterpart, but in Skou for having such a lexeme.

13.3.6 *Morphosyntactic restrictions of the passive*

We have examined the basic, clause-internal, grammatical consequences of the passive for argument coding in the preceding sections. In this section some of the aspectual dimensions to the passive must be mentioned

In 7.9 we examined the four basic TAM distinctions that can be marked on most verbal predicates in Skou. With the passive, however, we find that both of the auxiliary-using coding

options, the continuous and the intentional, cannot appear. The irrealis and the completive/plain coding choices are open, as shown in the contrastive grammaticality of the following four sentences.

- (99) *Mòng ke=wí.*
wound 3SG.NF=get
'He was hit.'
- (99) *Mòng ke=wí-wí.*
wound 3SG.NF=get-RED
'He will be hit.'
- (99) * *mòng ke=wí-wí li.*
wound 3SG.NF=get-RED do
'He wants to be hit.'
- (99) * *mòng ke=wí i li.*
wound 3SG.NF=get-RED be do
'He is being hit.'

The restriction of the passive to a particular type of verbs is absolute: there is, as mentioned in the previous discussion, only one passive alternation, and so there is only one verb that can be said to meet the criteria for appearing in a passive construction, the verb *ká* 'hit'. This means that there is a strong restriction on the semantic roles of the arguments in the passive, as well as a strong requirement for adverse affectedness on the part of the passive subject.

13.4 Reflexives

There is no true reflexive construction in Skou, though there are various ways to express these concepts. For the most part simple bivalent sentences are used to represent what in English would be coded with a reflexive. Examine the following sentence:

- (99) *Nále lang nì=li=ko, nò-kangkang nì=na lu=ko*
taro dish 1SG=do=OBV hand-finger 1SG=pound=OBV
yáng e tue.
hurt 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do
'I was pounding taro for a meal, and I hit my finger, and it hurt.'

Here the form of the second clause *nòkangkang nì na lu* is the same as it would be if the object was not related to the subject; so *ná nì na lu* 'I hit the taro.' shows the same structure. In other words, there is no special morphosyntactic marking for the reflexive.

In English and many other languages a reflexive form is possible as an alternative to the mention of the body part that has been affected; in addition to 'I hit my finger.', we also have 'I hit myself'. In Skou this is not the case; at best, a more generic noun *nòe* 'body', still possessed, can be used, as in the following examples.

- (99) *Nòe-nì=ne nì=wò na lu.*
body-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT 1SG=EMPH pound
'I bashed myself.'
- (99) *Nòe-ké=ke ke=wò ká.*
body-3SG.NF.GEN=3SG.NF.DAT 3SG.NF=EMPH hit
'He hit himself.'

In these cases the subject clitic on the verb has the emphatic marker (see 4.7.4 for non-reflexive uses of this morpheme) attached to it, unlike the original sentence in (99). Without this morpheme, this sentence is at best marginally acceptable, though most speakers reject it outright.

(99) * *nòe ké ke ke ká*

Attempts to directly elicit reflexives result in the use of *nòe*; this might indicate that, as in many other languages, *nòe* ‘body’ is grammaticalising into becoming a reflexive marking, stripped of the semantic reference that it has as a plain noun. The following sentences show how speakers avoid the use of the grammaticalised sense of *nòe* if there is another plausible noun that can be substituted in its stead, and treated as a ‘true object’.

(99) *Nì=re hángpeng, tánghang-nì=ne nì=fu í.*
 1SG=go bush face-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT 1SG=see.F pool
 ‘I went to the bush, and saw my face in a pool of water.’
 (For Papuan Malay Sa pi hutan, lalu sa lia sa pu diri di kolam)

(99) *Nì=re hángpeng, nòe-nì=ne nì=fu í.*
 1SG=go bush body-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT 1SG=see.F pool
 ‘I went to the bush, and saw myself in a pool of water.’
 (For Papuan Malay Sa pi hutan, lalu sa lia sa pu diri di kolam)

We can see that while there is a variety of ways of expressing reflexivity in Skou, there is no common syntactic behaviour to logically unify them together. If there is such as thing as a ‘reflexive construction’ in Skou, then it exists as an abstract entity only, and does not strongly grammaticise, if at all, in terms of dedicated morphology or dedicated syntactic constructions.

13.5 Reciprocals

The reciprocal construction in Skou is a variant of the normal structure used to express conjoined nominals in the same NP. The verb is necessarily marked for a non-singular subject, but there is no explicit marker of reciprocity in the clause; only the absence of any realisation of any nominal (or pronominal) object in the clause is a clue to the fact that a normally bivalent verb should be read with a reciprocal meaning. (The fact that, in other circumstances, the overt presence of an object is obligatory, this is then a significant, if negative, indication of the construction.) An example is the following sentence, which is grammatical with the translation given, and not with the reading ‘Those two hit (someone else).’

(99) *Tenake=ing a te=j-á.*
 3DU.NF=the 3PL=3PL-hit
 ‘They hit each other.’
 * ‘Those two hit (someone else).’

With plural reciprocal subjects, as opposed to simply dual ones as exemplified above, the same construction is used:

(99) *Te=ing a te=j-á.*
 3PL=the 3PL=3PL-hit
 ‘They hit each other.’
 * ‘They hit (someone else).’

Note that the clauses in (99) and (99) are not ‘normal’ variants of a bivalent clause. A predicate that subcategorises for two arguments MUST express them, either through agreement on the verb with pronominal status (see 7.3), or in overt NPs. Compare (99) with (99). In (99) we can see the use of the ‘dummy’ *ya* ‘thing’, which must appear if no lexical or pronominal object is present. Alternatively, a form of the verb that specifies the object may be used, as in (99).

- (99) *Te=ing a ya te=j-á.*
 3PL=the thing 3PL=3PL-hit
 ‘They hit (something/ ?someone else).’
 * ‘They hit each other.’

- (99) a. *Pe=ing a ya pe=fue.*
 3SG.F=the thing 3SG.F=see
 ‘She saw (something).’
- b. *Pe=ing a (ya) pe=fu.*
 3SG.F=the thing 3SG.F=see.F
 ‘She saw something (feminine).’

It is possible for the object position to be filled with a pronoun bearing the same pronominal features of the nonsingular subject; in this case the clause is ambiguous in reading between a reciprocal and a simple transitive clause.

- (99) *Te=ing a te te=j-á.*
 3PL=the 3PL 3PL=3PL-hit
 ‘They_i hit each other_i.’
 OR ‘They_i hit them_j.’

An alternative reciprocal construction is found only with predicates that take adjunct nominals. In this case the verb that is associated with the adjunct nominal is replaced by *li* ‘do’, and the subject and object of the non-reciprocal predicate are covertly coordinated inside the same NP. Proof that *Te=Téme* and *Te=Máwo* in (99) are members of a single NP comes from the ungrammaticality of ergative case marking on, shown in (99).

- (99) *Te=Máwo te Te=Téme pìng te=r-ú.*
 3PL=Skou Mabo 3PL.ERG 3PL=Nafri bow 3PL=3PL-release.PL
 ‘The Skou Mabos shot the Nafris.’

- (99)' [NP SUBJ] [NP OBJ] [ADJ. NOM.] Verb

- (99) *Te=Téme Te=Máwo pìng te=ti.*
 3PL=Nafri 3PL=Skou Mabo bow 3PL=3PL.do
 ‘The Nafris and the Mabos shot each other.’

- (99)' [NP SUBJ (+) OBJ] [ADJ. NOM.] Verb *li* ‘do’

- (99) * *te=Téme te Te=Máwo pìng te=ti*
 3PL=Nafri 3PL.ERG 3PL=Skou Mabo bow 3PL=3PL.do
 ‘The Nafris and the Mabos shot each other.’

We can see that, as with reflexives, there is no morphology dedicated to reciprocal constructions, but there is nevertheless a distinct reciprocal construction in the language. This

reciprocal construction displays behaviour, in terms of the morphology and syntax that may appear in it, that is not found elsewhere, and so it is uniquely defined.

13.6 Combinations of valency-changing processes?

It is logically possible for a clause to contain more than one valency-changing process. We can see one example of this happening in the following (elicited) Skou sentence, in which a causativised predicate appears in a reciprocal clause.

- (99) *Te te te=ti=ko te=fe.*
 3PL 3PL 3PL=do.PL=OBV 3PL=afraid.PL
 ‘They scared each other.’

That is, there are many languages in which both an applicative and a passive can be found applied to the same verb. The following examples from *Tukang Besi* show this happening.

Tukang Besi: plain clause

- (99) *No-gonti te kau kene baliu.*
 3R-chop CORE wood with axe
 ‘He chopped the wood with an axe.’

instrumental applicative

- (99) *No-gonti=ako te baliu te kau.*
 3R-chop=APPL CORE axe CORE wood
 ‘He chopped the wood with an axe.’

instrumental applicative + passive

- (99) *No-to-gonti=ako=mo te kau na baliu.*
 3R-PASS-chop=APPL=PF CORE wood NOM axe
 ‘The axe was used to chop wood.’

On the other hand some combinations of valency-changing processes are not so readily combinable. Continuing from *Tukang Besi*, we can see that while a passive may combine with a causative in the same clause, the reverse is not the case. This reflects strong (but not absolute) cross-linguistic tendencies.

Tukang Besi: grammatical passive of causative

- (99) *No-to-pa-gonti=mo na mia te kau.*
 3R-PASS-CAUS-chop=PF NOM person CORE wood
 ‘The person was made to chop the wood.’

ungrammatical causative or passive

- (99) * *no-pa-to-gonti=mo na kau*
 3R-CAUS-PASS-chop=PF NOM wood
 ‘the wood was made to be chopped’

In Skou this sort of free combining is less likely to be found, for various reasons. The passive is, as we have seen, lexically restricted, and furthermore is a lexical passive. In common with most languages, passives cannot be causativised. All the sentences in (99), showing attempts to causativise a passive predicate such as (99), are thus ungrammatical.

Basic passive predicate

- (99) *Ke=bà=ing a* *mòng* *ke=wí* *pe=a.*
 3SG.NF=person=the wound 3SG.NF=get 3SG.F=FOC
 ‘He was hit by her.’

Attempted causative of a passive with *leng*

- (99) * *te=r-íng=ko* *ke=bà=ing a* *mòng* *ke=wí.*
 3PL=3PL-give.PL=OBV 3SG.NF=person=the wound 3SG.NF=get
 * ‘They caused him to be hit.’

Attempted causative of a passive with *li*: only an active interpretation possible

- (99) *Te* *ke=bà=ing a* *mòng* *te=ti.*
 3PL 3SG.NF=person=the wound 3PL=3PL.do
 ‘They wounded him.’
 * ‘They caused him to be hit.’

- (99) * *te* *ke=bà=ing a* *mòng* *te=ti* *pe=a.*
 3PL 3SG.NF=person=the wound 3PL=3PL.do 3SG.F=FOC
 * ‘They caused him to be hit by her.’

We can summarise the grammatical and ungrammatical combinations in table 160xxx. Note that no construction may apply to another of the same kind; this is only really noteworthy for the banned causative of causative combination, as described in 13.6.1.

Table 160. Combinations of valency-changing processes

a	of a	Causative	Applicative	Passive	Reflexive	Reciprocal
Causative		no	yes	no	yes	yes
Applicative		no	no	no	no	no
Passive		no	no	no	no	no
Reflexive		yes	no	no	no	no
Reciprocal		no	yes	no [†]	no	no

The following sections detail the grammatical and ungrammatical combinations that are shown in this table, offering some explanation for both the gaps and the attested combinations.

13.6.1 Causative + other valency-changing process

Causatives show the greatest freedom in combinations with other valency-changing processes. An apparently biclausal combination with an applicative can be seen in (99).

Causative + applicative in a *=ko*-linked clause

- (99) *Ke=li=ko* *te=angku=fue a* *te=y-a-na* *báng.*
 3SG.NF=do=OBV 3PL=child=that 3PL=3PL-walk-APPL beach
 ‘He made the children go to the beach.’

Evidence that the relationship between the two clauses linked with the obviative *=ko* can be found in the fact that there are constraints on combinations. While the ungrammaticality of the combination of causative and passive in (99) is perhaps expected on cross-linguistic grounds, the inability of two causative ‘clauses’ to embed, seen in (99), is not so predictable, and is

something requiring a language-specific parametric setting ('do not form causatives of causatives or passives').

Ungrammatical: causative + passive

- (99) * *ke=li=ko* *pe* *mòng* *pe=wí*
 3SG.NF=do=OBV 3SG.F wound 3SG.F=get
 'He made her get hit.'

Ungrammatical: causative + causative

- (99) * *ke=li=ko* *pe* *pe=tue=ko*
 3SG.NF=do=OBV 3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.F.do=OBV
te=angku=ing a hòe *te=t-ang*
 3PL=child=the sago 3PL=3PL-eat
 'He made her get the children to eat the sago.'

The following example in (99), from *Tukang Besi*, shows that not all languages share this ban.

Tukang Besi: causative + causative

- (99) *No-hepe-hoko-leama di iaku te wurai.*
 3R-REQ-FACT-good OBL 1SG CORE sarong
 'He asked me to repair the sarong.'

Combinations with reciprocals and with reflexives are pragmatically unlikely, but syntactically possible, as seen in (99) and (99).

causative + reciprocal

- (99) *Ke=li=ko* *te* *te* *te=jí.*
 3SG.NF=do=OBV 3PL 3PL 3PL=hit.PL
 'He made them hit each other.'

causative + reflexive

- (99) *Pe ke=li=ko nòe-pè=pe pe=fu tangpaja.*
 3SG.F 3SG.NF=do=OBV body-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT 3SG.F=see.F mirror
 'He made her see herself in the mirror.'

13.6.2 *Applicative + other valency-changing process*

Applicatives do not combine with other valency-changing processes. This is based on a variety of factors, lexical, semantic and syntactic. Lexically we find that since applicatives are restricted to verbs of motion, they cannot appear on causative constructions, which are all formed with either the verb *li* 'do' or *leng* 'give', neither of which is eligible for an applicative suffix. Similar conditions might apply to an applicative of a reciprocal, formed with *li*, or an applicative of a passive, which uses a non-motion predicate (note that, on the other hand, a reciprocal can be formed on the basis of an applicative construction – see below).

Ungrammatical: applicative + causative *or* applicative + reciprocal

- (99) * *te=li-na*
 3PL=do-APPL
 'They make X (go) to Y' / 'They VERB each other up to Y'

Ungrammatical: applicative + passive

- (99) * *mòng te=wí-na*
wound 3PL=get-APPL
'They were hit to (Y)'

A double applicative is not possible. The restriction here is semantic: the applicative can only index a goal argument, and so combinations are redundant.⁶¹

Ungrammatical: applicative + applicative

- (99) * *te-y-a-na-na pá=fue a*
3PL=3PL-walk-APPL-APPL house=that
'They went to to that house.'

- (99) * *pá=fue a te-y-a-na-na*
house=that 3PL=3PL-walk-APPL-APPL

Finally, applicatives of reflexives are not possible. This is partly semantic, in that a verb that allows a reflexive construction is not one that has an inherent goal complement, but also syntactic: recall from 13.4 that a semantically reflexive clause is still syntactically bivalent, and so it fails to meet the monovalent criterion that applicatives require.

Ungrammatical: applicative of a (pseudo-)reflexive

- (99) * *pe pe=fí-na ke=bálèng-pè=pe*
3SG.F 3SG.F=meet-APPL 3SG.NF=ghost-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT
'She met her own ghost.'

xxxxxxx

13.6.2 Passive + other valency-changing process

Passives do not combine with other valency changing processes. For some of these combinations there are good reasons for the ungrammaticality: a reciprocal construction does not have a 'spare' participant to be coded as subject other than the existing one. Crucially, however, the passive in Skou is a lexical passive, restricted to an alternation with just one other verb, 'hit', and so passives cannot be formed from other predicates.

13.6.2 Reflexive + other valency-changing process

The reflexive of a causative is grammatical, though it is more usual to code such an event with an explicit description of the body part that is affected.

- (99) *Nòe-ké=ke ke=li=ko héfèng.*
body-3SG.NF.GEN=3SG.NF.DAT 3SG.NF=do=OBV good
'He made himself better.'

⁶¹ Languages with applicatives for more than one semantic role allow for multiple applicative constructions, attested in, for instance, Kinyarwanda (Gerds 1992, Donohue 1999). The following Tukang Besi example illustrates this possibility.

Tukang Besi

- (i) *No-wila-ngkene=ako te ina=no te Wa Ki'i.*
3R-go-COM=APPL CORE mother=3GEN CORE Wa Ki'i

13.7 A summary of valency-affecting processes in Skou

We have seen that both bound morphology and periphrastic constructions are used in Skou to indicate processes that involve a change in the valency of the clause. Because of this, there are no formal grounds for describing ‘valency-change’ as a morphologically unified process. Because of the unified nature of their functions, however, we can group them together. We can characterise the different constructions that we have examined in this chapter by means of the diagramme in table 161.

Table 161. Valency changing constructions compared

		Verbal	Nominal	Bound
+A	causatives:	<i>li</i>		
-A	passive:	<i>wí</i>		
+P	applicative:			<i>-na</i>
-P	antipassive:	— not attested in Skou —		
A=P	reflexive		<i>nòe</i> -POSS	
	reciprocal	<i>li</i>		

As can be seen, a great variety of valency-changing devices are found in Skou, with only a marked antipassive being absent from the inventory.

14 Adjunct nominals

The grammatical functions ‘subject’ and ‘object’ are well-established in both the formalist and functionalist linguistics literature, as is the status of ‘oblique’ or ‘adjunct’ arguments as distinct from the subcategorised arguments (there are no syntactic reasons to distinguish obliques from adjuncts from each other in Skou, or in many other languages of New Guinea, other than the obligatory nature of the obliques compared to adjuncts). In many languages, however, there is another class of nominal function, which is more part of the semantic specification of the predicate than a fully independent nominal. T. Mohanan (1995, 1997) and Butt (1995) discuss the status of these nominals in Hindi, but they are at least as widely attested in the languages of New Guinea, and Skou is no exception to this. In this chapter we shall discuss the syntactic behaviour of these nominals, which have been termed ‘adjunct nominals’ in the Papuanist literature, in Skou. To gain a perspective I shall compare the syntactic traits of adjunct nominals in Skou with the parameters of behaviour observed in other languages in the region and beyond, as well as examining their semantic and lexical scope.

14.1 An extra grammatical function: the ‘adjunct nominal’

A reasonably large number of verbal predicates in Skou are composed of two distinct phonological parts: there is the inflecting verb root, which takes all agreement marking and any tense/aspect marking, and which, because the verb is semantically ‘light’, additionally requires an adjunct nominal to fully specify the semantics of the predicate. Some examples of this are found in the following sentences. Here we can see the general affective verb *ká*, which we may gloss as ‘hit’ based on the sense it has when occurring simply with two nominals. This verb⁶² can combine with a nominal, which is neither A nor P, that is positioned outside the inflectional scope of the verb, but nonetheless is essential for the whole predicate’s meaning.

- (1) *Naké=fue a ke kóeng ke=ká.*
 dog=that 3SG.NF tooth 3SG.NF=hit
 ‘The dog bit him.’

Some examples of lexicalised collocations involving a nominal and the verb *ká* ‘hit’ are shown below.

⁶² Also the normal suppletive forms, *láng* with a feminine object, and *jí* with a plural object. The fact that all suppletive forms of the verb occur in all of the ‘idiosyncratic’ and possibly lexicalised collocations of the sort described here suggests that the verb, and its suppletive forms, is linked in the lexicon to the nominal in some way. See Butt and Lahiri (2002) for discussion of the stability of a similar construction in Indo-European languages.

- (2) *Ku ke nì ráue ke=ká i li.*
 child 3SG.NF.ERG 1SG laughter 3SG.NF=hit be do
 ‘The child laughed at me.’
- (3) *Lí te=j-á e ti.*
 festival 3PL=3PL-hit 3PL.be 3PL.do
 ‘They’re holding a festival.’
- (4) *Ke hang hèng ke=ká i li.*
 3SG.NF coconut accusation 3SG.NF=hit be do
 ‘He made accusations concerning his coconuts.’

The next examples differ in that the adjunct nominal is not adjacent to the verb, being separated from it by the affected argument.

- (5) *Féng ne ke=jí.*
 wind 1PL 3SG.NF=hit.PL
 ‘The wind’s blowing on us.’
- (6) *Fu ke ke=ká.*
 rain 3SG.NF 3SG.NF=hit
 ‘The rain soaked him.’
- (7) *Oe pe ke=láng*
 burp 3SG.F 3SG.NF=hit.F
 ‘She burped.’

In the examples above *kóeng*, *ráue*, *lí*, *hèng*, *féng*, *fu*, and *oe* are not the subject of their clauses, nor the object, and they do not appear in the postverbal oblique position. These nominals shall be termed, for the while, ‘adjunct nominals’, though they are better thought of as adjuncts to the verb, and not to the clause. Descriptions of what appear to be related phenomenon in Australian languages refer to it as ‘coverb + verb’ (Wilson 1999 on Wagiman; it is not clear what the basis is for Wilson’s decision that the non-inflecting non-verb is a ‘coverb’, as opposed to a noun) or ‘preverb + verb’ (Warlpiri). Mohanan (1982), describing similar structures in Malayalam, refers to it simply as an X’ constituent, and T. Mohanan (1995, 1997) describes the ‘NV complex predicates’ in Hindi. Butt (1995) provides extensive argumentation on the status and nature of these constructions in Urdu.

An adjunct nominal does not satisfy the subcategorisation requirements of a bivalent verb. For instance, the verb *lùng* ‘teach’ requires both the adjunct nominal *na* and a thing that can be taught, as well as its subject, in order to appear in a grammatical clause:

- (8) *Ne te=Máwo pílàng-tè=te na ne=r-ùng*
 1PL 3PL=Mabo language-3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT teaching 1PL=1PL-teach
ke ne ti.
 3SG.NF 1PL.be 1PL.do
 ‘We’re teaching the Skou language to him.’
- (8)' * *ne na ne rùng ke ne ti*
 ‘we’re teaching him’

The examples above show that the adjunct nominal cannot satisfy the subcategorisation frame of a bivalent verb. Despite this, the adjunct nominal is not optional in the sentence, as can be seen from the ungrammatical (9).

- (9) * *ne te Máwo pílang tè te ne rùng ke ne ti*
 ‘we’re teaching him the Skou language’

This condition on obligatory appearance is present even if the adjunct nominal is not found independent of the adjunct nominal construction, and even if the verb is not found in any contexts without the adjunct nominal (and so the two cannot be said to have productively independent semantics). This is the case for *na lùng* ‘teach’, but not the case for the adjunct nominal + verb in the following construction:

- (10) *Pe ku pe=tue.*
 3SG.F child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘She gave birth.’

In this sentence the nominal *ku* ‘child’ is also found independently in other constructions, functioning as a free nominal, as in the following sentence:

- (11) *Ku=ing a rúru ke=léng i li.*
 child=the hide.and.seek 3SG.NF=hide be do
 ‘The child is playing hide and seek.’

In yet other contexts the root *ku* is encountered as one part of a compound, such as *kulílong* ‘twin(s)’ (*lílong* is not otherwise attested as an independent lexeme) or *angku* ‘young child’ (with *ang* elsewhere attested with the meaning ‘young, unmarried’). Similarly, the light verb *li* ‘do’ (*tue* for 3SG.F) is found in other adjunct nominal constructions, and without any adjunct nominal is found with the sense ‘make, cause’, as in the following examples (*li* is also used with aspectual functions – see 7.9).

- (12) *Pe pá pe=tue.*
 3SG.F house 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘She built a house.’
- (13) *Pe nì=li pe pá hápa pe=tue-tue.*
 3SG.F 1SG=do 3SG.F house small 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘I made her build a small house.’

In some cases the adjunct nominal fails to adequately specify the semantics of the predicate, though this may simply reflect the cultural divisions that existed prior to contact. For instance, compare the alternative translations of the following sentence:

- (14) *Ke rópu-nì=ne yatà ke=li.*
 3SG.NF book-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT transaction 3SG.NF=do
 ‘He bought a book for me.’
 ‘He sold my book.’

Disambiguation is only possible by serialising with the verb *ké* ‘get’; when it appears before *yatà li* the serial verb construction means unambiguously ‘buy’, and when *ké* is put after *yatà li* the only interpretation possible is ‘sell’. The following two sentences differ only in the placement of the inflected *ké*, but show opposite semantics.

- (15) *Ke rópu-nì=ne ke=ké yatà ke=li.*
 3SG.NF book-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT 3SG.NF=get transaction 3SG.NF=do
 ‘He sold my book.’
 * ‘He bought a book for me.’

- (16) *Ke rópu-nì=ne yatà ke=li ke=ké*
 3SG.NF book-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT transaction 3SG.NF=do 3SG.NF=get
 ‘He bought a book for me.’
 * ‘He sold my book.’

We have now surveyed the main uses of what we are calling ‘adjunct nominals’ in Skou. This label is used because on the one hand these words do are more related to nouns than to any other word class, and on the other hand their function is as a sort of ‘adjunct’ to the verb. We have not yet described their formal properties, and we shall attempt to delimit their use formally following an excursion into the behaviour of similar constructions in other languages of New Guinea.

14.2 Adjunct nominals in other languages of New Guinea and its region: a brief survey

Adjunct nominals are widely reported in other languages of New Guinea and Australia, functioning essentially as semantic specifiers on verbs that lack a closely defined conceptual structure. The following example from Asmat (Foley 1986: 120) illustrates adjunct nominals specifying an essentially semantic content-free light verb (data from Voorhoeve 1965).

Asmat:

- (17) *po yi-*
 paddle say-
 ‘to paddle’

Ross (1980: 90), discussing adjunct nominal constructions in Dumo (which he calls ‘complement + verb combinations’) allows for three functional conditions that can be used to diagnose the presence of these constructions; any of these are taken to be sufficient to diagnose an adjunct nominal construction:

- (a) the morpheme preceding the verb does not otherwise occur as an independent word
- (b) the verb is one with a very wide range of meaning and the preceding morpheme therefore plays a major role in determining meaning in context
- (c) the morpheme + verb combination itself takes an object

Examples of these three criteria working in adjunct nominal constructions in Dumo are illustrated below (sentences from Ross 1980: 91). In the first example, the only specification of the manner of motion is by the use of the nominal *lùꞤ* ‘walking’, which also appears as part of other nominals, such as *lùꞤdi* ‘road’.⁶³ This, then, satisfies Ross’ first criterion.

Dumo

- (18) *Hé lùꞤ ha.*
 3SG.M walking 3SG.M.go
 ‘He walks.’

The next example fulfils Ross’ criterion (b): it shows a semantically unspecified light verb ‘do’ with a nominal, *nú* ‘hand’, that combines with it to have a conventionalised sense ‘fight’. Since

⁶³ The parallels to the Skou case for ‘walk’, with perfectly cognate morphemes, is striking (see 7.5).

nú appears in other contexts not associated with fighting, and *hle* also has no implicit specification of fighting, it is only the combination of the inflectable light verb and the semantically contentful nominal that has a meaningful interpretation.

Dumo

- (19) *Hé nú hle.*
 3SG.M hand 3SG.M.do
 ‘He fights.’

Criterion (c) is demonstrated in (20), in which the existence of the adjunct nominal *sí* ‘arrow’ does not preclude the presence of an affected nominal (here, *dú*, ‘bird’) that serves as the object of the clause.

Dumo

- (20) *Hé dú sí hle.*
 3SG.M bird arrow 3SG.M.do
 ‘He hunts birds.’

Austin (1982) discusses what he calls ‘cognate objects’ in Australian languages, a grammatical category closer to the adjunct nominal discussed here than to the English grammar notion of cognate object. He points out the fact that, while there can be two nominals in a clause, neither of them behave as one would expect the subject of a bivalent verb to behave, with respect to case marking. Neither of the nominals may take ergative case, or accusative case, for instance.

Examining other languages in New Guinea and beyond, we find that Ross’ criteria define an extreme: the definition offered for Vanimo is that a nominal is not independent, the verb is semantically bleached, and the nominal+verb unit itself takes an object. In addition to a construction meeting this constellation of criteria, which together will incontestably define an adjunct nominal construction, there are also many related constructions which fail to meet one or the other of these criteria. For instance, it might well be that the nominal involved in the construction is attested elsewhere in the language, or that the verb root is not found anywhere else except in this one predicate, making it a moot point as to how semantically (or otherwise) bleached it can be considered. Finally, there are many N+V predicates which are monovalent, in the sense that they do not take objects. Illustrating all of these points is the Skou translation of the Dumo sentence seen in (18); the Skou version is presented here as (21), and as can be seen is both morphologically and syntactically very similar.

- (21) *Ke lòeng ke=k-a.*
 3SG.NF path 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-walk
 ‘He walks.’

Here we can see clearly that all the lexical morphemes, and their relative positions, are cognate with those seen in Dumo; the only difference is the addition of the pronominal proclitics on the verb in Skou, a morphological addition which is a feature unique to Skou in the close group of languages to which it is related (see figure 1 in 1.4), though a feature which finds parallels in other, more distantly related languages (see 7.8.1 for some examples). In this predicate, however, unlike the Dumo case the nominal is found freely elsewhere, in the compound *lòengma* ‘path’ (the element *-ma* is not attested elsewhere). The verb, too, is semantically explicit, denoting only walking (or, at the widest sense, movement by leg). Finally, the predicate does not license an object. All three of Ross’ criteria are failed, yet the construction is still one involving a non-subject, non-object nominal, and a verb, predicating the clause.

T. Mohanan (1995, 1997) describes a similar construction in Hindi, and notes that we can identify two distinct types of nominal + verb predicate in that language, and further types in other south Indian languages, such as Malayalam (see 14.3). In the languages of the Piore river branch of the Macro-Skou family (see 1.4) we find a particularly interesting variant on this construction, that goes completely against the spirit of Ross' criteria. In these languages there are some NV complex predicates that are composed of a semantically bleached, or semantically underspecified nominal, and a semantically explicit inflecting verb root. Examine the following sentences from Barupu.

Barupu

- (22) *O* *k-o-ro-na*.
 'feelings' R-3SG.F-be.happy-1SG.M
 'I_{male}'m happy.'
- (23) *O* *k-o-taipe-na*.
 'feelings' R-3SG.F-be.sad-1SG.M
 'I_{male}'m sad.'
- (24) *O* *k-ana-kina*.
 'feelings' R-1SG.M-remember
 'I_{male} remember.'

In these sentences the adjunct nominal, *o* 'feelings', is the same in all cases: it cannot be taken to be contributing any semantic specification to the predicate. The semantic content is all found in the verb roots, *ro* 'be happy', *taipe* 'be sad', and *kina* 'remember' (which also display different inflectional paradigms, though that is beyond the scope of the discussion here). Here the construction is the same, but the putative motivation for the nominal's presence, providing specific semantic content to an underspecified verb root, cannot be a functional explanation for the construction. Barupu contains more than enough semantically explicit verb roots, but nonetheless many predicates also require an adjunct nominal to be grammatically complete.

The reported paucity of verb roots in Dumo, and the lack of the widespread use of serial verb constructions (at least in reports), necessarily make adjunct nominal constructions a highly productive mechanism in Vanimo. In Skou there are also many adjunct nominal predicates, as seen in the following example. Here both *hí* 'wash' and some representation of the water are required for the clause to be judged grammatical. It is possible for a more specific noun than *pa* to be used to satisfy this requirement.

- [NOUN VERB]
- (25) *Nì pa nì=hí tí*.
 1SG water 1SG=wash sea
 'I washed in the sea.'

- (25)' * *nì nì=hí tí*

- [NOUN VERB]
- (25)" *Nì tí nì=hí*.
 1SG sea 1SG=wash
 'I washed in the sea.'

The greater number of semantically explicit verb roots in Skou, compared with Vanimo, means that the role of adjunct nominals in Skou is less salient than that in Vanimo. One form of adjunct nominal construction that is widespread in many languages of New Guinea is lacking in

Skou. This is the adjunct nominal involuntary state predicate construction, such as the following:

Lani

An andi e'nakerak.

- (26) *An* [ADJ.NOM *anti*] *et-nap-q-e-taq*
 1SG sickness do-1SG.P-R-3SG.S/A-PAST
 'I was sick.'

The adjunct nominal slot in the above sentence is in fact a phrasal category, in T. Mohanan's terms, as it may be filled by a phrasal category greater than simply a noun, as shown in the following expansion of the sentence seen above. It does appear that, while greater than the lexical category N, the unit we are describing is not as large as an NP. In most Papuan languages, for instance, modification by a demonstrative is not possible for an element in this position, nor is case marking. Compare the following sentences in Lani, a highlands language of Papua. Here we can see that, in addition to simply having *andi* as an adjunct nominal, it is also possible for the nominal to be modified by an adjective, itself modified by adverbials. But the nominal may not be modified by a demonstrative (or possessed).

Lani

An andi abu nggok togon e'nakerak.

- (27) *An* [ADJ.NOM *anti* *apu* *nqoq* *toqon*] *et-nap-q-e-taq*
 1SG sickness very big like.that do-1SG.P-R-3SG.S/A-PAST
 'I was really sick.'

- (28) **an* [N'/NP *andi* *ti*] *e'nakerak*
 that

It seems likely that, while clearly a unit greater than a single lexeme, the adjunct nominal is best described as being less than a full NP. T. Mohanan (1997) identifies two parameters that are necessary to describe the variation that she observes within Hindi, namely the 'size' of the non-verbal element in the construction, and the status of this element. The first of these parameters refers to whether the unit in question is simply a lexeme, or can be a phrasal unit; this can obviously be easily checked. The second is more subtle, and involves determining whether the adjunct nominal is simply part of the complex predicate, or is in fact a subcategorised-for argument of the predicate, which does help to specify the semantics of the predicate (in the same way that the choice of object in the two English phrases *eat an apple* and *eat some noodles* specifies the kind of action depicted by the verb *eat*). These two parameters will be discussed in the following sections.

14.3 The 'size' of the adjunct nominal

One of the parameters that Mohanan found to be a variable in the constructions that she examined in Hindi concerned the 'size' of the adjunct nominal: is it a lexical node, or a phrasal node? That is, is the adjunct nominal limited in size to a single word, or can it be a phrasal unit greater in size than that? This is a parameter that varies both across languages and within the one language.

We may illustrate the issues involved with a short example from Skou. Examine the following sentence:

- (29) *Kúci nà te=òe e ti.*
 marbles play 3PL=play 3PL.be 3PL.do
 ‘They’re playing marbles.’

(I have no idea about the origin of the word *kúci*. The [tʃ] is suggestive of borrowing, since it does not occur in native words, but Dutch *knikker* and Indonesian (ke)lereng are not likely sources. A /tʃ/ phoneme is found in Nyao and Wutung to the east, but I have no information about this lexeme in those languages.)

The question that must be asked concerns the status of the words *kúci* ‘marbles’ and *nà* ‘play’ in (29). There are three immediately obvious analyses that might account for the data above:

1. *kúci* is the object of the [adjunct nominal + verb] construction;
2. *kúci* serves as an adverbial element in the clause, and the predicate is the same [adjunct nominal + verb] unit that was described in the first analysis;
3. *kúci* is part of the [adjunct nominal + verb] construction, modifying *nà*.

The structural differences represented in these three possibilities are shown in (29)'- (29)'''.

- (29)' [NP:OBJ *Kúci*] [V' [N': ADJ. NOM. *nà*] [V *te=òe e ti*]].
 (29)'' [ADVERBIAL *Kúci*] [V' [N': ADJ. NOM. *nà*] [V *te=òe e ti*]].
 (29)''' [V' [N': ADJ. NOM. *Kúci nà*] [V *te=òe e ti*]].

We can only decide on which of these analyses is more appropriate after examining the possibilities for adjunct nominals that are elsewhere attested in the language in other, less ambiguous, cases.

For some nominal+verb collocations the adjunct nominal is optionally a phrasal unit, and not simply a lexical one. The following sentences show modified nouns in the adjunct nominal position. In (30) the expression *na te=òe* ‘they played’ is expanded to [_X *na nawò*] *te=òe* ‘they played a lot’, with a modifier inside a phrasal unit headed by *na*. Similarly in (31) we can see that the simple N+V predicate *pí ne=ti* ‘we talked’ is expanded with an adjective modifying *pí*, and in (32) *na* is expanded with a reduplicated form of the adjective *fèng* ‘bad’. In (30) the bird species name is being used metaphorically.

- (30) *Tángpe* [N+ADJ *na nawò*] *te=òe e ti,*
 small.bird(sp.) play many 3PL=play 3PL.be 3PL.do
 ‘lots of little flighty types keep coming around and playing all over the place.’
- (31) *anake* [N+ADJ *pí háháfa*] *ne=ti ne ti.*
 1DU.EX.NF speech slow 1PL=1PL.do 1PL.be 1PL.do
 ‘we’d just sit and talk quietly, ...’
- (32) *pe=bà* [N+ADJ *ná fèng-fèng*] *pe=òe e tue-tue*
 3SG.F=person play bad-RED 3SG.F=play 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do-RED
 ‘a naughty girl’

(Notice the H tone melody from the HL associated with *fèng* in the adjunct nominal constituent in this last expression has spread to the nominal that heads the X', *na*, now *ná*.)

This behaviour indicates that constituents serving as adjunct nominals can be larger than simple lexical items, and are more like phrasal categories, thus providing support for the third

possibility proposed for (29) shown in (29)'''. It does not, however, seem that these adjunct nominal units are full phrasal projections from the N (that is, they are not full NPs). An NP with a demonstrative may not be used in the adjunct nominal position:

- (33) * *te=angku=ing a* [V' [N+DEM *nà=fue a*] *te=òe*] *e* *ti-ti*
 3PL=child=the play=that 3PL=play 3SG.F.be 3PL.do-RED
 'the children are playing that game'

In order to grammatically express this notion, 'that game' must be coded as a nominal, and a separate adjunct nominal, this time a bare nominal, must be used as well.

- (34) *Te=angku=ing a* [NP *nà=fue a*] [V' [N *nà*] *te=òe*] *e* *ti-ti*.
 3PL=child=the play=that play 3PL=play 3SG.F.be 3PL.do-RED
 'The children are playing that game.'

It seems that the 'adjunct nominal' can be greater in size than a single word, but that if the 'adjunct nominal' is a phrasal category, it is one that is intermediate in size between an N and an NP; for simplicity's sake I shall refer to it as an N'.

Are all adjunct nominal constructions alike in allowing for N', as opposed to simple N⁰, adjunct nominals? The example that we have just examined involve a semantically highly specific nominal, combined with a semantically highly specific verb. Furthermore, in the case of *nà oe* 'play', neither the nominal nor the verb is found independently of the adjunct nominal construction. These factors seem to be relevant to the determination of the amount of N-modifying material that may appear in the construction: the more highly constrained the words involved, the more modification they allow. Not all examples of adjunct nominals are so constrained, with the less syntactically constrained words, in terms of their being independently attested in constructions apart from the adjunct nominal one, being less free to combine with other modifiers in the adjunct nominal construction. A representative sample of other uses, in which the noun and the verb are both found outside the adjunct nominal construction are assembled in table 162.

