

A GRAMMAR OF TAUYA

BY

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the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a fairly comprehensive description of Tauya, a Papuan language spoken in Madang Province, Papua New Guinea. In the Introduction, the socio-linguistic setting is briefly described, and the proposed genetic relationships between Tauya and other Papuan languages are critically evaluated. The second and third chapters deal with Tauya phonology and morphology. The phonemic inventory is presented and major phonological processes are discussed. The section on morphology includes detailed descriptions of both nominal and verbal morphology; particular attention is directed towards medial verb constructions, the proto-typical feature of Papuan languages. In the final chapter, four selected areas of Tauya syntax are discussed - relative clauses, conditional clauses, ergativity and left-dislocation.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

1.1. The Setting

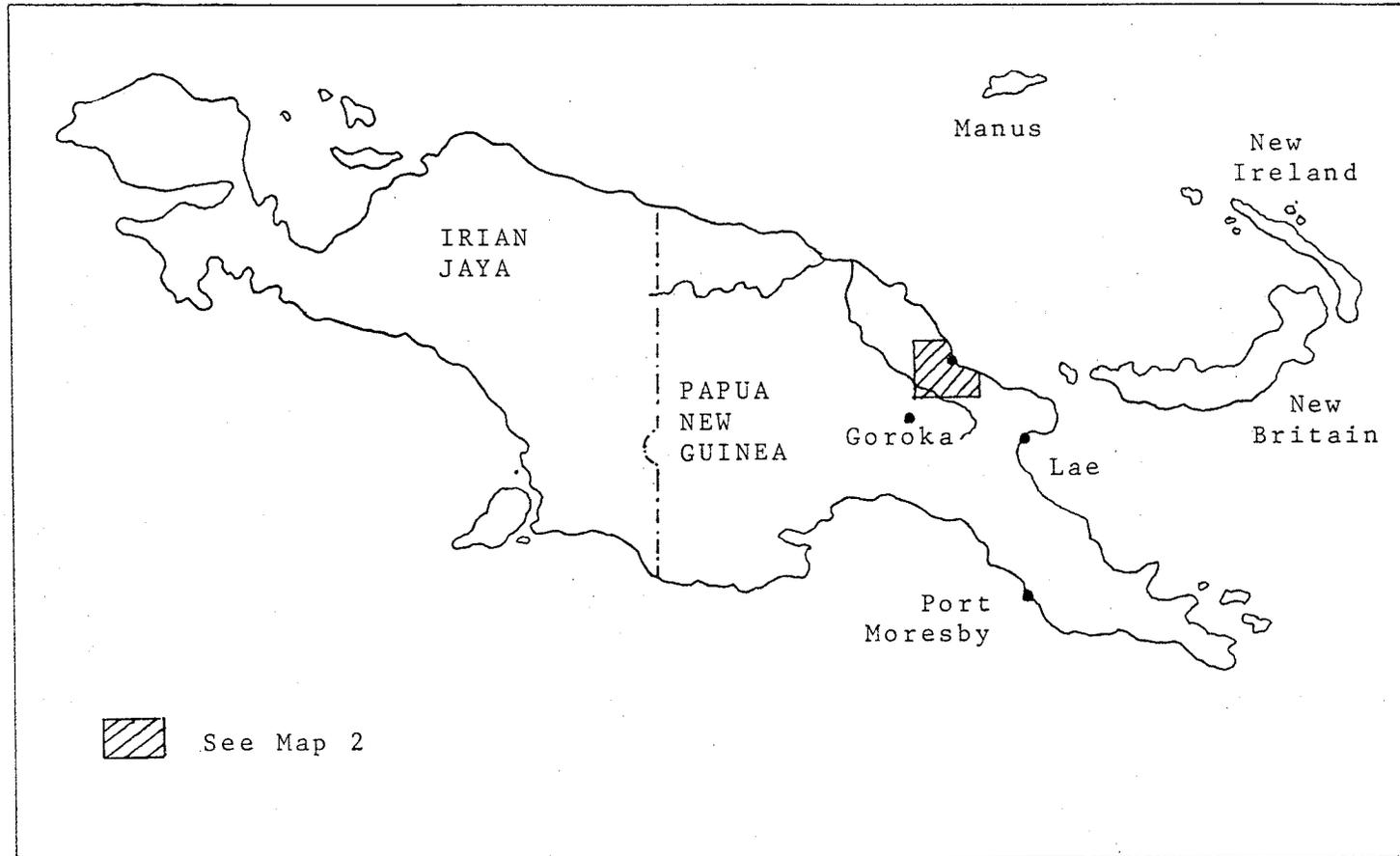
Tauya is spoken by 350-400 people living at the base of the Bismark Range in the Upper Ramu Valley, Madang Province, Papua New Guinea (see Maps 1 and 2). Z'graggen (1975, following Deibler) lists Inafosa as an alternate name for the Tauya language. However, speakers consulted for the present study say that Inafosa is the Tauya name for Goroka, a town in the highlands; the Tauya name for themselves is Fo'u, and their language, Fo'u po (po 'talk'). The name Tauya apparently derives from the Tauya River which runs through the area.

The Tauya people live in 2 main villages and several small hamlets. Tauya village, in which the present study was carried out, had a population in 1975 of 149; in 1981-82, this figure was closer to 200. The increase is undoubtedly due to more and more families abandoning their small settlements in favour of life in a larger village, a process which is still continuing. The second village, Kausi, had a 1975 population of 198 (1975 population figures from Z'graggen 1975). Stable villages are a relatively new phenomenon in the area, encouraged by the government. Previously, settlements were quite small, often consisting only of a single extended family.

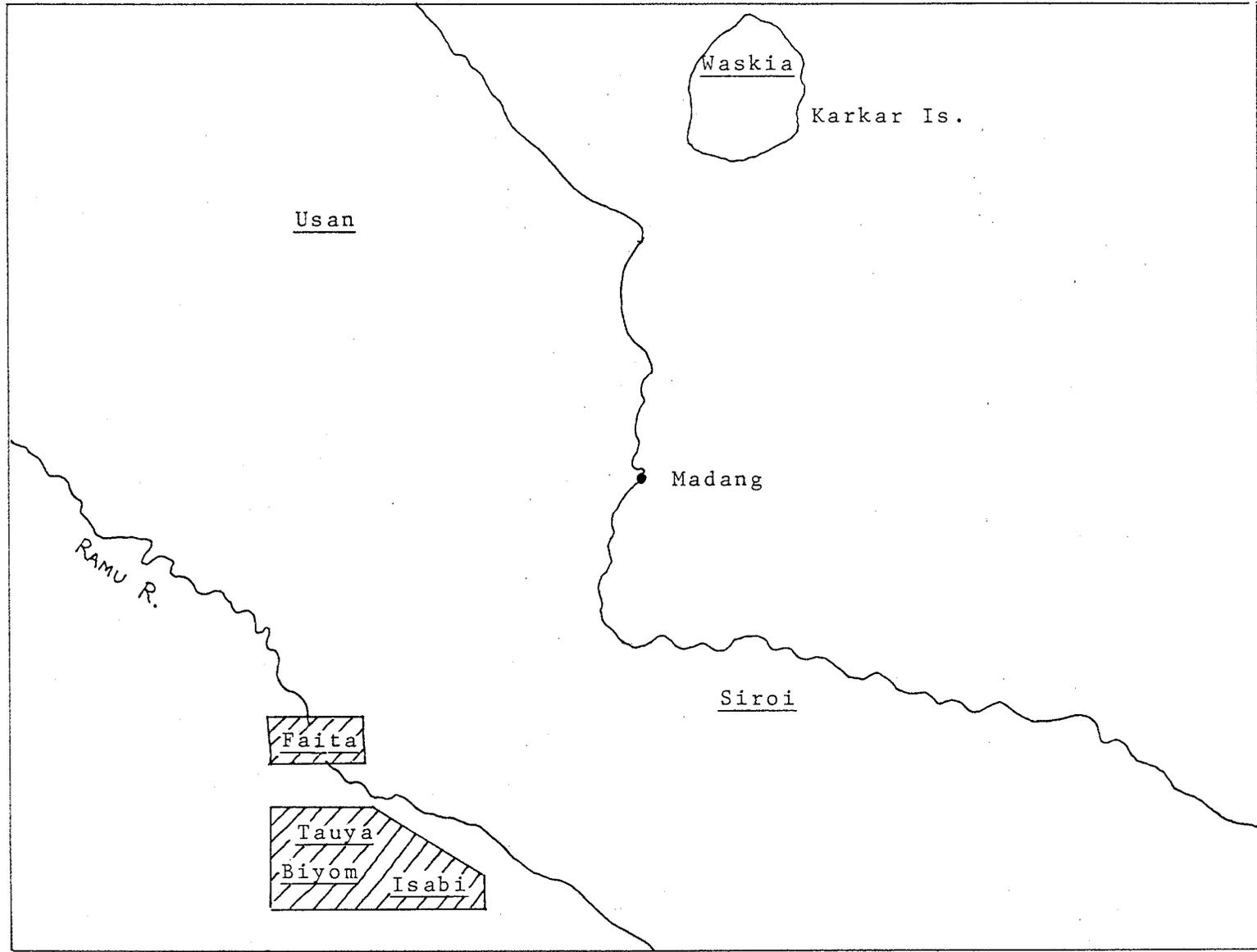
Temperatures in the area are high year-round. There are 2 seasons, wet and dry. They are somewhat variable in their duration; in 1981-82, the wet season lasted from mid-November until late April. Subsistence is basically slash-and-burn agriculture. Gardens are located some distance from the villages, and are visited frequently both to tend and harvest crops and to mend the fences which serve as protection against wild pigs and half-wild cattle. The major crops are sweet potatoes and taro; bananas, coconuts and pawpaws are available year-round, and some other foods are obtained seasonally. The basic diet is supplemented occasionally with pork from domesticated pigs, beef, and some fish and game.

Influence from the outside world is slight but gradually increasing. A few Tauya men are employed, both by Brahman Mission, which is situated about 4 miles from Tauya village, and by the newly-opened Ramu Sugar company. With the opening of a bridge over the Ramu River in December 1981, the area is now accessible by road and contact with more populated areas on the coast and in the highlands will undoubtedly increase.

Map 1: The Island of New Guinea



Map 2: Location of the Brahman Languages
(fram Z'graggen 1975)



1.2. Linguistic Relationships

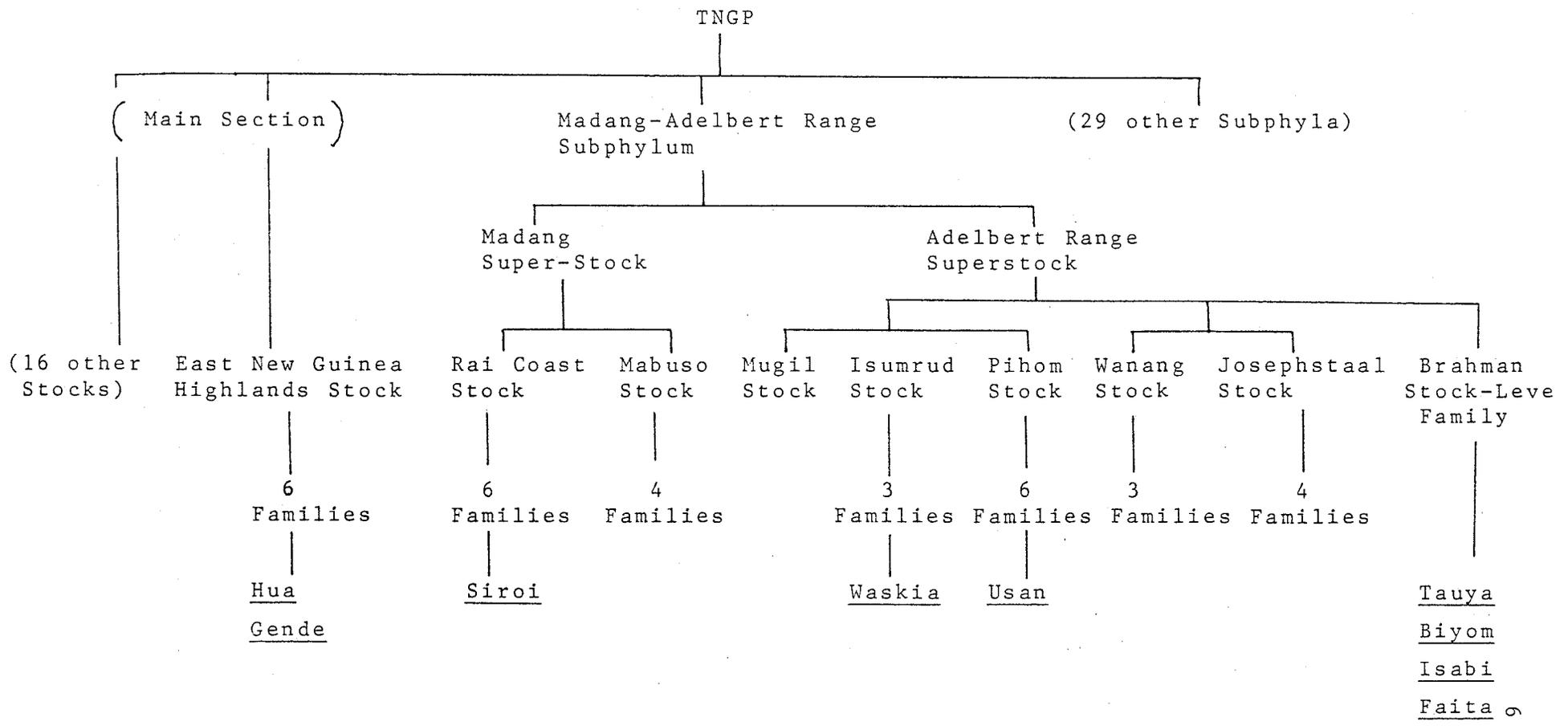
1.2.1. Introduction

For many years, the large number of languages spoken in New Guinea and neighbouring islands were simply called Papuan. This was a negative classification (Wurm 1982: 2), not meant to suggest any genetic affiliations but serving only to distinguish them from the Austronesian languages. However, as knowledge of the Papuan languages increased, similarities among them were discovered and genetic links proposed.

The linguistic situation in New Guinea is complex and far from being fully understood. Over 700 different languages are known to exist here, or about 1/6 of the total of the world's languages. Of these, only a tiny fraction have been studied in any detail. Thus, proposed genetic classifications are tentative.

Perhaps the most ambitious proposal for the interrelationships of Papuan languages is the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (TNGP), first suggested by McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1970). Proposed membership in the TNGP has gradually increased, and today it is thought to include over 500 languages, or about 70% of known Papuan languages. One of these is Tauya. Its relationship to other languages of the TNGP has been postulated as follows (from Z'graggen 1975 and Wurm 1982; individual language names are only included if they are mentioned in the text):

Fig.1 The Trans-New Guinea Phylum



1.2.2. Tauya as a TNGP Language

1.2.2.1. Phonology

The Tauya language does not appear to conform significantly to the phonological system characteristic of TNGP languages.

Wurm (1982: 77) lists a number of features which are characteristic of the phoneme inventories of TNGP languages. Typically, there are 2 series of stops, and often only a single fricative. In both of these features, Tauya is aberrant, having only a single series of stops (voiceless) and 2 fricative consonants. Tauya is in accord with the other languages in having a glottal stop, and is one of the few languages having labialized consonants (/k^w/ and /ʔ^w/). Like most other TNGP languages, Tauya has a 5 vowel system.

Haiman (1980) points out that prenasalization as a concomitant or substitute for voicing is extremely common among TNGP languages, and, in fact, among other Papuan and Austronesian languages in New Guinea. In Tauya, however, prenasalized consonants are almost completely lacking, occurring only in a handful of borrowed words. Although [mb] and [nd] occur phonetically, they can clearly be derived from sequences of two phonemes.

The phonological system of Tauya is perhaps most in tune with that of other TNGP languages in syllable structure. Haiman (1980)

suggests two characteristics of syllable structure, although the extent of their distribution (i.e., whether or not they are co-terminus with the TNGP) is unknown. First, there are constraints on the kinds of consonants which may occur at syllable coda. In some languages, all syllables must be open; in others, syllables may be closed only with the glottal stop or a nasal consonant. In Tauya, all syllables are open with the exception of the plural forms of personal pronouns, all of which have final /n/. Second, Haiman points out that there is frequently a vowel-epenthesis rule to break up consonant clusters at syllable onsets; a vowel epenthesis rule also occurs in Tauya.

1.2.2.2. Morphophonemic Features

Several researchers have pointed out that a correlation between vowel fronting and plurality is common among languages of the TNGP. Haiman (1980) notes that this correlation may be observed in both the personal pronouns and the verbal system.

Of the 3 sets of personal pronouns reconstructed by Wurm (1975), only Set 3 exhibits a close correlation between fronting and plurality; in Set 1, which is typical of the TNGP languages, front vowels are associated with plural forms (or, more accurately, non-singular forms, since many of these languages also have dual number), and with forms for 3sg, i.e.,

Set 1

	Sg.	Non-Sg.
1		+Front
2		
3		

Set 3

	Sg.	Non-Sg.
1		+Front
2		
3		

(In Set 2, 2 vowels have been reconstructed for 3sg; one is [+Front], aligning 3sg with the plural forms, while the second is [-Front], aligning it with singular forms).

Although the consonants of the Tauya pronouns correspond to those of Set 3 (cf. 1.2.2.3.1), the vowels correspond to Set 1. That is, as is typical of TNGP languages, fronting in the Tauya personal pronouns is associated with plurality and with 3sg. However, the pronoun sets suggested by Wurm are sufficiently variable, particularly for 3sg, that no conclusions may yet be drawn from this correspondence.

Verbal systems may also exhibit number-conditioned ablaut. For example, in some East-Central languages of the East New Guinea Highlands stock, the final vowel in a verb not directly followed by a personal desinence is fronted if the subject is either 2nd or 3rd person non-singular (Haiman 1980):

ENGH Ablaut

	Sg.	Non-Sg.
1		
2		+Front
3		

Haiman suggests that this may derive from the more general ablaut pattern in the TNGP, i.e.,

TNGP Ablaut

	Sg.	Non-Sg.
1		
2		+Front
3		

In light of this number-conditioned ablaut, the situation in Tauya is unexpected. Here, number-conditioned ablaut occurs only in 2 morphemes: the Transitive auxiliary /-fe-/ has a suppletive form optionally used to indicate plural object reference, while the Stative auxiliary/Existential predicate has a suppletive form optionally used to indicate plural subject reference. In both cases, suppletive forms for plural number are associated with back vowels, i.e., /-fu-/ Tr.pl.; /-minu-/ Stat./Exis.pl:

Tauya Ablaut

	Sg.	Pl.
1		
2		-Front
3		

For example:

?umu - fe - e - ?a
die TR 1/2 IND 'I killed it/them'

?umu - fu - e - ?a
TRpl 'I killed them'

wate ?ei mene - a - ?a 'The house is there'
house there EXIS 3sg IND 'The houses are there'

wate ?ei minu - a - ?a
EXISpl 'The houses are there'

1.2.2.3. Morphology

(a) Personal Pronouns

Wurm (1975) has found that personal pronouns in Papuan languages belong to 3 basic sets. Set 1 is characteristic of the TNGP languages, while Set 3 is common in the Madang area. The consonants of these sets are as follows; 'basic' pronominal forms are underlined:

Set 1 (Wurm 1975: 194)

	Sg	Pl
1	n ; <u>na</u>	n ; <u>ni</u>
2	k ~ g ~ ŋg ; <u>ka</u>	k ~ g ~ ŋg ~ ŋ ; t ~ d ~ r ~ s ~ y ; <u>ki</u> ~ <u>te</u>
3	y ~ t ~ d ~ r ~ l ~ s , Vk (~g ~ -n); <u>ye</u> ~ <u>te</u> ~ <u>Vk</u>	

Set 3 (Wurm 1975: 201)

	Sg		Pl
1	t ~ d ~ y (~ s) <u>ta da ya</u>	(V)	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} k \\ g \end{matrix} \right\} \sim (V) \left\{ \begin{matrix} t \\ y \\ (s) \end{matrix} \right\};$ <u>ki ~ ti</u>
2	n ~ ñ ; <u>na</u>	n(V)	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} (g) \\ (k) \end{matrix} \right\};$ <u>nik</u>
3	n ; <u>nu</u>		

The consonants of the Tauya personal pronouns correspond most closely to Set 3, at least in the singular:

Tauya Personal Pronouns

	Sg	Pl
1	ya	sen
2	na	ten
3	ne	nen

(b) Personal Desinences

Personal desinences on the verb marking the person/number of the subject are characteristic of Papuan languages. In some languages, no distinction is made between forms for 2nd and 3rd persons in non-singular number. Haiman (1980: xl) notes that this is the case for a number of languages of the TNGP and may, in fact, occur both in the desinences and in the personal pronouns.

In Tauya, however, it is not 2nd and 3rd persons which are

conflated, but rather 1st and 2nd persons in both singular and plural number:

Tauya Personal Desinences (Aorist Tense)

	Sg	Pl
1/2	e	ene
3	a	i

For example,

ni - e - ?a
eat 1/2 IND 'I/you ate'

ni - ene - ?a
1/2pl 'I/you(pl) ate'

However, conflation of 1/2 as opposed to 2/3 is not exclusive to Tauya within the TNGP. In Move, which, along with Hua, is a dialect of Yagaria, East New Guinea Highlands stock, some desinences identify 1st and 2nd persons in non-singular number (Renck 1975: 20).

(c) Derived Dual Category

Haiman (1980: xliv) notes that a derived dual category may be a characteristic of the TNGP or a subgroup of it; the extent of its distribution is not yet known. In many of these languages, dual forms are derived from the corresponding plural by the addition of a glottal stop.

No derived dual category exists in Tauya. If dual number is to be overtly expressed, the numeral 'two', awi, follows the head noun:

si awi yate - ene - ?a
 1pl 2 go 1/2pl IND
 'We two went' (si /sen/)

1.2.2.4. Syntax

Perhaps the most striking typological feature of TNGP languages, and one which is shared by Tauya, is the existence of medial verbs. That is, in the absence of clausal conjunctions, there are special verb forms used to signal that another clause is to follow. Wurm (1982: 36) suggests that these medial verbs are characteristic of the TNGP, and their existence in other phyla, such as the Sepik-Ramu phylum, is perhaps the result of heavy influence from the TNGP. Haiman, however, points out that considerable variation in the morphology of medial verb constructions which does not correspond to any known genetic subgrouping suggests that this is an areal, rather than a genetic, feature (Haiman 1980: xlvi).

In most of the languages which include medial verbs, they not only indicate that another clause is to follow, but also mark switch-reference. That is, they may be Same-Subject (SS), indicating that the subject of the following clause is coreferential with the subject of the medial clause, or Different-Subject (DS), indicating

that the subjects are not coreferential.

Haiman (1980, 1983) lists several morphological patterns by which SS and DS medial verbs may be distinguished. One of these is the 'gapping model' (1983: 108), wherein DS medial verbs are marked for subject while SS medial verbs are not. Medial verbs in this model may or may not include some other suffix (eg., marking verb class, temporal relation, etc.). Switch-reference marking in Tauya follows this pattern: SS medial verbs are not marked for subject but include the invariable SS suffix /-pa/; DS medial verbs are marked for subject and include the DS suffix /-te/:

SS: Verb Stem + /pa/

DS: Verb Stem + Desinence + /te/

For example:

SS: ya yate - pa ni - e - ?a
 lsg go SS eat 1/2 IND
 'I went and ate'

DS: ya yate - e - te ni ni - a - ?a
 lsg go 1/2 DS 3sg eat 3sg IND
 'I went and he ate'

As Haiman points out (1983: 108), a number of languages of the TNGP use the gapping model to indicate switch-reference. However, he also notes that this cannot be regarded as a genetic feature, since it is also found in Lenakel, an Austronesian language, and in languages outside of the New Guinea area.

1.2.3. Relationships Below the Phylum Level

In a pioneering study by Z'graggen (1975), Tauya and 3 other languages, Biyom, Isabi and Faita, have been classified as members of the Brahman Stock-Level Family, which in turn belongs to the Adelbert Range Super-Stock, Madang-Adelbert Range Sub-Phylum.

Some mention should be made here of the difficulties involved in the classification of these languages. Although these problems obviously result in large measure from the scarcity of linguistic research in the area, they also result from the general linguistic situation. New Guinea as a whole is characterized by an extremely large number of languages, many with very small numbers of speakers. This linguistic diversity is undoubtedly due to the presence of geographical barriers and resulting relative isolation of linguistic groups. However, it is common for groups to have trading relationships covering fairly large areas, and these relationships do not necessarily coincide with language boundaries. Thus, genetically related languages are exposed to varying degrees of influence from other languages. This general linguistic situation is magnified in the languages of the Madang-Adelbert Range Subphylum. Wurm (1982: 166) reports that this is the largest subgroup within the TNGP in terms of number of languages, yet the geographic area it covers is relatively small and there are relatively few speakers of each language. Looking specifically at the Brahman languages, Z'graggen reports that in 1975 there were only 1063 speakers of the

Brahman languages: Tauya, 347; Biyom, 379; Isabi, 280; and Faita, 57. Although these languages are spoken in a small area (see Map 2), it is broken by geographic barriers which limit contact among them to varying extents. Isabi is basically a mountain language; although Biyom is also spoken in the mountains, its range is close to that of the Tauya language and there is frequent contact and intermarriage between these two groups. Faita, like Tauya, is spoken in the Ramu valley; it is, however, isolated to a considerable extent from the other 3 languages.

The four Brahman languages have been exposed to considerable influence from outside languages. According to Z'graggen (1980), the Brahman area was an important trading centre between the coast and the Eastern Highlands. This has resulted in influence from Rai Coast languages and the highland languages. The Tauya people have a trading relationship with the Asaro; the Asaro language belongs to the ENGH Stock. The Biyom have ties with the Gende people, and for some time the Biyom language was classified with Gende as a subfamily of the ENGH Stock (see Wurm 1960-61). Z'graggen reports that Isabi has been influenced by languages of the Eastern Highlands, while Faita has had considerable influence from other languages of the Adelbert Range.

The result of geographic isolation combined with far-flung economic and social ties is a very complex linguistic picture. As yet, it is impossible to distinguish similarities which result from genetic affiliation from similarities resulting from the influence of one language upon another. As will be seen in following sections, there is as yet little evidence that Tauya is any more closely related to Madang-Adelbert Range languages than it is to the TNGP in general; definitive linguistic subgrouping must await discovery of systematic sound correspondences.

1.2.3.1. The Brahman Family

Unfortunately, nothing can be added here to the little that is known of the interrelationships between Tauya, Biyom, Isabi and Faita. Word lists compiled by Z'graggen (1980) suggest a close relationship between Tauya and Biyom, a conclusion which is supported by research carried out for the present study; however, this may or may not reflect a close genetic relationship. Isabi and Faita, on the other hand, appear to bear little resemblance to each other or to Tauya and Biyom.

1.2.3.2. The Madang-Adelbert Range Subphylum

In following sections, a brief comparison is made between Tauya and 3 other languages of the Madang-Adelbert Range Subphylum. One of these, Siroi, belongs to the Madang Super-Stock, Rai Coast Stock, Kabenau Family. The other two belong, as does Tauya, to

the Adlebert Range Super-Stock: Waskia, of the Isumrud Stock, Kowan Family, and Usan of the Pihom Stock, Numugenan Family. Siroi data is from Wells 1979; Waskia from Ross and Paol 1978; and Usan from Reesink 1983. The points which are compared are phonological and morphological features which appear to distinguish Tauya from other languages of the TNGP.

1.2.3.2.1. Phonology

One feature of the Tauya consonant inventory which is atypical of languages of the TNGP has already been pointed out, i.e., Tauya has only a single complete series of stop consonants. A second peculiarity is the marginality of velar consonants; only two velar consonants are present, /k/ and /k^w/, and both are restricted in their distribution to word-initial position. There is evidence for a rule neutralizing non-initial /k/, /k^w/ to /ʔ/, /ʔ^w/. Finally, Tauya is also somewhat aberrant in having two labialized consonants, /k^w/ and /ʔ^w/.

These three features appear to characterize neither the Madang-Adelbert Range Subphylum nor the Adelbert Range Superstock, judging from the three languages examined. Unlike Tauya, all three have a series of voiced stops; none have labialized consonants. Only in Usan is there any evidence of velar marginality.

Consonant Inventories

Tauya

p	t	k	ʔ
		k ^w	ʔ ^w
f	s		
m	n		
	r		
w	y		

Siroi

p	t	k
b	d	g
mb	nd	ŋg
f	s	
	dz	dž
m	n	ŋ
	l	
w	y	ny

Waskia

p	t	k
b	d	g
	s	
m	n	ŋ
	l	
	r	
w	y	

Usan

p	t	ʔ
b	d	g
mb	nd	ŋg
	s	
m	n	
w	y	

Note that Usan lacks /k/. The glottal stop in Usan is restricted to word-initial position; Reesink (1983: 30) suggests that initial /k/ has become /ʔ/, while medial /k/ has become /g/ ~ ∅. Thus, of the four languages examined, the only two which include /ʔ/ are those in which the voiceless velar stop is either marginal or absent; in both, there is a possibility that /ʔ/ derives from /k/.

Wurm (1982: 77) notes that a glottal stop is very often present in languages of the TNGP. Evidence in Tauya and Usan suggests that, at least in some Adelbert Range languages, /ʔ/ is a derived phoneme. However, if the genetic relationships given above are correct, the change /k/ > /ʔ/ must have occurred independently in Tauya and Usan. Thus, in Biyom, the language which appears to be most closely related to Tauya and presumably having a common ancestor with it, the glottal stop is absent; Biyom has medial [k] and [ŋg] corresponding to Tauya medial [ʔ]:

B. eke

T. eʔe N. 'grass skirt'

B. nikitī

T. niʔiti N. 'root'

B. oŋgoa

T. -oʔome- V.Impers. 'be cold'

B. -miŋgasi

T. maʔasi N.Inalien. 'back' (Biyom from Z'graggen 1980)

1.2.3.2.2. Morphology

(a) Personal Pronouns

As noted above (1.2.2.3), the personal pronouns in Tauya correspond most closely to Set 3 of the pronoun sets suggested by Wurm (1975), while languages of the TNGP are characterized by Set 1 pronouns. Although Set 3 pronouns are also found in Siroi, Waskia and Usan, this cannot be interpreted as indicative of a close

genetic relationship. Set 3 pronouns are also found, for example, in some languages of Irian Jaya and in the Sepik-Ramu phylum (Wurm 1975: 199). For a list of the personal pronouns in all four languages, see (c), below.

(b) Personal Desinences

As noted above (1.2.2.3), a common feature among languages of the TNGP, or some subgroup of it, is conflation of 2nd and 3rd persons in non-singular number in both the pronoun and desinential systems. In Tauya, Siroi, Waskia and Usan, no such conflation is present in the pronoun systems. It is found, however, in the desinences.

In Tauya, conflation does occur in the desinences marking aorist tense; however, it is not 2nd and 3rd persons which are conflated, but rather 1st and 2nd in both singular and plural number. Conflation does not occur in desinences marking the future tense.

Tauya Aorist Desinences

	Sg	Pl
1/2	e	ene
3	a	i

Tauya Future Desinences

	Sg	Pl
linc	-	ame
exc	amu	?anene
2	a	ane
3	?e	?ai

As in Tauya, Siroi, Waskia and Usan have several sets of personal desinences which mark both person/number and tense and/or mood. In all three languages, conflation of person reference is apparent in some sets of desinences. However, only in Waskia does this involve 1st and 2nd persons; in both Usan and Siroi, conflation involves 2nd and 3rd persons.

Waskia Desinences

Present			Past Simple		
Sg	Pl		Sg	Pl	
1/2	-sam	} -san	1/2	-em	-man
3	-so		3	-am	-un

Siroi Desinences

Present			Past				
Sg	Dl	Pl	Sg	Dl	Pl		
1	-et	-ek	-eg	1	-en	-ken	-gen
2/3	-it	-ik	-ig	2/3	-na	-naik	-naig

In Usan, all three persons are distinguished in the desinences used with final verbs. However, 2nd and 3rd persons are conflated in Different-Subject (DS) medial verbs (Reesink 1983: 77):

Usan DS Medial Desinences

	Sg	Pl
1	-ine	-une
2/3	-a	-ari

Note, however, that conflation of 1/2 (as opposed to 2/3) in Waskia and Tauya is not indicative of a particularly close genetic relationship. First, Waskia is presently considered to be more closely related to Usan than it is to Tauya (cf. Fig.1); furthermore, as was stated in 1.2.2.3., conflation of 1/2 is also found to a limited extent in a dialect of Yagaria of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock.

(c) Number in Pronouns and Desinences

A derived dual number may be characteristic of the TNGP (cf. 1.2.2.3). Of the languages examined here, only Siroi has a dual category, present in both the desinences (see (b), above) and the personal pronouns.

The personal pronouns in the languages examined here are as follows:

Tauya

	Sg	Pl
1	ya	sen
2	na	ten
3	ne	nen

Siroi

	Sg	Dl	Pl
1	ye	sile	sine
2	ne	tale	tane
3	nu	nale	nane

Waskia

	Sg	Pl
1	ane	anena
2	ni	nina
3	nu	nuna

Usan

	Sg	Pl
1	ye	in(i)
2	ne	an(i)
3	wo	wuri

Note that in all four languages there is evidence of a historic plural suffix, *-n(V); Ross and Paol identify final /-na/ in the Waskia plural forms as a plural enclitic (1978: 78). However, Reesink (1983: 17) suggests that the plural suffix in Usan is /-ri/, which surfaces in the pronominal form indicating 3pl.

The possibility of a historic plural *-n(V), however, cannot be proposed as a characteristic limited to the Madang-Adelbert Range Subphylum. Its distribution appears to be somewhat greater. For example, Phillips (1976: 141) notes that /-n-/ as a plural marker is present in the pronominal system of Wahgi, a language of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock; similarly, McElhanon suggests that a formative *n can be reconstructed for plural number in the pronominal system of the Finisterre-Huon languages.

Two additional features of plural marking in personal pronouns and desinences should be noted here, although the extent of their distribution, and thus their significance for language subgrouping, is yet to be determined.

(1) In Tauya and in Waskia (and Usan; see (2) below), plural $*-n(V)$ is not restricted to the personal pronouns, but is also found in the desinential systems. Thus, note the frequency of $n(V)$ in the plural forms of desinences given in (b), above, in all tenses. In fact, in Tauya singular and plural desinences are in some cases distinguished only by this segment; for example, 1/2 Aorist sg. /e/, pl. /ene/; 2 Future sg. /a/, pl. /ane/.

(2) There is evidence in Tauya and in Usan that it may be necessary to reconstruct two plural morphemes, $*-n(V)$ for 1st and 2nd persons, and $*d_i$ for 3rd persons. Evidence is as follows: First, while a reflex of $*-n(V)$ occurs in all the plural forms of personal pronouns in Tauya, in Usan this segment is restricted to 1st and 2nd persons, while 3rd person plural includes final /-ri/, as noted by Reesink. According to Reesink, [r] is in fact an allophone of /d/ in Usan, occurring in inter-vocalic and word-final positions (1983: 29). This same contrast of $n(V)$ for 1st and 2nd persons and /-ri/ for 3rd persons is also found to some extent in the Usan personal desinences used with final verbs. Usan has several desinential sets distinguishing several tenses; 2 of these are given here:

Usan Personal Desinences

Present			Near Past		
	Sg	Pl		Sg	Pl
1	- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} o \\ a \end{array} \right\} um$	- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} o \\ a \end{array} \right\} un$	1	-umei	- <u>nei</u>
2	-an	- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} o \\ a \end{array} \right\} umon$	2	-anei	- <u>manei</u>
3	-a	- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} o \\ a \end{array} \right\} ur$	3	-ai	- <u>rei</u>

(But note:

Far Past (examples for conjugations 4a and 4d)

	Sg	Pl
1	-amei	- <u>aminei</u>
2	- <u>anei</u>	- <u>amanei</u>
3	- <u>arei</u>	- <u>amirei</u>)

Some evidence for 2 historic plural morphemes is also found in the Tauya desinential system. In Tauya, there is some evidence for an alternation between /t/ and /r/ (cf. 2.4.3.2.1); however, the phoneme /d/ is absent. Inspection of the aorist and future personal desinences in Tauya (cf. (b), above) reveals that, while *-n(V) surfaces in forms for 1st and 2nd persons plural, it is completely absent in forms for 3rd plural. In 3rd person, plural number appears to be marked with /i/, which could well be derived from the proposed plural morpheme *-di via deletion of the initial consonant:

Tauya 3rd Person Desinences

Aorist: /a/ sg.

/i/ pl.

Future: /ʔe/ sg.

/-ʔai/ pl.

(/-ʔa/ in the future form of the 3pl desinence may reflect a historic future tense suffix.)

Chapter 2

PHONOLOGY

2. Phonology

2.1. The Phoneme Inventory

The phonemes in Tauya are as follows:

Consonants				Vowels	
p	t	k	ʔ	i	u
		k ^w	ʔ ^w	e	o
(b)		(g)		a	
f	s				
m	n				
	r				
w	y				

The phonemic status of 6 of the proposed phonemes is somewhat uncertain. These are the voiced stops /b/ and /g/; the glottal stop /ʔ/; the labialized velar and glottal stops /k^w/ and /ʔ^w/; and the alveolar flap /r/. Justification for assigning them phonemic status is given below.

2.1.1. Borrowed Phonemes /b/ and /g/

Notable in Tauya is the extreme rarity of voiced stops. Where they do occur, the forms are assumed to be borrowed from neighbouring languages (except when derived via R27; see 2.4.3.3.3).

Phonetically, voiced stops in Tauya are always prenasalized. Examples include:

/feregariya/ → [ferɛŋgariya] N. 'mother-of-pearl'

/kagora/ → [kaŋgora] N. 'initiate' (compare with Gende
[kaŋgo] 'initiate', L.Brandson p.c.; Hua /kakora/ 'initiate'
J.Haiman p.c.)

/abo/ → [ambo] N. 'namesake' (compare with Siane [amba]
'namesake', J.Haiman p.c.)

No examples are available of the voiced alveolar stop /d/.
Due to the extreme rarity of voiced stops in general, this
perhaps results from a limited data base rather than being
indicative of a gap in the phonemic inventory.

Both /b/ and /g/ are assigned marginal phonemic status.
An alternative would be to propose that they are underlying
voiceless stops /p/ and /k/, with both voicing and pre-
nasalization rules, i.e.,

/ferekariya/	→	feregariya	→	[ferɛŋgariya]
		Voicing		Pre-Nasalization

N. 'mother-of-pearl'

However, this analysis is unsatisfactory:

(a) Medial /k/ is very rare in Tauya, and there is evidence
for a rule neutralizing medial /k/ to [ʔ] (cf. R24, 2.4.3.2.2).
In the few instances where medial /k/ is not neutralized, it
occurs phonetically as [k], not as [ŋk] :

[yauke] N. 'dugong' (*[yaunge])

[sau.eko] N. kind of axe (*[sau.ɛŋgo])

(b) Medial /p/ in Tauya occurs phonetically as [p]:

[ʔapopare] N. 'butterfly'

[aipati] N. pers. name

There is one other possible analysis of the prenasalized voiced stops, i.e., prenasalization and voicing may both be phonemic, i.e.,

/ferengariya/ N. 'mother-of-pearl'

However, a single example is attested of an initial voiced stop which is not prenasalized:

[boriye] N. pers. name

The simplest analysis which accomodates both this example and the prenasalized stops is to propose that [mb] and [ŋg] are derived from underlying /b/ and /g/, which are subject to a prenasalization rule in non-initial position (cf. R25, 2.4.3.3.1).

2.1.2. The Status of /ʔ/

/ʔ/ has been assigned phonemic status. However, there is some evidence that it is not a phoneme, but is rather an allophone of /k/.

Phonetically, [ʔ] may occur either initially or medially.

For example:

[ʔamo] N. 'bamboo'

[ʔufiya] N. 'sweet potato'

[oʔo] N. 'fire, firewood'

[ʔoʔoraʔa] N. 'chicken'

[k], on the other hand, is restricted in its distribution to word-initial position, with very few exceptions:

[kera] N. 'parrot'

[kau-] V.Intr. 'howl'

[kune-] V.Intr. 'thunder (distant)'

[kororo-] V.Intr. 'trickle'

Excpetions include:

[yauke] N. 'dugong'

[sau eko] N. kind of axe

The limited distribution of [k] suggests that medial /k/ is neutralized; internal and external evidence suggests that it is neutralized to [ʔ] (cf. 2.4.3.2.2). Thus, in Tauya, a few forms exhibit free variation between [k] and [ʔ]:

[kaifa] ~ [ʔaifa] N. 'cockatoo'

[kausi] ~ [ʔausi] N. place name

[kereisiya] ~ [ʔereisiya] N. pers. name

[makarafo] ~ [maʔarafa] N. pers. name

Some Tauya forms with medial [ʔ] are cognate with Biyom forms with medial [k] (Biyom from Z'graggen 1975):

Tauya	Biyom	
[meʔeni]	mɛkɛni	N. 'coconut'
[nuʔupu]	nukubu	N. 'lime powder'

This evidence suggests that at least some instances of medial [ʔ] in Tauya are derived from underlying /k/; free-variation between [ʔ] and [k] initially in Tauya suggests that the change /k/ → [ʔ] may also apply in initial position. Thus:

- ? /kamo/ → [ʔamo] N. 'bamboo'
 - ? /kufiya/ → [ʔufiya] N. 'sweet potato'
 - ? /oko/ → [oʔo] N. 'fire, firewood'
- etc.

However, although [ʔ] may be derived from /k/ historically, it must be assigned phonemic status synchronically. That is, although [k] and [ʔ] never contrast medially, they do contrast initially in a few forms:

- [kau-] V.Intr. 'howl'
- [ʔau-] V.Intr. 'swim'
- [kera] N. 'parrot'
- [ʔera] N. 'that (one)' TOP (< ʔe DEM + -ra TOP)

2.1.3. The Status of /k^w/ and /ʔ^w/

Both /k^w/ and /ʔ^w/ are assigned phonemic status. However, there is evidence that these are not, in fact, single phonemes, but rather are sequences of 2 phonemes. That is, they are derived from a consonant, /k/ or /ʔ/, followed by a mid round vowel /o/:

/ k o/ → [k^w]

/ ʔ o/ → [ʔ^w]

Due to restrictions on the distribution of /k^w/ (see 2.4.3.2.2, and below) the following arguments for a derivational vs. non-derivational analysis involve /ʔ^w/.

The derivational analysis of /ʔ^w/ is suggested by possessed forms of some inalienable noun stems. The class of inalienable nouns in Tauya includes terms referring to body parts and a very few others; they are marked for possession by prefixed forms of the personal pronouns. A few such stems include initial /ʔ^w/; none include initial /k^w/ since it may occur only in word-initial position. When these nouns are preceded by singular pronominal prefixes, the phonetic forms suggest initial underlying /ʔ^w/:

[ya - ʔ^waifo]
1sg chest 'my chest'

[na - ʔ^waifo]
2sg chest 'your (sg) chest'

[\emptyset - $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{aifo}$]	3sg chest	'his/her chest'
[ya - $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$]	1sg shadow	'my shadow'
[na - $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$]	2sg shadow	'your (sg) shadow'
[\emptyset - $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$]	3sg shadow	'his/her shadow'

However, there is some variability in the phonetic form of the stem when the prefixes have plural referents. In the case of /- $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{aifo}$ / 'chest' and some others, the stem-initial C loses labialization after these prefixes; in the case of /- $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$ and some others, the initial C optionally loses labialization after the plural prefixes:

/sen + $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{aifo}$ /	→ [so $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{aifo}$]	'our chests'
1pl chest		
/ten + $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{aifo}$ /	→ [to $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{aifo}$]	'your (pl) chests'
2pl chest		
/nen + $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{aifo}$ /	→ [no $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{aifo}$]	'their chests'
3pl chest		
/sen + $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$ /	→ { [so $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$] }	'our shadows'
1pl shadow	{ [so $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$] }	
/ten + $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$ /	→ { [to $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$] }	'your (pl) shadows'
2pl shadow	{ [to $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$] }	
/nen + $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$ /	→ { [no $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$] }	'their shadows'
3pl shadow	{ [no $\text{?}^{\text{W}}\text{anene}(\text{mo})$] }	

In order to account for this variability, it is possible to propose a rule which de-labializes /ʔ^w/ following a consonant (note that all plural forms of the pronominal prefixes are /n/-final). This rule is optional for some inalienable noun stems:

De-Labialization: /ʔ^w/ → /ʔ/ / C ± ____
 (cf. R29, 2.4.3.3.3)

For example,

/sen ± ʔ^waifo/ → sen ± ʔaifo → [soʔaifo]
 1pl chest De-labialization Other rules
 N.Inalien. 'our chests'

However, there is an alternate analysis: if /ʔ^w/ is posited as underlying /ʔo/, de-labialization is readily explained by rules motivated elsewhere:

/sen ± ʔoaifo/ → se ± ʔoaifo (R23, /n/-Deletion)
 → so ± ʔoaifo (R19, Rounding)
 → so ± ʔaifo (R9, Deletion over /ʔ/)
 → [soʔaifo] 'our chests'

For some forms, R9 is optional. If it does not apply, the underlying round vowel is realized as labialization on the preceding consonant:

/sen ± ʔoanene(mo)/ → se ± ʔoanene(mo) (R23)
 → so ± ʔoanene(mo) (R19)
 → { [soʔanene(mo)] (R9)
 [soʔ^wanene(mo)] (Labialization) }
 'our shadows'

The evidence from possessed forms of inalienable nouns suggests that /ʔ^w/ is not, in fact, a single phoneme, but rather that it is derived from an underlying sequence of 2 phonemes, /ʔ o/. That /ʔ^w/ may be so derived suggests that /k^w/ may be derived in a similar manner. However, evidence for the derivational analysis of /k^w/ is lacking, due to restrictions on the distribution of velar consonants (cf. 2.4.3.2.2).

On the other hand, there is evidence that /k^w/ and /ʔ^w/ are, in fact, single phonemes. If the derivational analysis is accepted, it is necessary to propose underlying sequences of 3 vowels within a morpheme; there is no evidence elsewhere in Tauya for VVV sequences. However, since both /k^w/ and /ʔ^w/ can be followed by VV sequences, as demonstrated by the forms below, if labialization is analyzed as being derived from an underlying vowel, VVV sequences must be permitted.

[ʔ ^w ei-]	(< ? /ʔoei/)	V.Intr. 'absent, finished'
[ʔ ^w eisinasa]	(< ? /ʔoeisinasa/)	N. 'morning'
[-ʔ ^w aifo]	(< ? /-ʔoaifo/)	N.Inalien. 'chest'
[k ^w aima-]	(< ? /koaima-/)	V.Intr. 'shake hands'

If underlying VVV sequences are permitted, two constraints on them must be proposed. First, the initial V must be /o/; in VV sequences, on the other hand, the initial V may be /e/,

/o/, or /a/ (cf. 2.3). Second, VVV sequences must be restricted in their distribution, that is, they may occur only after /k/ and /ʔ/. This second constraint is necessary to account for the fact that /k^w/ and /ʔ^w/ are the only labialized consonants in Tauya.

Therefore, the status of labialized consonants /ʔ^w/ and /k^w/ is uncertain. Variability in the possessed forms of inalienable nouns suggests that labialization is derived from underlying /o/; however, if this analysis is accepted, it is necessary to permit and constrain VVV sequences within a single morpheme. In this thesis, the non-derivational single phoneme analysis is tentatively accepted. This decision is not wholly arbitrary: evidence for the derivational analysis comes from possessed forms of inalienable nouns, and inalienable nouns with pronominal prefixes are perhaps the most phonologically irregular constructions in Tauya (see 2.4.2.1.2.2, 2.4.3.1).

2.1.4. The Status of /r/

/r/ is assigned phonemic status; however, its distribution is generally restricted to medial position. Initial /r/ is attested in 2 suffixes (possible cognates) and a very few other forms:

/-ra/ Topic suffix

/-rafo/ Dubitative suffix

/roroti-/ V.Intr. 'be exhausted'

/rumi/ N. pers. name

The Topic suffix occurs everywhere as [-ra] except after non-1sg personal pronouns and the deictic /me/ 'this (one)', where an allomorph, [-ta], occurs:

Topic Pronouns

	Sg	Pl
1	y <u>ara</u>	se <u>ta</u>
2	na <u>ta</u>	te <u>ta</u>
3	ne <u>ta</u>	ne <u>ta</u>
'this (one)'		me <u>ta</u>
'that (one)'		?e <u>ra</u>

Following full nouns, the Topic suffix occurs as [-ra] :

fanu - ra
man TOP 'man (TOP)'

wate - ra
house TOP 'house (TOP)'

sawi - ra
banana TOP 'banana (TOP)'

etc.

The allomorphy of the Topic suffix can be explained by positing underlying /-ra/, and 2 phonological neutralization rules which strengthen /r/ to [t] (see 2.4.3.2.1).

[r] occurs freely in medial position, where it contrasts with other consonants, including [t] :

[r] vs. [t]:	ari-	V.Intr.	'gather together'
	?ati-	V.Intr.	'say'
[r] vs. [n]:	orou	N.	'long, tall (one)'
	o?onou-	V.Tr.	'gather'
[r] vs. [s]:	?ori	N.	'trap'
	o?osi	N.	'ground'

Thus, despite its rarity in initial position, /r/ is assigned phonemic status.

2.1.5. Summary of the Phoneme Inventory

Although the phonemic status of /b/, /g/, /ʔ/, /k^w/, /ʔ^w/ and /r/ is perhaps open to some question, there is evidence that all are, in fact, phonemes.

The status of the other phonemes presented in 2.1 is considered to be non-controversial. Minimal or near-minimal pairs such as the following support this conclusion:

/p/ vs. /t/:	/peti-/	V.Intr.	'bear, give birth'
	/teti-/	N.Loc.	'highlands'
/k/:	/kau-/	V.Intr.	'howl'
	/pau-/	V.Intr.	'begin, erupt (of sound)'

- /p/ vs. /f/: /fai/ N. 'net bag'
 /pai/ N. 'pig'
- /s/: /sai/ N. 'snake'
 /pai/ N. 'pig'
- /m/: /mai-/ V.Intr. 'come up'
 /pai/ N. 'pig'
- /n/: /-nai/ N.Inalien. 'side, ribs'
 /pai/ N. 'pig'
- /w/: /wai/ ADV. 'again'
 /pai/ N. 'pig'
- /y/: /yei/ N. 'wind'
 /pei/ N. 'landslide'
- /t/ vs. /f/: /fei-/ V.Tr. 'boil'
 /tei-/ V.Tr. 'catch'
- /s/: /ʔasi/ N. 'mosquito'
 /ʔati-/ V.Intr. 'say'
- /m/: /mei-/ V.Intr. 'cry'
 /tei-/ V.Tr. 'catch'
- /n/: /panei/ N. 'rat'
 /pate/ N. 'tomorrow'
- /w/: /we/ Interrog.Pro. 'who'
 /te-/ V.Tr. 'get'
- /y/: /yei/ N. 'wind'
 /tei-/ V.Tr. 'catch'
- /f/ vs. /s/: /sai/ N. 'snake'
 /fai/ N. 'net bag'
- /m/: /mei-/ V.Intr. 'cry'
 /fei-/ V.Tr. 'boil'

- /f/ vs. /n/: /ano/ N. younger sibling, same sex
/ʔafo/ N. 'fly'
- /w/: /wai/ ADV. 'again'
/fai/ N. 'net bag'
- /y/: /-yai/ N.Inalien. 'footprint'
/fai/ N. 'net bag'
- /s/ vs. /m/: /mamo/ N. 'dog'
/samo/ N. 'sago grub'
- /n/: /-nai/ N.Inalien. 'side, ribs'
/sai/ N. 'snake'
- /w/: /wai/ ADV. 'again'
/sai/ N. 'snake'
- /y/: /ya/ Pers.Pro. 1sg
/sa/ N. Environment
- /m/ vs. /n/: /ano/ N. younger sibling, same sex
/amo/ N. 'tree'
- /w/: /wai/ ADV. 'again'
/mai-/ V.Intr. 'come up'
- /y/: /yei/ N. 'wind'
/mei-/ V.Intr. 'cry'
- /n/ vs. /w/: /wai/ ADV. 'again'
/-nai/ N.Inalien. 'side, ribs'
- /y/: /-yai/ N.Inalien. 'footprint'
/-nai/ N.Inalien. 'side, ribs'
- /w/ vs. /y/: /-yai/ N.Inalien. 'footprint'
/wai/ ADV. 'again'

- /i/ vs. /e/: /-pe/ Case Suffix: Benefactive
 /-pi/ Genitive Suffix
- /a/: /wamo/ N. 'big, grown (one)'
 /wimo/ N. 'hair'
- /u/: /fu-/ V.Intr. 'burn'
 /fi-/ V.Intr. 'roast'
- /o/: /mom(o)/ N. 'stool, bench'
 /mimi/ N. 'mother, breast'
- /e/ vs. /a/: /na/ Pers. Pro. 2sg
 /ne/ Pers. Pro. 3sg
- /u/: /-tu-/ V.Tr. 'give'
 /-te-/ V.Tr. 'get'
- /o/: /o'o/ N. 'fire, firewood'
 /'e'e/ N. 'grass skirt'
- /a/ vs. /u/: /'uti-/ V.Intr. 'heal'
 /'ati-/ V.Intr. 'say'
- /o/: /'afo/ N. 'fly'
 /'afa/ N. Indefinite
- /u/ vs. /o/: /'ota/ N. 'male'
 /'uta/ N. 'stake to support plants'

2.2. The Phonetic Inventory

The phonetic inventory in Tauya is as follows:

Consonants				Vowels		
p	t	k	ʔ	i	u	
		k ^w	ʔ ^w	e	ə	o
mb		ŋg		a		
b	d					
β	f	s				
m	n					
		r				
w	y					

Phones which are not assigned phonemic status are discussed in 2.4, with the exception of [β]. This is an allophone of /f/, and appears to be in free variation with [f]. For example:

/amufo/	{ [amufo] }	N. 'big, large (one)'
	{ [amuβo] }	
/ʔaifa/	{ [ʔaifa] }	N. 'cockatoo'
	{ [ʔaiβa] }	
/fenaʔa/	{ [fenaʔa] }	N. 'woman'
	{ [βenaʔa] }	
/firo-/	{ [firo-] }	V. Intr. 'wander, roam'
	{ [βiro-] }	
/fu-/	{ [fu-] }	V. Intr. 'burn'
	{ [βu-] }	

etc.

2.3. Syllable Structure

Syllable structure in Tauya is (C)V(V)(C). Final C is very rare; it is realized only as a nasal consonant, and is restricted in distribution to the plural forms of the personal pronouns and a single borrowed form, /mom(o)/ N. 'stool, bench'. Thus, the overwhelming majority of syllables in Tauya consist of V, VV, CV and CVV.

There are restrictions on possible vowel clusters.

Vowel clusters which do occur are:

V	V	/ai/:	/sai/	N. 'snake'
[+LOW]	[-LOW]	/au/:	/yau/	N. 'fish'
		/ae/:	/sae/	N. 'drum'
		/ao/:	/inaomo/	N. 'blood'
V	V	/ei/:	/yei/	N. 'wind'
[-HI]	[+HI]	/ou/:	/mouro/	N. 'rubbish'
[αRD]	[αRD]			

The cluster /oi/ has also been attested, although it is extremely rare. Examples are:

/oi/:	/foi-/	V.Intr.	'be wet, rotten'
	/noi/	N.	pers. name
	/kiroroi/	N.	'bead'

Clusters with 3 or more vowels do not occur (cf. 2.1.3).

2.4. Phonological Rules

2.4.1. Introduction

The phonological processes described in following sections are largely functional, aimed at creating or preserving (C)V(V) syllable structure. Among vowels, the major functional rules are coalescence rules which apply when verb stems are combined with personal desinences. Among consonants, the functional rules are primarily concerned with the interaction of prefixed forms of the personal pronouns and the verb or noun stems to which they are added; these rules are directed towards the simplification of consonant clusters. A number of other rules are also described.