Table 162. Some nominal + verb expressions in Skou

Nominal		Verb		Expression	
<i>pìng</i>	'bow'	<i>lú</i>	'release'	<i>pìng ke=lú</i>	'shoot'
<i>táŋge</i>	'leg'	<i>lú</i>	'release'	<i>táŋge ke=lú</i>	'kick'
<i>ku</i>	'child'	<i>li</i>	'do'	<i>ku pe=li</i>	'give birth'
(N)	(noun)	<i>li</i>	'do'	<i>X ke=li</i>	'make X'
(N)	(noun)	<i>li</i>	'do'	<i>X ke=li</i>	'have an X'
<i>pí</i>	'language'	<i>li</i>	'do'	<i>pí ke=li</i>	'speak, orate'
<i>péngpèng</i>	'sneeze'	<i>li</i>	'do'	<i>ke=péngpèng li</i>	'sneeze'
<i>pung</i>	'liver, 'heart'	<i>li</i>	'do'	<i>pung ke=li</i>	'like, want'
<i>na</i>		<i>li</i>	'do'	<i>na ke=li, ke=na li</i>	'play'
<i>tanghang</i>	'face'	<i>li</i>	'do'	<i>ke=tanghang li</i>	1. 'be dizzy' 2. 'give birth'
<i>tóe</i>	'tree'	<i>li</i>	'do'	<i>(rí)tóe ke=li</i>	'chop down a tree'

<i>lí</i>	‘festival’	<i>ká</i>	‘hit’	<i>lí te=ti†</i>	‘hold a festival’
<i>kóeng</i>	‘tooth’	<i>ká</i>	‘hit’	<i>kóeng ke=ká</i>	‘bite’
<i>yong</i>	‘pith’	<i>ká</i>	‘hit’	<i>yong ke=ká</i>	‘squeeze pith’

† Holding a festival takes more than one person, so the verb must occur with a plural subject; **lí ke lí*, for instance, with a singular subject and the base form of the verb, is not acceptable.

One extremely common use of the adjunct nominal construction with *li* ‘do’ as the verb involved a sense of making or producing something. Some representative (but by no means exhaustive) examples are shown in table 163.

Table 163. N+*li* meaning ‘make, produce N’

Nominal		Nominal + do	
<i>lómó</i>	complaint	<i>lómó li</i>	‘grumble, complain’
<i>ku</i>	child	<i>ku li</i>	‘give birth to a child’
<i>pu</i>	carving	<i>pu li</i>	‘carve, write’
<i>hòe</i>	sago	<i>hòe li</i>	‘stir sago to make sago jelly’

With these highly productive adjunct nominal constructions, in which both elements are more or less independent lexemes, we find, somewhat paradoxically, perhaps, the least degree of modificational freedom for the nominal. Where there exists the possibility of lexical expansion in the N position, the possibility of phrasal expansion into an N’ appears to be restricted. For example, a basic adjunct nominal construction involving two independent lexemes is shown in (35).

- (35) *Pe ku pe=tue.*
 3SG.F child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘She gave birth to a child.’

If we wish to state that the woman in question gave birth to two children, we would employ a separate lexical item, *ku-lílong* ‘twins’ (transparently composed of the generic *ku* ‘child’ and the not-independently attested root *lílong* ‘twins’).

- (36) *Pe ku-lílong pe=tue.*
 3SG.F child-twin 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘She gave birth to twins.’

Similarly, giving birth to a daughter can be indicated by using the lexeme for ‘girl’, rather than simply the underspecified ‘child’, as the adjunct nominal.

- (37) *Pe pe=angku pe=tue.*
 3SG.F 3SG.F=child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘She gave birth to a daughter.’

It is not, however, permissible to expand the adjunct nominal with some non-compounding strategy, and so, for instance, express the giving birth to twins with a sentence like the one seen in (38).

- (38) **pe ku híngtung pe=tue*
 3SG.F child two 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘She gave birth to two children / twins.’

These examples show that the predicate translating as ‘give birth’ consists of the combination of a simple nominal, not a phrasal unit, with an inflecting light verb. Other lexicalised items, however, show clearly that in these other cases we are dealing with phrasal, and not just lexical, categories that combine with verbs. Examine the adjunct nominal predicates in table 164, where it is clear that the ‘nominal’ used is a lexicalised expression consisting of a noun and modifiers.

Table 164. Some N’ adjunct nominals with non-combinatorial semantics

Nominal		Nominal + ‘do’	
<i>lú pong pong ya</i>	‘eyes-closed-thing’	<i>lú pong pong ya ke=li</i>	‘pray’
<i>ya nóele</i>	‘dirty thing’; ‘sin’	<i>ya nóele ke=li</i>	‘commit sin’
<i>pí pong pong</i>	‘closed speech’; ‘whisper’	<i>pí pong pong ke=li</i>	‘whisper’

Contradictorily, these adjunct nominal constructions allow a semantically highly specific nominal, combined with a semantically highly specific verb, to have modifiers. How can we reconcile these disparate constraints on adjunct nominal size?

It transpires that the size of the adjunct nominal unit can be predicted on the basis of three independent parameters:

1. The lexical content of the inflecting verb:
 - More highly specified verbs allow for more complex phrasal ‘adjunct nominals’;
 - More generic verbs with little specific semantic content can only appear with simplex lexemes.
2. The degree of compositionality that obtains between the elements in the ‘adjunct nominal’:
 - Semantically transparent combinations of noun + modifiers are allowed only with semantically explicit verbs;
 - Opaque or lexicalised combinations of noun + modifier, such as those seen in table 164xx, may occur with generic verbs.
3. The degree of productivity that is found in the semantic relationship between the verb and the ‘adjunct nominal’:
 - the more productive a semantic relationship is, the less likely it is to allow for a phrasal ‘adjunct nominal’.

It appears, then, that, as in Hindi, there are degrees of tolerance in the size of the adjunct nominal unit. Universally there are prohibitions: any modification must involve adjectives, or even most relative clause units, but cannot extend as far as marking by possessive strategies, or deictics.

14.4 The status of the adjunct nominal

In the preceding section we saw that the adjunct nominals are best analysed as phrasal, not lexical, categories in Skou, but that their size is not as great as a full NP is expected to be. The other criteria that has been proposed to assess these constructions involves the status of this

nominal unit: it is part of the predicate, forming a tightly constrained unit with the inflecting verb, or is it an independent participant in the clause, able to participate in the sort of behaviour that characterises independent phrasal units inside the clause?

Firstly, we need to define what behaviour we are discussing. This must be behaviour that is specific to neither subjects or objects exclusively, but which includes both of them. The following list emerges:

- indexing on the verb by means of vowel alternations;
- participation in clause-external topicalisation structures;
- separability from the verb by instrumentally-marked nominals.

Examine the following ‘basic’ sentence, in which we can find a clause-initial time expression *félangro*, followed by a subject pronoun, *pe* ‘she’, and the complex predicate, *ku li* ‘give birth’.

- (39) *Félangro te pe ku pe=tue.*
 year 3SG.F.go 3SG.F child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘She gave birth to a child last year.’

Various elements of the clause may appear with more salient, topical, pragmatic status. As such, they appear preclausally (see 4.2). The two grammatical variants of (39) that are related to it by topicalisation are shown in (40) and (41).

- (40) *Félangro te=fue a, pe ku pe=tue.*
 year 3SG.F.go=that 3SG.F child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘Last year, she gave birth to a child.’

- (41) *Pe=ing a, félangro te ku pe=tue.*
 3SG.F=the year 3SG.F.go child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘Her, last year she gave birth to a child.’

Other sentences are also possible, with oblique locations topicalised, or even nominals only related to those present in the clause. Examples of these are shown in (42) and (43).

- (42) *Te Óeti=ing a, félangro te pe ku pe=tue.*
 Wutung=the year 3SG.F.go 3SG.F child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘In Wutung, last year she gave birth to a child.’

- (43) *Ke=baléng=ing a, félangro te pe ku pe=tue.*
 3SG.NF=man=the year 3SG.F.go 3SG.F child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘That man, (his wife) gave birth to a child last year.’

A sentence with *ku* ‘child’ in a preclausal topic position, however, is not grammatical, as shown in (44).

- (44) * *ku=ing a, félangro te pe [] pe=tue*
 child=the year 3SG.F.go 3SG.F [] 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘that child, she gave birth to (it) last year’

Even if it is doubled within the clause in its normal position the adjunct nominal may not be fronted

- (45) * *ku=ing a, félangro te pe ku pe=tue*
 child=the year 3SG.F.go 3SG.F child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘that child, she gave birth to (it) last year’

If the topical NP is more semantically explicit than the adjunct nominal they may both appear in the same sentence, but the adjunct nominal must be present in the clause in its normal, non-topical (typically preverbal) position. In this case the topic is not directly related to that adjunct nominal at all, as evidenced by the loose topic: comment relationship that is found in (46). An example of such a successful topicalisation is seen in (46), while (47) shows that the adjunct nominal must be retained in the predicate.

(46) *Pe=angku=ing a, félangro te pe ku pe=tue.*
 3SG.F=child=the year 3SG.F.go 3SG.F child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘That girl, she gave birth to (it) last year.’

(47) **pe angku ing a, félangro te pe pe tue*

There is only one circumstance in which an adjunct nominal can appear as part of a preclausal topic, and that is when the verb too is part of the topic structure. That is, it is only when the whole predicate is topicalised that an adjunct nominal can be topicalised, proving the inseparability of the two words. Whenever a verb is topicalised, it must be represented inside the clause in its normal position with the verb ‘do’, as described in 4.2, which in the case of the predicate we are dealing with here leads to an impression that the verb is still present inside the clause. This is not the case, and is simply the fortuitous result of the inflecting verb in the clause being ‘do’ as well as the substitution verb being ‘do’.

(48) *Ku pe=tue=ing a, félangro te pe pe=tue.*
 child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do=the year 3SG.F.go 3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘Giving birth to a child, she did that last year.’

The only instance in which the adjunct nominal can appear preclausally, then, is when the entire predicate is in that position. In Skou the unit that consists of an adjunct nominal and its inflecting verb cannot be separated. What can lie behind the ban on adjunct nominals alone appearing as topics? Several possibilities present themselves, but they are all related, and ultimately point to the same base.

- topics are complete phrasal units, not simple lexical items, and so adjunct nominals, which do not project full NPs, cannot participate in the topicalisation construction;
- the topicalisation of nominals is associated with deictic marking, which adjunct nominals are not eligible to take, since they are not full NPs, to which deictic marking attaches;
- the adjunct nominal is part of the clausal predicate, and so cannot be topicalised separately from the entire predicate since it does not project the phrasal unit that governs the predicate.

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Continuing this process, there are strong argument that a degree of ‘univerbification’ has occurred, or is occurring, with some of the adjunct nominal+verb constructions. This is found with those nominals that appear, or at least can appear, between the proclitic and the verb root. Similarly, the elements involved in verbal collocations (see 7.8) cannot be separated from each other, arguing for a lexically and morphologically complex, but syntactically simple, treatment.

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Most of these issues have been discussed earlier in this chapter in 14.5.1.2 and 14.5.1.3

14.5 The position of the adjunct nominal

Adjunct nominals are found adjacent to the verb, as befits an element that is part of a predicate whose inflecting part is the verb. There are several issues in the analysis of adjunct nominals, involving verbal agreement, serial verb constructions, and the position of the nominal element with respect to the verb. These are dealt with separately in the sections that follow.

14.5.1 Preverbal adjunct nominals

Most adjunct nominal constructions appear with the nominal preverbally. Of these, we may further classify them depending on where the nominal appears with respect to the proclitic agreement marker. There are two logical possibilities, shown in (99).

- (99) 1: Adjunct nominal proclitic=verb root
 2: proclitic=Adjunct nominal verb root

In fact a third possibility is found, in which the predicate alternates between these two options above.

- (99) 3: Adjunct nominal proclitic=verb root
 ~ proclitic=Adjunct nominal verb root

These three different possibilities are discussed in the following sections.

14.5.1.1 Pre-clitic: the nominal precedes the agreement morphology

This is the post common position in which adjunct nominals are found, and yet they are surprisingly few adjunct nominals are found exclusively in this position, without showing any positional variation. Some of the nominals that are only allowed in this position are:

Table 165. Post-clitic adjunct nominals

ADJ.N+PRED	Independence?	individual meanings	combined meaning	Use
<i>mà me</i>	no, no	(only together)	'ridicule'	<i>nì=mà me</i>
<i>lemà pe</i>	no, no	(only together)	'criticise'	<i>nì=lemà pe</i>

In the case of these predicates the verb associated with the adjunct nominal is not found in other constructions, nor is the adjunct nominal. Despite this, they are always separated by a proclitic. Other predicates with pre-proclitic adjunct nominals have verbs that may appear with a range of meanings in different predicates, and some examples of these sorts of predicates are shown below.

Table 166. Pre-clitic adjunct nominals

ADJ.N+PRED	Independence?	individual meanings	combined meaning	Use
<i>pìng lú</i>	yes, yes	‘bow’, ‘release’	‘shoot’	<i>pìng nì=lú</i>
<i>làng lú</i>	yes, yes	‘leg’, ‘release’	‘kick’	<i>làng nì=lú</i>
<i>mòng wí</i>	no, yes	‘get’	‘become wounded’	<i>mòng nì=wí</i>
<i>nupà wí</i>	yes, yes	‘smell (n.)’, ‘get’	‘smell (tr.)’	<i>nupà nì=wí</i>

In addition to these pre-clitic nominal constructions, there are other examples of the nominal appearing before the clitic, but allowing for variation. These are discussed in 14.5.1.3.

14.5.1.2 Post-clitic: the nominal must appear inside proclitic agreement morphology

Only a small number of verbs have what appears to be an adjunct nominal that must appear inside the proclitic. It is obvious that for *hue fèng*, in which both syllables are independently attested free morphemes (‘stomach’ and ‘bad’, respectively), that this is what is happening. With this predicate the vowel alternations found on the predicate indicate that we are not dealing with a topic-comment construction with a form of external possession.

With *na lùng*, on the other hand, there is no obvious phonological or morphosyntactic proof that the predicate is not in fact a verbal collocation of the sort described earlier in 7.8. The difference between this and *hue fèng* is that the *n*-initial syllable of *na lùng* does not show any overt prefixation, since *n*-initial verbs in Skou regularly do not inflect.

Table 167. Post-clitic adjunct nominals

ADJ.N+PRED	Independence?	individual meanings	combined meaning	Use
<i>hue fèng</i>	yes, yes	‘stomach’, ‘bad’	‘angry, seething’	<i>nì=hue fèng</i>
<i>na lùng</i>	no, no	(only in combination)	‘teach’	<i>nì=na lùng</i>

This list of two is not exhaustive, but the small number of members is representative: there are very few verbs in which the adjunct nominal must follow the proclitic.

14.5.1.3 Variable: the nominal may appear either inside or outside the proclitic agreement morphology

A quite large number of predicates involving adjunct nominals allow variation in the position of the adjunct nominal with respect to the agreement proclitic. Some examples of these are shown in table xx168.

Table 168. Variable position adjunct nominals

ADJ.N+PRED	Independence?	individual meanings	combined meaning	Use
<i>è na</i>	no, no		‘try’	<i>nì=è na</i> <i>è nì=na</i>
<i>lú weng</i>	yes, no	‘eye’	‘sleep’	<i>nì=lú weng</i> <i>lú nì=weng</i>
<i>ong fa</i>	no, yes	‘use, make’	‘trick’	<i>nì=ong fa</i> <i>ong nì=fa</i>
<i>nì=péngpèng li</i>	yes, yes	‘sneeze’, ‘do’	‘sneeze;	<i>nì=péngpèng li</i> <i>péngpèng nì=li</i>

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14.5.1.4 The evolution of variation in adjunct nominal coding

One possible model for this behaviour might be that these adjunct nominal constructions that display variable placement of the nominal are in the process of being ‘tried out’ for reanalysis as verbal collocations. That is, the post-proclitic adjunct nominals might be being reinterpreted as part of a complex verbal collocation, of the sort described in 7.8, and perhaps lose any status as an independent word. Table 169xx shows the cline between plain verbs and verbal collocations, with three different possibilities for adjunct nominals shown in between. The constructions with adjunct nominals preceding the subject proclitic are not problematic; the constructions shown as Adj nom: II are those in which there is variation in the position of the adjunct nominal and the proclitic. Forms such as those in the Adj nom: III column are, as stated above, most rare, while the number of verbal collocations is quite large.

Table 169. Possible steps in adjunct nominal disyllabic collocation reinterpretation

	Plain verb	Adj nom: I	Adj nom: II	Adj nom: III	Collocation
CL=(N) (pref-)V	<i>pe=p-ang</i>	<i>pìng pe=r-ú</i>	<i>è pe=na</i>	–	–
CL=N V	–	–	<i>pe=è na</i>	–	–
CL=N pref-V	–	–	–	<i>pe=na r-ùng</i>	–
CL=pref-V pref-V	–	–	–	–	<i>pe=w-á w-i</i>
	‘She eats’	‘She shoots’	‘She plays’	‘She teaches’	‘She counts’

By the final stage we have effectively reached a point of having a bipartite root, *há-hi*, with two separate positions for inflection.

Another instance of apparent adjunct nominal grammaticalisation involves the total loss of the segmental values for the adjunct nominal, but not of the suprasegmental values. Compare the following two ways of expressing the predicate ‘He is angry.’

Angry: nominal predicate

- (99) *Ke hue fèng.*
 3SG.NF stomach bad
 ‘He’s angry.’

Angry: verbal predicate

- (99) *Ke* *ke=li.*
 3SG.NF 3SG.NF=angry
 ‘He’s angry.’

In the verbal predicate version we can see that the verb inflects according to the alveolar paradigm (see 7.2.2), with the consonant alternations that are always found with *l*-initial verbs. Compare the paradigm of the verb ‘angry’ with that of the verb ‘do’, in table 170xx.

Table 170. Inflectional paradigm of the verbs *li* ‘angry’ and *li* ‘do’

	‘angry’	‘do’
1SG	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>
2SG	<i>pi</i>	<i>pi</i>
3SG.NF	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>
3SG.F	<i>tue</i>	<i>tue</i>
1PL	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>
2PL	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>
3PL	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>

It is quite clear that in all ways the verb for ‘angry’ is segmentally identical to the verb ‘do’, in all its (irregular) inflections, including vowel alternations. Tonally, however, it bears a falling pitch, indicating an underlying HL tone melody. The more-than-chance resemblances in structure are most likely the result of the reinterpretation of a construction similar to the following one from Nyao, which involves an adjunct nominal and the verb ‘do’.

Nyao

- (99) *Ke* *fing* *re.*
 3SG.NF bad do
 ‘He’s angry.’

Direct translations of this sentence can be found in many other languages related to Skou and Nyao. In Skou a sentence formed with the same morphemes would have the following form (though it is not attested in modern Skou, hence the *).

putative pre-Skou: Stage I

- (99) * *Ke* *feng* *ke=li.*
 3SG.NF bad 3SG.NF=do
 ‘He’s angry.’

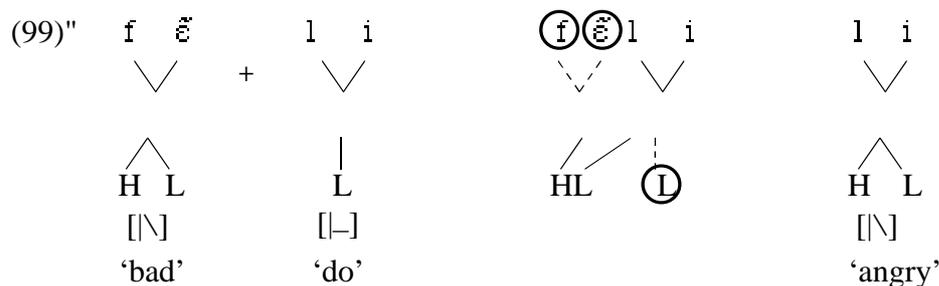
The analysis proposed for the actually attested verbal form, seen in (99), is that clauses such as (99) were at a later stage reanalysed with the adjunct nominal and the verb forming a single unit, as in (99)′.

putative pre-Skou: Stage II

- (99)′ * *Ke* *ke=feng li.*
 3SG.NF 3SG.NF=bad do
 ‘He’s angry.’

Following this, the segmental information associated with *feng* ‘bad’ was lost, leaving only the HL tone to be borne by what had been the segments of the verb ‘do’. This results in an altered

inflecting verb, as in (99)". Now the tone that was associated with the adjunct nominal overwrites the original L melody associated with the light verb.



This model accounts for one way in which the verbal lexicon of Skou has been expanding since pre-Skou days, and why there are so many near-homonyms in the verbal lexicon involving *li* ‘do’. These newly minted words are differentiated either by tone or by an irregular inflection in one or more cells of the agreement paradigm, with the tone being acquired from a previous adjunct nominal, or the deviant inflectional paradigm being a speaker-innovated esoterogenic feature initiated in response to their sociolinguistic environment (see 1.4, 1.7).

14.5.2 Postverbal adjunct nominals

We find several different constructions involving adjunct nominals in Skou. The predicted preverbal forms are found, and these have been extensively discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter. Some examples of these sorts of constructions are the following:

(99) Preverbal adjunct nominal

<i>ta hùng</i>	‘sit’		
<i>ong e</i>	‘refuse’		
<i>we lí</i>	‘hang. TR’		
<i>pì lí</i>	‘speak’	<i>pí</i>	language
<i>na lung</i>	‘teach’		
<i>na lu</i>	‘pound (sago)’		
<i>pìng lú</i>	‘shoot’	<i>pìng</i>	bow
<i>ra lí</i>	‘burn.INTR’	<i>ra</i>	fire

In addition to this we also find one instance of what appears to be a postverbal adjunct nominal. It is debatable as to whether this is a N+V unit, a V+(non-inflecting)V unit, or simply a disyllabic V, though the evidence from aspect-marking reduplication (see 2.6 and 7.9) suggests that *ráue* is not verbal.

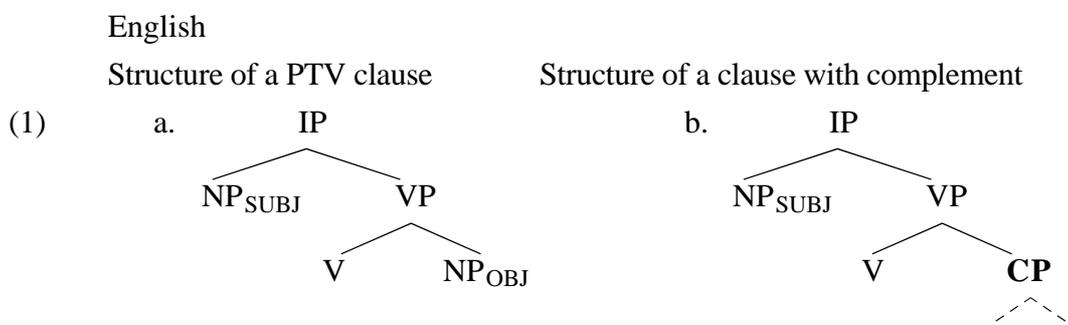
há ráue ‘laugh’

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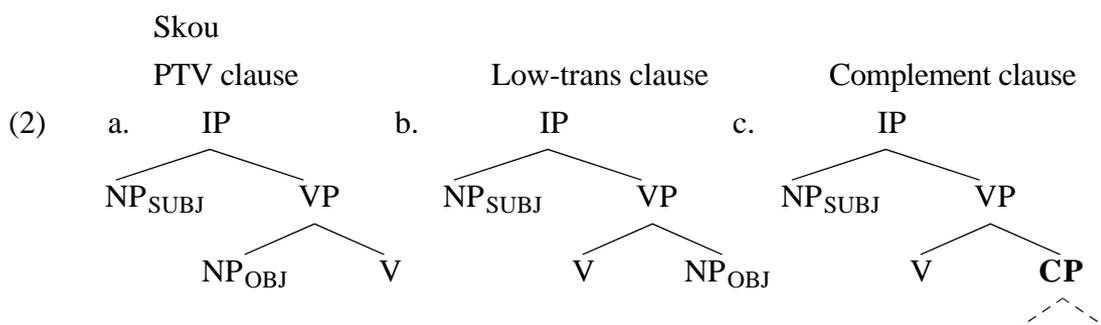
restriction of floated quantifiers that suggests that they should be considered as separate arguments of the verb in their own right.

15 Complements and Control

The behaviour of predicates such as ‘want’, ‘tell’, ‘forget’ etc. has received much attention by linguists, since these are among the predicates that take a non-nominal argument, but rather a clausal one, and particularly a clausal one in which one of the elements of the clause is controlled by one of the nominal arguments of the ‘want’, ‘tell’, ‘forget’ etc. verb. We may model the structure of these constructions in English, compared to a primary transitive verb, in (1).



Although the basic word order is SOV in Skou, with both nominal arguments of the verb preceding it, there are also clauses with SVO order as basic: these are clauses headed by those predicates that have a comparatively low-transitive element. A complement clause is inherently a low-transitive kind of P, and so clauses with a complement clause as object pattern with the low-transitive clauses in having a basic SVO order. The basic structures found in Skou clauses are shown in (2).



Just as with complementation in English, some complement-taking verbs allow an argument of the complement clause to be treated as an argument of the main clause. This can be illustrated in English by comparing the clauses *I saw that he was going*, in which the borders of the complement clause are uncontroversial, with *I saw him going*, in which the subject of the complement clause appears with case marking typical of the object of the main clause. In Skou similar phenomena can be found, though they are more complex than the English ones described here.

The following sections present information on the distinct types of complement constructions in Skou, as far as they can be morphosyntactically defined (for some apparent constructions, not enough information is available to permit a definitive classification). There are significant numbers of similarities between the different complement types, and these traits will be examined first. In the interests of a complete discussion of each complement type each different complement type will be presented separately following this general introduction.

15.1 General characteristics of complement clauses

Complement constructions in Skou generally exhibit raising, but of a more extreme nature than has generally been reported in most languages.

In addition to control of the sort seen in (3), we also find sentences that would translate literally as (4), with the same intended reading as (3). In (4) it is the object of the complement clause, and not the subject, that shows control from the main clause.

(3) *I saw her_j [Ø_j kiss him_k].*

(4) *I saw him_k [she_j kiss(ed) Ø_k].*
 ‘I saw her kiss him.’

I want, hope, think, believe (that) she has eaten;

I told, persuaded, asked, made her eat

EP and complements

15.2 Psych-complements

A range of psychological predicates take sentential complements in Skou, and a representative sample of these are presented below, with a discussion of their individual peculiarities. The predicates that we will discuss are:

péng ‘forget’

pung li ‘want’

15.2.1 Forget

The invariant verb *péng* ‘forget’ can take either a nominal or complement clause serving as the object. The syntax of the ‘forget’ construction is somewhat different to other complements in that the complement clause can appear either preverbally or postverbally. An example of a nominal object is shown in (99), where *fóefòe* ‘soap’ completely satisfies the argument frame of the verb.

(99) *Nì=péng_L fóefòe nì=k-á loe.*
 1SG=forget soap 1SG=1SG-carry come
 ‘I forgot to bring soap.’

When used with a phrasal object the complement phrase must occur preverbally, and there is a requirement that the subject of the complement clause must be coreferential with the subject

of the main clause. Grammatical examples of the use of *péng* with clausal complements are shown in the following sentences.

- (99) *Nì=re-re Pa ílong li=ko nì=péng.*
 1SG=go-RED Tami River do=OBV 1SG=forget
 ‘I forgot to go to the Tami river.’
- (99) * *nì=peng fóefòe mè=m-á p-oe*
 1SG=forget soap 2SG=2SG-carry 2SG-come
 ‘I forgot that you brought soap’
- (99) *Nì=re pa hí-hí li=pa, fóefòe nì=péng.*
 1SG=go water wash-RED do=INSTR soap 1SG=forget
 ‘I went to wash, but I forgot the soap.’

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15.2.2 Wanting

There are several ways to express the notion of ‘wanting’ and ‘liking’ in Skou. The simplest involves nothing more than marking an unrealised aspect on the predicate, as in (99).

- (99) *Hòe nì=k-ang-kang li*
 sago 1SG=1SG-eat-RED do
 ‘I want to eat sago.’

In addition to this, it is possible to mark ‘want’ with a complex predicate. When the main predicate is ‘want’ or ‘like’, and the object is a nominal, not a sentential complement, then the adjunct nominal (+ do) expression *pung li* ‘do liver’ is used as a transitive verb, as in the following sentence (This is one of the set of adjunct nominal + verb collocations that takes the proclitic external to the adjunct nominal – see 14.5.1).

- (99) *Pe=angue=ing a nì=pung li.*
 3SG.F=unmarried.girl=the 1SG=liver do
 ‘I like that girl.’

When the object of ‘want’ is a verbal complement, the same structure may be used, except that *pung li* may occur either preceding or following the wanted event; a nominal object must precede the predicate: **nì pung li pe angue ing a*. The verb in the complement clause must appear reduplicated, indicating its irrealis mood.

- (99) *Hòe nì=k-ang-kang nì=pung li*
 sago 1SG=1SG-eat-RED 1SG=liver do
 ‘I want to eat (some) sago.’
- (99) *Nì=pung li hòe nì=k-ang-kang.*
 1SG=liver do sago 1SG=1SG-eat-RED
 ‘I want to eat (some) sago.’

It is also grammatical for a sentential complement to follow *pung li*, and for *pung li* to appear without any agreement, if the subjects of the two predicates are coreferential. Notice, however, that in the latter case the subordinate clause is marked with *li* as well as reduplication, indicating an aspectual change.

- (99) *Pung li ìngno nì=k-ang-kang li.*
 liver do banana 1SG=1SG-eat-RED do
 'I would like to eat (some) bananas.'

- (99) * *pung li ìngno nì kang kang*

The same construction may be used when the subject of the wanting clause and the subject of the subordinate clause are not coreferential:

- (99) *Nì=pung li hòe mè=m-ang-mang.*
 1SG=liver do sago 2SG=2SG-eat-RED
 'I want you to eat (some) sago.'
- (99) *Nì=pung li pe mè=p-áng-páng.*
 1SG=liver do 3SG.F 2SG=2SG-hit.F-RED
 'I want you to hit her.'
- (99) *Nì=pung li nì pe=w-á-wá.*
 1SG=liver do 1SG 3SG.F=3SG.F-hit-RED
 'I want her to hit me.'

In this last sentence the object *nì*, even though it is coreferential with the subject of *pung li* 'want', cannot be omitted, nor may the subject marking on *pung li*. Omission is only possible if the two subjects are coreferential.

- (99) * *nì pung li pe wá wá*
 (99) * *pung li nì pe wá wá*

This last ungrammatical sentence cannot be interpreted as 'She wants to hit me.' since the form of the verb 'do' is not suitable for marking a 3SG.F subject. Grammatical versions of this sentence are shown in (99) - (99).

- (99) *Pe=pung tue nì pe=w-á-wá.*
 1SG=liver 3SG.F.do 1SG 3SG.F=3SG.F-hit-RED
 'She wants to hit me.'
- (99) *Pung tue nì pe wá wá*

The monoclausality of this construction can be seen in the fact that topicalisation applies around *pung li*: elements of the sentence that follow *pung li* can be topicalised to a position preceding it.

- (99) *Ìngno=ing, nì=k-ang-kang pung li=wò.*
 bananas=DEIC 1SG=1SG-eat-RED liver do=EMPH
 'Bananas, I really like eating (them).'
- (99) *Ìngno=ing, nì=pung li=wò nì=k-ang-kang.*
 bananas=DEIC 1SG=liver do=EMPH 1SG=1SG-eat-RED
 'Bananas, I really like eating (them).'

In addition to the *pung li* construction, wanting is perhaps more commonly expressed simply by reduplicating the verb and adding the auxiliary verb 'do', as in the following example.

- (99) *Mè ya yatà mè=pi-pi pi?*
 2SG what transact 2SG=2SG.do-RED 2SG.do
 'What do you want to buy?'

inflects only on the verbs *i* ‘be’ and *li* ‘do’, not by proclitic (since it is inanimate – see xx.xx) but by means of the changes in the verb stems. The complement clause precedes the *rówó* predicate, and is joined by means of the proximate marker *=pa*, indicating a same reference condition between the two clauses. Since verbal inflection tells us that the morphological subject is not the same between the two clauses, we must be dealing with either something similar to the treatment of unaccusatives (19.5.2), or else, since *rówó* can only possibly be used to imply that someone is hesitating in their own actions, the *=pa* is used to indicate the same temporal setting.

- (99) *Nì=re-re Pa ílong lí=pa rówó e tue.*
 1SG=go-RED Tami River do=INSTR hesitate 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do
 ‘I’m hesitant about going to the Tami river.’

- (99) *Í bápáli nì=fue=ko nòde rówó.*
 snake big 1SG=see=OBV body hesitate
 ‘When I see big snakes I get shivers.’

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15.4 Knowing and perceiving

The complements of these predicates appear with the same restrictions as are found with perception verbs. This is perhaps not surprising, since these predicates are lexically coded with the same verbs, *fue* and *lúe*, that are used as perception verbs: the syntax is invariant regardless of the sense of the verb that is intended. The lexical differentiation of the verbs can be seen by the fact that *lúe* and *fue*, when used with the sense ‘know’, do not carry the implication that the knowledge was acquired through hearing or seeing, respectively, but are simply generic predicates marking knowledge acquisition.

- (99) *Nì=lúe=ko m̀=ong fa.*
 1SG=hear=OBV 2SG=deceive use
 ‘I know that you’re fooling (me).’

- (99) *Nì=lúe=te m̀=ong fa.*
 1SG=hear=DIR 2SG=deceive use
 ‘I know that you’re fooling (me).’

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15.4.1 Perception complements

Perception complements allow for one of the arguments of the complement clause to be realised as the object of the main clause. Unusually, the argument that can display ‘raising’ of this sort is not restricted to be the subject of the subordinate clause. We can show that the phenomenon here is not simply topicalisation or some other form of pre-sentential positioning by examining the forms of object agreement on the matrix verb. An example of a sentence with no raising and a complement of a perception verb can be seen in (99). Here the verb is in the form showing no agreement for the object in terms of features, and the complement clause appears in the same form that it would in a ‘normal’ main clause.

- (99) *Nì=fue* [IP *naké ke kóeng ke=ká*].
 1SG=see dog 3SG.NF tooth 3SG.NF=hit
 'I saw the dog bite him.'

When the subject of the embedded clause is raised to serve as the object the alternative seen in (99) appears. Clearly the main clause now has an overt object, preverbal to the predicate *fue*.

- (99) *Naké nì=fue* [IP *ke kóeng ke=ká*].
 dog 1SG=see 3SG.NF tooth 3SG.NF=hit
 'I saw the dog bite him.'

If the dog in question (and in object position in the main clause) is feminine, then the feminine form of the verb must be used, not only in the embedded clause, but also in the main clause:

- (99) *Naké nì=fu* [IP *ke kóeng pe=w-á*].
 dog 1SG=see.F 3SG.NF tooth 3SG.F=3SG.F-hit
 'I saw the (female) dog bite him.'

If the nominal is not overtly raised, then the verb may not show agreement with it, proving that the optional preverbal position does mark some real change in grammatical status. In (99) we see that the dog in the complement clause must be interpreted as female, because of the use of feminine agreement marking on the verb of that clause. Nonetheless it is not grammatical for the main clause verb to exhibit feminine agreement for that argument; only the neutral form of the verb is possible, as in (99).

- (99) * *nì=fu* [IP *naké ke kóeng pe=w-á*]
 1SG=see.F dog 3SG.NF tooth 3SG.F=3SG.F-hit
 'I saw the dog bite him.'

- (99) *nì=fue* [IP *naké ke kóeng pe=w-á*]
 1SG=see dog 3SG.NF tooth 3SG.F=3SG.F-hit

Additionally, not only the subject, but also the object of the subordinate clause may appear in a raised position. Since the object in this example is non-feminine, that means that the verb cannot be in the feminine form, regardless of the sex of the dog.

- (99) *Ke nì=fue* [IP *naké kóeng pe=w-á*].
 3SG.NF 1SG=see dog tooth 3SG.F=3SG.F-hit
 'I saw the dog bite him.'

- (99) * *ke nì=fu* [IP *naké kóeng pe=w-á*]
 3SG.NF 1SG=see dog tooth 3SG.F=3SG.F-hit

The fact that both the subject and the object of the complement can appear raised to the position and status of object of the main clause (though not simultaneously) means that raising is not a test for subjecthood in Skou, but rather a test for core status – a test for a nominal being either subject or object. It does not apply to oblique arguments, including unmarked postverbal participants, as can be seen in the ungrammaticality of (99)"; proof that the raising may apply to monovalent verbs can be seen in the grammaticality of the sentence in which the subject of *re, nì* 'I', appears as the object of *lóeng*, this is shown in (99)'.
 (99) *Pe=r-úng=ko* [IP *nì=re mè*].
 3SG.F=3SG.F-tell.F=OBV 1SG=go 2SG
 'She told me to go to you.'

- (99) [_{NP} *Ró-pè=pe* *ùepi*] *nì=fu*.
 clothes-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT dry 1SG-see.F
 ‘I saw her dry clothes.’

Note that there is no real ambiguity between the two readings offered above in (99) and (99) for *Ró pè pe ùepi nì fu*. In speech (the only medium in which Skou is commonly communicated) the intonation that expresses *ùepi* as an NP-internal modifier has the intonation pattern as shown in (99)', while a sentence with *ùepi* as a result has that shown in (99)'. With the resultative clause there is a fresh start to the intonational tonespace, signifying the clausal boundaries. This is not found with an NP-internal attributive use.

ùepi as NP-internal modifier

- (99)' [- \ - \ - -]

ùepi as NP-external resultative predicate

- (99)' [- \ - \ - \ -]

In the following paraphrase the demonstrative clitic =*ing* follows the string *Ró pè pe ùepi*, which could be interpreted as a unit meaning either ‘her dry clothes’, interpreted as a single NP with the adjective modifying the head, or ‘Her clothes are dry.’, being an entire self-contained clause with a simple noun predicated by the adjective. For both interpretations the placement of the deictic shows that this unit functions as a single NP in the main clause, and not as a subordinate or complement clause.

- (99) [_{NP} *Ró-pè=pe* *ùepi=ing*] *nì=fu*.
 clothes-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT dry=DEIC 1SG-see.F
 ‘I saw her dry clothes.’
 ‘I saw that her clothes were dry.’

The next example shows the postverbal small clause, which in this case serves to predicate an inherent characteristic of the adjunct nominal, being marked following the verb.

- (99) *Pe=ueme* *ku* *pe=tue* *balèng*.
 3SG.F=woman child 3SG.F=3SG.F.do male
 ‘My wife gave birth to a boy.’

When the small clause refers to an adjunct nominal, and not a subject or object argument of the clause, the otherwise present option of coding the adjective in an NP-internal position modifying the noun is not grammatical. With the adjunct nominal construction only a bare noun may appear as the semantic specifier of the verb, and any modification of that noun in an immediate constituent with it is disallowed, as shown in the following example in which *balèng* ‘male’ appears as a modifier of *ku* directly, and so is ungrammatical.

- (99) * *pe ueme ku balèng pe tue*

Even with a full NP

xxxxxx

here i am

Postverbal modification of a preverbal nominal has precedents in other parts of the grammar, as can be seen in (99), where the postverbal adjective *atáléle* ‘small’ modifies the preverbal object *móe* ‘fish’.

- (99) *Móe nì=láng=ko atáléle(-fa).*
 fish 1SG=chop.F=OBV small-‘ADJ’
 ‘I chopped the fish up into small pieces.’

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- (99) *Nì=k-ang=ko yong atáléle.*
 1SG=1SG-eat=OBV food small
 ‘I only eat a little.’
 (literally, ‘I eat such that the food is little.’)

(reference to adverbs in 5.6)

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15.5 Manipulative complements

Manipulative complements are those structures that express causation in some way, and in which the subject of the main clause brings about, or initiates, the predicate described in the lower clause by a different subject.

The most common of these involves speech-act verbs, used when one participant instructs another to carry out an action, and these typically involve the generic speech act verb *lóeng* ‘tell, say, command’.

15.5.1 Tell

Complements with the verb *lóeng* ‘say, tell’ show a similar range of possibilities, in terms of syntactic behaviour, to that found with complements of perception, though the differences are important.

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Particularly, ‘raising to object’ is possible only with the subject of the complement clause, though it is not necessary. The raising to object of the object of the complement clause that is such a feature of Skou perception complements is not possible with complements involving *lóeng*. For instance, given the following sentence:

- (99) *Ke=lóeng=ko nì pa nì=ké.*
 3SG.NF=say=OBV 1SG water 1SG=get
 ‘He told me to fetch some water.’

only one variant with a raised object, (99), is possible. raising the original object, *pa* ‘water’, is not possible, as seen in the ungrammaticality of (99).

- (99) *Nì ke=lóeng=ko pa nì=ké.*
 1SG 3SG.NF=say=OBV water 1SG=get
 ‘He told me to fetch some water.’

- (99) * *pa ke lóeng ko nì nì ké*

A variable that is not found with perception-verb complements is that it is possible for the subject of *lóeng* to be the same as the subject of the complement: in this case the main verb has the sense ‘promise, assure’, and is syntactically constrained to *not* allow any raising to object.

- (99) *Nì=lóeng hìoe nì=a=loe loe.*
 1SG=say pandanus 1SG=PROM=get.PL come
 ‘I promise that I’ll get the pandanus fruits.’
- (99) *Ke=lóeng=ko nì=re rabáká yatà nì=li.*
 3SG.NF=say=OBV 1SG=go cigarette transact 1SG=do
 ‘He told me to go and buy some cigarettes.’
- (99) *Ke=lóeng=ko nì=re rabáká yatà nì=li.*
 3SG.NF=3SG.NF=say=OBV 1SG=go cigarette transact 1SG=do
 ‘He told me to go and buy some cigarettes.’

Saying complements allow for a doubling of a pronominal object in the base clause, so that a representation of the argument appears in the matrix clause as well as in the subordinate clause. Compare the following two sentences:

- (99) *Mè nì mè=p-óeng=ko pa nì=ke.*
 2SG 1SG 2SG=2SG-tell=OBV water 1SG=get
 ‘You told me to fetch some water.’
- (99) *Nì=lóeng=ko mè pa mè=b-é.*
 1SG-tell=OBV 2SG water 2SG=2SG-get
 ‘I told you to fetch some water.’

The object of the main verb may be realised in either the main clause as P or in the complement clause as S/A; the marking on the verb is unchanged.

- (99) [MAIN *Nì=lóeng=ko*] [COMP *ke=angku=we pa ke=ké*].
 1SG-tell=OBV 3SG.NF=child=this water 3SG.NF=get
 ‘I told the boy to fetch some water.’
- (99) [MAIN *Nì ke=angku=we nì=lóeng=ko*] [COMP *pa ke=ké*].
 1SG 3SG.NF=child=this 1SG-tell=OBV water 3SG.NF=get
 ‘I told the boy to fetch some water.’
- (99) [MAIN *Nì=lóeng*] [COMP *hìòe nì=a=loe-loe*].
 1SG=tell pandanus 1SG=PROM=get.PL-RED
 ‘I promise I’ll bring the pandanus fruit.’

It is not possible for a nominal object to appear as the P of the matrix clause:

- (99) *Theo ke ke=lóeng=ko Petrus pe ke=láng.*
 Theo 3SG.NF 3SG.NF=say=OBV Petrus 3SG.F 3SG.NF=hit.F
 ‘Theo told Petrus to hit her.’
- (99) * *Theo Petrus ke lóeng ko (ke) pe ke láng*

Many languages have no overt means, other than intonation, of encoding these control concepts; often markers of these discourse relationships are the first things borrowed from another language that does have them, when two languages come into contact, indicating a perceived lack of these markers, as well as an actual one. Other languages (especially verb-final ones) have explicit verbal morphology to signal these relations, and do not use separate words at all.

- (99) *Ke=lóeng=ko m̀è=me ya m̀è=pi?*
 3SG.NF=tell=OBV 2SG=2SG.go what 2SG=2SG.do
 ‘What did he tell you to go and do?’

15.5.1.1 Speech act complements and 'raising'

These complements show an unusual pattern of ‘raising’, in that either the subject or the object may raise. While the following sentence, with the complement intact and the main verb *lóeng* ‘tell’ appearing without any apparent object is both usual and acceptable in Skou:

- (99) *Pe=r-úng=ko m̀è ǹì=fí.*
 3SG.F=3SG.F-tell.F=OBV 2SG 1SG=meet
 ‘She told me to meet you.’

it is also possible to have, as in English, the subject of the complement function as the object of the main verb, as determined by position. In (99) there is now a preverbal object for *lóeng*, coreferent with the subject of the complement clause.

- (99) *Ǹì pe=r-úng=ko m̀è ǹì=fí.*
 1SG 3SG.F=3SG.F-tell.F=OBV 2SG 1SG=meet
 ‘She told me to meet you.’

A third possibility, for which there is no syntactic equivalent in English, is for the *object* of the complement to appear as object of the main clause. In this case the subject of the complement cannot be coded as the object of the main clause, and may only appear in the complement.

- (99) *M̀è pe=r-úng=ko (m̀è) ǹì=fí.*
 2SG 3SG.F=3SG.F-tell.F=OBV 2SG 1SG=meet
 ‘She told me to meet you.’
 (Glossing literally, ‘She told you (that) I will meet (you).’, though this glossing does not reflect the meaning of the sentence at all)

Nominal arguments show the same behaviour as the pronominal ones shown above. In the examples below (99) shows the sentence without any raising, and (99) shows the NP *ke angku p̀è pe* raised to be the object of the matrix clause.

- (99) *Pe=r-úng=ko ke=angku-p̀è=pe m̀è*
 3SG.F=3SG.F-tell.F=OBV 3SG.NF=child-3SG.F.GEN-3SG.F.DAT 2SG
ke=fí.
 3SG.NF=meet
 ‘She told her son to meet you.’
- (99) *Ke=angku-p̀è=pe pe=r-úng=ko m̀è*
 3SG.NF=child-3SG.F.GEN-3SG.F.DAT 3SG.F=3SG.F-tell.F=OBV 2SG
ke=fí.
 3SG.NF=meet
 ‘She told her son to meet you.’

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Note that unlike perception complements the P of the subordinate clause may not be raised to be the P of the main clause. This is shown in the ungrammaticality of the following sentence (compare with (99) and (99) above).

- (99) * *Theo pe ke=lóeng=ko Petrus (pe) ke=láng.*
 Theo 3SG.F 3SG.NF=say=OBV Petrus 3SG.F 3SG.NF=hit.F
 ‘Theo told Petrus to hit her.’

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15.5.2 Teach

The concept of teaching is expressed with the complex predicate *na lùng* and another raising construction. Examine the following sentence:

- (99) *Nì pe=angku hòe nì=na lùng_L pe=tue*
 1SG 3SG.F=child sago 1SG=teach 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
e tue.
 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do
 ‘I taught the girl to stir sago.’

In this sentence it appears that the clause ‘the girl stirs sago’ is broken up, as shown in the following diagram. The two clauses, *Pe angku hòe pe tue e tue* and *Nì pe angku nì na lùng*, do not form discrete units, but are broken up in the sentence, each appearing discontinuously.

- Pe angku hòe pe tue e tue*
- (99)′ *Nì [pe angku hòe] nì na lùng [pe tue e tue].*
- Nì pe angku nì na lùng*

A better analysis is to think of this sentence as involving a main clause, *Nì pe angku nì na lùng* ‘I taught the girl’, and a subordinate clause *pe angku hòe pe tue* ‘The girl stirs sago.’, with *pe angku* being marked only as the object of the main-clause object, and *hòe* appearing in the main clause as a raised argument from the subordinate clause. This is shown in (99).

- (99) [*Nì pe angku* [] *nì na lùng*]
- ↑
- [*Pe-angku hòe pe tue*]

The difference, then, between the raising constructions seen with perception predicates and ‘normal’ complements of saying, and complements involving *na lùng*, is that *na lùng* allows for an object to start with, and then additionally allows for a raised object, while the ‘normal’ saying complements simply allow for a raised object. The subcategorisation frames would be something like the following:

- (99) ‘*lóeng*: ___(NP:SUBJ), (XCOMP) ’
- (99)′ ‘*na lùng*: ___(NP:SUBJ), ___(NP:OBJ), (XCOMP) ’

The raising-to-object option would be specified as a possibilities of the whole macro-class of complement-taking verbs, and so not part of each individual subcategorisation frame.

This type of complements found with *na lùng* can be paraphrased with no discontinuities in the subordinate clause, the complement clause following the main verb as in (99), or with the entire subordinate clause intact preceding the verb, as in (99)′:

(99) *Nì nì na lùng pe angku hòe pe tue e tue.*

(99)' *Nì pe angku hòe pe tue e tue nì na lùng.*

Notice especially that the appearance of both *pe angku* and *hòe* as objects in the main clause cannot be taken as simply an exuberant instance of object raising from the subordinate clause, as we can see that there are two NPs, neither embedded in the other, in the preverbal position, representing both the subject and the object of the subordinate clause. While it is true that both subjects and objects are eligible for raising in complementation constructions in Skou, there are no reasons to think that two NPs may be raised, since no other verbs show this possibility. The fact that *na lùng* shows some trivalent behaviour is further evidence that one of the NPs, the instructee, is specified as part of the main clause without us needing to invoke raising principles.

other possible analyses of this construction, with no raising involved,
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15.5.3 Get

It is possible to use *ké* 'get' as a general manipulation complement, as in (99).

(99) *Nì ke=ké [pa nì=ké k-a loe].*
1SG 3SG.NF=get water 1SG=get 1SG-carry come
'He got me to fetch water.'

Sentences (99) - (99) shows that reflexives are not bound to the clause in which they occur. In (99) we have a complement clause in which there is a reflexive beneficiary which xxxxx

(99) *Áì-nì=ne ke ke=angku ke=ké*
father-1SG=1SG 3SG.NF.ERG 3SG.NF=child 3SG.NF=get
[COMP *ke ke=ti tína yatà ke=li*].
3SG.NF 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.go salt transact 3SG.NF=do
'My father_i made the boy_j go to buy some salt for himself_i.'

(99) *Áì-nì=ne ke [COMP ke=angku ke=ti*
father-1SG=1SG 3SG.NF.ERG 3SG.NF=child 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.go
tína yatà ke=li] ke=ke nòe-ké=ke.
salt transact 3SG.NF=do 3SG.NF=get body-3SG.NF.3SG.NF.DAT
'My father_i made the boy_j go to buy some salt for himself_i.'

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15.5.4 The status of recipient nominals in bivalent predicates: testing with raising

In 5.4.4 we introduced the sole trivalent predicate in the language, and the tests that provide conflicting identities for the grammatical function status of the recipient. As a means of testing the status of recipients as core or oblique arguments, it is highly significant that the postverbal recipient in a verb of transfer is eligible for raising. This test shows that, despite the position of the recipient following the verb, a position normally limited to oblique NPs, the recipient is

treated as a non-oblique, and that rather than, say, simply targetting a particular position in the clause (preverbal bare NP), the restrictions on raising are more complex, and can only be described by reference to grammatical functions. In addition to a complex sentence containing a complement-taking verb and a subordinate clause headed by a bivalent verb in which there is no raised argument, shown in (99), we can also see a range of alternatives with various of the core arguments of the subordinate clause appearing as objects of the complement-taking verb. The possibilities for raising are shown in the following three sentences, showing raised subject in (99)', a raised theme in (99)", and a raised recipient in (99)'''. The fact that this last sentence is also grammatical points to the core status of the recipient in the subordinate clause.

Basic sentence

- (99) *Ke=lóeng=ko* [IP *kóe* *pe=w-é* *r-ung* *nì*].
 3SG.NF=tell=OBV sago.cake 3SG.F=3SG.F-get 3SG.F-give 1SG
 'He told her to give the sago cake to me.'

Subject of embedded clause treated as object of main clause

- (99)' *Pe ke lóeng ko* [IP *kóe pe wé rung* *nì*].

Theme object of embedded clause treated as object of main clause

- (99)'' *Kóe ke lóeng ko* [IP *pe wé rung* *nì*].

Recipient object of embedded clause treated as object of main clause

- (99)''' *Nì ke lóeng ko* [IP *kóe pe wé rung*].

These data should be compared to the following set of sentences, which are parallel in structure to those seen in (99) - (99)''' except for the fact that they use the predicate *yatà li* 'sell, buy'. With this verb the postverbal goal is not a core argument, even though it appears in the same place as the recipient in (99) - (99)''', and may not be raised, showing that it is not a core argument of the subordinate clause.

- (99) *Ke=lóeng=ko* [IP *kóe* *pe=w-é* *yatà* *pe=tue* *nì*].
 3SG.NF=tell=OBV sago.cake 3SG.F=3SG.F-get transact 3SG.F=3SG.F.do 1SG
 'He told her to sell the sago cake to me.'

Subject of embedded clause treated as object of main clause

- (99)' *Pe ke lóeng ko* [IP *kóe pe wé yatà pe tue* *nì*].

Theme object of embedded clause treated as object of main clause

- (99)'' *Kóe ke lóeng ko* [IP *pe wé yatà pe tue* *nì*].

Recipient object of embedded clause treated as object of main clause: ungrammatical

- (99)'''* *nì ke lóeng ko* [IP *kóe pe wé yatà pe tue*].

The failure of *nì* to grammatically appear as the object of *lóeng* in (99)''' shows that it does not share the behavioural characteristics that the other two nominal arguments in that complex clause, *pe* and *kóe*, display (in common with the core arguments of other verbs). We can only conclude that it is an oblique argument.

15.5.5 Raising and adjunct nominals

When the complement clause involves an adjunct nominal, the adjunct nominal does not display any raising phenomena; this might simply reflect the fact that adjunct nominals are not animate,

and so cannot be commanded, a property we would expect of the object of a complement-taking verb, or it might reflect an important difference between adjunct nominals (and obliques) on the one hand, and core arguments on the other. More interesting, however, is the fact that the object may not be raised in the presence of an adjunct nominal. The sentence below shows a complement clause with an adjunct nominal *pìng*.

- (99) *Pe=r-úng=ko te pìng nì=lú.*
 3SG.F=3SG.F-tell.F=OBV 3PL bow 1SG=release
 ‘She told me to shoot them.’

As predicted, the subject of the complement clause may appear marked (by position) as the object of the matrix verb, as in (99)', below:

- (99)' *Nì pe rúng ko te pìng nì lú.*

The adjunct nominal from the complement clause may not, however, appear as an object of the main clause, shown by the ungrammaticality of (99), and neither may the object of the complement clause, shown in (99)'.
 (99) **pìng pe rúng ko te (pìng) nì lú*
 (99)' **te pe rúng ko (te) pìng nì lú*

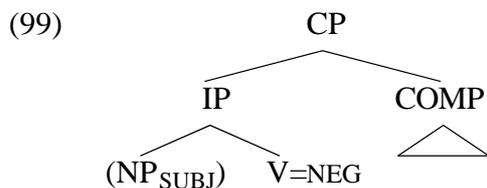
Compare this with a set of sentences using the simple predicate *ká* ‘hit’, in which the object of *ká* can show raising.

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15.5.6 Complements, negation, recipient

A variety of speech-act or psych complements are expressed simply by placing the matrix verb in a clause preceding the complement clause.

- (99) *Nì=lúe ka bòng=ing pe=tue=ko*
 1SG=hear NEG basket=DEIC 3SG.F=3SG.F.do=OBV
bá-té=te tue.
 who-3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT 3SG.F.do
 ‘I don’t know who she’s weaving those baskets for.’



The scope of negation is ambiguous with these sorts of sentences. In (99) the negative marker, which is as usual postverbal, can have scope over the complement clause, as shown in (99)', or over the sentence as a whole, as in (99)". It is not grammatical for the negator with scope over the manipulative verb to appear immediately following it, as in (99).

- (99) *Nì=lóng=ko te=angku nà e=oe-oe ka.*
 1SG-tell=OBV 3PL=child play 2PL=play-RED NEG
 ‘I told the children not to play.’ OR ‘I didn’t tell the children to play.’

- (99)' [IP *Nì=lóeng=ko* [COMP *te=angku nà e=oe-oe*]] *ka*.
- (99)" [IP *Nì=lóeng=ko* [COMP *te=angku nà e=oe-oe ka*]].
- (99) * *nì=lóeng ka=ko te=angku nà e=oe-oe ka*
 1SG=tell NEG=OBV 3PL=child play 2PL=play-RED NEG
 'I told the children not to play.' OR 'I didn't tell the children to play.'

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15.6 Trying

Complements of trying are expressed with the complex predicate *è na* 'try', which is separated from its complement clause by the obviative marker, indicating that conceptually there is a break in reference between the two clauses. The obviative is used even when the subject of trying and the subject of the complement are identical, because trying to do something and that something happening are not co-temporaneous. See 19.xx.xx for discussion of this morphosyntactic pattern. Another possible explanation is that expressing 'trying' is tantamount to acknowledging failure ('I tried really hard to pass the test (but ...)'), and so the notion of agentivity, central to the argument-based notion of the subject that is extended through Skou grammar, is not the same in both clauses. This, too, is discussed in more detail in the section that deals with switch reference, 19.5.

- (99) *Nì=è na=ko hòe nì=li-li li=pa ra wung te.*
 1SG=try try=OBV sago 1SG=do-RED do=INSTR fire die 3SG.F.go
 'I tried to cook the sago, but the fire had already died down.'
- (99) *Nì=è na=ko nì pe=w-á-wá.*
 1SG=try try=OBV 1SG 3SG.F=3SG.F-hit-RED
 'I tried to get her to hit me.'

The predicate *è na* is one of those that have variable positioning of the adjunct nominal with respect to pronominal clitic placement; this is discussed in 14.5.

15.7 The morphosyntax of complementation

We have seen that complementation in Skou presents a variety of alternate structures, with a wide range of interesting syntactic properties. Without doubt the most interesting feature of complementation in Skou involves the fact that not only the subject, but in fact all core arguments of the verb can show raising. The fundamental description of control does not involve the terms 'subject / non-subject', but rather 'core / non-core'.

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16 Negation, quantification and obliques: the syntax of postverbal position

There are no complications in the inflection of negated verbs such as is attested in many languages of New Guinea, with separate paradigms used when the clause they are in is negated. Similarly, the morphological marking of negation is accomplished quite simply by means of an invariant morpheme. Nonetheless, there are a number of morphosyntactic complications involved with negation in Skou, and these are dealt with in this chapter.

16.1 Negative clauses

The expression of negation is morphologically simple in Skou, involving a single independent word with no changes in the paradigm of the verb and not alteration to case marking, but is syntactically complex. Propositions in sentences of all kinds can be negated with the particle *ka* postverbally; verb forms do not change to indicate that a verb has been negated. This can be seen with predicates of the three major words classes, noun, adjective and verb, in the following sentences.

Nominal predicate

- (1) *Ke=bà=fue a bápá-ne-nì=ne ka.*
 3SG.NF=person=that friend-1SG.DAT-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT NEG
 ‘That person is not my friend.’

Adjectival predicate

- (2) *Pá-pè=pe=fue a rong ka.*
 house-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT=that old NEG
 ‘That house of hers isn’t old.’

Verbal predicate

- (3) *Te=bà=ing a hòe te=t-ang ka.*
 3PL=person=the sago 3PL=3PL-eat NEG
 ‘Those people didn’t eat (any) sago.’

In response to questions, the negator alone may be used to give a negative response, but it is more common to reply with the verb (or nominal or adjectival predicate) plus the negator. Simply repeating the question clause, with the addition of the negator, is also possible, but unlikely.

- (4) *Kóe pe=w-á?*
 sago.pancake 3SG.F=3SG.F-roast
 ‘Has she made the sago pancakes?’

(5) *Pe=w-á ka.*
 3SG.F=3SG.F-roast NEG
 ‘She hasn’t.’

(6) # *Ka.*
 NEG
 ‘No.’

If there are auxiliaries in the question, the negative response will usually simply involve the verb ‘do’, and not the main verb. It is completely ungrammatical to include the full auxiliary cohort with the negator (see below, and see 7.9.xxxx).

(7) *Kóe pe=w-á e tue?*
 sago.pancake 3SG.F=3SG.F-roast 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do
 ‘Is she making sago pancakes?’

(8) *Pe=tue ka.*
 3SG.F=3SG.F.do NEG
 ‘She isn’t.’

(9) # *Pe=w-á ka.*
 3SG.F=3SG.F-roast NEG
 ‘She isn’t.’

(10) * *Pe=e tue ka.*
 3SG.F=3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do NEG
 ‘She isn’t.’

(11) * *pe e ka tue*

From the above examples it might be assumed that negation is simply marked clause-finally, a pattern common in Papuan languages from the eastern half of the island of New Guinea (Reesink 2000). This would give us the following model for the position of negation:

Negation: first attempt at a model (to be later falsified)

(12) S_{NEG} S NEG

The positioning of the negator is not, however, quite so simple. The negative morpheme appears before an auxiliary, if present, and is in fact simply immediately postverbal. This can be seen by examining data from certain verbal clauses with an auxiliary. It is true that in many cases an aspect that would be marked with the use of an auxiliary in a positive sentence occurs without one in a negative, as seen in the following pairs:

Positive sentence, auxiliary used

(13) *Te hòe te=t-ang e ti.*
 3PL sago 3PL=3PL-eat 3PL.be 3PL.do
 ‘They’re not eating sago.’

Negated sentence, no auxiliary

(14) *Te hòe te=t-ang ka.*
 3PL sago 3PL=3PL-eat NEG
 ‘They’re not eating sago.’

(15) * *te hòe te tang ka e ti*

(16) * *te hòe te tang e ti ka*

Examples in which the auxiliary is present in a negative clause are rare, but include (17), in which we can see that the marker of negation must occur preceding the auxiliary.

- (17) *Te=ing a te=te-te ka ti.*
 3PL=the 3PL=3PL.go-RED NEG 3PL.do
 ‘They don’t want to go.’

- (18) * *te ing a te te te ti ka*

The sentence above shows the cooccurrence of *ka* ‘negative’ with the *li* ‘do’ auxiliary in a wanting clause. It is not possible for the ‘be+do’ complex auxiliary (7.9.xx) to be used in negated clauses, as in examples (13) and (14), above. In those cases where negation and an auxiliary do occur together we can see that the marker of negation appears between the verb and the auxiliary, and not clause-finally, as shown by the ungrammatical (18). The non-appearance of negation with the complex auxiliary means that the range of aspectual choices for negated clauses is less than that found in positive clauses, except for verbs expressing motion, as described in 7.9. To summarise the data presented there, the following correspondences between aspect marking involving auxiliaries in positive and negative clauses hold.

Table 171. Aspectual choices in negative clauses compared to positive ones

	Positive (all verbs)	Negative	
		motion verbs	other verbs
complete	V	V NEG	V NEG
irrealis	V-RED	V-RED NEG	V-RED NEG
intentional	V-RED do	V-RED NEG do	V-RED NEG
continuous	V be do	V NEG be do	V NEG

While morphologically quite straightforward, involving no special inflection for the verb, the addition of a negative to a verbal clause is syntactically complex, and involves substantial restructuring of the clause, both structurally and in terms of the grammatical status of the different nominals in the clause. In a verbal clause involving only subjects and objects as nominal participants there are no observable changes, but if there is an oblique or adjunct in the clause we see that in the negated clause the non-argument appears preverbally, as in the contrast between (19) and (20).

Motion-verbal predicate with a desiderative auxiliary

- (19) *Ni ni=re-re Te Tángpe li.*
 1SG 1SG=go-RED Skou Yambe do
 ‘I want to go to Skou Yambe.’

Motion-verbal predicate with a desiderative auxiliary, negated

- (20) *Ni Te Tángpe ni=re-re ka li.*
 1SG Skou Yambe 1SG=go-RED NEG do
 ‘I don’t want to go to Skou Yambe.’

In this example the negator occurs after the verb *re* ‘go’, but before the auxiliary that carries the information about desire, *li* ‘do’. Despite this it has scope over the entire clause, showing that it is clearly not attached on the basis of the verb’s position, but rather to a position determined by the clause as a whole.

Based on this small amount of data alone, we might model the structure of the negative clause as shown in (21).

Negation: second false model

- (21) S_{NEG} SUBJ OBJ V NEG AUX (LOC)

This position, between the verb and the auxiliary, raises some interesting phrase-structural issues. The phrase structure of Skou place a goal nominal (as opposed to a simple location) in the position between the verb and the auxiliary, as illustrated here in the following sentence.

- (22) *Nì=re-re báng i li.*
 1SG=go-RED beach be do
 ‘I’m going to the beach.’

When we negate such a sentence, with or without the auxiliary, the goal must appear *preverbally*, not in its normal postverbal position (if it is still mentioned overtly).⁶⁴ The negated equivalent of the sentence above is presented first, and then equivalents without the auxiliary: in both cases, the goal must appear preverbally in the negative.

Negation of verbs with a motion component

- (23) *Báng nì=re-re ka li.*
 beach 1SG=go-RED NEG do
 ‘I’m not going to the beach.’

- (24) *Nì=re báng.*
 1SG=go beach
 ‘I went to the beach.’

- (25) *Báng nì=re ka.*
 beach 1SG=go NEG
 ‘I didn’t go to the beach.’

The use of a different auxiliary does not change the pattern for either the position of negation or its effects on the position of a goal, as can be seen in the following pairs; note that with an overt object in the clause, *hòe*, there are two possible positions for the negated location. Note also that the appearance of oblique arguments in a preverbal position in negated sentences applies to location adjuncts as well as to goal complements.

- (26) *Póí pe=r-ú pa-lòe.*
 spinach 3SG.F=3SG.F-chop house-platform
 ‘She chopped up the spinach on the platform.’

- (27) *Pa-lòe póí pe=r-ú ka.*
 house-platform spinach 3SG.F=3SG.F-chop NEG
 ‘She didn’t chop up the spinach on the platform.’

Clearly the negative construction provides evidence for a certain commonality between (subcategorised for) obliques which are part of the event structure called for by the verb, and completely non-subcategorised for adjuncts which are purely peripheral to the clause.

⁶⁴ It is more likely that the goal will not be mentioned at all; rather that (99), *Nì re ka* is more commonly heard. Mentioning that goal is associated with some degree of pragmatic salience.

- (28) *Hòe ke=k-ang i li Te Tángpe.*
 sago 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-eat be do Skou Yambe
 'He's eating sago in Skou Yambe.'
- (29) *Hòe Te Tángpe ke=k-ang ka.*
 sago Skou Yambe 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-eat NEG
 'He isn't eating sago in Skou Yambe.'
- (29)' *Te Tángpe hòe ke kang ka.*
- (30) *Rópu-mè=me ko tue pá.*
 book-2SG.GEN=2SG.DAT be.at 3SG.F.do house
 'Your book is in the house.'
- (31) *Rópu-mè=me pá ko tue ka.*
 book-2SG.GEN=2SG.DAT house be.at 3SG.F.do NEG
 'Your book isn't in the house.'

With an instrument, which I normally found in pre- or postverbal positions (for at least some speakers), as shown in (32) - (34), we find that in a negative clause the postverbal position is not available, seen in the ungrammaticality of (36).

- (32) *Àti ke=pung tangkófo=pa.*
 meat 3SG.NF=butcher knife=INSTR
 'He's cutting up the meat with a knife.'
- (33) *Àti tangkófo=pa ke=pung.*
- (34) *Tangkófo=pa àti ke=pung.*
- (35) *Àti tangkófo=pa ke=pung ka.*
 meat knife=INSTR 3SG.NF=butcher NEG
 'He's isn't cutting up the meat with a knife.'
- (36) * *àti ke=pung tangkófo=pa ka.*
- (37) *Tangkófo=pa àti ke=pung ka.*

We can thus determine that the marker of negation, *ka*, and the goal NP occupy the same position in the phrase structure, and in the event that two elements are specified by the semantic structure underlying the clause, both of which could appear here, only one may. In this competition for the position negation overrides the goal, and so only the negator appears postverbally. A model of the different positions in the sentences shown here as (31), (13) and (22) - (25) is given in figure 11xx. Here we can see quite clearly that regardless of the semantic role, or status as marked or unmarked, an oblique cannot appear postverbally in a negated clause.

Figure 11xx. Templatic model of negated sentences based on (31), (13) and (22) - (25)

Sentence	Sentential positions					
	SUBJ	OBJ	VERB	GOAL / NEG	AUX	(LOC)
(31)	<i>rópu-mè=me</i>	<i>pá</i>	<i>ko tue</i>	<i>ka</i>		OBJ
(13)	<i>te</i>	<i>hòe</i>	<i>te=t-ang</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>e ti</i>	
(22)			<i>nì=re-re</i>	<i>báng</i>	<i>i li</i>	
(23)		<i>báng</i>	<i>nì=re-re</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>i li</i>	OBJ
(24)			<i>nì=re</i>	<i>báng</i>		
(25)		<i>báng</i>	<i>nì=re</i>	<i>ka</i>		OBJ

Do these preverbal goals display more than just the positional properties of objects? That is, are there some morphosyntactic properties shared by objects, but not ‘normal’ postverbal goals, that are displayed by these preverbal goals in negated sentences? The answer is a clear ‘yes’. As will be seen in chapter 15, the preverbal goal in negated sentences is eligible to show raising, which is otherwise restricted to clear subjects and objects in clauses. The negative construction, then, involves valency change when there is an oblique participant in the clause. What is the explanation for this?

The fact that the typical postverbal oblique is an NP that is not subcategorised for by the verb lies at the heart of understanding this construction. Any oblique NP in a clause is, by virtue of its very presence where it is not absolutely required, pragmatically salient. Other evidence for this comes from an examination of those verbs that permit alternative APV and AVP orders (see 5.4.3), in which it is clear that the postverbal coding choice is associated with pragmatic prominence. Negation, too, involves pragmatic prominence, and in the competition for the postverbal position negation wins. The default coding choice in this situation is for the oblique to not be mentioned (see example (17), and footnote 50xx). If the oblique is salient enough to be mentioned even in a negated clause, then it is clearly salient enough to warrant coding as a core argument: core arguments are universally more salient than non-core NPs, evidenced in the existence and function of constructions such as applicatives and passives, both of which are found in Skou (see 13.2 and 13.3, respectively). Applicatives, which an object position for a participant which has an alternative coding option,⁶⁵ are associated with more discourse-salient nominals (Donohue 2001a). Nonetheless, the presence of an oblique or adjunct, an optional element in the clause, is itself indicative of some degree of higher-than-normal topicality being associated with that participant, and this might reflect their common object-creating behaviour.

16.2 Negation and the predicate ‘give’

The constraints on the arrangement of a negated clause have been stated in terms of the grammatical functions of the nominals in the clause: a nominal which is oblique, if it is expressed in a negated clause, relinquishes its postverbal position to the negator, and appears

⁶⁵ It is the existence of an alternative that differentiates the oblique:object alternation in the applicative from the oblique(adjunct):negative alternation found in the negative construction (Chapter 16), as well as the positional differences: the erstwhile oblique is a preverbal object in a negative construction, while it is a postverbal object in the applicative construction (unless negated).

preverbally, with a structural position and grammatical behaviour identical to that observed in objects.

We might wonder what the treatment is of the recipient ‘goal’ of verbs such as ‘give’. The quandary exists because verbs such as ‘give’ take a preverbal theme P in addition to a postverbal recipient, but that postverbal recipient can be demonstrated to be an object, positionally coded in this postverbal position as an oblique, rather than being a participant bearing the grammatical function ‘oblique’. The question of the ability of a single predicate to subcategorise for three core arguments is not an issue, since these predicates are usually paraphrased with a serial verb construction, and this resolves the issue of a single verb having an overly saturated subcategorisation frame. The first sentence below shows a non-negative sentence with the predicate meaning ‘give’ coded by two separate verbs, as is normal. The negated version in (39) presents the negator in sentence-final position, following both verbs, and the recipient of the second verb now appears preceding both verbs. A version in which the displaced recipient appears between the first verb and the second, seen in (40), is not grammatical.

- (38) *Rópu=ing nì=ké léng ke.*
 book=the 1SG=get give 3SG.NF
 ‘I gave the book to him.’
- (39) *Rópu=ing ke nì=ké léng ka.*
 book=the 3SG.NF 1SG=get give NEG
 ‘I didn’t give the book to him.’
- (40) * *rópu=ing nì=ké ke léng ka*
 book=the 1SG=get 3SG.NF give NEG
 ‘I didn’t give the book to him.’

These data might be thought to show that the sequence of two verbs is treated as a single unit for the purposes of displaced postverbal arguments. This would, however, fail to take into account the special status of the recipient of ‘give’ as a non-oblique argument in a postverbal position. Other, more clearly oblique, nominals show a different pattern when they appear in clauses with multi-verb predicates that are negated.

For example, with the complex predicate *ké i* ‘put’, made up by the two independent verbs *ké* ‘get’ and *i* ‘be’, we find that the postverbal nominal *píng* ‘table’ does not necessarily appear displaced to a position preceding both verbs, as is the case for the recipient goal in the sentences (38) - (40) with the similarly complex predicate *ké léng* ‘give’. Rather, the locative goal in (41), when displaced by the necessity to mark negation in the postverbal position, may appear either preceding both of the verbs that make up the complex predicate, or preceding just one of them. These two options for positioning the goal are shown in (42) and (43).

- (41) *Rópu=ing nì=ké i píng.*
 book=the 1SG=get be table
 ‘I put the book on the table.’
- (42) *Rópu=ing píng nì=ké i ka.*
 book=the table 1SG=get be NEG
 ‘I didn’t put the book on the table.’
- (43) *Rópu=ing nì=ké píng i ka.*
 book=the 1SG=get table be NEG
 ‘I didn’t put the book on the table.’

In this way the difference between a postverbal object, as seen with the predicate *ké leng* ‘give’, and a postverbal oblique complement, seen with *ké i*. Other postverbal noun phrases, serving as adjuncts, rather than complements, show the same behaviour as oblique complements, in terms of displaying both possibilities for displacement from the postverbal position.

16.3 Quantification and restrictions of the postverbal position

The core arguments of a clause precede the verb (3.13). The postverbal position is the domain of most oblique arguments, and also of various ‘adverbials’, including floated quantifiers.

There are two universal quantifiers in Skou, *nawò* ‘many, all’ and *fátà* (which is rarely, but occasionally, heard as the variant *táfà*, a form that is more in keeping with the linguistic relatives of Skou) ‘all, completely’. While they are semantically very similar, they behave very differently syntactically. Both quantifiers can appear in the normal position inside the NP that they quantify, as in the following two examples:

(44) *Naké nawò te=me y-a tà.*
 dog all 3PL=3PL.return 3PL-walk running
 ‘All the dogs ran away.’

(45) *Naké fátà te=me y-a tà.*
 dog all 3PL=3PL.return 3PL-walk running
 ‘All the dogs ran away.’

Unique to *fátà*, however, is the ability to appear in a postverbal position, as in (46), which has the same semantic content as (45), with some extra pragmatic salience on both *naké* and *fátà* (even though the two words are discontinuous) that is lacking in (45).

(46) *Naké te=me y-a tà fátà.*
 dog 3PL=3PL.return 3PL-walk running all
 ‘All the dogs ran away.’

The quantifier *nawò*, seen in (44), may not appear floated away from its host NP in this fashion, as seen by the ungrammaticality of (47), which can be compared with the grammaticality of (45) and (46), which show that, despite their similar meanings, the two quantifiers have different syntax.

(47) * *naké te moe ya tà nawò*

Another example of a floated quantifier with a monovalent clause, this time nonagentive, along with the equivalent sentences showing non-floated quantification, can be seen in (48) and (49).

(48) *Te=balèng te=lé weng fátà.*
 3PL=male 3PL=eye.PL sleep all
 ‘The men are all asleep.’

(49) [_{NP} *Te balèng fátà*] *te lé weng.*

When a quantifier appears NP-internally it can only be interpreted as modifying the nominal that is head of the NP in which it occurs. In a bivalent clause, when there are two core arguments, there are two options for quantification: the normal NP-internal modification may occur, as in the following examples:

- (50) [NP *Naké fátà*] *pále te=y-a yú.*
 dog all pig 3PL=3PL-walk chase
 ‘All the dogs chased the pig(s).’
- (51) *Naké* [NP *pále fátà*] *te=y-a yú.*
 dog pig all 3PL=3PL-walk chase
 ‘The dogs chased all the pigs.’

For both of these sentences the use of *nawò* ‘many’ inside the NP is also a grammatical way of adding a quantifier to the clause, with in both cases the same restrictions on interpretation: the quantifier must modify the noun in whose NP it is found, and cannot be taken as being restricted to a different noun. Sentences (trivially) illustrating these data are shown below.

- (52) [NP *Naké nawò*] *pále te ya yú.*
 ‘Lots of dogs chased the pigs.’
- (53) *Naké* [NP *pále nawò*] *te ya yú.*
 ‘The dogs chased lots of pigs.’

A floated quantifier in a bivalent clause is grammatical, but does not have unlimited restriction over simply any of the nominals in the clause: it can only refer to the object of the clause, not the subject:

- (54) *Naké pále te=y-a yú fátà.*
 dog pig 3PL=3PL-walk chase all
 ‘The dogs chased all the pigs.’
 * ‘All the dogs chased the pig(s).’

The restriction of the postverbal quantifier may not extend to the A, and not the P. Quantification of the A can be simply accomplished by the use of an NP-internal quantifier, as in (52), but not by postverbal floated quantification. Similarly, a postverbal nominal (a goal or location) may only be quantified NP-internally.

- (55) * *nì=re fátà bàme.*
 1SG=go all village
 ‘I went to all the villages.’
- (56) * *bàme nì=re fátà.*
 village 1SG=go all
 ‘I went to all the villages.’
- (57) *Nì=re* [NP *bàme fátà*].
 1SG=go village all
 ‘I went to all the villages.’

Can we then say that the restriction of a postverbal quantifier is only over an absolutive argument only, an S or P? The data presented so far is not the full story: in the case of a predicate with an adjunct nominal, then the quantifier can only be taken as referring to the nominal associated with the adjunct nominal position, and not the P of the sentence, suggesting that a characterisation of the restriction of the quantifier must refer to more than simply syntactic roles. In (58) the postverbal quantifier *fátà* will most naturally be interpreted as being restricted to the adjunct nominal concept ‘arrow’ (that which is released from a bow), and not over the P of the clause, *palé*.

- (58) *Pále pìng nì=lú fátà.*
 pig bow 1SG=release all
 ‘I shot a pig/pigs with all (my) arrows.’
 * ‘I shot all the pigs.’

Note that when the adjunct nominal is not so easily countable, the quantifier cannot be interpreted as being restricted to it. Compare the restriction of the quantifier in (58), where the adjunct nominal is the preferred restriction, with that seen in (59) - (61), in which the quantifier can only be restricted to the S or the P, and not the unquantifiable adjunct nominal.

- (59) *Te=ueme ráue te=j-á e ti fátà.*
 3PL=woman laughter 3PL=3PL=‘emote’ 3PL.be 3PL.do all
 ‘All of the women laughed.’
 * ‘the women did all of the laughing’
- (60) *Rí rà ke=li fátà.*
 wood fire 3SG.NF=do all
 ‘He burned all of the wood.’
 * ‘he burned the wood with the whole fire’
- (61) *Te=balèng te=ta y-ùng fátà.*
 3PL=man 3PL=sitting 3PL=sit all
 ‘All of the men sat down.’
 * ‘the men did all of the sitting’

Data such as this, involving the restriction of the quantifier in clauses that involve an adjunct nominal as part of the predicate, complicate a statement restricting the reference of a floated quantifier to the absolutive argument in a clause. Another complication for the analysis of postverbal quantification as an absolutive-pivot selecting operation involves the quantification of obliques. It is not possible for postverbal floated quantifiers to occur in the same sentence as a postverbal oblique, as already exemplified. If the oblique appears in the preverbal topic position, quantification inside the NP is also, as would be expected, possible, as in (62).