2.4.2. Rules Involving Vowels

2.4.2.1. Coalescence Rules

2.4.2.1.1. Personal Desinences

Tauya is primarily a suffixing language, and the vast majority of suffixes are C-initial. The only consistent exceptions to this generalization are the personal desinences, which occur as suffixes on the verb complex to indicate the person and number of the subject, and tense. All of the aorist desinences are V-initial; slightly over half of the future desinences are V-initial:

Aorist Desinences

	Sg	Pl
1/2	e	ene
3	a	i

Future Desinences

	Sg	Pl
linc	-	ame
exc	amu	?anene
2	a	ane
3	?e	?ai

Verb roots and auxiliaries are all V-final (cf.2.3), and may be classified according to their stem-final vowel(s). They may have final V, /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, or /u/, or final VV, /ei/, /ou/, /ai/, /au/, /oi/. Stems with final /e/ are most common; aside from /oi/, stems with final /a/ and /o/ are least common. Examples of verb stems include:

- /i/-Stem: /ni-/ V.Tr. 'eat'
 /?ini-/ V.Intr. 'sleep'
- /e/-Stem: /te-/ V.Tr. 'get'
 /mene-/ V.Intr. 'stay'
- /a/-Stem: /ita-/ V.Intr. 'laugh'
 /nipa-/ V.Intr. 'bad'

/o/-Stem: /firo-/ V.Intr. 'wander, roam'
 /o-/ V.Intr. 'say'
 /u/-Stem: /-tu-/ V.Tr. 'give (to)'
 /ʔumu-/ V.Intr. 'die'
 /ai/-Stem: /mai-/ V.Intr. 'come up'
 /ferai-/ V.Tr/Intr. '(be) untied'
 /au/-Stem: /-yau-/ V.Tr. 'see'
 /fitau-/ V.Tr. 'throw'
 /ei/-Stem: /mei-/ V.Intr. 'cry'
 /tei-/ V.Tr. 'catch'
 /ou/-Stem: /-ʔou-/ V.Tr. 'bite'
 /ou-/ V.Tr. 'pierce'

The rules of coalescence can have considerable effect on stem-final vowels, either final V of a stem with final V, or V_2 of a stem with final V_1V_2 (V_1 of such clusters is not affected by the rules of coalescence). Underlying stem-final vowels are therefore often opaque. For example, following are the derived (surface) forms of an /a/-stem verb and an /ai/-stem verb inflected with the aorist desinences:

	/ita-/	V.Intr.	'laugh'
		Sg	Pl
1/2	<u>itae</u>		<u>itaene</u>
3	<u>ita</u>		<u>itai</u>

	/mai-/	V.Intr.	'come up'
		Sg	P1
1/2	<u>mae</u>		<u>maene</u>
3	<u>maya</u>		<u>mai</u>

Aside from the forms for 3sg subjects, there is nothing in these paradigms which suggests that the underlying stem-final vowel(s) are distinct. Thus, in order to determine underlying vowels, it is necessary to examine final vowels which occur in environments in which the rules of coalescence do not apply, i.e., environments in which personal desinences are not included. Further, the environment chosen must permit all verb stems and auxiliaries, and must have no predictable phonological effects on the stem-final vowels.

Unfortunately, no such ideal environment exists. However, the same-subject (SS) coordinate medial verbs come close. These verbs have the form,

V + /pa/,

where /-pa/ is the SS coordinate medial suffix. Since desinences are not included, the rules of coalescence do not apply. Unlike other suffixes which are not preceded by personal desinences (such as the verb root conjunction /-ti/), /-pa/ can occur with all verb roots and with most auxiliaries. Exceptions to this are the Habitual auxiliary /-pope-/ and the Avolitional auxiliary /-?ate-/, which do not occur in SS

coordinate medial verbs. Finally, the suffix /-pa/ conditions a single phonological rule which affects stem-final vowel quality. This rule is motivated elsewhere, and is of somewhat limited applicability:

R16 General Rounding:
$$\begin{array}{c} V \\ [-HI] \\ [-RD] \end{array} \rightarrow [+RD] / \begin{array}{c} C \\ [+LAB] \end{array} \text{---} \begin{array}{c} C \\ [+LAB] \end{array}$$

(cf. 2.4.2.2.3.1)

For example:

/ni + fe + pa/ → [nifopa]
eat PERF SS R16 'X ate and X ...'

/ʔini + we + pa/ → [ʔiniwopa]
sleep CON SS R16 'X tried to sleep and X ...'

Therefore, underlying stem-final vowel(s) are identified as those which occur phonetically preceding the SS coordinate medial suffix /-pa/, aside from those roots which are affected by R16.

/i/-Stem: /ni-/ [nipa] 'eat and ...'

/e/-Stem: /te-/ [tepa] 'get and ...'

/a/-Stem: /ita-/ [itapa] 'laugh and ...'

/o/-Stem: /o-/ [opa] 'say and ...'

/u/-Stem: /-tu-/ [tupa] 'give (him) and ...'

/ai/-Stem: /mai-/ [maipa] 'come up and ...'

/au/-Stem: /yau-/ [yaupa] 'see (it) and ...'

/ei/-Stem: /mei-/ [meipa] 'cry and ...'

/ou/-Stem: /ʔatou-/ [ʔatoupa] 'arrive and ...'

/oi/-Stem: /foi-/ [foipa] 'be wet and ...'

When verb roots and auxiliaries are combined with V-initial personal desinences, vowel clusters result, both V+V and VV+V. There are 3 kinds of vowel coalescence rules which simplify these clusters. These rules, examined in detail below, are briefly summarized here:

(1) Assimilation Rules

Two kinds of assimilation rules occur: partial forward assimilation, as in (a), and complete backward assimilation, as in (b):

(a) /yau + e + ?a/ → yao + e + ?a → [yao?a]
 see 1/2 IND Assim. (Deletion)
 'I/you saw (it)'

(b) /?umu + i + ?a/ → ?umu + u + ?a → [?umu?a]
 die 3pl IND Assim. (Deletion)

The two assimilation rules are described below, R2 and R3.

(2) Deletion Rules

Deletion rules include like-vowel deletion, and deletion of the mid unrounded vowel /e/. Like-vowel deletion affects forms such as:

(a) /ni + i + ?a/ → [ni?a]
 eat 3pl IND Deletion
 'They ate'

The vowel /e/ is most susceptible to deletion. It may delete entirely, with no effect on preceding or following vowels, as in (b), (c), below, or it may delete after a preceding vowel has been partially assimilated, as in (d):

- (b) /mei + ene + ?a/ → [meine?a]
 cry 1/2pl IND Deletion
 'We/you (pl) cried'
- (c) /fofe + a + ?a/ → [fofa?a]
 come 3sg IND Deletion
 'He/she came'
- (d) /fitau + ene + ?a/ → fitao + ene + ?a → [fitaone?a]
 throw 1/2pl IND Assim. Deletion
 'We/you (pl) threw (it)'

Deletion rules are given below, R1, R4 and R5.

(3) Resyllabification Rules

There are 2 resyllabification rules in Tauya. One changes V+V clusters into V\$GV, via glide-insertion; the second changes VV+V clusters into V\$GV, via glide-formation:

- (a) /ni + a + ?a/ → [niya?a]
 eat 3sg IND Glide insertion
 'He/she ate'
- (b) /yau - amu - ?a/ → [yawamu?a]
 see 1sgFut IND Glide formation
 'I will eat'

Resyllabification rules are given below, R6 and R7.

Following are the 7 coalescence rules which are necessary to explain the interaction of stem-final and desinence-initial vowels. Rule ordering, where applicable, is noted; the coalescence rules and their ordering is summarized in 2.4.2.1.1.9.

2.4.2.1.1.1. R1: Pre-Vocalic /e/-Deletion

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{HI} \\ +\text{FR} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} + \text{V}$$

The environment for this rule is met only by the /e/-stem verbs.

/mene - a - ?a/	→	[mena?a]	
stay 3sg IND		R1	'He stayed'
/fofe + i + ?a/	→	[fofi?a]	
come 3pl IND		R1	'They came'
/te + amu + ?a/	→	[tamu?a]	
get 1sgFut IND		R1	'I'll get (it)'
/momune + ame + ?a/	→	[momuname?a]	
sit 1plFut IND		R1	'We (inc) will sit'

2.4.2.1.1.2. R2: High Vowel Assimilation

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{HI} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \alpha\text{FR} \end{array} \right] / \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{HI} \\ \alpha\text{FR} \end{array} \right] \end{array} + \text{---}$$

This rule affects the vowel of the 3pl aorist desinence, /-i-/, after /u/-stem, /au/-stem and /ou/-stem verbs:

/∅ + tu + i + ?a/	→	∅ + tu + u + ?a	(→	[tu?a])
3sg give 3pl IND		R2		R5
'They gave (it) to him'				

/fitau + i + ?a/ → fitau + u + ?a (→ [fitau?a])
 throw 3pl IND R2 R5
 'They threw (it)'

/?atou + i + ?a/ → ?atou + u + ?a (→ [?atou?a])
 arrive 3pl IND R2 R5
 'They arrived'

2.4.2.1.1.3. R3: High Vowel Lowering

$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [+HI] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} V \\ [-HI] \end{matrix} / \begin{matrix} V \\ [-HI] \\ [-FR] \end{matrix} \text{ --- } + \begin{matrix} V \\ [-HI] \\ [+FR] \end{matrix}$$

This rule affects final /u/ of /au/- and /ou/-stem verbs, and final /i/ of /ai/-stem verbs when they are followed by desinences with initial /e/ (i.e., 1/2sg,pl aorist desinences):

/fitau + e + ?a/ → fitao + e + ?a (→ [fitao?a])
 throw 1/2 IND R3 R4
 'I threw (it)'

/?atou + ene + ?a/ → ?atoo + ene + ?a (→ [?atone?a])
 arrive 1/2pl IND R3 R4, R5
 'We arrived'

/mai + e + ?a/ → mae + e + ?a (→ [mae?a])
 come up 1/2 IND R3 R5
 'I came up'

Note, however, that this rule does not apply to final /i/ of /ei/-stem verbs:

/mei + e + ?a/ → mei?a (* [me?a])
 cry 1/2 IND R4 R3, R5

2.4.2.1.1.5. R5: Like-Vowel Deletion

$$V_a V_a \rightarrow V_a$$

This rule affects all $V_a V_a$ clusters. R5 must be preceded by R2,

High Vowel Assimilation, in a feeding order:

$$\begin{array}{l} /ya \underline{+} tu + i + ?a/ \rightarrow ya \underline{+} tu + u + ?a \rightarrow [yatu?a] \\ \text{lsg give 3pl IND} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{R2} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{R5} \end{array}$$

'They gave (it) to me'

R3, High Vowel Lowering, is also in a feeding relationship with R5:

$$\begin{array}{l} /?amai + e + ?a/ \rightarrow ?amae + e + ?a \rightarrow [?amae?a] \\ \text{carry 1/2 IND} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{R3} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{R5} \end{array}$$

'I carried (it)'

2.4.2.1.1.6. R6: Glide-Formation

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{CON} \\ +\text{VOC} \\ +\text{HI} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{VOC}] / V \text{ ____ } + \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{LOW} \end{bmatrix}$$

This rule affects all VV stems followed by a desinence with an initial low vowel, i.e., the 3sg aorist desinence /-a-/, and the lsg, 2sg, linc.pl and 2pl future desinences:

$$\begin{array}{l} /mei + a + ?a/ \rightarrow [meya?a] \\ \text{cry 3sg IND} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{R6} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{'He cried'}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} /mai + amu + ?a/ \rightarrow [mayamu?a] \\ \text{come up lsgFut IND} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{R6} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{'I'll come up'}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} /?atou + a + ?a/ \rightarrow [?atowa?a] \\ \text{arrive 2sgFut IND} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{R6} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{'You (sg) will arrive'}$$

/yau + ame + ?a/ → [yawame?a]
 see 1p1Fut IND R6 'We (inc) will see (it)'

2.4.2.1.1.7. R7: Glide Insertion

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{CON} \\ -\text{VOC} \\ \alpha\text{FR} \end{bmatrix} / \text{C} \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+HI] \\ \alpha\text{FR} \end{array} \right) + \text{---} \text{V}$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [-HI] \\ -\text{FR} \end{array} \right)$$

R7 affects all /i/-, /u/- and /o/-stem verbs followed by V-initial desinences:

/ni + e + ?a/ → [niye?a]
 eat 1/2 IND R7 'I ate'

/∅ + tu + a + ?a/ → [tuwa?a]
 3sg give 3sg IND R7 'He gave (it) to him'

/o + i + ?a/ → [owi?a]
 say 3p1 IND R7 'They said'

/firo + amu + ?a/ → [firowamu?a]
 roam 1sgFut IND R7 'I will roam'

R7 must follow R2 and R5 in a bleeding order:

/?umu + i + ?a/ → ?umu + u + ?a → [?umu?a] (→ NA)
 die 3p1 IND R2 R5 R7

'They died'

(/?umu + i + ?a/ → *[?umuwi?a])
 R7

2.4.2.1.1.8. Additional Rules Affecting Desinences

Two additional rules are necessary to explain the interaction of verb stems and desinences:

2.4.2.1.1.8.1. /e/-Assimilation over /ʔ/

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{HI} \\ +\text{FR} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \rightarrow \left[+\text{LOW} \right] / \text{---} + \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{LOW} \\ -\text{LAB} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left[+\text{LOW} \right] \end{array}$$

This rule affects final /e/ of /e/-stem verbs followed by desinences with initial /ʔa/, i.e., the lexc.pl and 3pl future desinences, /-ʔanene/ and /-ʔai/:

$$\begin{array}{l} /mene + \text{ʔanene} + \text{ʔa}/ \rightarrow \left[\text{menaʔaneneʔa} \right] \\ \text{stay 1plFut IND} \quad \quad \quad \text{R8} \end{array}$$

'We (exc) will stay'

$$\begin{array}{l} /te + \text{ʔai} + \text{ʔa}/ \rightarrow \text{ta} + \text{ʔai} + \text{ʔa} \quad (\rightarrow \left[\text{taʔiʔa} \right]) \\ \text{get 3plFut IND} \quad \quad \quad \text{R8} \quad \quad \quad \text{R9} \end{array}$$

'They will get (it)'

The 2nd person future desinences have suppletive forms used when the verb is in interrogative mood. Generally /-aʔ/ 2sgFut, and /-ane-/ 2plFut, these desinences occur as /-ʔa-/ 2sgFut, and /-ʔanene/ 2plFut, in interrogative mood. R8 applies regularly to /e/-stem verb roots followed by these desinences:

/fofe + ?a + nae/ → [fofa?anae]
 come 2sgFutQ Q R8

'Will you (sg) come?'

/mafi yate + ?anene + ne/ → [mafi yata?anenene]
 where go 2plFutQ Q R8

'Where are you (pl) going?'

Unlike R1 through R7, R8 is not a vowel coalescence rule, and has somewhat wider applicability. That is, while V-initial suffixes are rare in Tauya outside of the desinential system, suffixes with initial /?a/ are relatively common. Thus:

/yate + ?ate + e + ?a/ → [yata?ate?a]
 go AVOL 1/2 IND R1, R8

'It would be bad if I went'

However, R8 does not always apply when the environment for the rule is met. For example, it is not conditioned by the Indicative modal suffix /-?a/:

/yate + e + ?a/ → [yate?a] (→ *[yata?a])
 go 1/2 IND R1 R8

'I went'

The failure of R8 to apply here and elsewhere can perhaps best be explained by the interaction of this rule with various types of boundaries. For a discussion of boundaries in Tauya, see 2.5.1.

2.4.2.1.1.8.2. R9: Deletion over /ʔ/

$$V_a \rightarrow \emptyset / V_a + \begin{matrix} C \\ [+LOW] \\ [-LAB] \end{matrix} \text{---} V$$

The only desinence which conditions this rule is the 3plFut desinence /-ʔai-/:

/ʔita + ʔai + ʔa/ → [ʔitaʔiʔa] 'They will laugh'
 laugh 3plFut IND R9

/momune + ʔai + ʔa/ → momuna + ʔai + ʔa → [momunaʔiʔa] 'They will sit'
 sit 3plFut IND R8 R9

R8 must precede R9 in a feeding relationship (see last example above). Since R9 is not a vowel coalescence rule, it is not limited in its application to verb stems and desinences; for additional examples of this rule, see 2.4.2.2.2.1.

2.4.2.2.1.9. Summary of Vowel Coalescence Rules

R1: Pre-Vocalic /e/-Deletion

$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-HI] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / _ + V$$

R2: High Vowel Assimilation

$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [+HI] \end{matrix} \rightarrow [\alpha FR] / \begin{matrix} V \\ [+HI] \\ \alpha FR \end{matrix} + _$$

R3: High Vowel Lowering

$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [+HI] \end{matrix} \rightarrow [-HI] / \begin{matrix} V \\ [-HI] \\ -FR \end{matrix} _ + \begin{matrix} V \\ [-HI] \\ +FR \end{matrix}$$

R4: Post-Vocalic /e/-Deletion

$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-HI] \\ +FR \end{matrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / VV + _$$

R5: Like-Vowel Deletion

$$V_a V_a \rightarrow V_a$$

R6: Glide Formation

$$\begin{bmatrix} -CON \\ +VOC \\ +HI \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-VOC] / V _ + \begin{matrix} V \\ [+LOW] \end{matrix}$$

R7: Glide Insertion

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -CON \\ -VOC \\ \alpha FR \end{bmatrix} / C \left(\begin{matrix} V \\ [+HI] \\ \alpha FR \end{matrix} \right) + _ \begin{matrix} V \\ [-HI] \\ -FR \end{matrix}$$

Other Rules

R8: /e/-Assimilation over /ʔ/

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [-\text{HI}] \\ [+FR] \end{array} \rightarrow [+LOW] / \text{---} + \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ [+LOW] \\ [-LAB] \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+LOW] \end{array}$$

R9: Deletion over /ʔ/

$$\text{V}_a \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{V}_a + \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ [+LOW] \\ [-LAB] \end{array} \text{---} \text{V}$$

2.4.2.1.1.10. Sample Paradigms

Following are sample paradigms of verbs in each of the 10 verb classes, i.e., /i/-stem, /e/-stem, /a/-stem, /o/-stem, /u/-stem, /ai/-stem, /au/-stem, /ei/-stem, /ou/-stem and /oi/-stem, inflected with the aorist desinences. Both underlying and surface forms are given, as well as the rules which apply.

/i/-Stem /ni-/ V.Tr. 'eat'

	Sg	P1
1/2	/ni+e/ → [niye] (R7)	/ni+ene/ → [niyene] (R7)
3	/ni+a/ → [niya] (R7)	/ni+i/ → [ni] (R5)

/e/-Stem /te-/ V.Tr. 'get (it)'

	Sg	P1
1/2	/te+e/ → [te] (R1)	/te+ene/ → [tene] (R1)
3	/te+a/ → [ta] (R1)	/te+i/ → [ti] (R1)

/a/-Stem /ʔita-/ V.Intr. 'laugh'

	Sg	P1
1/2	/ʔita+e/ → [ʔitae]	/ʔita+ene/ → [ʔitaene]
3	/ʔita+a/ → [ʔita] (R5)	/ʔita+i/ → [ʔitai]

/u/-Stem /ʔumu-/ V.Intr. 'die'

	Sg	P1
1/2	/ʔumu+e/ → [ʔumuwe] (R7)	/ʔumu+ene/ → [ʔumuwene] (R7)
3	/ʔumu+a/ → [ʔumuwa] (R7)	/ʔumu+i/ → [ʔumu] (R2, R5)

/o/-Stem /o-/ V.Intr. 'say'

	Sg	P1
1/2	/o+e/ → [owe] (R7)	/o+ene/ → [owene] (R7)
3	/o+a/ → [owa] (R7)	/o+i/ → [owi] (R7)

/ai/-Stem /mai-/ V.Intr. 'come up'

	Sg	P1
1/2	/mai+e/ → [mae] (R3,R5)	/mai+ene/ → [maene] (R3,R5)
3	/mai+a/ → [maya] (R6)	/mai+i/ → [mai] (R5)

/au/-Stem /yau-/ V.Tr. 'see (it)'

	Sg	P1
1/2	/yau+e/ → [yao] (R3,R4)	/yautene/ → [yaone] (R3,R4)
3	/yau+a/ → [yawa] (R6)	/yau+i/ → [yau] (R2,R5)

/ei/-Stem /mei-/ V.Intr. 'cry'

	Sg	P1
1/2	/mei+e/ → [mei] (R4)	/mei+ene/ → [meine] (R4)
3	/mei+a/ → [meya] (R6)	/mei+i/ → [mei] (R5)

/ou/-Stem /ou-/ V.Tr. 'shoot (it)'

	Sg	P1
1/2	/ou+e/ → [o] (R3,R4)	/ou+ene/ → [one] (R3,R4)
3	/ou+a/ → [owa] (R6)	/ou+i/ → [ou] (R2)

/oi/-Stem /foi-/ V.Intr. 'be wet, rotten'

	Sg	Pl
1/2	/foi+e/ - foi (R4)	/foi+ene/- foine (R4)
3	/foi+a/ - foya (R6)	/foi+i/ - foi (R5)

Following are sample paradigms of verbs belonging to 4 stem classes, /i/, /e/, /a/ and /au/, inflected with the future desinences. /i/-stem verbs are representative of those with final -V; /au/-stem verbs are representative of those with final VV. /e/- and /a/-stem verbs are those which undergo R8 and/or R9.

/i/-Stem /ni-/ V.Tr. 'eat'

	Sg	Pl
1 inc	-	/ni+ame/ → [niyame] (R7)
exc	/ni+amu/ → [niyamu] (R7)	/ni+ʔanene/ → [niʔanene]
2	/ni+a/ → [niya] (R7)	/ni+tane/ → [niyane] (R7)
3	/ni+ʔe/ → [niʔe]	/ni+ʔai/ → [niʔai]

/e/-Stem /te-/ V.Tr. 'get (it)'

	Sg	Pl
1 inc	-	/te+ame/ → [tame] (R1)
exc	/te+amu/ → [tamu] (R1)	/te+ʔanene/ → [taʔanene] (R8)
2	/te+a/ → [ta] (R1)	/te+tane/ → [tane] (R1)
3	/te+ʔe/ → [teʔe]	/te+ʔai/ → [taʔi] (R8, R9)

/a/-Stem /ʔita-/ V.Intr. 'laugh'

	Sg	Pl
1 inc	-	/ʔita+ame/ - ʔitame (R5)
exc	/ʔita+amu/ - ʔitamu (R5)	/ʔita+ʔanene/ - ʔitaʔanene
2	/ʔita+a/ - ʔita (R5)	/ʔita+ane/ - ʔitane
3	/ʔita+ʔe/ - ʔitaʔe	/ʔita+ʔai/ - ʔitaʔi (R9)

/au/-Stem /yau-/ V.Tr. 'see (it)'

	Sg	Pl
1 inc	-	/yau+ame/ - yawame (R6)
exc	/yau+amu/ - yawamu (R6)	/yau+ʔanene/ - yauʔanene
2	/yau+a/ - yawa (R6)	/yau+ane/ - yawane (R6)
3	/yau+ʔe/ - yauʔe	/yau+ʔai/ - yauʔai

2.4.2.1.2. Coalescence Rules in Other Environments

As stated above, Tauya is primarily a suffixing language, and the vast majority of suffixes are C-initial. The only systematic exceptions are the personal desinences, the majority of which are V-initial. Therefore, the rules of vowel coalescence are generally restricted in their application to environments in which verb stems are combined with desinences. However, there are a few other environments in which vowel clusters arise over morpheme boundaries; these are discussed below.

2.4.2.1.2.1. Suffixes

2.4.2.1.2.1.1. Locative /-i/

Some locative nouns in Tauya show evidence of a suffix /-i/; this appears to be a derivational suffix, deriving locative nouns from non-locative roots. Locatives derived with this suffix include deictics, borrowed place names, and a few other terms. For example:

/me + i/
DEM LOC 'here' (proximal)

/ʔe + i/
DEM LOC 'there' (distal)

/ma + ʔe + i/
DEM DEM LOC 'there' (mid-distal)

/braman + i/
 LOC 'Brahman'

/mandan + i/
 LOC 'Madang'

/mafe + i/
 Q.Pro LOC 'where?'

/amufe + i/
 big LOC 'near'

The borrowed place names to which /i/ is added are all C-final; coalescence rules do not apply. However, other roots with suffix /-i/ are /e/-final, and the first rule of vowel coalescence, Pre-Vocalic /e/-Deletion, is expected to apply. However, this rule does not apply consistently, that is, it applies only when the root to which it is added is not mono-syllabic. For example:

/mafe + i/ → [mafi]
 Q.Pro LOC R1 'where?'

/amufe + i/ → [amufi]
 Q.Pro LOC R1 'near'

But,

/ʔe + i/ → [ʔei]
 DEM LOC 'there' (* ʔi)

/me + i/ → [mei]
 DEM LOC 'here' (* mi)

Note that when /ʔe/ and /me/ are added to other locative roots, R1 does apply:

/ma + ʔe + i/ → [maʔi]
 DEM DEM LOC R1 near distal

/afa + ?e + i/ → [afa?i]
 above DEM LOC R1 'above (distal)'

/ofi + me + i/ → ofi + mi (→ [ofumi])
 below DEM LOC R1 Other rules 'below (proximal)'

2.4.2.1.2.1.2. The Suffix /-o/

A suffix /-o/ occurs in Tauya with several different, but perhaps related, meanings. That it is a single suffix is suggested by the fact that, in all its uses, it occurs finally in an utterance. Thus, it may occur as a Vocative suffix; it may also replace final /-e/ in the Polar Interrogative and Imperative modal suffixes. Finally, it may form elliptical utterances:

/Aresa + o/
 VOC 'Aresa!'

/yate + a + o/ (/yate - a - e /)
 go 2sgFut 'Go!' (Imperative) vs. go 2sgFut IMP

/yate + e + nao/ (/yate - e - nae/)
 go 1/2 Q 'Did you go?' vs. go 1/2 Q

/wawi ?afa mene + a + o /
 old man INDEF stay 3sg ELLIP 'An old man stayed'

Forms including the suffix /-o/ are subject to R6 (Glide Formation) and R7 (Glide Insertion); however, R1 (Pre-Vocalic /e/-Deletion) does not apply:

That is, [n] is inserted when the 1sg and 2sg pronominal prefixes are added to a mono- or bi-syllabic root with an initial low vowel, optionally preceded by /y/:

/ya ± a'e/ → [yana'e]
 1sg eye R10 'my eye'

/na ± yai / → na-n ± yai (→ [nanai])
 2sg footprint R10 Other rules
 'your footprint'

/ya ± yau-/ → ya-n ± yau- (→ [yanau-])
 1sg see R10
 'see me'

But,

/na ± a'ate-/ → [na'ate] (*[nana'ate-])
 2sg hit R11 'hit you' R10

/n/-Insertion applies irregularly to a few other forms. For example:

/ya ± oname-/ → [yanoname-]
 1sg hungry R10 'I'm hungry'

Compare with,

/na ± osou-/ → [nosou-] (*[nonosou-])
 2sg push R11 'push you' R10

2.4.2.1.2.2.2. R11: /a/-Deletion

$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [+LOW] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} \pm V$$

This rule deletes final /a/ in the 1sg and 2sg pronominal prefixes when they are added to V-initial roots. However, it does not apply consistently. Irregularity may be due in part to the relative rarity of transitive verb and inalienable noun roots with initial

V; no such roots have been attested with initial /i/ or /ei/.

In the data available, R11 applies consistently to roots with initial /e/, and it applies to some, but not all, roots with initial /o/. It does not apply to roots with initial /u/:

/ya ± epi + ti/ → [yepiti]
 lsg get CONJ R11 'get me and ...'

/na ± esei/ → [nesei]
 2sg bone R11 'your (sg) bone'

/ya ± osou-/ → [yosou-]
 lsg push R11 'push me'

But,

/ya ± otamo/ → [yaotamo]
 lsg knee 'my knee'

/na ± ute / → [naute]
 2sg nose 'your nose'

R11 also applies to roots with initial VV, thus avoiding V+VV clusters:

/ya ± ou- / → [you-]
 lsg pierce R11 'shoot me'

2.4.2.2. Other Rules Affecting Vowels

In this section, non-coalescence rules which affect vowels are presented. These rules are of 4 types, Assimilation rules, Reduction/Deletion rules, Rounding rules and Raising rules. Like the vowel coalescence rules, most of these other rules affect the mid-front vowel /e/.

2.4.2.2.1. Assimilation Rules

Four rules of V-assimilation are presented below. The first, /e/-assimilation over /ʔ/, is discussed in 2.4.2.1.1.8.1 (R8) and repeated here. The remaining 3 rules apply in environments in which pronominal prefixes are added to transitive verb and inalienable noun roots.

2.4.2.2.1.1. R8: /e/-Assimilation over /ʔ/

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{HI} \\ +\text{FR} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \rightarrow \left[+\text{LOW} \right] / \text{---} + \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{LOW} \\ -\text{LAB} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left[+\text{LOW} \right] \end{array}$$

For example:

/wate + ʔai/ → wata + ʔai (→ [wataʔi])
house ADESS R8 R9

'to/at the house'

/momune + ʔate + a + ʔa/ → momune + ʔat + a + ʔa
sit AVOL 3sg IND R1

→ [momunaʔataʔa]
R8

'It would be bad if he sat'

2.4.2.2.1.2. R12: Backwards Assimilation of /e/ over /ʔ/

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [-\text{HI}] \\ [+FR] \end{array} \rightarrow [+LOW] / \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+LOW] \end{array} \pm \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ [+LOW] \\ [-LAB] \end{array} \text{---}$$

By R12, initial /e/ of transitive verb and inalienable noun stems assimilates to the low vowel of a preceding pronominal prefix (either /ya-/ 1sg or /na-/ 2sg) over /ʔ/. For example:

/ya ± ʔeʔete/ → [yaʔaʔete]
 1sg jaw R12
 'my jaw'

/na ± ʔefei + ti/ → [naʔafeiti]
 2sg take CONJ R12
 'take you (sg) and ...'

/ya + ʔemasi/ → [yaʔamasi]
 1sg back R12
 'your back'

2.4.2.2.1.3. R13: Backwards Assimilation of /o/ over /ʔ/

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [-\text{HI}] \\ [-FR] \end{array} \rightarrow [+LOW] / \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+LOW] \end{array} \pm \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ [+LOW] \\ [-LAB] \end{array} \text{---}$$

For example:

/ya ± ʔofe-/ → [yaʔafe-]
 1sg feel R13
 'I feel (Impersonal stem)'

/na ± ʔofami-/ → [naʔafami-]
 2sg follow R13
 'follow you (sg)'

Note that R12 and R13 cannot be collapsed as a single rule. Thus, while the environments and effects of the rules are the same, R12 applies generally while R13 appears to be lexically conditioned, since it does not affect all roots. Thus, compare the two examples above with the following:

/ya ± ?one- / → [ya?one-] (→ *[ya?ane-])
 1sg have enough R13

V.Impers. 'I have enough'

/na ± ?osineimo/ → [na?osineimo] (→ *[na?asineimo])
 2sg navel R13

N.Inalien. 'your (sg) navel'

2.4.2.2.1.4. R14: /e/-Assimilation in Prefixes

$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-HI] \\ [+FR] \end{matrix} \rightarrow V_a / \left[\frac{\quad}{Pfx} \right] C V_a$$

By this rule, the vowel /e/ in the plural forms of pronominal prefixes assimilates to a following root-initial non-low vowel after deletion of final /n/ (R23, 2.4.3.1.1):

/sen ± sipi/ → se ± sipi → [sisipi]
 1pl intestine R23 R14

N.Inalien. 'our intestines'

/ten ± ute/ → [tunute]
 2pl nose R14

N.Inalien. 'your (pl) noses'

/nen + tu- / → ne + tu- → [nutu-]
 3pl give R23 R14

V.Tr. 'give (it) to them'

/sen + otamo/ → [sonotamo]
 1pl knee R14

N.Inalien. 'our knees'

/ten + potiyafo/ → ten-e + potiyafo → [tonopotiyafo]
 2pl hand R24 R14

N.Inalien. 'your (pl) hands/arms'

R14 applies vacuously to prefixes followed by roots with the initial vowel /e/, and does not apply when the root-initial vowel is /a/:

/nen + neme/ - ne + neme → [neneme]
 3pl head R23 (R14)

N.Inalien. 'their heads'

/sen + ma'a/ → [sema'a]
 1pl tooth R23

N.Inalien. 'our teeth'

2.4.2.2.2. Reduction/Deletion Rules

2.4.2.2.2.1. R9: Deletion over /?/

This rule, presented above in 2.4.2.1.1.8.2, is repeated here:

$$V_a \rightarrow \emptyset / V_a + \begin{matrix} C \\ [-LOW] \\ [+LAB] \end{matrix} \text{ — } V$$

For example:

$$\begin{matrix} /?ite + ?ai / \rightarrow ?ita + ?ai \rightarrow [?ita?i] \\ \text{garden ADESS} \qquad \qquad \qquad R8 \qquad \qquad \qquad R9 \end{matrix}$$

'to/in the garden'

$$\begin{matrix} /?ita + ?ai + ?a/ \rightarrow [?ita?i?a] \\ \text{laugh 3plFut IND} \qquad \qquad \qquad R9 \end{matrix}$$

'They will laugh'

$$\begin{matrix} /te + ?ai + ?a/ \rightarrow ta + ?ai + ?a \rightarrow [ta?i?a] \\ \text{get 3plFut IND} \qquad \qquad \qquad R8 \qquad \qquad \qquad R9 \end{matrix}$$

'They will get (it)'

2.4.2.2.2.2. R15: Unstressed Vowel Reduction

Stress in Tauya is by and large predictable: primary stress falls on the final syllable in a word, with secondary stress on preceding alternate syllables (cf. 2.5.2.). A single unstressed vowel is optionally reduced to [ə] if it is in a non-initial syllable (i.e., preceded and followed by stressed syllables):

$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-STRESS] \end{matrix} \rightarrow [ə] / \begin{matrix} V \\ [+STRESS] \end{matrix} C \text{ — } C \begin{matrix} V \\ [+STRESS] \end{matrix} \text{ (OPT.)}$$

/ʔunuta/ → [ʔunətá]
mat R15

N. 'mat'

/fenəʔa/ → [fènəʔá]
woman R15

N. 'woman'

/ya + potiyafo/ → [yàpətìyəfó]
lsg hand R15

'my hand'

/momune + pa/ → [momùnəpá]
sit SS R15

'(He) sat and (he) ...'

Note, however, that vowels in initial syllables are not reduced:

/nono/ → [nonó] (→ *[nənó])
child R15

/kiyorifa/ → [kiyòrəfá] (→ *[kəyòrəfá])
cassowary R15

N. 'cassowary'

2.4.2.2.2.3. R16: [ə]-Deletion

This rule follows R15 in a feeding order:

$$[ə] \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{array}{c} C \\ [+NAS \\ \alpha POINT \end{array} \text{ — } \begin{array}{c} C \\ [-CONT \\ \alpha POINT \end{array} \text{ (OPT.)}$$

R16 deletes [ə] when it is preceded by a nasal consonant and followed by a homorganic stop:

/ʔunuta/ → ʔunəta → ʔunta (→ [ʔunda])
mat R15 R16 Other rules

N. 'mat'

/ʔini + ene + te/ → ʔini-y + ene + te → ʔini-y + enə + te
 sleep 1/2pl DS R7 R15

→ ʔini-y + en + te (→ [ʔiniyende])
 R16 Other rules

'We slept, and the other ...'

/te + e + mo + pe ʔai + pa/ → t + e + mo + pe ʔai + pa
 get 1/2 NOM BEN do SS R1

→ t + e + m + pe ʔai + pa → t + e + m + pe ʔai + pa
 R15 R16

(→ [tembe ʔaipa])
 Other rules

'(he) was about to get (it) and (he) ...'

2.4.2.2.2.4. R17: High Vowel Deletion

$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [+HI] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / V _ \# C$$

This rule applies fairly sporadically and only in environments where roots are compounded, i.e., over the boundary #. It results in the deletion of the final high vowel in a vowel cluster. For example:

/fitau # fitau-/ → [fitafitau-]
 throw R17

V.Tr. 'throw (REDUP)'

/ʔorai # ʔorai-/ → [ʔoraʔorai-]
 not want R17

V.Impers. 'not want (REDUP)'

/ʔou # topi-/ → [ʔotopi-]
 bite cut R17

V.Tr. 'bite off'

However, this rule does not apply consistently:

/ʔou + pirire-/ → [ʔoupirire-] (- * [ʔopirire-])
 bite tear R17

V.Tr. 'tear off in teeth'

In some cases, R17 applies irregularly, i.e., over a boundary other than #. In these cases, the resulting forms appear to have been lexicalized. Thus, for example, R17 is conditioned by the Stative auxiliary in only one compound:

/yau + mene-/ → [yamene-]
 see STAT R17

V.Tr. 'watch'

R17 also applies irregularly in two idiomatic phrases, both of which involve the verb root /ʔai-/ V.Tr. 'do'.

/ʔe ʔai + pa me ʔai + pa/ → ʔe ʔa + pa me ʔa + pa
 DEM do SS DEM do SS R17

(→ [ʔi ʔapa mu ʔapa])
 Other rules

'do that and this'

Note that /-pa/, the Same-Subject coordinate medial verb suffix, does not condition R17 elsewhere. Thus, it does not delete the final V of the root /ʔai-/ in its non-idiomatic uses:

/ʔai + pa/ → [ʔaipa] (- * [ʔapa])
 do SS R17

'do (it) and ...'

The second idiomatic phrase in which R17 applies involves nominalized verb roots:

/ʔe ʔai + mo me ʔai + mo/ → ʔe ʔa + mo me ʔa + mo
 DEM do NOM DEM do NOM R17

(→ [ʔi ʔamo mu ʔamo])

Other rules

'that kind and this kind'

The application of R17 in this environment is unexpected, since nominalized verbs are generally inflected with the 1/2sg aorist desinence. Thus, the expected underlying form of this idiomatic phrase is:

/ʔe ʔai + e + mo me ʔai + e + mo/
 DEM do 1/2 NOM DEM do 1/2 NOM ,

which would become, by regular rules of vowel coalescence,

[ʔi ʔaemo mu ʔaemo]
 R3

'that kind and this kind'

In fact, in one attested example of this phrase, the conjuncts are reversed, and the anticipated surface forms do occur:

[mu ʔaemo ʔi ʔaemo]

'this kind and that kind'

2.4.2.2.3. Rounding Rules

These rules all affect the mid-front vowel /e/. The first two, R18 and R19, are generally applicable, while the third, R20, is lexically constrained, affecting only verb stems of two derivational classes, a deictic, and an interrogative pronoun.

2.4.2.2.3.1. R18: General Rounding

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{HI} \\ -\text{LOW} \\ -\text{RND} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{RND} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\text{LAB} \end{bmatrix} \text{ — } \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\text{LAB} \end{bmatrix}$$

This rule rounds the mid-front vowel when it is preceded and followed by labial consonants. For example:

/fofe + pa/ → fofo + pa (→ [fofupa])
 come SS R18 Sporadic dissimilation

'(He) came and (he) ...'

/yau + we + pa/ → [yauwopa]
 see CON SS R18

'(He) tried to see (it) and (he) ...'

/tefe + pope + a + 'a/ → tefo + pope + a + 'a → [tefopopa'a]
 put HAB 3sg IND R18 R1

'He always put (it)'

R18 must be ordered before R1, Pre-Vocalic /e/-Deletion:

/tefe + e + mo + pe 'ai + pa/ → NA → [tefembe 'aipa]
 put 1/2 NOM BEN do SS R18 R1, R15, R16

'(He) was about to put it and (he) ...'

If the order is reversed, incorrect derivations result:

/tefe + e + mo + pe ?ai + pa/ → tef + e + mo + pe ?ai + pa
 put 1/2 NOM BEN do SS R1
 → tef + o + mo + pe ?ai + pa → * [tefombe ?aipa]
 R18 R15, R16

2.4.2.2.3.2. R19: Rounding in Prefixes

Generally, the vowel /e/ in plural forms of pronominal prefixes assimilates to a following stem-initial non-low vowel by R14 (2.4.2.2.1.4). If the stem-initial vowel is low, the prefix vowel remains unchanged:

/sen + pare/ → [separe]
 1pl neck R23

N.Inalien. 'our necks'

However, if a stem-initial low vowel is preceded by /w/, /^w/ or /[?]/, the vowel /e/ of the pronominal prefixes is rounded by the following rule:

R19:
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-HI] \\ [+FR] \end{matrix} \rightarrow [+RND] / \left[\begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ Pfx \end{matrix} \right] \left\{ \begin{matrix} w \\ ?^w \\ ? \end{matrix} \right\} \begin{matrix} V \\ [+LOW] \end{matrix}$$

For example:

/sen + wanimo/ → se + wanimo → [sowanimo]
 1pl name R23 R19

N.Inalien. 'our names'

/ten + ^waifo/ → te + ^waifo → to + ^waifo (→ [to^waifo])
 2pl chest R23 R19 Other rules

N.Inalien. 'your (pl) chests'

/nen + ?ate-/ → ne + ?ate- → [no[?]ate-]
 3pl hit R23 R19

V.Tr. 'hit them'

2.4.2.2.3.3. R20: Lexically Conditioned Rounding

R20 is lexically conditioned. It applies only to verb roots which include one of two derivational suffixes, /-me/ or /-fe/; to one deictic, /me/ 'this (one)'; and to one interrogative pronoun, /mafe/ 'which (one)'.

$$\text{R20: } \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-HI} \\ \text{-LOW} \\ \text{-RND} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \rightarrow \left[\text{+RND} \right] / \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \left[\text{+LAB} \right] \end{array} \text{ ______ } \#\#$$

That is, final /e/ is rounded when it is preceded by a labial consonant. For example:

/me/ → mo (→ [mu])
 DEM R20 Other rules
 'this (one)'

/mafe/ → [mafo]
 which R20
 'which (one)'

R20 also applies to de-verbal nouns derived from verb roots which include the derivational suffixes /-me/ or /-fe/:

/-sepame-/ V.Impers. 'be sick'
 → [sepamo] N. 'sickness'

/amufe-/ V.Intr. 'be large, big'
 → [amufo] N. 'large (one)'

/satume-/ V.Intr. 'be strong'
 → [satumo] N. 'strength'

In this case, however, the suffixes have been lexicalized as /-mo/ and /-fo/ for NPs; thus, for example, rounding applies even if the environment for R20 is not met. The final vowel is round when followed by non-null suffixes:

/amufo + sa/ → [amufosa]
 big LOC
 'close, near'

/amufo + pe/ → [amufope]
 BEN
 'for the big (one)'

R20 is lexically conditioned. For example, while it does apply to the interrogative pronoun /mafe/ 'which (one)', it does not apply to the interrogative pronoun /wame/ 'what':

/wame/ → [wame] (→ *[wamo])
 what R20
 'what?'

It does, however, apply to the de-verbal noun derived from the verb root /wame-/ V.Intr. 'grow':

/wame-/
 grow
 → [wamo] N. 'grown (one)'

2.4.2.2.4. Raising Rules

There are two raising rules in Tauya; like the rounding rules discussed in the previous section, raising rules apply to the mid-front vowel /e/.

2.4.2.2.4.1. R21: Pre-Auxiliary Raising

R21 applies to final /e/ of verb roots which are followed by one of 5 verbal auxiliaries:

$$R21: \begin{array}{c} V \\ [-HI] \\ [+FR] \end{array} \rightarrow [+HI] / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ V \end{array} \right] + \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Stative /-mene-/} \\ \text{Tran/Perf /-fe-/} \\ \text{Perf/Inten /-ti-/} \\ \text{Conative /-we-/} \\ \text{Progressive /-?afe-/} \end{array} \right\}$$

For example:

/ese + mene-/ → [esimene-]
hear STAT R21

V.Tr. 'know'

/te + fe-/ → [tife-]
get PERF R21

V.Tr. 'get (it)' PERF.

/yate + ti-/ → [yatiti-]
go PERF R21

V.Intr. 'go' PERF.

/te + we-/ → [tiwe-]
get CON R21

V.Tr. 'try to get (it)'

/mene + ?afe-/ → [mini?afe-]
stay PROG R21

V.Intr. 'be staying'

R21 is not conditioned by all verbal auxiliaries. For example, it is not conditioned by the Habitual auxiliary /-pope-/, nor by the Avolitional auxiliary /-ʔate-/:

/te + pope-/ → [tepope-] (→ *[tipope-])
 get HAB R21

V.Tr. 'always get'

/yate + ʔate + a + ʔa/ → [yataʔataʔa] (→ *[yatiʔataʔa])
 go AVOL 3sg IND R1, R8 R1, R21

'It would be bad if he went'

There is one class of verb roots which include final /e/ but which fail to undergo R21. These are verb roots which include a derivational suffix, /-ne/ (this suffix is not productive synchronically). For example:

/momu#ne + we-/ → [momunewe-] (- *[momuniwe-])
 sit CON R21

V.Intr. 'try to sit'

/mere#ne + mene-/ → [merenemene-] (→ *[merenimene-])
 shine STAT R21

V.Intr. 'shine'

/ʔuti#ne + ʔafe-/ → [ʔutineʔafe-] (→ *[ʔutiniʔafe-])
 fall PROG R21

V.Intr. 'be falling'

2.4.2.2.4.2. R22: Lexically Conditioned Raising

Like the lexically conditioned rounding rule, R20, R22 applies finally to certain roots with final /e/. It applies to those verb roots with final /e/ when this vowel is not part of the derivational suffix /-ne/ (cf. 2.4.2.2.4.1); to the deictics; and to the personal pronouns which have final /e/.

$$\text{R22: } \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [-\text{HI}] \\ [+FR] \end{array} \rightarrow [+HI] / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Pro} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right] \#\#$$

For example:

/yate fei ± fe-/ → [yati feife-]
 go 3sg TR R22

'make him go'

/te ya ± fe-/ → [ti yafe-]
 get 1sg TR R22

'get (it) for me'

/fofe fofe fofe .../ → [fofi fofi fofi ...]
 come come come R22

'(He) came and came and came and (he) ...'

With the exception of forms for 3sg, the independent forms of the personal pronouns are identical to the prefixed forms (cf. 2.4.2.1.2.2). The independent pronouns are as follows:

	Sg	Pl
1	ya	sen
2	na	ten
3	ne	nen

R22 affects final /e/ in the 3sg pronoun, and the vowel /e/ in the plural forms after deletion of final /n/ (cf.) when they are in the Nominative case, with case suffix \emptyset :

/ne ± \emptyset / → [ni]
3sg NOM R22

'he/she' NOM.

/sen ± \emptyset / → se → [si] 'we' NOM.
1pl NOM

/ten ± \emptyset / → te → [ti] 'you (pl)' NOM.
2pl

/nen ± \emptyset / → ne → [ni] 'they' NOM.
3pl

/n/-Deletion R22

However, R22 has been lexicalized to some extent in the personal pronouns. Thus, it may apply when the environment for the rule is not met, i.e., when the pronouns are followed by non-null suffixes. Thus, compare forms with the Restrictive suffix /-nasi/, where R22 does not apply, with forms marked for the Benefactive case with /-pe/, where R22 applies irregularly:

/ne ± nasi/ → NA → [nenasi] 'he/she alone'
3sg RESTR

/sen ± nasi/ → se ± nasi → [senasi] 'we alone'
1pl

/ten ± nasi/ → te ± nasi → [tenasi] 'you (pl) alone'
2pl

/nen ± nasi/ → ne ± nasi → [nenasi] 'they alone'
3pl

/n/-Deletion

/ne ± pe/ 3sg BEN	→	NA	→	[nipe]	'for him/her'
/sen ± pe/ 1pl BEN	→	se ± pe	→	[sipe]	'for us'
/ten ± pe/ 2pl BEN	→	te ± pe	→	[tipe]	'for you (pl)'
/nen ± pe/ 3pl BEN	→	ne ± pe	→	[nipe]	'for them'
		/n/-Deletion		R22	

R22 also affects the deictics:

/ʔe/	→	[ʔi]
DEM		R22
'that (one)'		

In the case of the proximal deictic /me/, R22 applies to raise the final vowel after R20 has applied to round it:

/me/	→	mo	→	[mu]
DEM		R20		R22
'this (one)'				

Note, however, that like R21, R22 does not affect /e/-stem verb roots which are derived with the suffix /-ne/:

/ʔuti#ne ya ± fe-/	→	[ʔutine yafe-]	(→ * [ʔutini yafe-])
fall 1sg TR			R22
V.Tr. 'drop me'			

2.4.3. Rules Involving Consonants

There are two major categories of rules which involve consonants in Tauya. The first are functional rules, aimed at preserving (C)V(V) syllable structure, and apply in environments where consonant clusters arise over morpheme boundaries. The second are neutralization rules.

2.4.3.1. Consonant Cluster Simplification

Due to the general absence of consonants at syllable coda, there are few situations in Tauya in which consonant clusters arise over morpheme boundaries. The only exceptions are the plural forms of personal pronouns, both independent and prefixed forms, all of which are /n/-final. The pronouns are as follows:

	Sg	Pl
1	ya	sen
2	na	ten
3	{ ne Indep. } { ∅ Prefix }	nen

When the plural forms are followed by C-initial case suffixes, transitive verb roots or inalienable noun roots, consonant clusters result which are subsequently eliminated by one of two rules: either final /n/ of the pronominal forms is deleted, or an epenthetic vowel is inserted between prefix and stem.

2.4.3.1.1. R23: /n/-Deletion

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} C \\ +NAS \\ +COR \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \#\# \end{array} \right\}$$

That is, final /n/ of the plural forms of personal pronouns is deleted before a consonant or a word boundary (or the phonologically null Nominative case suffix):

$$\begin{array}{l} /sen \pm \emptyset / \rightarrow se \rightarrow [si] \\ 1pl \text{ NOM} \quad R23 \quad R22 \\ \text{'we' NOM.} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} /ten \pm pe/ \rightarrow tepe \rightarrow [tipe] \\ 2pl \text{ BEN} \quad R23 \quad R22 \quad \text{'for you (pl)'} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} /nen \pm tu-/ \rightarrow ne \pm tu- \rightarrow [nutu-] \\ 3pl \text{ give} \quad R23 \quad R14 \\ \text{'give (it) to them'}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} /sen \pm su^?utu-/ \rightarrow se \pm su^?utu- \rightarrow [susu^?utu-] \\ 1pl \text{ ask} \quad R23 \quad R14 \\ \text{'ask us'}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} /ten \pm pare/ \rightarrow [tepare] \\ 2pl \text{ neck} \quad R23 \\ \text{'their necks'}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} /nen \pm sipi / \rightarrow ne \pm sipi \rightarrow [nisipi] \\ 3pl \text{ intestine} \quad R23 \quad R14 \\ \text{'their intestines'}$$

When the plural pronouns are added to V-initial transitive verb or inalienable noun roots, final /n/ is retained (there are no V-initial NP suffixes in Tauya):

/nen + osou-/ → NA → [nonosou-]
 3pl push R23 R14

V.Tr. 'push them'

/ten + ute/ → NA → [tunute]
 2pl nose R23 R14

N.Inalien. 'your (pl) noses'

/nen + otamo/ → NA → [nonotamo]
 3pl knee R23 R14

N.Inalien. 'their knees'

Two minor rules, strengthening of /r/ and /y/-deletion, must be ordered before R23 (cf

2.4.3.1.2. R24: Epenthetic Vowel Insertion

Rather than deleting final /n/ of the pronominal forms when they are followed by C-initial suffixes or roots, consonant clusters can be eliminated by inserting an epenthetic vowel between the pronoun and the following suffix or root. As yet, no principled method has been found to predict which rule will apply. Although the environment for the V-insertion rule is more restricted than that for /n/-deletion, the rule inserting an epenthetic vowel does not always apply when its environment is met.

R24: $\emptyset \rightarrow [e] / C \text{ ____ } + \begin{matrix} C \\ +LAB \\ -COR \\ -LOW \end{matrix}$

That is, an epenthetic vowel is inserted between final /n/ of the prefixes and a following labial consonant, /m/, /p/ or /w/ (but excluding /f/ and /ʔ^w/). After V-insertion, vowel quality in the prefixes is determined by R14, /e/-Assimilation, or R19, Rounding in Prefixes.

/sen + mu[?]are/ → sen-e + mu[?]are → [sunumu[?]are]
 1pl forehead R24 R14

N.Inalien. 'our foreheads'

/ten + potiyafo/ → ten-e + potiyafo → [tonopotiyafo]
 2pl hand R24 R14

N.Inalien. 'your (pl) hands/arms'

/nen + wase-/ → nen-e + wase- → [nonowase-]
 3pl watch R24 R19

V.Tr. 'watch them'

In the following form, a sporadic nasal assimilation rule precedes

R24:

/sen + momo/ → sen + nomo → sen-e + nomo → [sononomo]
 1pl body Nasal Assim. R24 R14

N.Inalien. 'our bodies'

R24 does not apply when the initial labial consonant is /f/ or /ʔ^w/:

/ten + fateifo/ → [tefateifo] (→ * [tenefateifo])
 2pl shin R23 R24

N.Inalien. 'your (pl) shins'

/nen ± ^ʔaifo/ → ne ± ^ʔaifo → no ± ^ʔaifo (→ [no^ʔaifo])
 3pl chest R23 R19 Other rules
 (→ *[nono^ʔaifo])
 R24, R19

N.Inalien. 'their chests'

However, R24 does not always apply when its environment is met. For example:

/sen ± ma^ʔa/ → [sema^ʔa] (→ *[senema^ʔa])
 1pl tooth R23 R24

N.Inalien. 'our teeth'

/ten ± pare/ → [tepare] (→ *[tenepare])
 2pl neck R23 R24

N.Inalien. 'your (pl) necks'

Compare the following two examples: preceding the Benefactive case suffix /-pe/, R23 applies, whereas preceding the Genitive suffix /-pi/, R24 applies:

/sen ± pe/ → se ± pe → [sipe] 'for us'
 1pl BEN

/ten ± pe/ → te ± pe → [tipe] 'for you (pl)'
 2pl

/nen ± pe/ → ne ± pe → [nipe] 'for them'
 3pl R23 R22

/sen ± pi/ → sen-e ± pi → [sinipi] 'our'
 1pl GEN

/ten ± pi/ → ten-e ± pi → [tinipi] 'your (pl)'
 2pl

/nen ± pi/ → nen-e ± pi → [ninipi] 'their'
 3pl R24 R14

Generally, the choice between R23 and R24 is lexically conditioned. However, in the case of at least one inalienable noun root, either rule may apply:

$$\begin{array}{l} /nen \pm potiyafo/ \\ \text{3pl. hand} \end{array} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ne \pm potiyafo \\ \text{R23} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [nopotiyafo] \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} nen-e \pm potiyafo \\ \text{R24} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [nonopotiyafo] \\ \text{R14}$$

N.Inalien. 'their hands/arms'

2.4.3.2. Neutralization Rules

Two neutralization rules occur in Tauya: neutralization of /r/ and /t/, and neutralization of velars and glottals.

2.4.3.2.1. Neutralization of /r/ and /t/

Only a tiny handful of morphemes with initial /r/ have been attested in Tauya; among them are /-ra/, Topic suffix; the (possibly cognate) Dubitative suffix /-rafo/; /roroti-/ V.Intr. 'be exhausted'; etc. Allomorphy in the Topic suffix suggests that there is a rule neutralizing /r/ to /t/ in morpheme-initial position.

The Topic suffix occurs everywhere in Tauya as /-ra/ except after the non-1sg personal pronouns and the deictic /me/ 'this (one)'. In these cases, the allomorph [-ta] occurs:

		Topic Pronouns	
		Sg	Pl
1	y <u>ara</u>	se <u>ta</u>	
2	na <u>ta</u>	te <u>ta</u>	
3	ne <u>ta</u>	ne <u>ta</u>	
'this (one)'		me <u>ta</u>	
'that (one)'		ʔe <u>ra</u>	

The allomorphy of the Topic suffix in the plural forms of personal pronouns, as well as the general absence of /r/ in initial position, can be explained by the following rule:

$$R25: \begin{array}{c} C \\ [+VOI] \\ [+CONT] \\ [+COR] \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} [-VOI] \\ [-CONT] \end{array} / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \pm \text{---} \\ \# \text{---} \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule applies after the plural forms of personal pronouns, all of which are /n/-final in underlying form:

$$\begin{array}{l} /sen \pm ra/ \rightarrow sen \pm ta \rightarrow [seta] \quad \text{'we' TOP.} \\ \quad \quad \quad 1pl \quad \text{TOP} \\ /ten \pm ra/ \rightarrow ten \pm ta \rightarrow [teta] \quad \text{'you (p1)' TOP.} \\ \quad \quad \quad 2pl \\ /nen \pm ra/ \rightarrow nen \pm ta \rightarrow [neta] \quad \text{'they' TOP.} \\ \quad \quad \quad 3pl \qquad \qquad \qquad R25 \qquad \qquad \qquad R23 \end{array}$$

Note that R25 must precede R23 in a counter-bleeding order.

R25, however, does not explain the allomorphy of the Topic suffix in the case of the 2sg and 3sg personal pronouns and the deictic /me/, none of which are C-final. It is possible to construct a rule to accommodate these forms, i.e.,

$$R25': \begin{array}{c} C \\ [+VOI] \\ [+CONT] \\ [+COR] \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} [-VOI] \\ [-CONT] \end{array} / \# \begin{array}{c} C \\ [+NAS] \end{array} V \pm \text{---}$$

For example,

$$\begin{array}{l} /na \pm ra/ \rightarrow [nata] \\ \quad \quad \quad 2sg \quad \text{TOP} \qquad \quad R25' \\ \text{'you (sg)' TOP.} \end{array}$$

However, this rule is not well motivated and it appears to be preferable to regard the topic forms of the 2sg and 3sg personal pronouns and the deictic /me/ as irregular.