- (62) [TOPIC [NP *Bàme fátà=ing a*]], *nì=re-re.*
 village all=the 1SG=go-RED
 ‘I’ll go to all the villages.’

There are also instances of a topicalised oblique appearing with a postverbal quantifier, as can be seen in (63).

- (63) [TOPIC *Pá-tè=te=ing*], *nì=ha fátà nì=e.*
 house-3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT=DEIC 1SG=walk all 1SG=ascend
 ‘All of their houses, I visited them.’

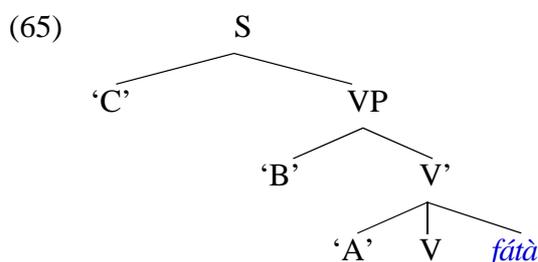
This instance of a goal appearing before the verb is not simply a case of a preverbal location with the NP remaining inside the clause, such as is found obligatorily when the clause is negated (16.1), but must be thought of as being a pre-sentential topic. The first argument against *pá tè te ing* in (63) not being clause-internal is that the clause is not negated, the only condition under which locations have been demonstrated to appear preverbally. This status can be demonstrated by contrasting the sentence above with the following, in which the preverbal oblique is clearly not functioning as the topic of the sentence, since there is another NP in that function.

- (64) * [TOPIC *te=balèng=ing*], *bàme te=y-a fátà*
 3PL=male=DEIC village 3PL=3PL-walk all
 ‘the men, they went to all the villages.’

What, then, are the conditions on the restriction of a floated quantifier? We have observed the following constraints:

- the floated quantifier can refer to the single core argument of a monovalent verb;
- with a bivalent verb, the floated quantifier cannot be interpreted as being restricted to the A, but must be restricted to the P;
- in a clause with a predicate involving an adjunct nominal, the floated quantifier cannot be interpreted as being restricted to the A, but must be restricted to the adjunct nominal (preferred scope) or the P;

We might summarise these restrictions with a structural diagram: a postverbal floated quantifier must be interpreted as having scope over the non-adjunct that is closest, structurally, to itself and the verb. That is, given the tree in (65) the positions A, B and C are, in that order, the preferred interpretations for the scope of a postverbal quantifier: a quantifier will refer to. There is a clear preference for structurally close elements over those further away.



This structurally-based description of the restrictions on interpretation is not, however, a tenable position, since a nominal may appear in a sentence-initial topicalised position without a change in its possibility for being the restriction of the floated quantifier. Consider the following sentences, one with a topicalised P and one without. The scope of the floated quantifier does not change with the changed position of the NP *lang ing*.

(66) *Te=angku lang=ing te=t-ang fátà.*
 3PL=child coconut/tuber.dish=DEIC 3PL=3PL-eat all
 'The children have eaten all the lang.'

(67) *Lang=ing te=angku te=t-ang fátà.*
 coconut/tuber.dish=DEIC 3PL=child 3PL=3PL-eat all
 'The children have eaten all the lang.'

This shows that a purely structural account of the scope of quantifiers cannot accurately model the facts. The fact that the quantifier is, structurally (as opposed to purely templatically) closer to the VP-sister 'C' position in the tree in (65) is also suggestive that a structural analysis will not work. Instead, we must appeal to the syntactic roles borne by the arguments.

XXXXX

the restriction of negation plus quantifier

I have one attested case of a negator and a postverbal location appearing in the same clause together, seen in (99). In this clause the fact that both the subject and the object are marked as being pragmatically salient, the object being coded as topical/given and the subject as pragmatically focussed, might go some way towards explaining this exceptional structure.

- (99) *ya-lílpa=ka te=a te=ti-ti ka bàme,*
 thing-all=FOC 3PL=PROM 3PL=3PL.do-RED NEG village
 ‘they can’t do all the things (that are necessary) in the village, ...’

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When a single sentence contains auxiliaries and a quantifier, the quantifier precedes the auxiliaries. This means that it is in templatically the same position as the goal of a motion predicate would appear in.

- (99) *Te=angku lang=ing te=t-ang-tang fátà ti.*
 3PL=child coconut/tuber.dish=DEIC 3PL=3PL-eat-RED all 3PL.do
 ‘The children want to eat all the lang.’

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16.4 Negation and complex predicate constructions

When a complex predicate in the form of a verb + adjunct nominal, or a serial verb construction, is negated, then the negation appears following all elements; the negative may not intrude between the separate members of the complex predicate.

Examine the following sentence, in which the goal of the predicate ‘run back to’, *nì* ‘1SG’, appears in a preverbal position because of the presence of the negator *ka* sentence finally (the equivalent non-negated sentence would be *Ke ke moe ka tà toe nì*). Firstly, the shunted oblique is not positioned immediately preceding the verb that codes it as a goal, *toe*, but rather the goal must appear preceding all of the verbs in the serial verb sequence, even though a verb such as *ha tà* may not subcategorise for a goal argument, and so *nì* cannot possibly be interpreted as being part of the structure of that particular lexical item. As (99)' and (99)" show, it is not grammatical for the fronted goal to appear anywhere else in the clause.

- (99) *Nì ke=moe k-a tà toe ka.*
 1SG 3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF-walk running 3.come NEG
 ‘He didn’t run up to me.’

(99)' * *ke moe nì ka tà toe ka*

(99)" * *ke moe ka tà nì toe ka*

Sentences showing the ungrammaticality of the negator appearing anywhere but in final position are given in (99), (99)' and (99)".

- (99) *Ke ke=moe k-a tà toe ka.*
 3SG.NF 3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF-walk running 3.come NEG
 ‘He didn’t come running back.’

(99)' * *ke ke moe ka tà ka toe*

(99)" * *ke ke moe ka ka tà toe*

With complex predicates formed from a noun plus a verb, such as the adjunct nominal constructions that have been the subject of more examination in chapter 14, the same condition on the position of the negator, and the position of any fronted obliques, holds: the complex predicate is treated as a unit, and may not be interrupted.

- (99) *Pá-nì=ne* *ke=lú weng* *ka.*
 house-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT 3SG.NF=eye sleep NEG
 'He didn't sleep in my house.'

(99)' * *ke lú pá nì ne weng ka*

(99)" * *pá nì ne ke lú ka weng*

These data clearly show that the various complex predicates are single clauses, not sequences of clauses,

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16.5 The position of *toe* 'come' in negated control structures

An exception to the generalisation that negation occurs in the final position in Skou clauses concerns the placement of *toe* 'come' in the clause. If *toe* is the sole predicate in the clause, then there are no exceptions, as in the following examples:

- (99) *Ke=angku=fue a* *ke=toe* *ka.*
 3SG.NF=child=that 3SG.NF=3.come NEG
 'That boy didn't come.'

If, however, the clause with *toe* is embedded in another clause, then the negator may appear at the apparent end of the first clause.

- (99) *Ke=angku* *nì=lóeng=ko* *ka* *toe.*
 3SG.NF=child 1SG=call=OBV NEG 3.come
 'I called the child, but he didn't come.'

This is not found in control structures, such as (99) in which *lóeng* serves to code a command, not a simple calling out.

- (99) *Ke=angku* *nì=lóeng* *ke=toe-toe* *ka.*
 3SG.NF=child 1SG=call 3SG.NF=3.come-RED NEG
 'I told the child not to come.'

(99) * *Ke=angku nì=lóeng ka ke=toe-toe*

This shows us that *toe* is not bound to a particular clause if it appears without proclitic agreement.

16.6 Summary of the syntax of negation

The following points are the most salient ones involved in a description of negation:

- the negative morpheme appears postverbally, but precedes an auxiliary, if present. Auxiliaries may only appear in clauses involving involving bivalent or motion verb predicates;
- negation involves the treatment of any otherwise oblique nominals (whether they are adjuncts or complements), bearing recipient, goal, or location semantic roles, as objects in the clause;

17 Non-verbal predicates

Non-verbal predicates are firstly distinguished by the lack of obligatory agreement clitics, which are such a prominent feature of the verbal predicate. On the other hand, there can be agreement in the non-verbal predicate. We shall examine non-verbal predicates depending on whether they are nominal or adjectival, and the possibilities of agreement.

17.1 Nominal predication

When nominals are used as predicates they appear in a form identical to that found in NPs, as has been mentioned in 8.6. For instance, sentence (1) is a perfectly acceptable sentence with a nominal predicate, lacking any verb (note the tonal spreading seen from the root *lálà*, followed by application of the fall high / high tone sandhi rule. See 2.3.1.1).

- (1) *Lálá-né-nì=ne* *kurù.*
 cross.cousin-1SG.DAT-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT teacher
 ‘My cousin’s a teacher.’

This is the normal means of predicating a proposition with a noun, *kurù* in the example above. The order of the elements of the sentence is the same as in verbal clauses, with the predicate final. Of course, an inverted clause might be formed, with the topic and the comment switched for pragmatic reasons. The sentence below presents the same information as (1), but with more emphasis on establishing the identity of the teacher, rather than explaining the occupation of the cousin (as is also true of the English translations of these sentences).

- (2) *Kurù lálá-ne-nì=ne.*
 teacher cross.cousin-1SG.DAT-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT
 ‘The teacher is my cousin.’

Note that (2) cannot be interpreted as a translation of ‘My cousin’s a teacher.’ While this is not immediately apparent from these two examples, it is clearer when one of the two NPs is inherently pragmatically salient, and so is the topic, rather than the comment. Inherent salience is associated with the use of any free pronouns, and so while it is possible for (1) to be paraphrased as (3).

- (3) *Ke kurù.*
 3SG.NF teacher
 ‘He’s a teacher.’

the reverse is not possible, and (4), with the predicate preceding the background ‘subject’, is ungrammatical:

- (4) * *kurù* *ke*.
 teacher 3SG.NF
 'The teacher is he.'

This shows that (3) cannot be interpreted as a word-order variant of (4), and so by extension (2) cannot be thought of as a word order variant of (1).

No unambiguous instances of oblique adjuncts to the clause in non-verbal clauses have been observed; strings such as

- (5) *Ke* *kurù* *Te=Tángpe*.
 3SG.NF teacher Skou Yambe
 'He's a teacher at Skou Yambe.'

can be shown to best be interpreted as having the structure seen in (5)', with the oblique being an NP-internal modifier, and not a clause level modifier. It modifies as a verbless relative clause, showing the location of the head noun.

- (5)' [NP:SUBJ *Ke*] [NP:PRED *kurù* [NP:RELATIVE CLAUSE *Te=Tángpe*]].
 (5)" * [NP:SUBJ *ke*] [NP:PRED *kurù*] [NP:OBLIQUE *Te=Tángpe*]

Tests such as the placement of demonstratives confirm the constituency of *kurù* and *Te=Tángpe*. The structure of (6) is shown in (6)'; the alternative placement of the demonstrative immediately following *kurù* is not grammatical, as seen in (6)".

- (6) *Ke* *kurù* *Te=Tángpe=ing a*.
 3SG.NF teacher Skou Yambe=the
 'He's the teacher at Skou Yambe.'
- (6)' [NP:SUBJ *Ke*] [NP:PRED *kurù* [NP:RELATIVE CLAUSE *Te=Tángpe*] =*ing a*].
 (6)" * [NP:SUBJ *ke*] [NP:PRED *kurù =ing a*] [NP:OBLIQUE *Te=Tángpe*]

A sentence that is even more likely to be used to express the meaning intended in (6) is the paraphrase seen in (7), in which the erstwhile oblique is coded as the 'possessor' of the predicative nominal. The only difference with a 'normal' possessive construction is that the genitive and dative marking is unlikely to be used; this is, however, simply because the possessor is in this case inanimate, and inanimates are often not coded on nouns and verbs.

- (7) *Ke* *Te=Tángpe* *kurù(-ké=ke)*.
 3SG.NF Skou Yambe teacher-3SG.NF.GEN=3SG.NF.DAT
 'He's the teacher at Skou Yambe.'

which has the structure seen in (7)', showing an unambiguous nonverbal structure with two appositional NPs.

- (7)' [NP:SUBJ *Ke*] [NP:PRED [NP:POSSESSOR *Te=Tángpe*] *kurù(-ké=ke)*].

There can be some verbal equivalents of otherwise non-verbal clauses with nominal predicates. An otherwise nominal predicate may appear with a light verb, *li* 'do', when it is used inchoatively, as seen in (8).

- (8) *Nì* *kurù* *nì=li*.
 1SG teacher 1SG=do
 'I've become a teacher.' / 'I am now a teacher.'

When a nominal predicate is in the complement of a clause with *pung li* ‘want’, then the verbal auxiliary is obligatory, in order to carry the irrealis aspectual inflection that is obligatory with this construction.

- (9) *Nì=pung li kurù nì=li-li.*
 1SG=liver do teacher 1SG=do-RED
 ‘I want to be a teacher.’

- (9)' * *nì pung li kurù-rù*

Numerous examples of nominal predicates can be found in the rest of this book. Details of the use of aspect with nominal predicates can also be found in 7.9.xx.xx.

17.2 Adjectival predication

Adjectives used as predicates do not take any special morphology when they refer to inanimate referents, as in (10).

- (10) *Te Máwo Te Bapúbí lalapáli; Te Bapúbí=pa Te Tángpe hangbang.*
 Skou Mabo Skou Sai close Skou Sai=INSTR Skou Yambe far
 ‘Skou Mabo is close to Skou Sai; Skou Sai and Skou Yambe are far (from each other).’

Other examples of adjectives as predicates have been discussed in the sections on word classes (5.5) and 10.5.3. In xx.xx we saw that support verbs are used with predicative adjectives to mark some aspectual distinctions that are otherwise not expressible with nonverbal predicates.

17.3 Oblique predication

As with most languages, oblique nominals may serve as the predicate of a non-verbal clause in Skou. Unlike languages that have explicit marking for the semantic function of their oblique arguments, the morphological underspecification of obliques in Skou means that many nominals, when used in an oblique role without a verb to add context, are potentially ambiguous. For this reason many obliquely predicated clauses in Skou are normally used in conjunction with a semantically inexplicit verb. Compare, for instance, the difference in morphosyntactic coding choices between the following Standard Indonesian, Papuan Malay, and Skou sentences, all translating the same meaning:

Standard Indonesian

- (11) *ibu saya di rumah.*
 mother 1SG LOC house
 ‘My mother’s at home.’

Skou

- (12) *Ánì-nì=ne mong tue pá.*
 mother-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT F.sit 3SG.F.do house
 ‘My mother’s at home.’

Papuan Malay

- (13) Sa=pu mama ada di ruma.
 1SG=POSS mother be LOC house
 ‘My mother’s at home.’

In Standard Indonesian (related to the varieties of Malay that are native to western Indonesia and Malaysia) the sentence is completely acceptable, and pragmatically unmarked, without a verb. In Skou, on the other hand, the only (highly marked) interpretation of the string *Ánì nì ne pá* is ‘My mother is a house’ (a possessive phrasal interpretation, ‘my mother’s house’, is ruled out because of the lack of possessive marking on the noun – see 9.1 for details). We can compare these very ndivergent morphosyntactic choices with the morphosyntax of Papuan Malay, the variety of Malay that is used as a lingua franca in the area that Skou is spoken in, and which has been strongly influenced by the morphosyntactic patterns of the local languages, to the extent that it does not reflect many, or indeed most, of the typological characteristics of Standard Indonesian. In this language we can see that the norms of the languages of the area are reflected, and the preferred coding strategy has a verbal clause.⁶⁶

In the following example the benefactive predicate is ‘it is for me’, coded literally as ‘my one’. The clause requires a verb, since ‘it is mine’ is a result (see xx.xx), and not a state. Since nouns lack any inherent aspectual operators the phrase *móe máki* is not sufficient to impose an aspectual reading, nor is the predicate *ke ing nì ne*. In a sense, then *te* is functioning as a copular in this type of clause.

- (14) *Móe máki te ke=ing-nì=ne.*
 fish big 3SG.F.go 3SG.NF=DEIC-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT
 ‘That big fish is for me.’

A predicate of simple possession does not require the use of *te*, as can be seen in (15).

- (15) *Móe=ing nì=ne.*
 fish=DEIC 1SG=1SG.DAT
 ‘That fish is mine.’

This last construction, one encoding non-verbal possessive predication, is discussed in more detail in section 9.7.

17.4 Comparative constructions

There is no morphological means of expressing comparison in Skou in a particular morphological construction, such as an equivalent of the English suffixes *-er* that appear on adjectives. The function of comparison is expressed in a sequence of like predicates, in which the last uttered predicate is usually (in the absence of any marked pragmatic changes in the sentence) interpreted to be the best exemplar of the predicate’s qualities, and so the *-est* or *-er* property. This construction is open to both adjectives and verbs, as long as they express gradable states.

Thus in the first example below, although literally the question is ‘(Of) these three people, who is an old one?’, interpretation conventions apply to make a sensible question

⁶⁶ Diglossic speakers do allow *Sa pu mama ada di ruma*, but is it unlikely that this will be the most natural and most frequent form used by a speaker in non-formal communication.

- (16) *Te=bà héngtong=ing, bá ke=bà hue?*
 3PL=person three=DEIC who 3SG.NF=person old
 ‘Of these three people, who is the old(est) person?’
- (17) *Daud=ing a ke=bà hue,*
 Daud=the 3SG.NF=person old
Martha pe pe=bà hue (bàmúa).
 Martha 3SG.F 3SG.F=person old true
 ‘Daud is old, but Martha’s older.’

Alternatively, the emphatic marker =wò may be used as an intensifier following the adjective:

- (18) Q: *Apóue lángpì ná, péngue lángpì ná?*
 jambu.sp tasty Q mango tasty Q
 ‘Which is tastiest, the jambu or the mango?’
- A: *Péngue=we langpí=wò.*
 mango=this tasty=EMPH
 ‘This mango is [tastier/tastiest].’

Another means of expressing comparison is available in the word *ana=ra*. xxxxxxxx

Similarly there is no morphologically or syntactically dedicated means of expressing a superlative concept; the unmodified adjective, or alternatively the adjective with =wò added, it used, as in the example above.

xxxxxxx

Statements indicating the similarity of two things may be accomplished by the use of the words *anara* or *anainga*, both of which are complex. The =*ra* and =*inga* are the deictics ‘also’ and ‘the, respectively. The base to which they attach, *ana*, is here glossed simply as ‘like’, but is itself most likely complex, with the *na* formative being that also found in the dual pronouns.

- (99) *Te Lóngpa pílàng-tè=te=ing ana=ra / ana=ing a*
 Enggros language-3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT=DEIC like=also like=the
Inggris pílàng-tè.
 English language-3PL.GEN
 ‘The Enggros language is like English.’

These may also be used as predicates to the clause, or as modifiers in NPs. The following two examples both have the comparative inside the NP.

- (99) *Ya-ne-nì=ne pe=ing [NP ke=bà*
 sister-1SG.DAT-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT 3SG.F=DEIC 3SG.NF=person
íkáféng ana=ra nì=wi a] pe=fí.
 tall like=also 1SG=this 3SG.F=meet
 ‘My sister met a man who was as tall as I am.’

More commonly, if a comparative is used it will be used predicatively, as in the next examples. Note that for these it is not possible for *ana=ing* to be used, only *ana=ra*, as seen in the ungrammaticality of (99).

- (99) [NP *Ni=nóe-para-ni=ne*] *ana=ra*
 1SG=body-??-1SG1SG.DAT like=only
 [NP *âi* *nóe-para-ké=ke*].
 father body-x-3SG.NF.GEN=3SG.NF.DAT
 ‘My body is like my father’s.’
- (99) * *nì nóepara nì ne ana ing a âi nóepara ké ke*
- (99) *Ke* *ana=ra* *tánghang-mè=me* *nòe* *tue*.
 3SG.NF like=also face-2SG.GEN=2SG.DAT body 3SG.F.do
 ‘He looks a bit like you.’
- (99) *Te Ménglong pílàng-tè* *ana=rá* *Te Pa pílàng-tè*.
 Kayu Pulau language-3PL.GEN like=also Tobati language-3PL.GEN
 ‘The Kayu Pulau’s language is like the Tobati’s language.’
 ‘The Kayu Pulau’s language resembles the Tobati’s language.’

While showing many similarities, the two comparatives, *ana=inga* and *ana=ra*, are not entirely replaceable by each other. We have already seen examples of the non-interchangeability of the two expressions in certain contexts. The following sentences also differ only in the choice of comparative, and yet show a clear grammaticality difference.

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17.5 Summary: the peculiarities of non-verbal predication

We have seen that, while non-verbal predication is an option in Skou, there is a strong preference for verb-headed structures in the language, making the non-verbal predications less frequent than might otherwise be the case.

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18 Non-statement speech acts

A language in which every speech act was a statement, or assertion, of fact would be both very unusual, and also typologically marked to a degree unattested anywhere. As in all languages, not all clauses are used for statements, though there is not a one to one correspondence between grammatical encoding and functional use.

18.1 Commands ('Imperatives')

Most commands are not formed with any special morphology or syntactic construction that is not present in a declarative clause, making the category 'imperative' one that does not have to be recognised on purely grammatical grounds.

Commands can be, and often are, issued with the contrastive focus marker *ka* as a clitic to the front of the verb. There is not a fixed order for this clitic with respect to the pronominal clitic, if that is attached directly to the verb.

In the sentences below the adjunct nominal intervenes between the pronominal clitic and the verb, and so there is only one possible sequence involving the focus clitic:

- (1) *Pe* *pe=ló weng.*
 3SG.NF 3SG.NF=eye.F sleep
 'She's sleeping.'
- (2) *Mè* *mè=lú ka=weng!*
 2SG 2SG=eye FOC=sleep
 'You should sleep!' ~ 'Go to sleep!'

With all other verbal predicates, namely those verbs which take an adjunct nominal before the pronominal clitic, or verbs that take an adjunct nominal following the verb, or verbs which lack an adjunct nominal altogether, there is no fixed order for the two clitics: either may occur first. The following sentences illustrate the alternative orderings of the pronominal clitic and the hortative clitic with a simple verb. There is no reported or observed difference in meaning between the two codings, indicating that the position of the clitic is phonologically, not syntactically, governed.

- (3) a. *Nì* *mè=ka=fue!*
 1SG 2SG=FOC=see
 'Look at me!'
- b. *Nì* *ka=mè=fue!*
 1SG FOC=2SG=see
 'Look at me!'

The fact that the verb in the examples above does not take any prefixal inflection is simply a function of its being a non-prefixing root, and not a function of the construction in which it appears. Verbs that in declarative sentences display prefixation will also show this feature when used in imperatives, as the following sentences show.

- (4) a. *Mè=ka=p-oe ung!*
 2SG=FOC=2SG-come now
 ‘Come here now, you!’
- b. *Ka mè poe ung!*

It is also quite acceptable for a command to appear without this clitic in use, as in (5).

- (5) *Mè poe ung!*
 ‘Come here!’

At least some commands involve verbs that are uninflected for person. The following example has been found:

- (6) *nì=lóeng “Pá hápa ketong lí” lí=ko,*
 1SG=say house small little do do=OBV
 ‘I said “Make a little house”, ...’ (Text 17 in Appendix 4)

In (6) we can see that not only is the verb, *lí*, lacking any proclitic inflection, but it is also missing the fused ‘prefixal’ inflection: the 2SG form of the verb *lí* is *pi*, and this is not the form used. Based on this model, the following examples should be possible, and have been accepted.

- (7) *Ung loe wi a!*
 now come here
 ‘Come here now!’
- (8) *Lú weng!*
 eye sleep
 ‘Sleep!’
- (9) # *Hòe ang!*
 sago eat
 ‘Eat the sago!’

When questioned, informants all say that the sentences sound better with the subject agreement added. The commands in (7) and (8) are judged to be only slightly less polite and respectful than versions with subject agreement, but the transitive clause in (9) is felt to be quite ‘abrupt’ and rough (Malay: *kasar*). One possible explanation for the use of an uninflected verb in (6) is that it represents an instance of reported speech, something like ‘I told (him) to make a small house.’ This is not apparent in the translations offered for the sentence,⁶⁷ but might reflect the structure.

⁶⁷ Papuan Malay: Sa=bilang ‘Bikin rumah kecil, sederhana’, sa=bilang. ‘I said “Make a small house, an average one”.’

18.2 Questions ('Interrogatives')

Interrogatives can be divided into two groups on morphological and syntactic grounds, content questions and yes/no questions. Yes/no questions can be formed simply by adding the interrogative particle *ná* to the end of a declarative sentence, as in the following example.

Declarative

- (10) *Móe=ing a m̀è=m-ang-mang me pi.*
 fish=the 2SG=2SG-eat-RED 2SG.be 2SG.do
 'You want to eat fish.'

Interrogative

- (11) *Móe=ing a m̀è=m-ang-mang me pi ná?*
 fish=the 2SG=2SG-eat-RED 2SG.be 2SG.do Y/N
 'Do you want to eat fish?'

Content questions use one of the epistememes in the same place that a nominal with the same function occurs – there is no special structural position that attracts focussed nominals, and the *ná* that is found with yes-no questions is not used. The following different epistememes, or 'question words' (though calling them 'question words' does not adequately describe the range of meaning or range of function that they describe – see Mushin 1995 for the use of the term epistememe) have been identified:

Table 172. Epistememes ('question words') in Skou

Epistememe		Other senses	Scope
what	<i>ya</i>	'thing'	inanimate things
who	<i>bá, bá=</i>	[related to <i>bà</i> 'person'?]	animate things, particularly humans
which	<i>-ha</i>		any nominally-designated person, place or thing
where, which	<i>nè</i>	interrogative marker	any location or goal
when	<i>rángne</i>	'time-where'	time, past or future
why	<i>ya te</i>	'go (to) what'	purposes, motives, intended results
how	<i>ya=pa</i>	'with what'	material or immaterial means

These different morphemes do not belong to one word class, nor are they internally similar, in terms of all being free morphemes, or indeed single morphemes. Some of the words, *ya* and *bá*, seem to function in much the same way as free NPs do. Others, such as *bá=* and *-ha*, are not free forms, and can only occur attached to an independent word. In other cases we can see multimorphemic compounds, such as *rángne* 'when', composed of the free nominal *ráng* 'sun, day, time' and the interrogative *nè* 'which, where'. In the case of *ya te* and *ya=pa* the expression is not even necessarily a single word: *ya te* is simply a verb and an adjunct nominal 'go (for) what', and *ya=pa* could be argued to be a clause level clitic attached to the epistememe *ya* 'what', thus representing a construction consisting of a series of clausal units.

Examples of these different epistememes in use can be found in the following sentences. *Ya* ‘what’ appears in the same position that a nominal with its grammatical functions would normally appear. The following two sentences show that questioned objects appear in the position associated with object, and not in any special clause-initial or preverbal position. Following these, we can see that subjects, too appear in their normal clausal position. The subjects of monovalent verbs show identical behaviour, appearing in the same position that a non-interrogative NP would appear.

Questioned object

- (12) *Ke ya ke=k-ang-kang i li?*
 3SG.NF what 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-eat-RED be do
 ‘What’s he eating?’

- (13) **ya ke ke=k-ang-kang i li?*
 what 3SG.NF 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-eat-RED be do

Questioned subject

- (14) *Fetànghapa ya ku pe?*
 morning what stab 3SG.F
 ‘What poked into her this morning?’
 (for instance, a twig or a thorn)

- (15) **ya fetànghapa ku pe?*
 what morning stab 3SG.F

A questioned instrument shows the same mobility, and obligatory case marking, that characterises a normal instrumental NP. The question word *ya*, marked with the instrumental clitic *=pa*, may appear leftmost in the VP, left of a V', but not between an adjunct nominal and the verb, and not outside the VP.

Questioned instrument: adjoined to V'

- (16) *Mè pále=ing a ya=pa pìng mè=p-u?*
 2SG pig=the what=INSTR bow 2SG=2SG-release
 ‘What did you shoot the pig with?’

Questioned instrument: adjoined to VP

- (17) *Mè ya=pa pále=ing a pìng mè=p-u?*
 2SG what=INSTR pig=the bow 2SG=2SG-release
 ‘What did you shoot the pig with?’

Questioned instrument: adjacent to V following adjunct nominal, ungrammatical

- (18) **mè pále=ing a pìng ya=pa mè=p-u?*
 2SG pig=the bow what=INSTR 2SG=2SG-release

Questioned instrument: leftmost in sentence, precedes subject, ungrammatical

- (19) **ya=pa mè pále=ing a pìng mè=p-u?*
 what=INSTR 2SG pig=the bow 2SG=2SG-release

Questions about the identity of one member of a set can be asked with the suffix *-ha* attached to the nominal in question. The nominal to which it is attached appears in its normal place in the clause. A nominal affixed with *-ha* cannot appear with any other modification other than possession, as can be seen comparing (16) with (17) and (18). In all cases *-ha* is

phonologically incorporated into the word to which it attaches, which is reflected in the patterns of tone association. In the examples presented here we can see the H of *kóe* spreading to include *-ha*, or the HL of *bòeng* being associated over two syllables.

- (20) *Kóe-há* *mè=m-ang-mang* *pi?*
 sago.pancake-which 2SG=2SG-eat-RED 2SG.do
 ‘Which sago pancake do you want to eat?’
- (21) *Pe kóe-há-pè=pe* *mè=m-ang-mang*
 3SG.F sago.pancake-which-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT 2SG=2SG-eat-RED
pi?
 2SG.do
 ‘Which of her sago pancakes do you want to eat?’
- (22) a. * *kóe-há* *bápáli* *mè=m-ang-mang* *pi?*
 sago.pancake-which big 2SG=2SG-eat-RED 2SG.do
- b. * *kóe* *bápáli-ha* *mè=m-ang-mang* *pi?*
 sago.pancake big-which 2SG=2SG-eat-RED 2SG.do
- (23) a. * *kóe-há* *ing a* *mè=m-ang-mang* *pi?*
 sago.pancake-which the 2SG=2SG-eat-RED 2SG.do
- b. * *kóe=ing a-ha* *mè=m-ang-mang* *pi?*
 sago.pancake=the-which 2SG=2SG-eat-RED 2SG.do

Occurrences of *-ha* are limited to inanimate nouns (exactly the class of nominal that cannot appear with the class marker *bà=* on predicative adjectives – see 10.6 and 10.7) xxxxxxxx, so it appears only rarely with subjects, but examples can be found. It is more commonly used with obliques, as in (25).

- (24) *Kóng-há kúkúfa ku nì?*
 thorn-which quickly stab 1SG
 ‘Which thorn poked me suddenly?’
- (25) *Ó mè=lóe fu bóeng-ha?*
 grub 2SG=get.PL put.PL coconut.basket-which
 ‘Which basket did you put the sago grubs in?’

Locations and goals may be questioned with *nè*. Again, this word appears in the place that a location or goal would normally occupy, which means that the two are differentiated by their position with respect to an auxiliary, if present. Sentence (26) shows a questioned goal, and (27) a questioned location.

- (26) *Te=ti-ti nè ti?*
 3PL=3PL.go-RED where 3PL.do
 ‘Where are they going?’
- (27) *Pe=mong e tue nè?*
 3SG.F=F.sit 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do where
 ‘Where is she sitting?’

Again, a clause in which the question word is positioned preverbally is ungrammatical, as shown in (28) and (29).

- (28) * *nè te=ti-ti ti?*
 where 3PL=3PL.go-RED 3PL.do
- (29) * *nè pe=mong e tue?*
 where 3SG.F=F.sit 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do

Time questions use the expression *rángne*, and place it at the beginning of the clause. This does not, of course, equate with sentence-initial position, since any element may appear as a topic, preceding the clause-initial time.

Clause-initial time: [IP time ...]

- (30) *Rángne pe=ueme=fue a ùepung pe=tue?*
 when 3SG.F=woman=that marriage 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘When did that woman get married?’

Clause-initial time, pre-clausal topic: [CP Topic [IP time ...]]

- (31) *Pe=ueme=fue a, ránkne ùepung pe=tue?*
 3SG.F=woman=that when marriage 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘That woman, when did she get married?’

When we examine sentences with objects we can observe that the time expression does not precede a topic. In (32) the topic appears initially in the sentence; in (33), on the other hand, the sentence is ungrammatical because the time expression appears outside its normal position in the clause.

- (32) *Pe=ueme=fue a, ránkne hòe pe=tue?*
 3SG.F=woman=that when sago 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘That woman, when did she stir the sago?’

Pre-clausal topic, time sentence initial: [CP TIME [CP Topic [IP ...]]]

- (33) * *ránkne hòe=ing a, pe=ueme=fue a pe=tue?*
 when sago=the 3SG.F=woman=that 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘When did that woman get married?’

Ya te ‘why’ can only be used for questioning a conscious motive, and is not used to explain non-controlled events or states. The following overheard diatribe shows a rhetorical question using *ya=ing a* ‘the (interrogative) reason’ to form the question. In (35) we can see that forming the question with *ya te* is not grammatical.

- (34) *Ya=ing a pílàng-nì=ne à ka?*
 thing=the language-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT clear NEG
Ya nì=lóeng=ing a mèn=p-úe-púe ka=ing a.
 thing 1SG=say=the 2SG=2SG-hear-RED NEG=the
 ‘Why is my language not clear? Because you are not listening to what I say.’

- (35) * *ya te pílàng-nì=ne à ka?*
 thing 3SG.F.go language-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT clear NEG

On the other hand, using *ya=ing a* with controlled predicates is acceptable, though it has very strong and somewhat accusatory tone with these clauses. (36) and (37) were offered as examples of the contrast between the two interrogatives. Note the number of discoursally motivated markers in (36), compared to the plainer (37): in (36) we can see not only *=ing a* on

ya, but also =*wea=fa=wò* on *ung a*. This is a clear indication of the greater pragmatic force associated with *ya ing a*.

- (36) *Ya=ing a ung a=we a=fa=wò m̀̀=moē p-oe?*
 thing=the now=this=just=EMPH 2SG=return 2SG-come
 ‘Why on earth have you only just now come home?’
- (37) *Ya te ung a=we m̀̀=moē p-oe?*
 thing 3SG.F.go now=this 2SG=return 2SG-come
 ‘Why have you come home now?’

Examples of the use of *bá* ‘who’ in various syntactic roles can be seen in the following sentences, presenting the *bá* in a question, and then an appropriate response.

Questioned predicate of non-verbal equative clause

- (38) *Ke=bà=ing a bá?*
 3SG.NF=person=the who
 ‘Who’s that (man)?’
- (39) *Ke=bà=ing a ke=âi-nì=ne.*
 3SG.NF=person=the 3SG.NF=father-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT
 ‘That man is my father.’

Questioned A

- (40) *Bá m̀̀ ong ke=k-e?*
 who 2SG refusal 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-refuse
 ‘Who refused you?’
- (41) *Ke m̀̀ ong ke=k-e.*
 3SG.NF 2SG refusal 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-refuse
 ‘He refused you.’

Questioned S

- (42) *Bá pe=mong tue pá=ing a?*
 who 3SG.F=F.sit 3SG.F.do house=the
 ‘Which woman lives in that house?’
- (43) *Pe=bahúe-nì=ne=ra pe=mong tue*
 3SG.F=elder.sibling-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT=also 3SG.F=F.sit 3SG.F.do
pá=fue a.
 house=that
 ‘My elder sister is the one who lives in that house.’

Questioned P

- (44) *M̀̀ bá m̀̀=fue?*
 2SG who 2SG=see
 ‘Who did you see?’
- (45) *M̀̀ ke=angku m̀̀=fue.*
 2SG 3SG.NF=child 2SG=see
 ‘You saw a boy.’

Questioned OBL

- (46) *Ke=k-a tà* *toe* *bá=ing a?*
 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-walk running 3.come who=the
 ‘Who’s that that he ran up to?’ / ‘Who did he run up to?’
- (47) (*Ke=k-a tà* *toe*) *ái-nì=ne.*
 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-walk running 3.come father-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT
 ‘(He ran up to) my father.’

The only exceptional morphosyntax that is used in interrogatives is the optional replacement of the normal pronominal agreement clitic with the interrogative clitic *bá=* ‘who’ when the subject is both questioned and animate. There are thus two structures for questioned subjects in clauses with predicate agreement, shown below, with examples of each.

- (48) who (NP_P) clitic=V
 └──────────┘
- (49) Ø (NP_P) who=V
- (50) *Ya mè=pi?*
 what 2SG=2SG.do
 ‘What did you do?’
- (51) *Mè ya mè=pi me pi?*
 2SG what 2SG=2SG.do 2SG.be 2SG.do
 ‘What are you doing?’

When a verb allows for alternative codings for the P, with both preverbal and postverbal options being realised, then the interrogative may appear in either the preverbal or the postverbal position, as can be seen in the following sentences. Note the post-auxiliary position of the question word in (53) means that it has been coded as a location, not as a goal.

- (52) *Mè bá mè=m-éng me pi?*
 2SG who 2SG=2SG-ask 2SG.be 2SG.do
 ‘Who are you asking?’
- (53) *Mè=m-éng me pi bá?*
 2SG=2SG-ask 2SG.be 2SG.do who
 ‘Who are you asking?’

The behaviour of *bá* in agreement is discussed further in the following section. Note that there is another asymmetry between the animate-referring *bá* and inanimate-referring agreement in relative clauses as well, discussed in 8.3.4.

18.2.1 The peculiar behaviour of ‘who’

While inanimates referents can only be questioned in place, there is an alternative for animate subjects. This has already been mentioned in 6.3.3.1, and will be briefly mentioned again here.

The pronominal agreement clitics can be replaced by the animate interrogative *bá* ‘who’:

- (54) *Hòe-nì=ne bá=k-ang?*
 sago-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT who=3SG.NF-eat
 ‘Who ate my sago?’

This must be parsed as NP_P V, rather than NP_P NP_{FOC} V, as evidenced by the following sentence that attempts this latter strategy, still with agreement on the verb, and the subsequent sentence that shows subject agreement allowed when the subject is in the normal sentential position:

(55) * *hòe-nì=ne* *bá* *ke=k-ang?*
 sago-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT who 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-eat

(56) *Bá* *hòe-nì=ne* *ke=k-ang?*
 who sago-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-eat
 ‘Who ate my sago?’

This use of the interrogative as a proclitic on the verb is not an option available to non-human subjects:

(57) * *hòe-nì=ne* *ya=k-ang?*
 sago-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT what=3SG.NF-eat
 ‘What (animal) ate my sago?’

The use of the interrogative clitic *bá=* is also discussed in 7.3.3.1.

A questioned possessor is marked in various ways. One possibility is with the interrogative in the place of the genitive suffix, and the non-feminine dative clitic following, as in the following example:

(58) *Lang-bá=ke* *mè=b-é?*
 bowl-who=3SG.NF.DAT 2SG=2SG-get
 ‘Whose bowl did you take?’

If the owner is known to be female, then feminine genitive forms may be used with a nominal interrogative possessor, but the feminine clitics may not follow the interrogative when it is in the place of the genitive:

(59) *Bá* *lang-pè* *mè=b-é?*
 who bowl-3SG.F.GEN 2SG=2SG-get
 ‘Whose bowl did you take?’

(60) * *lang bá pe mè bé?*

This shows that the clitic ‘who’ is a particularly marked construction. Furthermore, it is apparent that ‘who’ does not have a grammatical gender that is compatible with feminine gender, and must simply be classed as non-feminine. This matches the observed default assignment of dative clitics to the free form of ‘who’ when it marks a beneficiary about whom the speaker has no idea whether they are male or female, as in (61).

(61) *Ánì,* *mè* *nalé* *lang=ing* *bà=ke*
 mother 2SG taro pounded. dish=DEIC who=3SG.NF.DAT
mè=pi *me* *pi?*
 2SG=2SG.do 2SG.be 2SG.do
 ‘Mum, who are you making the pounded taro for?’

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18.3 Interjections

In Skou, as in probably all natural languages, there is a small, but potentially open, class of interjections. What is perhaps unusual in Skou is the fact that most of the commonly used interjections, or other verbal markers of listener solidarity with the speaker, are in fact grammatical utterances: there are very few uses of paralinguistic verbal gesture in Skou. The different interjections are, however, strongly conventionalised, and while they are a potentially open class, they are in practise rarely altered or added to in any way. For instance, while *Pí mè me bamúa* is a perfectly normal and unremarkable utterance, often heard when two people are conversing, it would be odd and perhaps conversation stopping to hear someone say *Pí mè me bamúa wò* ‘You’re so right.’ This is perfectly grammatical, but is not the expected interjection, and so would probably be taken as a genuine attempt to interrupt and swap conversational roles. The creativity in the system comes from the fact that many people do, despite this, personalise or customise certain interjections, and use these individual forms in speech. One person might, then conventionalise *Pí mè me bamúa wò* in their speech, and be known to be the person who says things that way; but this would not, then, become the locus of a change in the speech community as a whole.

Mè nì=lúe
2SG 1SG=hear
‘I hear you.’

‘I’m with you.’
‘Yep, go on.’

Bamúa=wò
true=EMPH
‘The truth.’

‘That’s right.’
‘That’s true.’

Pí-mè=me bamúa
speech-2SG.GEN=2SG.DAT true
‘Your words are true.’

‘You’re not wrong.’
‘That’s so right.’

In addition to these ‘native’ Skou interjections, various interjections from Malay (and, to a much lesser extent, Tok Pisin – the second last example below) are in use, to differing degrees, in different parts of the Skou speech community. Some examples of the most commonly noted of these interjections are:

B[ɛ]tu! true '(That's) true.'	'Right, I agree, That's right'
Bagitu that.way 'That's how it is.'	'That's the truth.' 'Isn't that the way it goes.' 'That's so right.'
Ya (i)tu! yes that 'That's it!'	'That's it!'
Ya Tuhan! yes God 'Oh my God!.'	'My God!' 'My goodness!.'
Oloma! boy-o-boy 'Wow!'	'Wow!'
Ya (i)tu! yes that 'That's it!'	'That's it!'

Additionally, in Skou Sai, the village with the highest rate of marriage across the border, there are reports of various Wutung language-based idioms creeping in to the speech of the people there, perhaps as a markers of marriage links, and thus family unity, with the more numerous Wutungs who live so close by.

18.4 Summary of speech acts

In this chapter we have examined a variety of morphosyntactically distinct clause types, and in addition seen that the same grammatical clause type can, in general, be used for more than one speech act. As with most languages of the world, there are no observed differences in terms of word order between interrogative and non-interrogative sentence types, though we must note the exception of those clauses that have a questioned animate subject, where there is an option for that subject to be marked on the verb by means of a special interrogative clitic.

We can note comparatively that in I'saka (Donohue and San Roque 2004) there is a special set of interrogative subject prefixes that are identical to the 2SG prefixes. In I'saka there is no phonemic contrast between [b] and [m], and so the contrast in Skou between the [b] of the interrogative clitic *bá=* and the [m] of the 2SG clitic *mè=* would be collapsed, but it is likely that the collapse in categories in I'saka reflects the collapse in the contrast between nasal and non-nasal stops in that language. The apparent similarity between interrogative prefix/proclitic forms, and the 2SG forms is thus not an accident in Skou alone, but is attested more widely in the family to which it belongs.

19 Conjoining, coordination, and switch reference

Conjunctions may apply at different levels in a grammar: nouns, N's, noun phrases, verbs, V's, verb phrases, or even whole sentences. In Skou there are different constraints on what is and what is not grammatical in conjunctions depending on both the kinds of constituents conjoined, the kinds of lexical items that head those constituents (this is especially true for nominal conduction), and also the kind of conjunction that is used (especially true for clausal conjunction). In some instances it is questionable whether what we are observing is in fact true conjunction, as there are definitely elements of subordination involved as well.

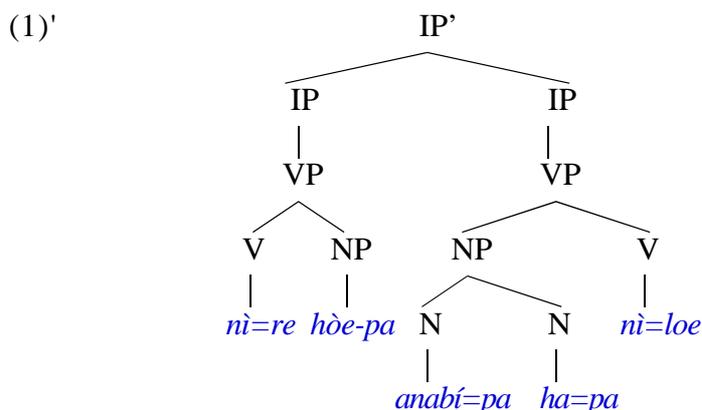
19.1 Coordination of nominals

Nominals may be conjoined in several different ways. With non-animate items, the usual strategy is to coordinate by placing the instrumental marker after each of the nouns that are coordinated.

- (1) *Nì=re hòe-pa anabí=pa ha=pa nì=loe hí.*
 1SG=go sago-water machete=INSTR bag=INSTR 1SG=get.PL go.down
 'When I get to the sago swamps, I put down the machete and bag.'

Since non-animate nominals are not typically the instigators of actions that would require verbal predication, there is no confusion about the xxx

We can only conclude that the series of nominals in (1) have a flat structure, as shown in (1)', in which both *anabí* and *ha* are sisters within the one NP.



With animate conjoiners this strategy, or a variant thereof, is also found, and since they are animate they may also be found as subjects of the verb, and hence eligible to influence the form of agreement marked on that verb. Additionally, if the verb agrees with a combination of their features, then one of the two (or more) conjuncts may be omitted, provided it is retrievable from the information on the verb. If the conjuncts are all human, then it is normal for a summarising

pronoun to occur at the end of the conjunct phrase. Note that this is not the same construction as an ergative-marking pronoun in a bivalent clause, as can be seen by the fact that the summarising pronouns in the following examples occur with monovalent clauses.

Examples of each of the combinations of these strategies that have been attested are shown in the examples below. Following their initial presentation, in an illustrative sentence accompanied by a schematic representation of the string involved, I discuss each of the different strategies in turn.

X=*pa* Y=*pa* PRO_{x,y} AGR_{x+y}:V

- (2) *Nì=pa* *bápá-ne=pa* *anake* *ne=ta n-ùng-nung* *ti.*
 1SG=INSTR friend-1SG.DAT=INSTR 1DU.NF 1PL=sitting 1PL-sit-RED 1PL.do
 ‘My friend and I are going to sit down.’

X=*pa* Y=*pa* AGR_{x+y}:V

- (3) *Nì=pa* *bápá-ne=pa* *ne=ta n-ùng-nung* *ti.*
 1SG=INSTR friend-1SG.DAT=INSTR 1PL=sitting 1PL-sit-RED 1PL.do
 ‘My friend and I are going to sit down.’

X=*pa* Y=*pa* AGR_x:V

- (4) *Nì=pa* *bápá-ne=pa* *nì=ta hùng-hung* *li.*
 1SG=INSTR friend-1SG.DAT=INSTR 1SG=sitting sit-RED 1PL.do
 ‘My friend and I are going to sit down.’

Y=*pa* AGR_{x+y}:V

- (5) *Fé-ung* *te=bà=pa* *ne=n-úng.*
 tomorrow-now 3PL=person=INSTR 1PL=1PL-drink
 ‘I’ll drink with them tomorrow.’ / ‘We’ll drink (together) tomorrow.’

Y=*pa* AGR_x:V

- (6) *Bápá-ne=pa* *nì=ta hùng-hung* *li.*
 friend-1SG.DAT=INSTR 1SG=sitting sit-RED 1PL.do
 ‘My friend and I are sitting down.’

If the sum total of the conjoined elements is more than two, then there are two alternatives: either a regular nonsingular pronoun may be used, or the actual number may be mentioned following a classifier procliticised with a specifier pronoun, as in (7).

- (7) *Theo=pa* *Melki=pa* *Neles=pa* *te=bà* *héngtong*
 Theo=INSTR Melchior=INSTR Cornelius=INSTR 3PL=person three
te=ta y-ùng.
 3PL=sitting 3PL-sit
 ‘Theo, Melchy and Cornelius sat down.’

Of course, in the case of a nonverbal clause, there is no agreement on the predicate, since there are no agreement markers for nouns or adjectives. (Adjectives can take agreement proclitics in one instance, when they are used inchoatively; this has been discussed in 5.3 and 7.2.1). It could be argued that in this case they are in fact zero-derived verbs. This analysis is not pursued here.) In the following sentence the conjoined nominals *Te Pa* and *Te Lóngpa* function as a topic in the sentence, and are not represented pronominally in any way inside the clause.

- (8) [_{NP} *Te Pa=pa, Te Lóngpa=pa te*] *pílang áling.*
 Tobati=INSTR Enggros=INSTR 3PL language one
 ‘Tobati and Enggros speak the same language.’

In addition to the NP *pa* NP *pa* ... construction a host of alternative conjoining mechanisms are also used. Not all of them show conjunction in the NP, but rather show the conjunction through the clash of agreement features present on the verb when compared to the NP. Yet others show a series of not-quite specified NPs joining together.

If both of the conjuncts are non-pronominal, then one coordination strategy involves a reduced form of the dual pronoun. This reduced form indicates the person and number, but not gender, of the whole conjoined NP, and appears at the end of the first conjunct; often a complete pronoun also appears at the end of the whole conjoined NP. Recall from 6.2 that the regular third person dual pronouns are *tenake* ‘3DU’ and *tenape* ‘3DU.F’. Examine the pronominal forms in (9) - (10); the slash notation PRO/GDR has been employed to represent a dual pronoun with the explicit gender marking (*-pe* ‘feminine’ or *-ke* ‘unmarked’) omitted. In (9) there is a reduced pronoun at the end of the first conjunct, and a full pronoun at the end of the whole NP. In (10) the second pronoun is not found, only the reduced medial pronoun being found.

- X PRO/GDR Y PRO_{x,y} AGR_{x+y}:V
 (9) *Theo tena Gideon tenake te=moe ti pá.*
 Theo 3DU/GDR Gideon 3DU.NF 3PL=return 3PL.go house
 ‘Theo and Gideon went back home.’
- X PRO/GDR Y AGR_{x+y}:V
 (10) *Ke=bà-leng tena è-ke, te hòe*
 3SG.NF=person-male 3DU/GDR wife-3SG.NF.DAT 3PL sago
te=j-á te hí,
 3PL=3PL-pound 3SG.F.go go.down
 ‘A man and his wife, they’re pounding sago so it goes down (to the basket), ...’

The next two sentences show that it is possible for one conjunct element to be non-overt. In (11) the first NP is overt, and the reduced pronoun is found: this implies that there must be a second half to the conjunct, and the nonsingular agreement on the verbs also makes clear that there must be another NP implicit in the clause. In (12) the same sentence is found, but with agreement for only one of the conjuncts, the non-overt one. Note from the translation, which reflects the structure of the Skou construction, that the non-overt conjunct must be interpreted as 3SG.NF, as this is the sole marking on the verb. In (13) we can see that it is also possible for the agreement to not match the overt NP at all, but with the non-overt conjunct.

- Y PRO/GDR AGR_{x+y}:V
 (11) *Bápáne tena te=ta n-ùng-nùng ti.*
 friend 3DU/GDR 3PL=sitting 3PL-sit-RED 3PL.do
 ‘(He/She/They)’ll sit with my friend.’
- Y PRO/GDR AGR_x:V
 (12) *Bápáne tena ke=ta k-ùng-kùng li.*
 friend 3DU/GDR 3SG.NF=sitting 3SG.NF-sit-RED do
 ‘He’ll sit with (his) friend.’
 * (she/they)’ll sit with my friend’

- (13) *Ke=angku tena pe=ta w-ùng-wùng tue.*
 3SG.NF=child 3DU/GDR 3SG.F=sitting 3SG.F-sit-RED 3SG.F.do
 ‘She’ll sit with (her) friend.’

When the second conjunct is not overtly mentioned, the conjoined-NP-final summarising pronoun may not appear. In other words, the final pronoun must be hosted by the second conjunct, and cannot be found simply appended to the first conjunct, as (14) and (15) attempt.

- (14) * *bápáne tena tenake ke ta kùng kùng li*
 (15) * *bápáne tena tenake te ta yùng yùng li*

A variant of this construction is found for conjuncts expressing a dual inclusive, ‘you (SG) and me’. For this the regular first person dual inclusive pronoun *amanè* is used, and not a reduced form; this pronoun ‘counts’ as qualifying for inclusion in this construction because there is no gender marking in the first person inclusive pronoun that can be omitted, and so in effect is a pronominal form that represents the regular free form, but with marking for gender omitted. An example is given in (16).

- Y PRO/GDR AGR_{x+y}:V
 (16) *Nì amanè ne=ta n-ùng-nùng.*
 1SG 1DU.IN 1PL=sitting 1PL-sit-RED
 ‘I’ll sit with you.’

Here the specifying pronoun *nì* serves to delimit the reference of *amanè*: the first person dual inclusive that includes me. The specification of the first person part of the pronoun with a specifying pronoun means that the default reference of the rest of the pronoun, the second person component, is now interpreted as the primary deictic scope of the pronoun in its use in this clause.

A restriction on the use of the reduced dual pronouns is that, in addition to their being exactly two conjuncts, at least one of the two must be animate and human, and it must be presented first in the sequence. Compare the grammaticality of (17) with (18), and (19) with (20).

- (17) *Martha tena pále nì=fe.*
 dog 3DU/GDR pig 1SG=see.PL.P
 ‘I saw Martha and a pig.’
- (18) * *pále tena Martha nì fe*
- (19) *Nì pále tena wúng nì=fe.*
 1SG pig 3DU/GDR stone 1SG=see.PL.P
 ‘I saw a pig and a stone.’
- (20) * *nì wúng tena pále nì fe*

When both conjuncts are non-human the reduced dual pronoun strategy may not be used, but the two (or more) nominals may be joined with the structure X *ung* Y *ung*:

- (21) *Naké ung pále ung nì=fe.*
 dog and.NH pig and.NH 1SG=see.PL.P
 ‘I saw a dog and a pig.’
- (22) *Rí ung wúng ung nì=fu.*
 wood and.NH stone and.NH 1SG=see.F
 ‘I saw some wood and a stone.’

The construction with *ung* may not be used if one of the conjuncts is human and the other one is non-human, or if both are human. Both must be non-human in order for the X *ung* Y *ung* pattern to be used, and both must be either animate or inanimate: a conjunct with one (non-human) animate nominal and one inanimate nominal is not grammatical.

- (23) * *pále ung Martha (ung) nì=fe*
 pig and.NH Martha and.NH 1SG=see.PL.P
 'I saw the pig and Martha.'
- (24) * *Martha ung pále ung nì fe*
- (25) * *rí ung Theo ung nì=fe*
 wood and.NH Theo and.NH 1SG=see.PL.P
 'I saw some wood and Theo.'
- (26) * *rí ung pále ung nì=fe*
 wood and.NH pig and.NH 1SG=see.PL.P
 'I saw some wood and a pig.'

Yet another coordination strategy uses the conjoiner *hana* between the conjoined elements; it can be combined with a full pronoun, including gender information, summarising the complex NP.

- X *hana* Y AGR_{x+y}:V
- (27) *Nì hana Melki ne=ta n-ùng.*
 1SG and friend 1PL=sitting 1PL-sit
 'Melchy and I sat down together.'
- X *hana* Y PRO_{x,y} AGR_{x+y}:V
- (28) *Nì hana bápáne anake ta n-ùng-nùng ti.*
 1SG and friend 1DU.EX sitting 1PL-sit-RED 1PL.do
 'My friend and I will sit down together.'

The second part of the conjunction *hana* most likely is etymologically related to the *-na-*formative that is found in most of the dual pronouns (see 6.2), but which is not synchronically productive.

The following examples show that it is not possible for oblique arguments to be conjoined. In the first example we can see that the normal functional solution to conjoining two goals is by restating the entire VP that contains each goal; it is not possible to use one of the conjunction strategies that we have reviewed above to simply conjoin the two goal NPs, as can be seen in the ungrammatical sentences shown as (29)' - (29)''.

- (29) *Nì=re-re Àbe=pa nì=re-re Nofé.*
 1SG=go-RED Abepura=INSTR 1SG=go-RED Jayapura
 'I'll be going to Abepura and Jayapura.'
- (29)' * *nì re re Àbe pa Nofé*
- (29)'' * *nì re re Àbe pa Nofé pa*
- (29)''' * *nì re re Àbe hana Nofé*

The fact that a goal never shows agreement of any sort of the predicate, whether by proclitic, vowel alternations, or choice of suppletive stems, means that many of the common

conjoining options that are used with conjoined (animate) subject seen earlier do not apply to this situation.

We should not think that conjunctions is limited to preverbal nominals, or restricted from appearing with postverbal ones. Although they are coded in the same postverbal, pre-auxiliary position as are goals such as those seen in (30), recipients of verbs such as *ké leng* ‘give’ are not oblique (as demonstrated by their behaviour in raising clauses), and they behave as non-oblique arguments for the purposes of conjunction. This can be seen in the following example, in which conjunction is permitted.

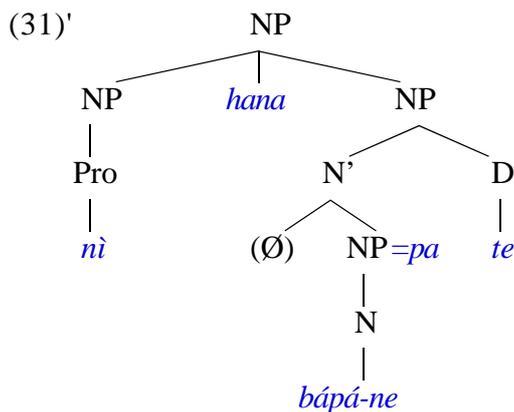
- (30) *Rópu=ing a nì=lóe leng Theo=pa ke=barí=pa.*
 book=the 1SG=get.PL give Theo=INSTR 3SG.NF=headman=INSTR
 ‘I gave the books to Theo and the headman.’

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A complicated example

The following example shows some of the strategies outlined above used in combination. Here we can see that both the conjunction *hana* between the first conjunct and the rest, and a complex second conjunct that itself consists of two parts; the first is non-overt, and the second appears with the clitic *=pa* marking its position within a conjunct phrase. The only trace of the first conjunct is in the summation pronoun appearing finally in the NP. The verb shows the combined features of all elements of the subject NP, the first person from the first element and the plurality from the second. The overall structure of the conjuncts in the NP in (31) is shown in (31)′.

- [X *hana* [Y=*pa* PRO_{y,z}]] AGR_{x+(y+z)}:V
 (31) *Nì hana bápá-ne=pa te ne=ta n-ùng-nùng ti.*
 1SG and friend-1SG.DAT=INSTR 1PL 1PL=sitting 1PL-sit-RED 1PL.do
 ‘My friends and I sat down together.’



I assume that the summation pronoun is external to either of the conjoined NPs, and that it is not itself one of the conjuncts.

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Eligibility for conjunction

The patterns of conjunction presented above do not apply to all NPs; the internal nature of the NP does not make a difference (though we have seen that some strategies are only available

when at least one member of the coordinated pair is pronominal), but the grammatical function that the NP plays is important. Specifically, postverbal goals may not be coordinated in these fashions, but rather must show conjoined VPs, as in (32). Here we can see that it is not possible to conjoin *Te Óeti* and *Mòru* in the one NP, regardless of the coordination strategy employed.

- (32) *Nì=re-re Te Óeti=pa nì=re-re Mòru.*
 1SG=go-RED Wutung=INSTR 1SG=go-RED Moso
 ‘I’m going to Wutung and Moso.’

(33) * *nì re re Te Óeti pa Mòru pa*

(34) * *nì re re Te Óeti hana Mòru*

With a postverbal location, on the other hand, such coordination is possible:

- (35) *mong tue-tue Te Lúng=pa, Te Lángfa,*
 F.sit 3SG.F.do-RED Ormu=INSTR Tanah Merah
 ‘(the canoes) are at Ormu, and at Tanah Merah ...’

This fact of coordinated locations might initially appear to be an inconsistency in the treatment of the postverbal obliques, but it should be remembered that these two kinds of arguments show other differences as well, including involving positional restrictions and aspectual possibilities in negated sentences.

Object NPs may and do display all of the coordination possibilities found for subjects, showing another argument for separating the core and oblique arguments. Note that postverbal objects, such as the recipient of verbs of giving (see 5.3.4), or the low-transitive objects of low-affect verbs (see 5.3.3.3) do allow for coordination, providing another argument that these arguments are not obliques, but rather obliquely-coded objects. Some examples of conjoined objects, both pre- and postverbal, are shown in (36) - (37xxx999more). The lack of agreement on the verb for objects means that many of the reduced conjunct options that have been exemplified for conjoined subjects are not available for objects. Only for human objects are there alternatives to the *X=pa Y=pa* construction, since only with humans are summation pronouns commonly used, or more commonly a classifier + pronoun:

- (36) *...anabí=pa ha=pa nì=loe hí.*
 machete=INSTR bag=INSTR 1SG=get.PL go.down
 ‘I put down the machete and bag.’

- (37) *...ingno pe=w-é r-ung*
 banana 3SG.F=3SG.F-get 3SG.F-give
Maria=pa ya-pe-pè=pe.
 Maria=INSTR sister-3SG.F.DAT-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT
 ‘... she gave the bananas to Maria and her sister.’

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19.2 Cosubordination of verbs

This form of combination, also known as serialisation, has been dealt with in 12.4 in the more general discussion on serial verbs. Skou mainly exhibits contiguous serialisation in constructions that are unproblematically serial verb constructions. The only exceptions are those that employ these constructions to mark an instrument, with *ké* ‘get’, or a source, with *ha*

‘from’, which are used in noncontiguous serial verb constructions, and have been described in chapter 11.

19.3 Coordination of clauses

Clauses are often simply coordinated by juxtaposition, with no formal morphological or syntactic marker of conjunction, and intonation alone serving as the marker of their status. This is found in perhaps the majority of clauses (the interested reader can check the clauses presented in the texts in appendix 4), especially those which do not involve the same subject in two adjacent clauses. Some short and transparent examples from these texts include:

- (99) *Tangí ke=moe toe, táng=ing te=bíng fátà.*
 Tangí 3SG.NF=return 3.come bird=DEIC 3PL=die.PL all
 ‘Tangí came back home, and all of the birds were dead, ...’
- (99) ... *pe=Máwo te=ueme pe te=úepong*
 3SG.F=Skou Mabo 3PL=woman 3SG.F 3PL=marriage
pe=toe-toe Te Óeti yahénglong te=fu-fu.
 3SG.F=3.come-RED Wutung brideprice 3PL=put.down-RED
 ‘Skou Mabo women, they’d marry the woman and she’d come home with them, and Wutung would pay the brideprice.’

In both these cases the coordination is unmarked, either by an over coordinator or by means of one of the over switch reference markers. The use and function of the switch reference system is presented in section xx19.5xx, but the use of both zero-coordination, such as is seen above, and coordination involving overt coordinators beyond the switch reference choice, is the topic of this section. In addition to zero-marked coordination of the sort seen above, the following overt conjunctions are also found:

Table 173. Coordination markers in Skou

Conjunct	Semantic range
X <i>ing a</i> Y	Y happened because of the implications of X
X <i>wa ko te</i> Y	Y happened immediately subsequent to X
X <i>te</i> Y	Y happened as an immediate and direct consequence of X
Switch reference:	
X <i>ko</i> Y	Y happened after X
X <i>pa</i> Y	Y happened after X

The first three of these different marking strategies, as well as zero-coordination, are discussed in the following sections. The final two strategies in table 173xx are the subject of the next major section, as they are the markers of switch reference. These two coordination strategies are mutually exclusive: marking with switch reference morphology means that one of the overt conjuncts cannot be used, and vice versa.

19.3.1 Reason

Clauses expressing the reason for which another clause's predicate occurs may be coded with either the reason clause or the subsequently-determined event clause as the main one. The first example shows how it is possible for the reason clause to be coded as the main clause, and the subsequent event to be a plain declarative clause, with no special morphology. The 'word' *ing a* [ĩã], elsewhere used as a marker of definiteness (and analysable as involving two morphemes – 4.7), can be used on either of the clauses to indicate a subordinate reason for another clause, as in the following example.

- (99) *Ka-ung a=wi a* *nì=moe* *kóeho loe,*
 just-now=this 1SG=return border come
ing a *pa* *nì=hí-hí* *li.*
 the water 1SG=wash-RED do
 'I've just now come back from the border, that's why I want to wash.'

An alternative way to code this same statement would be for the marker of subordination, *=ing a*, to appear at the end of the reason clause, leaving the subsequent event clause as the main clause in the sentence. This is seen in (99); note that it is preferable for some mention of time to occur in the main clause, regardless of whether or not this is the reason for the event.

- (99) *Ka-ung a=wi a* *nì=moe* *kóeho loe=ing a,*
 just-now=this 1SG=return border come=the
 # (*ung a*) *pa* *nì=hí-hí* *li.*
 now water 1SG=wash-RED do
 'Because I've just now come back from the border, I want to wash now.'

Furthermore, there are several ways to express two clauses in which one is the reason for the other. Partly the availability of choice depends on the semantics of the verbs, and partly it appears to be a matter of speaker preference. The following sections present various alternatives to the coding of the notion of one event being the reason behind another, with the subsequent event marked.

19.3.1.1 *ing a*, 'because'

We have already seen two examples of the use of *ing a* to indicate that two clauses are connected, with one being the reason for the other. There are two schema that we can consider for the placement of the relevant morphology:

Reason with *ing a*

- (99) [SUBORDINATE REASON]=*ing a* [MAIN CLAUSE EVENT]
 (99) [MAIN CLAUSE REASON], [*ing a* SUBORDINATE EVENT]

The order of the two clauses is quite fixed; the only case in which a reason clause would follow the subsequent event clause would be in the case of an afterthought: the speaker would have already presented a statement, and then in the afterthought be offering some prior justification for it. The reason clause is, in this second case, necessarily the subordinate one.

A textual example of *ing a* used enclitically to a clause can be seen in the following sentence.

- (99) *Páng-né-nì=ne* *wung=ing a, nì* *pe=bàro.*
 husband-1SG.DAT-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT die=the 1SG 3SG.F=widow(er)
 'My husband has died, so I'm a widow.'

The use of *ing a* to mark the event as subordinate, rather than the reason clause as subordinate, can be found in the following extract (*Tangí*, lines 18-24).

- (99) ... *pìng* [ɛ], *pìng te=te te=we fí táng, pà=ing a.*
 bow bow 3PL=3PL.do 3PL=leave bird cult.house=the
 ‘[his] bow, they left it with the birds, in the cult house.’

Ing a te=ueme hìngtung Tóe tena Háue,
 the 3PL=woman two Tóe 3DU/GDR Háue
 ‘And because of that the two women, Tóe and Háue, ...’

tena=pí=a, te=te, tilong te=nà
 3DU/GDR=even=PROM 3PL=3PL.go doorway 3PL=open

pe=jí toe,
 3SG.F=open 3.come
 ‘those two, they went, and they opened the door, ...’

In this text extract we can see that *ing a*, while appearing at the beginning of a clause, clearly refers to the contents of the preceding clause as the reason that it highlights.

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19.3.1.2 *wa ko te*, ‘because’

Another way to indicate a reason or cause for a subsequent clause is with the sequence *wa ko te*. As with *ing a*, this indicates that there must be a conditioning factor, but *wa ko te* has the sense of a much more direct causal connection between the two linked clauses. Another point of dissimilarity with *ing a*, is that *wa ko te* is a complex sequence, with the following internal structure:

w-a=ko te
 3SG.F-come=OBV 3SG.F.go
 (Literally) ‘come (from there) and then go (to somewhere else).’

Examples of this used as a conjunction show that the use of 3SG.F forms is clearly not in reference to a third person singular feminine subject, and must be taken simply as supporting evidence for these being grammaticalised forms. In the following sentence it is clear that there is no third person singular feminine participant, yet the 3SG.F forms of the verbs may not be varied.

- (99) *Ke=barí ke heng ke=ká i li w-a=ko*
 3SG.NF=headman 3SG.NF accusation 3SG.NF=hit be do 3SG.F-
 come=OBV
te ke=k-e ti Te Óeti.
 3SG.F.go 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-ascend 3SG.NF.go Wutung
 ‘Because the headman had accused him, he went to Wutung.’

The difference between a reason being expressed with *ing a* and one expressed with *wa ko te* appears to be one of temporal sequencing: with *wa ko te* the conclusion of the first clause gives the preconditions for the necessity of the second, while *ing a* allows for a simple stative reason.

19.3.1.3 *te*, ‘because’

Yet another variant on the possibilities for translating ‘because’ into Skou involves using the same 3SG.F inflection of the verb ‘go’, the same form that is used in *wa ko te* ‘because’ in the

previous section. The one verb ‘go’ can be used alone with a similar sense to the lengthier expression. A difference between that last construction and this one involves relative time reference: when *te* is used on its own, the time reference of the first clause significantly precedes that of the second clause, and is an obvious cause of the second clause.xxxx

(99) hxxxxxxxxxx

xxxx

The use of *=te* as a conjunction may be compared to the interrogative collocation *ya=te* ‘why’, literally ‘what (it) goes’. If this etymology is correct, then sentences involving this interrogative, too would be at least historically best analysed as involving a complex sentence with a series of clauses.

19.3.2 Purpose: ‘in order to’

There is no dedicated morphosyntactic structure in use to encode the sense of ‘in order to’ in English. Rather, the clauses are juxtaposed, with the purpose clause following the main clause. There are no markers of switch reference in these sentences; a typical example can be seen in (99), where the only indication that there is any sense of purpose in the second clause comes from the reduplication of the verb stem and the serialisation with the auxiliary *li*, which, given that the verb in the first (main) clause does not display any reduplication, indicates that the two verbs do not share the same TAM values (see xx.xx), and so must not be so tightly bound as a serial verb construction would require.

(99) *Nì=re pá=fue a pále=ing a nì=fu-fu li.*
 1SG=go house=the pig=the 1SG=see.F-RED do
 ‘I went to that house to look at the pig.’

An alternative translation for this sentence would be ‘I went to the house and want to look at the pig.’

The subordinate clause in this sentence is identical to a simple clause expressing wanting by means of reduplication and serialisation with the auxiliary *li* ‘do’, as in (99).

(99) *Pále nì=fu-fu li.*
 pig 1SG=see.F-RED do
 ‘I want to look at the pig.’

More details on the expression of ‘wanting’ can be found in 15.xx.xx. For the purposive construction, we may schematise the juncture found in the construction as follows:

(99) [Clause [SUBORD Clause: irrealis, involved]]

xxxxxxx

19.3.3 Unmarked coordination

Most instances of coordinated clauses in Skou consist simply of two clauses juxtaposed together; they do not involve any overt morphosyntactic marker or conjunction, but are simply found with a non-final intonation contour at the end of the first clause. One textual example of such a chain of two clauses can be seen in (99).

- (99) *Jepa*[ŋ] *hoe* *toe,* *te=pa* *ne=moeng,*
 Japan come.landwards 3.come 3PL=INSTR 1PL=sit
 ‘So the Japanese came, and then we lived with them, ...’
- (99) *Te=hoe* *toe,* *tu* *jíngpa e* *tue=we a*
 3PL-come.landwards 3.come ship fly 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do=this
 ‘So they came, ...’
- (99) *te=hoe* *toe,* *pìng-, pìng* *te=r-ú,*
 3PL-come.landwards 3.come war- war 3PL=3PL-release
 ‘the plane flew in and landed, and war, they waged war, ...’

XXXX

19.4.3 Complex interactions

These sentences, taken from the texts presented in appendix 4, are presented as examples of complex combinations of the different kinds of discourse-structuring devices that have been introduced.

The first example below shows apposition in the first clause between *pe=Máwo* ‘Skou Mabo females’ and the more specific (in terms of age delimitation) *te=ueme* ‘women’; this is the topic of the clause, repeated inside the clause with a free pronoun *pe* ‘she/her’. In the next line the final NP is *yahénglong* ‘brideprice’, which is repeated at the beginning of the next clause, a tail-head linkage, which proceeds to a parallelism with the Malay term *mas kawin* ‘brideprice’. The whole clause then shows parallel structure with the previous one, differing only in terms of the choice of tense/aspect on the clause.

- (99) *Pe=Máwo* *te=ueme* *pe* *te=úepong*
 3SG.F=Skou Mabo 3PL=woman 3SG.F 3PL=marriage
pe=toe-toe *Te Óeti* *yahénglong* *te=fu-fu.*
 3SG.F=3.come-RED Wutung brideprice 3PL=put.down-RED
Yahénglong, [***mas kawin***]. ***Yahénglong*** *te=fu*
 brideprice [brideprice] brideprice 3PL=put.down
e *ti-ti.*
 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED
 ‘Skou Mabo women, they’d marry the woman and she’d come home with them, and Wutung would pay the brideprice. A brideprice, the brideprice. They’d pay a good brideprice.’

Many other examples of these sorts of complex interactions between parallelisms used to expound details of an explication, and clause linking serving to extend a narrative, can be found in the recorded Skou materials. Just as relevant, however, and more morphosyntactically

constrained, is the grammar associated with switch reference marking in Skou sentences. This is the subject of the next section.

19.4 Adverbial clauses of time

Some adverbial clauses showing time settings are expressed with the switch reference system described in the following section, since these morphosyntactic devices are dedicated to expressing the relationship between two events, with temporal overlap or with the first stated event preceding the second event. The lack of a switch reference mechanism to express the sequence of a first event following the second stated event, or to show the temporal overlap of two semantically only obliquely related clauses, leads to other codings for some adverbial time clauses, such as those described in the following subsections.

19.4.1 ‘when’

What would be classified in English as adverbial clauses of time are in Skou best treated as two separate categories, one being perhaps a genuine clause-level adverbial, and the other representing a serial verb construction, in which the apparently nominal temporal expressions are used in verbal syntactic positions.

- (99) *Ka-ung a=wi a nì=moe kóeho loe.*
 just-now=this 1SG=return border come
 ‘I’ve just now come back from the border.’
- (99) *Rángleng nì=moe-moe li, rángpáng-páng tue.*
 afternoon 1SG=return-RED do night-RED 3SG.F.do
 ‘I’ll go home in the afternoon, it’s getting on for night (then).’
- (99) *Ránpáng-páng ko tue.*
 night-RED be.at 3SG.F.do
 ‘It’s getting on for night.’

xxxx

19.4.2 Time sequencing

Although it is not usual, the time adverbial may sometimes follow the main clause. In this case there is never any indication of verb-like behaviour on the part of the temporal sequence. Sentence (99) is one of only a few examples with a postclausal temporal, and it might in fact represent an example of an explicit time added after the clause as an afterthought, rather than being a true ‘normal’ positioning possibility for time expressions. Here the temporal expression is in the form of a relative clause modifying (loosely) *rángùe* ‘time’.

- (99) *Nì=ra=fue ka, rángùe ke=toe.*
 1SG=also=see NEG time 3SG.NF=3.come
 ‘I didn’t see, when he came.’
- (99) *Ûe pung nì=li ké náhìpa ti=fue a.*
 marriage 1SG=do moon eight 3SG.NF.go=that
 ‘I got married eight months ago.’

Other means of indicating temporal relationships involve the frequent use of the switch reference system, which allows for the marking of different temporal sequences as well as for different identities of subjects. This, in combination with the use of aspectual marking on one or both of the verbs (recall from xx.xx that each verb in a sequence is fully specified for all inflectional categories, unlike many languages of New Guinea), makes for a system that is easily capable of expressing fine distinctions in clause combinations.

- (99) *Pa nì=hí i li=ko, ke=toe.*
 water 1SG=wash be do=OBV 3SG.NF=3.come
 ‘I had just started to want to wash when he came.’
 = ‘He came when I had just started to want to wash.’

- (99) *Pa nì=hí-hí li=pa ke=toe.*
 water 1SG=wash-RED do=INSTR 3SG.NF=3.come
 ‘I was washing, and then he came.’
 = ‘He came when I was washing.’

More specialised combinations in clausal combinations can be expressed with other aspectual marking on the first clause, with the same switch reference marking linking the two clauses.

- (99) *Pa nì=hí loeng=pa ke=toe.*
 water 1SG=wash finish=INSTR 3SG.NF=3.come
 ‘I finished washing he came.’

- (99) *Pa nì=hí=pa ke=toe.*
 water 1SG=wash=INSTR 3SG.NF=3.come
 ‘I was washing when he came.’

- (99) * *pa nì hí loeng ko ke toe.*

XXXXXXXXXXXX

19.5 Switch reference

A switch reference system can be uncontroversially defined as the presence of a final verb/medial verb distinction in a language, in which only the final verbs show a full range of inflectional possibilities. By contrast the medial verbs merely mark what is similar or different to the values present in the following clause. By this definition there is no switch reference system in Skou.

On the other hand, there is a paradigmatic alternation, most commonly found on non-final verbs, which manifests a difference between same or different reference between the two clauses. Unlike switch references systems in many other languages, switch reference in Skou is a morphological marker that appears *in addition* to normal finite inflection for the verb. A typical language of New Guinea with a switch reference system (often called ‘medial verb forms’ in the literature) marks either the normal inflectional categories on the verb (for a final verb), or it marks the verb as being dependent in a chain, and shows the relation, both temporal and in terms of the reference of the arguments it contains, to the following clause. This is listed as the ‘basic’ option in table 174xx. For some languages it is more complex, and in the case of different reference of the two subject arguments the medial verb coding the values of the argument in the current clause, but with different morphology to that found on final verbs. A further complication to this advanced model involves preemptively marking the agreement for

the following clause on the clause with a medial verb. Skou, as can be seen, simply takes a normal final verb, with all its inflection for arguments and T/A/M, and adds a marker of coreference or non-coreference.

Table 174. Morphosyntactic structures in switch reference

	Final verb		Medial verb
Basic	T/A/M, SUBJ, (OBJ)	SS	co-reference
		DS	non-coreference
Advanced	T/A/M, SUBJ, (OBJ)	SS	co-reference
		DS	SUBJ, non-coreference (following SUBJ)
Skou	T/A/M, SUBJ, (OBJ)	SS	T/A/M, SUBJ, (OBJ), co-reference
		DS	T/A/M, SUBJ, (OBJ), non-coreference

The morphosyntactic options available to a Skou speaker to describe clausal junctures in the first order (that is, without recourse to serial verb constructions or to explicit conjunctions) are the following (described in terms of the way Skou speakers will initially describe them):

- =pa* subject of the first clause is the same or different as the subject of the following clause, and there is little change in temporal reference;
- =ko* the temporal reference of the first clause significantly precedes that of the second clause, or the subject of the first clause is not the same as the subject of the following clause;
- =te* the temporal reference of the first clause significantly precedes that of the second clause;
- (\emptyset) either temporal reference or participant reference of the two clauses match.

One of the more basic use of the switch reference system can be illustrated in the following minimally different set of sentences, each using a different linking strategy from the four described above. Any implications of differences in coordination versus subordination that are implied from the English translations should be ignored. The sentence with an unmarked clause boundary is the one with the greatest amount of ambiguity. Seen from another perspective, the morphological unmarkedness or the clause juncture is mirrored in the semantic underspecificity of the linking.

Examples of the contrasts encoded by these three basic marked clause linking strategies, as well as the fourth alternative which is morphologically unmarked, are given in the following sentences.