2.4.3.2.2. R26: Neutralization of Velars and Glottals

With only a very few attested exceptions, the velar stops /k/ and /k^w/ are restricted in their distribution to word-initial position. Exceptions include:

/yauke/ N. 'dugong'

/sau eko/ N. kind of axe

/makarafa/ N. pers. name

Due to this word-initial restriction, /k/ and /k^w/ are not included in any verb or noun roots which take pronominal prefixes, i.e., transitive verb and inalienable noun roots, nor in any suffixes, i.e., case suffixes, verbal auxiliaries, etc. In word initial position, /k/ is relatively common, while /k^w/ is rare. Examples include:

/k/: /kotune-/ V.Intr. 'crash, pound' (eg., flooded river)

/kau-/ V.Intr. 'howl'

/kiroroi/ N. 'bead'

/kusi/ N. 'pawpaw'

/kiyorifa/ N. 'cassowary'

- /k^w/: /k^waima-/ V.Intr. 'shake hands'
 /k^we-/ V.Imperative 'try'
 /k^werenari-/ V.Intr. 'rise' (of sun)
 /k^wanesa[?]ama/ N.'small (one)'

However, roots with initial /k/ and /k^w/ can undergo reduplication, in which case velar stops are retained:

- /kotu#kotu+ne-/ V.Intr. 'crash, pound'
 /k^wa#k^wa+ne-/ V.Intr. 'be young, small'

There is some synchronic evidence for an alternation between velar and glottal stops, both labialized and non-labialized. This suggests that non-initial /k/ and /k^w/ are perhaps neutralized to [ʔ] and [ʔ^w]. Forms for which alternation has been attested include:

- [makarafa] ~ [ma[?]arafa] N. pers. name
 [kaifa] ~ [ʔaifa] N. 'cockatoo'
 [kausi] ~ [ʔausi] N. place name
 [k^wak^wane-] ~ [ʔ^wa[?]wane-] V.Intr. 'be young, small'

Neither [ʔ] nor [ʔ^w] is restricted to word-initial position; [ʔ] occurs freely initially and medially, while [ʔ^w] is restricted to morpheme-initial position, i.e., it can occur medially in a word:

- [ʔ]: [ʔamo/ N. 'bamboo'
 [ʔati-/ V.Intr. 'say'

- /?/: /ʔite/ N. 'garden'
 /oʔo/ N. 'fire, firewood'
 /-aʔe/ N.Inalien. 'eye'
- /ʔ^w/: /ʔ^watiʔ^watine-/ V.Intr. 'be crooked'
 /-ʔ^waʔase-/ V.Aux. 'nearly, almost'
 /-ʔ^wanene(mo)/ N.Inalien. 'shadow'

The existence of a very few minimal pairs (cf. 2.1.2) suggests that both /k/ and /ʔ/ must be assigned phonemic status; although no minimal pairs have been found for /ʔ^w/ and /k^w/, this may be due to the rarity of these segments. The extreme rarity of velar stops in non-initial position and evidence for an alternation between velar and glottal stops suggests the following neutralization rule:

$$R26: \begin{array}{c} C \\ [-VOI] \\ [+HI] \end{array} \rightarrow [+LOW] / V _$$

2.4.3.3. Other Rules Involving Consonants

4 rules which do not involve consonant cluster simplification or neutralization are proposed in this section.

2.4.3.3.1. R27: Prenasalization

A prenasalization rule is necessary to account for the prenasalization of voiced stops in non-initial position in a few borrowed words (cf. 2.1.1):

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} C \\ [+NAS \\ \alpha POINT \end{array} / (C)V(V) \text{ --- } \begin{array}{c} C \\ [-CONT \\ +VOI \\ \alpha POINT \end{array}$$

For example:

/feregariya/ → [ferɛŋgariya]
R27

N. 'mother-of-pearl'

/abo/ → [ambo]
R27

N. 'namesake'

Note that voiced stops are not prenasalized in initial position:

/boriye/ → [boriye] (→ * [mboriye])

N. pers. name

2.4.3.3.2. R28: /y/-Deletion

$$\begin{array}{c} [-CON \\ -VOC \\ -LAB \end{array} \rightarrow \emptyset / C _$$

This rule applies to transitive verb and inalienable noun roots which follow the plural forms of pronominal prefixes (no /y/-initial case suffixes have been attested):

/sen ± yau-/ → sen ± au- → NA → [senau-]
 1pl see R28 R23

V.Tr. 'see us'

/ten ± yai / → ten ± ai- → NA → [tenai]
 2pl footprint R23

N.Inalien. 'your (pl) footprints'

Note that R28 must be ordered after R23 in a counter-bleeding order. The reverse order is not possible:

/sen ± yau-/ → se ± yau- → NA → *[seyau-]
 1pl see R23 R28

R28 must be ordered after R10 (2.4.2.1.2.2.1), which inserts /n/ after the 1sg and 2sg pronominal prefixes before certain roots:

/ya ± yau-/ → ya-n ± yau- → [yanau-]
 1sg see R10 R28

V.Tr. 'see me'

/na ± yai/ → na-n ± yai → [nanai]
 2sg footprint R10 R28

N.Inalien. 'your (sg) footprint'

2.4.3.3.3. R29: Delabialization

$$\begin{bmatrix} C \\ +LOW \\ +LAB \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-LAB] / C \pm _$$

This rule is required to allow delabialization of /ʔ^w/ when it occurs initially in a transitive verb or inalienable noun root.

preceded by plural pronominal prefixes. For example:

/sen + ^waifo/ → sen + ^waifo → se + ^waifo
 1pl chest R29 R23
 → [so^waifo]
 R19

N.Inalien. 'our chests'

/ten + ^wanene(mo)/ → ten + ^wanene(mo) → te + ^wanene(mo)
 2pl shadow R29 R23
 → [to^wanene(mo)]
 R19

N.Inalien. 'your (pl) shadows'

2.4.3.3.4. R30: Voicing

$$\begin{bmatrix} C \\ -VOI \\ -CONT \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+VOI] / \begin{bmatrix} C \\ +NAS \end{bmatrix} \text{ —}$$

This rule follows R16, which deletes [ə] between a nasal and a homorganic stop. For example:

/^wunuta/ → ^wunəta → ^wunta → [^wunda]
 mat R15 R16 R30

N. 'mat'

/te + ene + te/ → te + nə + te → te + n + te
 get 1/2pl DS R1, R15 R16
 → [tende]
 R30

'We got (it), and the other ...'

/ni + e + mo + pe ^wai + pa/ → ni-y + e + m + pe ^wai + pa
 eat 1/2 NOM BEN do SS R7, R15, R16

→ [niyembe ^waipa]

'(He) ate and (he) ...'

2.5. Supra-Segmentals

Of all the aspects of the Tauya language discussed in this thesis, supra-segmentals are without doubt the least understood. Therefore, the following discussions of boundaries and stress are brief and tentative; more research is required.

2.5.1. Boundaries

Four boundaries are posited: the morpheme boundary +; the prefix boundary +; the word boundary #; and the phrase boundary ##. Most of the rules discussed in 2.4 apply over + and +; a few apply over #; no rules have been attested which apply over ##.

2.5.1.1. The Morpheme Boundary +

The boundary + is that which occurs between a stem and its suffixes, and between suffixes. Since Tauya is primarily a suffixing language, + is the most common boundary within a word. Many of the rules proposed in 2.4 apply over this boundary, perhaps the most important being the vowel coalescence rules (R1 to R7) which affect verb roots and following personal desinences. Rules which apply over the morpheme boundary tend to be very regular, and exceptions to them are systematic.

Examples of the morpheme boundary include:

/momune + 'afe + a # 'a/ → [momuna'afa'a]
 sit PROG 3sg IND R1, R8

'He was sitting'

/'ini + mene + pope + e # 'a/ → [?'inimenepope'a]
 sleep STAT HAB 1/2 IND R1

'I lived'

/'e fanu + ni/ → [?'i fanuni]
 DEM man ERG R22

'that man' ERG.

etc.

As an exception to the observation that the boundary + is that which occurs between suffixes, an alternate boundary must be proposed preceding the modal suffixes. Thus, the Indicative/Unmarked modal suffix, /-'a/, does not condition R8, /e/- Assimilation over /'/: (cf. 2.4.2.1.1.8.1):

/yate + e + 'a/ → [yate'a] (→ *[yata'a])
 go 1/2 IND R1 R8

'I went'

/yate + ane + 'a/ → yatane'a (→ *[yatana'a])
 go 2plFut IND R1 R8

'You (pl) will go'

Compare the two examples above with the following, in which Avolitional /-'ate-/ conditions R8:

/yate + 'ate + a # 'a/ → [yata'ata'a]
 go AVOL 3sg IND R1, R8

'It would be bad if he went'

The boundary preceding the modal suffixes cannot be the prefix boundary †, since Indicative/Unmarked /-'a/ does not condition

R19 (Rounding in Prefixes):

/ese + e # ?a/ → [ese?a] (→ *[eso?a])
 hear 1/2 IND R1 R19
 'I heard (it)'

Compare with:

/sen + ?ate-/ → se + ?ate- → [so?ate-]
 1pl hit R23 R19
 V.Tr. 'hit us'

Therefore, the boundary preceding modal suffixes must be stronger than either + or +; it is tentatively proposed here as #, i.e.,

/yate + e # ?a/ → [yate?a]
 go 1/2 IND R1
 'I went'

/yate + a # nae/ → [yatanae]
 go 3sg Q R1
 'Did he go?'

/yate + a # e / → [yatae]
 go 2sgFut IMP R1
 'Go!' (Imperative sg.)

2.5.1.2. The Prefix Boundary +

'Prefix Boundary' is perhaps a misnomer; + is in fact the boundary which follows the personal pronouns, whether they occur as prefixes on transitive verb roots to indicate object or inalienable noun roots to indicate possessor, or as independent forms inflected with suffixes. For example:

/ya ± tu-/ → [yatu-]
 lsg give

V.Tr. 'give me'

/ya ± neme/ → [yaneme]
 lsg head

N.Inalien. 'my head'

/ya ± ni/ → [yani]
 lsg ERG

'I' ERG.

A number of rules have been proposed in 2.4 which apply over ±, and most of them are very irregular: R10 (/n/-Insertion); R11 (/a/-Deletion); R14 (/e/-Assimilation); R19 (Rounding in Prefixes); R23 (/n/-Deletion) and R24 (V-Insertion). The high degree of irregularity in the application of these rules can perhaps be attributed to two factors: first, as stated above, Tauya is primarily a suffixing language, so the mere existence of pronominal prefixes is somewhat anomalous; second, the plural forms of personal pronouns are the only C-final morphemes attested in Tauya.

It should be noted that there is some evidence that the boundary following prefixed forms of the personal pronouns is somewhat stronger than that following the independent forms of these pronouns. Recall that the vowel /e/ in the prefixed forms is subject to an assimilation rule (R14, 2.4.2.2.1.4); for example:

/sen ± tu-/ → se ± tu- → [sutu-]
 1pl give R23 R14

V.Tr. 'give (it) to us'

By this assimilation rule, the vowel in the plural forms of pronominal prefixes is realized variously as [e], [i], [u], and [o].

However, in the independent forms of these pronouns, i.e., when they occur with various NP suffixes, the vowel /e/ in the pronouns is realized only as [e] or [i]. For example:

/sen ± ra/ → sen ± ta → [seta]
 1pl TOP R25 R23

'we' TOP.

/sen ± pi/ → sen-e ± pi → [sinipi]
 1pl GEN R24 R14

'our' GEN.

This restriction in vowel quality can be attributed to the fact that there are no suffixes which are added to the personal pronouns which are /(C)u/ or /(C)o/-initial. However, recall that /e/ in the independent forms of the personal pronouns may be subject irregularly to R22, Lexically Conditioned Raising (cf. 2.4.2.2.4.2); for example:

/sen ± pe/ → se ± pe → [sipe]
 1pl BEN R23 R22

'for us' BEN.

There are two ways of explaining this irregularity. First, it could be proposed that the independent forms are subject to the same rules that affect prefixed forms of the pronouns, i.e.,

R14, R23 and R24, and that forms like [sipe] are simply irregular. Alternatively, it could be proposed that the boundary between independent pronouns and their suffixes is somewhat stronger than that between prefixed pronouns and the following stem, such that the lexically conditioned raising rule, otherwise conditioned by #, is also conditioned by the boundary between independent pronouns and their suffixes. In this analysis, forms in which the /e/ in the pronouns is retained in surface structure ([seta] 'we' TOP.; [senasi] 'we' RESTR; etc.) are irregular.

2.5.1.3. The Boundaries # and

The boundary # is that which occur between words, while ## is that which occurs between phrases (NP, VP). A few rules apply over # (eg., R17, High Vowel Deletion), while none are attested which apply over ##.

The boundary # occurs between roots in compounds; it is also tentatively proposed above (2.5.1.1.) as that which precedes the modal suffixes. This boundary can be defined on the basis of the distribution of the velar stops /k/ and /k^w/, both of which are restricted to word-initial position (cf. 2.4.3.2.2).

2.5.2. Stress

Stress in Tauya is by and large predictable: primary stress falls on the final syllable in a word, with secondary stress on preceding alternate syllables. The initial syllable in a word is never without stress; if a word is polysyllabic, the initial syllable always has secondary stress. This may result in adjacent stressed syllables. For example:

/ʔe/ [ʔé] DEM. 'that (one)'

/nono/ [nònó] N. 'child'

/fenaʔa/ [fènaʔá] N. 'woman'

/ʔ^weiteimo/ [ʔ^weìteimó] N. 'story'

/∅ + potiyafo/ [pòtìyafó] N. Inalien. 'his/her hands/arms'

The rule of stress assignment may result in secondary stress placement on an epenthetic vowel (inserted via R24):

/sen + potiyafo/ → sen-e + potiyafo → sonopotiyafo
 1pl hand R24 R14

[sònòpotìyafó]

N. Inalien. 'our hands/arms'

Unstressed vowels may be reduced to [ə] (R15) and subsequently deleted (R16):

/fenaʔa/ [fènəʔá]
 woman R15

N. 'woman'

/ʔunuta/ → ʔùnətá → ʔùntá → ʔùndá
 mat R15 R16 R30

N. 'mat'

There are, however, a few morphemes in Tauya for which stress assignment is unpredictable. Among them,

/péne/ [pénè] N. 'star'

/séne/ [sénè] N. 'stone'

The personal desinences, which occur as suffixes on the verb to indicate the person/number of the subject and tense, have primary stress on their first syllables. Stress assignment in the word is adjusted accordingly, i.e., secondary stress on preceding and following alternate syllables:

/yate + é + ?a/ → yate?a [yàté?a]
 go 1/2 IND R1

/yate + ámu + ?a/ → yatamu?a [yàtámu?à]
 go 1sgFut IND R1

/ni + éne + te/ → ni-y + ene + te → [nìyéndè]
 R7 R15, R16, R30

'We ate, and the other ...'

/ni + ane + tefe/ → ni-y + ane + tefe → [nìyándefè]
 eat 2plFut DS R7 R15, R16, R30

'You (pl) ate and the other ...'

Chapter 3

MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Words in Tauya belong to one of 4 classes: noun, verb, adjective or adverbial particle. The latter 2 classes are fairly easily defined: adjectives are those constituents which always accompany and modify a noun; adverbial particles take no inflection and serve as sentential modifiers. Definitions of 'noun' and 'verb', however, are considerably more elusive.

The simplest definitions are perhaps morphological: a noun is any constituent marked for case or as topic, while a verb is any constituent marked for tense. Although these definitions generally hold, they are not without exception. This is not only because there are processes of nominalization which create nominals which include tense marking; major problems for these definitions are presented by 'medial verb' constructions, i.e., non-final verb forms which are not fully inflected, but which share certain inflectional categories with a following, final verb. According to the definitions proposed above, coordinate medial verbs must be defined as nouns, since they are not marked for tense, and

since they can be marked for case or as topic. However, if so defined, they must constitute a special class of 'defective nouns'; that is, unlike other non-derived and derived nominals, they can only occur with two case suffixes, Ergative or Benefactive. All other nouns can occur with the full array of case suffixes.

Therefore, any definitions of 'noun' and 'verb' in Tauya is somewhat arbitrary. For the purposes of this thesis, a noun is defined as any constituent marked for case or as topic, while a verb is any constituent which is marked for tense, or which is interpreted as sharing the tense of the following (final) verb. Despite their limited potential for nominal inflection, coordinate medial verbs will tentatively be defined as verbs.

3.2. The Noun Phrase

3.2.1. Introduction

The order of constituents in a Tauya noun phrase is as follows:

(Deictic)	(Qualifier)	(Possessor)	STEM
(Qualifier)	(Quantifier)	(Possessor)	
(Collective)	(Case)	(Comitative)	({ Topic Citation Dubitative })

Six of these constituents, Collective, Case, Comitative, Topic, Citation and Dubitative, are realized as suffixes on the noun. Other constituents are generally realized as noun stems which are capable of standing alone with nominal function; exceptions to this are relative clauses, which constitute one class of pre-nominal qualifiers, and the preposed possessors.

3.2.2. The Noun Stem

Noun stems in Tauya can be divided into 3 derivational classes and 3 semantic classes. The derivational classes include simple roots, derived roots, and compound roots. Semantic classes include human nouns, common nouns, and inherent locatives.

3.2.2.1. Derivational Classes

3.2.2.1.1. Simple Roots

The vast majority of noun stems consist of single, non-derived roots, i.e., with no internal structure. Included among these are:

awa	'father'	amo	'tree'
fenaʔa	'woman'	ʔite	'garden'
nono	'child'	ʔaufu	'betel nut'
pai	'pig'	yute	'tobacco'

A number of noun roots have been borrowed from New Guinea Pidgin. In some cases, there is a corresponding Tauya form; in others, there is not. These roots undergo little phonological modification; sounds and sequences of sounds not found in Tauya are accepted unchanged. For example, [l] does not occur in Tauya, nor do final consonants or medial [k]; however, the Pidgin form [səkul] 'school' is not modified. Similarly, consonant clusters are not found in Tauya, but are found in borrowed words like the place name [braman] 'Brahman (Mission)'. The only phonological modification made fairly consistently is due to the restriction that only vowels may occur at

syllable coda in Tauya. Borrowed C-final forms generally, but not always, have final [i] added:

piki ~ pik	'pig' < Pid. <u>pik</u>
raisi ~ rais	'rice' < Pid. <u>rais</u>
misini ~ misin	'mission' < Pid. <u>misin</u>

A few other noun roots, due to their aberrant phonological forms, appear to be borrowed from neighbouring Papuan languages. Examples include [ferengariya] 'mother-of-pearland [mom] 'stool, bench'.

3.2.2.1.2. Derived Stems

There are no productive processes of lexical derivation of noun stems in Tauya. However, there is evidence that such derivation may have been productive historically. Three suffixes occur with considerable frequency: two of these, /-mo/ and /-fo/, have similar distributions but are semantically opaque. They are discussed together below. The last, /-sa/, derives locative stems.

3.2.2.1.2.2. /-mo/ and /-fo/

A number of noun stems include final /-mo/ or /-fo/. Although such stems are extremely common, the origin of these suffixes has not been determined. It

is clear that they are, in fact, suffixes. That is, in certain environments, final /-mo/ and /-fo/ can be omitted. First, there are some cases where the suffixes are omitted sporadically, with no resulting effect on meaning:

ʔafumo ~ ʔafu 'shoot for planting'
 towaifo ~ towai 'fruit, seed'

In other cases, omission of the suffixes clearly affects meaning, although the meanings of the suffixed and non-suffixed forms are related:

ʔaufo 'large branch'
 ʔau main support pole in house
 ʔitafo 'son' (3sg possessor)
 ʔita 'son' (non-3sg possessor)

Second, the suffixes are omitted in reduplication.

For example,

nutumo 'charred end' (eg., yute nutumo 'cigarette butt')
 tapuwa nutunutumo 'charred end of pandanus nut'

Finally, the suffixes may be omitted when the stem is followed by the Collective suffix, /-ʔa/:

waiyamo 'wife' (3sg possessor)
 waiyaʔa 'all his wives'
 mopamo younger sibling, same sex
 mopaʔa younger sibling, same sex, collective

Although the origins and functions of these suffixes are obscure, some general distributional patterns have emerged:

(a) Both /-mo/ and /-fo/ occur frequently on nouns which refer to body parts. In Tauya, body part stems constitute the class of inalienable nouns.

/-mo/:	-sipinimo	'tongue'
	-otamo	'knee'
	-ʔosineimo	'navel'
/-fo/:	-tufafo	'thigh'
	-tufo	'nape'
	-potiyafo	'hand/arm'

(b) Inalienable nouns referring to body parts are marked for possession by prefixed forms of the personal pronouns. However, there is considerable irregularity when the possessor is 3rd person singular. In some cases, a suppletive root is used to indicate a 3sg possessor, and some of these suppletive roots include the derivational suffix /-fo/:

parufo	'his/her neck'	(vs. -pare	other possessors)
mopufo	'his/her body'	(vs. -momo	")
aʔifo	'his/her eye'	(vs. -aʔe	")
ʔ ^w aʔifo	'his/her ear'	(vs. -oʔaʔe	")

(c) There is a class of kinship terms which may be used only for 3sg possessors; when the possessor is other than 3sg, another root is employed. All of the 3sg kinship terms include final /-mo/ or /-fo/:

/-mo/:	aniyamo	'mother'	(3sg)	(vs. <u>?afe</u>	other possessors)
	omamo	'father'	"	(vs. <u>awa</u>	")
	pisimo	'in-law'	"	(vs. <u>?ipisi</u>	")
/-fo/:	?itafo	'son'	(3sg)	(vs. <u>?ita</u>	other possessors)
	afo	'husband'	"	(vs. <u>fanu</u>	")
	otafo	'husband'	"	(vs. <u>ota</u>	")

(fanu and ota, terms employed for 'husband' for non-3sg possessors, mean 'man' and 'male', respectively).

(d) A number of terms referring to parts of plants have final /-mo/ or /-fo/:

/-mo/:	?afumo	'shoot for planting'
	eg. sawi ?afumo	'banana shoot'
/-fo/:	?orufo	'flesh (of plant)'
	eg. moma ?orufo	'taro flesh'

(e) A number of noun stems which typically function as qualifiers have final /-mo/ or /-fo/:

/-mo/:	/wamo/	'big, grown (one)'
	/te?emo/	'flat (one)'
/-fo/:	/amufo/	'large (one)'
	/fomafo/	'short (one)'

(f) Some, but not all, stems with final /-mo/
have corresponding intransitive verb forms:

yenimo 'sun' ; yenime- V.Intr. 'be sunny'
satumo 'strength'; satume- V.Intr. 'be strong'
wamo 'grown (one)' ; wame- V.Intr. 'grow'

The distributional patterns described above reveal little of the origins of /-mo/ and /-fo/. The only generalization that can be made is that nouns derived with these suffixes commonly have an attributive function and are used, for example, as qualifiers and to express part-whole relations. However, it is impossible to speculate on what, if any, distinctions there are between the two suffixes.

It should be noted that these suffixes are quite possible derived from underlying /-me/ and /-fe/, with the final vowels being subject to a rounding rule.

3.2.2.1.2.2. /-sa/

The suffix /-sa/ derives a few locative stems in Tauya, both temporal and geographic. However, this process is not productive, and stems so derived must be entered in the lexicon. In some cases, /-sa/ is added to an intransitive verb root to create corresponding locative stems:

- ʔ^wei- V.Intr. 'be night'
 ʔ^weisa N.Loc. 'night'
 ʔoʔai- V.Intr. 'be afternoon'
 ʔoʔaisa N.Loc. 'afternoon'

Temporal nouns denoting days may be derived with /-sa/:

- awisa N.Loc. 'day after tomorrow' (awi 'two')
 enisa N.Loc. '3 days hence' (eni 'three')
 tapaʔisa N.Loc. '4 days hence' (tapaʔi unidentified)
 afasuʔusa N.Loc. '5 days hence' (afasuʔu unidentified)

Many locative nouns denoting geographical location include final /-sa/. In these cases, corresponding roots without /-sa/ do not occur:

- ʔawasa N.Loc. 'beach, coast'
 tetisa N.Loc. 'highlands'
 ʔinafosa N.Loc. 'Goroka'

/sa/ also occurs as an Adessive/Allative case suffix and as a noun stem denoting the general environment.

As well as the lexical derivation processes discussed here, noun stems in Tauya may be syntactically derived. Unlike lexical derivation, syntactic derivation of nouns is fully productive. These processes are discussed in Chapter 4.

3.2.2.1.3..Compound Roots

Compounding of noun roots is a common process in Tauya. In many cases, the meaning of the compound is readily apparent from the meaning of the roots involved. For example:

yene	nisi	
bird	egg	'bird egg'
yene	wimo	
	hair	'feather'
siya	ya [?] e	
salt	water	'ocean'
ya [?] e	[?] amo	
	bamboo	'bamboo water tube'
sa	nutumo	
road	charred end	'end of the road'

Some compounds, however, must be entered as such in the lexicon, since the meaning of the compound cannot be determined by the roots involved. Examples include:

ʔipai	omamo		
arrow	father		'policeman'
ʔipai	aniyamo		
arrow	mother		'bow'
wate	napomo		
house	wing		'overhang of roof'
yene	wawi		
bird	old man		'sacred flute'
yene	amo		
	tree	large tapa cloth ornament	
sene	towai		
stone	seed		'money'
ʔ ^w ete	towaifo		
limbum palm	seed		'rice'

Deictics, qualifiers, quantifiers and postposed possessors are all capable of functioning independently as noun roots. Therefore, constructions which include one of these elements modifying a head noun have the internal structure of nominal compounds (see below).

3.2.2.2. Semantic Classes

Noun stems in Tauya can be divided into 3 semantic classes. The semantic class to which a stem belongs determines in part the case suffixes with which it may occur. The 3 semantic classes are:

- 1) Human (a) Pronominal
 (b) Non-Pronominal
- 2) Common (a) Inalienable
 (b) Alienable
- 3) Locative (a) Pronominal (Deictic)
 (b) Non-Pronominal

3.2.2.2.1. Human Nouns

3.2.2.2.1.1. Pronominal

The personal pronouns in Tauya are used only to indicate human referents. Three persons and two numbers are distinguished:

	SG	PL
1	ya	sen
2	na	ten
3	ne	nen

The Tauya personal pronouns thus correspond closely

to Set III of the pronoun sets posited by Wurm (1975).

A comparison of the pronominal forms in Tauya, Biyom (Z'graggen 1980), Faita (Z'graggen 1980), Waskia (Ross and Paol 1978), Siroi (Wells 1979) and possibly Usan (Reesink 1983), suggests it may be possible to reconstruct a historic plural morpheme,

*n(V):

Biyom			Faita			
	SG	PL		SG	PL	
1	ya	<u>sina</u>	1	ya	a- <u>nu</u>	
2	na	si	2	na	na- <u>nu</u>	
3	ni	ni	3	nu	nu- <u>nu</u>	
Waskia			Siroi			
	SG	PL		SG	DL	PL
1	ane	<u>anena</u>	1	ye	sile	<u>sine</u>
2	ni	<u>nina</u>	2	ne	tale	<u>tane</u>
3	nu	<u>nuna</u>	3	nu	nale	<u>nane</u>
Usan						
		SG		PL		
	1	ye		<u>in(i)</u>		
	2	ne		<u>an(i)</u>		
	3	wo		wuri		

Some of the Tauya personal desinences, which occur as suffixes on the verb complex to indicate subject, also show evidence of this plural morpheme.

The Tauya personal pronouns can be used independently, with case suffixes, or as prefixes on transitive verb and inalienable noun stems to indicate object and possessor, respectively. The forms of the pronouns are subject to a rather complex set of phonological rules, which affect both the vowels (via raising or assimilation to a following vowel), and the final consonants.

Following are some examples of the personal pronouns used independently:

si - Ø ?ini - ene - ?a
1pl NOM sleep 1/2pl IND 'We slept'

ya - ni yau - e - ?a
1sg ERG see 1/2 IND 'I saw (it)'

awa nini - pi mei fofe - a - ?a
father 3pl GEN here come 3sg IND
'Their father came here'

tini - pe ?ufiya fei - e - ?a
2pl BEN sweet potato boil 1/2 IND
'I cooked sweet potato for you (pl)'

As object prefixes:

ni - ni na - nau - i - ?a
3pl ERG 2sg see 3pl IND

'They saw you'

tu - tu - e - ?a
2pl give 1/2 IND 'I gave (it) to you (pl)'

non - ou - pa non - ou - pa
3pl shoot SS 3pl shoot SS

'He shot them and shot them then he ...'

ni - ni ya - ?osai - i - te ...
3pl ERG 1sg chase 3pl DS

'They chased me and the other ...'

As possessor prefixes:

ya - neme
1sg head 'my head'

sono - potiyafo
1pl hand/arm 'our hands/arms'

tunu - mu?are
2pl forehead 'your (pl) foreheads'

na - momo
2sg body 'your (sg) body'

ne - pare
3pl neck 'their necks'

The 3rd person singular personal pronoun is irregular. The independent form is /ne/:

ni - Ø momune - a - ?a
3sg NOM sit 3sg IND 'He sat'

fanu ni - pi ?umu - a - ?a
man 3sg GEN die 3sg IND 'Her husband died'

ni - pe ya - ?isafe - a - ?a
 3sg BEN 1sg angry 3sg IND
 'I'm angry at him'

The prefixed form of the 3sg pronoun, used to indicate object and possessor, is \emptyset :

\emptyset - yau - ene - ?a
 3sg see 1/2pl IND 'We saw him'

\emptyset - a?ate - i - ?a
 3sg hit 3pl IND 'They hit him'

\emptyset - neme
 3sg head 'his/her head'

\emptyset - otamo
 3sg knee 'his/her knee'

For a few inalienable nouns, a suppletive root is used to indicate a 3sg possessor. In some cases, there is evidence of a derivational suffix /-fo/ on these suppletive forms (cf.); in other cases, the suppletive roots are apparently derived by metathesis:

parufo	'his/her neck'	(vs. <u>-pare</u> other possessors))
mopufo	'his/her body'	(vs. <u>-momo</u> "))
a?ifo	'his/her eye'	(vs. <u>-a?e</u> "))
? ^w a?ifo	'his/her ear'	(vs. <u>-o?a?e</u> "))
ma?asi	'his/her back'	(vs. <u>-?emasi</u> "))

Finally, to indicate a 3sg object on the transitivizing auxiliary /-fe/, the prefix /fei-/ is used:

sifi fei - fe - e - ?a
 dress 3sg TR 1/2 IND 'I dressed him'

ni - ni ti fei - fe - a - ?a
 3sg ERG get 3sg TR 3sg IND
 'He got (it) for him'

wate e?i fei - fe - i - ?a
 house make 3sg TR 3pl IND
 'They built a house for him'

3.2.2.2.1.2. Non-Pronominal

Non-pronominal nouns with human referents include personal names, kin terms, and a variety of other nouns.

3.2.2.2.1.2.1. Personal Names

The Tauya people are known by a single name, with a distinction made between names for males and females:

Male	Female
Ma?arafa	Pename
Nowe	Kereisiya
?o?ifa	Noi

With the coming of the Catholic Mission, a number of people have been baptized and given Catholic names. For those employed by the Mission and some other outside organizations (primarily young males), the Catholic names are commonly used. The preferred order for these individuals is Catholic-Native:

David Sesei

John Etrus

Michael ?upi

For others, Catholic names, if used at all, follow
the native names:

Aresa Michael

Towe Jacob

Pename Agnes

Yariyambe Lynn (Yariyambe is a Biyom name)

3.2.2.2.1.2.2. Kin Terms

Kin terms in Tauya belong to the class of
alienable nouns. Included among these are:

awa 'father'
?afe 'mother'
nono 'child'
potu 'co-wife'
mitifo 'first wife'
ambo 'namesake'
yu?a 'agemate'
ano 'younger sibling, same sex'
ai 'older sibling, same sex'
itene 'wife's family, daughter's husband'
?ipisi 'husband's family, son's wife'

The kin terms presented above may be possessed by all
persons. For example:

awa	ya - pi		
father	1sg GEN		'my father'
waʔa	nono ni - pi		
female	child 3sg GEN		'his daughter/sister'
ʔafe	nini - pi		
mother	3pl GEN		'their mother(s)'

However, there is a class of kin terms which may only be used when the possessor is 3sg; all of these terms include final /-mo/ or /-fo/:

aniyamo	'his/her mother'
omamo	'his/her father'
waiyamo	'his wife'
afo	'her husband'
otafo	'her husband'
mopamo	younger sibling, same sex
faimo	older sibling, same sex
ʔitafo	'his/her son'

Reesink (1983: 48) notes a similar phenomenon in Usan. In Usan, however, the suppletive kin terms are used for both 3sg and 3pl possessors; none of the Usan and Tauya forms appear to be cognate.

3.2.2.2.1.2. Other Nouns

A variety of other noun stems in Tauya have human referents. Included among these are:

fanu 'man'
fenaʔa 'woman'
wawi 'old man'
ate 'old woman'
wamasi 'widow'
tafune 'orphan'
eto 'pre-pubescent girl'

etc.

3.2.2.2.2. Common Nouns

3.2.2.2.2.1. Alienable

The vast majority of common nouns in Tauya are alienable. As a class, they are perhaps best defined negatively: they do not denote body parts.

Syntactically, alienable nouns are those which do not indicate possession by prefixed forms of the personal pronouns, but rather by independent noun roots in the Genitive case. The class of alienable common nouns includes:

wate	'house'	wawiya	'mango'
sema	'pot'	isai	'spear'
ʔ ^w itai	'wooden plate'	fai	'net bag'
sawi	'banana'	aʔena	'crocodile'
wemo	'leaf'	mamo	'dog'
sae	'drum'	manusu	'cat'

Body fluids, such as /inaomo/ 'blood' and /sari/ 'mucus', also belong to the class of alienable nouns.

Following are some examples of alienable nouns in possessive constructions:

wate	ya - pi	
house	1sg GEN	'my house'
pai	nini - pi	
pig	3pl GEN	'their pigs'

mu fenaʔa - na fai
 DEM woman GEN net bag 'this woman's net bag'

Aresa - na awa ni - pi
 GEN father 3sg GEN 'Aresa'a father'

3.2.2.2.2.2. Inalienable

The class of inalienable nouns in Tauya is restricted to body parts and a very few other terms (/ -yai/ 'footprint'; /wanimo/ 'name'; /-ʔ^wanenemo/ 'shadow'). Inalienable nouns include:

-neme	'head'	-potiyafo	'hand/arm'
-ute	'nose'	-ʔofamo	'leg'
-momo	'body'	-fateifo	'shin'
-semaʔe	'cheek'	-aʔe	'eye'

A number of inalienable nouns have suppletive forms used to indicate a 3sg possessor.

Syntactically, inalienable nouns are defined as those which are marked for possession by prefixed forms of the personal pronouns. Examples include:

na - tufafo
 2sg thigh 'your (sg) thigh'

son - oʔaʔe
 1pl ear 'our ears'

te - ʔepamo
 2pl shoulder 'your (pl) shoulders'

nun - ute
 3pl nose 'their noses'

3.2.2.2.3. Locative Nouns

3.2.2.2.3.1. Deictics

There are two basic definite deictics in Tauya, which denote near vs. distant referents:

/me/ proximal

/ʔe/ distal

Of these, /ʔe/ can perhaps be regarded as the unmarked form. That is, only /ʔe/ can refer to temporal, as well as geographic, dimension. /ʔe/ is also the proform used for clauses. Both /me/ and /ʔe/ can function as independent nouns, with inflection for case; both can also function as pre-nominal modifiers (demonstratives). They may also derive locative roots with the suffix /-i/. For more elaborate specification of position, particularly along the vertical dimension, the deictics may be modified by other locative forms.

Pronouns

As independent pronouns, the deictics may occur with virtually any case suffixes, or as topic. The particular set of locative case suffixes used identifies them as inherently locative nouns. The deictics can have either human or non-human reference. As is the case with the personal pronouns,

the vowels of the deictics are subject to somewhat irregular raising and rounding rules (cf.).

NOM. mu te - e - ?a
 this get 1/2 IND
 'I got this one' (mu < /me + ø/)

?i te - a - ?a
 that get 3sg IND
 'He got that one' (?i < /?e + ø/)

ERG. mu - ni te - a - ?a
 this ERG get 3sg IND
 'This one got (it)'

ADESS. me - sa fofe - a - ?a
 this ADESS come 3sg IND
 'He came here'

ABL. ?e - sami Brahmani yate - ene - ?a
 that ABL go 1/2pl IND
 'From there we went to Brahman'

TOP. me - ta nono ya - pi - ?a
 this TOP child 1sg GEN IND
 'This is my child'
 ?e - ra we - na nono - e
 that TOP who GEN child Q
 'Whose child is that?'

When constituents are left-dislocated in Tauya, case suffixes are left behind. They are added to the deictic /?e/, which functions as a clausal proform:

?i nono ?i - na aniyamo
DEM child PRO GEN mother

'that child, his mother'

fomitiya fanu fofe - a - na ?i - sou
yesterday man come 3sg COMP PRO COM

pofei - e - ?a
talk 1/2 IND

'The man (who) came yesterday, I talked with him'

?i fena?a ?ite saniya te - ?afe - a - na
DEM woman garden work get PROC 3sg COMP

?i - ni pai a?ate - pa ?umu - fe - a - ?a
PRO ERG pig hit SS die TR 3sg IND

'The woman doing garden work, she killed the pig'

Generally, the deictics refer only to geographic location. However, the form /?e+sami/, consisting of the distal deictic and the ablative case suffix, can also refer to time. Literally meaning 'from there', this form functions as a temporal subordinator, '... and then ...'. For example,

ori kofu ?ini - mene - a - te ?e - sami
skink sleep STAT 3sg DS then

"ee ma?e - ra pofa ?utine - ?e - ?a "
oh that TOP soon fall 3sgFut IND

'The kofu skink was asleep, then(he said)"Oh, that one will soon fall" ...'

mimi ni - pi yati wi - fe - a - te ?e - sami
mother 3sg GEN go show TR 3sg DS then

pofa - ?i " mafe - nami te - e - ne "
soon PRO where from get 1/2 Q

He went and showed it to his mother, then (she said)
"You got (that thing) from where?" ...

Demonstratives

Both /me/ and /ʔe/ can function as prenominal modifiers:

mu	fanu		
this	man	'this man'	(<u>mu</u> < /me/)
mu	sene		
	stone	'this stone'	
ʔi	wate		
that	house	'that house'	(<u>ʔi</u> < /ʔe/)
ʔi	nono	'that child'	
	child		

Derived Locatives

Both /me/ and /ʔe/ can derive locative roots with the addition of the locative-forming suffix, /-i/. These forms appear to be interchangeable with the deictics in the adessive case relation, although they are perhaps somewhat less specific.

mei	'here'	(< /me + i/)
ʔei	'there'	(< /ʔe + i/)

For example,

apu mei mene - i - ʔa
 now here stay 3pl IND
 'Now they are here'

pate ʔei yate - ʔai - ʔa
 tomorrow there go 3plFut IND
 'Tomorrow they'll go there'

Modified Deictics

The basic deictics /me/ and /ʔe/ can be modified by any one of a set of dependent locative roots. These roots are dependent because they cannot occur alone, but must occur with either a basic deictic or the locative case/derivational suffix /-sa/. There are 5 dependent roots, 4 of which refer to vertical dimension:

/afa-/	position above speaker
/pise-/	"
/ofe-/	position below speaker
/tofe-/	"
/ma-/	middle distal

Although there is undoubtedly a semantic distinction between /afa-/ and /pise-/, and between /ofe-/ and /tofe-/, attempts to determine this distinction to date have proved futile.ⁱⁿ

The dependent locative roots can combine with the locative suffix /-sa/, and its derivative, Ablative /-sami/, for example:

afasami	from position above speaker
tofesa	to position below speaker

The dependent deictics may also co-occur with the basic deictics in all their case forms, and as topic. For example:

	/pise-/		/ma-/	
	Prox.	Dist.	Prox.	Dist.
NOM.	pisemu	pisiʔi	mamu	maʔi
ERG.	pisemuni	pisiʔini	mamuni	maʔini
GEN.	pisemenami	piseʔenami	mamenami	maʔenami
ABL.	pisemesami	piseʔesami	mamesami	maʔesami
TOP.	pisemeta	piseʔera	mameta	maʔera

There is evidence of distal forms with /ʔe/ being unmarked. That is, in a few cases the distal forms in the Nominative case precede and modify the proximal forms. For example,

afameta 'this one above' TOP.

varies with,

afaʔi meta 'this one above' TOP

The meanings of these deictic forms are straightforward. The mid-distal locative /ma-/, when added to the basic deictics, appears to slightly modify the

positions specified by the latter, i.e., meta.

'this one' TOP.; mameta 'this one (fairly close)'
TOP.; etc.

The dependent deictics may also be added to
the locative roots derived from the basic deictic
forms with /-i/; for example:

ofe?ei 'up there'

ofumei 'up here'

Indefinite Deictic

There is a single indefinite deictic in Tauya, /ʔafa/; unlike the other deictics, it generally follows the head noun. It also follows any qualifiers present, but precedes other NF constituents:

fanu	ʔafa		'a man'
fai	ʔafa		'a net bag'
wate	amufo	ʔafa	
house	big		'a big house'
fanu	ʔafa	- ni	
man		ERG	'a man' ERG
lotu	ʔafa	- ʔai	
church		ADESS	'to/at a church'

However, /ʔafa/ may precede the head; this appears to be the preferred order when suffixes are present in the noun complex:

ʔafa	ʔone	- ʔai	
	time	ADESS	'at one time' (occasion)
ʔafa	nuʔu	- piya	
	time	INTEN	'a single time'

If the topic suffix, /-ra/, is added to the indefinite deictic, it indicates resumptive topic; for example:

mu	fanu	mei	mene	- ʔafe	- a	- na	ʔafa	- ra
DEM	man	here	stay	PROG	3sg	COMP	TOP	
	Tufuma	- sa	yate	- a	- ʔa			
		ADESS	go	3sg	IND			

'This man is staying here (but) the other went to Tuguma'

The numeral '1' is derived from the indefinite deictic followed by the emphatic suffix /-na/:

ʔafa - na one

(/-na/, the genitive suffix used with non-pronominal nouns, also occurs as an emphatic suffix on the personal pronouns. For example, ya-na 'I myself'; nana 'you yourself', etc.). The fact that /ʔafa/ participates in the derivation of a numeral suggests that it is perhaps best characterized as a quantifier, rather than a deictic; this also explains its postnominal position.

3.2.2.2.3.2. Non-Pronominal

A semantic class of inherently locative full nouns must be distinguished in order to account for the distribution of the Adessive/Allative case suffix. Nouns which are not inherently locative take the case suffix /-ʔai/, whereas inherent locatives take the suffix /-sa/:

wate - ʔai
house ADESS/ALL 'to/at the house' (Common)

otumo - sa
bush ADESS/ALL 'to at the bush/forest' (Locative)

The class of inherent locatives includes place names (Tauya, ʔausi, Tufuma, Bundi, Saidor, etc.) and a very few other nouns, some derived with final /-sa/ (otumo 'bush/forest'; ʔawasa 'coast'; tetisa 'highlands'; funema 'valley'; etc.).

3.2.2.2.3.3. Temporal Nouns

A number of temporal nouns can be regarded as inherently locative. Many of these nouns include the derivational suffix /-sa/, which also derives locative nouns denoting geographical location. Unlike non-locative nouns denoting time, these temporal nouns do not include case suffixes. For example:

ʔafa	ʔone - ʔai	
INDEF	time ADESS	'at one time'
apu		'now' N.Loc.

Temporal nouns include:

ʔaifu	'some time ago'
fomitiya	'yesterday'
apu	'now, today'
pate	'tomorrow'
awisa	'day after tomorrow'
enisa	'three days hence'
tapaʔisa	'four days hence'
afasuʔusa	'five days hence'
tefeʔesa	'dawn'
ʔ ^w eisinasa	'morning'
itasei	'noon'
ʔoʔaisa	'afternoon'

ʔ^weisa 'night'

ʔofiʔofisa 'midnight' (ʔofi 'middle')

Also included in this class are terms referring to the months of the year, the origins of which are obscure:

itasa	January	piru	July
warupu	February	serere	August
meʔere	March	ko	September
aiya	April	kuniyeri	October
siyo	May	arepu	November
pani	June	pupiya	December

It should be noted that many of these temporal nouns are not in general use, and some are completely unknown to younger speakers. The names of the months are attested in a single text. The temporal nouns which are in general use include terms for 'yesterday', 'today' and 'tomorrow', those which refer to the time of day, and two other terms, niʔisana 'long ago' and ʔ^wisa 'later'. The latter is frequently used as a temporal subordinator.

3.2.3. Qualifiers

Most qualifiers in Tauya follow the head noun. However, both relative clauses and gerundive nominalizations typically precede the head. Aside from relative clauses, the majority of qualifiers in Tauya are noun stems, capable of functioning as independent NPs with case suffixes. Qualifying constructions thus have the structure of nominal compounds. There is, however, a class of derived adjectives, which may not all function as NPs.

3.2.3.1. Post-Nominal Qualifiers

3.2.3.1.1. Nominal

Among the nominal stems which typically function as post-nominal qualifiers are:

orou	'long'	eg. sa orou	'long road'
itire	'old'	fai itire	'old net bag'
ifiri	'wild'	pai ifiri	'wild pig'
amo?o	'new'	wate amo?o	'new house'
?uniyane	'good'	?ufiya ?uniyane	'good food'
fo?otu	'round'	sene fo?otu	'round stone'

Many nouns which typically function as qualifiers are derived with final /-mo/ or /-fo/:

wamo	'big, grown'	eg. nono wamo	'grown child'
------	--------------	---------------	---------------

te?emo 'flat' eg. fai te?emo 'flat net bag'
 (i.e., in process of being knotted)
 fomafo 'short' sa fomafo 'short road'
 surifo 'newborn' me?eni surifo 'young coconut'
 po?orufo 'fat' fena?a po?orufo 'fat woman'

These qualifiers may function as modifiers or as independent NPs. For example:

fanu amufo - ra ni - a - ?a
 man big TOP eat 3sg IND

'The big man ate'

fanu - ra amufo ni - a - ?a
 man TOP big eat 3sg IND

'The man ate the big one'

ni - ni wate amo?o - pe ese - i - ?a
 3pl ERG house new BEN want 3pl IND

'They want a new house'

ni - ni amo?o - pe ese - i - ?a
 3pl ERG new BEN want 3pl IND

'They want a new one'

3.2.3.1.2. Derived Qualifiers

Qualifying constructions may be formed by the addition of the suffix /-?amu/, 'with, characterized by', to a NP. This process is fully productive:

pai ma?a - ?amu
 pig tooth with 'pig with tusks'

fanu fena?a awi - ?amu
 man woman 2 with 'man with two wives'

fena?a wate amufo - ?amu
 woman house big with 'woman with a big house'

fena[?]a ota - [?]amu fei - e - mo - pe - ra [?]ufiya-[?]ufiya
 woman male with become 1/2 NOM BEN TOP foodREDUP

yau - mene - pope - a - e
 see STAT HAB 2sgFut IMP

'If you want to be a married woman, you must learn to cook!'

wawi Ø - neme [?]uruna - [?]amu
 old man 3sg head hole with

'old man with a hole in his head'

There are 6 colour terms in Tauya. Two of these, /apou-/ 'white' and /pusitime-/ 'brown/black' are intransitive verbs. The remaining four are all derived with final /-[?]amu/. The NP to which this suffix is added may be the source from which a dye colour is obtained, as in the first example below, or the proto-typical representative of the colour, as in the second and third examples.

In one case, no independent meaning can be attributed to the NP:

[?]w^{ere}i - [?]amu
 root with 'yellow' ([?]w^{ere}i - root from which yellow dye is obtained)

inaomo - [?]amu
 blood with 'red'

amo wemo - [?]amu
 tree leaf with 'green'

umumu - [?]amu
 ? with 'blue'

Of the qualifiers derived with /-[?]amu/, only the colour terms have been lexicalized and can function as independent NPs. Other qualifiers derived with this suffix are used strictly as adjectives.

Thus,

inaomo - [?]amu yau - e - [?]a
 blood with see 1/2 IND

'I saw the red one'

But,

* wate awi - ʔamu yau - e - ʔa
 house 2 with see 1/2 IND
 (I saw the one with two houses)

Intensive Suffix

A single qualifying suffix has been attested, /-piya/, which may be added to nouns to indicate intensivity. It is most frequently found on nouns which themselves are functioning as qualifiers, and serves to intensify their adjectival force. However, the intensive suffix may also be added to other, non-qualifying, noun stems, and then implies 'real, genuine'.

fanu moʔotu - piya
 man many INTEN 'many/all men'

fafariʔe amufo - piya
 grave fence big INTEN 'large grave fence'

se - ta fanu - piya - ʔa
 1pl TOP man INTEN IND 'We're real men' (i.e.,
 not ghosts or spirits)

afe ya - pi - piya
 mother lsg GEN INTEN 'my real mother'

3.2.3.2. Prenominal Qualifiers

There are two kinds of qualifiers which typically precede the head noun, relative clauses and gerundive nominalizations. Additionally, some nouns in locative case relations may function as prenominal qualifiers; these are discussed in

3.2.3.2.1. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are formed by the following rule:

$$\left[\begin{array}{cccccc} X & NP_i & Y & V & D & + & MOOD \\ 1 & 2_i & 3 & 4 & 5 & & 6 \end{array} \right] NP_i \rightarrow \left[1 \ \emptyset \ 3 \ 4+5+na \right] 7$$

That is, the relative clause precedes the head; the NP coreferential with the head is deleted, and the modal suffix is replaced by the relative suffix /-na/; /-na/ is also the complementizer in Tauya (cf.). For example:

[?i fena?a mei fofe - a - ?a] fena?a
DEM woman here come 3sg IND woman

→ [∅ mei fofe - a - na] fena?a
here come 3sg REL woman

'the woman who came here'

Most NPs in simple sentences can be relativized:

NOM. [?umu - fe - a - na] pai
die TR 3sg REL pig

'the pig that he killed'

ERG. [nen - au - a - na] nono - ra
 3pl see 3sg REL child TOP
 'the child who saw them'

BEN. [ni - ni o - a - na] nono - ra
 3sg ERG say 3sg REL child TOP
 'the child who she called'

ADESS. [mene - i - na] wate - ra
 stay 3pl REL house TOP
 'the house they stayed at'

Relative clauses generally precede the head noun. However, in a few cases they follow the head. This postnominal position is possible only if the relative clause consists solely of a verb; it seems to be used primarily when the relative clause refers to an attribute of the head noun, and if other postnominal modifiers are present.

For example:

mamo pusitime - i - na awi ni - pi wate - ?usa
 dog brown 3pl REL 2 3sg GEN house INESS
 mene - i - ?a
 stay 3pl IND

'His two brown dogs are in the house'

uso nunume - a - na ni - pi wimo te - a - ?a
 laplap red 3sg REL 3pl GEN hair get 3sg IND

'He stole her red laplap'

Generally, it is difficult, if not impossible, to

determine if a postnominal /-na/ clause is a relative clause or a complement, since both have the same form and co-occurrence restrictions. For example, a sentence like:

fanu ʔumu - a - na sotou - fe - ene - ʔa
man die 3sg REL bury PERF 1/2pl IND
 COMP

could be translated with a complement clause ('The man died and we buried him') or with a postnominal relative clause ('We buried the man who died'). Similarly,

fai pusitime - a - na te - e - ʔa
net bag brown 3sg REL get 1/2 IND
 COMP

could be translated as 'I took the brown net bag', or as 'The net bag was brown and I took it'. There are, however, some means by which post-nominal relatives and complements can be distinguished. For example, if a post-nominal /-na/ clause is included in a series of postnominal modifiers, as in the examples presented on the preceding page, and the /-na/ clause is not final in the series, it must be identified as a relative clause. Similarly, the Topic suffix /-ra/ cannot be added to a NP node which is immediately dominated by another NP node; thus, if a noun followed by a post-nominal /-na/ clause is marked as topic, the /-na/ clause must be identified as a complement clause.

3.2.3.2.2. Gerundive Nominalizations

The suffix /-mo/ in Tauya creates gerundive nominalizations, which may function as pre-nominal qualifiers. Verb roots which are nominalized with this suffix must include the 1/2sg aorist desinence, /-e-/. For example:

meri?e tu?u - e - mo - ra wi ya - fe - a - ?a
 string twist 1/2 NOM TOP show lsg TR 3sg IND
 'She showed me how to twist string'

ne - ta semetei - e - mo no - ?ofe - a - ?a
 3pl TOP play 1/2 NOM 3pl feel 3sg IND
 'They like playing'

pai non - o?osai - e - mo - ra ?uniyane - piya - ?a
 pig 3pl chase 1/2 NOM TOP good INTEN IND
 'Chasing pigs is fun'

mamo - ?usa - ra yu?au - e - mo - pe eri yate - i - ?a
 dog pl TOP hide 1/2 NOM BEN fear go 3pl IND
 'The dogs went away in fear to hide'

Gerundive nominalizations derived with /-mo/ may function as qualifying NPs. Unlike most other qualifiers, but like relative clauses, gerunds typically precede the head noun:

?e - ra sini - ?imo ya?e ou - pope - e - mo
 DEM TOP 1pl hand water shoot HAB 1/2 NOM
 tope - ?a 'That's the place where we always
 place IND wash our hands'

?e - ra ni - e - mo watamu - ?a
 DEM TOP eat 1/2 NOM thing IND
 'That's something to eat'

momune - e - mo a?i
 sit 1/2 NOM platform
 'a platform to sit on' (= 'chair')

A number of nouns derived with final /-mo/
 also typically function as pre-nominal qualifiers.
 These nouns have corresponding intransitive or
 impersonal verb forms with final /-me/:

satumo fanu
 strong man 'strong man'
 (satume- V.Intr. 'be strong')

sepamo fena?a
 sick woman 'sick woman'
 (-sepame- V.Impers. 'be sick')

However, other nouns belonging to this derivational
 class generally follow the head noun. For example:

nono wamo
 child grown 'grown child'
 (wame- V.Intr. 'grow')

sawi nunumo
 banana ripe 'ripe banana'
 (nunume- V.Intr. 'be ripe, red')

In neither case is the ordering rigid. That is,

fanu satumo 'strong man'
 wamo nono 'grown child'

are also permitted, at least under elicitation.

However, gerundive nominalizations which are transparently derived from verbs, i.e., those forms which include the 1/2sg desinence, always precede the head noun.

The distinction between pre- and post-nominal position of qualifying nouns with final /-mo/ may simply result from unmotivated variability. However, there does appear to be a semantic distinction which may be involved. When /wamo/ and /nunumo/ function as independent nouns, they, like other post-nominal qualifiers, refer to the entity to which the quality is attributed. For example:

wamo - ra
grown TOP 'grown one'

nunumo - ra
ripe TOP 'ripe one'

However, when typically pre-nominal qualifiers with final /-mo/ function as independent NPs, they refer, not to the entity to which the quality is attributed, but to the quality itself:

sepamo - ra
sick TOP 'sickness' (*sick one)

satumo - ra
strong TOP 'strength' (*strong one)

That is, perhaps the pre-nominal qualifying NPs with /-mo/ highlight the state or quality itself, and thus they are seen as more 'verb-like', or their relation to the corresponding verb is more transparent semantically, and therefore they occupy the same position relative to the head as do the clearly de-verbal gerunds. However, there is at least one serious counter-example to this hypothesis; in the example below, a de-verbal gerund acting as an independent NP does not refer to the action, but to the place where the action occurs:

" we - ni sini - ?imo ya?e ou - pope - e - mo - ?ai -ra
 who ERG lpl hand water shoot HAB 1/2 NOM ADESS TC
 ferefari?i - fe - a - e " o - fe - pa ...
 cover up PERF 3sg Q say PERF SS

'Who covered up the place where we always wash our hands?', she said, and she ...

That is, in this case a clearly de-verbal gerund appears to be aligned with the typically post-nominal qualifiers with final /-mo/.

3.2.3.2.3. Relative Clauses vs. Gerundive Nominalizations

Since the formation of both relative clauses and gerundive nominalizations are productive processes in Tauya, pairs of constructions like the following are possible:

[sini - ʔimo	yaʔe	ou	-	pope	-	e	-	mo]	tope
1pl	hand	water	shoot	HAB	1/2	NOM			place
[sini - ʔimo	yaʔe	ou	-	pope	-	ene	-	na]	tope
			shoot	HAB	1/2pl	REL			

'the place where we always wash our hands'

In some cases, like this one, it is difficult to determine what semantic distinctions there are between the two constructions. In fact, research into such distinctions was not thoroughly pursued in the field, and the only pertinent information volunteered by a Tauya speaker is somewhat counter-intuitive, as is seen below. Therefore, although syntactic distinctions between the two constructions are fairly straightforward, more research on this subject is required.

Both relative clauses and gerundive nominalizations generally precede the modified noun. However, as demonstrated above, this order is not rigid, and both can occur in post-nominal position.