- (99) *Hòe pe=tue, Theo ke=k-ang.*
 sago 3SG.F=3SG.F.do Theo 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-eat
 ‘She cooked the sago, (and) Theo ate (it).’
 (also potentially interpretable as: ‘Theo ate the sago that she cooked.’, but this lacks the demonstrative that would make the relative clause interpretation unambiguous – see 8.3 for more details on relative clauses)

- (99) *Hòe pe tue ko, Theo ke kang.*
 =OBV
 ‘She cooked the sago, **and then** Theo ate (it).’
 (Implication: a longer time elapsed between the cooking and the eating)
- (99) *Hòe pe tue pa, Theo ke kang.*
 =INSTR
 ‘**As** she cooked the sago, Theo ate (something).’
 (Implication: there is no period of elapsed time between the cooking and the eating)
- (99) *Hòe pe tue te, Theo ke kang.*
 3.come
 ‘**As soon as** she had cooked the sago, Theo ate (it).’
 (Implication: a longer time elapsed between the cooking and the eating)

The switch reference system is also used in constructions that in other languages of the New Guinea region would be formed with serial verb constructions, but which in Skou use overt switch reference marking:⁶⁸

- (99) *Naké nì=ká=ko ke=wang.*
 dog 1SG=hit=OBV 3SG.NF=die
 ‘I killed the dog.’

It should be noted that in the sentence above the verbal agreement on both verbs would make it clear, regardless of the presence of switch reference marking or not, that the subject of ‘hit’ is not the same person as the subject of ‘die’. Nonetheless, it is ungrammatical to use the =*pa* marker, or to omit any overt marker of switch reference:

- (99) * *naké nì=ka=pa ke=wang*
 dog 1SG=hit=INSTR 3SG.NF=die
- (99) * *naké nì ka (ke) wang.*

While the construction above requires the use of an overt switch reference marker, =*ko*, it is true that in many other cases clauses may be simply conjoined, as has been seen in (99). Other examples of this include the following:

- (99) *Kóeng nì=k-ang ka*
 tooth 1SG=1SG-eat NEG
 ‘I ate it all up.’
 (that is, ‘I ate it and then it didn’t exist.’)

(note the use of *kóeng* ‘tooth’ as a pleonastic object, where we might otherwise, in the absence of a lexically-specified nominal eaten thing, expect to see *ya* ‘thing’)

⁶⁸ This is identical to Oirata (de Josselin de Jong 1937, Donohue and Brown 1999), in which switch reference forms are also used for this construction:

- (ii) *An-te maataro tie uda-to umu.*
 I-NOM man this hit-DR die
 ‘I killed this man.’

- (99) *Te=a hòe te=t-í ka*
 3PL=PROM sago 3PL=3PL-fell.PL NEG
 ‘They chopped (down) all the sago trees.’
 (that is, ‘They felled the sago trees such that there were no more trees (that had not been chopped)’)

In the next example the same referential argument is indexed on the two verbs of the sentence by different agreement marking, but this does not affect the ability of the clauses to appear without any overt marking of conjunction.

- (99) *Fu nì ke=ká e nì pe=fí.*
 rain 1SG 3SG.NF=hit be 1SG 3SG.F=meet
 ‘The rain soaked me to the skin.’

Having established the range of use of the switch reference morphology, both the situations in which the markers can occur and some examples of complex sentences in which switch reference marking is not found, we shall now examine various issues to do with switch reference as they appear in Skou, xxxxx

19.5.1 Reference-tracking functions of the switch reference system

Sequences of two clauses in which the subjects of both clauses have the same values for person, number and gender (that is, the subjects of both clauses are either 3SG.NF, 3SG.F or 3PL) are potentially ambiguous, as the English sentence in (99) illustrates. In this sentence the reference of the pronoun in the second clause, *she*, is ambiguous: it can potentially refer to either Tara or Molly in the preceding clause.

- (99) *Tara saw Molly, and then she left.*

These sorts of sentences are disambiguated in Skou by the marker of switch reference on the verb. The following two sentences are identical except for the choice of switch reference marking on the first verb, and as a result of this choice the interpretation of the sentence as a whole is in each case completely unambiguous.

- (99) *Theo Hans ke=ká=ko, ke=moe tí pá.*
 Theo Hans 3SG.NF=hit=OBV 3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF.go house
 ‘Theo hit Hans, and then he_(Hans) went home.’
- (99) *Theo Hans ke=ká=pa, ke=moe tí pá.*
 Theo Hans 3SG.NF=hit=INSTR 3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF.go house
 ‘Theo hit Hans, and then he_(Theo) went home.’

Clearly in these sentences the function of the morphemes *=pa* and *=ko* is to mark the coreference or lack thereof of subject between the two clauses. If, however, the agreement marking on the verb is different in the two clauses, the same morphemes may be used to mark the temporal relationship between the clauses. Compare the sentences above with the pair below, which have the same instrumental marker at the end of the first clause, but which can show different reference across the clauses, allowing either the same or different subject readings, made clear by the use of the verbal agreement.

Lynch (1994) discusses a similar construction in Tok Pisin, arguing that it is still a serial verb construction despite the presence of an apparent marker of cosubordination. Foley (2004) argues that this is best treated as a combination of two clauses.

- (99) *Theo è-ke-ké=ke* *ke=láng=pa,*
 Theo wife-3SG.NF.DAT-3SG.NF.GEN=3SG.NF.DAT 3SG.NF=hit=INSTR
ke=moe ti pá.
 3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF.go house
 ‘Theo hit his wife, and (then) he went home.’
- (99) *Theo è-ke-ké=ke* *ke=láng=pa,*
 Theo wife-3SG.NF.DAT-3SG.NF.GEN=3SG.NF.DAT 3SG.NF=hit=INSTR
pe=moe te pá.
 3SG.F=return 3SG.F.go house
 ‘Theo hit his wife, and straight away she went home.’

With the obviative marker =*ko* both possibilities for coreference are attested where the pronouns are compatible with the readings, but there is more likely, particularly when the subjects are the same, to be a greater gap in time between the events of the first clause and the events of the second.

- (99) *Theo è-ke-ké=ke ke=láng=ko, ke=moe ti pá.*
 ‘Theo hit his wife, and then later he went home.’
- (99) *Theo è-ke-ké=ke ke=láng=ko, pe=moe te pá.*
 ‘Theo hit his wife, and then later she went home.’
 OR ‘Theo hit his wife, and she went home.’

The compatibility of the obviative marker with either of the core arguments in the preceding clause being coreferential with the subject of the following clause can be seen in the following sentence, in which both the arguments of the first clause are non-feminine. There is a very strong preference for interpreting the subject of the second clause as not being coreferential with the subject of the first.

- (99) *Theo ke Paulus ke=ká=ko ke=moe*
 Theo 3SG.NF.ERG Paulus 3SG.NF=hit=OBV 3SG.NF=return
ti pá.
 3SG.NF.go house
 ‘Theo_i hit Paulus_j, and then he_{?/*i} went home.’
 ‘Theo_i hit Paulus_j, and then he_j went home.’

It is thus clear that the same morphological markers are used to monitor either same versus different subject in the two clauses, or to monitor same versus different temporal setting. There is some latitude in their use, but the main principle concerns the question of whether the subject marking morphology on the two verbs is in itself sufficient to distinguish the intended reference of the clauses.

We can group these three different morphological patterns in two arrays. In the first of these tables we can see the patterns that pertain when the verbal agreement for subject makes the reference of the two verbs clear regardless of the presence or absence of switch reference marking.

Table 175. Time and subject disjunctions: agreement morphology **does** disambiguate

		Subject	
		Same	Different
Time	Same	= <i>pa</i> / Ø	= <i>pa</i>
	Different	= <i>pa</i> / = <i>ko</i>	= <i>ko</i>

The second table shows the patterns found when the verbal agreement on the two verbs does not disambiguate, that is, when both arguments share the same pronominal features.

Table 176. Time and subject disjunctions: agreement morphology **does not** disambiguate

		Subject	
		Same	Different
Time	Same	= <i>pa</i>	= <i>ko</i>
	Different	= <i>pa</i>	= <i>ko</i>

Comparing these two tables, we can see that the top left and bottom right cells show the same options for switch reference coding: when both the temporal reference and argument reference are the same, or different, then the choice of switch reference marking is unambiguous. The differences come when one of these factors is the same, and the other one different. When there are no morphological cues to disambiguate the reference of the subject, then the functions of =*pa* and =*ko* are purely to indicate the identity or lack of identity of the subjects in the two clauses; the temporal reference does not influence the choice of marker.

On the other hand, when the agreement marking on the verbs is sufficient to disambiguate the reference of the subjects in the two clauses, we then find that non-coreference of subjects is also be marked by the use of =*pa*; in this function it can only be interpreted as marking same reference for the temporal sequencing in the two clauses: =*pa* may be used with non-identical subjects only if the time reference is identical, and not when there is a time gap between the two clauses. If the time reference is different, then we see that for those clauses with agreement marking that completely disambiguates the reference of the clauses, there is a choice in the switch reference marker employed when the subject is the same in both clauses: since the agreement morphology is already sufficient to determine the identity of the subjects, the obviative switch reference marker =*ko* is now, optionally, used to show the non-identity of the time reference.

From these observations we can conclude that the primary function of the switch reference markers is to track the identity or non-identity of the subjects of two adjacent clauses. This is not simply a function of the switch reference mechanism, but rather is a stipulation placed on the whole clause, which we may state in terms of a constraint to maximally identify subject. This is reflected in the domain of the verbal agreement system in multiple indices for subject that appear on the verb: the uniquely-identifying proclitic, in addition to the fossilised consonantal prefix that is found in two-thirds of all verbs, and then the additional possibility of vowel alternations marking some features of the subject as well. Only when the subject has been clearly identified and indicated can the switch reference system be used to mark identity or non-identity of the other highly salient point of reference in the clause, namely the domain of time. This explains the difference in marking between sentences which do and do not adequately differentiate subjects by means of agreement morphology, and the variation in the use of switch reference morphology in those clauses that do adequately mark subject on the verb.

19.5.2 *Unaccusativity and switch-reference*

Another point needs to be addressed here, and that is to do with the exact bounds of the category ‘subject’ that is being monitored in the switch reference system. Other works dealing

with the phenomenon of switch reference (see, for instance, Reesink 1983) has pointed out that the categories monitored in a switch reference system are not always necessarily the same ones that form groups in, for instance, verbal agreement systems.

Although we have seen that the obviative =*ko* may be used when there is either a different subject or a different temporal sequence, there are cases in which this marker is used even when the time reference and the identity of the sole core participant are the same. Consider the following sentence:

- (99) *Táŋge napi=ko, ni=ku i re.*
 leg slip=OBV 1SG=fall lie.down ro
 ‘I slipped, and so fell.’

In this example the morphosyntactically encoded subject of the first clause is *táŋge* ‘leg’, which is inalienably possessed by the subject of the second clause, *ni* 1SG – there is no separation in the real-world between ‘leg (possessed by self)’ and ‘self’. Nonetheless, the language prefers the coding *táŋge napi* ‘(I) slipped (leggily).’ over *ni=napi* ‘I slipped.’, following a New Guinea areal preference for the coded subject of a clause to be either volitional or the nonagentive subjects of resulting states; this means that the subject of the first clause is listed as being different to the second clause, and so the obviative =*ko* is used to link the two clauses together. Compare to the following sentence, in which the same referent-tracking =*pa* is (and, without significant time difference between the two clauses, must be used) instead, the conditioning factor being the semantic nature of the verbs involved.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

This implies that the notion of ‘same’ and ‘different’ subject, as encoded in the switch reference system described here, is a grammatical one, and not simply a pragmatic or discursal one. If the latter were the case, then we would expect clauses such as (99) to be encoded with =*pa*, the same-subject marker, rather than =*ko*. From (99) we can see that the switch reference marking, when used to monitor the identity of the subjects of two conjoined clauses, monitors the identity or non-identity of the category that is marked on the verb as ‘subject’.

What sorts of predicates show this sort of syntactic behaviour? This is a crucial question, since it and it alone can tell us where, in Skou, the cut-off point is that marks the different neutralisations of semantic roles into the categories that are treated as morphosyntactic units by the grammar. The following division emerges:

Table 177. xxxxxxxx

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

19.5.3 Inclusion of members

The switch reference system of a language often shows interesting behaviour when the conjunction of clauses involves not simply a choice of which of more than one possible referents are being tracked, but deals with a situation in which the scope of one of the arguments in one clause includes one or both of the arguments in the other clause. For instance, in the following English sentence, the scope of the pronoun in the second clause includes the subject of the first clause, but is not limited to it, as it includes the object of the first clause as well (at least in its least marked interpretation).

- (99) *When I went to Scotland Island I saw Robert, and we had a walk about the place.*

In Skou, with an overt monitoring system that indicates the amount of referential overlap between two clauses, we find that the resolution of the question of which of the switch reference markers to use in examples such as that in (99) depends on the person of the different arguments in the first clause, particularly whether or not the arguments are speech-act participants (first or second person) or not (The term ‘speech act participant’ is synonymous with ‘Local person’, used in other traditions). The Skou translation of (99) that was offered to me is shown in (99)', where we can see that the same-reference marker *=pa* is used.

- (99) *Ni=re Skotlandia piitu rángkue Robert ni=fue=pa, lòeng*
 1SG=go Scotland island time Robert 1SG=see=INSTR path
ne=n-a ne ti fue a.
 1PL=1PL-walk 1PL.be 1PL.do that
 ‘When I went to Scotland island I saw Robert, and we walked about.’

Despite the preference for choice of marker, considerable variation is tolerated for most combinations of persons being conjoined. Table 178xx shows the possibilities for different persons being conjoined into an inclusory argument functioning as the subject of the second clause.

Table 178. Conjoining inclusory subjects and switch reference possibilities

Subject of clause ₁	Object of clause ₁	Switch reference markers	
1/2(_i)	1/2(_j)	<i>=pa</i>	*
1/2(_i)	3(_j)	<i>=pa</i>	#
3(_i)	1/2(_j)	<i>=pa</i>	<i>=ko</i>
3(_i)	3(_j)	<i>=pa</i>	<i>=ko</i>

Example sentences illustrating these different possibilities are shown in the following pairs. Firstly, we can see that when both the conjuncts are speech act participants, they must be joined with the same reference marker *=pa*; no variation in the switch reference markers is permitted.

$A_{1/2} + P_{1/2}$ SUBJ: *=pa* possible, *=ko* ungrammatical

- (99) *Pí ni=li mè=pa ne=moe.*
 speech 1SG=do 2SG=INSTR 1PL=return
 ‘I_i spoke to you_j, and then we_{i+j} returned.’

- (99) * *Pí ni li mè ko ne moe.*

When one of the conjuncts is third person the situation is more complex. If the subject of the first clause was a speech act participant, then the same subject marker is favoured; the different reference marker is possible, but not favoured. If it is permitted (and speakers vary in their judgements on the acceptability of this, both between speakers and from the same speaker at different times), the use of the obviative rather than the instrumental marker here shifts the informational focus on to the time gap between the clauses.

$A_{1/2} + P_3$ SUBJ: *=pa* possible, *=ko* disfavoured

- (99) *Pí ne=li ke=pa ne=moe.*
 speech 3SG.NF=do 1SG=INSTR 1PL=return
 ‘We_i spoke to him_j, and then we_{i+j} returned.’

- (99) # *Pí ne li ke ko ne moe.*
 ‘We_i spoke to him_j, and then later on we_{i+j} returned.’

If, however, the subject of the first clause is third person and it is the object of this clause that is the speech act participant, then either the same reference or different reference marking are possible. There is no question as to the acceptability of the sentences, and there are no reported differences in interpretation or informational emphasis between the two possibilities. Note also that the use of a generic nonsingular or a specifically dual pronoun in the second clause does not affect judgements.

A₃ + P_{1/2} SUBJ: =*pa* and =*ko* both possible

- (99) *Pí ke=li ni=pa ne=moe.*
 speech 3SG.NF=do 1SG=INSTR 1PL=return
 ‘He spoke to me, and then we returned.’
- (99) *Pí ke li ni ko amanè moe.*
- (99) *Pí ke li ni ko ne moe.*
- (99) *Pí ke li ni ko amanè moe.*

The following sentences show that this variation is not simply a first person phenomenon, with sentences equivalent to those above except for the substitution of a second person pronoun for the first person one still being regarded as acceptable, with the same range of latitude as regards the use of switch reference morphology.

- (99) *Pí ke li mè pa e / enape moe.*
 ‘He spoke to you, and then you_{PL} returned.’
- (99) *Pí ke li mè ko e / enape moe.*
 ‘He spoke to you, and then you_{DU} returned.’

When both the conjuncts are third person, then again either same or different reference markers are possible, with no reported differences in meaning.

A₃ + P₃ SUBJ: =*pa* and =*ko* both possible

- (99) *Pí ke=li pe=pa te=moe.*
 speech 3SG.NF=do 3SG.F=INSTR 3PL=return
 ‘He spoke to me, and then we returned.’
- (99) *Pí ke li pe ko enake te moe.*
- (99) *Pí ke li pe ko te moe.*
- (99) *Pí ke li pe ko enake te moe.*

We can summarise the data seen in this section as follows:

- when the subject and object are both local persons, inclusory reference must be marked with the same reference form using =*pa*;
- when the first subject is higher in animacy than the object, inclusory reference is most typically marked with the same reference form using =*pa*;
- when the first subject is a non-local person, then inclusory reference can be marked with either the same reference form using =*pa* or the different reference forms using =*ko*.

Having examined some of the restrictions that are imposed on the switch reference system by the elements of the clauses that it is used to bind, we can now move on to looking at some of the functions of this system.

19.5.4 The use of the switch reference system

We have examined switch reference in Skou from a highly reductionist perspective so far, and in this section we shall see what uses it is put to in real (and therefore messy) speech, and in slightly modified ('cleaned-up', following speakers' normative judgements of 'correctness') extracts from spontaneously-occurring speech. The extracts in this section are generally longer than a simple two clause conjunction, with the shorter examples illustrating particular possibilities.

The function of the clause marking strategies in real discourse where the subject marking is sufficient to disambiguate the reference, is illustrated in the following short passage, which shows all the possibilities of marking.

- (99) [1 *Ráŋkue tí nì=hí*]=*pa*, [2 *ó bápáli hóe*
time sea 1SG=wash=INSTR wave big landwards
toe], [3 *ró-nì=ne ke=k-á ti*]=*pa*,
3.come skin-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-take 3SG.NF.go=INSTR
[4 *nì=yá*]=*ko*, [5 *nì=loe*].
1SG=search=OBV 1SG=get.PL
'When I was washing in the sea, a big wave came and washed away my
clothes, but I looked for them, and managed to get them back.'

We can examine the clause-final particles and catalogue the different uses they exhibit in (99) in table 179xx.

Table 179. Patterns for marking topic discontinuities in (99)

Clause	Reference of subject	Time sequencing	linker used
1	1 2	same	= <i>pa</i>
2	2 = 3	same	∅
3	3 4	same	= <i>pa</i>
4	4 = 5	different	= <i>ko</i>
5	–	final	–

The switch reference system is more likely to be used to monitor same versus different subject, rather than time reference, when the participants are both capable of performing the predicate, regardless of the presence of subject agreement markers on the verbs. This can be seen in the following example from actual discourse, in which the functions of the two markers are reversed compared to their appearance in (99):

- (99) [1 *Ke=angku=fue a pí li-li*]=*pa* [2 *ke=li*]=*ko*,
3SG.NF=child=that speech do-RED=INSTR 3SG.NF=do=OBV
[3 *nì ráue nì=há i*].
1SG laugh 1SG=stand be
'That child was talking, and he spoke, and then I laughed.'

Compare the summary in table xx180 for this sentence with the choices that were made in (99), shown in table xx179. Particular attention should be paid to clause 4 in table 179xx and

clause 1 in table xx180, both of which have same subject and different time sequencing, and clause 3 in table 179xx compared to clause 2 in table 180xx, which both show different subjects in the same temporal sequence. The two extracts show reversed marking of clause linkage, however.

Table 180. Patterns for marking topic discontinuities in (99)

Clause	Reference of subject	Time sequencing	linker used
1	1 = 2	different	= <i>pa</i>
2	2 3	same	= <i>ko</i>
3	3	final	–

Another example shows us that involuntary state predicates show a pattern that is expected from a survey of New Guinea languages, namely that the switch reference system monitors the topicality of arguments across clauses, and not the strict identity of the arguments. This is illustrated by the following clauses, which differ only slightly. In the first clause we can see that the clause marking the return home is separated from the sickness clause with an obviative marker, just as the sickness clause is separated from the departure clause by an obviative marker, even though the referent is in all cases the same.

- (99) [DEPARTURE *Ni=re* *te=Óeti*]=*ko*, [SICKNESS *nòe* *è*]=*ko*
 1SG=go 3PL=Wutung=OBV body sick=OBV
 [RETURNING *nì=moe* *toe*].
 1SG=return come
 ‘I went to Wutung, but (while I was there) I got sick, and so then came back home.’

A chart showing the different coreference conditions, along with the temporal sequencing, between the different clauses in (99) is shown in table 181xx.

Table 181. Patterns for marking topic discontinuities in (99)

Clause	Reference of subject	Time sequencing	linker used
1	1 = ±2	different	= <i>ko</i>
2	2 = ±3	different	= <i>ko</i>
3	3	final	–

Here the different time references of the different clauses guarantees that the switch reference =*ko* must be used, regardless of the status of the subject reference across the clauses. It is possible for a different marker to be used to separate the second clause from the third, if the temporal sequencing is closer. In (99)' we can see an nearly identical clause, but with a different switch reference marker separating the second from the third clauses. The chart explicating the information in this clause is shown in table 182xx.

- (99)' *Ni=re* *te=Óeti=ko*, *nòe* *è=pa* *nì=moe* *toe*.
 1SG=go 3PL=Wutung=OBV body sick=INSTR 1SG=return come
 ‘I went to Wutung, but (while I was there) I got sick and so then came straight back home.’

Table 182. Patterns for marking topic discontinuities in (99)'

Clause	Reference of subject	Time sequencing	linker used
1	1 = ±2	different	= <i>ko</i>
2	2 = ±3	same	= <i>pa</i>
3	3	final	–

Compare these last few example sentences with the following pair, in which the event in the second clause, performing a traditional singing and dancing festival, cannot pragmatically be continued into the temporal scope of the final clause, and so the use of =*pa* is ungrammatical, or at best highly marked. In this case there must be a different temporal setting in the third clause from that in the second, and so this must be obligatorily coded with the obviative marker.

- (99) *Nì=re te=Óeti=ko, lí nì=li=ko nì=moe toe.*
 1SG=go 3PL=Wutung=OBV dance 1SG=do=OBV 1SG=return come
 'I went to Wutung, and then danced, and later came back.'

- (99)' * *nì=re te=Óeti=ko, lí nì=li=pa nì=moe=toe*

Note that for the nonagentive passive involving *mòng wí* 'be hit, be affected', it is the undergoer subject that is monitored by the switch reference system, not the notion of 'actor'. In the first example below we can see that coordination with the switch reference marker =*pa*, indicating the same subject, is possible, but that the use of the obviative =*ko*, which is found with either different subjects or different times, is not grammatical.

- (99) *Nì mòng nì=wí=pa nì=moe ha tà.*
 1SG wound 1SG=get.F=INSTR 1SG=return walk running
 'I was hit, and then I ran home.'

- (99) * *nì mòng nì wí =ko nì moe ha tà*
 =OBV

Compare this with the grammaticality of using =*ko* with a semantically similar sentence with a fully transitive verb in the first clause:

- (99) *Nì ke=ká=ko nì=moe ha tà.*
 1SG 3SG.NF=hit=OBV 1SG=return walk running
 'He hit me, and then I ran home.'

The use of the instrumental =*pa*, the erstwhile proximate marker, to conjoin clauses with either the same subject or with different subjects can be seen in the following sentences. In the first sentence the temporal setting may include the sitting and the speaking at the same time, or in close sequence. In the second clause, however, the only possible interpretation is that the third party was speaking as the first person sat down.

Proximate clause linking with =*pa*, same subject

- (99) *Nì=ta hung=pa húhú nì=li.*
 1SG=sitting sit=INSTR story 1SG=do
 'I sat (down) and spoke.' / 'I sat down while I spoke.'

Proximate clause linking with =*pa*, different subject

- (99) *Nì=ta hung=pa ke húhú ke=li.*
 1SG=sitting sit=INSTR 3SG.NF story 3SG.NF=do
 'I sat (down) as he spoke.'

A similar pair of examples below show that the obviative, too, is eligible to mark two clauses sharing either the same subject or having different subjects, but if they share the same subject then they must be interpreted as having no temporal overlap, while if there are different subjects pertaining in the two different clauses the interpretation of temporal sequencing is less strict.

Obviative clause linking with =*ko*, different time reference

- (99) *Nì=ta hung=ko jópa húhú nì=li.*
 1SG=sitting sit=OBV a.while story 1SG=do
 ‘I sat (down) and after a while I spoke.’

Obviative clause linking with =*ko*, same or overlapping time reference

- (99) *Nì=ta hung=ko ke húhú ke=li.*
 1SG=sitting sit=OBV 3SG.NF story 3SG.NF=do
 ‘I sat (down) and he spoke.’ / ‘I sat down as he spoke.’

An example of the verb ‘go’ used in its unmarked (3SG.NF) form, without displaying agreement for the non-3SG.NF subject that is marked on the main verb that precedes it, can be found in the following examples.

- (99) *Nì=ta hung=te húhú nì=li.*
 1SG=sitting sit=go story 1SG=do
 ‘I sat (down) and straight away spoke.’
- (99) *Nì=ta hung=te ke húhú ke=li.*
 1SG=sitting sit=go 3SG.NF story 3SG.NF=do
 ‘I sat (down) and straight away spoke.’

Switch reference forms are also used productively to encoded subordinate temporal clauses in Skou. The following examples show how the same/different reference functions of the markers =*pa* and =*ko*, with reference referring to temporal overlap, can be used to mark subtle distinctions in temporal coding.

- (99) *Nì=há=ko rángkue áling wí.*
 1SG=travel=OBV hour one 3SG.F.pass
 ‘I travelled until one hour had passed.’
- (99) *Rángkue áling wí=pa, nì=há-há.*
 hour one 3SG.F.pass=INSTR 1SG=travel-RED
 ‘One hour passed, and then I set out.’
- (99) *Nì=hóe=ko rángkue áling pa=pa, nì=há-há.*
 1SG=wait=OBV hour one INSTR=INSTR 1SG=1SG.travel-RED
 ‘I waited for one hour, and then I set out.’
- (99) *Nì=hóe=ko rángkue áling hí=pa, nì=há-há.*
 1SG=wait=OBV hour one enter=INSTR 1SG=travel-RED
 ‘I waited for one hour, and then I set out.’

XXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

An elaboration of this use of an ergative pronoun allows adjectival modification:

- (99) *Te Téme ke=bà áling ke=Máwo ke=ká=ko*
 Nafri 3SG.NF=person one 3SG.NF=Skou Mabo 3SG.NF=hit=OBV
ke=wung.
 3SG.NF=die
 ‘One of the Nafri men hit a Skou Mabo man, and he_{Skou} / *Nafri died.’

XXXXXXXXXX

19.5.5 Post-facto switch reference

Sometimes the switch reference system is used to mark a verb that appears finally in the sentence, not medially. In these instances the verbs appear to be placed as ‘afterthoughts’, adding more information that, properly speaking, would have been coded earlier in the clause. The following sentence is an example of this, showing a ‘medial’ verb form appearing following the goal in the clause.

- (99) *Ke=ti bàmé, nì=la=pa.*
 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.go village 1SG=accompany=INSTR
 ‘He went to the village, and I accompanied him.’

A more canonical way to encode these meanings might be the following:

- (99) *Ke nì=la=pa ke=ti bàmé,.*
 3SG.NF 1SG=accompany=INSTR 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.go village
 ‘I accompanied him (when) he went to the village.’

dXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

19.4 Other coordination strategies in discourse

The switch reference system is somewhat all-pervasive in linking clauses in Skou, but it is not, of course, the final word on discourse strategies. Such a topic is beyond the space that can be allocated to it here, but some comments can, and will, be made about some of the more prominent strategies employed by Skou speakers when constructing discourse. Further examples of discourse can of course be found in appendix 4, where a variety of texts representing a range of genres have been recorded.

19.4.1 Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkages are a common discourse strategy in languages of the New Guinea area (Longacre 1972, 1985). A tail-head linkage involves the repetition of the final part of one sentence (the ‘tail’) as the start (‘head’) of the following one; in Skou, and the other languages of New Guinea for which this author has personal experience, the repeated portion is invariably marked by a distinct intonation contour, and is clearly separated from the rest of the sentence. We may represent the tail-head pattern schematically as shown in (99).

Tail-head linkage

- (99) [SENTENCE 1 ... X Y Z] [SENTENCE 2 Z, A B ...]

A good example of a tail-head linkage sequence can be found in the following textual extract. The tail and head are shown in bold, and in this extract the tail of the first sentence is exactly repeated as the head of the next.

- (99) *Ne=r-óe* *hì* *wá=ko,* *ne* *núng*
 1PL=1PL-get.PL go.down carrying.basket=OBV 1PL k.o.net
ne=ne=ko *ne,* *móe* *ne=r-óe-róe=pa,*
 1PL=1PL.be=OBV 1PL fish 1PL=1PL-get.PL-RED=INSTR
ne=r-óe ***n-a*** ***moe*** ***ne*** ***bàme.***
 1PL=1PL-get.PL 1PL-walk return 1PL.go village
 ‘We put them in the basket, and then, we go back to the nets, and then we, catch some more fish, and we take them back to the village.’
- (99) ***Ne=r-óe*** ***n-a*** ***moe*** ***ne*** ***bàme,*** *ne=hì*
 1PL=1PL-get.PL 1PL-walk return 1PL.go village 1PL=go.down
te, *=pa* *te=angku* *te=pa* *ne=n-ang-nang.*
 3SG.F.go =INSTR 3PL=child 3PL=INSTR 1PL=1PL-eat-RED
 ‘When we’ve taken them back to the village, we put them down, and straight away, with the children, we eat them.’

In addition to the formula shown in (99), another alternative is found, widely attested in the languages of New Guinea (eg., Roberts 1987, van Kleeff 1988). In this strategy the previous final predicate or series of predicates is summed up by a use of the verb ‘do’. This is shown schematically in (99), with examples in (99) and (99).

Tail-head linkage II

- (99) [SENTENCE 1 ... X Y Z] [SENTENCE 2 ‘do’, A B ...]
- (99) *Te=Óeti=ing a* *héfèng* *te=tí.*
 3PL=Wutung=the good 3PL=dance
Te=ti=ko, *te=ing a=pa* *ne=n-ang.*
 3PL=3PL.fo=OBV 3PL=the=INSTR 1PL=1PL-eat=INSTR
 ‘And the Wutungs danced well. Having done that, we ate with them.’
- (99) *Te=r-í=ko* *te=me* *t-o* *bàme.*
 3PL=3PL-PL.get=OBV 3PL=PL.return 3PL=seawards village
Ing a *te=ti=ko,* *te=me=pa*
 the 3PL=3PL.fo=OBV 3PL=PL.return=INSTR
te=ti=ing a *te=meng.*
 3PL=3PL.do=the 3PL=PL.stay
 ‘And they go it and, later, they went back to the village. And then having done that, having returned and, because they’d done that, they stayed there.’

Tail-head linkages with the verb ‘do’ are much less common than those in which the predicate of the preceding clause is repeated. In (99) we can see that the speaker vacillated between a ‘do’ coding and the use of the lexical verb.

19.4.2 Parallelisms and parallel contrasts

Another frequently-occurring discourse strategy in Skou is the use of parallelisms in constructing a narrative. In this strategy a concept is repeated in different words, or slightly modified, or else the structure used to present one proposition is used to contrast with the

following related proposition. We may represent these with the schemas in (99) and (99). In the first, the first sentence is repeated with slight modification of one of its of meaning components. In the second structure the meaning components of the second proposition are different, but the structure in which they are presented is identical to that used in the first proposition.

Parallelisms

- (99) [PROPOSITION 1 X Y Z] [PROPOSITION 2 X Y' Z]

Parallel structures

- (99) [PROPOSITION 1 X Y Z] [PROPOSITION 2 A B C]
└─┘ △ └─┘ △

The following example exemplifies both the use of parallelisms and the use of parallel structures in one stretch of narration. The parallelism in the first line is shown in bold; here two semantically close concepts are presented to emphasise the speaker's communicative content. In the second line the two propositions headed by *Lópa* and *ung a we ing* are contrasted, in identical verbless clauses. The repetition of *ung a we ing* in the next clause is an example of a tail-head linkage (see 15.3.5.2).

- (99) *Lópa pìng te=ti e, hùng te=ti e.*
 earlier war 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be battle 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be
A. Lópa te=ko, ung a=we=ing ka,
 hmm earlier 3PL=OBV now=this=DEIC NEG
ung a=we=ing nì=ra=lue ka.
 now=this=DEIC 1SG=also=know NEG
 'In the olden days they used to fight wars, they'd fight battles. Hmm. This is what they used to do, now they don't, now I don't know about this going on.'

Some other examples are the following. In the first example, describing clan ownership of a stretch of beach, the speaker switches back and forth between the word *fítong* 'ground, land' and *hángto* 'sand' to refer to the area that she means.

- (99) *Hendrik, fítong-nè=ne, [itu] hángto-nè=ne,*
 Hendrik ground-1PL.GEN=1PL.DAT [that] sand-1PL.GEN=1PL.DAT
fítong-nè=ne.
 ground-1PL.GEN=1PL.DAT
 'Me and Hendrik's ground, they're our sands, our land.'

This next example shows a clearly identical structure in each of the three clauses, namely an object followed by 'they chopped them all down'. An interesting development is the use of pragmatic markers (4.6) on the noun phrases that are used to build the parallelism, whereby the object NP in the first clause is unmarked, and in each of the subsequent clauses incrementally more pragmatically salient marking is found on the object.

- (99) *rí-pa ya=we te=pang=ko ka. Bì=ra*
 tree-stands thing=this 3PL=chop.PL=OBV NEG flooring=also
te=pang=ko ka, hòe=wò=ra, te=pang=ko ka, ...
 3PL=chop.PL=OBV NEG sago=EMPH=also 3PL=chop.PL=OBV NEG
 '... they've chopped all the trees down until there aren't any left. The trees we use for flooring, too, they've chopped them all down, and even the sago stands, they're all gone, ...'

Pragmatic marking of NPs in the parallel clauses of (99)

- (99)' i. NP (rípa)
 ii. NP=*ra* (bí)
 iii. NP=*wò=ra* (hòe)

Many instances of parallelisms are formed with Papuan Malay lexifying the second proposition, as can be seen in (99), in which the arrival of *Pe ìngje wò a* and the arrival of dong Yesus both refer to the same event, the appearance of the church in the Skou villages.

- (99) *Pe=ìngje=w(ò)=a* [datang, dong Yesus datang su t-]=*ka*,
 3SG.F=gospel=EMPH=PROM [come mob Jesus come already NE-]=NEG
 '(Now) the gospel, the Christians, have come, and they don't do it any more, ...'

Further examples of parallelisms can be found throughout the texts in appendix 4, from which the textual examples presented here have been drawn.

Appendix 1 Wordlists

No lexicographic materials for the Skou language are available in general circulation, and it is unlikely that they will appear in the near future in a form that is accessible for most readers of this book. In order to partly counter this dearth of materials, I have assembled a basic wordlist for the language, arranged by semantic fields, as well as alphabetised Skou-English and English-Skou wordlists. More detailed lexicographic materials, being files of the community dictionary that is being trialed, can be downloaded from the website listed under ‘updates’ at the start of this book.

A1.1 Skou wordlist by semantic fields

The following list of basic lexemes is given as a guide to the lexical diversity of the language, and as an aid to comparative work. It is not intended to be exhaustive, nor is it. It does nonetheless contain a good deal of material that has not been checked in the interests of making a record available to a wider audience, as the future of further lexicographic work on the language is doubtful.

The list has been arranged by semantic fields, and is intended to cover as much of a basic survey wordlist as possible, with these items appearing first within each semantic domain, followed by a selection of more specialised items. Verbs appear inflected for first person singular, with the prefix *k-* if the verb is one of those that take it. If this is the case, it has been flagged as not being part of the root. The entry for ‘eat’ is thus given as *kang* (*k-* 1SG). Where known, the gender of a noun has been indicated, with feminine nouns marked by ‘F’, and non-feminine marked with ‘NF’; verbs in all cases appear in the non-plural, non-feminine forms. All lexical items appear in the orthography that has been used in the bulk of this book (aside from the phonology chapter and the acoustic appendices).

Some of the material that appears here replicates that found in earlier chapters. The kinterms presented here are, of course, the same as those that have already been seen in chapter 9, and similarly the pronouns are no different (and in fact less complete) than those already found in chapter 6. Nonetheless, in the interests of having an easy, and inclusive, section for reference purposes, giving a representative sample of the basic lexical material in Skou arranged by semantic fields, it has been repeated here.

The abbreviations used in the section on kinterms follow standard anthropological usage: C child, D daughter, e elder, F father, H husband, M mother, P parent, S son, Si sibling, Sp spouse, W wife, y younger, Z sister. These may be used in combinations such that each operator applies to the following term. As an examples of this, the gloss FZC for *lálà(ne)* indicates that the term can be used for a father’s sister’s child. Brackets show that the operators enclosed are optional. *Hóeto* may be used for either a sibling’s spouse, SiSp, or a parent’s

sibling's child's spouse, PSiCSp, in addition to referring to a spouse's sibling. Both of these references are subsumed under (P) Si(C) Sp. Finally, an asterisk outside the brackets indicates that the term inside the brackets is iterative, with at least one instantiation: *tata* C(C)* may be used for a grandchild, or a great-grandchild, or either sex.