Further, both constructions can include a variety of verbal auxiliaries:

ni - pope - e - mo	watamu	
eat HAB 1/2 NOM	thing	'a thing to eat'
ni - pope - ene - na	watamu	
eat HAB 1/2pl REL		'a thing we always eat'
ni - ?afe - e - mo	watamu	
eat PROG 1/2 NOM	thing	'a thing being eaten'
ni - ?afe - ene - na	watamu	
eat PROG 1/2pl REL		'a thing we are eating'

Neither relative clauses nor gerundive nominalizations can include the Avolitional auxiliary, /-?ate-/, nor the Dubitative /-rafo-/:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{ ni - ?ate - e - mo} \\ * \text{ ni - ?ate - ene - na} \end{array} \right\}$	watamu	(a thing it would be bad to eat)
		(a thing it would be bad if we ate)
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{ ni - e - rafo - mo} \\ * \text{ ni - ene - rafo - na} \end{array} \right\}$	watamu	(a thing perhaps to eat)
		(a thing we may eat)

However, distinctions between the two constructions are somewhat more striking than their similarities. These distinctions involve inflection for person and, perhaps more significant, for tense. First, relative clauses may include any of the personal desinences; since in Tauya tense is marked by the personal desinences, relative clauses may thus be marked for tense:

[∅ - yau - a - na] fena?a - ra
3sg see 3sg REL woman TOP

'the woman that he saw'

[∅ - yau - ?e - na] fena?a - ra
3sg see 3sgFut REL woman TOP

'the woman he will see'

[nu - tu - e - na] fanu - ra
3pl give 1/2 REL man TOP

'the men I gave (it) to'

[nu - tu - amu - na] fanu - ra
3pl give 1sgFut REL man TOP

'the men I'll give (it) to'

Gerundive nominalizations, on the other hand, may include only the 1/2sg aorist desinence:

ni - e - mo sawi
eat 1/2 NOM banana 'a banana to eat'

But,

* ni - a - mo sawi
3sg

* ni - amu - mo sawi
1sgFut

Second, relative clauses may include specific reference to object:

[ya - tu - a - na] wate
1sg give 3sg REL house 'the house he gave me'

[nu - tu - a - na] wate
3pl 'the house he gave them'

In gerundive nominalizations, on the other hand, only the 3pl object prefix may be included:

nu - tu - e - mo watamu
 3pl give 1/2 NOM thing
 'something to give them'

But,

* ya - tu - e - mo watamu
 1sg
 * ∅ - tu - e - mo watamu
 3sg

The 1/2sg aorist desinence and the 3pl object prefix can perhaps be regarded as the unmarked forms; thus, gerundive nominalizations are unmarked for subject and object reference, and for tense. On the other hand, relative clauses are fully specified for subject, object and tense. This varying potential for various inflectional categories which are typical of verbal elements, and particularly for tense, suggests that relative clauses are more 'verb-like' than are gerundive nominalizations. Since verbs typically refer to processes, and nouns to states, one would perhaps anticipate that a major semantic distinction between gerunds and relative clauses is that the former refer to more permanent conditions than do the latter. In many of the examples presented above, this does, in fact, appear to be the

case. For example, in the gerund nutuwemo watamu 'something to give them', the potential to be given (giveability?) is a relatively permanent characteristic of the head noun. In contrast, in a construction like yatuwana watamu 'something he gave me', the action specified by the relative clause is interpreted as a single, isolated incident.

However, it is in respect to this distinction that a major problem in semantic analysis arises. That is, rather than ascribing permanent condition to a gerundive modifier and temporary condition to a relative clause, one informant volunteered the opposite judgements:

sepamo fanu
sick man 'sick man', i.e., sick once

sepame - a - na fanu
sick 3sg REL man 'sick man', i.e., always sick

(Note, however, that sepamo is not a clearly de-verbal gerund). Although intuitions of native speakers must be taken into account in any analysis, and most particularly in an analysis dealing with semantics, this judgement is sufficiently unexpected to warrant considerably more research into this area.

3.2.4. Quantifiers

The expression of quantity is more of a verbal than nominal category in Tauya. Personal pronouns are the only nominal forms that consistently and obligatorily distinguish singular and plural reference; the deictics never make such a distinction.

There are 2 suffixes which may occur on NPs to indicate plurality. The first is the Collective suffix, which has a somewhat limited distribution;

the second is the suffix /-ʔusa/:

fānu	-	ʔusa	
man	pl.		'men'
pai	-	ʔusa	
pig	pl		'pigs' , etc.

This suffix, however, is only rarely attested. The fact that it is homophonous with the Inessive case suffix is undoubtedly coincidental (but note similar English expressions like 'knee deep in work', 'up to my neck in papers', etc.).

There are a few post-nominal quantifiers which are themselves noun roots:

usu - a - na
 ? 3sg REL 5

wesa?a (fofi) te - a - na
 half come get 3sg RFL 6 (lit. 'come to the other hand')

wesa?a awi (fofi) te - a - na
 half 2 come get 3sg RFL 7

wesa?a eni (fofi) te - a - na
 half 3 come get 3sg RFL 8

wesa?a niyawiniyaw i (fofi) te - a - na
 half 4 come get 3sg RFL 9

awi-awi usu - a - na
 2 2 ? 3sg REL 10

The numerals from 5 to 10 are not in general use, and are known only by some older speakers. Any quantity above 10 is expressed as /mo?otu/ 'many'. The numerals are noun roots, and may occur as independent NP:

awi - pe ese - e - ?a
 2 BEN want 1/2 IND 'I want two'

Quantity is expressed most frequently in the verb complex. Nouns with human referents are interpreted as singular or plural by cross-reference with verbal affixes, i.e., object prefixes and personal desinences. Nouns with non-human referents are generally ambiguous between singular and plural reference:

fena?a - ni fanu Ø - yau - i - ?a
 woman ERG man 3sg see 3pl IND
 'The women saw the man'

fenaʔa - ni fanu nen - au - a - ʔa
 woman ERG man 3pl see 3sg IND

'The woman saw the men'

ya - ni wate yau - e - ʔa
 1sg ERG house see 1/2 IND

'I saw the house/houses'

wate - ra ʔei mene - a - ʔa
 house TOP there stay 3sg IND

'The house is there/The houses are there'

Two verbal auxiliaries have suppletive forms to indicate plural reference of both human and non-human nouns: the transitive auxiliary, /-fe-/, has the alternate form /-fu-/ to denote plural object reference; the stative auxiliary, /-mene-/, has the suppletive form /-minu-/ to denote plural subject reference. Additionally, there are a number of verb roots and auxiliaries which indicate number.

3.2.5. Case Suffixes

Nouns in Tauya are marked with suffixes for the Nominative, Ergative, Benefactive, Locative, Instrumental, Partitive, Genitive, Comitative and Vocative cases. With the exception of the Genitive and Comitative, both of which may occur with other case suffixes, these case suffixes are mutually exclusive.

Generally, no distinction is made between suffixes used with pronouns and those used with full nouns; however, such a distinction is made in the Genitive and Locative cases. There is some phonological irregularity in the surface case forms of the plural pronouns and the 3sg pronoun (cf.). For this reason, paradigms of the underlying and surface case forms of the personal pronouns are included in the following discussion.

3.2.5.1. Nominative

The Nominative is the unmarked case relation in Tauya, being realized by the phonologically null suffix \emptyset . Personal pronouns in the Nominative case have the following forms:

	SG		PL
1	/ya+∅/ → ya		/sen+∅/ → si
2	/na+∅/ → na		/ten+∅/ → ti
3	/ne+∅/ → ni		/nen+∅/ → ni

The Nominative is the case relation of intransitive subjects and transitive objects. However, transitive subjects may be in the Nominative case if the object is non-human. That is, in terms of Hopper and Thompson's characterization of transitivity (1980), subjects in clauses which are low on a scale of transitivity may be in the Nominative, as opposed to the Ergative, case:

?i fena?a - ∅ mei fofe - a - ?a
 DEM woman NOM here come 3sg IND

'That woman came here'

ya - ni pai - ∅ a?ate - pa ?umu - fe - e - ?a
 1sg ERG pig NOM hit SS die TR 1/2 IND

'I killed the pig'

?i fanu - ∅ sawi - ∅ ni - a - ?a
 DEM man NOM bananaNOM eat 3sg IND

'That man ate bananas'

Although the last example above, with both subject and object in the Nominative case, is grammatical, there is a preference for transitive subjects to be marked in clauses which include an overtly specified object. Thus, although the subject need

not be in the Ergative case, a preferred construction would have the subject marked as topic:

ʔi fanu - ra sawi - ∅ ni - a - ʔa
 DEM man TOP banana NOM eat 3sg IND
 'That man ate bananas'

3.2.5.2. Ergative

The Ergative case is marked with the suffix /ne/, phonetically [ni]. Personal pronouns in the Ergative case have the following forms:

	SG		PL
1	/ya+ne/ → yani	/sen+ne/ → sini	
2	/na+ne/ → nani	/ten+ne/ → tini	
3	/ne+nè/ → nini	/nen+ne/ → nini	

The Ergative is typically the case relation assigned to transitive subjects. In Tauya, transitive subjects in clauses with human objects are obligatorily Ergative; subjects in clauses with non-human objects may be in the Ergative or the Nominative case:

ʔi fenaʔa - {ni } fanu - ∅ ∅ - yau - a - ʔa
 DEM woman { *∅ } man NOM 3sg see 3sg IND
 'That woman saw the man'

ʔi fenaʔa - {ni} pai - ∅ yau - a - ʔa
 DEM woman {∅} pig NOM see 3sg IND

'That woman saw the pig'

Di-transitive verbs have pronominal prefixes marking a human indirect object; subjects of di-transitive clauses are obligatorily Ergative:

ya - {ni} ∅ - tu - e - ʔa
 lsg {*∅} 3sg give 1/2 IND

'I gave (it) to him'

fanu - {ni} eʔi ya - fe - a - ʔa
 man {*∅} make lsg TR 3sg IND

'The man made (it) for me'

For a discussion of a possible origin of the Ergative case suffix and its reanalysis as an index of markedness.

3.2.5.3. Benefactive

The Benefactive case is marked by the suffix /-pe/. Pronouns in the Benefactive case have the following forms:

	SG		PL
1	/ya+pe/ → yape	/sen+pe/ → sipe	(~sinipe)
2	/na+pe/ → nape	/ten+pe/ → tipe	(~tinipe)
3	/ne+pe/ → nipe	/nen+pe/ → nipe	(~ninipe)

(Alternations in the plural pronouns in the Benefactive case reflect alternation between a C-deletion rule and a V-epenthesis rule).

The Benefactive case relation in Tauya performs several functions. First, it is the case relation of beneficiaries:

ya - ni na - pe saniya te - pope - e - ?a
 1sg ERG 2sg BEN work get HAB 1/2 IND
 'I work for you'

ni - ni Towe - pe ?ufiya fei - ?afe - a - ?a
 3sg ERG BEN sweet potato boil PROG 3sg IND
 'She's cooking sweet potato for Towe'

Second, a few verbs in Tauya take Benefactive government. These include /ese-/ 'want, desire', and a number of verbs of speech, including /o-/ 'say, call'; /yuwe-/ 'shout at'; /pararane-/ 'scream at'; etc.

ni-ni wate amo?o - pe ese - i - ?a
 3pl ERG house new BEN want 3pl IND
 'They want a new house'

ya - pe yuwe - i - ?a
 1sg BEN shout 3pl IND
 'They shouted at me'

ni - pe ya - ni pararane - e - ?a
 3sg BEN 1sg ERG scream 1/2 IND

'I screamed at them'

Third, the Benefactive case suffix is used to mark nouns which function as causes or instigators. For example:

na - ta awa na - pi - pe na - ?isafe - a - ?a
 2sg TOP father 2sg GEN BEN 2sg angry 3sg IND

'You're angry at your father'

?i nono - ra ?ufiya - pe mei - a - ?a
 DEM child TOP food BEN cry 3sg IND

'That child cried for food'

As a case suffix on medial clauses, /-pe/ marks the medial clause as the cause of the following clause. The action specified in the following clause is interpreted as a voluntary response to the clause marked with /-pe/:

?ufume - a - na - pe ?utine - fe - e - ?a
 heavy 3sg COMP BEN fall TR 1/2 IND

'It was heavy so I put it down'

In contrast, if the medial is marked with the Ergative case suffix, it implies that the following clause is an involuntary response:

ʔufume - a - na - ni ʔutine - fe - e - ʔa
 heavy 3sg COMP ERG fall TR 1/2 IND

'It was heavy so I dropped it'

Perhaps due to its causal meaning, the Benefactive case suffix can mark a clause as being the first in a series of two or more actions. For example:

Brahmani yate - ti - pa - pe - yae
 go PERF SS BEN Q

'Are you going to Brahman first?'

For further discussion of the use of the Benefactive and Ergative case suffixes in the expression of causation, and of the Benefactive case suffix to indicate temporal relation, see 3.3.3.2.7.1.

3.2.5.4. Locative

3.2.5.4.1. Adessive/Allative

Suffixes used to mark the Adessive/Allative case relation vary according to the semantic class of the noun involved, whether human, non-human or inherent locative. An additional distinction is made between suffixes used for pronominal and non-pronominal nouns with human referents.

	Human-Pro.	Human-Non-Pro.	Common	Inherent Locative
Adessive	-sou		-ʔai	-sa
Allative	-pi mei	-nani		

For nouns with human referents, both pronominal and non-pronominal, the Adessive case relation is expressed by the Comitative case suffix, /-sou/:

ni - sou mene - a - ʔa
 3sg COM stay 3sg IND
 'He's with him'

nono - ra afe ni - pi - sou mene - a - ʔa
 child TOP mother 3sg GEN COM stay 3sg IND
 'The child is with her mother'

On personal pronouns, the Allative case relation is indicated by the Genitive suffix, /-pi/ followed

by the locative deictic, /mei/ 'here':

nini - pi mei yate - amu - ?a
 3pl GEN here go 1sgFut IND
 'I'll go to them'

Note that this cannot be regarded as an alienable possessive construction with head noun /mei/, i.e., 'my here', 'their here', etc. Pronouns in the Genitive case generally follow the possessed noun; in this construction indicating the Allative case relation, the Genitive pronoun obligatorily precedes the head, i.e., * mei ninipi.

On full nouns with human referents, the Allative case is marked by the suffix /-nani/:

Aresa - nani yate - ?e - ?a
 ALL. go 3sgFut IND
 'He'll go to Aresa'

The suffix /-nani/ is difficult to analyze; however, note that initial /-na-/ may be the Genitive case suffix used with full nouns.

On common nouns, both the Adessive and Allative case relations are marked by the suffix /-?ai/:

lotu - ?ai mene - i - ?a
 church ADESS stay 3pl IND 'They are at church'

wate ya - pi - ?ai fofe - ?ai - ?a
 house 1sg GEN ALL come 3plFut IND
 'They'll come to my house'

Common nouns denoting time which are not inherently temporal may also occur with the suffix /-ʔai/:

ʔafa ʔone - ʔai
 INDEF time ADESS 'at one time'

On nouns which are inherently locative, the Adessive and Allative case relations are marked by the suffix /-sa/:

Tauya - sa ʔini - mene - pope - i - ʔa
 ADESS sleep STAT HAB 3pl IND

'They live in Tauya'

pate ʔawa - sa yate - ame - ʔa
 tomorrow coast ALL go lincFut IND

'Tomorrow we'll go to the coast'

3.2.5.4.2. Locative /-sa/

As well as marking the Adessive/Allative case relation, the morpheme /-sa/ has several other related functions. First, /sa/ occurs as an independent noun root indicating the general environment:

sa kune - a - ʔa
 ENVIRON distant thunder 3sg IND

'There's thunder in the distance'

sa ʔ^wei - a - ʔa
 ENVIRON night 3sg IND

'It's night'

Second, /-sa/ has somewhat limited use as a derivational suffix, deriving locative noun stems from non-locative roots and intransitive verbs:

ʔoʔai - sa N.Loc. 'afternoon'
 (ʔoʔai- V.Intr. 'be afternoon')
 eni - sa N.Loc. 'three days hence'
 (eni 'three')

Finally, /-sa/ functions as a topic suffix. As such, it may only be added to the personal pronouns; thus, only human referents may be marked as topic with /-sa/. Although full nouns with human referents may not include this suffix, they may occur in apposition to a pronoun so marked:

na - ta mene - a - e ! ʔi fanu ne - sa
 2sg TOP stay 2sgFut IMP DEM man 3sg TOP
 yate - ʔe - ʔa
 go 3sgFut IND

'You stay! As for that man, he'll go'

yaʔe aʔate - a - te wesawesa - a - te
 water hit 3sg DS part 3sg DS

ʔesami pofa - ʔi ne - sa yati sepera - ti - a - o
 then soon PRO 3sg TOP go cross PERF 3sg ELL

'He hit the water and it parted; then (as for) the other, he crossed'

The topic-marking function of the suffix /-sa/ appears to be closely connected to its use as a noun denoting the general environment. Thus, just as pronouns marked as topic with /-sa/ may not also include the topic suffix /-ra/, environmental / sa/ may not be marked as topic:

* ne - sa - ra
3sg TOP TOP

sa (* - ra) pou - a - ?a
ENVIRON TOP dawn 3sg IND

'It's dawn'

In contrast, the homophonous noun root /sa/ 'path, road', may be marked with /-ra/:

sa - ra Brahmani yate - mene - a - ?a
road TOP go STAT 3sg IND

'The road goes to Brahman'

3.2.5.4.3. Inessive

The Inessive case relation is expressed by the suffix /-ʔu(sa)/:

wate	- ʔu(sa)		
house	INESS		'in the house'
fai	- ʔu(sa)		
net bag	INESS		'in the net bag'

3.2.5.4.4. Ablative

The Ablative case suffix is a complex form, consisting of the Adessive/Allative suffix, followed by the suffix /-mi/. For those nouns which do not have the Adessive/Allative suffix /-sa/, i.e., nouns which are not inherently locative, the suffix /-mi/ is preceded by /-sa/:

Tauya	- sami		
	ABL		'from Tauya' Loc.
ʔawa	- sami		
coast	ABL		'from the coast' Loc.
funema	- sami		
valley	ABL		'from the valley' Loc.
ʔite	- ʔaisami		
garden	ABL		'from the garden'
lotu	- ʔaisami		
church	ABL		'from church'

For nouns with human referents, the Adessive and Allative cases are expressed by distinct suffixes; the Ablative case is derived from the Allative forms:

ya - pi mei - sami
 lsg GEN here ABL 'from me'

Pename - nanisami
 ABL 'from Pename'

The Ablative case suffix can be used to create qualifying nouns which precede the head:

teti - sami fanu
 highlands ABL man 'man from the highlands'

?awa - sami sai
 coast ABL snake 'snake from the coast'

fomitiya - sami ?ufiya
 yesterday ABL food 'food from yesterday'

ni?isana - mi fanu
 long ago ABL man 'man from long ago'

3.2.5.4.5. Elative

The Elative case suffix is a complex form, consisting of the Inessive suffix followed by the suffix /-mi/:

ya?e - ?usami
 water ELL. 'from in the water'

fai - ?usami
 net bag ELL. 'from in the net bag'

Nouns in the Elative case can be used as pre-nominal qualifiers:

yaʔe - ʔusami yau
water ELL fish 'fish from in the water'

3.2.5.4.6. Instrumental

The Instrumental case relation may be expressed by either the complex Ablative case suffix, /-ʔaisami/, or by the Ergative case suffix, /-ne/:

ʔasu - {ʔaisami} fai - i - ʔa
 knife {ni } cut 3pl IND
 'They cut (it) with a knife'

Both subject and instrument may be in the Ergative case:

ya - ni ʔasu - ni fai - e - ʔa
 1sg ERG knife ERG cut 1/2 IND
 'I cut (it) with a knife'

3.2.5.4.7. Partitive

The Partitive case is expressed by the Adessive/Allative suffix /-ʔai/ followed by the suffix /-mi/, which also derives Ablative and Elative case suffixes. The Partitive case creates qualifying NPs which precede the nouns they modify:

ʔi amo - ʔaimi towaifo
 DEM tree PART. fruit
 'fruit from that tree'

ʔi nono - ʔaimi awi
 DEM child PART. two
 'two of those children'

3.2.6. Possessive Constructions - The Genitive Case

There are two possessive constructions in Tauya, one used when the head noun is alienable and the second, when the head noun is inalienable. In inalienable possessive constructions, the possessor is indicated by prefixed forms of the personal pronouns. In alienable constructions, the possessor is indicated by an independent noun in the Genitive case. Possessive constructions in Tauya are thus iconic in the sense discussed in Haiman 1983.

3.2.6.1. Inalienable

The class of inalienable nouns in Tauya includes nouns referring to body parts and a very few others (/ -^wanenemo/ 'shadow'; / -wanemo/ 'name'; / -yai/ 'footprint'). All other nouns, including those which refer to body fluids (/ inaomo/ 'blood'; / sari/ 'mucus'; etc.) and kin terms, are classed as alienable.

Possessors of inalienable nouns are indicated by prefixed forms of the personal pronouns. These prefixes are identical to the independent forms

of the personal pronouns, except in the case of 3rd person singular. The independent form of the 3sg pronoun is /ne/; the prefixed form is \emptyset .

Pronominal Prefixes

	SG	PL
1	ya-	sen-
2	na-	ten-
3	\emptyset	nen-

The pronominal prefixes are subject to a number of phonological rules. The principle ones are, first, assimilation of the vowel in the plural forms to a stem-initial non-low vowel, and second, either deletion of final /n/ in the plural forms before a stem-initial consonant, or insertion of an epenthetic vowel between final /n/ of the pronoun prefixes and a stem-initial consonant.

For details, see . For example:

/-neme/	'head'	
yaneme	'my head'	
neme	'his/her head'	
seneme	'our heads'	(/n/-deletion)

- /-pare/ 'neck'
- napare 'your (sg) neck'
- parufo 'his/her neck' (suppletive root)
- tepare 'your (pl) necks' (/n/-deletion)
- /-potiyafo/ 'hand/arm'
- yapotiyafo 'my hand/arm'
- potiyafo 'his/her hand/arm'
- nonopotiyafo 'their hands/arms' (V-epenthesis)
- /-momo/ 'body'
- namomo 'your (sg) body'
- mopufo 'his/her body' (suppletive root)
- sononomo 'our bodies' (V-epenthesis)
- /-aʔe/ 'eye'
- yanaʔe 'my eye' (/n/-insertion)
- aʔifo 'his/her eye' (suppletive root)
- tenaʔe 'your (pl) eyes'
- /-otamo/ 'knee'
- naotamo 'your (sg) knee'
- otamo 'his/her knee'
- nonotamo 'their knees'

If the possessor of an inalienable noun is non-pronominal, it precedes the possessed form of the noun and occurs in the Genitive case:

- Aresa - na neme
 GEN head 'Aresa'a head'
- Pename - na maʔa
 GEN tooth 'Pename's tooth'

?i fanu - na a?ifo
 DEM man GEN eye 'that man's eye'
 mu fena?a - na potiyafo
 DEM woman GEN hand 'this woman's hand'
 nono ya - pi - na ?^wa?ifo
 child 1sg GEN GEN ear 'my child's ear'

3.2.6.2. Alienable

Possessors of alienable nouns are indicated by independent nouns in the Genitive case. If the possessor is pronominal, it generally follows the head and takes the Genitive case suffix, /-pi/. If the possessor is non-pronominal, it obligatorily precedes the head and takes the Genitive suffix /-na/.

Pronominal

Personal pronouns in the Genitive case have the following forms:

	SG	PL
1	/ya+pi/ → yapi	/sent+pi/ → sinipi
2	/na+pi/ → napi	/ten+pi/ → tinipi
3	/ne+pi/ → nipi	/nen+pi/ → ninipi

For example,

wate ni - pi
 house 3sg GEN 'his house'
 fai na - pi
 net bag 2sg GEN 'your (sg) net bag'

?ite sini - pi
 garden 1pl GEN 'our garden'
 awa tini - pi
 father 2pl GEN 'your (pl) father(s)'
 isai nini - pi
 spear 3pl GEN 'their spears'

Pronouns in the Genitive case may precede the head noun; in a few cases, they both precede and follow:

afe	tini - pi	}	'your (pl) mother(s)'
mother	2pl GEN		
tini - pi	afe		
tini - pi	afe tini - pi		

The pre- and post-nominal positions generally appear to be free variation; however, there does appear to be a preference for the pre-nominal position of pronominal possessors when other case suffixes are present. Thus,

ya - pi wate - ?ai
 lsg GEN house ADESS 'at my house' ,

seems to be preferred over,

wate ya - pi - ?ai
 house lsg GEN ADESS 'at my house'

Pronouns in the Genitive case can function as independent nouns:

ʔe - ra ya - pi - ʔa
 DEM TOP 1sg GEN IND
 'That's mine'

na - pi - pe ese - e - ʔa
 2sg GEN BEN want 1/2 IND
 'I want yours'

Non-Pronominal

Non-pronominal possessors of alienable nouns are marked with the Genitive case suffix /-na/ and obligatorily precede the head noun:

ʔi fanu - na wate
 DEM man GEN house 'that man's house'
 mu fenaʔa - na fanu
 DEM woman GEN man 'this woman's husband'
 Aresa - na waʔa nono
 GEN female child 'Aresa's daughter'
 fanu moʔotu - na pai
 man many GEN pig 'many men's pigs'

The head noun is optionally followed by a pronoun, coreferential with the possessor NP, in the Genitive case. In some cases, this pronoun serves to disambiguate singular and plural possessor reference:

ʔi fanu - na pai	}	that man's pig(s)
DEM man GEN pig		those men's pig(s)

?i fanu - na pai ni - pi
 DEM man GEN pig 3sg GEN
 'that man's pig(s)'

?i fanu - na pai nini - pi
 DEM man GEN pig 3pl GEN
 'those men's pig(s)'

Full nouns with the Genitive suffix /-na/ generally do not function as independent NPs; although such constructions are obtained in elicitation, they are judged to be only marginally grammatical:

*? ?e - ra Aresa - na - ?a
 DEM TOP GEN IND
 (That's Aresa's)

*? ?i fena?a - na - pe ese - a - ?a
 DEM woman GEN TOP want 3sg IND
 (He wants that woman's)

Full nouns in the Genitive case are frequently left-dislocated; they are followed by the resumptive pronoun /?e/, which takes the case inflection:

?i nono ?i - na aniyamo
 DEM child PRO GEN mother
 'that child, his mother'

Pronouns in the Genitive case are never left-dislocated. For further discussion on possessor dislocation, and left-dislocation in general, see .

3.2.6.3. Genitive as Emphatic

The Genitive suffix /-na/, which marks non-pronominal possessors of alienable nouns, may be added to the pronouns to indicate emphasis or restrictive reference. Although it cannot be added to full nouns except as a strictly Genitive suffix, a full noun may occur in apposition to a pronoun marked for emphasis with /-na/. For example:

ya - na mepi - e - ?a
 1sg GEN come down 1/2 IND

'I myself came down'

Noi ne - na fai e?i - fe - a - ?a
 3sg GEN net bag make PERF 3sg IND

'Noi herself made the net bag'

Reflexives may be expressed with both subject and object NPs marked with /-na/:

ne - na ne - na a?ate - a - ?a
 3sg GEN 3sg GEN hit 3sg IND

'He hit himself'

As a suffix indicating restrictive reference, /-na/ is perhaps a short form of the suffix /-nasi/ (cf.):

ya - { na } Tei - sa yate - e - ?a
 1sg { nasi } ADESS go 1/2 IND

'I alone went to Teri'

As an emphatic suffix, /-na/ is restricted to the personal pronouns, and thus to nouns with human referents. However, a few other nouns in Tauya show evidence of this suffix. For example:

ʔafa - na 'one'
 (ʔafa Indefinite)

niʔi - sa - na
 root LOC 'long ago'

3.2.6.4. Genitive of Location

A suffix indicating the genitive of location, i.e., 'from' in the sense of 'belonging to, originating at', is formed by the genitive suffix /-na/ followed by the suffix /-mi/, which also derives the Ablative and Elative case suffixes. Nouns with this suffix serve as pre-nominal modifiers. For example:

me	-	nami	fenaʔa	
DEM		GEN	woman	'woman from here'
Tauya	-	nami	nono	
		GEN	child	'children from Tauya'
ʔawasa	-	nami	sai	
coast		GEN	snake	'snake from the coast'

3.2.7. Collective

The Collective suffix, /-ʔa/, has been attested in only 3 environments. First, it occurs with the personal pronouns in the Genitive case; second, it occurs on the quantifier /wesa/ 'some, few'; finally, it is found on locative nouns which include the suffix /-sa/. As is evident in the discussion below, the term 'collective' is not really appropriate for this suffix in all its uses. There may, in fact, be 2 or 3 homophonous suffixes; on the other hand, the term 'collective' may be a misnomer, and a definition like 'definitizer' could perhaps embrace this suffix in all its functions.

3.2.7.1. Personal Pronouns

On personal pronouns in the Genitive case, the suffix /-ʔa/ clearly denotes collectivity. It is most commonly found in constructions which include a head noun referring to a kin relation; however, it also occurs in constructions with other (alienable) head nouns. For example:

awa	sini	- pi	- ʔa	
father	lpl	GEN	COLL	'all our fathers'

asi tini - pi - ʔa
 clansman 2pl GEN COLL 'all your (pl) clansmen'
 ano ni - pi - ʔa
 sibling 3sg GEN COLL 'all his younger brothers'
 pai ya - pi - ʔa
 pig 1sg GEN COLL 'all my pigs'
 wate na - pi - ʔa
 house 2sg GEN COLL 'all your (sg) houses'

The Collective suffix may also be added directly to those kin terms which are inherently possessed by 3sg; in these cases, the derivational suffixes /-mo/ and /-fo/ are optionally omitted when the Collective suffix is added:

waiyamo - ʔa	}	'all his wives'
wife COLL		
waiya - ʔa		
waiyamo ni - pi - ʔa 3sg GEN COLL		

3.2.7.2. /wesa/

On the indefinite quantifier /wesa/ 'some, few', the suffix /-ʔa/ appears to create a form with definite reference. That is, it denotes a designated number; informants generally translate /wesa+ʔa/ as 'half':

fanu wesa
 man some 'some men'
 fanu wesa - ʔa 'half the men'
 ʔufiya wesa
 food some 'some food'
 ʔufiya wesa - ʔa 'half the food'

3.2.7.3. Locatives

The suffix /-ʔa/ may be added to nouns and deictics which include the locative suffix /-sa/, as well as to the cognate noun root denoting the general environment, /sa/:

ʔawasa - ʔa N.Loc. 'coast'
 afa - sa - ʔa
 above LOC Deictic 'above'
 sa - ʔa
 ENVIRON Environment

In these cases, the function of the suffix /-ʔa/ is difficult to determine. However, a comparison with a possible cognate in Hua is perhaps enlightening: Haiman (1980: 295) notes that there is a nominalizing suffix in Hua, /-ʔa/, with somewhat elusive function. When added to quantifiers, this suffix appears to restrict the syntactic function of the quantifier to 'acting noun'. (/ -ʔa/ may also be added to deictics in Hua, but appears to have no

specific function; see Haiman 1980: 297).

In Tauya, the suffix /-ʔa/ on locatives with /-sa/ appears to have a vaguely similar function. That is, it restricts their syntactic function. However, the restriction here is not to 'acting noun'; roots with /-sa/ are, in fact, nouns. Rather, /-ʔa/ appears to restrict these nouns to non-locative use. Evidence is as follows: In Tauya, /-sa/ is both a derivational suffix deriving locative nouns, and an Adessive/Allative case suffix. This dual function has led to some variability in its use. For example, place names are inherently locative; as such, they need not include /-sa/ as a derivational suffix, but do include it as an Adessive/Allative case suffix:

Tauya k^wanesaʔama - ʔa
 small IND

'Tauya is small'

Tauya - sa mai - i - ʔa
 ADESS come up 3pl IND

'They came up to Tauya'

However, /-sa/ may also be present when a locative case relation is not indicated; that is, the

derivational suffix /-sa/ may redundantly mark
place names as inherently locative:

Tauya - sa k^wanesa?ama - ?a
LOC small IND

'Tauya is small'

Thus, forms like /Tauya+sa/ are ambiguous: they
can function simply as inherently locative nouns,
or they may be interpreted as locative nouns in
the Adessive/Allative case relation. However, when
the suffix /-?a/ is included, the case interpretation
is precluded:

Tauya - sa - ?a k^wanesa?ama - ?a
LOC small IND

'Tauya is small'

But,

* Tauya - sa - ?a mai - i - ?a
ADESS come up 3pl IND

(They came up to Tauya)

Similarly, some locative nouns derived with /-sa/
never occur without this suffix; for these nouns,
/-sa/ may be interpreted as the derivational suffix
or as the locative case suffix:

ʔawasa amufi - mene - a - ʔa
 coast close STAT 3sg IND

'The coast is nearby'

ʔawasa yate - e - ʔa
 coast go 1/2 IND

'I went to the coast'

If the suffix /-ʔa/ is included, the case interpretation is not possible:

ʔawasa - ʔa amufi - mene - a - ʔa
 coast close STAT 3sg IND

'The coast is nearby'

But,

* ʔawasa - ʔa yate - e - ʔa
 coast go 1/2 IND

(I went to the coast)

That is, on locative nouns with /-sa/, the suffix /-ʔa/ appears to rule out a locative case interpretation.

The strongest evidence in support of this analysis would be to demonstrate that nouns with /-sa/ can occur with other, non-locative case suffixes if and only if the suffix /-ʔa/ is present. However, no such examples are available; it would appear that the semantics of inherently locative nouns restrict them to locative and nominative

cases; the Nominative case suffix in Tauya is \emptyset . However, a similar kind of support for the analysis is derived from the distribution of the topic suffix, /-ra/. In Tauya, the topic suffix is mutually exclusive with all non-null case suffixes; only nouns in the Nominative case may be marked as topic. Thus,

wate - ra
house TOP 'house' TOP
* wate - ?ai - ra
house ADESS TOP ('to/at the house')

On nouns which include the suffix /-sa/, the topic suffix can be added only if a locative case interpretation is not made. Thus:

?awasa - ra amufi - mene - a - ?a
coast TOP close STAT 3sg IND
'The coast is nearby'

But,

?awasa (* - ra) yate - e - ?a
coast TOP go 1/2 IND
'I went to the coast'

Nouns with /-sa/ which include the suffix /-?a/ may occur freely with the topic suffix:

?awasa - ?a - ra amufi - mene - a - ?a
coast TOP close STAT 3sg IND
'The coast is nearby'

One could argue, of course, that this and similar examples prove nothing; that the topic suffix may occur here simply because a locative case interpretation is ruled out by context rather than by the presence of /-ʔa/. However, the distribution of the topic suffix on the environmental noun /sa/ is perhaps relevant here. Generally, /sa/ cannot be marked as topic. However, if the suffix /-ʔa/ is present, the topic suffix may be included:

sa - ʔa - ra	pou - a - ʔa
(*sa - ra)	dawn 3sg IND
'It's dawn'	

Unfortunately, no semantic distinction has been found between /sa/ and /sa+ʔa/.

These facts regarding the function of /-ʔa/ on inherently locative nouns are somewhat mysterious, and its relationship to /-ʔa/ in its other functions is rather opaque. However, one possibility, suggested above, is that /-ʔa/ indicates, not collectivity, but is a definitizer. Perhaps inherently locative nouns refer not so much to discrete entities as to general locations; /-ʔa/ on these nouns may imply discrete reference. This analysis also accounts

for the fact that /-ʔa/ creates a definite quantifier from indefinite /wesa/. Perhaps a case could also be made that a collective suffix increases the definiteness of reference, i.e., 'all of my children' is more definite than 'my children'.

3.2.8. Vocative

There are 2 Vocative case suffixes in Tauya. The first, /-o/, is added to personal names and kin terms; it is possibly related to a mood-like suffix found in VP

Aresa - o Aresa!
 Pename - o Pename!
 awa ya - pi - o
 father lsg GEN VOC My father!
 ?ita - o
 son VOC Son!

The second Vocative suffix, /-ya/, is added to common nouns. For example:

wawi - ya
 old man VOC Old man!
 ate - ya
 old woman VOC Old woman!
 nono - ya
 child VOC Child!

3.2.9. NP Conjunction and the Comitative Case

There are 3 strategies used in Tauya to conjoin NPs. First, two or more NPs can be placed in apposition. Second, the NPs to be conjoined can occur in the Comitative case, with suffix /-sou/. Finally, NPs can occur with the inclusive disjunction particle, /pe/. It should be noted, however, that clausal conjunction via medial verb constructions is somewhat more common than NP conjunction. Thus, for example:

Aresa mei fofe - a - te Towe fofe - a - te
 here come 3sg DS come 3sg DS
 ?ai - i - ?a
 do 3pl IND

'Aresa came here and Towe came' (= 'Aresa and Towe came here')

3.2.9.1. Apposition

Perhaps the most frequently used method to conjoin NPs is to place them in apposition. This construction appears to be limited to NPs in the Nominative case. For example:

me - sami [awa ni - pi - ?a] [ai
 DEM ABL father 3sg GEN COLL older sibling
 ni - pi - ?a] [mopa - ?a] pai
 3sg GEN COLL younger sibling COLL pig
 a?ate - pa ni - e - mo - pe ?ai - i - te ..
 hit SS eat 1/2 NOM BEN do 3pl DS

'From here his fathers and older brothers and younger brothers wanted to kill and eat a pig ...'

[pasi] [ʔufiya] [oʔo] te - pa
 greens sweet potato firewood get SS

fitau - fe - i - na ...
 throw PERF 3pl COMP

'They got pasi greens, sweet potatoes and
 firewood and threw them ...'

[ʔununa sisiʔama] [samo sisiʔama] [piyaʔo
 frog small sago grub small lizard

sisiʔama] nofona oʔo - ʔai afa - mu
 small only fire ADESS above DEM

aʔarou - pa mene - ʔafe - i - te ...
 cover SS stay PROG 3pl DS

'They covered the fire above with only small
 frogs, small sago grubs and small piyaʔo
 lizards and they were staying ...'

Although there is a general restriction in Tanya
 that only one constituent per clause may be marked
 as topic, NPs conjoined in the appositional
 construction may all be marked as topic. For
 example:

sawi nunumo - ra wawiya nunumo - ra
 banana ripe TOP mango ripe TOP

kusi nunumo - ra ni - e - mo - pe
 pawpaw ripe TOP eat 1/2 NOM BEN

yate - e - ʔa
 go 1/2 IND

'I went to eat ripe bananas, ripe pawpaws and
 ripe mangoes'

3.2.9.2. The Comitative Case

The Comitative case relation is marked by the suffix /-sou/. For example:

ya - ra Aresa - sou bramani yate - amu - ?a
 lsg TOP COM go lsgFut IND

'I'll go to Brahman with Aresa'

nono na - pi - sou mei mepi - ?ai - ?a
 child 2sg GEN COM here come down 3plFut IND

'They'll come down here with your child'

The suffix /-sou/ also functions as a conjunction; as such, it is added to each conjoined NP.

Thus,

na - sou ya - sou saniya amufo
 2sg COM lsg COM work big

te - pope - ene - ?a
 get HAB 1/2pl IND

'You and I always work hard'

Pename - sou wa?a nono ni - pi - sou
 COM female child 3sg GEN COM

?ite saniya te - ?afe - i - ?a
 garden work get PROG 3pl IND

'Pename and her daughter are working the garden'

Note that subject reference on the verb generally parallels the distribution of the suffix /-sou/. As a suffix marking the Comitative case relation, /-sou/ is added to a single NP and the personal desinence on the verb does not include reference to this NP. As a conjunction, /-sou/ is added to each conjoined NP, and the personal desinence refers to them collectively. Thus:

ya - ra Towe - sou yate - e - ?a
 lsg TOP COM go 1/2 IND

'I went with Towe'

ya - sou Towe - sou yate - ene - ?a
 lsg COM COM go 1/2pl IND

'Towe and I went'

However, although this does appear to be the general

pattern, it is not without exception. For example:

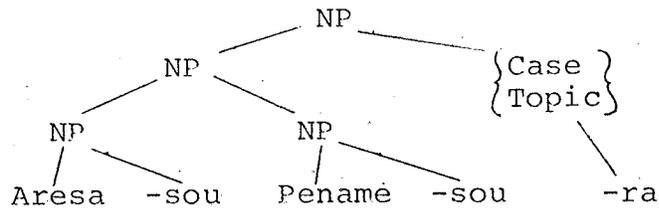
ya - ra na - sou pofei - ene - ʔa
 lsg TOP 2sg COM talk 1/2pl IND
 'I talked with you / You and I talked'

The distinction between the case and conjunction uses of /-sou/ has other syntactic ramifications. NPs which are conjoined with this suffix are dominated by a single higher NP node; thus, if they are marked for case or as topic, the case or topic suffix follows the final conjunct. That is, it is added to the highest NP node:

[awa ya - pi - sou afe ya - pi - sou] - ni
 father lsg GEN COM mother lsg GEN COM ERG
 mu watamu ya - tu - i - ʔa
 DEM thing lsg give 3pl IND
 'My father and mother gave me this thing'

[Aresa - sou Pename - sou] - ra ʔei
 COM COM TOP there
 ʔini - mene - pope - i - ʔa
 sleep STAT HAB 3pl IND
 'Aresa and Pename live there'

The structure of such NPs is:



Generally, only one NP per clause may be marked as topic. However, for some speakers, the topic suffix may occur on all NPs conjoined with /-sou/:

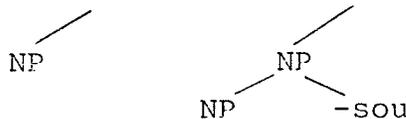
Aresa - sou - ra Pename - sou - ra
 COM TOP COM TOP

'Aresa and Pename'

But,

*Aresa - sou - ra Pename - sou
 COM TOP COM

On the other hand, /-sou/ as a Comitative case suffix does not create a higher NP node, i.e., the structure is:



Thus, for example, the topic suffix may be added to the NP which does not include the Comitative suffix. The Comitative NP may then not be marked as topic, due to the restriction permitting only one topic per clause:

ya - ra na - sou (* -ra) pofei - ene - ?a
 1sg TOP 2sg COM TOP talk 1/2pl IND

'I talked with you'

The presence or absence of a higher NP node affects the process of relative clause formation. Nouns may not be relativized out of a higher NP, nor may nouns in the Comitative case be relativized. Thus, a conjunct may not be relativized:

fenaʔa - sou fanu - sou ʔufiya ni - i - ʔa
 woman COM man COM food eat 3pl IND
 'The woman and the man ate'

* [∅ fanu - sou ʔufiya ni - i - na] fenaʔa
 man COM food eat 3pl REL woman
 (*the woman who and the man ate)

The Comitative NP in the following example may not be relativized:

ya - ra fenaʔa - sou firo - e - ʔa
 lsg TOP woman COM roam 1/2 IND
 'I roamed with the woman'

* [ya - ra ∅ firo - e - na] fenaʔa
 lsg TOP roam 1/2 REL woman
 (the woman with whom I roamed)

However, a NP which is not in the Comitative case can be relativized, since no higher NP node is present. Thus:

fenaʔa - ra fanu - sou ʔufiya ni - a - ʔa
 woman TOP man COM food eat 3sg IND
 'The woman ate with the man'

[∅ fanu - sou ʔufiya ni - a - na] fenaʔa
 man COM food eat.3sg REL woman

'the woman who ate with the man'

Relative clauses are discussed in more detail

in 4.2 .

3.2.9.3. Inclusive Disjunction

The morpheme /pe/ marks inclusive disjunction of both NP and S. It appears to be closely connected with doubt or uncertainty. Thus, NPs conjoined with /pe/ must be marked with Dubitative /-rafo/; Ss conjoined with /pe/ must either be marked as Dubitative or be in the Interrogative mood:

awa ya - pi { -rafo } pe ai
 father lsg GEN { *∅ } or older sibling

ya - pi { -rafo } fofe - ʔai - ʔa
 lsg GEN { *∅ } come 3plFut IND

'Maybe my father or my older sister will come'

Tei - sa yate - amu { -rafo } - ʔa pe Tufuma - sa
 ADESS go lsgFut { *∅ } IND or ADESS

yate - amu { -rafo } - ʔa
 { *∅ } IND

'Maybe I'll go to Teri or I'll go to Tuguma'

ne - ta ʔini - a - nae pe ni - a - nae
 3sg TOP sleep 3sg Q or eat 3sg Q

'Did he eat or did he sleep?'

Constructions which include NPs conjoined with /pe/ have several possible interpretations. Thus, in the first example above, four possibilities are anticipated: that just my father will come, that just my older sister will come, that both

will come, or that neither will come. The same inclusive disjunction readings apply to the following examples:

na - sou - rafo pe ya - sou - rafo pofei - ?e - ?a
 2sg COM DUB or 1sg COM DUB talk 3sgFut IND
 'Maybe he'll talk with you or with me'

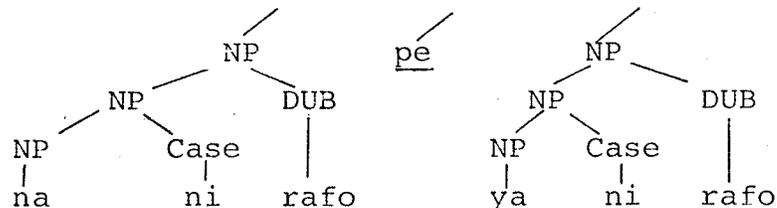
Aresa - na wate - rafo pe Towe - na wate - rafo
 GEN house DUB or GEN house DUB
 fu - ti - a - ?a
 burn PERF 3sg IND

'Maybe Aresa's house or Towe's house burned'

ya - ni - rafo pe na - ni - rafo te - pa
 1sg ERG DUB or 2sg ERG DUB get SS
 yate - ame - ?a
 go lincFut IND

'Maybe you or I will take (it)'

The presence of case suffixes on both conjuncts suggests that there is no higher NP node for NPs conjoined with /pe/, i.e.,



There are two restrictions which apply to these constructions. However, these do not result from the fact of conjunction itself, but rather from the obligatory presence of the Dubitative suffix. First, the Dubitative suffix is mutually exclusive with the Topic suffix /-ra/; thus, NPs conjoined with /pe/ cannot be marked as topics:

* na - ta - rafo pe ya - ra - rafo
 2sg TOP DUB or 1sg TOP DUB

Second, a clause which includes the Dubitative suffix is obligatorily in the Indicative/Unmarked mood, with modal suffix /-ʔa/, regardless of whether the Dubitative suffix occurs on NP or on VP. Thus, clauses which include NPs in inclusive disjunction must be in the Indicative/Unmarked mood:

* na - rafo pe ya - rafo bramani yate - ame - nae
 2sg DUB or 1sg DUB go lincFut Q
 (Will maybe you or I go to Brahman?)

Note, however, that clauses conjoined with /pe/ may be Interrogative rather than Dubitative; this is true whether the predicate is nominal or verbal. Thus:

wate - ra amufo - yae pe k^wanesa[?]ama - yae
 house TOP big Q or small Q

'Is the house large or is it small?'

Particles marking inclusive disjunction have been attested in a number of other Papuan languages. For example, Erima has the particle yo (Colburn 1981) and Usan, ?iyo (Reesink 1983). These particles are apparent cognates; both languages belong to the Madang-Adelbert Range Stock. Hua, of the ENGH stock, has the particle -ve (Haiman 1978). In Erima and Usan, these particles occur between the conjoined NPs, as does Tauya /pe/; in Hua, -ve occurs as a suffix on each conjoined NP.

However, use of Tauya /pe/ is not exactly parallel to the use of the inclusive disjunction particles in these other languages. For example, in Erima NPs conjoined with yo can be cross-referenced on the verb for either singular or plural number:

buwa ete yo keira ete meḡonga , ji
 piḡ a or cassowary a will come I

{ waronebone
 will shoot it }
 { narigonebone
 will shoot them }

'If a pig or a cassowary comes, I will shoot
 it/them'

(Colburn 1981: 17)

In Tauya, on the other hand, pronominal reference
 on the verb for NPs conjoined with /pe/ is
 obligatorily plural:

Yariyambe - rafo pe Noi - rafo mei
 DUB or DUB here

mai - { i } - ʔa
 come up { *a } IND

'Maybe Yariyambe or Noi came up here'

Yariyambe - rafo pe Noi - rafo { nu } - tu - a - ʔa
 DUB or DUB { *∅ } give 3sg IND

'Maybe he gave it to Yariyambe or Noi'

Further, Erima yo can also mark exclusive disjunction,
 'either .. or ..'; note the negative morpheme
 in the following example, as well as the
 (obligatorily) singular form of the verb:

buwa ete yo uwa keira ete meḡonga ,
 piḡ a or not cassowary a will come

ji waronebone
 I will shoot it

'If a pig or (exclusive) a cassowary comes, I'll
 shoot it'

(Colburn 1981: 18)

Reesink (1983: 73) notes that Usan ?iyo can indicate both inclusive and exclusive disjunction. In Tauya, however, there are no constructions, with or without /pe/, to indicate exclusive disjunction.

A somewhat more striking distinction concerns other functions of the inclusive disjunction particles. In particular, in Erima, Usan and Hua, the particles marking inclusive disjunction also mark polar questions. For example:

Erima: ne yame babo urene yo
 you my brother saw true
 'Did you see my brother?' (Colburn 1981: 20)

Usan: munon ig Qurimaur eng ger narau
 man- side the one betelnut
 big - orei ?iyo
 put 3sFP or
 'Has the man from the side, i.e., from
 Qurimaur, put betelnut (= tried to kill
 someone) or? (Reesink 1983: 247)

Hua: bai - ve
 be Q 'Is he/she/it here?' (Haiman 1978: 4)

Haiman (1978: 18) demonstrates that a morphological relationship between inclusive disjunction and polar questions is a fairly common phenomenon in languages of the world, and cites an explanation provided

by Katz and Postal, i.e., that every polar question has in deep structure S or not S, such that the mark of polar questions may be the disjunction or, or the negative particle not (Katz and Postal 1964).

In Tauya, however, there is no morphological relationship between inclusive disjunction and polar questions. The suffixes marking polar questions are /-yae/, for NP predicates, and /-nae(yae)/, for VP predicates. However, there is a possibility that the disjunction /pe/ is related to the Benefactive case suffix, /-pe/. As demonstrated in , the Benefactive case relation is not restricted to beneficiaries, but has several other functions as well. One of these, apparently restricted to its use on medial verbs, is to mark a clause as the first in a series of events. For example:

bramani yati - ti - pa - pe - yae
 go PERF SS BEN Q

'Did (you) go to Brahman first?'

yati fitau - ti - a - te - pe - a - e
 go throw PERF 3sg DS BEN 2sgFut IMP

'(Let) him go away first! (... then I'll tell
 you about it)'

The use of Benefactive /-pe/ to mark the first in a series of events is closely aligned semantically to the disjunction /pe/, which serves to list possibilities or alternatives. In fact, Haiman (1978) demonstrates that -ve in Hua marks non-exhaustive lists, as well as inclusive disjunction and polar questions.

There is, however, a single example in the data which poses a problem for this analysis. This example involves inclusive disjunction of clauses in the interrogative mood. Here, the particle /pe/ does not occur between clauses, but within each clause. Rather than being postpositional, which would be the anticipated pattern if this particle is in fact related to a case suffix, it occurs as a preposition:

pe Aresa fofe - a -^he pe Towe fofe - a -^he
 or come 3sg Q or come 3sg Q

'Did Aresa come or did Towe come?'

If constructions with a single token of /pe/ are derived from this construction via deletion of one instance of this particle, then /pe/ as an inclusive disjunction particle must be posited as being pre-nominal in deep structure, in contrast to post-nominal Benefactive /-pe/:

Inclusive Disjunction

$$\underline{pe} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right\} \quad \underline{pe} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right\}$$

Benefactive

NP - pe

3.2.10. Other Suffixes on NP

A number of other suffixes have been attested on Tauya NPs. These include Restrictive /-nasi/; /-ʔunama/ 'too, also'; /-saʔatu/ 'first'; the Dubitative suffix, /-rafo/; and the Topic suffix, /-ra/.

3.2.10.1. Restrictive /-nasi/

The suffix /-nasi/ indicates restrictive reference, 'only X', 'X alone'. It is one of 4 nominal suffixes which may occur only on the personal pronouns; the others are the Genitive Emphatic /-na/; the (Environmental) Topic /-sa/; and /-saʔatu/ 'first'. Due to this distribution, restrictive reference is applicable only to human referents. Although full nouns with human referents cannot include this suffix, they may be placed in apposition to a pronoun so marked.

fomitiya	ya	- nasi	Bundi	- sa	yate	- e	- ʔa
yesterday	lsg	RESTR		ADESS	go	1/2	IND
'Yesterday I alone went to Bundi'							
se	- nasi	oʔo	oʔonou	- pa	fitau	- ene	- ʔa
lpl	RESTR	firewood	gather	SS	throw	1/2pl	IND
'We alone gathered the firewood'							

ʔi fanu ne - nasi pai nini - pi wimo
 DEM man 3sg RESTR pig 3pl GEN hair

te - a - ʔa
 get 3sg IND

'That man alone stole their pigs'

Pename ne - nasi ʔufiya fei - pa nu - tu - a - ʔa
 3sg RESTR food boil SS 3pl give 3sg IND

'Pename alone cooked food and gave it to them'

The suffix /-nasi/ appears to be bi-morphemic, consisting of Genitive Emphatic /-na/, followed by Restrictive /-si/. Thus, for example, in some cases the Genitive Emphatic suffix and Restrictive /-nasi/ are identified by informants as being synonymous:

ya - { na } yate - e - ʔa 'I went' } 'I alone went'
 lsg { nasi } go 1/2 IND

Further, both the Genitive Emphatic suffix and the Restrictive suffix may occur only on the personal pronouns.

An independent form of Restrictive /-si/ occurs elsewhere in Tauya. For example, when reduplicated, /si/ functions as a nominal postposition which creates adverbs of comparison:

kiyorifa si-si fetaʔiri - we - a - na - ʔa
 cassowary like flop CON 3sg COMP IND

'He flopped like a cassowary for a short time'

Like Restrictive /si/, the suffix /-nasi/ is mutually exclusive with the topic suffix. Note, however, that Genitive Emphatic /-na/ may co-occur with Topic /-ra/:

*te - nasi - ra
 2pl RESTR TOP
 *kiyorifa si-si - ra

But,

pofa ne - na - ra ?unuta tei - te - pa ...
 soon 3sg EMPH TOP mat touch get SS
 'Soon she herself held the mat and she ...'

3.2.10.2.7 /-?unama/ 'too, also'

The suffix /-?unama/ is found on both pronominal and non-pronominal NPs:

aniyamo e?i - pope - a - na - ?a-?a - pa
 mother make HAB 3sg COMP doREDUP SS
 ni - ?unama e?i - a - ?a
 3sg too make 3sg IND

'She made (it) like her mother always did'

(= 'As her mother always made it, she too made it')

ate ne - na -?unama - ra sifi - pa
 old woman 3sg EMPH too TOP dress SS
 mene-mene - pa ...
 stayPEDUP SS

'The old woman herself also dressed and was staying and she...'

?e?e soromu - ?unama te - pa yate - a - e
 oh useless too get SS go 2sgFut IMP

'Oh! Take the bad ones too!'

" ya - ?unama te - amu - nani - ?a ! k^we !
 lsg too get lsgFut ASSER IND try
 wai ?ati - we - a - e ! " o - a - te ...
 again say CON 2sgFut IMP say 3sg DS

'I too will get (one)! Try! Say it again!"
 he said, and the other ...'

/-sa?atu/ 'first'

The suffix /-sa?atu/ may be added only to the personal pronouns. This restriction is like that of the (Environmental) Topic suffix /-sa/, suggesting that /-sa?atu/ is perhaps derived from /-sa + ?atu/. However, if this is the case, final /-?atu/ cannot be identified.

ne - sa?atu omai - te - a - na - ra nono - ra
 3sg first climb get 3sg COMP TOP child TOP

omo yoru-yoru - a - te ...
 still slowREDUP 3sg DS

'She was first to climb; the boy was still coming, and she ...'

ne - sa?atu - mi mi ni - pi fa?i - te - a - na ...
 3sg first from thought 3sg GEN make get 3sg COMP

'He was the first to have an idea, and ...'

te - sa?atu yate - ane - e
 2pl first go 2plFut IMP

'You guys go first!'

3.2.10.7. Dubitative /-rafo/

The Dubitative suffix, /-rafo/, is added to NP or VP to indicate doubt or uncertainty. It is generally translated as 'maybe X', 'I think X', etc. This suffix is somewhat unusual in both form and distribution. First, it is one of the very few morphemes in Tauya with initial /r/; the only other grammatical morpheme with this initial segment which has been attested is the Topic suffix, /-ra/. Second, Dubitative /-rafo/ may be added to NP or to VP. On nouns, it follows any case suffixes which may be present. On verbs, the Dubitative suffix occupies a unique position, following the personal desinences but preceding modal suffixes.

on NP:

Aresa - rafo yate - a - ?a
 DUB go 3sg IND

'Maybe it was Aresa who went'

ni - ni - rafo a?ate - pa ?umu - fe - a - ?a
 3sg ERG DUB hit SS die TR 3sg IND

'Maybe it was he who killed it'

na - ta pirisifina ate - rafo - ?a
 2sg TOP spirit old woman DUB IND

'Maybe you are an old spirit woman'

?ufiya - rafo yute - rafo tefe - a - fe
 food DUB tobacco DUB put 2sgFut DS

na - na nono na - pi - ?a - ni te - pa
 2sg EMPH child 2sg GEN COLL ERG get SS

ni - ?ai - na ...
 eat 3plFut COMP

'Whenever you put maybe food, maybe tobacco,
 your own sons would take it and eat it but ...'

on VP:

Aresa yate - a - rafo - ?a
 go 3sg DUB IND

'Aresa may have gone'

ya - ra pate Tufuma - sa yate - amu - rafo - ?a
 lsg TOP tomorrow ADESS go lsgFut DUB IND

'Maybe I'll go to Tufuma tomorrow'

The Dubitative suffix is obligatorily present
 on NPs conjoined with the inclusive disjunction
 particle, /pe/:

Aresa - { rafo } pe Towe - { rafo } nen - au - a - ?a
 { *∅ } or { *∅ } 3pl see 3sg IND

'Maybe he saw Aresa or Towe'

Dubitative /-rafo/ is mutually exclusive with
 the Topic suffix, /-ra/:

mu nono (-ra) - rafo (*-ra)
 DEM child TOP DUB TOP
 'this child' DUB.

Clauses which include NPs marked with Dubitative /-rafo/ obligatorily include the Indicative/Unmarked modal suffix, /-ʔa/. Thus:

moma - rafo ni - a - {ʔa IND }
 taro DUB eat 2sgFut { *e IMP }
 'Maybe you'll eat taro'
 (*Eat maybe taro!)

ʔi fanu - ni - rafo aʔate - pa ʔumu - fe - a - {ʔa IND }
 DEM man ERG DUB hit SS die TR 3sg { nae Q }
 'Maybe it was that man who killed (it)'
 (Did perhaps that man kill it?)

However, this does not preclude the possibility of questioning clauses which include Dubitative NPs. The Interrogative pronouns may be marked with /-rafo/; although the verb then obligatorily includes the Indicative/Unmarked modal suffix, rather than non-polar interrogative /ne/~e/, informants translate such clauses as being in the Interrogative mood. The Dubitative interrogative pronouns appear to have the status of indefinites:

we - rafo mene - a - { ?a IND }
 who DUB stay 3sg { *e Q }

'Who's that there?' (= 'Someone is there; who is it?')

(cf. we mene - a - rafo - ?a
 who stay 3sg DUB IND

'Is someone there?')

we mene - a - e
 who stay 3sg Q

'Who's there?')

mafi - rafo mene - a - { ?a IND }
 where DUB stay 3sg { *e Q }

'Where is it that he's staying?' (= 'He's staying
 somewhere; where is it?')

(cf. mafi mene - a - rafo - ?a
 where stay 3sg DUB IND

'Is he staying somewhere?')

mafi mene - a - e
 where stay 3sg Q

'Where's he staying?')

3.2.10.8. Topic /-ra/

Like Dubitative /-rafo/, the Topic suffix is one of a very few Tauya morphemes with initial /r/. The Topic suffix occurs as /-ra/ everywhere except after the non-1sg personal pronouns and the deictic /me/ 'this (one)'; in these cases, the allomorph [-ta] occurs:

	SG	PL
1	yara	seta
2	nata	teta
3	neta	neta
'this (one)'		meta
'that (one)'		?era

Examples of clauses which include NPs marked as topics include:

?i yene wawi po - ra ' ?urutae ?urutae '
DEM sacred flute talk TOP

o - a - na - ?i ...
say 3sg COMP PRO

'That sacred flute rang out " ?urutae ?urutae" ...

kiyorifa wamo - ra mu ?au?a wate - te - i - na ...
cassowary big TOP DEM stick tie get 3pl COMP

'They tied the big cassowary to the stick and ...'

sini - pi mei mei ?awasa sai - ra ?^We - ?a
lpl GEN here here coast snake TOP NEG IND

'It wasn't a coastal snake [like those] near us'

wate ni - pi - ra ?isou - pa yate - a - te ...
house 3sg GEN TOP fill SS go 3sg DS

'He filled his house and went, and the other ...'

There are a number of restrictions on the distribution of the topic suffix. First, only one constituent per clause may be marked as topic:

" ya - ra fai tumuna ya - pi (*-ra)
lsg TOP net bag lsg GEN TOP

nare - fe - e - ?a " o - a - o
leave PERF 1/2 IND say 3sg ELLIP

'I left my tumuna net bag', she said

ate - ra po (*-ra) ?ati - pa ?ati - pa ...
old woman TOP talk TOP say SS say SS

'The old woman scolded and scolded and she ...'

ne - ta amo (*-ra) omai - a - ?a
3sg TOP tree TOP climb 3sg IND

'He climbed the tree'

mu nono (*-ra) pai - ra o?osai - ti - a - ?a
DEM child TOP pig TOP chase PERF 3sg IND

'This child chased the pig away'

However, 2 or more NPs which are conjoined, either in apposition or with the Comitative/conjunction suffix /-sou/, may be marked as topics:

sawi nunumo - ra kusi nunumo - ra
banana ripe TOP pawpaw ripe TOP

'ripe bananas and ripe pawpaws'

nono - sou - ra wa?a nono ni - pi - sou - ra
child COM TOP female child 3sg GEN COM TOP

'the boy and his sister'

Similarly, 2 or more nouns in apposition which are

coreferential may be marked as topics:

ne - ta ʔi ate - ra
3sg TOP DEM old woman TOP

'she, that old woman'

ne - ta ʔi nono - ra ʔi pirisifina nono - ra
3sg TOP DEM child TOP DEM spirit child TOP

'him, that child, that spirit child'

However, single constituents of other complex

NPs cannot be marked as topics; the topic suffix may

be added only to the highest NP node:

ʔi fanu - na (*-ra) aniyamo (-ra)
DEM man GEN TOP mother TOP

'that man's mother'

waiyamo (*-ra) ni - pi (-ra)
wife TOP 3sg GEN TOP

'his wife'

yaʔe (*-ra) amufo (-ra)
water TOP big TOP

'a big river'

yene (*-ra) awi (-ra)
bird TOP 2 TOP

'two birds'

A second restriction involves the kinds of constituents which may be marked as topics. Here, arguments involving the distribution of the topic suffix are in danger of becoming circular. In Tauya,

it is difficult to determine precise definitions for NP and VP. One of the few criteria available is the distribution of various grammatical morphemes, including the topic suffix. That is, a NP could be conveniently defined as any constituent which may be marked as topic. However, it is then not justifiable to claim that the topic suffix may only be added to NPs. There is, however, a second criterion for defining NPs which suggests that this restriction is plausible, that is, a NP is any constituent which may be marked for case. The distribution of the topic suffix is parallel to that of case suffixes, i.e., only those constituents which may be marked for case may also be marked as topics. Thus, for example, adverbial particles and phrases may not take case or topic inflection:

ʔi	fanu	moʔotu	omo	$\left. \begin{array}{l} *-\text{ni ERG} \\ *-\text{pe BEN} \\ \text{etc.} \\ *-\text{ra TOP} \end{array} \right\}$	mai	-	ʔafe	-	i	-	ʔa
DEM	man	many	still		come	up	PROC	3pl	IND		

'Those men are still coming up'

yene	si-si	$\left. \begin{array}{l} *-\text{ni EPG} \\ *-\text{pe BEN} \\ \text{etc.} \\ *-\text{ra TOP} \end{array} \right\}$	ni	-	pope	-	a	-	ʔa
bird	like		eat	HAB	3sg	IND			

'He eats like a bird'

Final verbs may not be marked for case or as topics:

na - ni	yute	ni - e	$\left. \begin{array}{l} *-\text{ni ERG} \\ *-\text{pe BEN} \\ \text{etc.} \\ *-\text{ra TOP} \end{array} \right\}$	-ʔa
2sg	ERG tobacco	eat 1/2		IND

'You (sg) smoked'

On the other hand, lexical nouns can be marked for case or as topics:

ʔi	fanu	$\left. \begin{array}{l} -\text{ni ERG} \\ -\text{pe BEN} \\ \text{etc.} \\ -\text{ra TOP} \end{array} \right\}$	'that man' ERG
			'for that man'
			'that man' TOP

Complement clauses can take case or topic marking:

ʔi	amo	foi - a - na - ni	ʔutine	- a - ʔa
DEM	tree	wet 3sg COMP ERG	fall	3sg IND

'That tree was rotten so it fell'

Tauya - sa	mene - pope - a - na - ra	nono
ADESS	stay HAB 3sg COMP TOP	child

peti - fe - a - ʔa
bear TR 3sg IND

'She stayed in Tauya and bore a son'

Coordinate medial verbs may be marked for case or as topics:

fofe - a - te - ni	ya	yati	fitau - e - ʔa
come 3sg DS ERG	lsg	go	throw 1/2 IND

'He came so I went away'

yate - pa - ra	ya - ni	∅ - tu - amu - ʔa
go SS TOP	lsg ERG	3sg give lsgFut IND

'If I go, I'll give (it) to him'

The parallel distribution of case and topic marking suggests that the topic suffix is restricted in its distribution to those constituents which are NPs. However, it is in regard to coordinate medial verbs that the definition of 'NP' in Tauya, and hence, the distribution of the topic suffix, becomes problematic. That is, unlike other nominal constituents, including complement clauses, coordinate medial clauses can be marked only for 2 case relations, Ergative or Benefactive. Both case suffixes are used to indicate that the medial is a cause clause:

mei fofe - a - te - pe ya yati fitau - amu - ?a
 here come 3sg DS BEN lsg go throw lsgFut IND
 'He'll come here so I'll go away'

moma ni - pa - ni a?e yau - e - ?a
 taro eat SS ERG vision see 1/2 IND
 'I ate taro so I dreamed'

Coordinate medial clauses may not occur with any other case suffixes. For example:

ate wamo mene - ?afe - a - te (*-?ai)
 old woman big stay PROG 3sg DS ADESS
 yati ?atou - ti - i - te ...
 go arrive PERF 3pl DS

'The big old woman was staying and they arrived'
 (i.e., 'They went to where the old woman was staying')

In contrast, complement clauses may occur with the full array of case suffixes:

ni mene - i - na - ?ai yate - e - ?a
 3pl stay 3pl COMP ADESS go 1/2 IND

'I went to where they stayed'

Thus, if coordinate medial verbs are defined as NPs on the basis of their potential for case and topic marking, they must constitute a special class of 'defective' NPs, since their potential for case marking is limited. Further, there is syntactic evidence that coordinate medial clauses are not, in fact, nominals. This evidence involves potential for relativization: in Tauya, nouns cannot be relativized out of complex NPs. Thus, for example, a noun cannot be relativized out of a complement clause:

?i fena?a Ø - sepame - a - na wate ?umu - a - ?a
 DEM woman 3sg sick 3sg COMP NEG die 3sg IND

'That woman was sick and/but she didn't die'

* [Ø Ø - sepame - a - na wate ?umu - a - na] fena?a
 3sg sick 3sg COMP NEG die 3sg REL woman

(the woman who was sick but didn't die)

However, relativization out of coordinate medial clauses is possible:

ya - ni fanu Ø - yau - pa Ø - tu - e - ?a
 1sg ERG man 3sg see SS 3sg give 1/2 IND

'I saw the man and gave (it) to him'

[ya - ni Ø Ø - yau - pa Ø - tu - e - na] fanu
 1sg ERG 3sg see SS 3sg give 1/2 REL man

'the man who I saw and gave (it) to'

fena?a fofe - a - te Ø - yau - e - ?a
 woman come 3sg DS 3sg see 1/2 IND

'The woman came and I saw her'

[Ø fofe - a - te Ø - yau - e - na] fena?a
 come 3sg DS 3sg see 1/2 REL woman

'the woman who came and I saw'

The fact that relativization out of coordinate medial clauses is possible suggests that they are not, in fact, NPs. This sheds doubt upon both the definition of NPs as those constituents which may be marked for case, and upon the distributional restriction proposed for the topic suffix, i.e., that it may only be added to NPs.

A third distributional restriction on the topic suffix is that it is mutually exclusive with the modal and citation suffixes. For example:

ʔitafo k^wanesaʔama - piya mene - a (*-ra) - ʔa (*-ra)
 son small INTEN stay 3sg TOP IND TOP

'Her son was very small'

fanu ni - pi mei fofe - a (*-ra) - nae (*-ra)
 man 3sg GEN here come 3sg TOP Q TOP

'Did her husband come here?'

mafi mene - i (*-ra) - ne (*-ra)
 where stay 3pl TOP Q TOP

'Where are they?'

yene taufo (*-ra) - ʔa (*-ra)
 bird group TOP CIT TOP

'a bird's nest'

wate napomo (*-ra) - ʔa (*-ra)
 house wing TOP CIT TOP

'roof overhang'

However, constituents marked as topic do occasionally occur alone as elliptical utterances. For example:

ya - ra (*-ʔa)
 1sg TOP IND

'(What about) me?' (eg., 'You've given betelnut to everyone else; what about me?')

Finally, the topic suffix is generally mutually exclusive with overt case suffixes. That is, there is a strong correlation between topicalization and Nominative case; this is the unmarked case relation in Tauya, with case suffix \emptyset .

(a) Nominative Case

The Nominative case is the case relation of intransitive subjects and transitive objects; transitive subjects in clauses with non-human objects may also be in the Nominative case. NPs in the Nominative case may be marked as topics:

wa[?]a nono - ra pofa momune - ti - a - te ...
female child TOP soon sit INTEN 3sg DS

'Soon the girl had her first menstruation and the other ...'

pofa [?]i nono - ra \emptyset - a[?]ate - ti ni - fo - pa ...
soon DEM child TOP 3sg hit CONJ eat PERF SS

'Soon she killed and ate that child and she ...'

" ya - ra [?]i [?]a - pa fanu - ni
lsg TOP DEM do SS man ERG

ya - [?]osai - pope - a - [?]a " [?]i o - pa ...
lsg chase HAB 3sg IND DEM say SS

"Like that the man always chased me", she said that and she ...'

nono - ra sema te - pa yate - pa ...
 child TOP pot get SS go SS
 'The child took the pot and he ...'

(b) Genitive and Comitative Cases

Nouns in case relations which are determined with reference to another noun, rather than with reference to VP, can be marked as topics. Thus, NPs in the Genitive case can include the topic suffix:

wate ya - pi - ra
 house lsg GEN TOP 'my house' TOP.

afe sini - pi - ra
 mother lpl GEN TOP 'our mother' TOP.

Preposed NPs in the Genitive case cannot be marked as topic. However, this is due to the restriction that the topic suffix may not be added to a single constituent within a complex NP:

mu nono - na (*-ra) aniyamo (-ra)
 DEM child GEN TOP mother TOP
 'this child's mother'

ni - pi (*-ra) ?ipai aniyamo (-ra)
 3sg GEN TOP arrow mother TOP
 'this child's mother'

Similarly, the Comitative case suffix, /-sou/, may co-occur with the topic suffix when it functions as a conjunction, i.e., when it is used to express

relations between NPs. However, when it functions as a suffix marking the Comitative case relation, it is mutually exclusive with the topic suffix:

Aresa - sou Towe - sou - ra Bramani yate - i - ?a
 COM COM TOP go 3pl IND

'Aresa and Towe went to Brahman'

Aresa Towe - sou (*-ra) Bramani yate - a - ?a
 COM TOP go 3sg IND

'Aresa went to Brahman with Towe'

In the examples presented here, the Genitive and conjoined NPs can be interpreted as being in the Nominative case, with case suffix \emptyset ; note that both Genitive /-pi/ and conjunction /-sou/ can co-occur with other case suffixes:

awa nini - pi - ni
 father 3pl GEN ERG 'their father' ERG.

awa na - pi - sou afe na - pi - sou - ni
 father 2sg GEN COM mother 2sg GEN COM ERG

'your father and your mother' ERG.

(c) Ergative and Benefactive Cases

NPs in the Ergative and Benefactive cases cannot be marked as topics:

*?i fanu - ni - ra
 DEM man ERG TOP

*nono - pe - ra
 child BEN TOP

However, there are 2 environments in which this co-occurrence restriction does not apply. First, the Ergative case suffix does not always mark the ergative case relation, i.e., its distribution is not restricted to transitive subjects (see). When the Ergative suffix is not interpreted as marking the ergative case relation, it can co-occur with the topic suffix. For example:

ʔamei - ni - ra ʔasou - ti - pa ʔai - mene - a - te
 cloud ERG TOP cover PERF SS do stay 3sg DS
 'Clouds were covering [the whole area] and ...'

Second, coordinate medial clauses which include the Ergative or Benefactive case suffixes can also be marked as topics:

mei fofu - pa - ni - ra yan - au - a - ʔa
 here come SS ERG TOP lsg see 3sg IND
 'He came here so he saw me'

yate - e - te - pe - ra ya - pe ∅ - ʔisafe - ʔe - ʔa
 go 1/2 DS BEN TOP 1sg BEN 3sg angry 3sgFut IND

'If I go, he'll be angry at me'

On the other hand, complement clauses, like lexical nouns, cannot be inflected for both Ergative or

Benefactive case and topic:

fanu ni - pi ʔumu - a - na - ni (*-ra) ...
 man 3sg GEN die 3sg COMP ERG TOP

'Because her husband died ...'

fanu teme - nani yate - a - na - pe (*-ra) ...
 man other ADESS go 3sg COMP BEN TOP

'Because she went to another man ...'

Although the co-occurrence of overt case suffixes and the topic suffix on coordinate medial clauses cannot be explained, it reinforces the hypothesis, presented above, that they are less noun-like than are complement clauses and lexical nouns.

(d) Locative Cases

There is some variability among speakers of Tauya in their acceptance of topicalization of NPs with various locative and locative-like (i.e., Partitive /-ʔaimi/ < /-ʔai/ ADESS/ALL + /-mi/ 'from'; Instrumental /-ʔaisami/ (=ABL)) case suffixes. This variability has 2 sources. First, locative case suffixes are not always interpreted as marking case relations; in some instances, they serve as derivational suffixes. Second, there simply seems to be variability in the acceptability of topicalized nouns which are interpreted as being in locative case relations.

Locative case suffixes functioning as derivational elements occur freely with the topic suffix. For example, the Adessive/Allative suffix /-sa/ can derive locative nouns (cf.). Thus, in the following example, /-sa/ is interpreted as a derivational suffix, and the topic suffix may be included:

ʔawasa - ra amufi mene - a - ʔa
 coast TOP close stay 3sg IND
 'The coast is nearby'

Other locative case suffixes may also have derivational function and thus be followed by the Topic suffix:

wawi ʔumu - a - na - ʔai - ra ʔi ti - a - ʔa
old man die 3sg COMP ADESS TOP DEM 3sg IND

'That's where the old man died' (lit., 'Where the old man died is there')

wate amufo - ʔaimi - ra " mane!"
house big PART. TOP gosh

'(Some people) from the big house (= lineage) said, "Gosh! ..."'

However, when locative case suffixes are interpreted as marking locative case relations, they are generally mutually exclusive with the topic suffix:

ʔawasa(*- ra) yate - e - ʔa
coast TOP go 1/2 IND

'I went to the coast'

Tufuma - sami (* -ra) mei mepi - i - ʔa
 ABL TOP here come down 3pl IND

'They came down here from Tuguma'

lotu - ʔai (* - ra) mene - a - ʔa
church ADESS TOP stay 3sg IND

'He's at church'

This restriction, however, is not without exception. There seems to be a tendency for younger speakers to accept topicalized nouns in locative cases, while older speakers do not, even though the latter occasionally use such constructions. For example:

ʔone - ʔai - ra ʔufiya - ni wame - ni
 time ADESS TOP sweet potato ERG what ERG

foi mai - a - te ...
 wet come up 3sg DS

'At (that) time the sweet potatoes - what -
 came up rotten' (i.e., there were so many that
 some were left to rot in the ground)

ʔi Ø - neme fatei - ʔaisami - ra yaʔe
 DEM 3sg head style INSTRU TOP water

nutu anifi - pa mene - a - te ...
 waterfall resemble SS stay 3sg DS

'With her fatei hairstyle she resembled a
 waterfall and the other ...'

Although the co-occurrence restriction appears to
 be strongest with the Adessive/Allative suffix /-sa/,
 even this suffix occasionally co-occurs with the
 topic suffix:

mei - sa - ra fanu moʔotu ʔini - mene - pope - i - te
 here ADESS TOP man many sleep STAT HAB 3pl DS

'Here many men lived and the other ...'

(e) Vocative Case

The Vocative suffixes, /-o/ for personal names and kin terms, and /-ya/ for common nouns, are mutually exclusive with the topic suffix:

Noi - o (*-ra)
 VOC 'Noi!'

wawi - ya (*-ra)
 old man VOC TOP 'Old man!'

Aside from the exceptions and variability noted here, the general pattern that emerges is that the topic suffix, which marks a pragmatic role, is mutually exclusive with overt case suffixes, which mark syntactic roles. One possible explanation for this is that the topic suffix is being reinterpreted as a suffix marking Nominative case, and is thus incompatible with suffixes marking other case relations. In some respects, this kind of reanalysis appears to be quite natural. For example, the Nominative case suffix is phonologically null, permitting reinterpretation of the topic suffix, i.e.,

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{NP} + \emptyset + /-ra/ & \longrightarrow & \text{NP} + /-ra/ \\ \text{NOM} \quad \text{TOP} & & \text{NOM} \end{array}$$

Further, in equational sentences, the Nominative NP (subject) is obligatorily marked as topic; in the absence of the topic suffix, these constructions are interpreted as citation forms of compound nouns:

pai - ra ya - pi - ?a
pig TOP lsg GEN IND

'The pig is mine'

pai ya - pi - ?a
pig lsg GEN CIT

'my pig'

The fact that the topic suffix is here obligatory on a NP in the Nominative case could well hasten its reanalysis as a Nominative case suffix.

However, this explanation for the mutual exclusiveness of the topic suffix /-ra/ and overt case suffixes is not very satisfactory; the fact remains that the topic and case suffixes can and do co-occur.

Further, there is evidence elsewhere in Tauya that overt marking of pragmatic and syntactic roles are mutually exclusive. This evidence comes from left-dislocated constructions. Pragmatically,

topics and left-dislocations are very similar, both indicating given or presupposed information. In Tauya, NPs, including lexical nouns, complement clauses and coordinate medial clauses, can be left-dislocated; they are then followed by the resumptive pronoun /ʔe/. Any overt case suffixes which may be present do not undergo dislocation with the nominal element; instead, they are added to the resumptive pronoun. For example:

ʔi fanu - na aniyamo
 DEM man GEN mother 'that man's mother'

→ ʔi fanu ʔi - na aniyamo
 DEM man PRO GEN mother
 'that man, his mother'

fanu ni - pi ʔumu - a - na - ni wamasi
 man 3sg GEN die 3sg COMP ERG widow

mene - a - ʔa
 stay 3sg IND

'Her husband died so she's a widow'

→ fanu ni - pi ʔumu - a - na ʔi - ni
 man 3sg GEN die 3sg COMP PRO ERG

wamasi mene - a - ʔa
 widow stay 3sg IND

'Her husband died, that's why she's a widow'

That is, like topics, a left-dislocated NP includes no overt case marking. In the absence of case suffixes, these NPs occur freely with the topic suffix:

ʔi fanu - ra ʔi - na aniyamo
 DEM man TOP PRO GEN mother
 'that man (TOP), his mother'

(vs. *ʔi fanu - na - ra aniyamo
 DEM man GEN TOP mother)

Thus, neither left-dislocations nor topics, both of which indicate given or presupposed information, can be marked for case. Topicalization is generally restricted to NPs in the Nominative case; NPs in any case relation may undergo dislocation.

Tauya is by no means the only language to rigidly constrain topicalization according to syntactic role, nor to make overt marking of case and topic mutually exclusive.

3.2.11. Mood in the Noun Phrase

In Tauya, equational sentences have NP predicates; that is, there is no copula verb. NP predicates can occur in 3 moods: Indicative, Interrogative and Exclamatory.

3.2.11.1. Indicative/Citation /-ʔa/

The suffix /-ʔa/ is used on nominal predicates, as well as on verbal predicates, to indicate the Indicative mood. It is also the citation suffix.

For example:

wate - ra amufo - ʔa
house TOP big IND

'The house is big'

ne - ta fanu ʔuniyane - ʔa
3sg TOP man good IND

'He is a good man'

sau wate - ʔu mene - a - na - ra ya - pi - ʔa
axe house INESS stay 3sg COMP TOP 1sg GEN IND

'The axe in the house is mine'

ʔe - ra ʔi ʔai - pope - a - na wawi - ʔa
DEM TOP DEM do HAB 3sg REL old man IND

'He is an old man who always does that' (= 'that kind of old man')

As a citation suffix, /-ʔa/ may occur on any NP, including pronouns, personal names, inherent locatives, etc., and with nearly all other NP

suffixes. However, /-ʔa/ is mutually exclusive with the Topic suffix, /-ra/, and with suffixes marking Interrogative mood.

panei - ʔa
 rat CIT 'rat'

funema - ʔa
 valley CIT 'valley' N.Loc.

niporofa - rafo - ʔa
 beetle DUB CIT 'maybe a niporofa beetle'

ʔoʔifa - ʔa
 CIT pers. name

si - ni - ʔa
 1pl ERG TOP 'us' ERG.

ni - ʔa
 3sg CIT 'him'

But,

* nono - ra - ʔa
 child TOP CIT. ('child' TOP.)

* nono - ʔa - yae
 child CIT Q ('child?' INTERROG.)

The Citation/Indicative suffix may not occur on interrogative nouns:

* wame - ʔa
 what CIT ('what')

* mafi - ʔa
 where CIT ('where')

However, the Citation/Indicative suffix can co-occur with the exclamatory suffix, /-e/:

sai - ʔa - e
 snake CIT EXCLAM 'a snake!'

Although /-ʔa/ also marks the Indicative/Unmarked mood on VP, it seems reasonable to assume that /-ʔa/ as a modal suffix and /-ʔa/ as a Citation suffix are, in fact, the same morpheme. Thus, for example, utterances of the form NP₁ NP₂ which include the suffix /-ʔa/ are identified as equational sentences or as citation forms solely by the presence or absence of the Topic suffix on NP₁, i.e.,

NP₁ NP₂ - /ʔa/ Citation
 NP₁ - /ra/ NP₂ - /ʔa/ Equational

For example:

wate amufo - ʔa
 house big 'a big house'

wate - ra amufo - ʔa
 house TOP big 'The house is big'

yene ʔaifa - ʔa
 bird cockatoo 'a cockatoo'

yene - ra ʔaifa - ʔa
 bird TOP cockatoo 'The bird is a cockatoo'

3.2.11.2. Interrogative

Equational sentences can be in the Interrogative mood, either as polar or non-polar questions.

3.2.11.2.1. Polar Interrogative /-yae/

The polar interrogative suffix used on NP is /-yae/ (vs. /-nae(yae)/ for VP; see).

For example:

na - ta Etrusi - yae
2sg TOP Q 'Are you Etrus?'

?i fena?a - ra afe na - pi - yae
DEM woman TOP mother 2sg GEN Q

'Is that woman your mother?'

?e - ra awa na - pi - na fena?a - yae
DEM TOP father 2sg GEN GEN woman Q

'Is that your father's wife?'

3.2.11.2.2. Non-Polar Interrogative /-e/

Equational sentences which are non-polar questions include an interrogative word and the modal suffix /-e/ (vs. /-ne/ for VP; see):

we fanu - e
who man Q 'Who's he?'

?e - ra we - na nono - e
DEM TOP who GEN child Q 'Whose child is that?'

me - ta wame - e
DEM TOP what Q 'What's this?'

ʔi fenaʔa - na Ø - wanimo - ra we - e
 DEM woman GEN 3sg name TOP who Q
 'What's that woman's name?'

3.2.11.3. Exclamatory

The suffix /-e/ marks exclamations. There is an apparent distinction between simple exclamations used, for example, in greetings and warnings, and identificational exclamatory forms. The latter, but not the former, also include the Citation/Indicative suffix /-ʔa/:

ʔ^weisinasa - e
 morning EXCLAM '(Good) morning!'

ʔ^weisa - e
 night EXCLAM '(Good) night!'

oʔo - e
 fire EXCLAM 'Fire!'

sai - ʔa - e
 snake CIT EXCLAM 'A snake!'

ʔaʔisisiʔa - ʔa - e
 spider CIT EXCLAM 'a spider!'

3.2.12. Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns, like the nouns they replace, are not subject to any rigid word ordering, but occur freely in any (preverbal) position.

There are 5 basic interrogative pronouns, indicating human referents, non-human referents, temporals, locatives, and the deictic form 'which'. Reason and Manner interrogatives are derived forms.

3.2.12.1. Human /we/

The interrogative pronoun used for human referents occurs with a wide variety of case suffixes. To mark the Genitive case relation, the case suffix used with non-pronominal nouns, /-na/, is employed, rather than the pronominal form /-pi/.

Nominative /we + ø/

we ø - yau - e - ne
 who 3sg see 1/2 Q

'Who did you see?'

Ergative /we + ne/

we - ni na - nau - a - e
 who ERC 2sg see 3sg Q

'Who saw you?'

Genitive /we + na/

?e - ra we - na nono - e
DEM TOP who GEN child Q

'Whose child is that?'

Comitative /we + sou/

we - sou pofei - ?e - ne
who COM talk 3sgFut Q

'Who will he talk with?'

Benefactive /we + pe/

we - pe \emptyset - ?isafe - a - e
who BEN 3sg angry 3sg Q

'Who is he angry at?'

3.2.12.2. Common /wame/

The Interrogative pronoun /wame/, 'what?',
is inflected for case:

Nominative /wame + \emptyset /

wame ni - a - e
what eat 3sg Q

'What did he eat?'

Ergative /wame + ne/

wame - ni epitei - ti - e - ne
what ERG break PERF 1/2 Q

'What did you break it with?'

Benefactive /wame + pe/

In the Benefactive case, the interrogative
pronoun /wame/ is used to indicate reason,
literally, 'for what?':

wame - pe yate - i - ne
 what BEN go 3pl Q

'Why did they go?'

/wame/ also participates in a derived manner interrogative, the same-subject medial verb form /wame#ti+pa/, 'how', literally, 'What did X do and X ...?'. For example:

wametipa ?umu - a - e
 how die 3sg Q

'How did he die?'

The form /wame/ is very commonly used in lists, as a sort of rhetorical 'what else?'. Its counterpart in New Guinea Pidgin, wonem, is also used extensively for this purpose:

ya - ra yau wame ?ufiya wame
 lsg TOP fish what sweet potato what
 pai tapumo ware sawi wame mo?otu
 pig meat what banana what many
 ni - pope - e - ?a
 eat HAB 1/2 IND

'I eat fish .. what .. sweet potato .. what ..
 pork .. what .. banana .. what .. many (things)'

There is a second interrogative pronoun used to replace common nouns, /wametamu/. This form is perhaps derivationally related to both /wame/ and to the non-interrogative form, /watamu/, 'thing':

Nominative /wametamu + Ø/

wametamu ni - a - e
 what eat 3sg Q

'What did he eat?'

Inessive /wametamu + ʔusa/

wametamu - ʔusa tefe - e - ne
 what INESS put 1/2 Q

'What did you put (it) in?'

3.2.12.3. Temporal /asa/

The temporal interrogative pronoun, /asa/ 'when', is not attested with any case suffixes. As well as replacing a complete NP, /asa/ also occurs in compounds with other temporal nouns:

asa yate - ʔai - ne
 when go 3plFut Q

'When will they go?'

asa mei fofe - a - e
 when here come 3sg Q

'When did he come here?'

asa nuʔufo ni - ʔa - ne
 when time eat 2sgFut Q

'When will you eat?'

asa nuʔufo - sami ʔumu - a - e
 when time ABL die 3sg Q

'How long has he been dead?'

There is a non-interrogative temporal noun root which is possibly derivationally related to /asa/: /asamo/ 'always' (< /asa+mo/ ?).

3.2.12.4. Locative /mafi/

The locative interrogative pronoun, /mafi/, can include the locative case suffixes characteristic of inherent locative nouns.

mafi mene - a - e
where stay 3sg Q
'Where is he?'

mafi yate - e - ne
where go 1/2 Q
'Where did you go?'

mafi - sami mei fofe - e - ne
where ABL here come 1/2 Q
'Where did you come here from?'

3.2.12.5. Deictic /mafo/

Like other deictics, /mafo/ 'which' can function as a modifier or as an independent noun; as a modifier, it precedes the head.

mafo - ra ano na - pi - ʔa - e
which TOP sibling 2sg GEN COLL Q
'Which (ones) are your younger brothers?'

mafo - ni fai - e - ne
which ERG cut 1/2 Q
'Which (one) did you cut (it) with?'

mafo wate - pe ese - e - ne
 which house BEN want 1/2 Q

'Which house do you want?'

mafo pai - ra na - pi - e
 which pig TOP 2sg GEN Q

'Which pigs are yours?'

/mafo/ also participates in a derived interrogative form indicating manner. In this construction, /mafo/ is followed by /-(?ai)#?ai+pa/, phonetically [-(?a)?apa], which apparently consists of the (optionally reduplicated) verb root /?ai-/ 'do', followed by the same-subject medial verb suffix, /-pa/. The literal translation is thus 'Which did X do and X ...?':

yate - e - na - ra mafa?a?apa ese - i - ne
 go 1/2 COMP TOP how know 3pl Q

'How did they know that you went?'

mafa?a?apa se - nau - pa te - ?ai - ne
 how 1pl see SS get 3plFut Q

'How will they find us?'

mafa?a?apa ?umu - a - e
 how die 3sg Q

'How did he die?'

To express 'what kind?', /mafo/ is followed by /-ʔai+mo/, which consists of /ʔai-/ 'do', followed by the nominalizer /-mo/ (see also):

ne - ta mafaʔamo - e
3sg TOP like which Q

'What's he like?' (= 'He is like which (one)?')

Both the locative interrogative /mafi/ and the deictic form /mafo/ can plausibly be derived from a single root, /mafe/. /mafi/ thus consists of /mafe + i/, with /-i/ being a locative-deriving suffix; /mafo/ consists of this root with rounding of the final vowel (cf.). By this analysis, these interrogative forms are exactly parallel derivationally to the non-interrogative deictics, i.e.,

/me/	'this (one)'	/me+i/	'here'
/ʔe/	'that (one)'	/ʔe+i/	'there'
/mafe/	'which (one)'	/mafe+i/	'where'

3.2.13. Negation of NP

The root used to negate NPs is /ʔ^we/; it is invariable, i.e., not inflected for person. This root is perhaps cognate with the negative Intransitive verb root /ʔ^wei-/, 'gone, finished, absent'.

ya - ra ʔ^we - ʔa
lsg TOP NEG IND 'Not me' ~ 'It wasn't me'

(vs. ne - ta ʔ^wei - a - ʔa
3sg TOP gone 3sg IND
'He's not here')

yute ya - pi ʔ^we - ʔa
tobacco lsg GEN NEG IND

'(That's) not my tobacco'

(vs. yute ya - pi ʔ^wei - a - ʔa
tobacco lsg GEN gone 3sg IND

'My tobacco is finished' ~ 'I have no tobacco')

sini - pi mei mei ʔawasa sai - ra ʔ^we - ʔa
lpl GEN here here coast snake TOP NEG IND

'It wasn't a coastal snake [like those] near us'

/ʔ^we/ is also used as an interjection, 'no':

ʔ^we - ʔa
NEG CIT 'No'

3.3. The Verb Phrase

3.3.1. Introduction

Like many other Papuan languages, Tauya has medial verb constructions. That is, rather than using conjunctive particles to conjoin clauses, all but the final clause in a series includes a verb in a special reduced 'medial' form. The last verb in the series has a fully inflected 'final' form, i.e.,

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} X \quad VP \\ \text{Medial} \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} X \quad VP \\ \text{Medial} \end{array} \right] \quad \dots \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} X \quad VP \\ \text{Final} \end{array} \right]$$

The major morphological distinction between medial and final verbs is that only the latter are marked for mood, while only the former include special 'medial' suffixes.

Final verbs in Tauya obligatorily include only 3 constituents, a verb stem, a personal desinence indicating the person/number of the subject and tense, and a modal suffix. Optional constituents include pronominal prefixes indicating the object and a number of aspectual auxiliaries.

Final Verb:

(OBJ) + STEM + AUX + DESINENCE + MOOD

There are two major categories of medial verbs, Coordinate medials and Subordinate medials. Coordinate medial verbs are of 2 types: 'same-subject' (SS) and 'different-subject' (DS). That is, coordinate medials indicate whether or not the subject of the medial verb is coreferential with the subject of the following verb. SS coordinate medial verbs do not include a personal desinence indicating the subject; they are interpreted as having a subject coreferential with the subject of the following verb. SS coordinate medial verbs are marked with the medial suffix /-pa/. DS coordinate medials do include personal desinences, which indicate the subject of the medial clause; they are marked with the medial suffix /-te/. Like final verbs, coordinate medials may also include object prefixes and aspectual auxiliaries, i.e.,

Coordinate Medial Verb

DS: (OBJ) + STEM ± AUX + DESINENCE + /-te/

SS: (OBJ) + STEM ± AUX + /-pa/

There are 3 types of Subordinate medials in Tauya, Complements, Assertives and Counter-Factuals, each being marked by a distinct medial suffix.

Unlike coordinate medials, subordinate medials do not indicate switch-reference, that is, there is no distinction between SS and DS forms.

Subordinate Medials

COMP: (OBJ) + STEM ± AUX + DESINENCE + /-na/
 ASSER: (OBJ) + STEM ± AUX + DESINENCE + /-nani/
 C.-F.: (OBJ) + STEM ± AUX + /-ʔani/

All verb phrases in Tauya, both medial and final, can be described by a single formula. However, there are some co-occurrence restrictions, such that certain kinds of medial verbs cannot include certain inflectional categories. The general formula for the Tauya VP is as follows:

$$(\text{NEG}) \quad (\text{OBJ}) + \text{STEM} \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{STATIVE} \\ \text{PERFECTIVE} \end{array} \right\} \pm$$

$$\text{CONATIVE} \pm \text{PROGRESSIVE} \pm \text{HABITUAL} \pm$$

$$\text{AVOLITIONAL} \pm \text{DESINENCE} \pm \text{MEDIAL SUFFIX} \pm$$

$$\text{DUBITATIVE} \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{MOOD} \\ \text{TOPIC} \end{array} \right\}$$

The various constituents possible in a Tauya VP are described below. Since final verbs can include virtually all of these constituents, they are discussed first. Medial verbs and their co-occurrence restrictions are discussed in subsequent sections.

3.3.2. Final Verbs

3.3.2.1. Introduction

Any definition of 'final verb' in Tauya will be to some extent arbitrary. Perhaps the most comprehensive definition includes both morphological and syntactic criteria. Morphologically, a final verb can be defined as any verb which includes a modal suffix, and which does not include a medial suffix. Syntactically, a final verb may occur in isolation and form a complete utterance, or it may occur at the end of a series of medial verbs. By these criteria, the following examples all include final verbs:

ni - ʔafe - ene - ʔa
eat PROG 1/2pl IND

'We're eating'

ʔeʔe ya - ra ʔi ʔa - pa fofe - e - ʔa
oh 1sg TOP DEM do SS come 1/2 IND

'Oh, I came like that' (lit., 'I did that and I came')

pou - a - te ori ni - pi yati yau - a - ʔa
dawn 3sg DS trap 3sg GEN go see 3sg IND

'It dawned and he went and looked at his traps'

However, this definition of final verb is not without exception. That is, modal suffixes are not mutually exclusive with medial suffixes, and

not all verbs which lack medial suffixes include modal suffixes.

For example, coordinate medial verbs, i.e., verbs which include a coordinate medial suffix, can also be marked for mood:

∅ - aʔate - a - te - ʔa
 3sg hit 3sg DS IND
 '(Because) he hit her'

However, as suggested by the gloss, this and similar examples do not satisfy one of the syntactic criteria for final verbs, i.e., it is not interpreted as a complete utterance, but as a sentence fragment. More serious for the proposed definition of 'final verb' is the fact that verbs which include subordinate medial suffixes can and often do occur with modal suffixes; they are then not interpreted as sentence fragments, but as complete utterances:

yate - pa ∅ - yau - e - na - ʔa
 go SS 3sg see 1/2 COMP IND
 'I just went and saw him'

Tufuma - sa yate - amu - nani - ʔa
 ADESS go 1sgFut ASSER IND
 'I will go to Tufuma'

Counter-factual subordinate medials can also occur finally with inflection for mood. However, if they are to be interpreted as complete utterances, they must be preceded by medial counter-factual clauses:

∅ - yau - ʔani - ra ∅ - tu - ʔani - ʔa
 3sg see C.-F. TOP 3sg give C.-F. IND

'If (I) had seen him, (I'd) have given (it) to him'

That is, all 3 kinds of subordinate 'medial' verbs can occur both medially and finally. They are distinguished solely on the basis of mood vs. topic/case marking, i.e.,

	Medial	Final
COMP.	V + D + /na/ (+ { Case } { Topic })	V + D + /na/ + MOOD
ASSER.	V + D + /nani/ + Topic	V + D + /nani/ + MOOD
C.-F.	V + /ʔani/ (+ Topic)	V + /ʔani/ + MOOD

This suggests that the presence or absence of subordinate medial suffixes is not diagnostic in distinguishing medial vs. final verbs. Rather, final verbs are morphologically defined solely by the presence of modal suffixes.

However, some verbs which may otherwise be defined as 'final' do not include modal suffixes.

For example:

Bramani yate - e
go 1/2

'Are you going to Brahman?'

However, modal suffixes appear to be absent only in polar questions. Thus, it is possible to propose a rule which optionally deletes the polar interrogative modal suffix /-nae/, and thereby preserve the proposed definition of 'final verb', i.e.,

Bramani yate - e (- nae)
go 1/2 0

'Are you going to Brahman?'

For the purposes of this grammar, a final verb will be defined as any verb which does not include a medial suffix and which does include a modal suffix (the last with the exception just noted). The presence and relatively high frequency of verbs including both subordinate 'medial' suffixes and modal suffixes remains problematic. That is, there is no evidence that these forms are any less 'final'

pragmatically than are other final verbs. However, for ease of exposition, they are defined here as medial verbs, since the suffixes which serve to identify them, /-na/, /-nani/ and /-ʔani/, are mutually exclusive with the suffixes marking coordinate medial verbs.

So defined, a final verb in Tauya can include any of the constituents of VP except the medial suffixes:

(NEG) (OBJ) + STEM ± { STATIVE } ±
 { PERFECTIVE }
 CONATIVE ± PROGRESSIVE ± HABITUAL ±
 AVOLITIONAL + DESINENCE ± DUBITATIVE
 + MOOD

Thus, the only obligatory constituents in a final verb are the verb stem, a personal desinence, and a modal suffix.

3.3.2.2. The Verb Stem

Tauya verb stems can be divided into 3 derivational classes and 4 syntactic classes. Derivational classes include simple roots, i.e., roots with no internal structure, roots with a derivational affix, and compound roots. Syntactic classes include Intransitive stems, Transitive stems, Transitive/Intransitive stems and Impersonal stems. There is also a very small class of Imperative stems.

3.3.2.2.1. Derivational Classes

3.3.2.2.1.1. Simple Roots

Simple roots may terminate in any one of 5 vowels, /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, or /u/, or 4 vowel clusters, /ei/, /ai/, /ou/, or /au/. One verb root has been attested which terminates in the rare vowel cluster, /oi/. /e/-stem verbs are most common, both in number and in frequency of occurrence, i.e., generally, the most commonly used verbs are /e/-stem. Aside from the single /oi/-stem verb, /o/- and /a/- stem verbs are least common. Examples of verb roots from each

class include:

/i/-Stem

ʔini- V.Intr. 'sleep, lie'

eʔi- V.Tr. 'make'

esi- V. Tr./Intr. 'want, hear, perceive'

mepi- V.Intr. 'come down'

/e/-Stem

mene- V.Intr. 'stay'

yate- V.Intr. 'go'

te- V.Tr. 'get'

tefe- V.Tr. 'put'

/a/-Stem

nipa- V.Intr. 'be bad, no good'

ʔita- V.Intr. 'laugh'

foʔutipa- V.Intr. 'have swollen belly'

fapa- V.Intr. 'step over'

/o/-Stem

o- V.Intr. 'say'

ofo- V.Tr. 'pull out'

firo- V.Intr. 'roam, wander'

roro- V.Intr. 'be tired, exhausted'

/u/-Stem

ʔumu- V.Intr. 'die'

-tu- V.Tr. 'give to'

topu- V.Tr. 'plant'

etemu- V.Tr. 'tighten (rope)'

/ei/-Stem

fei- V.Tr./Intr. 'boil'

mei- V.Intr. 'cry'

ʔ^wei- V.Intr. 'be night'

tei- V.Tr. 'touch'

/ai/-Stem

mai- V.Intr. 'come up'

ferai- V.Tr./Intr. 'untie'

ʔai- V.Tr. 'do'

ʔosai- V.Tr. 'chase'

/ou/-Stem

oʔonou- V.Tr. 'gather'

aʔarou- V.Tr./Intr. 'cover'

ʔatou- V.Intr. 'arrive'

pou- V.Intr. 'be dawn'

/au/-Stem

fitau- V.Tr. 'throw'

-yau- V.Tr. 'see'

nau- V.Tr. 'finish'

pau- V.Intr. 'emerge, erupt'

/oi/-Stem

foi- V.Intr. 'be wet, rotten'

3.3.2.2.1.2. Derived Stems

Verb stems may be derived with one of 6 suffixes, /-me/, /-fe/₁, /-ne/, /-te/, /-fe/₂ and /-ti/. The first 3, /-me/, /-fe/₁ and /-ne/, have no independent meaning synchronically and are obligatory parts of the stems which include them. Their status as suffixes is determined by the fact that they are omitted in reduplication. The remaining suffixes, /-te/, /-fe/₂ and /-ti/, are difficult to analyze. All 3 occur as independent verb roots; the latter 2 also occur as perfective auxiliaries. This suggests that stems including them might perhaps be more correctly analyzed as compounds. However, they are included as derivational suffixes for 2 reasons. First, they may be added to noun roots to derive verb stems. Second, the meaning of forms with final /-te/ is not entirely predictable. Although meanings of forms with final /-fe/₂ and /-ti/ are generally predictable, these suffixes are mutually exclusive with /-te/.

/-fe/₁ and /-fe/₂ are distinct suffixes. As is demonstrated below, the first has no apparent

synchronic meaning, while the second has transitive/perfective force. Second, they differ in co-occurrence restrictions. Verb stems with final /-fe/₁ can occur with virtually all the auxiliaries, such as Stative /-mene-/ and Perfective /-ti-/. Stems with final /-fe-/₂, on the other hand, may not co-occur with these auxiliaries:

∅ - ?isa-fo - mene - a - ?a (-fo- < /-fe-/₁; see
3sg angry STAT 3sg IND below)

'He is angry'

ya - tuta-fo - ti - a - ?a
1sg crazy PERF 3sg IND

'I'm really crazy'

But,

* tepau - fe₂ - mene-
break STAT

* tepau - fe₂ - ti-
break PERF

3.3.2.2.1.2.1. /-me/ and /-fe/₁

The derivational suffixes used to create verb stems, /-me/ and /-fe/₁, are clearly related to the nominal derivational suffixes, /-mo/ and /-fo/.

A number of Intransitive and Impersonal

stems show evidence of the suffixes /-me/ and /-fe/₁. Although no meanings can be assigned to these suffixes synchronically, their status as derivational affixes is determined by their failure to be included in reduplication. For example:

/nunu+me-/ V.Intr. 'be ripe, red'
 /nunu#nunu+me-/ V.Intr. 'be really ripe'
 /-ʔorai+fe-/ V.Impers. 'be tired (of), not want'
 /-ʔorai#ʔorai+fe-/ V.Impers. 'really not want'

Verb stems which include these suffixes generally have corresponding nominal forms with final /-mo/ or /-fo/. Thus:

/-sepa+me-/ V.Impers. 'be sick'
 /sepa+mo/ N. 'sickness'
 /-ona+me-/ V.Impers. 'be hungry, starving'
 /ona+mo/ N. 'hunger'
 /wa+me-/ V.Intr. 'grow'
 /wa+mo/ N. 'grown, big (one)'
 /ʔufu+me-/ V.Intr. 'be heavy'
 /ʔufu+mo/ N. 'heaviness, weight'
 /-ʔisa+fe-/ V.Impers. 'angry'
 /ʔisa+fo/ N. 'anger'
 /-tuta+fe-/ V.Impers. 'be crazy, stupid'
 /tuta+fo/ N. 'craziness'

The suffixes /-me/ and /-fe/₁ exhibit some phonological irregularity. That is, they are not subject to the Pre-Auxiliary Raising rule (R19) which affects most /e/-stem verbs, but rather undergo a rounding rule (R18) (cf. 2.4.2.2.3.1).

Thus,

/-sepa+me + ti-/ → [-sepamoti-]
 sick PERF R18

'be really sick'

/-ʔisa+fe + mene-/ → [-ʔisafomene-]
 angry STAT R18

'be angry'

Compare with /e/-stem verbs which undergo R19:

/yate + ti-/ → [yatiti-]
 go PERF R19

'gone'

/ese + mene-/ → [esimene-]
 hear STAT R19

'understand'

There are 2 possible explanations for the failure of the suffixes /-me/ and /-fe/₁ to undergo R19. First, they may simply be irregular. Alternatively, they may be nominalized forms of the verb stems, with suffixes /-mo/ and /-fo/; in this case, the

auxiliaries which follow them have derivational function, i.e.,

Irregular Analysis:

/wa+me + ti + a + ?a/ → wa+mo + ti + a + ?a
 grow PERF 3sg IND R18
 → [wamotiya?a]
 other rules 'He grew'

Nominalization Analysis:

/wa+mo + ti + a + ?a/ → [wamotiya?a]
 grown(N) PERF 3sg IND other rules
 'He grew'

As yet, it is not possible to choose between these two analyses.

3.3.2.2.1.2.2. /-ne/

A number of verb stems are derived with final /-ne/; the vast majority of them are Intransitive. Although /-ne/ is obligatory in these stems, its status as a derivational suffix is determined by the fact that it is omitted in reduplication. For example:

/tuta+ne-/ V.Intr. 'be crazy, stupid'
 /tuta#tuta+ne-/ V.Intr. 'be lost'
 /momu+ne-/ V.Intr. 'sit'
 /momu#momu+ne-/ V.Intr. 'sit for a while'

Other stems with final /-ne/ include:

merene- V.Intr. 'shine'
 toporone- V.Intr. 'be nearly dawn'
 ?utine- V.Intr. 'fall'
 nurune- V.Intr. 'sneeze, snore'
 werewarene- V.Intr. 'run all over'
 urune- V.Intr. 'wear'
 ?upane- V.Intr. 'menstruate'

Verb stems with final /-ne/ are phonologically aberrant: unlike other /e/-stem verbs, final /-ne/ is not subject to either the Pre-Auxiliary Raising rule (R19) or the Final Raising rule (R20) (cf.). Thus:

/momu+ne + we-/ → [momunewe-]
 sit CON

'try to sit, sit a little'

vs. /mene + we-/ → [miniwe-]
 stay CON R19

'try to stay, stay a little'

/ʔupa+ne fei ± fe-/ → [ʔupane feife-]
 menstruate 3sg TR

'pollute him'

vs. /yate fei ± fe-/ → [yati feife-]
 go 3sg TR R20

'make him go'

3.3.2.2.1.2.3. /-ti/

The suffix /-ti/ has somewhat limited use as a derivational affix, creating intransitive stems from nominal roots. For example:

/amufo + ti-/
 large V.Intr. 'become really large'

/wesa + ?i + ti-/
 some ? V.Intr. 'turn over'

/-ti/ also functions as a Perfective/Intensive auxiliary. It is also used as an independent verb root; here, its meaning is difficult to determine, but appears to be related to intensivity:

wi ?utu - ti - a - te ...
 sore heal PERF 3sg DS

'The sore healed and he ...'

?i ti - a - ?a
 DEM 3sg IND

'That's it!' ~ 'It's there!'

3.3.2.2.1.2.4. /-fe/₂

The suffix /-fe/₂ is used to derive transitive verb stems from nominal roots. For example:

/wesa + ʔi + fe-/
 some ? V.Tr. 'turn over, answer'

/amufo + fe-/
 large V.Tr. 'make large'

/inaomo + ʔamu + fe-/
 blood with V.Tr. 'make red'

/-fe/₂ also derives transitive verb stems from intransitive roots, and makes transitive/intransitive roots unambiguously transitive (cf.)::

/ʔutu-/ V.Intr. 'heal (eg., sore); die out (eg., fire)'
 /ʔutu + fe-/ V.Tr. 'put out'

/tepau-/ V.Tr/Intr 'break'
 /tepau + fe-/ V.Tr. 'break'

/-fe/₂ also functions as a verbal auxiliary, indicating Perfective aspect and/or Transitivity. It has been attested as an independent verb root in a single construction, in which it has perfective force:

ʔufiya ni - fe - a - ʔa
 food eat PERF 3sg IND

'He's eaten'

fe - a - e
 PERF 2sgFut IMP

'Stop it!'

3.3.2.2.1.2.5. /-te/

The derivational suffix /-te/ appears to be related to the independent verb root, /te-/ V.Tr. 'get'. When added to transitive verb roots, it is translated as a compound form. However, /-te/ may also be added to nominal roots, in which case it appears to derive intransitive verb stems with inceptive meaning. When added to intransitive roots, /-te/ indicates reduced intensivity:

V.Tr. + /-te/:

/tepau + te-/
break get V.Tr. 'break and get (it)'

/ni + te-/
eat get V.Tr. 'hold and eat (it)'

Nom. + /-te/:

/amufo + te-/
large V.Intr. 'be nearly big'

/wawi + te-/
old man V.Intr. 'be getting old'

V.Intr. + /-te/:

/ʔini + te-/
sleep V.Intr. 'sleep a little'

/pomu + te-/
fall V.Intr. 'trip, fall a little'

/mene + te-/
stay V.Intr. 'stay for a short time'

/-ti/, /-fe/₂ and /-te/ on Impersonal Verbs.

The three derivational suffixes, /-ti/, /-fe/₂ and /-te/, frequently occur with Impersonal verbs (cf.). In this environment, /-ti/ indicates intensive aspect; /-fe/₂ indicates transitivity; and /-te/ indicates inceptive aspect. For example:

/-oname-/ V.Impers. 'be hungry'
 /-onamo+ti-/ V.Impers. 'be really hungry'
 /-onamo+fe-/ V.Tr. 'to make hungry'
 /-onamo+te-/ V.Impers. 'be getting hungry'
 /-?oninite-/ V.Impers. 'be sad'
 /-?oninite+ti-/ V.Impers. 'be really sad'
 /-?oninite+fe-/ V.Tr. 'to make sad'
 /-?oninite+te-/ V.Impers. 'be getting sad'
 /-?isafe-/ V.Impers. 'be angry'
 /-?isafo+ti-/ V.Impers. 'be really angry'
 /-?isafo+fe-/ V.Tr. 'to make angry'
 /-?isafo+te-/ V.Impers. 'be getting angry'

3.3.2.2.1.3. Compound Stems

Compounding of verb roots is a fairly productive process in Tauya. The meanings of the compound forms can generally be determined by the meanings of the roots involved. For example:

/ʔou # topi -/ bite break off	V.Tr. 'bite off'
/ʔou # pirire-/ bite tear	V.Tr. 'tear in teeth'
/suʔu # topu -/ start plant	V.Tr. 'start to plant'
/ʔini # nare -/ lie leave	V.Tr. 'let lie'
/ofo # te -/ pull get	V.Tr. 'pull out'
/tei # ofo # te -/ catch pull get	V.Tr. 'get hold of and pull'
/ese # faʔi - / hear make well	V.Tr. 'understand'

3.3.2.2.2. Syntactic Classes

Syntactic verb stem classes include Transitive stems, Intransitive stems, Transitive/Intransitive stems, Impersonal stems, and Imperative stems.

3.3.2.2.2.1. Transitive Stems

Transitive verb stems are defined as those which take an object. There are both non-derived and derived transitive stems in Tauya.

3.3.2.2.2.1.1. Non-Derived

Some non-derived transitive verb stems typically include a pronominal prefix indicating the person and number of the direct object, while others do not include prefixes. The verb stem /-tu-/ V.Tr. 'give to' is an example of the first kind of stem, while /ni-/ V.Tr. 'eat', is an example of the second. However, these are not to be interpreted as mutually exclusive classes. Those stems which generally include object prefixes are those which generally take human objects; those generally lacking object prefixes generally have non-human objects. That is, the pronominal object prefixes, like the independent forms of the personal

pronouns from which they are derived, are typically used only for human referents. Thus, although the stem /-tu-/ always includes an object prefix, while the stem /ni-/ never does, other transitive stems, such as /-yau-/ V.Tr. 'see', may or may not include an object prefix, depending upon the kind of object present in the clause:

amo yau - e - ?a
tree see 1/2 IND
'I saw the tree(s)'

fanu mo?otu nen - au - e - ?a
man many 3pl see 1/2 IND
'I saw many men'

If the object is non-human but animate, object prefixes are optional:

pai { yau - e - ?a
pig { see 1/2 IND
 { nen - au - e - ?a
 { 3pl see 1/2 IND }
'I saw the pigs'

The following transitive verb stems frequently include object prefixes, since they frequently have human objects:

/-tu-/ V.Tr. 'give to'
/-su?utu-/ V.Tr. 'ask'
/-a?ate-/ V.Tr. 'hit'
/-ou-/ V.Tr. 'shoot, pierce'

The following stems typically do not include object prefixes, since they typically include non-human objects:

/oʔati-/ V.Tr. 'follow along' (eg., a river)
 /oʔonou-/ V.Tr. 'gather'
 /tefe-/ V.Tr. 'put'
 /fai-/ V.Tr. 'scrape, cut'

However, occasionally these stems do have human objects, and object prefixes are used:

ya - fai - a - ʔa
 1sg cut 3sg IND
 'He cut me'

The pronominal prefixes used to mark (human) objects are identical in form to the independent forms of the personal pronouns. The only exception to this is the prefix used to indicate 3sg object. The independent form of the 3sg pronoun is /ne/; the prefixed form is \emptyset :

Object Prefixes

	SG	PL
1	ya-	sen-
2	na-	ten-
3	\emptyset	nen-

These prefixes are subject to somewhat irregular phonological rules (cf.). The major ones are, first, assimilation of the vowel in the plural forms to a stem-initial non-low vowel and, second, either deletion of final /n/ in the plural forms before a stem-initial consonant, or insertion of an epenthetic vowel between final /n/ and a stem-initial consonant.