A – Body parts

1	Head	<i>rèebi</i>
2	Hair	<i>ta</i>
3.	Eye	<i>lúto</i>
4.	Ear	<i>lóe</i>
5.	Nose	<i>há</i>
6.	Mouth	<i>lángue</i>
7.	Lip	<i>pengro</i>
8.	Tooth	<i>kóeng</i>
9.	Tongue	<i>póeng</i>
10.	Arm	<i>nò</i>
11.	Elbow	<i>nòruerue</i>
12.	Finger	<i>nòkangkang</i>
13.	Fingernail	<i>nòbi</i>
14.	Breast	<i>nó</i>
15.	Back	<i>koe</i>
15.	Stomach	<i>húe</i>
16.	Liver	<i>xxxx</i>
17.	Leg	<i>tánge</i>
18.	Knee	<i>làngbi</i>
19.	Body hair	<i>nòeta</i>
20.	Skin	<i>nòero</i>
21.	Blood	<i>hì</i>
22.	Bone	<i>é</i>
23.	Flesh	<i>nà</i>
24.	Urine	<i>hipong</i>
25.	Faeces	<i>hi</i>
26.	Body	<i>nòe</i>
26.	Person	<i>(ke) bà</i>

B – Human and kin terms

1.	Man	<i>(ke) bà</i>
2.	Woman	<i>pe ueme</i>
3.	H	<i>páng(ne)</i>
4.	W	<i>è(ne)</i>
5.	M	<i>ánì, má(me)</i>
6.	F	<i>âi, re(me)</i>
7.	SpM	<i>là(ne)</i>
8.	SpF, DH	<i>ì(ne)</i>
9.	SW	<i>tà(ne)</i>
10.	Firstborn	<i>bahúe</i>
11.	Lastborn	<i>bafá</i>
12.	twins	<i>kulílong</i>
13.	orphan	<i>batáko</i>
14.	eZ	<i>pe=bahúe</i>
15.	eB	<i>ke=bahúe</i>
16.	yZ	<i>pe=bafàng</i>
17.	yB	<i>ke=bafàng</i>
18.	Z	<i>yá(ne)</i>
19.	B	<i>yu(ne)</i>
20.	PSiC	<i>yu</i>
21.	(P) Si(C) Sp SpSi	<i>hóeto</i>
22.	FZC	<i>lálà(ne)</i>
23.	FeB, MeZH	<i>títí</i>
24.	FyB	<i>kóko</i>
25.	MB	<i>wówó</i>
26.	MeZ, FeBW	<i>tóeue</i>
27.	MyZ	<i>ánì pe bafàng</i>
28.	PP, C(C)*	<i>tata</i>
29.	PPP	<i>yaya</i>
30.	C	<i>ku</i>

31. Friend *bápá(ne)*
 32. Big man *ke=bari*

C – Pronouns

1. I *nì*
 2. You *mè*
 3. He *ke*
 4. She *pe*
 5. We (DU.EX) *amanè*
 6. We (DU.IN) *anake*
 7. We (DU.IN.F) *anape*
 8. You (DU) *enake*
 9. You (DU.F) *enape*
 10. They (DU) *tenake*
 11. They (DU.F) *tenape*
 12. We (PL) *ne*
 13. You (PL) *e*
 14. They *te*

D – Animals

1. Bird *táng*
 2. Wing *fang*
 3. Egg *kúng*
 5. Dog *naké*
 6. Tail *béngro*
 7. Pig *pále*
 8. Fish *móe*
 9. Prawn *là*
 10. Crab *kung*
 11. Snake *í*
 12. Goanna *ifóngta*
 13. Gecko *rúru*
 14. Worm
 15. Mosquito *léng*
 16. Louse *fǐ*

17. Leech *àli*
 18. Crocodile *móèndèng*
 19. Cassowary *tánggrùe*
 20. Cuscus, rat *púlè*
 21. Fly *lúng*
 22. Hornbill *tángung*
 23. Cockatoo *tángna*
 24. Crowned pigeon *tángboe*
 25. Eagle *tángé*
 26. Frog *kíngue*
 27. Fruit Bat *tángoeue*
 28. Tree kangaroo *púpúe, púru*
 29. Ant *loe*
 30. Wallaby *pumà*
 31. Bandicoot

E – Plants

1. Tree *rítóe*
 2. Bark *ríro*
 3. Leaf *ríha*
 4. Thorn *kong*
 5. Seed, flower *rító*
 7. Betel nut *fa*
 8. Chewing betel *lóengfong*
 9. Lime *o*
 10. Coconut *hang*
 11. Banana *ìngno*
 12. Salt *tína*
 13. Sago tree *hòe*
 14. Sago flour *hòena*
 15. Sago porridge *hòe*
 16. Sago sinole *kóe*
 17. Rice *rámángku*
 18. Kunai *ta*
 19. Root *hangling*

20.	Bamboo	<i>pung, oe, rè</i>
21.	Breadfruit (flesh)	<i>yù</i>
22.	Breadfruit (seeds)	<i>fè</i>
23.	Yam	<i>óe</i>
24.	red yam	<i>óemòde</i>
25.	long yam	<i>óewá</i>
26.	pounded tuber	<i>lang</i>
27.	Taro	<i>manúá, nále</i>
28.	Sweet potato	<i>rangueke</i>
29.	Rattan	<i>àri</i>

F – Natural world

1.	Soil	<i>fítong</i>
2.	Stone	<i>wúng</i>
3.	Sand	<i>hángto</i>
4.	Beach	<i>báng</i>
5.	Water	<i>pa</i>
6.	Sea	<i>já</i>
7.	River	<i>pa</i>
8.	Lake	<i>pato</i>
9.	Cloud	<i>a</i>
10.	Rain	<i>fu</i>
11.	Thunder	<i>pítang pu i li</i>
12.	Lightning	<i>héngghèng</i>
13.	Sky	<i>pítang</i>
14.	Wind	<i>féng</i>
15.	Sun	<i>ráng</i>
16.	Moon	<i>ke</i>
17.	Night	<i>rángpang</i>
18.	Star	<i>ha</i>
19.	Fire	<i>rá</i>
20.	Smoke	<i>rápong</i>
21.	Ashes	<i>túe</i>
22.	Forest	<i>hángpeng</i>
23.	Mountain	<i>pì</i>
24.	Mangrove	<i>ráng</i>

25.	Mud	<i>fítong</i>
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G – Human artifacts

1.	Garden	<i>líhi</i>
2.	House	<i>pá</i>
3.	Roof	<i>ho</i>
4.	Village	<i>bàme</i>
5.	Rope	<i>à</i>
6.	Canoe	<i>tang</i>
7.	Paddle	<i>ná</i>
8.	Path/road	<i>lòeng</i>
9.	Machete	<i>anabì, tàng</i>
10.	Axe	<i>rangwaue</i>
11.	Bow	<i>pìng</i>
12.	Arrow	<i>tà</i>
13.	Spear	<i>pangbì</i>
14.	Knife	<i>tangnófo</i>
15.	Cloth	<i>ró</i>
16.	stirring spoon	<i>ní</i>
17.	Fish-hook	
18.	Lamp (loan, Malay)	<i>rangwì</i>
19.	Wok	
20.	Net bag	<i>ha</i>
21.	Comb	<i>hátòpu, lafí</i>
22.	Mat	<i>píri, lóeúe</i>
23.	Spoon	<i>ní</i>
24.	Sago fork	<i>anángbì, ferí</i>
25.	Beads	<i>túe</i>
26.	Bucket	<i>a, hòe tátá</i>
27.	House fence	<i>koe</i>
28.	Garden fence	<i>tè</i>

H – Location

1.	This	<i>wi a</i>
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2. That	<i>fue a</i>	8. Eight	<i>náhipa</i>
3. Here	<i>wi a</i>	9. Nine	<i>náhipa pa áling</i>
4. There	<i>fue a</i>	10. Ten	<i>náhipa pa hìngtung</i>
5. Inside	<i>tó</i>	11. Eleven	<i>náhipa pa héngtong</i>
6. Outside	<i>pèng(lo)</i>	12. Twelve	<i>hangpà</i>
7. Above, Front	<i>ho(lo)</i>	13. Thirteen	<i>hangpà pa áling</i>
8. Below	<i>kong(lo)</i>	14. Fourteen	<i>hangpà pa hìngtung</i>
9. Back	<i>loengfa</i>	15. Fifteen	<i>hangpà pa héngtong</i>
10. Left	<i>nà</i>	16. Sixteen	<i>hangpà pa nongpong</i>
11. Right	<i>pà</i>	17. Seventeen	<i>hangpà pa ná pang</i>
12. North	<i>lo.e</i>	18. Eighteen	<i>hangpà pa ná pang pa áling</i>
13. South	<i>lo pí</i>	19. Nineteen	<i>hangpà pa ná pang pa héngtong</i>
14. East	<i>loko</i>	20. Twenty	<i>hangpà pa náhipa</i>
15. West	<i>lowóng</i>	21. Twenty one	<i>hangpà pa náhipa pa áling</i>
16. Side	<i>toe(ho)</i>	22. Twenty two	<i>hangpà pa náhipa pa hìngtung</i>
17. Middle	<i>hóue</i>	23. Twenty three	<i>hangpà pa náhipa pa héngtong</i>

I – Colour

1. Black	<i>léngfí</i>	24. Twenty four	<i>mabírí</i>
2. White	<i>tótó</i>	25. All	<i>fátà</i>
3. Red	<i>ùeli</i>	26. Many	<i>nawò</i>
4. Green	<i>ríha pake</i>		
5. Yellow	<i>yali</i>		
6. Blue	<i>tangyúpa</i>		
7. Colour	<i>pake</i>		

J – Counting

1. One	<i>áling</i>
2. Two	<i>hìngtung</i>
3. Three	<i>héngtong</i>
4. Four	<i>nongpong</i>
5. Five	<i>ná pang</i>
6. Six	<i>ná pang pa áling</i>
7. Seven	<i>ná pang pa héngtong</i>

K – Properties

1. Big	<i>máki, bápáli</i>
2. Small	<i>hapa</i>
3. Old (things)	<i>róng</i>
4. New	<i>náti</i>
5. Hot	<i>è ti</i>

6. Cold	<i>lang</i>	17. Split (wood)	<i>lé</i>
7. Good	<i>héfèng</i>	18. Tie	<i>pi</i>
8. Bad	<i>fèng</i>	19. Dig	<i>kúe</i>
9. Near	<i>lalapalíli</i>	20. Stab	<i>kí</i>
10. Far	<i>hangbang</i>	21. Fall	<i>ku re</i>
11. Wet	<i>já</i>	22. Bathe (tr)	<i>pa hí</i>
12. Dry	<i>ùepi</i>	23. Wash (intr)	<i>pa hí</i>
13. Long	<i>íkáfèng</i>	24. Eat	<i>kang</i> (k- 1SG)
14. Short	<i>rílélé</i>	25. Drink	<i>hung</i>
16. Heavy	<i>réngréng</i>	26. Die	<i>wang</i>
17. Sick	<i>yáng</i>	27. Kill	<i>ká ko wang</i>
18. Old (people)	<i>hue</i>	28. Give	<i>ké leng</i>
19. Young	<i>náti</i>	29. Come	<i>ha</i>
20. Sharp	<i>tóta</i>	30. Go	<i>re</i>
21. Blunt	<i>topó</i>	31. Laugh	<i>raue há</i>
22. Tall	<i>íkáfèng</i>	32. Cry	<i>fue li</i>
23. Blind	<i>lúto fu</i>	33. Sing	<i>yaramenà li</i>
24. Deaf	<i>lóa póèng</i>	34. Burn (intr)	<i>è ko tue</i>

L – Verbs

1. See	<i>fue</i>	35. Burn	<i>è li</i>
2. Hear	<i>lúe</i>	36. Cook	<i>li</i>
3. Know	<i>fue, lúe</i>	37. Blow (at the fire)	<i>pong</i>
4. Speak	<i>pí li</i>	38. Hit	<i>ká</i>
5. Afraid	<i>fu</i>	39. Throw	<i>lú</i>
6. Sleep	<i>lú wèng</i>	40. Search	<i>yú</i>
7. Sit	<i>moèng</i>	41. Shoot	<i>pìng lu</i>
8. Wake up (tr)	<i>há li</i>	42. Bite	<i>kóèng ká</i>
9. Stand	<i>í</i>	43. Cough	<i>lú li</i>
10. Walk	<i>ha</i>	44. Vomit	<i>yang li</i>
11. Run	<i>hatà</i>		
12. Swim	<i>pa pí</i>		
13. Fly	<i>tujíng</i>		
14. Wash (cloth)	<i>hí</i>		
15. Scratch	<i>pà</i>		
16. Hold	<i>ké, wé, lóa</i>		

M – Miscellaneous

1. No / not	<i>ka</i>
2. Language	<i>pí(lang)</i>
3. Name	<i>nòeti</i>
4. Yesterday	<i>báng</i>
5. Today	<i>unga</i>

6. Tomorrow	<i>fé(ung)</i>	10. When?	<i>ráng nè</i>
7. Who?	<i>bá</i>	11. Why?	<i>ya te, ya toe</i>
8. What?	<i>ya</i>	12. How?	<i>ya pa</i>
9. Where?	<i>nè</i>		

A1.2 Skou – English finderlist

The following list is alphabetised, and comprises not only the material in A1.1, but further basic lexical materials as well, since the amount of description available for the Skou language is very small. In the headings *oe* is listed after *o*, and *ue* following *u*. Only the 1SG forms of verbs are given; more complete paradigms can be found in A2.

A a	<i>àri</i> , n., rattan	<i>bang ná pang</i>	<i>bóeng</i> , n., leg, upper
<i>a</i> , a., young	<i>àri tete</i> , n., rattan	<i>héngtong</i> , Sunday	<i>bòeng</i> , n., basket
<i>a</i> , d., the	<i>atále</i> , bit	<i>bang ná páng hì</i> ,	<i>bóengbà</i> , n., thigh,
<i>a</i> , n., cloud	<i>atáwú</i> , n., spirit	Saturday	front
<i>a</i> , n., blackpalm	<i>àti</i> , n., meat, fish	<i>bang nongpong</i> ,	<i>bòengfa</i> , a., light
<i>a</i> , n., bucket	<i>àti</i> , n., centipede	Thursday	<i>bóengkóéé</i> , n.,
<i>a wa li e</i> , v., raise	<i>àti malang</i> , n.,	<i>báng</i> , n., beach	hamstring
<i>à</i> , n., rope	centipede with blue	<i>báng (li)</i> , v., crack	<i>bòera</i> , n., crosspoles
<i>à</i> , a., clear	legs	<i>bàng</i> , t., yesterday	
<i>à ff</i> , v., ring	<i>átóe</i> , n., nibong tree	<i>bàngto</i> , t., yesterday	E e
<i>à hù</i> , v., sew	<i>atu tútú</i> , n., clouds,	+ one	<i>e</i> , n., sister in law
<i>àbi</i> , pl., Abepura	white at sea	<i>bàngtoug</i> , t., earlier	<i>e</i> , p., you
<i>áha li</i> , n., measure	<i>áue</i> , n., jambu	<i>bápá(ne)</i> , n., friend	<i>e</i> , v., burn
<i>ái</i> , n., father	B b	<i>bápáli</i> , a., big	<i>e</i> , v., go east
<i>áli</i> , n., leech	<i>bá</i> , q., who	<i>barí</i> , n., ondoafi	<i>e</i> , v., go up
<i>áling</i> , num., one	<i>bà</i> , n., person	<i>bàro</i> , n., widow	<i>é</i> , n., bone
<i>aloru</i> , v., mistreat	<i>bafáng</i> , n., sibling,	<i>batako</i> , n., orphan	<i>é ko tue</i> , swollen
<i>amanè</i> , p., we two	younger	<i>bàti</i> , n., name	<i>è</i> , a., cooked
<i>ana</i> , and	<i>bahóe</i> , n., generation	<i>bé</i> , n., reef	<i>è e</i> , p., your
<i>anábi</i> , n., machete	cohort	<i>bé</i> , n., stone for	<i>è na</i> , v., try
<i>anake</i> , p., we two	<i>bahúe</i> , n., sibling,	sharpening	<i>è pa</i> , boil
<i>anangbí</i> , n.,	elder	<i>bèngro</i> , n., tail	<i>è ra</i> , roast
“chopsticks”	<i>baláng</i> , n., basket	<i>béngue</i> , n., cucumber	<i>è tí</i> , a., hot
<i>anape</i> , p., we two	<i>balàng li</i> , v., curse	<i>bí</i> , a., empty	<i>è(ne)</i> , n., wife
<i>anará</i> , a., like	<i>balèng</i> , n., male	<i>bí</i> , n., tree with air	<i>èfa</i> , a., ripe
<i>ang</i> , n., poison, fish	<i>bàlèng</i> , n., photo,	roots	<i>éhá i li</i> , shine
<i>àng</i> , a., dry	picture, shade	<i>bí</i> , n., shell, plating	<i>èkung</i> , a., weak
<i>angku</i> , n., child	<i>bama</i> , n., ghoul	<i>bí</i> , n., floor	<i>enake</i> , p., you two
<i>áni</i> , n., mother	<i>bàme</i> , n., village	<i>bibi</i> , n., wind, north	<i>enape</i> , p., you two
<i>àno</i> , n., rope tree	<i>bamúa</i> , a., true	<i>bíng</i> , n., tree species	<i>epà</i> , n., tree, string
<i>àoule</i> , n., string	<i>bang áling</i> , Monday	<i>bìng</i> , v., die (many)	<i>èpa li</i> , n., dream
<i>apále</i> , n., crab	<i>bang héngtong</i> ,	<i>bítà</i> , n., shade	
<i>ápí</i> , n., story	Wednesday	platform	F f
<i>àpi</i> , customs	<i>bang hìngtung</i> ,	<i>biue</i> , v., care for	<i>fa</i> , n., betelnut
<i>ápólè</i> , n., genemon	Tuesday	<i>bóe</i> , n., lid (of pot,	<i>fa</i> , p., only
<i>apóue</i> , n., jambu (sp.)	<i>bang ná pang</i> , n.,	...)	<i>fa</i> , v., use
<i>apúlo</i> , n., plate	Friday	<i>bóe</i> , v., fight	<i>fa</i> , v., carry
		<i>bòe</i> , n., blister	<i>fá</i> , n., wall
		<i>boeboe lá</i> , v., bark,	
		growl	

- fà*, a., naked
fáfa, n., aunt
fáfà, a., open
fáng, n., wing
fángfù, wind, south
faráfong, n., tongs
fátà, a., all
fáti, n., hut
fátí, v., lay down
Fáwi báng, n., place name
fe, n., fork, chopsticks
fe hùefe, n., tongs
fé, t., tomorrow
fé, v., anchor
fé, v., perch
fé, v., place, put
fè, n., breadfruit
féféhá, n., star, morning
fela, n., fork, large
félangro, year
félangro a toe, year, next
félangro te, year, last
félangro wi a, year, this
fèmu, zigzag
féng, n., wind
féng bápáli, n., storm
féng langro, season, east wind
fèng, a., bad
fètànghapa, n., morning
fétangpi, t., day after tomorrow
fétangpiung, t., yesterday + two
féung, t., tomorrow
fì, n., mud
fí, n., louse
fí, v., run into
fí, a., muddy
fítong, n., ground, soil
fóe, n., spittle
fòe, n., sago pounder
fóefóe, n., soap
fóefóe, n., foam
fongtà, n., lizard, green tree
fu, n., rain
fu, n., bottom
fu, v., pay
fu popo, n., drizzle
fu wa ro, season with west winds
fú, a., blind
fú, n., post of house, corner
fù, a., half
fue, v., see
fue, v., cry
fue, v., afraid
fue a, d., that
fue a, there
fue ka, v., brave
fuelang, v., recognise
fújéng, n., chair
fúnglìng, n., scorpion
fútong, n., buttock, side
- H h**
- ha*, n., star
ha, n., bag
ha, v., walk
-ha, what
ha hí na, v., push
ha kúti, n., star, falling
ha lú, v., pull
há, n., nose
há, v., pound
há, v., from
há (loeng), v., stand
há hi, v., count
há pá bàng úe, n., southern cross
há pá yong oe, n., Orions belt
há te, v., close
hà, v., weave
háháfa, a., slow
hahung, n., bag, large
hang, n., coconut
hang i, n., coconut
hang i ba, n., coconut
hang lé ke loe, n., coconut, sprouting
hang òe pa, n., coconut
hang páró, n., coconut husk
hang táré, n., coconut, drinking
hang yá, n., coconut, old
háng, n., intestines (end)
háng, n., kidney
hangbang, a., far
hangbaue, n., coconut
hangfóng, n., coconut frond
hangkúe, n., kneecap
hangkúe, n., coconut shell
hangléue, n., citrus, ball
hangling, n., root
hangong, n., coconut
hangpà, num., twelve
hángpeng, n., bush
hangpong, n., coconut juice
hangri, n., coconut cream
hángta, n., skull
hàngti, n., rope, coconut
hangtu, n., sand
hápa, a., small
hàpe, encroach
hapùng, n., termite
hatà, v., run
hàti, n., bag strap
hatò ungpáue, n., spider, funnelweb
hatòpu, n., comb
hatuí, n., bag, small
háyu, v., chase
héfèng, a., good
héng, n., yawn
héng, v., ask
hèng, n., fart
hèng ká, v., accuse
hèng(me), n., brother, sister in law
hénghèng, n., lightning
héngtong, num., three
hetè, cook
hì, n., faeces
hì, v., go west
hì ta lúe, v., stop
hí, n., weeds
hí, sap
hí è ti, indigestion
hí wa, swell
hì, n., blood
hì wá, n., yell
hì wá, n., call
hí, pa hí, v., wash
híng, a., other
híng, v., crawl
híngtung, num., two
hìoe, n., pandanus
hipong, urine
hipue, v., come down
hípúe, v., rotate
hípúe li, v., rotate
hítáfi, v., crash
híte, v., boil
hítong, n., bluefly
ho, p., front
hó, v., peel, undress
hò, n., roof
hò li, whistle
hò pi, tie together
ho(lo), a., above, front
hóe, v., go south
hòe, n., sago
hòe è, n., sago porridge
hòe tátá, bucket, medium
hoehí, n., sago water
hóeng, n., valley
hóeng, v., wait
hòepe, n., sago end
hòere, n., sago milk
hoetò, n., brother, sister in law
hóue, p., middle
hu, v., weave
hú, v., carry
hù, n., hammer
hue, v., tread
hue fèng, angry
húe, n., stomach
húe héfèng, happy
húe kí e tue, v., hungry
húe kukupa, n., intestine, small
húe lang, satisfied
húe oeng, v., think
huefa, a., old (person)
húehúefa, carefully
húeró, n., stomach, outer

húeté, n., intestine, large
húhú, n., story
hung, n., edge (sharp)
húng, v., crawl
hùng, n., vagina

I i

i, n., line
i, a., different
i, v., lie down
i li, v., be doing
í, n., snake
í, n., pool
ì, e., no!
ì, n., hole
ì lú, v., complain
í(ne), n., son in law
í(ne), n., father in law
ibábúeli, n., wasp
íboe, n., centrepole of house
ífángfong, n., spit
ífóngta, n., goanna (big)
ikáféng, a., long
íkóele, n., goanna, small, yellow
íkung, slack
íméeri, n., snake (large)
ing, v., dig up
ing a, d., the
ingéngong, n., cat
ìngno, n., banana
ìngnopu, n., bunch of bananas
iri, v., cramp, be asleep
íwúng, n., snake, black and white

J j

já, a., wet
já, n., sea
já, n., trap for pigs
já, n., cup, glass
Jáwung, pl., Nyao
jéng, n., place
jéng tu, n., heaven
jéng yata, n., marker
jí, v., break
jí, hit (pl)

jíng, v., open
jíng, sling
jíng re, v., fly
jíngpa, v., fly
jóka pa, while

K k

ka, no
ka, p., focus
ka ing pa, until
ka ung a, just
ká, n., armband
ká, v., carry
ká, v., hit, kill
kákung, n., fireplace
kalèng, v., look for
kang, n., tusk
kang, v., eat
kángking li, meow
kangtíngi, n., vertebrae, C-7
kangtung, n., beetle, small
káue, n., mushroom
káueoe, moldy
ke, p., he
ke angleng, n., bachelor
ke bà, n., man
ke bà ya na lung i li, n., teacher
ke enake, p., those two men
ke fá ko li, v., wear
ke li, v., pour
ke we, here
ké, n., moon
ké, n., post for hanging things
ké, v., catch
ké e, n., moon, crescent
ké fue, v., leave
ké i, v., put down
ké ke, p., his
ké leng, v., give
ké li, v., catch fish
ké lúpang, n., moon, dark
ké ti fue a, month, last
ké topu wi a, month, next

ké/wí/loe leng (ko), v., hide
keng, n., shaman
keng, n., half
kéng, n., neck
kéng re, v., go out
kéngé, n., neckbones
kepu, v., wear (hat)
ketong, a., little
kí, n., thorny vine
kí, v., scream
kíngue, n., frog, green tree
ko, c., until
ko, v., be at
ko, v., flow
kó, n., armband (special)
kó li, be on
koe, n., fence of house
kóe, n., sago pancakes
kóeé, n., back(bone)
kóee(lo), a., behind
kóeho, n., border
kóelong, n., phlegm
kóeng, n., tooth
kóeng ká, v., bite
kóengri, n., umbilical cord
kòepi, n., skirt, grass
kóeti, n., throat
kóeti ùepi e tue, thirsty
kóko, n., uncle, aunt
kong, n., edge
kong, p., under
kóng, n., thorn
kong(lo), down
kopí, n., coffee
ku, n., frog
ku, n., child
ku, v., stab
ku li, v., give birth
kú, n., dew
kú re, v., fall
kúci, n., marbles
kue, n., beetle, large
kúe, n., time
kúe, v., dig
kúeé, n., jaw
kúeta, n., beard

kúeta fa, v., beard, have
kúfong, n., umbrella
kuha, n., womb
kúkúfa, a., quick
kulílong, n., twin
kúng, n., crab, small
kúng, v., drink
kúng, v., sex
kungpáue, n., octopus
kungpáue, n., spider
kungpáue pá, n., spiderweb
kungpoeue, n., crab, ghost
kungtàng, n., shell
kungwóue, n., hermit crab
kurù, n., teacher
kúwí, a., dark

L l

la, v., put up fence
la, v., accompany
lá, v., bake
lá, v., utter
là, n., prawn
là, v., help
là(ne), n., mother in law
lái, n., ribs, side
lafí, n., comb
láho, n., wall
lálà, n., cousin
láláfa i, a., again and again
lálápa, really
lalapalíli, a., near
lang, n., dish of pounded tuber and coconut
lang, n., clay
lang, n., pot
lang, n., sago mix bowl
lang, v., tell story
láng, n., east wind
láng, v., hit woman
làng, n., foot
làng, v., chop
làng hípu, n., shoe, sandal
làng íto, n., heel
làng lú, v., kick

- lángbí*, n., toenail
làngbí, n., knee
làngghì, n., cockroach
lángghùe, n., calf
làngkangkang, n.,
 toes, middle
langkéngé, n., ankle
làngmama, n., toe,
 big
lànggòe, n., ankle
làngong, n., sole
langpí, a., tasty,
 sweet
langpúlong, n., toe,
 little
langue mong, a.,
 stutterer
lángue, n., mouth
làtue, n., corner
le, n., shellfish
le lue, v., lie
lé, n., drum
lé, v., chop down
lebi, n., shell
lelang, a., cold
lélué, v., annoy
lemà pé, v., criticise
lémong, n., citrus
 fruit
léng, n., mosquito
léng re, v., lose
lèng, n., scales
lèng, n., ant, red
lèng, v., quiet
lèng, hide
lèng, n., hips
léngbángbáng, n.,
 sandfly
léngfí, a., black
lénggho, a., surprised
lèue, n., peanuts
lèue, n., ketapang
 fruit
li, v., want
li, v., do, make
li, v., rotate
li ko fue, v., scare
li lue, v., trick
li lue, v., fool
lí, n., pole, house
lí, n., trough for sago
lí, v., boil
lí ká, v., festival
lí ko fèng, v., ruin
- lí li*, dance
lì, v., angry at
líhi, n., garden
lítì, shake
lo hí, v., hit with
 hand
lo li, v., wash
ló, n., leaf, very
 young; bud
lo.e, n., north
lo.ko, n., east
lo.pí, n., south
lo.wóng, n., west
loe, n., ear
loe, n., ant
loe, v., come
loe fú, v., put down
 many
lóe, v., shave
lóe, v., make
lóe, v., pick
lóe, v., get many
lóe fe, v., leave
lóe leng, v., give
 many
lóe póeng, deaf
loehí, v., put
loelóng, n., nostril
lóelóng lúe ka,
 naughty
loelóngtue, n.,
 nosebone
loeng, complete
loeng rang, v., think
lóeng, v., tell
lóeng, v., promise
loengfa, p., behind
loengfí, v., think
lóengfong, n., betel
 pepper
lòengma, n., path
lóengri, n., jellyfish
loepoe, stutter
lóeri, n., snot
lóeri li, v., sniffle
lóetí, n., earring
lóeto, n., beak
lóeúe, n., mat
lolo li, v., exchange
lómó li, v., grumble
long, n., hole, cave
long, n., key
lóngmo há, v.,
 jealous
- longmung*, a.,
 surrounded
lópa, before
lu, a., full
lu, a., narrow
lú, v., shoot
lú, v., straighten
lú fápoeng, a., sleepy
lú fí, v., cough
lú hí, v., hit with
 hand
lú pong pong ya li,
 v., pray
lú weng, v., sleep
lúbi, n., eyebrow
lue, n., bee species
lúe, v., blow
lúe, v., hear
lúe, v., chop branches
lúe, n., basket
lúe, v., build
lúe pa, p., together
lúefa, v., cross
lúeti, a., alone
lúfongfong, n., eyelid
luhí, hit
lúng, n., fly
lùng, n., crab, species
lupà, a., dark
lúto, n., eye
lúto fú, a., blind
- M m**
ma, v., fall (rain)
mà me, v., ridicule
má(me), n., mother
 (someone else's)
mabírí, num., twenty
 four
Máke, pl., Vanimo
máki, a., big
manúa, n., taro
matútí, n., earthquake
me héfèng moeng
moeng, goodbye
mé, n., pandanus
mè, p., you
mè me, p., your
mè me, p., your
mè moe moe,
 goodbye
mó, n., season
moe, v., return
móe, n., fish
- móebí*, n., flying fish
móehábá, n., whale
móehí, n., eel
móeí, n., turtle, big
moeláng, n., turtle,
 medium-sized
moelí, n., flying fish
moeli, n., ray, manta
moelúe, n., turtle
móelúe, n., dolphin
móema, n., shark
moeng, v., sit
móenòeng, n.,
 crocodile
moerító, n., fish
 species
móerú, n., fish
 species
moetáló, n., eel,
 smooth
móewú, n., barracuda
moeyáng, n., catfish
mong, n., shaft
mong, v., sit, be
mòng, n., affect
mòng wí, v., blow,
 hit, punch (receive)
múnggòe, a., deep
- N n**
na, n., flesh
na, q., question
na, c., or
na li, v., play
na lu, v., pound
na lùng, v., teach
ná, n., paddle
ná, n., sago package
ná hú, v., paddle
ná pi, v., tired
nà, a., left
nà hi, v., hate
nà oe, v., playful
náfeng, a., strong
náhipa, num., eight
náhipa pa áling, num.,
 nine
náhipa pa héngtong,
 num., eleven
náhipa pa hìngtung,
 num., ten
naké, n., dog
nakong, n., house
 space

nále, n., taro bete
nále li, v., pound taro
nápang, num., five
nápang héngtong,
 num., seven
nápánghì, num., six
napì, a., slippery
narángrang, q., how
 many
náti, a., new, young
nawàng, stick to
nawò, a., many
nawóng, n., flooring
ne, p., we
nè, q., where
nè ne, p., our
néko, n., forehead
ní, n., sago stirring
 spoon
nì, p., I
nì ne, p., my
níròe, n., squid
nò, n., arm
nò li, v., beckon
nòbero, n., wrist
nòbi, n., fingernail
nòe, n., body
nòe e, sick
nòe lue, a., skinny
nòe pará, n.,
 appearance
nòe rapu, v., rub
nòe ró, n., shirt
nòe wé te hó, proud
nóele, a., dirty
nóeng, a., fever
nòepi, a., weak
nóeró, n., skin
nòeta, n., hair of body
nòeti, n., body
Nofé, pl., Jayapura
nohóue, n., fingers,
 middle
nòkangkang, n.,
 finger
nòkangkang áha, n.,
 span
nòkenge, n., wrist
nókóra, n., hand, back
 of
nòmama, n., thumb
nóng, n., breast
nongfong li, v.,
 scratch

nongpong, num., four
nòng, n., palm
nopúlong, n., finger,
 little
nòruerue, n., elbow
nòruerue áha, cubit
nóto, n., chest
nówùng, n., knuckle
nú, n., tree with
 straight leaves
núng, n., fish net like
 butterfly net
núng, n., net, hand
nupà wí, smell
nupá(ho), n., armpit

O o

o, v., go seawards
ó, n., lime
ó, n., grub
ó, n., wave
ó hòeha, n., sago
 grub
ójá, n., caterpillar,
 hairy
ojíng, n., chicken
ong fa, v., fool
óngmi, n., firefly
ópu, n., penis
 covering

OE oe

oe, n., bamboo buluh
oe ká, n., burp
óe, n., ant, black
óe, n., yam
òe, n., penis
òe, v., jump
òebi, n., cheek
òebi, n., testicle
oefá, a., ripe
òefu, cross-pole
óemòe, n., yam
 species
oeng, remind
oeng i li, v.,
 remember
oeng ko tue, v.,
 remember
oeng ne, v., refuse
òeng, v., let go
óenge, n., back
óera, n., dowel

óerang, n., housepost
óewá, n., yam,
 species

P p

Pa bípa, pl., river at
 Skou Yambe
Pa ílong, pl., Tami
 river
Pa pípa, pl., river at
 Skou Mabo
Pa púbí, pl., river at
 Skou Sai
Pa rang, n., river
Pa úerong, river
pa, a., sufficient
pa, c., with
pa, n., water
pa, n., river
pa, pot
pa (te bà pa), a.,
 crowd
pa ku i li, n.,
 waterfall
pa pí, v., swim
pá, n., house
pà, a., right
pà, v., scratch
pà, house, cult
pahíng, capsized
paí, n., well
pake, n., colour
palang, n., pot for
 water
pále, n., pig
páli, n., kraken
palòe, n., house
 platform
paloeng, n., river
palóng, n.,
 rivermouth
pálué, n., remains
pang, n., pus
páng, n., bedbug
páng, n., son in law
páng, v., chop down
 many
páng(pe), n., husband
pangbì, n., arrow for
 pigs
papáng, n., steam
pará, v., resemble
parang, n., house pole

parue, n., source of a
 river
patá, n., tea
pátáng, n., ceiling
pátángke, n.,
 kingfisher
patítí, n., freckle
pato, n., lake
páto, n., candle nut
pátóe, neighbour
páue, n., hunting
 party
páuee, n., ladder,
 house
páwu, n., shoulder
pe, p., she
pe angúe, n., woman,
 unmarried
pe enake, p., those
 two women
pe ueme hí a, n.,
 ghou, female
pé (i), v., put down
pé kang, v., smell
pé re, v., lie down
pè pe, her
péfa, a., smoked
peng, v., forget
péng, n., tree species
péng, clear
pèng(lo), pl., outside
péngpèng li, v.,
 sneeze
péngro, n., lip
péngue, n., mango
pi, v., tie
pí, a., half-ripe
pí, v., stop (rain)
pí, p., the one
pí, v., flow out
pí bamúa li, v., truth
pí li, speak
pí lóba, n., scree
pí lóeng, v., praise
pí pongpong li, v.,
 shisper
pí tifèng lá, v., curse
pì, a., full
pì, n., mountain
pí(lang), n., language
piítu, n., island
pílang li, v., curse
pína, voice

píng, n., place where you find fish
píng, n., platform
pìng, n., bow
pìng, n., war
pirára, mole
píri, n., mat
pítang, n., sky
pítang pu i li, n., thunder
pítue, n., foothill
píue, n., wound
píuelúe, scar
pó, n., vegetables
poe, a., thick
poe ka, thin
poe yá, n., rope, coconut
póeng, n., tongue
póepue, a., round
póí, n., spinach
pong, v., blow (at fire)
pong, n., cape
pong, a., closed
póní, n., sarupaku; main vegetable
póweng, n., gedi
pu, n., nest
pu, n., writing
pu li, v., write
pú, n., mammal (furry)
pú, n., tail
pù, n., conch shell
púbà, n., cuscus black/white
púbèng, n., cuscus yellow/red
púfáue, n., cuscus red/white
puháhá, cuscus (sp.)
púle, n., rat, cuscus
púle, n., bandicoot
pumà, n., wallaby
pung, n., heart
pung, n., bamboo
pung, v., butcher
pung héfèng, a., happy
pung li, v., like
pung tóta, a., smart
púpí, n., sugar glider, male

púpúe, n., tree kangaroo sp.
pupúki, n., eggplant
púru, n., kangaroo, tree
púsú, n., bottle
púwa, n., sugar glider, female

R r

ra, n., fire
ra, p., also
ra è há, v., burn
rà li, v., burn
rabáká, n., tobacco
rabáká túpa, n., cigarette
rahé, n., strainer, coconut
rámang, n., ant, black
rámáng ku, n., rice
ráng, n., sun
ráng, n., mangrove
ráng héfèng, dood day
ràng, n., ironwood
ràng, n., housepole
rángkue, n., hour
rànglai, n., poles, house
rángleng, t., afternoon
rángleng héfèng, afternoon, good
rángnè, q., when
rángpang, n., night
rángpang héfèng, good evening
rángto, n., nape
rángúeke, n., sweet potato
rangwaue, n., axe
rangwì, n., lamp
rápong, n., smoke
rapu, v., rub
rapue, v., descend
rará, n., burning wood
ráue há, v., laugh
rawó, n., torch
rawòng, n., coals
rawòng è ko tue, n., coals, hot
re, v., go
ré, n., bridge
rè, bamboo
re(me), n., father
réngréng, a., heavy
rí, n., wood
rí, n., scales
rí, n., tree
ríha, n., leaf
ríha pake, a., green
ríhí, n., sap
ríléle, a., short
rílo, n., bud
rílo, n., woodchips
ríne, n., branch
ríoe, n., planks of wood
ríotí, n., tree with edible grubs
rípang, n., flower
rírífa, short
ríro, n., bark
ríto, n., seed
ríto, n., staff
ríto ùeli, n., chilli
rítóe, n., tree
ríwo, n., knot (wood)
ro, a., hollow
ró, n., matoa tree
ró, n., cloth
ró, n., skin
ró ka, embarrassed
ròebi, n., head
ròengha, n., ground pole
rong, a., old
Rópu Òeli, n., bible
rópu, n., book
rue, n., handle
rue, stand, be at
rùe, n., horn
rueto, n., cupboard, box
rúng, n., staff
rùng, n., sugarcane
rúngpóng, n., sugar
rúru, n., gecko
rúru léng, hide-and-seek
rútapi, a., bald
rúto, n., pot

S s

sangbiki, n., pumpkin (< Menado Malay)
so, c., well

T t

ta, n., hair
ta, n., kunai
ta ékung, straight hair
ta hùng, v., sit down
ta nafeng, frizzy
tà, n., arrow
tà(ne), n., co-parents
tábá, n., army
tàheng há, v., jealous
taíngbe, n., money
tajíng, v., push
tàki, n., bowstring
takúe, n., punji sticks
takúe, n., noose
talé, n., gills
tang, n., gall
tang, n., canoe
tang, t., last night
tang ke bà tí fa, n., owl
táng, n., bird
táng, n., net for fish
tàng, n., machete
tángángue, n., pigeon
tángáue, n., tern
tangbéro, n., butterfly
tangbéro léngfi, n., butterfly, black
tangbéro tútú, n., butterfly, white
tángboe, n., pigeon, crowned
tánge, n., leg
tángé, n., eagle
tànge, a., bitter, sour
tànge ró, n., trousers, shirt
tangfa, house, men's
tángfáng tútú, n., angel
tángfí, n., bat, black
tángfòemo, n., dragonfly
tanghang, n., outrigger
tánghang, n., face
tánghang li, v., dizzy
tánghang li, *tanghang*, v., birth, born
tanghápang, n., motorbike

- tanghì*, n., bracelet
tánghó, n., feather
tánghung, n.,
 knifeedge
tánghung li, n.,
 sharpen (knife)
tangké, n., eagle
tánkengkeng(wa), n.,
 bat, small
tangkóe, n., canoe
 platform
tánglé, n., spear
tánglè, n., lorikeet
tanglìlong, n.,
 scissors
tánghú, n., eagle,
 spotted and big
tangmíó, n.,
 tomahawk
tangmoe, n., canoe,
 sea
tánghá, n., cockatoo
tangnófó, n., knife
tangnófó títtí, n.,
 knife, large
tangóe, n., bat
tánpá, n., heron
tangpaja, n., mirror
tangpeng, n., canoe
 sides
tangpu, n., shin
tángráng, n., bird of
 paradise
tángrángpoe, n., bird
 of paradise
tángróepa, n.,
 cockatoo, palm
tàngru.e, n., chest
tangrúe, n., rudder
tangrúe, n., captain
tángrue, n., mantis,
 praying
tángrúe, n., handle of
 a machete
tángrùe, n., cassowary
tangríeríe, n., willy
 wagtail
tangta, n., outrigger
 connector
tángtí, n., cicada
tangtítí, n., car
tangtó, n., front of a
 canoe
tángung, n., hornbill
tángwà, n., tern
- tangwáto*, Cape Jar
tangwáue, n., bush
 turkey
tangwu, n., canoe,
 small
tangyúpa, a., blue
tapí, a., hot
tapí, a., crooked
tata, n., grandparent,
 grandchild
tata ku ke, n., Jesus
Te ba Kófo, pl., Nyao
 Kofo
Te bà Lato, pl., Serui,
 Yapen
Te Bàlea, pl., Biak
Te Bapóeme, n.,
 Patipeme
Te Bapúbi, pl., Skou
 Saí
Te Bátútú, n.,
 Indonesian
Te Húele, pl., Sangke
Te Hùepa, n., Palora
Te Húngfa, pl.,
 Sentani
Te Kéfa, n., Ramela
Te Kóemo, n., Kemo
Te Lángfa, pl., Tanah
 Merah
Te Léti, n., Rollo
Te Lómo, n., Lomo
Te Lóngpa, pl.,
 Enggros
Te Lú, pl., Waromo
Te Lùng, pl., Ormu
Te Málo áling, n.,
 Mallo
Te Málo hìngtung, n.,
 Mallo
Te Máwo, pl., Skou
 Mabo
Te Mélong, pl., Kayu
 Pulau
Te Mòru, pl., Moso
Te Múngtang, n.,
 Mungtang
Te Nàli, n., Nali
Te Nóemo, pl., Nyao
 Nemo
Te Óeti, pl., Wutung
Te Pa, pl., Tobati
Te Pòeng, pl., Skofro
Te Purà, pl., Kayu
 Batu
- Te Táng*, n.,
 Indonesian
Te Tángpe, pl., Skou
 Yambe
Te Tangpúto, n.,
 Tangputo
Te Téme, pl., Nafri
Te Òeli, n., whites
Te Wí, n., Awi
Te Yákó, pl., Yako
Te Yálu, n., Membilo
Te Yong, pl., Vanimo
te, p., they
te, result
te bà pápá (te), n.,
 people, foreign
te bálèng, n., ghost
te bàmoé, n., Papuan
te batí, n., devil
te bàto, n., guest
tè, n., fence, garden
tè te, p., their
tenake, p., those two
tenape, p., those two
téngna, n., tree
 species
tété, a., important
tí, n., string
tí, n., sea
tí hoe toe, tide, high
tí ko tí, tide, low
tí toto, n., wave,
 small
tí yabípang,
 phosphorescence
tího, n., door
tílong, n., doorway
tíná, n., salt
tínà, n.,
 phosphorescence
tító, n., wave
tipáng, sea spray
títí, n., uncle
to, p., or
to li, v., sharpen
tó, a., inside
tò, n., seed
toe, result
toe, p., beside
tóe li, v., prepare
tóe, n., shoulderblade
toeho, p., side
tóeho, n., waist
tóepa, n., dust
- tóepi*, v., pack
tóeùe, n., aunt
tong, n., shoots
topó, a., blunt
tópu, front
tóró, n., shoulder
totá, a., sharp
totó, a., old
tú, n., ship
tue, move to side
túe, n., beads
tuelóelóe, a., straight
túfa, n., stern
tujíngpa, n., plane,
 helicopter
túlang, n., tobacco
túnghá, n., leaf,
 smelly
tunghúbi, n., shin
túngpa, perfect
tútó, n., prow
tútú, a., white
- U u**
- ù*, a., smell
ung, t., now
ung a, a., new
ung a pa, a., recently
ung hí, v., confused
- UE ue**
- ùe pung*, v., marry
ùe te, v., sink
ùee, n., ladder
ùefa, n., legend
ùeli, a., red
ueme, n, a., woman
ùepi, a., dry
- W w**
- wa*, n., cave
wa ko ra te, until
wá, n., basket
wá, v., plant
wá, v., beg
wà, n., west wind
wang, v., die
wáng, n., sail
wátóepa, a., close,
 very
wé, v., get
wé fo, v., leave

<i>wé i</i> , v., put down (feminine)	<i>wung</i> , v., die	<i>ya rópu nà</i> , n., kite	<i>yata li</i> , v., buy
<i>wé leng</i> , v., give	<i>wúng</i> , n., joint (body, bamboo)	<i>ya te</i> , q., why	<i>yatà li</i> , v., steal
<i>wé leng te te</i> , v., send	<i>wúng</i> , n., stone	<i>ya toe ko</i> , why	<i>yáya</i> , n., great grandparent
<i>wé li</i> , v., hang	Y y	<i>yá</i> , n., grass	<i>yayong</i> , n., food
<i>wé pu</i> , v., cover		<i>yá i li</i> , shine	<i>yó</i> , a., long
<i>wépu</i> , v., cover	<i>ya</i> , n., what, thing	<i>yá(ne)</i> , n., sister	<i>yong</i> , n., ampas
<i>wi a</i> , d., this	<i>ya ápatàngpang</i> , n., animal	<i>yabúto</i> , n., firefly	<i>yu</i> , n., cousin
<i>wi ta fí</i> , v., leave	<i>ya héfèng pingping</i> , n., thank you	<i>yáhue</i> , n., spell	<i>yu</i> , wipe clean
<i>wíng</i> , n., thread	<i>ya hénglong</i> , n., rubbish	<i>yámo</i> , medicine	<i>yú</i> , v., search for
<i>wò</i> , p., very	<i>ya nóele li</i> , v., sin	<i>yang</i> , v., vomit	<i>yù</i> , n., breadfruit
<i>wóewoe</i> , n., hat	<i>ya pu li</i> , v., draw	<i>yáng</i> , v., sick	<i>yù</i> , v., until
<i>wóto</i> , n., poles used for roofing		<i>yàng</i> , a., old	<i>yu(ne)</i> , n., brother
<i>wówo</i> , n., uncle		<i>yángue</i> , n., boil	
<i>wu</i> , v., narrate		<i>yano</i> , n., work	
		<i>yaramenà</i> , n., song	

A1.3 English – Skou reversal

The following list is simply a reversal of A1.2.