For example:

/-ou-/ V.Tr. 'shoot, pierce'

you- 'shoot me'

ou- 'shoot him/her'

sonou- 'shoot us'

/-tu-/ V.Tr. 'give to'

natu- 'give you (sg)'

tu- 'give him/her'

tutu- 'give you (pl)' (/n/-deletion)

/-yau-/ V.Tr. 'see'

yanau- 'see me' (/n/-insertion; /y/-deletion)

yau- 'see him/her'

nenau- 'see them' (/y/-deletion)

/-wase-/ V.Tr. 'watch'

nawase- 'watch you (sg)'

wase- 'watch him/her'

sonowase- 'watch us' (V-insertion)

3.3.2.2.2.1.2. Derived

Transitive stems may be derived from other verb roots with the Transitive/Perfective auxiliary /-fe-/. These constructions have the following form:

Verb Object + /-fe-/ + ...
Root

That is, the uninflected verb root is followed by the auxiliary /-fe-/. The latter includes a prefix indicating the object, as well as suffixes marking subject, aspect and mood. For example:

/mai-/ V.Intr. 'come up'
mai ne - fe - e - ?a
come up 3pl TR 1/2 IND
'I made them come up'

/ʔini-/ V.Intr. 'sleep, lie down'
ʔini si - fe - i - ?a
sleep 1pl TR 3pl IND
'They put us to sleep'

The auxiliary /-fe-/ can be used to derive transitive stems from intransitive roots, extroverted stems from introverted roots, and di-transitive stems from transitive roots. For example:

Intransitive → Transitive

/ʔumu-/ V.Intr. 'die'

ʔumu ne - fe - a - ʔa
die 3pl TR 3sg IND

'He killed them'

/ʔinime-/ V.Intr. 'taste sweet, good'

ʔinimo se - fe - a - ʔa
sweet 1pl TR 3sg IND

'It tastes good to us'

/ʔutu-/ V.Intr. 'heal, die out'

oʔo ʔutu ne - fe - a - ʔa
fire die out 3pl TR 3sg IND

'The fire died on them'

Introverted → Extroverted

/sifi-/ V.Introv. 'dress'

sifi ya - fe - e - ʔa
dress 1sg TR 1/2 IND

'You dressed me'

/meresa titi-/ V.Introv. 'shave'

meresa titi te - fe - a - ʔa
beard shave 2pl TR 3sg IND

'He shaved you (pl)'

Transitive → Di-Transitive

/te-/ V.Tr. 'get'

ti ya - fe - a - e
 get lsg TR 2sgFut IMP

'Get (it) for me!'

/eʔi-/ V.Tr. 'make'

wate eʔi ya - fe - i - ʔa
 house make lsg TR 3pl IND

'They built the house for me'

3sg Object in Derived Transitive Constructions

The object prefixes used with the transitive/perfective auxiliary /-fe-/ are the same as those used with non-derived transitive stems, with the exception of 3sg objects. With this auxiliary only, the 3sg object prefix is /fei-/:

/-fe-/ Auxiliary Object Prefixes

	SG	PL
1	ya-	sen-
2	na-	ten-
3	fei-	nen-

Thus,

momune fei - fe - e - ʔa
 sit 3sg TR 1/2 IND

'I sat him/her down'

ʔumu fei - fe - i - ʔa
 die 3sg TR 3pl IND
 'They killed him/her'

In these derived transitive constructions, the 3sg object prefix /fei-/ alternates under certain circumstances with the prefix \emptyset . Note, however, that this alternation is not possible with non-derived transitive stems. Thus:

ʔini {fei} - fe - e - ʔa
 sleep { \emptyset } TR 1/2 IND
 'I put him/her to sleep'

But,

{ \emptyset
 *fei} - ʔosai - e - ʔa
 chase 1/2 IND
 'I chased him/her'

The alternation between 3sg object prefixes /fei-/ and \emptyset is not free variation. First, the prefix /fei-/ is used only when the object is human; non-human objects, both animate and inanimate, may only be marked by \emptyset . Thus,

Towe - nani nono nare {fei} - fo - pa
 ADESS child leave { \emptyset } TR SS
 yate - i - ʔa
 go 3pl IND
 'They left the child with Towe and went'

But,

ʔipai na - pi - ra mei nare {∅} - fo - pa
 arrow 2sg GEN TOP here leave {*fei} TR SS
 yate - a - e
 go 2sgFut IMP

'Leave your arrow here and go!'

pai na - pi - ra mei nare {∅} - fe - a - e
 pig 2sg GEN TOP here leave {*fei} TR 2sgFut IMP

'Leave your pig here!'

Second, the ∅ variant of the 3sg object prefix appears to be possible in these derived transitive constructions only when the /-fe-/ auxiliary derives transitive stems from intransitive roots. That is, ∅ is not used to mark 3sg objects of extroverted stems derived from introverted roots, or of di-transitive stems derived from transitive roots. For example:

ʔumu {fei} - fe - a - ʔa
 die {∅} TR 3sg IND

'He killed him' (Intransitive → Transitive)

But,

meresa titi {fei} - fe - a - ʔa
 beard shave {*∅} TR 3sg IND

'She shaved him' (Introverted → Extroverted)

ti {fei} - fe - ene - ʔa
 get {*∅} TR 1/2pl IND

'We got it for him' (Transitive → Di-Transitive)

This second restriction on the distribution of the \emptyset variant of the 3sg object prefix is perhaps derived from the first, i.e., the association of the prefix /fei-/ with human referents. Thus, beneficiaries are proto-typically human; 3sg beneficiaries must be marked with the prefix /fei-/. Introverted verbs, such as 'dress', 'shave' and 'bathe', typically have human subjects and therefore (coreferential) human objects; the extroverted stems derived from these roots then typically select human objects as well. Again, 3sg objects of derived extroverted verbs must be marked with /fei-/.

Thus, the 3sg object prefixes \emptyset and /fei-/ are interchangeable only when the transitive auxiliary derives a transitive stem from an intransitive root, and the object is human. Generally in these cases, informants identify the two constructions as being synonymous:

yu [?] au	{fei}	- fe - e - ?a
hide	{ \emptyset }	TR 1/2 IND
'I hid him'		

However, in a very few cases, informants report that there is a semantic distinction. That is, objects marked with /fei-/ are interpreted as being less directly affected than are objects marked with \emptyset :

?umu fei - fe - a - ?a
die 3sg TR 3sg IND

'He killed him' (eg., by using sorcery)

?umu \emptyset - fe - a - ?a
3sg

'He killed him' (eg., by shooting him)

e?ite fei - fe - e - ?a
get up 3sg TR 1/2 IND

'I got him up from sleep' (eg., by taking his hand)

e?ite \emptyset - fe - e - ?a
3sg

'I got him up from sleep' (eg., by shaking him)

A similar distinction was found for one non-derived transitive root, /-?osai-/ V.Tr. 'chase'. This root normally takes object prefixes. However, it may also occur with the transitive auxiliary. In this case, adding the object prefix directly to the verb root indicates that the object was directly affected; adding the object prefix to the auxiliary /-fe-/ indicates that the object was less affected:

no - ?osai - e - ?a
3pl chase 1/2 IND

'I chased them away' (eg., by running after them)

?osai ne - fe - e - ?a
chase 3pl TR 1/2 IND

'I chased them away' (eg., by boring them)

3.3.2.2.2.2. Intransitive Stems

Intransitive verb stems are defined as those which do not take an object. Included among this class are:

/pu-/ V.Intr. 'run'
 /pomu-/ V.Intr. 'fall'
 /ʔati-/ V.Intr. 'say'
 /ese-/ V.Intr. 'want, hear'
 /kiririre-/ V.Intr. 'creak'
 /osororo-/ V.Intr. 'slide down'
 /sotomai-/ V.Intr. 'come in'
 /ʔatou-/ V.Intr. 'arrive'
 /firo-/ V Intr. 'roam, wander'

The four basic verbs of motion belong to the class of Intransitive stems:

/fofe-/ V.Intr. 'come'
 /mai-/ V.Intr. 'come up'
 /mepi-/ V.Intr. 'come down'
 /yate-/ V.Intr. 'go'

To express 'go up' and 'go down', the roots /mai-/ and /mepi-/ in uninflected form are followed by the root /yate-/, i.e.,

/mai yate-/ V.Intr. 'go up'
 /mepi yate-/ V.Intr. 'go down'

3.3.2.2.2.3. Transitive/Intransitive

A number of verb stems in Tauya are ambiguous between transitive and intransitive readings.

Included in this class are:

/isou-/ V.Tr./Intr. 'fill' (with solids)
 /tepau-/ V.Tr./Intr. 'break'
 /ferai-/ V.Tr./Intr. 'untie, unroll'
 /fu-/ V.Tr./Intr. 'burn'
 /fi-/ V.Tr./Intr. 'roast'

For example:

tepau - a - ?a
 break 3sg IND
 'He broke it' ~ 'It broke'

ferai - a - ?a
 untie 3sg IND
 'He untied it' ~ 'It untied'

These stems can be disambiguated by one of two verbal auxiliaries, /-mene-/ Stative and /-fe-/ Transitive/Perfective. When the Stative auxiliary is added to a Transitive/Intransitive verb stem, the reading is then unambiguously intransitive; when the Transitive/Perfective auxiliary is added to one of these stems, the reading is then unambiguously

transitive:

tepau - mene - a - ?a
break STAT 3sg IND

'It's broken' (*'He broke it')

tepau - fe - a - ?a
break PERF 3sg IND

'He broke it' (*'It's broken')

3.3.2.2.2.4. Impersonal Stems

Impersonal stems are at least superficially transitive. The logical subject occurs as object, indicated by a pronominal object prefix. The verb is marked for 3sg subject. Impersonal stems refer to mental or physical states.

There are 3 derivational classes of impersonal verb stems. The first includes those stems which are derived with final /-me/ or /-fe/;

for example:

- /-sepa+me-/ V.Impers. 'be sick'
- /-satu+me-/ V.Impers. 'be strong'
- /-ona+me-/ V.Impers. 'be hungry'
- /-ʔisa+fe-/ V.Impers. 'be angry'
- /-ʔorai+fe-/ V.Impers. 'be tired of, not want'
- /-tuta+fe-/ V.Impers. 'be crazy, stupid'

Stems of the second class all include the final element /-ʔofe-/, which takes subject and object marking; this element is possibly cognate with the inalienable noun stem /-ʔofo/, 'belly'. Stems of this class appear to have rather diverse origins. In some cases, the initial element is itself an intransitive verb stem. For example:

/eri-/ V.Intr. 'be afraid'
 /eri -ʔofe-/ V.Impers. 'be afraid'
 /kororo-/ V.Intr. 'trickle; urinate a little'
 /kororo -ʔofe-/ V.Impers. 'need to urinate'
 /pitane-/ V.Intr. 'want, need'
 /pitane -ʔofe-/ V.Impers. 'want, need'
 /tutane-/ V.Intr. 'be crazy, stupid'
 /tutane -ʔofe-/ V.Impers. 'be crazy, stupid'

Although the glosses in three of the examples above are identical, there does appear to be a slight semantic difference between the intransitive and impersonal constructions. That is, the impersonal constructions are frequently translated by informants as 'to feel X', and the intransitive constructions as 'to be X'; for example:

eri - e - ʔa
 fear 1/2 IND
 'I'm afraid'

 eri ya - ʔafe - a - ʔa
 fear 1sg 3sg IND
 'I feel scared'

In one case, the initial element in an impersonal stem with final /-ʔofe-/ is a noun root:

/yei/ N. 'wind'
 /yei -ʔofe-/ V.Impers. 'be cold'

In other cases, initial elements in these stems cannot be identified as independent roots. For example:

/iseise -ʔofe-/ V.Impers. 'be happy, proud'
 /funuʔusi -ʔofe-/ V.Impers. 'be exhausted'
 /ʔ^wai -ʔofe-/ V.Impers. 'be lazy'

The last class of impersonal verb stems are those which appear to have no internal structure.

Examples include:

/-sapu-/ V.Impers. 'be ashamed'
 /-ʔone-/ V.Impers. 'have enough'
 /-ʔoninite-/ V.Impers. 'be sad, sorry'

Impersonal stems of all 3 classes can occur with the derivational suffixes /-ti/, marking intensive aspect, and /-te/, marking inceptive aspect or reduced intensity. For example:

ya - sepamo - ti - a - ʔa
 lsg sick INTEN 3sg IND
 'I'm really sick'
 ya - sepamo - te - a - ʔa
 lsg sick INCEP 3sg IND
 'I'm getting sick' 'I'm a little sick'

iseise Ø - ʔofo - ti - a - ʔa
 happy 3sg INTEN 3sg IND

'He's really happy'

iseise Ø - ʔofo - te - a - ʔa
 INCEP

'He's getting happy/a little happy'

na - sapu - ti - a - ʔa
 2sg shame INTEN 3sg IND

'You're really ashamed'

na - sapu - te - a - ʔa
 INCEP

'You're a little ashamed/getting ashamed'

Impersonal stems are superficially transitive, as is evident by the fact that they include object prefixes. They are, however, subjectless. That is, although a 3sg personal desinence is included, no overt subject NP may occur in the clause:

(* {ni }) ya - seame - a - ʔa
 {ni - ni} 1sg sick 3sg IND
 3sg ERG

'I'm sick'

However, if the transitive/perfective auxiliary /-fe-/ is included, the interpretation is causative and subjects may be overtly specified:

ni - ni ya - sepamo - fe - a - ?a
 3sg ERG 1sg sick TR 3sg IND

'He made me sick'

si - ni Ø - ?isafo - fe - ene - ?a
 1pl ERG 3sg angry TR 1/2pl IND

'We made him angry'

ni - ni ya - sapu - fe - i - ?a
 3pl ERG 1sg shame TR 3pl IND

'They made me ashamed'

There is some evidence that the superficial objects of impersonal constructions are interpreted as subjects. This evidence comes from the switch reference system: if the object of an impersonal verb is coreferential with the subject of a preceding verb, the latter may be marked as a same-subject (SS) coordinate medial:

mei fofu - pa ?^Wisa Ø - sepame - a - ?a
 here come SS later 3sg sick 3sg IND

'He came here and later he was sick'

This construction appears to be in free variation with the following, in which the medial verb has different-subject (DS) form:

mei fofe - a - te ?^Wisa Ø - sepame - a - ?a
 here come 3sg DS later 3sg sick 3sg IND

'He came here and later he got sick'

If, however, the impersonal verb is medial, it must be in DS form even if the impersonal object is coreferential with the subject of the preceding verb:

yan - oname - a - te ni - e - 'a
 lsg hungry 3sg DS eat 1/2 IND

'I was hungry and I ate'

(* yan - oname - pa ni - e - 'a)
 SS

3.3.2.2.2.5. Imperative Stems

A single Imperative stem has been attested in Tauya, /k^we-/ V.Imper. 'try'. This stem never occurs in non-imperative form, that is, it always includes 2nd person desinences, and occurs only with the Imperative modal suffix /-e/. Unlike the imperative forms of other verb stems, the stem /k^we-/ includes 2nd person aorist desinences; imperative forms of other verb stems include future desinences. Thus,

k^we - e - e
try 1/2 IMP 'Try!' (sg)

k^we - ene - e
try 1/2pl IMP 'Try!' (pl)

But,

ni - a - e
eat 2sgFut IMP 'Eat!' (sg)

yate - ane - e
go 2plFut IMP 'Go!' (pl)

3.3.2.3. The Auxiliary System

3.3.2.3.1. Introduction

The following auxiliaries may occur in a Tauya verb phrase:

$$\dots \text{STEM} \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{STATIVE} \\ \text{PERFECTIVE} \end{array} \right\} \pm \text{CONATIVE} \pm$$

$$\text{PROGRESSIVE} \pm \text{HABITUAL} \pm \text{AVOLITIONAL} +$$

$$\text{DESINENCE} \dots$$

There is evidence that 4 of these auxiliaries - Stative, Conative, and the two Perfective auxiliaries - derive historically from independent verb roots. Synchronic evidence suggests that both of the following developments may have occurred:

$$(A) \quad V_1 + \begin{array}{c} /pa/ \\ \text{SS} \end{array} V_2 + \dots \quad \rightarrow \quad V_1 + \begin{array}{c} V_2 \\ \text{AUX} \end{array} + \dots$$

$$(B) \quad V_1 + \begin{array}{c} /ti/ \\ \text{CONJ} \end{array} V_2 + \dots \quad \rightarrow \quad V_1 + \begin{array}{c} V_2 \\ \text{AUX} \end{array} + \dots$$

In the development represented in (A), a same-subject (SS) coordinate medial construction is reinterpreted as Verb Stem + AUX, via deletion of the SS medial suffix /-pa/. This development is proposed below, for example, for the reanalysis of the

/momune # fei ± fe-/ → [momune feife-]
 sit 3sg TR
 'sit him/her down'

/e/-stem verbs in Tauya are also subject to R19,
 Pre-Auxiliary Raising (cf.)::

R19: /e/ → [i] / $\left[\frac{\quad}{V} \right]$ + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Stative /-mene-/} \\ \text{Perfective /-fe-/} \\ \text{Perfective /-ti-/} \\ \text{Conative /-we-/} \\ \text{Progressive /-ʔafe-/} \end{array} \right\}$

For example:

/ese + mene-/ → [esimene-] 'know'
 hear STAT R19
 /yate + ti-/ → [yatiti-] 'go' PERF.
 go PERF R19
 /te + fe-/ → [tife-] 'get' PERF.
 get PERF R19
 /mene + we-/ → [miniwe-] 'stay a little'
 stay CON R19
 /mene + ʔafe-/ → [miniʔafe-] 'be staying'
 stay PROG R19

Again, /e/-stem verbs which include the derivational
 suffix /-ne/ are not subject to R19 (cf.):

/momune + ti-/ → [momuneti-] 'sit' PERF
 sit PERF
 /ʔutine + we-/ → [ʔutinewe-] 'fall a little'
 fall CON

Synchronically, both raising rules must be proposed. However, if the auxiliaries which condition R19 are derived from independent roots, then only R20, Final Raising, need be proposed historically. That is, after reanalysis of the independent roots as verbal auxiliaries, R20 is reinterpreted as R19, Pre-Auxiliary Raising, as follows:

$$V_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /pa/ \text{ SS} \\ /ti/ \text{ CONJ} \end{array} \right\} \# V_2 + \dots$$

→ $V_1 \# V_2 + \dots$ Final Raising (R20) applies

→ $V_1 + V_2 + \dots$ Final Raising (R20) reinterpreted
as Pre-Auxiliary Raising (R19)

3.3.2.3.2. Stative /-mene-/

The Stative auxiliary in Tauya, /-mene-/, is cognate with the Existential predicate:

sifi - mene - a - ?a
dress STAT 3sg IND

'He is dressed'

nono ?ite - ?ai mene - a - ?a
child garden ADESS EXIS 3sg IND

'The child is in the garden'

The Stative auxiliary occurs with non-punctual verbs, both transitive and intransitive:

?ini - mene - a - ?a
sleep STAT 3sg IND

'He is asleep'

ni epi - mene - i - ?a
3pl stand STAT 3pl IND

'They stood'

Ø - yau - mene - e - ?a
3sg see STAT 1/2 IND

'I watched him'

yute tei - mene - ene - ?a
tobacco catch STAT 1/2pl IND

'We are holding (= have) tobacco'

?amai - mene - e - ?a
carry STAT 1/2 IND

'I carried it'

However, the Stative auxiliary may not occur with punctual stems:

* pomu - mene-
fall STAT

* ni - mene-
eat STAT

* a?ate - mene-
hit STAT

Among the other verbal auxiliaries, Stative /-mene-/ is mutually exclusive with the Transitive/Perfective auxiliary /-fe-/.; it may, however, co-occur with the other auxiliaries:

* yau - fe - mene-
see PERF STAT

* yau - mene - fe-

* ?umu - fe - mene-
die TR STAT

* ?umu - mene - fe-

But,

?ini - mene - pope - i - ?a
sleep STAT HAB 3pl IND

'They always slept' (= 'They lived')

sifi - mene - we - a - ?a
dress STAT CON 3sg IND

'She was dressed for a short time'

There are a number of verb stems in Tauya which are ambiguously transitive or intransitive. When these stems occur with the Stative auxiliary, the interpretation is unambiguously intransitive. For example:

tepau - a - ?a
 break 3sg IND
 'It broke' ~ 'He broke it'

tepau - mene - a - ?a
 STAT
 'It's broken' (*'He broke it')

isou - a - ?a
 fill 3sg IND
 'It's full' ~ 'He filled it'

isou - mene - a - ?a
 fill STAT 3sg IND
 'It's full' (*'He filled it')

Both the Stative auxiliary and the Existential predicate have a suppletive form, /-minu-/, which is optionally used to indicate plural subject reference. When the subject is human, number is indicated by personal desinences on the verb. The suppletive form of the Stative/Existential predicate then merely reinforces or emphasizes plurality:

?i fanu ?ei epi - mene - i - ?a
 DEM man there stand STAT 3pl IND

'Those men stood there'

?i fanu ?ei epi - minu - i - ?a
 DEM man there stand STATpl 3pl IND

'Those men stood there'

?i fena?a mei mene - i - ?a
 DEM woman here EXIS 3pl IND

'Those women are here'

?i fena?a mei minu - i - ?a
 DEM woman here EXISpl 3pl IND

'Those women are here'

When the subject is non-human, verbal desinences do not distinguish between singular and plural number; the 3sg desinences are always used. If the suppletive form of the Stative auxiliary is present, subject reference is unambiguously plural:

sema tepau - mene - a - ?a
 pot break STAT 3sg IND

'The pot is broken' ~ 'The pots are broken'

sema tepau - minu - a - ?a
 pot break STATpl 3sg IND

'The pots are broken' (*'The pot is broken')

Generally in Tauya, when /u/-, /au/- and /ou/-stem verbs are followed by the 3pl aorist desinence /-i-/, the desinence vowel assimilates to the preceding back vowel by R2 of the vowel coalescence rules (cf.).

For example:

/∅ ± tu + i + ʔa/ → ∅ ± tu + u + ʔa
 3sg give 3pl IND R2
 → [tuʔa]
 R5

'They gave (it) to him'

/fitau + i + ʔa/ → fitau + u + ʔa → [fitauʔa]
 throw 3pl IND R2 R5

'They threw (it)'

However, following the suppletive form of the Stative/Existential root, R2 is suspended. Instead, a glide-insertion rule applies:

/minu + i + ʔa/ → [minuwiʔa]
 EXISpl 3pl IND glide insertion
 (* [minuʔa])
 R2

'They stayed'

/ʔini + minu + i + ʔa/ → [ʔiniminuwiʔa]
 sleep STATpl 3pl IND glide insertion
 (* [ʔiniminuʔa])
 R2

'They were asleep'

The Stative auxiliary is cognate with and possibly derived from the Existential predicate. That is, the Existential predicate has undergone reanalysis as a suffix on the verb complex indicating stative aspect. This has apparently been accomplished through the development proposed in (A), above, i.e.,

$$V_1 + \underset{SS}{/pa/} \# \underset{EXIS}{/mene/} + \dots \rightarrow V_1 + \underset{STAT}{/mene/} + \dots$$

Internal evidence for this reanalysis is as follows: first, Stative /-mene-/ conditions the Pre-Auxiliary Raising rule, R19, which suggests that it is derived from an independent verb root; for arguments, see . Second, the Stative auxiliary and Existential predicate have the same form, /mene/, and both have the suppletive form /minu/ to indicate plural subject reference. Finally, the root /mene/ may occur synchronically in a SS coordinate medial construction to indicate stative aspect. This construction is used with punctual verb roots, which may not occur with the suffixed Stative auxiliary. For example:

ni - pa mene - e - ?a
eat SS EXIS 1/2 IND

'I was eating' (* ni - mene - e - ?a)

Examples such as the one here are ambiguous between a stative and a serial reading. That is, this example may also be interpreted as 'I ate and I stayed'. If the medial verb includes the Perfective auxiliary, the interpretation is then unambiguously serial, i.e.,

ni - fo - pa mene - e - ?a
eat PERF SS EXIS 1/2 IND

'I ate and (then) I stayed'

There is also some external evidence for such a reanalysis in Tauya. In some languages of the East-Central Family, ENGH Stock, the existential/copula predicate has apparently been reinterpreted as a verbal auxiliary. In these languages, however, the existential/copula predicate has not been reinterpreted as a Stative auxiliary, but as a Progressive auxiliary. These languages include Hua (Prog. /-bai-;/ Exis./Cop. /bai-;/ Haiman 1980); Fore (Prog. /-mi-;/ Exis./Cop. /mi-;/ Scott 1978); Gimi (Prog. /-mri-;/ Exis./Cop. /miri-;/

Haiman 1980); Siane (Prog. /-mino-/: Exis./Cop. /mino-/: Haiman 1980); Move (Prog. /no'/'~/'ne'/: Exis./Cop. /hano-/: Renck 1975); and Gahuku (Prog. /no/'~/'ni/: Exis./Cop. /ne-/: Deibler 1976).

Renck, in fact, suggests that the Progressive auxiliary in Move is derived from the Existential/Copula predicate (Renck 1975: 90).

3.3.2.3.3. Perfective

There are two Perfective auxiliaries in Tauya, /-fe-/ and /-ti-/. Neither one exclusively marks perfective aspect. /-fe-/ also functions as a transitivizer; /-ti-/ also marks intensive aspect.

3.3.2.3.3.1. Transitive/Perfective /-fe-/

As an auxiliary marking perfective aspect, /-fe-/ occurs freely with transitive verb stems:

ni - fe - ene - ?a
eat PERF 1/2pl IND
'We ate'

fanu mo?otu nen - au - fe - a - ?a
man many 3pl see PERF 3sg IND
'He saw many men'

∅ - a?ate - fe - e - ?a
3sg hit PERF 1/2 IND
'I hit him'

However, as a perfective auxiliary, /-fe-/ is restricted in its distribution with intransitive verb stems. Generally, intransitive stems may not be marked for perfective aspect with /-fe-/. The only exception to this is a small class of emotive-type verbs:

mei - fe - a - ʔa
 cry PERF 3sg IND
 'He cried a little'

ʔita - fe - i - ʔa
 laugh PERF 3pl IND
 'They laughed a little'

As the glosses for these examples suggest, perfective /-fe-/ on emotive verbs suggests that the action was carried out with reduced intensity and/or for short duration. The auxiliary /-fe-/ may not mark perfective aspect on other intransitive verbs:

- * mai - fe-
 come up PERF 'come up' (Intran.)
- * momune - fe-
 sit PERF 'sit' (Intran.)
- * ʔumu - fe-
 die PERF 'die' (Intran.)

However, these examples are not ungrammatical; they just may not have an intransitive interpretation. These examples are acceptable if /-fe-/ is interpreted as a transitive auxiliary, as discussed below.

The auxiliary /-fe-/ also functions as a transitivizer. As such, it may be used to derive transitive stems from intransitive roots, as in the

first example below; extroverted stems from introverted roots, as in the second example; and di-transitive stems from transitive roots, as in the third example:

ʔumu - a - ʔa
die 3sg IND

'He died' (Intransitive)

ʔumu fei - fe - a - ʔa
die 3sg TR 3sg IND

'He killed him' (Transitive)

yaʔe ou - e - ʔa
water pierce 1/2 IND

'I bathed' (Introverted)

yaʔe ou ne - fe - e - ʔa
water pierce 3pl TR 1/2 IND

'I bathed them' (Extroverted)

wate eʔi - i - ʔa
house make 3pl IND

'They built the house' (Transitive)

wate eʔi ya - fe - i - ʔa
house make 1sg TR 3pl IND

'They built the house for me' (Di-Transitive)

The Perfective and Transitive auxiliaries appear to be cognate. Evidence suggests that /-fe-/ was historically a transitivizer, and has been reanalyzed as a suffixed auxiliary indicating perfective aspect via the development proposed in (B), above, i.e.,

$$V_1 + \underset{\text{CONJ}}{/ti/} \# \text{OBJ} + /fe/ + \dots \rightarrow V_1 + \underset{\text{PERF}}{/fe/} + \dots$$

This development can be traced as follows: synchronically, transitive /-fe-/ generally occurs in the following construction:

$$V \quad \text{OBJ} + /fe/ + \dots$$

That is, the verb stem is uninflected; it is followed by /-fe-/, which takes subject and object marking, as well as aspectual and modal affixes. For example:

yu?au ne - fe - e - ?a
hide 3pl TR 1/2 IND

'I hid them'

?ati na - fe - ?e - nae
say 2sg TR 3sgFut Q

'Will he tell you?'

However, Transitive /-fe-/ also occurs occasionally in the proposed historical construction, that is,

the verb stem includes the conjunction /-ti/.

Informants identify the following as synonymous:

sifi - {	∅	ne - fe - e - ?a
dress } ti		3pl TR 1/2 IND

'I dressed them'

On the assumption that a principle of economy would result in a decrease, rather than an increase, in morphological complexity, the construction which includes the conjunction can be postulated as an earlier form. That is, synchronic evidence suggests that /-fe-/ as a transitive auxiliary has undergone the following development:

$$V_1 + \underset{\text{CONJ}}{\text{/ti/}} \# \text{OBJ} + \underset{\text{TR}}{\text{/fe/}} + \dots \rightarrow V_1 \# \text{OBJ} + \underset{\text{TR}}{\text{/fe/}} + \dots$$

Note that the conjunction is used only in constructions in which /-fe-/ functions as a transitivizer; it is never included in constructions with Perfective /-fe-/:

- * ni - ti - fe-
eat CONJ PERF
- * yau - ti - fe-
see CONJ PERF
- etc.

That is, the construction which is proposed as

representing an earlier stage of development is associated synchronically with /-fe-/ as a transitive, rather than as a perfective, auxiliary. This suggests that the transitive use of /-fe-/ is prior.

Following the deletion of the conjunction, /-fe-/ was reanalyzed as a suffix on the verb complex. At some stage in this reanalysis, it began to acquire perfective meaning, i.e.,

$$V \# \underset{\text{TR}}{\text{OBJ}} + /fe/ + \dots \rightarrow V + \underset{\text{PERF}}{/fe/} + \dots$$

This reanalysis is very plausible syntactically: as has been demonstrated above (cf.), 3sg objects in transitive constructions with /-fe-/ can, under certain circumstances, be indicated by \emptyset . Those constructions which include \emptyset readily lend themselves to reanalysis, i.e.,

$$V \# \underset{3\text{sg}}{\emptyset} + /fe/ + \dots \rightarrow V + /fe/ + \dots$$

In fact, synchronically the suffixed auxiliary /-fe-/ is often ambiguous between a transitive and a perfective interpretation. Following transitive roots, /-fe-/ is

interpreted as marking perfective aspect. Following stems which are ambiguously transitive or intransitive, /-fe-/ makes the interpretation unambiguously transitive:

tepau - a - ?a
break 3sg IND
'He broke it' ~ 'It broke'

tepau - fe - a - ?a
break TR 3sg IND
'He broke it' (*'It broke')

ferai - a - ?a
untie 3sg IND
'He untied it' ~ 'It untied'

ferai - fe - a - ?a
untie TR 3sg IND
'He untied it' (*'It untied')

/-fe-/ may also be added to intransitive stems. It is then interpreted as the transitive auxiliary, with 3sg object \emptyset :

?umu - (\emptyset) fe - a - ?a
die 3sg TR 3sg IND
'He killed him'

?utine - (\emptyset) fe - e - ?a
fall 3sg TR 1/2 IND
'I dropped it'

mai - (\emptyset) fe - a - ?a
come up 3sg TR 3sg IND
'He brought it up'

Tauya is not, of course, unique in manifesting a relationship between perfective aspect and transitivity. For example, Hopper and Thompson (1980) note that a correlation between perfective aspect and transitivity is very common in languages of the world. In Tauya, this relationship is morphological, with a single auxiliary, /-fe-/, functioning as both a transitivizer and a perfective auxiliary.

There is also phonological evidence that perfective /-fe-/ is derived from the transitive auxiliary: perfective /-fe-/ conditions the Pre-Auxiliary Raising rule, R19, which suggests that it is derived from an independent root. It should be noted, however, that the perfective and transitive auxiliaries are not mutually exclusive synchronically:

ʔati ya - fe - fe - i - ʔa
 say 1sg TR PERF 3pl IND
 'They've told me'

This sequence is attested in texts; however, it occurs rarely, and is rejected by some speakers as being ungrammatical. The fact that it can occur suggests that the perfective and transitive auxiliaries are gradually being identified as distinct auxiliaries.

If /-fe-/ is identified as a historical transitive auxiliary, the question arises as to how perfective aspect was marked historically. It appears that the auxiliary described below, /-ti-/, is the historical mark of perfective aspect.

Just as the Stative/Existential predicate has a suppletive form to indicate plural subject reference, the Transitive/Perfective auxiliary has a suppletive form to indicate plural object reference. When the object in a transitive construction is human, number is indicated by prefixed object pronouns; the suppletive form of the Transitive/Perfective auxiliary then merely emphasizes or reinforces plurality:

yu?au ne - fe - e - ?a
hide 3pl TR 1/2 IND

'I hid them'

yu?au ni - fu - e - ?a
hide 3pl TRpl 1/2 IND

'I hid them'

However, when the object is non-human, the suppletive form of the Transitive/Perfective auxiliary serves to

disambiguate singular vs. plural reference, since object prefixes are not employed:

tepau - fe - a - ʔa
break TR 3sg IND
'He broke it/them'

tepau - fu - a - ʔa
break TRpl 3sg IND
'He broke them'

The suppletive form of the Transitive/Perfective auxiliary is used only when the auxiliary has transitive function, i.e., when it is used to create derived transitive stems, or to disambiguate transitive/intransitive stems. When the auxiliary is used strictly to mark perfective aspect, the suppletive form is not used:

ni - { fe } - e - ʔa
eat { *fu } 1/2 IND
'I ate'

yau - { fe } - a - ʔa
see { *fu } 3sg IND
'He saw it/them'

In the environment of the suppletive form of the Transitive/Perfective auxiliary, R2 of the vowel

coalescence rules is suspended. That is, the 3pl aorist desinence does not assimilate to the preceding back vowel; instead, a glide-insertion rule applies:

/epi nen ± fu + i + ?a/ → [epi nifuwi?a]
stand 3pl TRpl 3pl IND glide insertion
'They stood them up'

Additionally, R12, which results in the assimilation of the vowel /e/ in the plural forms of object pronominal prefixes to a following stem-initial non-low vowel, is partially suspended. That is, the vowel in the object prefixes assimilates in height, but not roundness, to the following vowel:

wate e?i /sen ± fu + a + ?a/ → [sifuwa?a]
house make 1pl TRpl 3sg IND partial assimilation
'He built the house for us'

Compare with complete assimilation of the vowel in the object prefixes to stem-initial non-low vowels of other verb roots:

/sen ± tu + a + ?a/ → [sutuwa?a]
1pl give 3sg IND R12
'He gave (it) to us.'

3.3.2.3.3.2. Perfective/Intensive /-ti-/

Unlike the Transitive/Perfective auxiliary /-fe-/, the auxiliary /-ti-/ can be used with both transitive and intransitive verb stems to indicate perfective aspect:

ʔai ʔosai - ti - a - ʔa
 pig chase PERF 3sg IND
 'He chased the pigs away'

esei roro - ti - a - te mepi - a - o
 bone tired PERF 3sg DS come down 3sg ELLIP
 'He was really tired and he came down'

ʔi sai parufo - ʔai sururu - ti - a - na
 DEM snake neck ADESS creep PERF 3sg COMP
 wate - fe - a - na ...
 tie PERF 3sg COMP

'He crept up and tied (it) on the snake's neck and ...'

afo ni - pi Kongiri Wari - ra mai
 husband 3sg GEN TOP come up
 ʔatou - ti - a - na ...
 arrive PERF 3sg COMP

'Her husband Kongiri Wari came up and arrived and ...'

Perfective /-ti-/ is mutually exclusive with the Transitive/Perfective auxiliary /-fe-/:

* ni - ti - fe-
 eat PERF PERF

* ʔumu - fe - ti-
 die TR PERF

Although co-occurrence of Perfective /-ti-/ and Stative /-mene-/ has not been attested, /-ti-/ can be used with the Existential predicate. However, the interpretation is not perfective, but is apparently intensive:

mini - ti - i - ʔa
 EXIS 3pl IND
 'They are honest/loyal'

As a perfective auxiliary, /-ti-/ occurs with both transitive and intransitive roots. However, it appears to be associated with intransitivity. Thus, when added to verb stems which are ambiguously transitive or intransitive, /-ti-/ makes the interpretation unambiguously intransitive:

tepau - a - ʔa
 break 3sg IND
 'He broke it' ~ 'It broke'
 tepau - ti - a - ʔa
 break PERF 3sg IND
 'It broke' (*'He broke it')

ferai - a - ʔa
 untie 3sg IND
 'He untied it' ~ 'It untied'
 ferai - ti - a - ʔa
 untie PERF 3sg IND
 'It untied' (*'He untied it',

The association of Perfective /-ti-/ with intransitivity may be derived. That is, perfective /-ti-/ has perhaps taken on an intransitive meaning in opposition to the transitive function of /-fe-/:

tepau - a - ?a
 break 3sg IND
 'He broke it' ~ 'It broke'

tepau - fe - a - ?a
 TR
 'He broke it' (*'It broke')

tepau - ti - a - ?a
 INTR
 'It broke' (*'He broke it')

As well as marking perfective aspect, the auxiliary /-ti-/ can indicate intensivity. For example:

mini - ti - i - ?a
 EXIS INTEN 3pl IND
 'They're honest/loyal'

momune - ti - a - ?a
 sit INTEN 3sg IND
 'She had her first menstruation' (lit., 'She really sat')

nini - ʔimo yaʔe ou - ti - i - ʔa
 3pl hand water pierce INTEN 3pl IND

'They washed their hands after mourning' (lit.,
 'They really washed their hands')

Similarly, /-ti-/ indicates intensive aspect when
 used with impersonal verb stems:

ya - sepamo - ti - a - ʔa
 1sg sick INTEN 3sg IND

'I'm really sick'

∅ - ʔisafo - ti - a - ʔa
 3sg angry INTEN 3sg IND

'She's really angry'

/ti-/ also occurs as an independent root in
 Tauya. It is difficult to find an English gloss
 for constructions such as the following; /ti-/
 appears to indicate intensity:

yate - a - e ! ʔipisi na - pi - nani - ra
 go 2sgFut IMP mother-in-law 2sg GEN ADESS TOP

ʔi ti - a - ʔa !
 DEM 3sg IND

'Go! With your mother-in-law, he's there!'

As a Perfective/Intensive auxiliary, /-ti-/ conditions the Pre-Auxiliary Raising Rule, R19, which suggests that it is derived from an independent root. However, there is no synchronic alternation between /-ti-/ as an auxiliary and as an independent root in either a same-subject medial construction or a conjunction. That is, neither of the following constructions, which have been postulated as possible origins of the verbal auxiliaries, are attested:

$$* V_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /pa/ \text{ SS} \\ /ti/ \text{ CONJ} \end{array} \right\} \# /ti/ + \dots$$

3.3.2.3.3.3. /-fe-/ vs. /-ti-/

The distributions and functions of the two perfective auxiliaries can be summarized as follows:

	/-fe-/	/-ti-/
Transitive Stem	Perfective	Perfective/ Intensive
Intransitive Stem	Transitive	Perfective/ Intensive
Transitive/ Intransitive Stem	Transitive	Intransitive
Impersonal Stem	Transitive	Intensive

Thus, /-fe-/ and /-ti-/ are complementary in function, except when added to transitive stems; in this case, both auxiliaries indicate perfective aspect:

ni - {fe} - e - ʔa
eat {ti} 1/2 IND
'I've eaten'

yau - {fe} - a - ʔa
see {ti} 3sg IND
'He saw (it)'

Informants indicate, however, that pairs of examples such as these are not completely synonymous. That

is, constructions which include the /-ti/ auxiliary are interpreted as being somewhat 'more perfective' than are those which include the /-fe-/ auxiliary. Thus:

pai	ʔosai	- fe -	a -	ʔa
pig	chase	PERF	3sg	IND
pai	ʔosai	- ti -	a -	ʔa
		PERF		

'He chased away the pigs'

The first example, which includes /-fe-/, implies that the pigs were chased away but might return; the second example, which includes /-ti-/, implies that the pigs were chased away completely. In fact, in some cases /-fe-/ appears to merely redundantly mark transitivity, in contrast with the more perfective interpretation of /-ti-/. For example:

ni	-	<u>fe</u>	-	a	-	e
eat				2sgFut		IMP

'Eat!' (sg.)

ni	-	<u>ti</u>	-	a	-	e
eat				2sgFut		IMP

'Eat it all!' (sg.)

Similarly, in the following example /-fe-/ does not indicate perfective aspect. Instead, it appears to

increase the transitivity of the verb stem, implying
volition on the part of the subject:

ya - potiyafo yute ?usi - fe - e - ?a
lsg arm tobacco hide 1/2 IND
'I hid (covered) the cigarette with my arm'

Compare with,

ya - potiyafo yute ?usi - a - ?a
lsg arm tobacco hide 3sg IND
'My arm hid (covered) the cigarette

3.3.2.3.4. . Conative /-we-/

The Conative auxiliary in Tauya, /-we-/, indicates that the action or state specified by the verb was attempted but not carried out, or was carried out for only a short period of time. For example:

wate amufo - ʔai ti ne - fe - a - te
house (= lineage) big ADESS get 3pl TR 3sg DS
ni - we - i - na ʔ^wei - a - te ...
eat CON 3pl COMP gone 3sg DS

'He got (some) for the big lineage; the latter tried to eat it, but in vain ...'

faimo - ra piki fai - pa mene - pa - ʔi
sibling TOP pig (<Pid.) cut SS stay SS PRO
yamini - wo - pope - a - na - ʔa
watch CON HAB 3sg COMP IND

'His younger brother cut the pig and stayed; he watched for a short time'

ʔi nono awi - sou - ʔi ni - fiʔati - we - a - na
DEM child 2 COM PRO 3pl look after CON 3sg COMP
ni - fiʔati - we - a - na pofa - ʔi ʔufiya
3pl look after CON 3sg COMP soon PRO food
ʔ^wei ne - fe - a - o
gone 3pl TR 3sg ELLIP

'He looked after those 2 children for a while; he looked after them for a while then soon the food was finished on them'

Conative /-we-/ occurs freely with both transitive and intransitive verb stems, and with all other verbal auxiliaries:

ʔ^weisa ʔini - mene - we - e - ʔa
 night sleep STAT CON 1/2 IND

'At night I was asleep for a short time'

si - ni nu - tu - fu - we - ene - ʔa
 1pl ERG 3pl give PERF CON 1/2pl IND

'We tried to give (it) to them' (fu < /fe/ via R19, R16)

ya ni - wo - pope - e - ʔa
 1sg eat CON HAB 1/2 IND

'I always try to eat' (wo < /we/ via R16)

The Conative auxiliary is quite possible cognate with the Tauya negative morpheme, /wate/. Phonologically such a relationship is very plausible. That is, negative /wate/ can be analyzed as a different-subject (DS) medial verb form, consisting of the root /we-/ (cognate with the Conative); the 3sg aorist desinence /-a-/: and the DS medial suffix /-te/, i.e.,

/we + a + te/ → wate
 NEG 3sg DS R1

Identifying the negative morpheme in Tauya as a medial verb form gains support from the negative in at least

Second, in the analysis proposed here, the negative originated as a fully inflected DS medial verb, while the Conative is simply a verbal auxiliary.

The first problem, that of position relative to the verb stem, is not critical. There is both internal and external evidence that the Tauya negative morpheme may have historically occurred in either pre- or post-verbal position, i.e., that both of the following orders were possible:

NEG	Verb Stem
Verb Stem	NEG

The evidence from Tauya is as follows: generally, negative /wate/ precedes the verb stem to be negated.

For example:

wate	∅	-	yau	-	e	-	ʔa
NEG	3sg	see	1/2	IND			

'I didn't see him'

wate	fofe	-	ʔe	-	ʔa
NEG	come	3sgFut	IND		

'She won't come'

However, there is one construction in which a verb may be negated by a following negative morpheme.

This is the same-subject (SS) medial verb construction.

For example:

ni - pa	wate	ʔini - a - ʔa
eat	SS	NEG sleep 3sg IND

{ 'He ate and didn't sleep' }

{ 'He didn't eat and sleep' }

As indicated by the gloss, this example is ambiguous. In one reading, the negative applies only to the following verb stem. In the second reading, however, the scope of the negative includes the preceding SS medial verb. That is, a SS medial verb in Tauya may be negated by a following negative morpheme.

There is also some comparative evidence that the negative in Tauya may have historically either preceded or followed the verb stem to be negated. One rather striking feature of Papuan languages is the variation in the position of the negative relative to the verb stem. For example, in Hua and Move of the East-Central Family, ENGH Stock, the negative occurs in pre-verbal position (Haiman 1980: 193; Renck 1975: 84), while in Gahuku, also of the East-Central Family, the negative is post-verbal (Deibler 1976: 20). Moreover, variation is not limited to languages of a single family; there is also variation within

individual languages. For example, in Biyom, a language of the Brahman Group closely related to Tauya, some verbs are negated by a preposed negative marker, while others are negated by a postposed negative marker:

arukuru
NEG-die-1/2sg
'I/you didn't die'

fuwari
blow-NEG-1/2
'I/you didn't blow (it)' (L.Brandson p.c.)

Similarly, the negative in Siroi may either precede or follow the verb stem:

nda katese - na
NEG understand 3sg
'He didn't understand'

kine nda
oo NEG
'(I) am definitely not going' (Wells 1979: 60)

Thus, external evidence suggests that both pre- and post-verbal positions were available historically to the negative morphemes in a number of Papuan languages.

Assuming for the moment that the negative in Tauya, /wate/, includes the negative root /we-/, both of the following orders can be reconstructed:

/we-/ Verb Stem
 Verb Stem /we-/

The preposed order has developed into the simple negative construction, while in the postposed order, negative /we-/ has been reinterpreted as a Conative auxiliary suffixed onto the verb complex. That is, what was perhaps free variation historically, or variation conditioned by some unknown variable, has been reinterpreted synchronically. In Tauya, variation in ordering of the negative relative to the verb root has been given semantic motivation, i.e., interpretation as a negative construction vs. interpretation as a Conative construction. In Biyom, on the other hand, historical variation has apparently resulted in the formation of verb classes: some verbs, such as 'die', take preposed negative markers, while others, such as 'blow', take postposed negative markers.

In fact, there is phonological evidence that the Conative auxiliary in Tauya is derived from an independent verb root, as is suggested here. That is, the Conative auxiliary conditions the Pre-Auxiliary Raising rule, R19.

However, in tracing the development of the root /we-/ in Tauya, the problem of inflection remains. In the analysis proposed here, the negative derives from a historical construction in which the root /we-/ occurred in pre-verbal position, inflected as a DS medial verb with the 3sg aorist desinence, i.e.,

/we + a + te/ Verb Stem
NEG 3sg DS

Synchronically, the only change that appears to have taken place is that /we + a + te/ has been reinterpreted as a single morpheme, /wate/. The Conative, on the other hand, originated as a postposed negative root. Synchronic evidence suggests that postposed verb roots have been reanalyzed as auxiliaries by one of two developments:

- (A) $V_1 + \begin{matrix} /pa/ \\ SS \end{matrix} \# \begin{matrix} /we-/ \\ NEG \end{matrix} + \dots \rightarrow V_1 + \begin{matrix} /we/ \\ CON \end{matrix} + \dots$
- (B) $V_1 + \begin{matrix} /ti/ \\ CONJ \end{matrix} \# \begin{matrix} /we-/ \\ NEG \end{matrix} + \dots \rightarrow V_1 + \begin{matrix} /we/ \\ CON \end{matrix} + \dots$

In (A), a SS coordinate medial verb construction is reinterpreted as Verb Stem + AUX; in (B), a conjunction of two verb stems is reinterpreted as Verb

Stem + AUX. A synchronic requirement of both SS medial and conjunction constructions is that the subjects of the verb stems involved must be coreferential. That is, /-pa/ as a medial verb suffix signals that the subject of the medial verb is coreferential with the subject of the following verb; similarly, two verb stems conjoined with /-ti/ must have the same subject. Thus, the problem presented for the analysis is that, while the preposed negative root /we-/ occurred as a different subject medial, postposed /we-/ occurred as a same subject medial. It is very difficult to find any justification for this discrepancy; however, there are some mitigating factors.

First, the problem in the development proposed for the root /we-/ does not lie primarily in its reanalysis as a Conative auxiliary. There are other cases in which postposed verb roots in same subject medial constructions have apparently been reanalyzed as verbal auxiliaries (for example, the Stative and Perfective auxiliaries). Rather, the major problem involves preposed /we-/, that is, in justifying the analysis of

negative /wate/ as being derived historically from a DS medial verb construction. There does not appear to be any syntactic or semantic justification for this analysis. However, there is another construction in Tauya which is somewhat similar, including a constituent which is transparently analyzable as consisting of a DS medial verb with 3sg aorist desinence /-a-/. That is, while it is still not possible to explain why the negative should be derived from a 3sg DS medial verb, there is a precedent for this analysis elsewhere in Tauya: In Tauya, there are several constructions used to express hypothetical conditional clauses, all of which involve coordinate medial verbs. One of these constructions has the following form:

$$V_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} /pa/ & \text{SS} \\ D + /te/ & \text{DS} \end{array} \right\} \underline{?ayate(ra)} V_2 + \dots$$

That is, the protasis includes a coordinate medial verb, either SS or DS. It is followed by ?ayate(ra), which in turn is followed by the final verb. The form ?ayate(ra) is evidently a DS coordinate medial verb, consisting of the verb root /?ai-/ 'do'; the 3sg aorist desinence /-a-/.; the DS medial suffix /-te/; and

(optionally) the topic suffix /-ra/. For example:

mei fofe - i - te ?ai - a - te (- ra)
 here come 3pl DS do 3sg DS TOP

nen - au - amu - ?a
 3pl see 1sgFut IND

'If they come here, I'll see them'

?ei yate - pa ?ai - a - te (-ra) nen - au - amu - ?a
 there go SS do 3sg DS TOP 3pl see 1sgFut IND

'If I go there, I'll see them'

In this construction, the protasis is marked as SS or DS with reference to the final verb, not to the medial ?ayate(ra). In fact, this constituent appears to be completely divorced from the system of subject reference and switch reference; an appropriate translation might be, for example, "I'll go there, this being done, I'll see them". Thus, this hypothetical conditional construction provides a precedent for the analysis of /wate/ as deriving from a DS coordinate medial verb with 3sg subject.

Second, a situation exactly parallel to that which has been proposed for the historical context exists synchronically in SS coordinate medial constructions.

That is, it has been proposed that the preposed negative root /we-/ occurred historically in a DS medial construction, while postposed /we-/ occurred in a same subject construction, possibly preceded by the SS medial suffix /-pa/, i.e.,

Preposed: /we + a + te/ V + ...

Postposed: V + /pa/ /we/ + ...

In fact, this is what occurs synchronically in negated SS medial constructions. As noted above, constructions like the following are ambiguous, due to variation in the scope of the negative:

fofu	-	pa	wate	∅	-	yau	-	e	-	ʔa
come		SS	NEG	3sg	see	1/2	IND			

{ 'I came and didn't see him' }

{ 'I didn't come and see him' }

In one interpretation, the scope of the negative includes both the preceding SS medial and the following final verb, i.e.,

$${}_1 [V_1 + pa \quad {}_2 [wate] {}_1 \quad V_2 + \dots] {}_2$$

In summary, there is evidence that the Conative auxiliary in Tauya is cognate with the negative morpheme. Both can be derived from a historical negative root /we-/, which occurred in both pre- and post-verbal position, i.e.,

Negative

$$\begin{array}{ccc} /we + a + te/ \# V + \dots & \rightarrow & /wate/ \# V + \dots \\ \text{NEG 3sg DS} & & \text{NEG} \end{array}$$

Conative

$$\begin{array}{ccc} V + /pa/ \# /we/ + \dots & \rightarrow & V + /we/ + \dots \\ \text{SS} & \text{NEG} & \text{CON} \end{array}$$

3.3.2.3.5. Progressive /-ʔafe-/

Progressive aspect is marked in Tauya with the auxiliary /-ʔafe-/. For example:

sawi ni - ʔafe - a - ʔa
banana eat PROG 3sg IND

'He's eating bananas'

Tufuma - sa yati - ʔafe - i - nae
ADESS go PROG 3pl Q

'Are they going to Tuguma?'

ya - ni nen - au - ʔafe - e - ʔa
1sg ERC 3pl see PROG 1/2 IND

'I was seeing them'

The Progressive auxiliary conditions R19, the Pre-Auxiliary Raising rule. Thus:

Bramani /mene + ʔafe + e + ʔa/ → mene + ʔafe + ʔa
stay PROC 1/2 IND R1

→ [miniʔafeʔa]
R19

'I was staying in Brahman'

apu oʔo /te + ʔafe + a + ʔa/ → te + ʔafa + ʔa
now firewood get PROG 3sg IND R1

→ [tiʔafaʔa]
R1

'He's getting firewood now'

The fact that Progressive /-ʔafe-/ conditions R19

suggests that it may be derived from an independent verb root. However, there is no other evidence that this is the case, i.e., there are no attested verb roots with which the progressive may be cognate, and the progressive itself occurs only as a suffixed auxiliary.

3.3.2.3.6. Habitual /-pope-/

The Habitual auxiliary is /-pope-/. It occurs freely with both transitive and intransitive verb stems:

Mandani ya - sou yate - pope - a - ?a
 1sg COM go HAB 3sg IND

'He always goes to Madang with me'

?ufiya sini - pi ni - pope - i - ?a
 food 1pl GEN eat HAB 3pl IND

'They always eat our food'

Unlike the auxiliaries discussed above, Habitual /-pope-/ does not condition R19:

/yate + pope + a + ?a/ → [yatepopa?a]
 go HAB 3sg IND R1

'He always went' (* [yatipopa?a])
 R19

The Habitual auxiliary is somewhat irregular phonologically. That is, following this auxiliary, R1 of the vowel coalescence rules, Pre-Vocalic /e/-

Deletion, applies regularly to all V-initial desinences except 3pl aorist; in this case alone, R1 does not apply. Thus:

/ni + pope + e + ?a/ → [nipope?a]
eat HAB 1/2 IND R1

'I/you always eat'

/ni + pope + a + ?a/ → [nipopa?a]
eat HAB 3sg IND R1

'He/she always eats'

/ni + pope + ene + ?a/ → [nipopene?a]
eat HAB 1/2pl IND R1

'We/you (pl) always eat'

But,

/ni + pope + i + ?a/ → [nipopei?a]
eat HAB 3pl IND

'They always eat' (*[nipopi?a])
R1

In rapid speech, the Habitual auxiliary may be reduced to /-pe-/; for example:

?ite topu - pa ni - pa saniya te - pa ?ufiya
garden plant SS eat SS work get SS food

?aufu topu - pa mene - pe - i - na ...
betelnut plant SS stay HAB 3pl COMP

'They planted gardens and worked and planted food and betelnut and they stayed ...'

Finally, for one Tauya speaker, a middle-aged man widely regarded as very proficient in the language, the Habitual auxiliary is consistently realized as /-pape-/, and R1, Pre-Vocalic /e/-Deletion, applies regularly before all V-initial desinences, including 3pl aorist /-i-/:

	SG	PL
1/2	[nipapeʔa]	[nipapeneʔa]
3	[nipapaʔa]	[nipapiʔa]

('I/you always eat'; 'He/she always eats'; etc.).

3.3.2.3.7. Avolitional /-ʔate-/

The Avolitional auxiliary, /-ʔate-/, indicates that the action or state specified by the verb stem is undesirable. Although it occurs in the pre-desinential position characteristic of aspectual auxiliaries, the Avolitional auxiliary is somewhat anomalous. That is, it carries temporal and modal force: although it may only co-occur with aorist, rather than future, desinences, it is always interpreted as hypothetical future/irrealis. For example:

pomu - ʔate - a - ʔa
 fall AVOL 3sg IND

'It would be bad if he fell'

But,

*pomu - ʔate - ʔe - ʔa
 fall AVOL 3sgFut IND

There is some evidence that /-ʔate-/ includes a historical future/irrealis morpheme /-ʔa-/.

Unlike other verbal auxiliaries, Avolitional /-ʔate-/ may not occur in coordinate medial verbs. Just as these medials share the tense of the following (final)

verb, they also share its avolitional status. For example:

pomu - pa mei - ?ate - a - ?a
 fall SS cry AVOL 3sg IND
 'It would be bad if he fell and cried'
 (*'He fell and it would be bad if he cried')

The Avolitional auxiliary does not condition the Pre-Auxiliary Raising rule. Pather, final /e/ of /e/-stem verbs followed by this auxiliary is assimilated to the following low vowel, via R8 (/e/-Assimilation). For example:

/yate + ?ate + ene + ?a/ → yate + ?ate + ne + ?a
 go AVOL 1/2pl IND R1
 → [yata?atene?a]
 R8

'It would be bad if we went'

Avolitional /-?ate-/ occurs freely with transitive and intransitive verb stems, and with all other verbal auxiliaries:

ni - ni wate ya - tu - ?ate - a - ?a
 3sg ERG NEG 1sg give AVOL 3sg IND
 'It would be bad if he didn't give (it) to me'
 iteite ni - popa - ?ate - a - ?a
 always eat HAB AVOL 3sg IND
 'It would be bad if he always ate'

tepau - fa - ?ate - e - ?a
break TR AVOL 1/2 IND

'It would be bad if I broke it'

omo ?ini - mena - ?ate - i - ?a
still sleep STAT AVOL 3pl IND

'It would be bad if they were still asleep'

3.3.2.3.8. Other Auxiliaries

A few other verbal auxiliaries have been attested in Tauya, although they are much less frequent in occurrence than those described above.

3.3.2.3.8.1. Iterative /-mune-/

/-mune-/ is attested very infrequently as an auxiliary indicating Iterative aspect. It does not appear to be productive; forms which include it may well have been lexicalized:

?eta?a - mune - pa ...
vomit ITER SS

'(He) vomited over and over and he ...'

tei - mune - pa ...
catch ITER SS

'(They did that) all over the place and they ...'

3.3.2.3.8.2. Durative /-tei-/

/tei-/ is a Transitive verb root meaning 'catch'; it may also occur with the Stative auxiliary, /tei + mene-/, yielding a transitive verb meaning 'have, hold'. This root also occurs as an auxiliary-like constituent indicating durative aspect; as an auxiliary, it appears to be restricted in distribution to the Existential predicate /mene-/ and verbs of motion. For example:

firo - tei - pe - i - na ...
roam DUR HAB 3pl COMP

'They roamed for a long time and ...'

mene - tei - pe - i - na ...
stay DUR HAB 3pl COMP

'They stayed for a long time and ...'

The durative auxiliary may also occur in reduced forms of SS medial verbs, i.e., without the SS medial suffix /-pa/. In this case, it is multiply reduplicated:

yate - tei - tei - tei - tei ...
go DUR DUR DUR DUR

'(He) went and went and went and he ...'

firo - tei - tei - tei ?o?aisa - ?i ?atou - ti - i - na - ra
roam DUR DUR DUR afternoon PRO arrive PERF 3pl COMP TOP

'They roamed and roamed; in the afternoon they arrived ...'

3.3.2.3.8.3. /-wa?ase-/ 'nearly, almost'

The auxiliary-like form /-wa?ase-/ indicates that the action or state specified by the verb nearly happened. For example:

pomu - wa?ase - e - ?a
fall almost 1/2 IND

'I almost fell'

isai fitau - a - na - ra Ø - ou - ti - wa?ase - fe - a - te ...
spear throw 3sg COMP TOP 3sg shoot PERF almost TR 3sg DS

'He threw the spear and he almost shot her, and she ...'

3.3.2.3.8.4. Reciprocal

The reciprocal auxiliary is /-wa?ane-/, which is added to transitive verb stems. These stems are in effect de-transitivized, since object prefixes are not included; the verb stem is often reduplicated:

tu-tu - wa?ane - ene - ?a
giveREDUP RECIP 1/2pl IND

'We gave (it) to each other'

NOTICE/AVIS

PAGE(\$) 364 ~~IS/ARE~~ ~~EST/SONT~~ MISSING

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3.3.2.4. The Desinences

The personal desinences, which occur in a position immediately following the auxiliaries, indicate the person/number of the subject and tense. There are two sets of personal desinences, the first marking aorist tense (past and present), the second, future tense. Phonologically, the personal desinences are somewhat anomalous in that they comprise the vast majority of V-initial suffixes attested in Tauya. The desinences are thus subject to a number of vowel coalescence rules when added to the V-final verb stems.

The two sets of personal desinences are as follows:

Aorist

	SG	PL
1/2	-e-	-ene-
3	-a-	-i-

Future

	SG	PL
1 Inc.	-	-ame-
Exc.	-amu-	-?anene-
2	-a-	-ane-
3	-?e-	-?ai-

Note that in the aorist tense 1st and 2nd persons are not distinguished. In future tense, 1st and 2nd persons are distinguished, and 1st plural makes a further distinction between inclusive and exclusive reference.

The 2nd person future desinences are irregular. The forms given above are those used in non-Interrogative moods. In the Interrogative mood, suppletive forms are used: /-ʔa-/ 2sg, and /-ʔanene-/ 2pl. For example:

ʔufiya ni - a - ʔa
 food eat 2sgFut IND

'You (sg) will eat'

Tei - sa yate - ane - ʔa
 ADESS go 2plFut IND

'You (pl) will go to Teri'

fofe - a - e
 come 2sgFut IMP

'Come!' (sg)

ti ya - fe - ane - e
 get 1sg TR 2plFut IMP

'Get (it) for me!' (pl)

But,

ni - ʔa - nae
 eat 2sgFut Q

'Will you (sg) eat?'

wame ni - ?anene - ne
 what eat 2plFut 0
 'What will you (pl) eat?'

The plural forms of the personal desinences show some evidence of a historical plural suffix /-ne/: this also appears in the personal pronouns.

Thus:

1/2 Aorist	/-e-/ sg.	/-ene-/ pl.
1 Exc. Future		/-?anene-/
2 Future	/-a-/ sg.	/-ane-/ pl.

The future desinences also show evidence of a future tense morpheme, /-a-/~/-?a-/. Thus, all of these desinences, with the exception of 3sg., include initial /-a-/ or /-?a-/. Note also the contrast between 3pl. aorist /-i-/ and 3pl. future /-?ai-/. The Avolitional auxiliary, /-?ate-/ may also include this tense marker; thus, although the Avolitional auxiliary may only occur with aorist desinences, it is always interpreted as being hypothetical future/irrealis. Similarly, the Counter-Factual subordinate medial suffix, /-?ani-/, is never followed by desinences; its irrealis interpretation may perhaps

be traced to initial /-ʔa-/.

In identifying 1st and 2nd persons, as opposed to 3rd person, in the aorist tense, Tauya diverges somewhat from other languages belonging to the TNCP. Thus, Wurm (1982: 60) notes that a much more common pattern among these languages is the identification of 2nd and 3rd persons in non-singular number. However, at least two other languages follow the pattern which is found in Tauya; both of these languages belong to the Adelbert Range Superstock. One of these is the closely related Biyom language, which is also a member of the Brahman Group (L. Brandson p.c.). The other is Waskia, of the Kowan Family, Isumrud Stock (classification from Z'graggen 1975). In Waskia, the personal desinences mark subject, tense and mood. Following are the realis forms (from Ross and Paol 1978: 67):

Present

	SC	PL
1/2	-sam	{ -san }
3	-so	

Past Habitual			Past Simple		
	SG	PL		SG	PL
1/2	-kisam	{-kisan}	1/2	-em	-man
3	-kiso		3	-am	-un

Note that, at least in the singular, the Past Simple Waskia forms appear to be cognate with the Tauya aorist forms .

3.3.2.5. Dubitative /-rafo-/

Dubitative /-rafo-/ is an evidential suffix, indicating that the speaker is uncertain about the state or action specified by the verb; it is perhaps best translated as 'maybe'. This suffix is unique in several respects. Phonologically, it is one of only a tiny handful of morphemes with initial /r-/: the only other suffix with this initial segment is the Topic suffix, /-ra/. Second, /-rafo-/ can be added to both NP and VP; for example:

awi - rafo fofe - i - ?a
2 DUB come 3pl IND

'Maybe two came'

mu fanu - ni - rafo pe ma?i fanu - ni - rafo
DEM man ERG DUB or DEM man ERG DUB

pai ya - pi a?ate - pa ?umu - fe - i - ?a
pig lsg GEN hit SS die TR 3pl IND

'Maybe this man or that man killed my pig'

" awi - ti - wa?ana - ?ai - rafo - ?a " o - a - ?a
two get RECIP. 3plFut DUB IND say 3sg IND

'Maybe the two will marry' she said

ni - ni Ø - tu - a - na teimene - a - rafo - ?a
3sg ERG 3sg give 3sg COMP hold 3sg DUB IND

'He gave it to him and maybe he has it'

Finally, the Dubitative suffix occupies a unique position in the verb complex, following the personal

desinences but preceding modal suffixes, i.e.,

... Stem ± AUX + Desinence ± Dubitative + Mood

Clauses which include the Dubitative suffix on either NP or VP obligatorily include the Indicative/Unmarked modal suffix /-ʔa/ (cf.).

Thus,

te - ta Bramani yate - ane - rafo - $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ʔa} \quad \text{IND.} \\ \text{*nae} \quad \text{Q.} \\ \text{*e} \quad \text{IMP.} \end{array} \right\}$

'Maybe you (pl) will go to Brahman'

(but, *'Will you maybe go to Brahman?'; *'Maybe go to Brahman!')

ni - ʔe - rafo - $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ʔa} \quad \text{IND.} \\ \text{*nae} \quad \text{Q.} \\ \text{*ne} \quad \text{NEC.} \\ \text{*no} \quad \text{SUBJUN.} \\ \text{*ʔae} \quad \text{EXCLAM.} \end{array} \right\}$

'Maybe he will eat'

(but, *'Will he maybe eat?'; *'He must maybe eat'; *'Let him maybe eat'; *'He will maybe eat!')

Dubitative /-rafo/ is generally mutually exclusive with other verbal suffixes which have modal force, such as Avolitional /-ʔate-/:

*ʔumu - ʔate - a - rafo - ʔa
die AVOL 3sg DUB IND

('It would be bad if he perhaps died', 'Perhaps it would be bad if he died')

There is, however, one exception to this restriction:

the Counter-Factual subordinate suffix /-ʔani/

may co-occur with Dubitative /-rafo/:

yá - ni Ø - yau - ʔani - ra Ø - tu - rafo - ʔani - ʔa
 1sg ERG 3sg see C.-F. TOP 3sg give DUB. C.-F. IND

'If I'd seen him, I might have given it to him'

3.3.2.6. Mood

3.3.2.6.1. Introduction

Mood in Tauya is marked by suffixes added to the final verb. Note, however, that other verbal suffixes, such as Avolitional, Dubitative, and the subordinate medial suffixes also have mood-like function. Seven moods are distinguished by the modal suffixes: Indicative/Unmarked; Interrogative; Imperative; Prohibitive; Necessitive; Subjunctive; and Exclamatory.

3.3.2.6.2. Indicative/Unmarked /-ʔa/

The modal suffix /-ʔa/ typically marks Indicative mood:

mene - a - te mepi ʔatou - a - ʔa
 stay 3sg DS come down arrive 3sg IND

'She stayed and he came down and arrived'

awi ʔ^watifo ʔini - pope - i - ʔa
 2 friend sleep HAB 3pl IND

'Two friends lived'

sa pofa ʔoʔai - e - mo - pe ʔai - a - te
 ENVIRON soon afternoon 1/2 NOM BEN do 3sg DS

pisaʔe - sa ʔai pau - a - ʔa
 below ADESS rustle erupt 3sg IND

'It was almost afternoon and there below there was a rustling sound'

" nono ti ya - fe - a - e " o - a - ?a
 child get lsg TR 2sgFut IMP say 3sg IND

'Get the child for me' she said

ya - ni tei - mene - amu - ?a
 lsg ERG catch STAT lsgFut IND

'I will hold it'

However, it is inaccurate to define /-?a/ as the Indicative modal suffix. It is also the suffix used in Avolitional clauses, as in the first example below; in Dubitative clauses, as in the second example; and in Counter-Factual clauses, as in the third example:

pomu - ?ate - a - ?a
 fall AVOL 3sg IND

'It would be bad if he fell'

?ei - ra mene - a - rafo - ?a
 there TOP stay 3sg DUB IND

'Maybe he's there'

ou - ou yau - mene - ?ani - ra
 shoot REDUP see STAT C.-F. TOP

ou - fe - ?ani - ?a
 shoot TR C.-F. IND

'If (I) knew how to shoot, (I'd) shoot it'

A more appropriate definition of the modal suffix /-?a/ is thus that it indicates unmarked mood; in the

absence of mood-like verbal suffixes, it signals the Indicative.

The modal suffix /-ʔa/ is quite possibly cognate with the Citation suffix /-ʔa/.

3.3.2.6.3. Interrogative

3.3.2.6.3.1: Polar Interrogative /-nae/ ~ /-nae+yae/ ~ /-yae/ ~ ∅

The polar interrogative mood is that used for yes-no questions. Polar interrogatives in Tauya are marked with the suffix /-nae/. For example:

ni - ni ʔati na - fe - a - nae
3sg ERG say 2sg TR 3sg Q

'Did he tell you?'

pate Tei - sa yate - ʔa - nae
tomorrow ADESS go 2sgFut Q

'Will you go to Teri tomorrow?'

ni - ni sen - au - i - nae
3pl ERG 1pl see 3pl Q

'Did they see us?'

ya - pe na - ʔisafe - a - nae
1sg BEN 2sg angry 3sg Q

'Are you angry at me?'

Occasionally, a longer form of the polar interrogative suffix is used, /-nae+yae/; /-yae/ is the polar interrogative suffix used with nominal

predicates. There does not appear to be any semantic difference between the suffixes /-nae/ and /-nae+yae/, aside from perhaps one of emphasis (the longer form being more emphatic). The pairs of examples below are generally identified as being synonymous:

{	Bramani	fomitiya	yate	-	e	-	nae	}
		yesterday	go	1/2			Q	
{	Bramani	fomitiya	yate	-	e	-	naeyae	}
							Q	

'Did you go to Brahman yesterday?'

{	na	-	tu	-	?ai	-	nae	}
	2sg		give		3plFut		Q	
{	na	-	tu	-	?ai	-	naeyae	}
							Q	

'Will they give (it) to you?'

Very rarely, /-yae/ alone marks the polar interrogative mood on verbal predicates. It may only occur on forms which include the 3sg aorist desinence /-a-/.

Thus,

?ini	-	a	-	yae
sleep		3sg		Q
'Did he sleep?'				

But,

* ?ini	-	e	-	yae	
sleep		1/2		Q	('Did you sleep?')

* ?ini - ene - yae
 sleep 1/2pl Q ('Did we sleep?')

* ?ini - ?e - yae
 sleep 3sgFut Q ('Will he sleep?')

In some cases, the polar interrogative modal suffix may be omitted entirely; this appears to occur primarily in rhetorical questions.

Interrogative mood is indicated by rising intonation:

Bramani yate - e
 go 1/2

'Are you going to Brahman?'

3.3.2.6.3.2. Non-Polar /-ne/ ~ /-e/

Non-polar interrogatives include an interrogative pronoun (see), and the verb includes the modal suffix /-ne/. For example:

wame ni - e - ne
 what eat 1/2 Q
 'What did you eat?'

we fofe - ?e - ne
 who come 3sgFut Q
 'Who will come?'

we - sou saniya te - amu - ne
 who COM work get 1sgFut Q
 'Who will I work with?'

asa ?ati ne - fe - ?ai - ne
 when say 3pl TR 3plFut Q
 'When will they tell them?'

Following the 3sg aorist desinence /-a-/, the non-polar interrogative modal suffix is /-e/:

mafi mene - a - e
where stay 3sg Q

'Where is she?'

wame - pe ?umu - a - e
what BEN die 3sg Q

'Why did he die?'

we - sou popau - a - e
who COM talk 3sg Q

'Who is he talking to?'

3.3.2.6.3.3. Interrogative Mood and 3sg Aorist

As demonstrated above, the polar and non-polar interrogative modal suffixes are irregular when they follow the 3sg aorist desinence /-a-/. The polar interrogative suffix, generally /-nae/, is optionally realized as /-yae/ after this desinence:

mei mene - a - {nae}
here stay 3sg {yae}

'Is he here?'

The non-polar interrogative suffix, generally /-ne/, occurs as /-e/ following the 3sg aorist desinence:

mafi yate - a - {e }
where go 3sg { *ne }

'Where did she go?'

That is, when preceded by the desinence /-a-/,
 suffixes used to mark interrogative mood on verbal
 predicates are like those used to mark interrogative
 mood on nominal predicates:

?e - ra wame - e
 DEM TOP what Q

'What's that?'

na - ta Etrusi - yae
 2sg TOP Q

'Are you Etrus?'

Interrogative Modal Suffixes

	Nominal Predicate	Verbal Predicate	
		3sgAorist	Other
Polar	-yae	-yae ~ -nae	-nae
Non-Polar	-e	-e	-ne

3.3.2.6.4. Imperative /-e/

The Imperative mood in Tauya is formed with the 2nd person future desinences, followed by the modal suffix /-e/:

ni - a - e
eat 2sgFut IMP
'Eat!' (sg)

yate - ane - e
go 2plFut IMP
'Go!' (pl)

ti ya - fe - a - e
get 1sg TR 2sgFut IMP
'Get (it) for me!' (sg)

yute nu - tu - ane - e
tobacco 3pl give 2plFut IMP
'Give them cigarettes!' (pl)

Following the single Imperative verb root, /k^we-/, 'try', Imperative mood is formed by the 2nd person aorist, not future, desinences:

k^we - e - e
try 1/2 IMP
'Try!' (sg)

k^we - ene - e
 try 1/2pl IMP
 'Try!' (pl)

3.3.2.6.5. Prohibitive /-ʔatene/ ~ /-ʔatenene/

The Prohibitive mood is used for negative imperatives. The suffixes used to mark this mood, /-ʔatene/ and /-ʔatenene/, are apparently complex forms, consisting of Avolitional /-ʔate/, the 1/2 aorist desinences /-e/ sg., /-ene/ pl., and the Necessitive modal suffix /-ne/, i.e.,

$$/ -ʔate + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} e \\ ene \end{array} \right\} + ne /$$

The Prohibitive mood is used only with reference to 2nd person subjects. Although aorist desinences are employed, the Avolitional auxiliary carries future/irrealis force.

yate - ʔatene
 go PROHsg
 'Don't go!' (sg)

mei - ʔatenene
 cry PROHpl
 'Don't cry!' (pl)

3.3.2.6.6. Necessitive /-ne/

The Necessitive mood is perhaps best translated with English 'must': "He must eat!"; "They must sleep!", etc. The implication, however, is that the addressee is expected to do something which will bring about the desired result. For example, "He must eat! (... so go and cook something!)". The Necessitive mood is marked by the suffix /-ne/, and the verb includes future desinences. For example:

apu + mafana ni - ʔe - ne
now (right) eat 3sgFut NEC

'He must eat right now!'

saniya te - amu - ne
work get 1sgFut NEC

'I must work!'

Although one would perhaps anticipate that verbs in the Necessitive mood could occur with 2nd person subjects (for example, "You must sleep! (... so go home now!)"), the Necessitive mood in Tauya is restricted to 1st and 3rd person subjects. The only exception to this is the Prohibitive construction, which includes Necessitive /-ne/ and always has 2nd person subjects.

3.3.2.6.7. Subjunctive /-no/

The Subjunctive mood indicates a wish or desire on the part of the speaker. It is formed by the future desinences, followed by the suffix /-no/. The subjunctive mood is restricted to 3rd person subjects; there does not appear to be any semantic basis for its non-occurrence with 1st or 2nd person subjects.

?ei mene - ?e - no
there stay 3sgFut SUBJ
'Let him be there'

pate fofe - ?ai - no
tomorrow come 3plFut SUBJ
'Let them come tomorrow'

The subjunctive mood has a second function in Tauya. That is, it is used in texts to suggest that the narrated events are not real but imaginary. In the words of one informant, "We use this only for fairy stories, not real ones". In this function, the Subjunctive modal suffix follows the aorist desinences. For example:

wate toporo ?ini - tei - pope -
 house (=lineage) group sleep ITER HAB

i - no
 3pl SUBJ

'A group of kinsmen lived'

" nono sini - pi no - ?osai - ame - ?a "
 child 1pl GEN 3pl chase lincFut IND

o - fe - i - nani - ra ori wate - ?ai
 say PERF 3pl ASSER TOP trap house ADESS

nu - ?ufiya - i - no
 3pl cook 3pl SUBJ

'"We'll send our children", they said, and they
 cooked for them at the trap house'

2.2.2.6.8. Exclamatory /-?ae/

The Exclamatory mood is marked by the suffix
 /-?ae/, which apparently consists of Indicative/
 Unmarked /-?a/, followed by the Exclamatory suffix
 /-e/;

fofe - a - ?ae
 come 3sg EXCLAM

'He's coming!'

nen - au - e - ?ae
 3pl see 1/2 EXCLAM

'I saw them!'

3.3.2.6.9. Summary

The modal suffixes in Tauya distinguish seven moods:

Indicative/Unmarked	/-ʔa/
Interrogative: Polar	/-nae/ ~ /-nae+yae/ ~ /-yae/ ~ ∅
Non-Polar	/-ne/ ~ /-e/
Imperative	/-e/
Prohibitive	/-ʔatene/ ~ /-ʔatenene/
Necessitive	/-ne/
Subjunctive	/-no/
Exclamatory	/-ʔae/

In the Interrogative mood, forms which include the 3sg aorist desinence /-a-/ employ the modal suffixes associated with NP predicates, either optionally (in the case of polar questions) or obligatorily (in the case of non-polar questions). It may be possible to further analyze some of these modal suffixes. This has been done, for example, for the Prohibitive suffixes (cf.) and the Exclamatory suffix (cf.). Additionally, the Imperative modal suffix /-e/ may in fact be the Exclamatory suffix /-e/, such that Imperatives in Tauya are exclamatory forms of 2nd person future verbs.

3.3.2.7. Negation

Verbs in Tauya are negated by the morpheme /wate/, which occurs preposed to the verb stem, i.e.,

NEG (OBJ) + STEM + ...

For example,

∅ - wanimo - ra wate ese - e - ?a
3sg name TOP NEG hear 1/2 IND

'I don't know her name'

" wate ni - amu - ?a " o - a - na - ?a
NEG eat 1sgFut IND say 3sg COMP IND

"I won't eat (it)", he said'

?amai - te - a - na fanu mopufo wate yau - a - ?a
carry get 3sg REL man body NEG see 3sg IND

'He didn't see the man who carried (it)'

yene - ra wate ou - pope - e - ?a
bird TOP NEG shoot HAB 1/2 IND

'I don't shootbirds'

Negative /wate/ is perhaps cognate with the Conative auxiliary, /-we-/, both being derived from a historical negative verb root, /we-/. The negative is then analyzeable as derived from a different-subject (DS) medial verb construction with 3sg aorist desinence /-a-/, i.e.,

/wē + a + te/ → [wate]
NEG 3sg DS R1

3.3.2.8. Object Prefixes

Tauya is primarily a suffixing language.

The only prefixes which occur are the personal pronoun prefixes, which are added to inalienable noun roots to indicate the possessor (cf.) and to transitive verb roots to indicate the object.

The pronominal prefixes are as follows:

	SG	PL
1	ya-	sen-
2	na-	ten-
3	∅ ~ fei-	nen-

The /fei-/ variant of the 3sg object prefix is used only with the Transitive auxiliary /-fe-/. elsewhere, 3sg objects are indicated with ∅ (see):

ya - ni { ∅ } - ʔosai - e - ʔa
 lsg ERC { *fei } chase 1/2 IND
 'I chased him/her'

momune { fei } - fe - e - ʔa
 sit { ∅ } TR 1/2 IND
 'I sat him/her down'

The pronominal prefixes are subject to a number of somewhat irregular phonological rules. Generally, the vowel /e/ in the plural forms assimilates to a following stem-initial non-low vowel by R12. When added to C-initial verb stems, final /n/ of the plural forms is deleted by P21; alternatively, an epenthetic vowel may be inserted between final /n/ of the prefixes and the stem-initial consonant by R22. For example:

/-ou-/ V.Tr. 'shoot'

/ya ± ou-/ → [you-] 'shoot me' (/a/-Deletion, R11)

/∅ ± ou-/ → [ou-] 'shoot him/her'

/sen ± ou-/ → [sonou-] 'shoot us' (/e/-Assim., P12)

/-epi-/ V.Tr. 'get'

/na ± epi-/ → [nepi-] 'get you' (/a/-Deletion, R11)

/∅ ± epi-/ → [epi-] 'get him/her'

/ten ± epi-/ → [tenepi-] 'get you (pl)'

/-tu-/ V.Tr. 'give to'

/ya ± tu-/ → [yatu-] 'give me'

/∅ ± tu-/ → [tu-] 'give him/her'

/nen ± tu-/ → [nutu-] 'give them' (/e/-Assim., R12;
/n/-Deletion, P21)

3.3.3. Medial Verbs

3.3.3.1. Introduction

Like many other Papuan languages (see, for example, Wurm 1982; Haiman 1980; Peesink 1982), Tauya has medial verb constructions. That is, rather than using coordinating and subordinating particles to conjoin clauses, verbs in all but the final clause in a series are in a special medial form, marked by one of several medial suffixes. These suffixes serve to indicate the relationship of the medial clause to the following clause. The final clause in the series includes a final verb, as described in previous sections:

$$[X \quad V_{\text{Medial}}] C_1 \quad \dots \quad [X \quad V_{\text{Medial}}] C_{n-1} \quad [X \quad V_{\text{Final}}] C_n$$

Although for ease of exposition most of the examples included here consist of only two clauses, the first medial and the second final, 'natural' (i.e., unelicited) speech is characterized by long series of clauses which include medial verbs, terminated by a clause with a final verb. This is illustrated by the following passage from a text ('SS' and 'DS' indicate Same-Subject and Different-Subject coordinate medial suffixes):

[nono ∅ - imai - te - pa] [mai mene - a - te]
 child 3sg carry get SS come up stay 3sg DS

[pai aʔate - pa] [nono wi ne - fe - pa] [yene wawi
 pig hit SS child show 3pl TR SS sacred flute

wi ne - fe - pa] [mene - pa] [pai aʔate - ti tefe - pa]
 show 3pl TR SS stay SS pig hit CONJ put SS

[ʔeʔeri - pa] [toto - i - ʔa]
 dance SS cut 3pl IND

'She carried the child [in a net bag] and came up and stayed; and they hit [=killed] the pigs and showed them to the children and they showed the children the sacred flutes, and they stayed and they hit [=killed] the pigs and put them and they danced and they cut [the pigs]'

This example, which is not at all unusual, includes 9 clauses; only the last clause includes a final verb.

There are 2 classes of medial verbs in Tauya, coordinate and subordinate. These classes correspond closely to the coordinate/subordinate distinction described by Haiman (1980) for Hua. The 3 major characteristics of the classes, all of which point to the relative independence of subordinate medials in comparison to coordinate medials, are as follows:

- (a) Coordinate medial verbs share the tense of the following final verb; Subordinate medials do not.
- (b) Coordinate medials share the mood of the following final verb; Subordinate medials do not.

(c) Coordinate medials are tense-iconic with the following verb; Subordinate medials are not.

In following sections, the structures and functions of these 2 classes of medial verbs are discussed. Particular attention is directed towards the possible nominal status of medial verbs in Tauya. Haiman (1980: 282) has suggested that all medial verbs in Hua can be identified as nominalizations. In Tauya, both coordinate and subordinate medials may occur with suffixes which are characteristic of NPs. However, as is discussed below, there is both morphological and syntactic evidence that, in Tauya, only subordinate medials can be clearly identified as nominalizations. Despite their potential for noun-like inflection, coordinate medials appear to be more verbal than nominal; the presence of nominal inflection on these medials is perhaps best explained, at least at present, as the result of analogical development.

3.3.3.2. Coordinate Medial Verbs

3.3.3.2.1. Introduction

There are two kinds of coordinate medial verbs in Tauya, which serve to mark switch-reference. That is, they indicate whether or not the subject of the medial clause is coreferential with the subject of the following clause. Same-Subject (SS) coordinate medials indicate that the subjects are coreferential; Different-Subject (DS) coordinate medials indicate that the subjects are not coreferential. For example:

SS: yate - pa ni - e - ?a
 go SS eat 1/2 IND
 'I went and ate'

DS: yate - e - te ni - a - ?a
 go 1/2 DS eat 3sg IND
 'I went and he ate'

Coordinate medial verbs have 5 main functions in Tauya:

(a) Both SS and DS coordinate medials are used for simple conjunction of two or more clauses (see examples above).

(b) Coordinate medial clauses carry a causal inference.

Thus:

sisine - pa fitau - fe - e - te tepau - a - ?a
forceful SS throw TR 1/2 DS break 3sg IND

'I threw it hard and/so it broke'

peima fitau - fe - e - te wate tepau - a - ?a
careful throw TR 1/2 DS NEG break 3sg IND

'I threw it carefully and/so it didn't break'

If a causal interpretation cannot be made, coordinate medial clauses may not be used:

* sisine - pa fitau - fe - e - te wate tepau - a - ?a
('I threw it hard and it didn't break')

* peima fitau - fe - e - te tepau - a - ?a
('I threw it carefully and it broke')

For these sentences to be grammatical, the medial clauses must be subordinate (cf.).

(c) When they are in future tense and include the Topic suffix, both SS and DS coordinate medials can be interpreted as the protases of hypothetical conditional sentences:

SS: ya - ni yate - pa - ra nu - tu - amu - ?a
1sg ERG go SS TOP 3pl give 1sgFut IND
'If I go, I'll give (it) to them'

DS: fofe - a - te - ra ø - yau - amu - ?a
come 3sg DS TOP 3sg see 1sgFut IND
'If he comes, I'll see him'

(d) SS coordinate medial verbs sometimes function as manner
adverbials:

nisine - pa saniya te - a - ?a
diligent SS work get 3sg IND

He worked hard

sisine - pa fitau - e - ?a
forcefully SS throw 1/2 IND

I threw it hard

(e) In some cases, SS coordinate medial constructions function
like compound verbs. For example:

/te + pa yate-/
get SS go V.Tr. 'take'

/te + pa fofe-/
come V.Tr. 'bring'

/yau + pa te-/
see SS get V.Tr. 'find'

3.3.3.2.2.. Subject Reference

Generally, Same-Subject (SS) coordinate medials indicate that the subject of the medial clause is coreferential with the subject of the following clause. SS coordinate medials do not include a personal desinence indicating the subject of the medial clause, but are interpreted as having the same subject as the following verb. A minimally inflected^{SS} coordinate medial verb includes a verb stem followed by the SS medial suffix /-pa/, i.e.,

SS Coordinate: VERB STEM + /-pa/

For example:

yate - pa	ni - e - ?a	
go	SS eat 1/2	IND 'I/you(sg) went and ate'
yate - pa	ni - a - ?a	
	3sg	'He/she went and ate'
yate - pa	ni - ene - ?a	
	1/2pl	'We/you(pl) went and ate'
yate - pa	ni - i - ?a	
	3pl	'They went and ate'

However, the suffix /-pa/ is not used exclusively to mark SS medials; it is found in 2 other contexts as well. First, the suffix /-pa/ may be used to list clauses which have different subjects but identical predicates; this

construction is only used when the list of clauses is fairly long. The list is terminated by the verb /ʔai-/ 'do', which includes a personal desinence having reference to all medial subjects. For example:

Aresa	fofe	- pa	Towe	fofe	- pa	Maʔarafa	fofe	- pa
	come	SS		come	SS		come	SS
Nowa	fofe	- pa	Boriye	fofe	- pa	ʔai	- i	- ʔa
	come	SS		come	SS	do	3pl	IND

'Aresa, Towe, Makarafa, Nowa and Boriye came'

Same-subject coordinate medial verbs in Hua may also have a listing function (see Haiman 1980: 189).

Second, if the subject of the medial clause is not coreferential with the subject of the following clause, but includes reference to it, the medial includes the SS suffix /-pa/. However, the reverse is not true. That is, if the subject of the final verb is not coreferential with but includes reference to the subject of the medial clause, the medial verb must nonetheless be marked as different-subject (DS). For example:

ti	awi	Bramani	yate	- pa	na	etiti	fofe	- e	- ʔa
2pl	two		go	SS	2sg	return	come	1/2	IND

'You two went to Brahman and you (sg) came back'

But,

na Bramani yate - a - fe ti awi etiti fofe - ene - ʔa
 2sg go 2sgFut DS 2pl 2 return come 1/2pl IND
 'You (sg) went to Brahman and you two came back'

This switch-reference pattern in Tauya appears to be relatively common in Papuan languages. Thus, Reesink states that, in those languages which he has examined, a shift from plural to singular subject where the singular is part of the plural is generally marked as not indicating a switch in reference (Reesink 1982: 17).

Different-Subject (DS) coordinate medial verbs indicate that the subject of the medial clause is not coreferential with the subject of the following clause. DS coordinate medials include a personal desinence marking the person/number of the medial subject, and a DS medial suffix. If the subject of the medial clause is not 2nd person, aorist desinences are used and are followed by the DS medial suffix /-te/. If the subject of the medial clause is 2nd person, future desinences are included, and are followed by the DS suffixes /-fe/, 2sg, /-tefe/, 2pl. A minimally inflected DS coordinate medial thus includes a verb stem, a personal

desinence, and a DS medial suffix:

DS Coordinate:	VERB STEM	+	DESINENCE	+	/-te/	(non-2nd)
						(Aorist)
	VERB STEM	+	DESINENCE	+	{ /-fe/ (2sg) }	
					{ /-tefe/ (2pl) }	
						(Future)

For example:

ya yate - e - te ya - yau - a - ?a
 lsg go 1/2 DS lsg see 3sg IND
 'I went and he saw me'

ni fofe - a - te ∅ - yau - e - ?a
 3sg come 3sg DS 3sg see 1/2 IND
 'He came and I saw him'

na fofe - a - fe na - yau - e - ?a
 2sg come 2sgFut DS 2sg see 1/2 IND
 'You (sg) came and I saw you'

ti yate - ane - tefe ten - yau - a - ?a
 2pl go 2plFut DS 2pl see 3sg IND
 'You (pl) went and he saw you'

Thus, while 1st and 2nd persons are not distinguished in final verbs in aorist tense, they are distinguished in DS coordinate medials (coordinate medial verbs share the tense of the final verb, regardless of the tense indicated by the medial desinences).

Final: yate - e - ?a
 go 1/2 IND 'I/you(sg) went'

DS Medial:

yate - e - te ...
 go 1/2 DS 'I went, and the other ...'

yate - a - fe ...
 go 2sgFut DS 'You(sg) went, and the other ...'

Final: ni - ene - ?a
 eat 1/2pl IND 'We/you(pl) ate'

DS Medial:

ni - ene - te ...
 eat 1/2pl DS 'We ate, and the other ...'

ni - ane - tefe ...
 eat 2plFut DS 'You(pl) ate, and the other ...'

3.3.3.2.3. Tense in Coordinate Medial Verbs

Coordinate medial verbs are not marked for tense, but are interpreted as sharing the tense of the following final verb. Tense in Tauya is indicated by the personal desinences; one set of desinences is used to mark aorist tense (past and present), and a second set is used to mark future tense. Since SS coordinate medials do not include desinences, they may not be marked for tense. Thus:

wate ya - pi - ?ai yate - pa ni - e - ?a
house lsg GEN ADESS go SS eat 1/2 IND

'I went home and ate'

wate ya - pi - ?ai yate - pa ni - amu - ?a
lsgFut

'I'll go home and eat'

ni - ni fofe - pa ya - tu - a - ?a
3sg ERG come SS lsg give 3sg IND

'He came and gave (it) to me'

ni - ni fofe - pa ya - tu - ?e - ?a
3sgFut

'He'll come and give (it) to me'

DS coordinate medial verbs do include personal desinences. Those with non-2nd person subjects include aorist desinences; those with 2nd person subjects include future desinences.

3.3.3.2.4. Mood in Coordinate Medial Verbs

Generally, coordinate medial verbs in Tauya may not be marked for mood, that is, they may not include modal suffixes (except as sentence fragments; cf.). Being unmarked for mood, coordinate medials may be interpreted as sharing the mood of the following final verb (the 'same-mood constraint; cf. Haiman 1980: 399), or they may be interpreted as being in the (unmarked) Indicative mood. There are, however, 3 exceptions to this general pattern:

(a) If a DS coordinate medial verb with 2nd person subject is followed by a final verb in future tense (such that the medial is also interpreted as future tense) and in Indicative mood, the medial is optionally interpreted as being in the Imperative mood.

(b) If a final verb is in future tense, and thus the preceding medial is interpreted as future, and the medial verb includes the Topic suffix /-ra/, the medial is optionally interpreted as being the protasis of a hypothetical conditional. This supports Haiman's claim that conditional clauses are in fact topics (Haiman 1978).

(c) For some speakers, the presence of the Topic suffix on a coordinate medial verb renders it impermeable to the mood of the following verb; such medials must be interpreted as Indicative or as hypothetical conditionals.

The general pattern described above, i.e., mood-sharing/Indicative interpretation of coordinate medials, is somewhat restricted in its application. That is, the mood-sharing alternative is in some cases restricted to SS coordinate medials, and not applicable to DS coordinate medials. This is due to restrictions on the kinds of subjects which may occur in certain moods (see , and below).

.3.3.2.4.1. Indicative/Unmarked

If a final verb is in the Indicative mood, a preceding coordinate medial is also interpreted as Indicative:

SS: ?ini - pou - fe - pa mepi - a - ?a
 sleep dawn TR SS come down 3sg IND
 'She slept until dawn and came down'

DS: pou - a - te fai aniyamo ofo - te - a - ?a
 dawn 3sg DS net bag mother pull out get 3sg IND
 'Dawn came and he pulled out the big net bag'

.3.3.2.4.2. Polar Interrogative

If a final verb is in the Interrogative mood with modal suffix /-nae/, Interrogative mood can be interpreted as applying to the final clause, the medial clause, or to both:

SS: tepau - fe - pa yate fitau - e - nae
 break TR SS go throw 1/2 Q
 {'You broke it, and did you go away?'
 {'Did you break it?, and you went away'}
 {'Did you break it and go away?'}

DS: ota ni - pi yate - a - te yate - a - nae
 husband 3sg GEN go 3sg DS go 3sg Q

{ 'Her husband went, and did she go?' }
 { 'Did her husband go?, and she went' }
 { 'Did her husband go and did she go?' }

3.3.3.2.4.3. Non-Polar Interrogative

If a final verb includes the non-polar interrogative suffix /-ne/ ~ /-e/, Interrogative mood applies only to the clause which includes the Interrogative pronoun. Thus, in the following examples, the Interrogative pronoun is in the final clause and the medial is interpreted as Indicative:

SS: yate - pa we Ø - yau - e - ne
 go SS who 3sg see 1/2 Q

'You went and who did you see?'

DS: fofe - i - te wame nu - tu - a - e
 come 3pl DS what 3pl give 3sg Q

'They came and what did he give them?'

If the Interrogative pronoun occurs in the medial clause, the final clause is interpreted as Indicative:

SS: mafi yate - pa ?ini - a - e
 where go SS sleep 3sg Q

'Where did she go and she slept'

DS: ni - ni we Ø - tu - a - te Ø - yau - i - ne
 3sg ERG who 3sg give 3sg DS 3sg see 3pl Q

'Who did he give (it) to?, and they saw him'

3.3.3.2.4.4... Imperative

Imperative mood in Tauya can apply only to verbs with 2nd person subjects. Thus, a DS coordinate medial is interpreted as Indicative if followed by a final verb in the Imperative mood. However, preceding SS coordinate medials appear to obligatorily share the Imperative mood of the final verb:

SS: yate - pa ni - a - e
go SS eat 2sgFut IMP

'Go and eat!'
(? 'You will go, and Eat!')

DS: mei fofe - a - te pofei - ti Ø - tu - ane - e
here come 3sg DS talk CONJ 3sg give 2plFut IMP

'He'll come here and you all talk to him!'

3.3.3.2.4.5. Prohibitive

Like the Imperative mood, the Prohibitive mood in Tauya is used only with 2nd person subjects. It is marked by a complex suffix, consisting of the Avolitional auxiliary, 2nd person aorist desinences, and the Necessitive modal suffix. Preceding SS coordinate medials obligatorily share the Prohibitive mood of the final verb; constructions including a final verb in the Prohibitive mood preceded by a DS coordinate medial have not been attested and prove impossible to elicit.

rei fofe - pa piro^o - ti ya - tu - ?atene
 here come SS lie CONJ lsg give PROHIBsg

'Don't come here and lie to me!'

3.3.3.2.4.6. Necessitive

Coordinate medials followed by final verb in the Necessitive mood can be interpreted as Necessitive or Indicative, depending on context:

SS: fofe - pa ni - ?e - ne
 come SS eat 3sgFut NEC

{ 'He must come and eat!' }
 { 'He will come and must eat!' }

DS: yate - a - te Ø - tu - ?ai - ne
 go 3sg DS 3sg give 3plFut NEC

{ 'He must go and they must give (it) to him!' }
 { 'He will go and they must give (it) to him!' }

Final verbs in the Necessitive mood may not occur with 2nd person subjects. A 2nd person DS coordinate medial followed by a verb in the Necessitive mood is interpreted as

Indicative:

poru-poru - a - fe pofei - amu - ne
 pull out (Redup) 2sgFut DS talk lsgFut NEC

'You will keep pulling it out and I must talk!'

3.3.3.2.4.7. Subjunctive

If a coordinate medial is followed by a final verb in Subjunctive mood, the medial may be interpreted as

Indicative or Subjunctive:

SS: ?ei yate - pa mene - ?e - no
 there go SS stay 3sgFut SBJV

'He'll go there and let him stay!'
 'Let him go there and stay!'

DS: ?ei yate - a - te ?ufiya Ø - tu - ?ai - no
 there go 3sg DS food 3sg give 3plFut SBJV

'He'll go there and let them give him food'
 'Let him go there and let them give him food'

Final verbs in the Subjunctive mood may occur only with 3rd person subjects. Final Subjunctive verbs preceded by DS coordinate medials with 1st or 2nd person subjects proved impossible to elicit; instead, informants provide constructions in which both clauses include final verbs.

For example:

pate ?ei yate - a - ?a ?ei mene - ?e - no
 tomorrow there go 2sgFut IND there stay 3sgFut SBJV

'You'll go there tomorrow. Let him be there!'

3.3.3.2.5.8 Exclamatory

If a final verb is in the Exclamatory mood, a preceding SS coordinate medial is also interpreted as exclamatory:

mai - pa momune - a - ?ae
 come up SS sit 3sg EXCLAM

'He came up and sat!'

Constructions including final verbs in the Exclamatory mood preceded by DS coordinate medials prove impossible to elicit. This is perhaps due to the fact that exclamations tend to be short, non-complex utterances.

3.3.2.4.9. Imperative Medials

A DS coordinate medial verb with 2nd person subject may be interpreted as being in the Imperative mood if followed by a final verb in future tense (such that the preceding medial is also interpreted as future) and Indicative mood. For example:

ʔite saniya te - a - fe ya Bramani yate - amu - ʔa
 garden work get 2sgFut DS lsg go lsgFut IND

'You'll work in the garden and I'll go to Brahman'

'You work in the garden!, and I'll go to Brahman'

momune - ane - tefe ya - ni nono - pe o - amu - ʔa
 sit 2plFut DS lsgERG child BEN say lsgFut IND

'You all will sit and I'll call the children'

'You all sit!, and I'll call the children'

3.3.3.2.4. Coordinate Clause Mood and the Topic Suffix
10.

Coordinate medial verbs in Tauya may include the Topic suffix /-ra/. The presence of this suffix has 2 effects on the mood interpretation assigned to the medial verb, both of which are related to the status of topics as given information. First, coordinate medials in future tense which include the topic suffix may be interpreted as hypothetical conditional clauses. Second, in some cases, the presence of the topic suffix on a coordinate medial verb makes it impermeable to the mood of the following verb.

3.3.3.2.4. Hypothetical Conditional Clauses
10.1.

If a final verb is in future tense, such that a preceding coordinate medial is also interpreted as future, and the medial includes the Topic suffix, the medial may be interpreted as a hypothetical conditional clause. For example:

Final Indicative

SS: pai na - pi yau - pa - ra te na - fe - pa
pig 2sg GEN see SS TOP get 2sg TR SS

fofe - amu - ʔa
come 2sgFut IND

{ 'I'll see your pig and get it for you and come' }
{ 'If I see your pig, I'll get it for you and come' }

DS: mei fofe - a - te - ra Ø - tu - ?ai - ?a
 here come 3sg DS TOP 3sg give 3plFut IND

{ 'He'll come here and they'll give (it) to him' }
 { 'If he comes here, they'll give (it) to him' }

Final Polar Interrogative

SS: Bramani yate - pa - ra Ø - yau - amu - nae
 go SS TOP 3sg see 1sgFut Q

{ 'I'll go to Brahman and will I see him?' }
 { 'If I go to Brahman, will I see him?' }

DS: tepau - fe - a - fe - ra teme te - ?ai - nae
 break TR 2sgFut DS TOP another get 3plFut Q

{ 'You'll break it and will they get another?' }
 { 'If you break it, will they get another?' }

Final Non-Polar Interrogative

SS: mei fofe - pa - ra mafi ?ini - ?e - ne
 here come SS TOP where sleep 3sgFut Q

{ 'He'll come here and where will he sleep?' }
 { 'If he comes here, where will he sleep?' }

DS: se - ta nini - pi mei wate yate - ene - te - ra
 1pl TOP 3pl GEN here NEG go 1/2pl DS TOP

we - ni ne - ?aute - ?e - ne
 who ERC 3pl help 3sgFut Q

{ 'We won't go to them and who will help them?' }
 { 'If we don't go to them, who will help them?' }

Final Imperative

SS: Ø - yau - pa - ra Ø - tu - ane - e
 3sg see SS TOP 3sg give 2plFut IMP

'If you see him, give (it) to him!'

DS: " pei omai - a - te - ra pei omai - a - e "
 hill climb 3sg DS TOP hill climb 2sgFut IMP
 o - a - o " amo omai - a - te - ra amo
 say 3sg ELLIP tree climb 3sg DS TOP tree
 omai - a - e " o - a - o " wai
 climb 2sgFut IMP say 3sg ELLIP again
 sotopi - a - te - ra sotopi - a - e "
 descend 3sg DS TOP descend 2sgFut IMP
 o - a - o
 say 3sg ELLIP
 "' If it [a magic seed] climbs the hill, you climb
 the hill", he said; "If it climbs the tree, you climb
 the tree", he said; "If it comes down again, you come
 down", he said'

Final Prohibitive

SS: wai fofe - pa - ra ?ufiya ya - pi ni - ?atenene
 again come SS TOP food lsg GEN eat PROHIBpl
 'If you all come again, don't eat my food!'

Final Necessitive

SS: momune - pa - ra pofei - ti su - tu - ?ai - ne
 sit SS TOP talk CONJ lpl give 3plFut NEC
 {'They'll sit and they must talk to us!'}
 {'If they sit, they must talk to us!'}
 DS: ya - ni Ø - ?aute - e - te - ra ni - ni
 lsg ERG 3sg help 1/2 DS TOP 3sg ERG
 sene towai ya - tu - ?e - ne
 money lsg give 3sgFut NEC
 {'I'll help him and he must give me money!'}
 {'If I help him, he must give me money!'}
 }

Final Subjunctive

SS: ?ei yate - pa - ra mene - ?e - no
 there go SS TOP stay 3sgFut SBJV

{ 'He will go there and let him stay!' }
 { 'If he goes there let him stay!' }

DS: ?ei yate - a - te - ra ?ufiya Ø - tu - ?ai - no
 there go 3sg DS TOP food 3sg give 3plFut SBJV

{ 'He'll go there and let them give him food!' }
 { 'If he goes there, let them give him food!' }

Final Exclamatory

No examples are available of hypothetical conditional clauses followed by final verbs in the Exclamatory mood.

3.3.3.2.4. Modal Impermeability
10.2.

Since topics are by definition given information, one would expect that verbal constituents marked with the Topic suffix would necessarily be interpreted as Indicative. In Tauya, however, when the verbal constituent in question is a coordinate medial verb, this is only partially true. For some speakers, topicalized coordinate medial verbs may not be questioned; thus, they are impermeable to a final polar interrogative modal suffix, and may not include interrogative pronouns:

te - ni ?ufiya-?ufiya - ane - tefe - ra fofe - i - nae
2pl ERG food Redup. 2plFut DS TOP come 3pl Q

{ 'You all made food, and did they come?'
? 'Did you all make food, and they came'
? 'Did you all make food and did they come?' }

? wame fitau - fe - a - te - ra tepau - a - e
what throw PERF 3sg DS TOP break 3sg Q

'What did he throw, and it broke?'

Similarly, for some speakers, coordinate medials marked with the topic suffix may not be interpreted as Imperative:

yate - pa - ra ni - a - e
go SS TOP eat 2sgFut IMP

{ 'If you go, eat!'
? 'Go and eat!' }

However, the presence of the Topic suffix does not necessarily result in an Indicative interpretation, as indicated by the fact that grammaticality of the above examples is questioned, rather than disallowed. Some speakers freely assign Interrogative or Imperative mood to coordinate medials despite the fact that they include the Topic suffix; other speakers appear uncertain, insisting on an Indicative interpretation in one elicitation session only to permit non-Indicative interpretation in another.

3.3.3.2.5. Negation of Coordinate Medial Verbs

Although SS and DS coordinate medial verbs behave identically with respect to the expression of tense and mood, both sharing the tense and mood of the following final verb, they do not behave identically with respect to negation. DS coordinate medial verbs are unaffected by the negation of the following verb; they may only be negated by the presence of an immediately preceding negative morpheme:

DS: ni fofe - a - te ya - ni wate Ø - tu - e - ?a
 3sg come 3sg DS lsg ERG NEG 3sg give 1/2 IND
 'He came and I didn't give (it) to him'

ni wate fofe - a - te ya - ni wate Ø - tu - e - ?a
 3sg NEG come 3sg DS lsg ERG NEG 3sg give 1/2 IND
 'He didn't come and I didn't give (it) to him'

A SS coordinate medial verb, on the other hand, optionally shares the negation of the following verb. Thus:

SS: ni fofe - pa wate pofei - a - ?a
 3sg come SS NEG talk 3sg IND
 {'He came and didn't talk'}
 {'He didn't come and talk'}

Similarly, if negative /wate/ occurs in a SS coordinate medial clause, the scope of the negative optionally extends

to the final verb:

ni	wate	fofe	- pa	pofei	- a -	?a
3sg	NEG	come	SS	talk	3sg	IND

{ 'He didn't come and he talked' }

{ 'He didn't come and talk' }

That is, given a sequence of a SS coordinate medial verb and a final verb, the scope of the negative morpheme obligatorily includes the verb which it immediately precedes, and optionally extends to the preceding medial or following final verb.

3.3.3.2.6. Auxiliaries in Coordinate Medials

In , a number of verbal auxiliaries are discussed: Stative /-mene-/?; Transitive/Perfective /-fe-/?; Perfective/Intensive /-ti-/?; Conative /-we-/?; Progressive /-?afe-/?; Habitual /-pope-/?; and Avolitional /-?ate-/. With 2 exceptions, all of these auxiliaries may occur in coordinate medial verbs, in the same order and with the same co-occurrence restrictions observed for final verbs; examples are presented below. The exceptions are the Habitual auxiliary, which may occur in DS but not in SS coordinate medials, and the Avolitional auxiliary, which does not occur in SS or DS coordinate medials.

Note that the potential that auxiliaries have for occurring in coordinate medials appears to correlate with distance from the verb stem. Thus, the Avolitional auxiliary, which does not occur in coordinate medials, is furthest from the stem in final verbs, immediately preceding the desinences; the Habitual auxiliary, which may not occur in SS coordinate medials, occurs immediately prior to the Avolitional auxiliary in final verbs.

The order of verbal auxiliaries in coordinate medial verbs is as follows:

... STEM ± { STATIVE } ± CONATIVE ± PROGRESSIVE
 { PERFECTIVE }
 ± HABITUAL + { /pa/ (SS)
 Desinence + { /te/ } (DS)
 { /fe/ }
 { /tefe/ } }

3.3.3.2.6.1. Stative /-mene-/

SS: ni epi - mene - pa ...
 3pl stand STAT SS
 'They stood and they ...'

DS: ori kofu ?ini - mene - a - te ...
 skink sleep STAT 3sg DS
 'A kofu skink was asleep and the other ...'

3.3.3.2.6.2. Transitive/Perfective /-fe-/

SS: fufutima feti - ti fitau - fe - pa ...
 arrow sharpen CONJ throw PERF SS
 'He made a fufutima arrow [for killing pigs] and
 threw it and he ...'

DS: piki sipi ore - te - pa
 pig (<Pid.) intestine remove get SS
 fitau - fe - a - fe ...
 throw PERF 2sgFut DS
 'You gutted the pig and threw the intestines and
 the other ...'

3.3.3.2.6.3. Perfective/Intensive /-ti-/

SS: mai ?atou - ti - pa ...
 come up arrive PERF SS
 'She came up and arrived and she ...'

DS: ?e - sami pofa - ?i ou - ti - a - te ...
 DEM ABL soon PRO shoot PERF 3sg DS

'Then he shot them and the other ...'

3.3.2.6.4. Conative /-we-/

SS: ?i nono - ra mepi - pa Ø - yau - we - pa ...
 DEM child TOP come down SS 3sg see CON SS

'He came down and tried to see that child and he ...'

DS: nu - tu - we - e - te ...
 3pl give CON 1/2 DS

'I tried to give (it) to them and the other ...'

3.3.2.6.5. Progressive /-?afe-/

SS: mene - pa ni - ?afe - pa ...
 stay SS eat PPOC SS

'They stayed and they were eating and they ...'

DS: ?ini - mene - ?afe - i - te ...
 sleep STAT PROC 3pl DS

'They were living (there) and the other ...'

3.3.2.6.6. Habitual /-pope-/

The Habitual auxiliary may occur in DS, but not in

SS, coordinate medials:

DS: ya?e eri - pa mepi - pope - a - te ...
 water cross SS come down HAB 3sg DS

'He always came down on [carried by] the water and the other ...'

But,

SS: * ni - pope - pa ...
 eat HAB SS

* saniya te - pope - pa ...
 work get HAB SS

etc.

Perhaps the simplest explanation for the non-occurrence of the Habitual auxiliary in SS coordinate medial verbs is that it results from a tendency to avoid sequences of like syllables. Due to a rounding rule (R16), the sequence HAB + SS would become phonetically:

* /-pope + pa/ → [popopa]
 HAB SS R16

There is evidence elsewhere in Tauya of a tendency to avoid sequences of like syllables. For example, a sporadic dissimilation rule applies in the following example:

/fofe + pa/ → fofo + pa → [fofupa]
 come SS R16 Dissimilation

The only apparent function of this dissimilation is that it prevents a sequence of like syllables.

3.3.2.6.7. Avolitional /-ʔate-/

Coordinate medial verbs, both SS and DS, may not include the Avolitional auxiliary:

SS: * ʔumu - ʔate - pa
 die AVOL SS

* ʔutine - ʔate - pa ...
 fall AVOL SS

etc.

DS: * fofe - ʔate - a - te ...
 come AVOL 3sg DS

* tepau - fe - ʔate - i - te ...
 break TR AVOL 3pl DS

etc.

This restriction is perhaps due to the fact that the Avolitional auxiliary is a tensed auxiliary.

Thus, although it may only co-occur with aorist desinences in final verbs, it is always interpreted as future/irrealis. There is also evidence that initial /-ʔa-/ in the Avolitional auxiliary is derived from a historical future/irrealis tense suffix.

Since coordinate medial verbs are not marked for tense, but are interpreted as sharing the tense of the following (final) verb, it follows that these medials may not include an auxiliary which is inherently tensed. Just as coordinate medials share the tense of the following final verb, they also share its avolitional status:

SS: pomu - pa mei - ʔate - a - ʔa
 fall SS cry AVOL 3sg IND

'It would be bad if he fell and cried'
 (*'He fell and it would be bad if he cried')

DS: ʔutine - fe - e - te tepau - ʔate - a - ʔa
 fall TR 1/2 DS break AVOL 3sg IND

'It would be bad if I dropped it and it broke'
 (*'I dropped it and it would be bad if it broke')

3.3.3.2.7. Coordinate Medial Clauses and Nominal Morphology

As stated in the introduction to this section, coordinate medial verbs in Tauya may include suffixes which are characteristic of NPs. Although these suffixes occur on the VP, following the SS and DS medial suffixes, they are perhaps more correctly analyzed as being added to the medial clauses, rather than to medial verbs, i.e.,

$$\left[X \quad VP_{\text{Medial}} \right] \pm NP \text{ SUFFIX}$$

The following suffixes are found:

$$\dots \text{ Medial Suffix } \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ERGATIVE} \\ \text{BENEFACTIVE} \end{array} \right\} \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{DUBITATIVE} \\ \text{TOPIC} \end{array} \right\}$$

The functions of these suffixes are discussed below.

Following this is an examination of the possibility that NP morphology on coordinate medial clauses is a reflection of their nominal status. It is suggested that, morphology aside, coordinate medial clauses are not, in fact, NPs.

3.3.2.7.1. Ergative and Benefactive

Generally, coordinate medial verbs may be interpreted as having a causal inference, They may also be overtly marked as cause clauses by the addition of the Ergative or Benefactive case suffixes; these are the only case suffixes with which coordinate medials may occur. The Ergative case suffix implies that the events specified in the following clause are an involuntary response to the medial clause; the Benefactive case suffix implies that these events are a voluntary response to the medial clause. This is parallel to the use of these case suffixes to mark complement clauses as cause clauses in Tauya (see), and to the use of the Ergative and Benefactive case suffixes in Hua to mark relative clauses as cause clauses (cf. Haiman 1980: 451-452). For example:

ERG: fanu ni - pi ʔumu - a - te - ni wamasi
 man 3sg GEN die 3sg DS ERG widow
 mene - a - ʔa
 stay 3sg IND
 'Her husband died so she's a widow'

BEN: fanu ni - pi ʔumu - a - te - pe fanu teme - nani
 man 3sg GEN die 3sg DS BEN man another ADESS
 yate - ʔe - ʔa
 go 3sgFut IND
 'Her husband will die so she'll go to another man'

However, the choice between the Ergative and Benefactive case suffixes on coordinate medials is not governed solely by whether or not the response is voluntary; tense is also involved. All actions in the past tense are apparently regarded as involuntary and, as such, only the Ergative case suffix may be used. The rationale appears to be that, in past tense, a decision has been made and choice is no longer available. Thus, in the following examples, the second clause represents a voluntary response to the first; in future tense, the Benefactive suffix is used to mark the first clause as a cause clause; in past tense, the Ergative suffix is used:

ERG: ?i fanu ?umu - a - te - ni sotou - fe - ene - ?a
 DEM man die 3sg DS ERG bury TR 1/2pl IND
 'That man died so we buried him'

BEN: ?i fanu ?umu - a - te - pe sotou - fe - ame - ?a
 DEM man die 3sg DS BEN bury TR 1plFut IND
 'That man will die so we'll (inc.) bury him'

Similarly, in the following examples, the ambiguity between past and present tense normally associated with aorist desinences does not arise:

ERG: mei fofe - a - te - ni yate fitau - e - ?a
 here come 3sg DS ERG go throw 1/2 IND
 'He came here so I went away'

BEN: mei fofe - a - te - pe yate fitau - e - ʔa
 here come 3sg DS BEN go throw 1/2 IND
 'He's coming here so I'm going away'

That is, in the presence of the Benefactive case suffix, tense must be interpreted as non-past. Note that the association between Ergative case and past tense is somewhat parallel to the situation in some split-ergative languages, where Ergative case marking is present only in perfective aspect.