A a	ant, black (sp.), <i>rámang</i>	bamboo buluh, <i>oe</i>	behind, <i>kòee(lo)</i> , <i>loengfa</i>	blow, hit, punch (receive), <i>mòng</i> <i>wí</i>
Abeपुरa, <i>àbi</i>	ant, red, <i>lèng</i>	bamboo, <i>pung</i> , <i>rè</i>	beighbour, <i>pátóe</i>	blue, <i>tangyúpa</i>
above, front, <i>ho(lo)</i>	appearance, <i>nòe</i> <i>pará</i>	banana, <i>ìngno</i>	beside, <i>toe</i>	bluefly, <i>hítong</i>
accompany, <i>la</i>	arm, <i>nò</i>	bandicoot, <i>púle</i>	betel pepper, <i>loengfong</i>	blunt, <i>topó</i>
accuse, <i>hèng ká</i>	armband (special), <i>kó</i>	bark, <i>ríro</i>	betelnut, <i>fa</i>	body, <i>nòe</i> , <i>nòeti</i>
affect, <i>mòng</i>	armband, <i>ká</i>	bark, growl, <i>boeboe lá</i>	Biak, <i>Te Bàlea</i>	boil, <i>è pa</i> , <i>lí</i>
afraid, <i>fue</i>	armpit, <i>nupá(ho)</i>	barracuda, <i>móewú</i>	bible, <i>Rópu Ûeli</i>	boil, <i>híte</i>
afternoon, <i>rángleng</i>	army, <i>tábá</i>	basket, <i>baláng</i> , <i>bòeng</i> , <i>lúe</i> , <i>wá</i>	big, <i>bápáli</i>	boil, <i>yángue</i>
afternoon, good, <i>rángleng héfèng</i>	arrow for pigs, <i>pangbì</i>	bat, <i>tangóe</i>	big, <i>máki</i>	bone, <i>é</i>
again and again, <i>láláfa i</i>	arrow, <i>tà</i>	bat, black, <i>tángfí</i>	bird of paradise, <i>tángráng</i>	book, <i>rópu</i>
all, <i>fátà</i>	ask, <i>héng</i>	bat, small, <i>tángkengkeng(w</i> <i>a)</i>	bird of paradise (sp.), <i>tángrángpoe</i>	border, <i>kóeho</i>
alone, <i>lúeti</i>	aunt, <i>fáfa</i>	be at, <i>ko</i>	bird, <i>táng</i>	bottle, <i>púsú</i>
also, <i>ra</i>	aunt, <i>tóeùe</i>	be doing, <i>i li</i>	birth, born, <i>tánghang li</i> , <i>tánghang</i>	bottom, <i>fu</i>
anchor, <i>fé</i>	Awi, <i>Te Wí</i>	beach, <i>báng</i>	bit, <i>atále</i>	bow, <i>pìng</i>
and, <i>ana</i>	axe, <i>rangwaue</i>	beach name, <i>Fáwi</i> <i>báng</i>	bite, <i>kóeng ká</i>	bowstring, <i>tàki</i>
angel, <i>tángfáng</i> <i>tútú</i>	B b	beads, <i>túe</i>	bitter, sour, <i>tànge</i>	bracelet, <i>tanghì</i>
angry at, <i>lì</i>	bachelor, <i>ke</i> <i>angleng</i>	beak, <i>lóeto</i>	black, <i>lèngfí</i>	branch, <i>ríne</i>
angry, <i>hue fèng</i>	back, <i>óenge</i>	beard, <i>kúeta</i>	blackpalm, <i>a</i>	brave, <i>fue ka</i>
animal, <i>ya</i> <i>ápatàngpang</i>	back(bone), <i>kóeé</i>	beard, have, <i>kúeta</i> <i>fa</i>	blind, <i>fú</i> , <i>lúto fú</i>	breadfruit, <i>fè</i> , <i>yù</i>
ankle, <i>langkéng</i> , <i>làngòe</i>	bad, <i>fèng</i>	beckon, <i>nò li</i>	blister, <i>bòe</i>	break, <i>jí</i>
annoy, <i>lélúe</i>	bag, <i>ha</i>	bedbug, <i>páng</i>	blood, <i>hì</i>	breast, <i>nóng</i>
ant, <i>loe</i>	bag strap, <i>hátì</i>	bee species, <i>lue</i>	blow (at fire), <i>pong</i>	bridge, <i>ré</i>
ant, black (sp.), <i>óe</i>	bag, large, <i>hahung</i>	beetle, large, <i>kue</i>	blow, <i>lúe</i>	brother, <i>yu(ne)</i>
	bag, small, <i>hatui</i>	beetle, small, <i>kangtung</i>		brother, sister in law, <i>hèng(me)</i>
	bake, <i>lá</i>	before, <i>lópa</i>		brother, sister in law, <i>hoetò</i>
	bald, <i>rútapi</i>	beg, <i>wá</i>		bucket, <i>a</i>
				bucket, medium, <i>hòe tátá</i>
				bud, <i>rílo</i>

build, *lúe*
 bunch of bananas,
ingnopu
 burn, *e*
 burn, *ra è há, rà li*
 burning wood, *rári*
 burp, *oe ká*
 bush, *hángpeng*
 bush turkey,
tangwáue
 butcher, *pung*
 butterfly, *tangbéro*
 butterfly, black,
tangbéro léngfi
 butterfly, white,
tangbéro tútú
 buttock, side,
fútong
 buy, *yata li*

C c

calf, *lángñue*
 call, *hì wá*
 candle nut, *páto*
 canoe platform,
tangkóe
 canoe sides,
tangpeng
 canoe, *tang*
 canoe, sea,
tangmoe
 canoe, small,
tangwu
 Cape Jar (Cape
 Hol), *tangwáto*
 cape, *pong*
 capsized, *pahing*
 captain, *tangrúe*
 car, *tangtí*
 care for, *biue*
 carefully, *húehúefa*
 carry, *fa, hú, ká*
 cassowary, *tángriue*
 cat, *ingéngong*
 catch fish, *ké li*
 catch, *ké*
 caterpillar, hairy,
ójá
 catfish, *moeyáng*
 cave, *wa*
 ceiling, *pátáng*
 centipede, *àti*

centipede with
 blue legs, *àti*
malang
 centrepole of
 house, *íboe*
 chair, *fújéng*
 chase, *háyu*
 cheek, *òebi*
 chest, *nóto,*
tàngru.e
 chicken, *ojíng*
 child, *angku, ku*
 chilli, *rító ùeli*
 chop branches, *lúe*
 chop down, *lé*
 chop down many,
páng
 chop, *làng*
 “chopsticks”,
anangbí
 cicada, *tángtí*
 cigarette, *rabáká*
túpa
 citrus fruit,
lémong
 citrus, ball,
hangléue
 clay, *lang*
 clear, *à, péng*
 close, *há te*
 close, very,
wátóepa
 closed, *pong*
 cloth, *ró*
 cloud, *a*
 clouds, white at
 sea, *atu tútú*
 co-parents, *tà(ne)*
 coals, *rawòng*
 coals, hot, *rawòng*
è ko tue
 cockatoo, *tángná*
 cockatoo, palm,
tángróepa
 cockroach, *làngñi*
 coconut cream,
hangri
 coconut frond,
hangfóng
 coconut (stage),
hang
 coconut (stage),
hang i
 coconut (stage),
hang i ba

coconut (stage),
hang òe pa
 coconut (stage),
hangbaue
 coconut (stage),
hangong
 coconut husk,
hang páró
 coconut juice,
hangpong
 coconut shell,
hangkúe
 coconut, drinking,
hang táré
 coconut, old, *hang*
yá
 coconut,
 sprouting, *hang*
lé ke loe
 coffee, *kopí*
 cold, *lelang*
 colour, *pake*
 comb, *hatòpu, lafi*
 come down, *hipue*
 come, *loe*
 complain, *ì lú*
 complete, *loeng*
 conch shell, *pù*
 confused, *ung hí*
 cook, *hetè*
 cooked, *è*
 corner, *làtue*
 cough, *lú fi*
 count, *há hi*
 cousin, *lálà, yu*
 cover, *wé pu*
 cover, *wépu*
 crab, *apále*
 crab, ghost,
kungpoeue
 crab, small, *kúng*
 crab, species, *lùng*
 crack, *báng (li)*
 cramp, be asleep,
iri
 crash, *hítáfi*
 crawl, *híng*
 crawl, *húng*
 criticise, *lemà pé*
 crocodile,
móendeng
 crooked, *tapí*
 cross, *lúefa*
 cross-pole, *òefu,*
bòera

crowd, *pa (te bà*
pa)
 cry, *fue*
 cubit, *nòruerue áha*
 cucumber, *béngue*
 cup, glass, *já*
 cupboard, box,
rieto
 curse, *balàng li*
 curse, *pí tifèng lá,*
pílang li
 cuscus (sp.),
puháhá
 cuscus
 black/white,
púbà
 cuscus red/white,
pífáue
 cuscus yellow/red,
púbèng
 customs, *àpi*

D d

dance, *lí li*
 dark, *kúwí*
 dark, *lupà*
 day after
 tomorrow,
fétangpi
 deaf, *lòe póeng*
 deep, *múngòe*
 descend, *rapue*
 devil, *te batí*
 dew, *kú*
 die (many), *bìng*
 die, *wang*
 die, *wung*
 different, *i*
 dig, *kúe*
 dig up, *ing*
 dirty, *nóele*
 dish of pounded
 tuber and
 coconut, *lang*
 dizzy, *tánghang li*
 do, make, *li*
 dog, *naké*
 dolphin, *móelíue*
 dood day, *ráng*
héfèng
 door, *tího*
 doorway, *tílong*
 dowel, *óera*
 down, *kong(lo)*

dragonfly,
tángfòemo
 draw, *ya pu li*
 dream, *èpa li*
 drink, *kúng*
 drizzle, *fu popo*
 drum, *lé*
 dry, *àng*
 dry, *ùepi*
 dust, *tóepa*

E e

eagle, *tángé*
 eagle, *tangké*
 eagle, spotted and
 big, *tánglú*
 ear, *loe*
 earlier, *bàngtoug*
 earring, *lòetí*
 earthquake, *matítí*
 east, *lo.ko*
 east wind, *láng*
 eat, *kang*
 edge (sharp), *hung*
 edge, *kong*
 eel, *móehí*
 eel, smooth,
moetáló
 eggplant, *pupúki*
 eight, *náñipa*
 elbow, *nòruerue*
 eleven, *náñipa pa*
héngtong
 embarrassed, *ró ka*
 empty, *bí*
 encroach, *hàpe*
 Enggros, *Te*
Lóngpa
 exchange, *lolo li*
 eye, *lúto*
 eyebrow, *lúbi*
 eyelid, *lúfongfong*

F f

face, *tánghang*
 faeces, *hi*
 fall (rain), *ma*
 fall, *kú re*
 far, *hangbang*
 fart, *hèng*
 father, *ái*
 father in law, *í(ne)*
 father, *re(me)*

feather, *tánghó*
 fence of house, *koe*
 fence, garden, *tè*
 festival, *lí ká*
 fever, *nóeng*
 fight, *bóe*
 finger, *nòkangkang*
 finger, little, *nopúlong*
 fingernail, *nòbi*
 fingers, middle, *nohóue*
 fire, *ra*
 firefly, *óngmi*
 firefly, *yabító*
 fireplace, *kákung*
 fish, *móe*
 fish net like butterfly net, *núng*
 fish species, *moerító*
 fish species, *móerú*
 five, *nápang*
 flesh, *na*
 floor, *bí*
 flooring, *nawóng*
 flow, *ko*
 flow out, *pí*
 flower, *rípang*
 fly, *jíng re*
 fly, *jíngpa*
 fly, *lúng*
 flying fish, *móebí*
 flying fish, *moelí*
 foam, *fóefóe*
 focus, *ka*
 food, *yayong*
 fool, *li lue*
 fool, *ong fa*
 foot, *làng*
 foothill, *pítue*
 forehead, *néko*
 forget, *peng*
 fork, chopsticks, *fe*
 fork, large, *fela*
 four, *nongpong*
 freckle, *patítí*
 Friday, *bang*
nápang

friend, *bápá(ne)*
 frizzy, *ta nafeng*
 frog, *ku*
 frog, green tree, *kíngue*
 from, *há*
 front, *ho*
 front of a canoe, *tangtó*
 front, *tópu*
 full, *lu*
 full, *pì*

G g

gall, *tang*
 garden, *líhi*
 gecko, *ríru*
 gedi, *póweng*
 genemon, *ápólè*
 generation cohort, *bahóe*
 get many, *lóe*
 get, *wé*
 ghost, *te bálèng*
 ghou, *bama*
 ghou, female, *pe ueme hí a*
 gills, *talé*
 give birth, *ku li*
 give, *ké leng*
 give many, *lóe leng*
 give, *wé leng*
 go east, *e*
 go out, *kéng re*
 go, *re*
 go seawards, *o*
 go south, *hóe*
 go up, *e*
 go west, *hi*
 goanna (big), *ifóngta*
 goanna, small, yellow, *íkóele*
 good evening, *rángpang héfèng*
 good, *héfèng*
 goodbye, *me héfèng moeng moeng*
 goodbye, *mè moe moe*
 grandparent, grandchild, *tata*

grass, *yá*
 great grandparent, *yáya*
 green, *ríha pake*
 ground pole, *ròengha*
 ground, soil, *fítong*
 grub, *ó*
 grumble, *lómó li*
 guest, *te bàto*

H h

hair of body, *nòeta*
 hair, *ta*
 half, *fù*
 half, *keng*
 half-ripe, *pí*
 hammer, *hù*
 hamstring, *bóengkóeé*
 hand, back of, *nókóra*
 handle of a machete, *tángriúe*
 handle, *rue*
 hang, *wé li*
 happy, *húe héfèng*
 happy, *pung héfèng*
 hat, *wóewoe*
 hate, *nà hi*
 he, *ke*
 head, *ròebi*
 hear, *lúe*
 heart, *pung*
 heaven, *jéng tu*
 heavy, *réngréng*
 heel, *làng íto*
 help, *là*
 her, *pè pe*
 here, *ke we*
 hermit crab, *kungwóue*
 heron, *tángpá*
 hide, *ké/wí/loe leng (ko)*
 hide, *lèng*
 hide-and-seek, *rírú léng*
 hips, *lèng*
 his, *ké ke*
 hit (pl), *jí*

hit, *luhí*
 hit with hand, *lo hí*
 hit with hand, *lú hí*
 hit woman, *láng*
 hit, kill, *ká*
 hole, *ì*
 hole, cave, *long*
 hollow, *ro*
 horn, *rùe*
 hornbill, *tángung*
 hot, *è ti*
 hot, *tapí*
 hour, *rángkue*
 house, *pá*
 house platform, *palòe*
 house pole, *párang*
 house space, *nakong*
 house, cult, *pà*
 house, men's, *tangfà*
 housepole, *ràng*
 housepost, *óerang*
 how many, *narángrang*
 hungry, *húe kí e tue*
 hunting party, *páue*
 husband, *páng(pe)*
 hut, *fáti*

I i

I, *nì*
 important, *tété*
 indigestion, *hí è ti*
 Indonesian, *Te Bátútú*
 Indonesian, *Te Táng*
 inside, *tó*
 intestine, large, *húeté*
 intestine, small, *húe kukupa*
 intestines (end), *háng*
 ironwood, *ràng*
 island, *piútu*

J j

jambu (sp.), *apóue*
 jambu, *áue*
 jaw, *kúeé*
 Jayapura, *Nofé*
 jealous, *lóngmo há*
 jealous, *tàheng há*
 jellyfish, *lóngri*
 Jesus, *tata ku ke*
 joint (body, bamboo), *wúng*
 jump, *òe*
 just, *ka ung a*

K k

kangaroo, tree, *púru*
 Kayu Batu, *Te Purà*
 Kayu Pulau, *Te Mélong*
 Kemo, *Te Kóemo*
 ketapang fruit, *lèue*
 key, *long*
 kick, *làng lú*
 kidney, *háng*
 kingfisher, *pátángke*
 kite, *ya rópu ná*
 knee, *làngbi*
 kneecap, *hangkúe*
 knife, *tangnófó*
 knife, large, *tangnófó títi*
 knifeedge, *tánghung*
 knot (wood), *ríwo*
 knuckle, *nówùng*
 kraken, *páli*
 kunai, *ta*

L l

ladder, *ùe*
 ladder, house, *páue*
 lake, *pato*
 lamp, *rangwì*
 language, *pí(lang)*
 last night, *tang*
 laugh, *ráue há*

lay down, *fátí*
 leaf, *ríha*
 leaf, smelly, *túnghá*
 leaf, very young; bud, *ló*
 leave, *ké fue*
 leave, *lóe fe*
 leave, *wé fo, wí ta fí*
 leech, *áli*
 left, *nà*
 leg, *tánga*
 leg, upper, *bóeng*
 legend, *ùefa*
 let go, *òeng*
 lid (of pot, ...), *bóe*
 lie down, *i*
 lie down, *pé re*
 lie, *le lue*
 light, *bòengfa*
 lightning, *héngghèng*
 like, *anará*
 like, *pung li*
 lime, *ó*
 line, *i*
 lip, *péngro*
 little, *ketong*
 lizard, green tree, *fongtà*
 Lomo, *Te Lómo*
 long, *ikáféng*
 long, *yó*
 look for, *kalèng*
 lorikeet, *tánglè*
 lose, *léng re*
 louse, *fí*

M m

machete, *anábí*
 machete, *tàng*
 make, *lóe*
 male, *balèng*
 Mallo, *Te Málo áling*
 Mallo, *Te Málo híngtung*
 mammal (furry), *pú*
 man, *ke bà*
 mango, *péngue*
 mangrove, *ráng*

mantis, praying, *tángrue*
 many, *nawò*
 marbles, *kúci*
 marker, *jéng yata*
 marry, *ùe pung*
 mat, *lóeúe*
 mat, *píri*
 matoa tree, *ró*
 measure, *áha lí*
 meat, fish, *àti*
 medicine, *yámo*
 Membilo, *Te Yálu*
 meow, *kángking lí*
 middle, *hóue*
 mirror, *tangpaja*
 mistreat, *aloru*
 moldy, *káúeoe*
 mole, *pirára*
 Monday, *bang áling*
 money, *taíngbe*
 month, last, *ké ti fue a*
 month, next, *ké topu wí a*
 moon, *ké*
 moon, crescent, *ké e*
 moon, dark, *ké lúpang*
 morning, *fetánghapa*
 Moso, *Te Mòru*
 mosquito, *léng*
 mother (someone else's), *má(me)*
 mother, *áni*
 mother in law, *là(ne)*
 motorbike, *tanghápang*
 mountain, *pì*
 mouth, *lángue*
 move to side, *tue*
 mud, *fí*
 muddy, *fí*
 Mungtang, *Te Múntang*
 mushroom, *káue*
 my, *ní ne*

N n

Nafri, *Te Téme*

naked, *fà*
 Nali, *Te Nàli*
 name, *bàti*
 nape, *rángto*
 narrate, *wu*
 narrow, *lu*
 naughty, *lóelóng lúe ka*
 near, *lalapàlì*
 neck, *kéng*
 neckbones, *kéngé*
 nest, *pu*
 net for fish, *táng*
 net, hand, *núng*
 new, *ung a*
 new, young, *nátì*
 nibong tree, *átóe*
 night, *rángpang*
 nine, *náhipa pa áling*
 no, *ka*
 no!, *ì*
 noose, *takúe*
 north, *lo.e*
 nose, *há*
 nosebone, *loelóngtue*
 nostril, *loelóng*
 now, *ung*
 Nyao, *Jáwung*
 Nyao Kofo, *Te ba Kófo*
 Nyao Nemo, *Te Nóemo*

O o

octopus, *kungpáue*
 old (person), *huefa*
 old, *rong*
 old, *totó*
 old, *yàng*
 ondoafi, *barí*
 one, *áling*
 only, *fa*
 open, *fáfà*
 open, *jíng*
 or, *na*
 or, *to*
 Orions belt, *há pá yong oe*
 Ormu, *Te Lùng*
 orphan, *batáko*
 other, *híng*

our, *nè ne*
 outrigger connector, *tangta*
 outrigger, *tanghang*
 outside, *pèng(lo)*
 owl, *tang ke bà tí fa*
 waterfall, *pa ku i lí*

P p

pack, *tóepi*
 paddle, *ná*
 paddle, *ná hí*
 palm, *nòong*
 Palora, *Te Hùepa*
 pandanus, *hìoe*
 pandanus, *mé*
 Papuan, *te bàmoé*
 path, *lòengma*
 Patipeme, *Te Bapóeme*
 pay, *fu*
 peanuts, *lèue*
 peel, undress, *hó*
 penis covering, *ópu*
 penis, *òe*
 people, foreign, *te bà pápá (te)*
 perch, *fé*
 perfect, *túngpa*
 person, *bà*
 phlegm, *kóelong*
 phosphorescence, *tí yabípaug*
 phosphorescence, *tínà*
 photo, picture, shade, *bàleng*
 pick, *lóe*
 pig, *pále*
 pigeon, *tángángue*
 pigeon, crowned, *tángboe*
 pith, *yong*
 place, *jéng*
 place where you find fish, *píng*
 place, put, *fé*
 plane, helicopter, *tújéngpa*

planks of wood, *ríoe*
 plant, *wá*
 plate, *apúlo*
 platform, *píng*
 play, *na lí*
 playful, *nà oe*
 poison, fish, *ang*
 pole, house, *lí*
 poles used for roofing, *wóto*
 poles, house, *rànglai*
 pool, *í*
 post for hanging things, *ké*
 post of house, corner, *fú*
 pot for water, *palang*
 pot, *lang*
 pot, *pa*
 pot, *rúto*
 pound, *há*
 pound, *na lu*
 pound taro, *nále lí*
 pour, *ke lí*
 praise, *pí lóeng*
 prawn, *là*
 pray, *lú pong pong ya lí*
 prepare, *tóe lí*
 promise, *lóeng*
 proud, *nòe wé te hó*
 prow, *tútó*
 pull, *ha lú*
 pumpkin, *sangbíkì*
 punji sticks, *takúe*
 pus, *pang*
 push, *ha hí na*
 push, *tajíng*
 put down (feminine), *wé i*
 put down, *ké i*
 put down many, *loe fú*
 put down, *pé (i)*
 put, *loehí*
 put up fence, *la*

Q q

question, *na*
 quick, *kúkúfa*

quiet, *lèng***R r**rain, *fu*raise, *a wa li e*Ramela, *Te Kéfa*rat, cuscus, *púle*rattan, *àri*rattan, *àri tete*ray, manta, *moeli*really, *lálápa*recently, *ung a pa*recognise, *fuelang*red, *ùeli*reef, *bé*refuse, *oeng ne*remains, *pálué*remember, *oeng i li*remember, *oeng**ko tue*remind, *oeng*resemble, *pará*result, *te*result, *toe*return, *moe*ribs, side, *lái*rice, *rámáng ku*ridicule, *mà me*right, *pà*ring, *à fí*ripe, *èfa*ripe, *oefá*

river at Skou

Mabo, *Pa pípa*

river at Skou Sai,

Pa púbí

river at Skou

Yambe, *Pa bípa*river, *Pa rang*river, *Pa úerong*river, *pa*river, *paloeng*

rivermouth,

*palóng*roast, *è ra*Rollo, *Te Léti*roof, *hò*root, *hangling*rope, *à*rope tree, *àno*

rope, coconut,

*hàngti*rope, coconut, *poe*
*yá*rotate, *hípúe*rotate, *hípúe li*rotate, *li*round, *póepue*rub, *nòe rapu*rub, *rapu*rubbish, *ya**hénglong*rudder, *tangrúe*ruin, *lí ko fèng*run, *hatà*run into, *fí***S s**sago end, *hòepe*sago grub, *ó hòeha*sago, *hòe*sago milk, *hòere*

sago mix bowl,

*lang*sago package, *ná*sago pancakes, *kóe*sago porridge, *hòe**è*sago pounder, *fòe*

sago stirring

spoon, *ní*sago water, *hoehí*sail, *wáng*salt, *tíná*sand, *hangtu*

sandfly,

*léngbángbáng*Sangke, *Te Húele*sap, *hí*sap, *ríhí*

sarupaku; main

vegetable, *póní*satisfied, *húe lang*Saturday, *bang**nápánghì*scales, *lèng*scales, *rí*scar, *púuelúe*scare, *li ko fue*

scissors,

*tanglílóng*scorpion, *fúnglíng*scratch, *nongfong**li*scratch, *pà*scream, *kí*scree, *pí lóba*sea, *já*sea spray, *tipáng*sea, *tí*search for, *yú*season, *mó*

season with west

winds, *fu wa ro*

season, east wind,

*féng langro*see, *fue*seed, *rító*seed, *tò*send, *wé leng te te*Sentani, *Te**Húngfa*Serui, Yapen, *Te**bà Lato*seven, *nápang**héngtong*sew, *à hù*sex, *kúng*

shade platform,

*búà*shaft, *mong*shake, *lítì*shaman, *keng*shark, *móema*sharp, *totá*

sharpen (knife),

*tánghung li*sharpen, *to li*shave, *lòe*she, *pe*shell, *kungtàng*shell, *lebi*shell, plating, *bí*shellfish, *le*shin, *tangpu*shin, *tunghúbi*shine, *ehá i li*shine, *yá i li*ship, *tú*shirt, *nòe ró*shisper, *pí**pongpong li*shoe, sandal, *làng**hípu*shoot, *lú*shoots, *tong*short, *rílélé, rírífa,**yali*shoulder, *páwu*shoulder, *tóró*shoulderblade, *tóe*

sibling, elder,

bahúe

sibling, younger,

*bafàng*sick, *nòe e*sick, *yáng*side, *toeho*sin, *ya nóele li*sink, *ùe te*sister in law, *e*sister, *yá(ne)*sit down, *ta hùng*sit, *moeng*six, *nápánghì*skin, *nóeró*skin, *ró*skinny, *nòe lue*skirt, grass, *kòepi*Skofro, *Te Pòeng*Skou Mabo, *Te**Máwo*Skou Sai, *Te**Bapúbi*Skou Yambe, *Te**Tángpe*skull, *hángta*sky, *pítang*slack, *ikung*sleep, *lú weng*sleepy, *lú fápoeng*sling, *jíng*slippery, *napí*slow, *háháfa*small, *hápa*smart, *pung tóta*smell, *nupà wí, pé**kang*smell, *ù*smoke, *rápóng*smoked, *péfa*

snake (large),

*íméri*snake, *í*

snake, black and

white, *íwúng*sneeze, *péngpèng**li*sniffle, *lóeri li*snot, *lóeri*soap, *fóefóe*sole, *làngong*son in law, *í(ne),**páng*song, *yaramenà*

source of a river,

*parue*south, *lo.pí*southern cross, *há**pá bàng úe*span, *nòkangkang**àha*speak, *pí li*spear, *tánglé*spell, *yáhue*spider, *kungpáue*

spider, funnelweb,

hatò ungpáue

spiderweb,

*kungpáue pá*spinach, *póí*spirit, *atáwú*spit, *ífangfong*spittle, *fóe*squid, *níròe*stab, *ku*staff, *rító, rúng*stand, *há (loeng)*stand, be at, *rue*star, *ha*star, falling, *ha**kúti*

star, morning,

*féféhá*steal, *yatà li*steam, *papáng*stern, *túfa*stick to, *nawàng*stomach, *húe*

stomach, outer,

húeró

stone for

sharpening, *bé*stone, *wúng*stop (rain), *pí*stop, *hí ta lúe*storm, *féng bápáli*story, *ápí, húhú*straight hair, *ta**ékung*straight, *tuelóelóe*straighten, *lú*

strainer, coconut,

*rahé*string, *àoule, ti*strong, *náfeng*stutter, *loepoe*

stutterer, *langue mong*
 sufficient, *pa*
 sugar glider, female, *púwa*
 sugar glider, male, *púpí*
 sugar, *rúngpóng*
 sugarcane, *rùng*
 sun, *ráng*
 Sunday, *bang ná pang héngtong*
 surprised, *lénggho*
 surrounded, *longmung*
 sweet potato, *rángúeke*
 swell, *hí wa*
 swim, *pa pí*
 swollen, *é ko tue*

T t

tail, *bèngro*
 tail, *pú*
 Tami river, *Pa ílong*
 Tanah Merah, *Te Lángfa*
 Tangputo, *Te Tangpúto*
 taro bete, *nále*
 taro, *manúa*
 tasty, sweet, *langpí*
 tea, *patá*
 teach, *na lùng*
 teacher, *ke bà ya na lung i li*
 teacher, *kurù*
 tell, *lóeng*
 tell story, *lang*
 ten, *náhipa pa hìngtung*
 termite, *hapùng*
 tern, *tángáue, tángwà*
 testicle, *òebi*
 thank you, *ya héfèng pingping*
 that, *fue a*
 the, *a*
 the, *ing a*
 the one, *pí*

their, *tè te*
 there, *fue a*
 they, *te*
 thick, *poe*
 thigh, front, *bóengbà*
 thin, *poe ka*
 think, *húe oeng, loeng rang*
 think, *loengfi*
 thirsty, *kóeti ùepi e tue*
 this, *wi a*
 thorn, *kóng*
 thorny vine, *kí*
 those two men, *ke enake*
 those two, *tenake, tenape*
 those two women, *pe enake*
 thread, *wíng*
 three, *héngtong*
 throat, *kóeti*
 thumb, *nòmama*
 thunder, *pítang pu i li*
 Thursday, *bang nongpong*
 tide, high, *tí hoe toe*
 tide, low, *tí ko ti*
 tie, *pi*
 tie together, *hò pi*
 time, *kúe*
 tired, *ná pi*
 tobacco, *rabáká, túlang*
 Tobati, *Te Pa*
 toe, big, *làngmama*
 toe, little, *langpúlong*
 toenail, *lángbí*
 toes, middle, *làngkangkang*
 together, *lúe pa*
 tomahawk, *tangmíó*
 tomorrow, *fé, féung*
 tongs, *faráfong, fe hùefe*
 tongue, *póeng*
 tooth, *kóeng*

torch, *rawó*
 trap for pigs, *já*
 tread, *hue*
 tree kangaroo sp., *púpúe*
 tree, *rí, rítóe*
 tree species, *bíng*
 tree species, *péng*
 tree species, *téngna*
 tree with air roots, *bí*
 tree with edible grubs, *ríótí*
 tree with straight leaves, *nú*
 tree, string, *epà*
 trick, *li lue*
 trough for sago, *lí*
 trousers, shirt, *tàngé ró*
 true, *bamúa*
 truth, *pí bamúa li*
 try, *è na*
 Tuesday, *bang hìngtung*
 turtle, *moelúe*
 turtle, bug, *móeí*
 turtle, medium-sized, *moeláng*
 tusk, *kang*
 twelve, *hangpà*
 twenty four, *mabíri*
 twin, *kulílong*
 two, *hìngtung*

U u

umbilical cord, *kóengri*
 umbrella, *kúfong*
 uncle, *títí*
 uncle, *wówo*
 uncle, aunt, *kóko*
 under, *kong*
 until, *ka ing pa, ko, wa ko ra te, yù*
 urine, *hipong*
 use, *fa*
 utter, *lá*

V v

vagina, *hùng*
 valley, *hóeng*
 Vanimo, *Máke*
 Vanimo, *Te Yong*
 vegetables, *pó*
 vertebrae, C-7, *kangtíngi*
 very, *wò*
 village, *bàme*
 voice, *pína*
 vomit, *yang*

W w

waist, *tóeho*
 wait, *hóeng*
 walk, *ha*
 wall, *fá, láho*
 wallaby, *pumà*
 want, *li*
 war, *pìng*
 Waromo, *Te Lú*
 wash, *hí, pa hí, lo li*
 wasp, *ibábúeli*
 water, *pa*
 waterfall, *pa ku i li*
 wave, *ó*
 wave, *tíó*
 wave, small, *tí toto*
 we, *ne*
 we two, *amanè, anake, anape*
 weak, *èkung*
 weak, *nòepi*
 wear (hat), *kepu*
 wear, *ke fá ko li*
 weave, *hà*
 weave, *hu*
 Wednesday, *bang héngtong*
 weeds, *hí*
 well, *paí*
 well then, *so*
 west, *lo.wóng*
 west wind, *wà*
 wet, *já*
 whale, *móehábá*
 what, *-ha*
 what, thing, *ya*

when, *rángnè*
 where, *nè*
 while, *jóka pa*
 whistle, *hò li*
 white, *tútú*
 whites, *Te ùeli*
 who, *bá*
 why, *ya te*
 why, *ya toe ko*
 widow, *bàro*
 wife, *è(ne)*
 willy wagtail, *tangrúerúe*
 wind, *féng*
 wind, north, *bibi*
 wind, south, *fángfù*
 wing, *fáng*
 wipe clean, *yu*
 with, *pa*
 woman, *ueme*
 woman, unmarried, *pe angúe*
 womb, *kuha*
 wood, *rí*
 woodchips, *rílolo*
 work, *yano*
 wound, *púe*
 wrist, *nòbero, nòkenge*
 write, *pu li*
 writing, *pu*
 Wutung, *Te Óeti*

Y y

Yako, *Te Yákó*
 yam, *óe*
 yam species, *óemòe*
 yam, species, *óewá*
 yawn, *héng*
 year, *félangro*
 year, last, *félangro te*
 year, next, *félangro a toe*
 year, this, *félangro wi a*
 yell, *hí wá*
 yesterday + one, *bàngto*

yesterday + two, <i>fétangpiung</i>	you (SG), <i>mè</i> you two, <i>enake</i> ,	your (PL), <i>è e</i> your (SG), <i>mè me</i>	Z z
yesterday, <i>bàng</i> you (PL), <i>e</i>	<i>enape</i> young, <i>a</i>		zigzag, <i>fèmu</i>

Further lexical material on the Skou language can be found in the downloadable *Skou dictionary*, listed in the references under Kemo *et al.*