As well as marking voluntary response, the Benefactive case suffix can be used to indicate that the clause it marks represents the first in a series of events. Coordinate medial verbs in Tauya are tense-iconic, that is, the linear order of the clauses reflects the order of real-world events.

For example:

ya ni - fe - pa yate - e - ʔa
 1sg eat PERF SS go 1/2 IND
 { 'I ate and (then) I went' }
 { (* 'I went and then I ate') }

However, the Benefactive case suffix can occur on coordinate medials to overtly mark that the action or state expressed in the medial precedes that expressed in the following clause.

Thus,

ya ni - fe - pa - pe - rafo ?ini - amu - ?a
 lsq eat PERF SS BEN DUB sleep lsgFut IND

'I may eat before I sleep'

Bramani yate - ti - pa - pe - yae
 go PERF SS BEN Q

'Did you go to Brahman first?'

3.3.2.7.2. Dubitative /-rafo/

As has been stated previously, the Dubitative suffix in Tauya is anomalous in a number of respects. It is additionally anomalous in being the only suffix with mood-like force which can occur on coordinate medial clauses. Thus, coordinate medials are not marked with modal suffixes, nor with the mood-like Avolitional auxiliary; instead, these medials share the mood and/or Avolitional status of the following final verb. However, like lexical nouns, coordinate medial clauses may include the Dubitative suffix. Whereas in final verbs Dubitative /-rafo/ occurs immediately after the personal desinences, preceding the modal suffixes, in coordinate medials it follows the SS and DS medial suffixes. For example:

SS: yate - pa - rafo ni - amu - ?a
 go SS DUB eat 1sgFut IND
 'Perhaps I'll go and I'll eat'

DS: yate - a - te - rafo Ø - yau - a - ?a
 go 3sg DS DUB 3sg see 3sg IND
 'Perhaps he went and he saw him'

However, although coordinate medial clauses may be marked as Dubitative, if they are followed by a final verb which includes the Dubitative suffix, they obligatorily share its status. Thus:

SS: pomu - pa mei - ?afe - a - rafo - ?a
 fall SS cry PROG 3sg DUB IND

'Perhaps he fell and is crying'
 (*'He fell and perhaps is crying')

DS: Ø - sepame - a - te ?umu - a - rafo - ?a
 3sg sick 3sg DS die 3sg DUB IND

'Perhaps he was sick and died'
 (*'He was sick and perhaps died')

Dubitative coordinate medial clauses in future tense may have the same interpretation as topicalized medial clauses in future tense, that is, they may be interpreted as hypothetical conditional clauses:

fofe - a - fe - rafo na - tu - amu - ?a
 come 2sgFut DS DUB 2sg give 1sgFut IND

{ 'You may come and I'll give (it) to you' }
 { 'If you come, I'll give (it) to you' }

3.3.3.2.7.3 Topic /-ra/

Coordinate medial clauses may be marked with the Topic suffix. As has been discussed above (cf.), the Topic suffix may be used to mark these medials as hypothetical conditional clauses:

ʔaufu ʔou - a - fe - ni - ra na - maʔa
betelnut bite 2sgFut DS ERG TOP 2sg tooth
nunumo fei - ʔe - ʔa
red become 3sgFut IND

'If you chew betelnut, your teeth will become red'

Coordinate medial clauses which include the topic suffix tend to be interpreted as somewhat independent modally from the following clause (cf.):

mei fofe - pa - ra ʔini - a - nae
here come SS TOP sleep 3sg Q
{ 'He came here and did he sleep?' }
{ '?Did he come here?, and he slept' }
{ '?Did he come here and sleep?' }

Elsewhere, the Topic suffix may occur on coordinate medial clauses with little apparent effect on meaning. For example:

ai ni - pi - ni sau ofo - te - pa (- ra)
older sibling 3sg GEN ERG axe pull out get SS TOP
yate - a - ʔa
go 3sg IND

'His older brother pulled out the axe and went'

ni moʔotu mai - i - te (- ra) pofei - ti
 3pl many come up 3pl DS TOP talk CONJ
 nu - tu - e - ʔa
 3pl give 1/2 IND

'They all came up and I talked to them'

In elicitation, informants generally claim that there is no semantic distinction between topicalized and non-topicalized coordinate medial clauses, as in the examples above; coordinate medial clauses which include the topic suffix are frequently volunteered. However, topicalized coordinate medial clauses are quite rare in texts, particularly in comparison with topicalized lexical nouns and complement clauses. Their occurrence in texts appears to be heavily influenced by pragmatic factors.

3.3.3.2.8. Coordinate Medial Clauses as Nominalizations

The fact that coordinate medial clauses may be marked with suffixes characteristic of NPs might suggest that they are, in fact, nominalizations. However, as demonstrated below, their nominal status is very superficial. Not only is there syntactic evidence that these clauses are not NPs, but, if identified as NPs on a strictly morphological basis, restrictions on possible inflectional categories and violation of co-occurrence restrictions applicable to lexical nouns indicate that, at best, they can only be identified as some sort of 'defective' noun.

Further, it is suggested here that, at least at present, the possibility of noun-like inflection on coordinate medial clauses results, not from nominal status, but from other processes, such as analogical development. It is possible that, in time, syntactic identification may 'catch up' with morphology, such that coordinate medials may acquire the status of NPs. However, at present, their nominal status is extremely dubious.

(a) Inflectional Restrictions

Unlike lexical nouns , and complement clauses , coordinate medial clauses may occur with only 2 case suffixes, Ergative and Benefactive. Other case suffixes (Genitive, Locative, etc.) are not possible. For example:

Adessive /-ʔai/

Lexical Noun: ʔite - ʔai
garden ADESS 'to/in the garden'

Complement: mene - i - na - ʔai
stay 3pl COMP ADESS 'to/at where they stayed'

Coordinate: * mene - pa - ʔai
stay SS ADESS
* mene - i - te - ʔai
stay 3pl DS ADESS

Genitive /-na/

Lexical Noun: fanu - na waiyamo
man GEN wife 'the man's wife'

Complement: fanu ʔumu - a - na - na waiyamo
man die 3sg COMP GEN wife
'the dead man's wife'

Coordinate: * fanu ʔumu - pa - na waiyamo
man die SS GEN wife
* fanu ʔumu - a - te - na waiyamo
man die 3sg DS GEN wife

These restrictions on case marking of coordinate medial clauses suggest that these clauses are less 'noun-like' than are lexical nouns and complement clauses. However, the fact that coordinate medials may occur with 2 case suffixes requires explanation; as yet, the simplest explanation is based upon analogical development. Complement clauses may include the Ergative and Benefactive case suffixes to mark them as cause clauses; as is the case with coordinate medials, the choice between the two suffixes is based upon whether the following clause is interpreted as a voluntary or involuntary response to the complement.

Now, coordinate medial clauses, with or without case suffixes, generally have a causal inference.

Thus, the semantic basis for Ergative and Benefactive case marking is inherent in these clauses. Therefore, despite the fact that they are not syntactically NPs, case marking may occur on these clauses by analogy with such marking on complements, serving to both overtly specify an inherent causal inference and to permit a distinction between voluntary vs. involuntary response.

One might argue that, regardless of the origin of case marking on these clauses, the fact that it does occur necessitates the identification of coordinate medials as NPs,

i.e., that although nominal status is perhaps not a prerequisite for case marking, once case marking is permitted, nominal status ensues. However, there is evidence that the reverse is true: rather than an affix affecting the syntactic status of the constituent it is added to, the constituent may affect the syntactic status of the affix. That is, as demonstrated below, there is some evidence that, when added to coordinate medial clauses, the suffixes /-ni/ ERG. and /-pe/ BEN. lose their status as case suffixes.

(c) Violation of Co-Occurrence Restrictions

In Tauya, lexical nouns and complement clauses which include overt, i.e., non-null, case suffixes may not be marked as topics:

Lexical Noun: ʔi fanu - ni (*- ra)
 DEM man ERG TOP 'that man' ERG.

 ʔite - ʔaisami (*- ra)
 garden ABL TOP 'from the garden'

Complement: mene - i - na - ʔai (*- ra)
 stay 3pl COMP ADESS TOP
 'to/at where they stayed'

 fanu ni - pi ʔumu - a - na - ni (*- ra) ...
 man 3sg GEN die 3sg COMP ERG TOP
 'Because her husband died ...'

However, coordinate medial clauses may include both overt case suffixes and the Topic suffix:

fanu ni - pi ʔumu - a - te - ni (- ra) ...
 man 3sg GEN die 3sg DS ERG TOP

'Because her husband died ...'

pomu - pa - pe (- ra) ...
 fall SS BEN TOP

"Because he'll fall ..."

The reasons for this violation are unclear. However, it does suggest that either the suffixes /-ni/ and /-pe/ or the Topic suffix differ in some fundamental way when they are added to coordinate medial clauses than when they are added to constituents which can be clearly identified as NPs. One possibility is that /-ni/ and /-pe/ are no longer identified as case suffixes; a second possibility is that /-ra/ is not here identified as the Topic suffix. Some support for the second alternative is derived from the fact that coordinate medial clauses marked with /-ra/ do not always function as topicalized constituents; thus, as demonstrated above, they are sometimes interpreted as non-Indicative. However, in either case, the argument that coordinate medial clauses can be identified as NPs on a morphological basis is considerably weakened by this violation of a co-occurrence restriction.

(c) Relative Clause Formation

The two arguments presented above provide some morphological evidence that coordinate medial clauses are not nominalizations; there is also syntactic evidence based upon the process of relative clause formation.

Relative clauses, which are described in detail in , have the following form:

$$\left[X \text{ VERB STEM} + \text{DESINENCE} + /na/ \right] \text{ NP} ,$$

that is, the relative clause precedes the head; the NP coreferential with the head noun is deleted, and modal suffixes are replaced by the Relative suffix /-na/. For example:

ya - ni fanu Ø - yau - e - ʔa
 1sg ERG man 3sg see 1/2 IND

'I saw the man'

→ [ya - ni Ø Ø - yau - e - na] fanu
REL
 'the man who I saw'

In Tauya, NPs cannot be relativized from within a complex NP; for example:

ya - ni fanu - sou fenaʔa - sou nen - yau - e - ʔa
 1sg ERG man COM woman COM 3pl see 1/2 IND

'I saw the man and the woman'

→ * [ya - ni Ø fenaʔa - sou nen - yau - e - na] fanu
REL
 (*'the man who and the woman I saw')

In accordance with their status as nominalizations, NPs cannot be relativized from within complement clauses:

fanu ni - pi ʔumu - a - na - ni wamasi mene - a - ʔa
 man 3sg GEN die 3sg COMP ERG widow stay 3sg IND

'Her husband died so she's a widow'

* [∅ ʔumu - a - na - ni wamasi mene - a - na] fanu
 (* 'the man who died so she's a widow')
 REL

However, NPs can be freely relativized from within coordinate medial clauses:

SS: ya - ni fanu ∅ - yau - pa ∅ - tu - e - ʔa
 1sg ERG man 3sg see SS 3sg give 1/2 IND

'I saw the man and gave (it) to him'

→ [ya - ni ∅ ∅ - yau - pa ∅ - tu - e - na] fanu
 REL

'the man who I saw and gave (it) to'

DS: fenaʔa fofe - a - te ∅ - yau - e - ʔa
 woman come 3sg DS 3sg see 1/2 IND

'The woman came and I saw her'

→ [∅ fofe - a - te ∅ - yau - e - na] fenaʔa
 REL

'the woman who came and I saw her'

The possibility of relativization from within coordinate medial clauses provides clear evidence that these constituents cannot be identified as nominalizations on a syntactic basis.

Coordinate Medial Clauses as Nominalizations: Summary

The evidence presented above suggests that coordinate medial clauses are not nominalizations. This is perhaps most clearly evident syntactically: since constituents can be relativized from within coordinate medial clauses, they cannot be identified as NPs. However, although morphology provides perhaps the only evidence that these clauses are nominalizations, there is also morphological evidence that they are not, i.e., they are highly restricted in the case suffixes with which they may occur, and a co-occurrence restriction between overt case suffixes and the topic suffix which applies to all other nominal constituents is violated. Furthermore, it is undoubtedly significant that the only case suffixes with which they may occur, the Ergative and Benefactive, mark them as cause clauses; even without these suffixes, coordinate medial clauses carry a causal inference.

3.3.3.2.9. Coordinate Medials as Final Clauses

Coordinate medial clauses may occur finally, with inflection for mood. However, they do so only rarely, and are then always interpreted as sentence fragments. These clauses have been attested in 3 moods, Indicative, Interrogative and Imperative, and with the Elliptical suffix /-o/.

When they occur finally, coordinate medial clauses have the same interpretations that they do medially, that is, they may be interpreted as cause clauses, or as indicating the first in a series of events. As cause clauses, they may include the Ergative or Benefactive case suffixes; to indicate the first in a series of events, they may include the Benefactive case suffix.

ya - a[?]ate - a - te (- ni) - [?]a
lsg hit 3sg DS ERG IND

('Why did you hit him?') 'Because he hit me'

ya[?]e mepi - a - te - [?]a
water come down 3sg DS IND

('Why aren't you working?') 'Because it's raining'

Bramani yate - ti - pa (- pe) - yae
go PERF SS BEN Q

'Did you go to Brahman first?'

clauses, this suffix implies 'Do X first!'; the Benefactive suffix may be included:

saniya na - pi te - pa (- pe) - y - a - e
 work 2sg GEN get SS BEN 2sgFut IMP
 'Do your work first!'

On DS coordinate clauses, the Imperative suffix implies
 'Let (X) first!':

yate - ti - a - te (- pe) - y - a - e !^Wisa ?ati
 go PERF 3sg DS BEN 2sgFut IMP later say
 na - fe - amu - ?a
 2sg TR lsgFut IND
 'Let him go first! Then I'll tell you'

3.3.3.3. Subordinate Medial Clauses

3.3.3.3.1. Introduction

There are 3 types of subordinate medial clauses in Tauya, Complements, Assertives and Counter-Factuals. Whereas the two kinds of coordinate medial clauses have roughly the same functions, and are distinguished from each other on the basis of switch-reference, i.e., same-subject vs. different-subject, subordinate medial clauses are functionally distinct. Complement clauses are used as NPs; Assertive clauses are perhaps best defined as marked Indicatives; Counter-Factual clauses are used as counter-factual conditionals.

However, in other respects, all subordinate medial clauses form a fairly cohesive group. Unlike coordinate medials, subordinate medial clauses do not mark switch-reference. Second, again unlike coordinate medials, subordinate medial clauses are independent in tense and in mood from the following final verb.

Subordinate medial clauses behave similarly, and are distinct from coordinate medials, in two other respects. First, and most particularly in the case of complement clauses, subordinate medial clauses are quite clearly nominalizations. This is evident both in morphology, in that these clauses include some sort of nominal inflection

more often than not, and in syntax, in that constituents may not be relativized from with these clauses. Second, unlike coordinate medials, subordinate medial clauses occur finally with inflection for mood very frequently, and there is no evidence that they are any less 'final' pragmatically than are other final verbs.

A brief summary of the 3 kinds of subordinate medial clauses is given here.

3.3.3.3.1.1. Of the three types of subordinate medial clauses,

Complement clauses are most closely aligned with lexical nouns in terms of morphology. Complement clauses are marked with the suffix /-na/, and this is followed by any of the case suffixes possible for lexical nouns. If the case relation of the complement clause to the matrix clause is recoverable, the case suffix may be deleted.

As is the case with lexical nouns, only Complement clauses in the Nominative case may be marked as topics; the Topic suffix is mutually exclusive with overt case suffixes.

For complement clauses, this restriction applies even if the overt case suffix is deleted. Complement clauses have the following form:

Complement Clause

$$[X \text{ VEPB STEM} + \text{DESINENCE} + /na/]+ \text{CASE} \pm \text{TOPIC}$$

For example,

fanu ni - pi ʔumu - a - na - ni ...
 man 3sg GEN die 3sg COMP ERG

'Because her husband died ...'

3.3.3.3.1.2. Assertive medial clauses are very restricted in their potential for nominal inflection. Following the Assertive suffix /-nani/, the only nominal suffix which may occur is the topic suffix. In elicitation, informants reject as ungrammatical any Assertive medial clauses which do not include the Topic suffix; however, this suffix is occasionally omitted in texts. Assertive medial clauses have the following form:

Assertive Clause

$$[X \text{ VERB STEM} + \text{DESINENCE} + /nani/]+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{TOPIC} \\ ? \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$$

For example,

ya Tufuma - sa yate - e - nani - ra ...
 lsg ADESS go 1/2 ASSER TOP

'I did go to Tuguma and ...'

3.3.3.3.1.3. Counter-Factual medial clauses are used as the protases of Counter-Factual conditional sentences. Like Assertive medials, Counter-Factual medial clauses are very restricted in their potential for nominal inflection; following the Counter-Factual suffix /-ʔani/, only the Topic suffix may occur. Although it is present in an overwhelming number of cases, it may be omitted with no apparent effect on grammaticality. Counter-Factual clauses are somewhat aberrant in that the verb does not include personal desinences, whether these clauses occur medially or finally. Counter-Factual Medial clauses have the following form:

Counter-Factual

[X VERB STEM + /-ʔani/]± TOPIC

For example,

ya - ni Ø - yau - ʔani - ra ...
 1sg ERG 3sg see C.-F. TOP
 'If I had seen him ...'

3.3.3.3.2. Subject Reference

Complement and Assertive medials include personal desinences which indicate the subject (and tense, see below) of the medial clause. Switch-reference is not marked.

For example:

COMP:

ʔi	fanu	∅	-	sepame	-	a	-	na	-	pe	{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>saniya</td> <td>wate</td> <td>te</td> <td>-</td> <td>a</td> <td>-</td> <td>ʔa</td> </tr> <tr> <td>work</td> <td>NEG</td> <td>get</td> <td></td> <td>3sg</td> <td>IND</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>waiyamo</td> <td>ni</td> <td>-</td> <td>pi</td> <td>mei</td> <td>-</td> <td>a</td> <td>-</td> <td>ʔa</td> </tr> <tr> <td>wife</td> <td>3sg</td> <td>GEN</td> <td>cry</td> <td>3sg</td> <td>INI</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> }	saniya	wate	te	-	a	-	ʔa	work	NEG	get		3sg	IND		waiyamo	ni	-	pi	mei	-	a	-	ʔa	wife	3sg	GEN	cry	3sg	INI	
saniya	wate	te	-	a	-	ʔa																																			
work	NEG	get		3sg	IND																																				
waiyamo	ni	-	pi	mei	-	a	-	ʔa																																	
wife	3sg	GEN	cry	3sg	INI																																				
DEM	man	3sg		sick		3sg	COMP	BEN																																	

'That man was sick so { he didn't work }
{ his wife cried }'

ASSER:

Bramani	yate	-	e	-	nani	-	ra	{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>na</td> <td>-</td> <td>yau</td> <td>-</td> <td>e</td> <td>-</td> <td>ʔa</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2sg</td> <td>see</td> <td>1/2</td> <td>IND</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ya</td> <td>-</td> <td>yau</td> <td>-</td> <td>e</td> <td>-</td> <td>ʔa</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1sg</td> <td>see</td> <td>1/2</td> <td>IND</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table> }	na	-	yau	-	e	-	ʔa	2sg	see	1/2	IND				ya	-	yau	-	e	-	ʔa	1sg	see	1/2	IND			
na	-	yau	-	e	-	ʔa																														
2sg	see	1/2	IND																																	
ya	-	yau	-	e	-	ʔa																														
1sg	see	1/2	IND																																	
go	1/2		ASSER	TOP																																

'I did go to Brahman and { I saw you }
{ you saw me }'

Counter-Factual clauses do not include personal desinences.

Subject reference is inferred from context or a NP indicating the subject is included in the clause:

C.-F.:

{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>ya</td> <td>(1sg)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>na</td> <td>(2sg)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ni</td> <td>(3sg)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>etc.</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> }	ya	(1sg)	na	(2sg)	ni	(3sg)	etc.		yate	-	ʔani	-	ra	ʔufiya	neri	-	ʔani	-	ʔa
	ya	(1sg)																	
	na	(2sg)																	
	ni	(3sg)																	
etc.																			
go		C.-F.	TOP	food	buy		C.-F.	IND											

'If I/you/he/etc. had gone, I/you/he/etc. would have bought food'

3.3.3.3.3. Tense

The personal desinences in Tauya mark tense.

Complement and Assertive medial clauses may include either aorist or future desinences, and are interpreted as being in the tense marked by the desinences which they include, regardless of the tense of the final verb:

COMP:

pate mei fofe - ?ai - na - pe apu ?ufiya fei - e - ?a
tomorrow here come 3plFut COMP BEN now food boil 1/2 IND
'They'll come here tomorrow so now I'm cooking food'

nipa- a - na ?ufiya ni - a - na - ni Ø - sepame - ?e - ?a
bad 3sg REL food eat 3sg COMP ERG 3sg sick 3sgFut IND
'He ate bad food so he'll be sick'

ASSER:

saniya te - amu - nani - ra apu ?ini - e - mo - pe
work get lsgFut ASSER TOP now sleep 1/2 NOM BEN
?ai - e - ?a
do 1/2 IND

'I will work and now I want to sleep'

Tufuma - sami fofe - i - nani - ra nu - tu - amu - ?a
 ABL come 3pl ASSER TOP 3pl give lsgFut IND

'They did come from Tuguma and I'll give (it) to them'

Since Counter-Factuals do not include desinences, they can not be marked for tense. These clauses are always interpreted as irrealis.

3.3.3.4. Mood in Subordinate Medial Clauses

Subordinate medial clauses are unaffected by the mood of the following final verb. Complement and Assertive medials are always interpreted as Indicative; Counter-Factual medials are always interpreted as contrary-to-fact conditionals.

However, unlike coordinate medials, subordinate medials appear to be somewhat constrained in regard to the mood of the final clauses which they precede. Complement medials have been attested with final clauses in only 4 of the 7 possible moods - Indicative, Interrogative, Imperative and Prohibitive. Assertive medials have been attested only with final clauses in the Indicative, Interrogative and Imperative moods. Counter-Factual medial clauses must be followed by Counter-Factual final clauses; since there are modal restrictions on the latter (cf.), Counter-Factual medial clauses may only be followed by final clauses in the Indicative/Unmarked and Interrogative moods.

The following examples illustrate the impermeability of subordinate medial clauses to the mood of the following clause.

Final verb is Indicative:

COMP:

ni mene - i - na - ʔaisami mai - e - ʔa
3pl stay 3pl COMP ABL come up 1/2 IND

'I came up from where they stayed'

ASSER:

na tepau - fe - e - nani - ra ya - ni teme
2sg break TR 1/2 ASSER TOP lsg ERG another

eʔi - amu - ʔa
make lsgFut IND

'You did break it and I'll make another'

C.-F.:

awa ya - pi mei mene - ʔani - ra ya - ʔunama
father lsg GEN here stay C.-F. TOP lsg too

mene - ʔani - ʔa
stay C.-F. IND

'If my father had stayed, I too would have stayed'

Final verb is Polar Interrogative:

COMP:

ʔi nono pomu - a - na - pe mei - a - nae
DEM child fall 3sg COMP BEN cry 3sg Q

'That child fell and so did he cry?'

ASSER:

ni mei momune - i - nani - ra pofei - ti nu - tu - e - nae
3pl here sit 3pl ASSER TOP talk CONJ 3pl give 1/2 Q

'They sat here and did you talk to them?'

C.-F.:

Bramani wate yate - ?ani - ra Tei - sa yate - ?ani - yae
 NEG go C.-F. TOP ADESS go C.-F. Q

'If (you) hadn't gone to Brahman, would (you) have gone to Teri?'

Final verb is Imperative:

COMP:

mei fofe - ?ai - na - pe ?ufiya fei - a - e
 here come 3plFut COMP BEN food boil 2sgFut IMP

'They'll come here so cook food!'

ASSER:

ti ni - ene - nani - ra saniya te - ane - e
 2pl eat 1/2pl ASSER TOP work get 2plFut IMP

'You did eat - work!'

Final verb is Prohibitive:

COMP:

ni mene - a - na - ?ai yate - ?atene
 3sg stay 3sg COMP ADESS go PROHsg

'Don't go to where he stayed!'

3.3.3.3.4.2. Non-Polar Questions

The three types of subordinate medial clauses do not behave identically with respect to non-polar questions. Complement clauses may be questioned with interrogative pronouns; the final verb then includes the non-polar interrogative modal suffix /-ne/~ /-e/. Medial Assertive and Counter-Factual clauses, on the other hand, may not be questioned with interrogative pronouns. Thus:

COMP:

wame fitau - fe - e - na - Ø wate tepau - a - e
 what throw PERF 1/2 COMP NOM NEG break 3sg Q

'What did you throw that didn't break?'

we - ni pai na - pi wimo te - a - na - pe
 who ERG pig 2sg GEN hair get 3sg COMP BEN

na - ?isafe - a - e
 2sg angry 3sg Q

'Who stole your pig such that you are angry?'

we ?umu - a - na - ni tafune mene - i - ne
 who die 3sg COMP ERG orphan stay 3pl Q

'Who died such that are orphans?'

mafi mene - e - na - ?aisami fofe - e - ne
 where stay 1/2 COMP ABL come 1/2 Q

'You came from staying where?' (= 'Where did you come from?')

But,

ASSER:

* we mei fofe - a - nani - ra ...
 who here come 3sg ASSER TOP

* wame ni - ene - nani - ra ...
 what eat 1/2pl ASSER TOP

etc.

C.-F.:

* na mafi yate - ?ani - ra ...
 2sg where go C.-F. TOP

* ni - ni we Ø - yau - ?ani - ra ...
 3sg ERG who 3sg see C.-F. TOP

etc.

The impossibility of questioning medial Assertive clauses may be traced to two factors. First, it results from their status as Assertive, or 'marked Indicative', clauses; thus, final Assertive clauses may also not be questioned (see ; cf. also Haiman 1980, for a discussion of the impossibility of questioning Assertive clauses in Hua). Second, Assertive medial clauses may not be questioned because they are topics, or given information, as is evident by the almost obligatory presence of the Topic suffix on these clauses.

Although medial Counter-Factual clauses cannot be questioned with interrogative pronouns, these clauses can be questioned when they occur finally. Thus:

na Bramani wate yate - ?ani - ra mafi yate - ?ani - e
 2sg NEG go C.-F. TOP where go C.-F. Q

'If you hadn't gone to Brahman, where would you have gone?'

Thus, the impossibility of questioning these clauses medially is not a result of their status as contrary-to-fact conditionals. Rather, it appears to result solely from their status as topics. Thus, Haiman (1978) has demonstrated that conditional clauses are topics. In Tauya, this is reflected morphologically by the fact that Counter-Factual medial clauses include the topic suffix with overwhelming frequency; it is reflected syntactically by the fact that these clauses may not be questioned.

3.3.3.3.5. Negation in Subordinate Medial Clauses

Like DS coordinate medial clauses, subordinate medial clauses are unaffected by the negation of the following final verb. They may be negated only by the presence of a negative morpheme in the subordinate clause itself.

COMP:

fomitiya mei fofe - i - na - pe wate ya - ?isafe - a - ?a
yesterday here come 3pl COMP BEN NEG lsg angry 3sg IND

'They came here yesterday so I wasn't angry'

fomitiya mei wate fofe - i - na - pe ya - ?isafe - a - ?a
yesterday here NEG come 3pl COMP BEN lsg angry 3sg IND

'They didn't come here yesterday so I was angry'

ASSER:

ni momune - a - nani - ra wate pofei - ti Ø - tu - e - ?a
3sg sit 3sg ASSER TOP NEG talk CONJ 3sg give 1/2 IND

'He did sit and I didn't talk to him'

ni wate momune - a - nani - ra pofei - ti Ø - tu - e - ?a
3sg NEG sit 3sg ASSER TOP talk CONJ 3sg give 1/2 IND

'He didn't sit and I talked to him'

C.-F.:

ni mei mene - ?ani - ra ya wate yate - ?ani - ?a
3pl here stay C.-F. TOP lsg NEG go C.-F. IND

'If they had stayed here, I wouldn't have gone'

ni mei wate mene - ?ani - ra ya yate - ?ani - ?a
3pl here NEG stay C.-F. TOP lsg go C.-F. IND

'If they hadn't stayed here, I'd have gone'

3.3.3.3.6. Auxiliaries in Subordinate Medial Clauses

Verbs in subordinate medial clauses may include all of the auxiliaries possible for final verbs (cf. ...), with the exception of Avolitional /-ʔate-/. The auxiliaries occur in the same order and with the same co-occurrence restrictions as for final verbs.

$$\begin{aligned} & \dots \text{ VERB STEM } \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{STATIVE} \\ \text{PERFECTIVE} \end{array} \right\} \pm \text{ CONATIVE } \pm \text{ PROGRESSIVE} \\ & \pm \text{ HABITUAL } + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{DESINENCE } + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /na/ \text{ COMP} \\ /nani/ \text{ ASSER} \end{array} \right\} \\ /-ʔani/ \text{ C.-F.} \end{array} \right\} \end{aligned}$$

3.3.3.3.6.1. Stative /-mene-/

COMP: waiyamo ni - pi \emptyset - ʔisafe - mene - a - na - pe ...
 wife 3sg GEN 3sg angry STAT 3sg COMP BEN
 'Because his wife was angry ...'

ASSER: ya ʔini - mene - e - nani - ra ...
 lsg sleep STAT 1/2 ASSER TOP
 'I was asleep and ...'

C.-F.: ni - ni ya - yau - mene - ʔani - ra ...
 3sg ERG lsg see STAT C.-F. TOP
 'If he had watched me ...'

3.3.3.3.6.2. Transitive/Perfective /-fe-/

COMP: sema tepau - fe - e - na - \emptyset ...
 pot break TR 1/2 COMP NOM
 'The pot that you broke ...'

ASSER: ya - ni sifi ne - fe - e - nani - ra ...
 lsg ERG dress 3pl TR 1/2 ASSER TOP

'I did dress them and ...'

C.-F.: pai sipi ore - fe - ?ani - ra ...
 pig intestine remove TR C.-F. TOP

'If he had gutted the pig ...'

3.3.3.6.3. Perfective/Intensive /-ti-/

COMP: Tauya - sami yate - ti - a - na - pe ...
 ABL go PERF 3sg COMP BEN

'Because he left Tauya ...'

ASSER: ya - separe - ti - a - nani - ra ...
 lsg sick PERF 3sg ASSER TOP

'I was really sick and ...'

C.-F.: Bramani yate - ti - ?ani - ra ...
 go PERF C.-F. TOP

'If (you) had gone to Brahman ...'

3.3.3.6.4. Conative /-we-/

COMP: ni - ni nen - yau - we - i - na - pe ...
 3pl ERG 3pl see CON 3pl COMP BEN

'Because they tried to see them ...'

ASSER: ya ?ini - we - e - nani - ra ...
 lsg sleep CON 1/2 ASSER TOP

'I did try to sleep and ...'

C.-F.: mei mai - we - ?ani - ra ...
 here come up CON C.-F. TOP

'If (he) had tried to come up here ...'

.3.3.3.6.5. Progressive /-ʔafe-/

COMP: omo ni - ʔafe - a - na - pe ...
 still eat PROG 3sg COMP BEN
 'Because he's still eating ...'

ASSER: oʔo taʔora - ʔafe - i - nani - ra ...
 wood chop PROG 3pl ASSER TOP
 'They are chopping firewood and ...'

C.-F.: ʔei mene - ʔafe - ʔani - ra ...
 there stay PROG C.-F. TOP
 'If he were staying there ...'

.3.3.3.6.6. Habitual /-pope-/

COMP: ʔini - pope - i - na - ʔaisami ...
 sleep HAB 3pl COMP ABL
 '... from where they always sleep'

ASSER: mei mai - pope - i - nani - ra ...
 here come up HAB 3pl ASSER TOP
 'They always come up here and ...'

C.-F.: saniya te - pope - ʔani - ra ...
 work get HAB C.-F. TOP
 'If (you) always worked ...'

.3.3.6.7. Avolitional /-ʔate-/

The Avolitional auxiliary may not occur in either Assertive or Counter-Factual clauses, whether they are medial, as shown below, or final:

ASSER:

* Tauya - sami yate - ʔate - e - nani - ra ...
 ABL go AVOL 1/2 ASSER TOP
 ('It would be bad if I left Tauya and ...')

* ʔumu - ʔate - a - nani - ra ...
 die AVOL 3sg ASSER TOP
 ('It would be bad if she died and ...')

C.-F.:

* ya - yau - ʔate - ʔani - ra ...
 lsg see AVOL C.-F. TOP
 ('It would have been bad if you/he/etc. had seen me ...')

* tepau - fe - ʔate - ʔani - ra ...
 break TR AVOL C.-F. TOP
 ('It would have been bad if I/you/etc. had broken it ...')

The grammaticality of constructions involving complement clauses which include the Avolitional auxiliary is poorly understood. In Hua, avolitional relative clauses are used to indicate negative purpose (cf. Haiman 1980: 444); in Tauya, however, avolitional complement clauses may not be used for this function:

- * pomu - ʔate - e - na - pe peima yate - amu - ʔa
 fall AVOL 1/2 COMP BEN carefully go 1sgFut IND
 ('It would be bad if I fell so I'll go slowly')
- * mei - ʔate - i - na - pe ʔufiya nu - tu - ʔai - ʔa
 cry AVOL 3pl COMP BEN food 3pl give 3plFut IND
 ('It would be bad if they cried so they'll give them food')

However, grammaticality appears to be improved somewhat if both medial and final clauses are Avolitional:

- ? afe ya - pi Ø - sepame - ʔate - a - na - ni
 mother 1sg GEN 3sg sick AVOL 3sg COMP ERG
 ʔumu - ʔate - a - ʔa
 die AVOL 3sg IND
 'It would be bad if my mother were sick such that she died'

3.3.3.3.7. Subordinate Medial Clauses and Nominal Morphology

Whereas coordinate medial clauses include nominal inflectional categories relatively rarely, all three types of subordinate medial clauses are marked with a suffix characteristic of NPs more often than not. Complement clauses, like lexical nouns, are marked for case (although, if the case relation of the complement is recoverable, the case suffix may be deleted); both Assertive and Counter-Factual clauses generally include the Topic suffix.

3.3.3.7.i. Complement Clauses

In terms of potential for inflection, complement clauses most closely resemble lexical nouns. They may occur with the following suffixes:

$$\dots /-na/ + \text{CASE} \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{COMITATIVE} \\ /-^?unama/ \end{array} \right\} \pm \text{TOPIC}$$

3.3.7.1.1. Case Suffixes

Complement clauses may be marked for virtually any of the case relations possible for lexical nouns.

Ergative $/-ni/$ and Benefactive $/-pe/$

The Ergative and Benefactive case suffixes mark

complement clauses as cause clauses. As is the case with coordinate medials, the Ergative suffix implies that the action or state specified in the matrix clause is an involuntary response to the complement; the Benefactive suffix implies that it is a voluntary response. However, whereas in coordinate medials the Benefactive suffix may only be used in non-past tense, in complement clauses the Benefactive suffix can indicate voluntary response in both past and non-past tenses.

ERG: amo - ra tupu - a - na - ni wate fu - a - ?a
 tree TOP damp 3sg COMP ERG NEG burn 3sg IND
 'The tree was damp so it didn't burn'

sema ?ufume - a - na - ni ?utine - fe - e - ?a
 pot heavy 3sg COMP ERG fall TR 1/2 IND
 'The pot was heavy so I dropped it'

BEN: mei fofe - a - na - pe yate fitau - e - ?a
 here come 3sg COMP BEN go throw 1/2 IND
 'He came here so I went/am going away'

sema ?ufume - a - na - pe ?utine - fe - e - ?a
 pot heavy 3sg COMP BEN fall TR 1/2 IND
 'The pot was heavy so I put/am putting it down'

The use of these case suffixes to mark coordinate and complement clauses as cause clauses is closely aligned to their functions on lexical nouns. Thus, the Ergative

marks lexical nouns as agents or instruments;
 in both cases, causation is implied. The Benefactive suffix
 has several functions when it is used on lexical nouns;
 among them, it can mark the indirect objects of
 emotive-type impersonal verbs which can be interpreted as
 'source/cause'. Thus, compare the use of the Benefactive
 suffix in the following examples:

Complement + BEN:

?i fena?a fofe - a - na - pe ya - ?isafe - a - ?a
 DEM woman come 3sg COMP BEN lsg angry 3sg IND
 'I'm angry because that woman came'

Lexical Noun + BEN:

fofe - a - na fena?a - pe ya - ?isafe - a - ?a
 come 3sg REL woman BEN lsg angry 3sg IND
 'I'm angry at the woman who came'

Nominative \emptyset

?i fena?a ?umu - a - na - \emptyset afe nini - pi - ?a
 DEM woman die 3sg COMP NOM mother 3pl GEN IND
 'The woman who died is their mother'

sema fitau - fe - e - na - \emptyset wate tepau - a - ?a
 pot throw PERF 1/2 COMP NOM NEG break 3sg IND
 'The pot that I threw didn't break'

Genitive /-na/

?i fena?a saniya te - ?afe - a - na - na nono
 DEM woman work get PROG 3sg COMP GEN child

mei - ?afe - a - ?a
 cry PROG 3sg IND

'The woman who is working's child is crying'

nono ya - sou ?ini - mene - pope - a - na - na aniyamo
 child lsg COM sleep STAT HAB 3sg COMP GEN mother

?umu - a - ?a
 die 3sg IND

'The child who lives with me's mother is dead'

Adessive /-?ai/

si mo?otu mene - pope - ene - na - ?ai fofe - ?ai - ?a
 lpl many stay HAB 1/2pl COMP ADESS come 3plFut IND

'They'll come to where we all stay'

saniya te - ?afe - i - na - ?ai yate - amu - ?a
 work get PROG 3pl COMP ADESS go lsgFut IND

'I'll go to where they're working'

Ablative /-?aisami/

ni - ni pai ?umu - fe - i - na - ?aisami
 3pl ERG pig die TR 3pl COMP ABL

mepi - e - ?a
 come down 1/2 IND

'I came down from where they killed the pigs'

amo foi - a - na - ?aisami ?utine - a - ?a
 tree wet 3sg COMP ABL fall 3sg IND

'It fell from the rotten tree'

Partitive /-ʔaimi/

The Partitive case suffix indicates that the action or state specified in the complement clause was interrupted in progress:

Bramani yate - e - na - ʔaimi Tauya - sa mai - e - ʔa
 go 1/2 COMP PART ADESS come up 1/2 IND

'I went part way to Brahman then came up to Tauya'

ne - ta yaʔe ni - a - na - ʔaimi Ø - tei - ti
 3sg TOP water eat 3sg COMP PAPT 3sg catch CONJ

saʔufe - i - ʔa
 hasten 3pl IND

'They grabbed him when he was in the midst of drowning'

.3.7.1.2. Other Suffixes

1. Comitative /-sou/

Complement clauses may occur with the Comitative suffix, /-sou/, and function as parts of conjunctions. For example:

?i fena?a fofe - a - na - Ø - sou ya - Ø - sou
DEM woman come 3sg COMP NOM COM 1sg NOM COM

yate - ene - ?a
go 1/2pl IND

'The woman who came and I went'

fai e?i - e - na - Ø - sou fai na - pi - sou
net bag make 1/2 COMP NOM COM net bag 2sg GEN COM

wate - ?usa mene - a - ?a
house INESS stay 3sg IND

'The net bag that I made and your net bag are in the house'

2. /-?unama/ 'too, also'

Used with lexical nouns, the suffix /-?unama/ means 'too, also':

" na - ?unama ?uri?uri yate - we - a - e " o - a - ?a
2sg too among go CON 2sgFut IMP say 3sg IND

'"You too must try to go among (them)" she said'

This suffix may also occur on complement clauses, and they are then interpreted as concessive conditionals, 'Even if ...',

'Whether or not ...':

ya?e wate mepi - ?e - na - o mepi - ?e - na - ?unama
water NEG come down 3sgFut COMP ELLIP come down 3sgFut COMP

saniya te - amu - nani - ?a
work get 1sgFut ASSEP IND

'Whether or not it rains, I'll work'

amo wate foi - ?e - na - ?unama - ra ?utine - ?e - ?a
 tree NEG wet 3sgFut COMP TOP fall 3sgFut IND

'Even if the tree isn't rotten, it will fall'

It should be noted that there are other ways of expressing concessive conditionals in Tauya. For example, Dubitative clauses conjoined with /pe/ can be employed:

yenimo wate mene - ?e - rafo - ?a pe
 sun NEG stay 3sgFut DUB IND or
 mene - ?e - rafo - ?a sa nipa - a - ?a
 stay 3sgFut DUB IND road bad 3sg IND

'Whether or not the sun is out, the road is bad' (lit.,
 'Maybe the sun will not be out or maybe the sun will be out; the road is bad')

However, as predicted by Haiman (), concessive conditionals may not be expressed as coordinate medial clauses. Thus,

yenimo wate mene - a - te - ra sa nipa - ?e - ?a
 sun NEG stay 3sg DS TOP road bad 3sgFut IND

can be interpreted as a simple conjunction ('The sun will not be out and the road will be bad') or as a hypothetical conditional sentence ('If the sun isn't out, the road will be bad'); however, a concessive interpretation is impossible.

3. Intensive /-piya/

Complement clauses may occur with the Intensive suffix,

/-piya/:

sa²afo etanumo - ni pau - e - mo - pe
 just fat ERG burst 1/2 NOM BEN
 ?ai - mene - a - na - ∅ - piya tofi²i mai
 do STAT 3sg COMP NOM INTEN above come up
 ?atou - ti - a - te ...
 arrive PERF 3sg DS

'One [i.e., a pig] came up on top that was about to burst from its fat, and the other ...'

afa²i - sa sa²afo tutane - a - na - ?usa - piya-piya
 above LOC only lost 3sg COMP INESS INTEN REDUP.

'above in a really lost [i.e., unknown] place'

4. Topic /-ra/

The distribution of the Topic suffix on complement clauses is generally parallel to its distribution on lexical nouns, with one possible exception noted below. That is, it may occur on complement clauses in the Nominative case, with case suffix ∅, but is mutually exclusive with all non-null case suffixes. Thus:

?i nono mei - ?afe - a - na - ∅ (- ra) ya - pi - ?a
 DEM child cry PROG 3sg COMP NOM TOP 1sg GEN IND

'The child who is crying is mine'

amo foi - a - na - ni (*- ra) ?utine - a - ?a
 tree wet 3sg COMP ERG TOP fall 3sg IND

'The tree was rotten so it fell'

ni ʔumu - a - na - pe (*- ra) mei - ene - ʔa
 3sg die 3sg COMP BEN TOP cry 1/2pl IND
 'She died so we cried'

There is some variability among speakers in the grammaticality judgements that are assigned to topicalized complement clauses in various Locative case relations; this is matched by similar variability for lexical nouns (cf.). Thus, although many speakers reject as ungrammatical constructions which include complement clauses marked for both a locative case relation and as topic, some speakers permit such constructions, and they are occasionally encountered in texts. Thus:

ya mene - e - na - ʔai (? -ra) mepi - i - ʔa
 1sg stay 1/2 COMP ADESS TOP come down 3pl IND
 'They came down to where I stayed'

" ʔe mane! ya - nasi mene - e - na - ʔai - ra pofa - ʔi
 oh gosh 1sg RESTR stay 1/2 COMP ADESS TOP soon PRO
 te - pa te - pa apu - ra wetewete nipa - a - na
 get SS get SS now TOP something bad 3sg REL
 watamu asera - rafo ʔatou - pa ..."
 thing spirit DUB arrive SS

"Oh gosh! Now something, a bad thing, perhaps a spirit, arrived at where I am staying alone and it ..."

It must be noted that some inconsistency is found in grammaticality judgements assigned to complement clauses in the Nominative case. All lexical nouns in the Nominative case can freely be marked as topics; the same is expected for complement clauses. However, although these constructions are generally judged grammatical, a few are rejected by informants:

3.3.3.3.7.2. Assertive Clauses

Unlike complement clauses, medial Assertive clauses are very restricted in their potential for nominal inflection. They may occur only with the Topic suffix; however, this suffix is present in an overwhelming majority of cases, and some speakers reject as ungrammatical any Assertive medial clauses which are not marked as topics.

Assertive Clause

... /nani/ + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{TOPIC} \\ ? \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$

For example:

?i ?ai - fe - pa - ?i nau - fe - i - nani - ra
 DEM do PERF SS PRO finish PERF 3pl ASSER TOP
 pofa " nono sini - pi - ?a nono - ?osai - ame - ?a "
 soon child lpl GEN COLLEC 3pl send lplFut IND
 o - fe - i - nani - ra ...
 say PERF 3pl ASSER TOP

'They did that and finished it, then they said "We will send our children"'...

ne - sa?atu - mi - ra o?onou - pa ti?afi - pa
 3pl first from TOP gather SS bundle SS

fitau - a - nani - ra ...
 throw 3sg ASSER TOP

'He gathered and bundled up the first ones and threw them ...'

3.3.3.3.7.3. Counter-Factual Clauses

Like Assertive medial clauses, Counter-Factual medial clauses are restricted in their potential for nominal inflection, occurring only with the Topic suffix. Although Counter-Factual medial clauses which do not include the topic suffix are grammatical, this suffix is present in the majority of attested examples.

Counter-Factual

... /ʔani/ ± TOPIC

Thus,

∅ - yau - ʔani - ra eri yate - ʔani - ʔa
3sg see C.-F. TOP fear go C.-F. TOP

'If (they) had seen him, (he) would have run away'

fofe - ʔani - ra ∅ - aʔate - pa ʔumu - fe - ʔani - ʔa
come C.-F. TOP 3sg hit SS die TR C.-F. IND

'If (he) had come, (they) would have killed him'

ʔufiyaʔufiya yau - mene - ʔani - ra ʔufiyaʔufiya - ʔani - ʔa
food REDUP see STAT C.-F. TOP food REDUP C.-F. IND

'If (I) knew how to cook, (I) would cook'

3.3:3.3.8. Subordinate Medial Clauses as Nominalizations

The possibility of nominal inflection on subordinate medial clauses suggest that these clauses may in fact be NPs. As has been seen for coordinate medial clauses, the presence of noun-like inflectional categories does not guarantee nominal status; however, other kinds of evidence suggest that subordinate medial clauses are indeed nominalizations.

The nominal status of subordinate medials is perhaps clearest in the case of complement clauses. These clauses are marked for case, and may occur with virtually all of the case suffixes possible for lexical nouns. Other suffixes characteristic of nouns may also be included.

Moreover, the co-occurrence restriction observed for lexical nouns, i.e., the fact that overt case suffixes and the topic suffix are mutually exclusive, is also found for complement clauses.

In terms of potential for inflection, Assertive and Counter-Factual medial clauses are less noun-like than are complement clauses, since they may include only the topic suffix. However, whereas the topic status of

coordinate medial clauses marked with this suffix is sometimes uncertain, and thus, for example, they may be questioned, Assertive and Counter-Factual medials are clearly topics and cannot be questioned. That is, when used on subordinate medial clauses, the suffix /-ra/ retains the topic-marking function that it has on lexical nouns.

Note also that the topic suffix is almost always present on Assertive and Counter-Factual medial clauses, while textual frequency of topicalized coordinate medial clauses is very low.

There is also syntactic evidence that all three types of subordinate medial clauses are nominalizations. That is, constituents may not be relativized from within these clauses. Thus,

COMP: ?i fanu Ø - sepame - a - na - ni ?umu - a - ?a
 DEM man 3sg sick 3sg COMP ERG die 3sg IND
 'That man was sick so he died'

→ * [Ø Ø - sepame - a - na - ni ?umu - a - na] fanu
 REL
 ('the man who was sick and so he died')

ASSER: ?i fena?a Ø - yau - e - nani - ra ni - ni
 DEM woman 3sg see 1/2 ASSER TOP 3sg ERG

wawiya ya - tu - a - ?a
 mango lsg give 3sg IND

'I saw that woman and she gave me a mango'

→ * [Ø Ø - yau - e - nani - ra ni - ni
 ya - tu - a - na] fena?a

('the woman who I saw and gave me a mango')

C.-F.: ?i nono Ø - yau - ?ani - ra pofei - ti
 DEM child 3sg see C.-F. TOP talk CONJ

Ø - tu - ?ani - ?a
 3sg give C.-F. IND

'If (I) had seen that child, (I) would have talked
 to him'

→ * [Ø Ø - yau - ?ani - ra pofei - ti Ø - tu - ?ani - na]
 REL

nono

('the child who if I had seen I'd have talked to')

3.3.3.3.9. Subordinate Medials as Final Clauses

All three types of subordinate medial clauses, Complements, Assertives and Counter-Factuals, may occur finally with inflection for mood. Whereas coordinate medial clauses occur finally relatively infrequently, subordinate clauses are often encountered in final position.

Assertive and Counter-Factual final clauses do not appear to be any less 'final' pragmatically than are clauses which include final verbs. These clauses have identical morphology in medial and final position with one exception: whereas medial clauses include the Topic suffix, final clauses include a modal suffix:

$$\text{VERB STEM} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{DESINENCE} + /nani/ \text{ ASSER.} \\ /ʔani/ \text{ C.-F.} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{TOPIC} \text{ Medial} \\ \text{MOOD} \text{ Final} \end{array} \right\}$$

Thus, Counter-Factual clauses in Tauya are in accord with these clauses in other languages; Haiman () has pointed out that Counter-Factual protasis and apodosis clauses are morphologically parallel in many languages. In Tauya, medial and final Assertive clauses also exhibit morphological parallelism. However, in Counter-Factual clauses, this

parallelism is enhanced by the absence of personal desinences, that is, the morphological parallelism of medial and final Counter-Factual clauses is not disrupted by subject reference.

Complement clauses are considerably rarer in final position than are Assertive and Counter-Factual clauses; in fact, their textual frequency approaches that of final coordinate clauses. Furthermore, they, like coordinate clauses, are interpreted as sentence fragments when they occur finally, that is, they are interpreted as fragments of the matrix sentence to which they bear a case relation. However, complement clauses may occur as left-dislocations; dislocated complement clauses in final position have an extremely high textual frequency, approaching if not equalling that of other final verbs (for discussion, see).

When complement clauses occur finally, the position of the Topic suffix is filled by a modal suffix:

$$\text{VERB STEM} + \text{DESINENCE} + /na/ + \text{CASE} + \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{(TOPIC) Medial} \\ \text{MOOD Final} \end{array} \right\}$$

3.3.9.1. Final Complement Clauses

As stated above, final complement clauses are interpreted as sentence fragments. Therefore, contexts must be provided in elicitation if these clauses are to be judged grammatical:

nipa - a - na ʔufiya ni - a - na - ni - ʔa
bad 3sg REL food eat 3sg COMP ERG IND

'(Why is he sick?) Because he ate bad food'

fanu ni - pi ʔumu - a - na - pe - ʔa
man 3sg GEN die 3sg COMP BEN IND

'(Why is she crying?) Because her husband died'

Bramani mene - e - na - ʔaisami - ʔa
stay 1/2 COMP ABL IND

'(Where did you come from?) From staying in Brahman'

In texts, final complement clauses are quite infrequent, and the majority that do occur are in the Benefactive case. To some extent, this may be due to the relatively broad semantic range of this case relation, indicating as it does both voluntary response and the first in a series of events. Thus, in the following example, voluntary response is implied:

" na - na nono na - pi - ʔa - ni te - pa
2sg EMPH child 2sg GEN COLLEC ERG get SS
ni - ʔai - na wetena - ra te - pa sini - pi mei
eat 3plFut COMP but TOP get SS lpl GEN here
fe - pope - i - na - pe - ʔa " o - pa mene - pa ...
TR HAB 3pl COMP BEN IND say SS stay SS

'"Your own children would get them and eat them but they always blamed us", they said' (... 'That's why we pushed them into the cave')

In many cases, however, it is difficult to find a motivation for the presence of the Benefactive suffix. For example:

" ?e ai - o ! mei - ra mafa?a?a - pa
 oh older sibling VOC here TOP do which SS
 yate - ame - na - pe - e ?" o - a - ?a
 go lp1Fut COMP BEN Q say 3sg IND

'"Oh, older brother! How will we go from here?", he said'

It is perhaps significant that the majority of these difficult examples involve direct quotes in Interrogative mood. The Benefactive suffix in Tauya can mark voluntary response; note that English so, which also marks result clauses, can be used much like Tauya /-pe/ in introducing questions: So, how long are you going to stay in Venezuela?

Final complement clauses may occur with all of the auxiliaries possible for these clauses medially:

?ini - mene - a - na - pe - ?a
 sleep STAT 3sg COMP BEN IND

'Because he's asleep' (Stative)

?ini - ti - a - na - pe - ?a
 sleep PERF 3sg COMP BEN IND

'Because he slept' (Perfective)

?ini - we - a - na - pe - ?a
 sleep CON 3sg COMP BEN IND

'Because he tried to sleep/slept a little' (Conative)

etc.

Final complement clauses may occur in the Indicative/
Unmarked mood, as in the examples above, and in the Interrogative
mood. In Interrogative mood, the modal suffixes used with NF
predicates are employed, i.e., /-yae/ Polar, /-e/ Non-Polar:

fanu ni - pi ʔumu - a - na - pe - yae
man 3sg GEN die 3sg COMP BEN Q

'(Is she crying) Because her husband died?'

we ʔumu - a - na - pe - e
who die 3sg COMP BEN Q

'(She is crying) Because who died?'

Tei - sa mene - e - na - ʔaisami - yae
ADESS stay 1/2 COMP ABL Q

'(Did you come here) From staying in Teri?'

mafi mene - e - na - ʔaisami - e
where stay 1/2 COMP ABL Q

'(You came here) From staying where?'

3.3.9.2. Final Assertive Clauses

Assertive clauses occur finally in texts quite frequently; however, this frequency does vary from speaker to speaker and from text to text. Examples include:

" ori na - pi sa?afo tei - ?e - nani - ?a .
trap 2sg GEN just catch 3sgFut ASSER IND

ni - a - e " o - a - te - ?i
eat 2sgFut IMP say 3sg DS PRO

'Your traps will hold [game] . Eat!', she said...'

ori - ra te - pa ?ata-?atame - a - te - pe - ra
trap TOP get SS full REDUP 3sg DS BEN TOP

yate fei - a - nani - ?a
go check 2sgFut ASSER IND

'The traps will get full and so you will go check them'

" ya - ?unama te - amu - nani - ?a . k^we - e - e !
lsg too get lsgFut ASSER IND try 1/2 IMP

wai ?ati - we - a - e " o - a - te ...
again say CON 2sgFut IMP say 3sg DS

'I too will get one. Try! Try to say it again!' he said ...'

?i ?ai - pa mepi - pa ni?imo ya?e
DEM do SS come down SS hand(3sg) water

ou - ?e - nani - ?a
shoot 3sgFut ASSER IND

'Like that she will come down and wash her hands'

Final Assertive clauses may include any of the auxiliaries that may be included in these clauses medially,

i.e., all but Avolitional /-ʔate-/:

ʔini - mene - a - nani - ʔa
sleep STAT 3sg ASSEF IND

'He is asleep' (Stative)

ʔini - ti - a - nani - ʔa
sleep PERF 3sg ASSEF IND

'He slept' (Perfective)

ʔini - we - a - nani - ʔa
sleep CON 3sg ASSEF IND

'He tried to sleep' (Conative)

etc.

But,

* ʔini - ʔate - a - nani - ʔa
sleep AVOL 3sg ASSEF IND

('It would be bad if he slept') (Avolitional)

Final Assertive clauses may occur only in the Indicative mood, with Indicative/Unmarked modal suffix /-ʔa/; this confirms their status as 'marked Indicatives':

na Bramani yate - e - nani - ʔa
2sg go 1/2 ASSEF IND

'You went to Brahman'

But,

* na Bramani yate - e - nani - yae
Q

('Did you go to Brahman?') (Polar Interrogative)

* na mafi yate - e - nani - e
 where Q

('Where did you go?') (Non-Polar Interrogative)

* Bramani yate - a - nani - e
 2sgFut IMP

('Go to Brahman!') (Imperative)

etc.

3.3.3.9.3. Final Counter-Factual Clauses

Examples of final Counter-Factual clauses include:

ya - ni Ø - yau - ʔani - ra Ø - tu - ʔani - ʔa
 lsg ERG 3sg see C.-F. TOP 3sg give C.-F. IND

'If I'd seen him, I'd have given (it) to him'

na - ni ya - tu - ʔani - ra te - pa yate - ʔani - ʔa
 2sg ERG lsg give C.-F. TOP get SS go C.-F. IND

'If you had given (it) to me, I'd have taken it'

afe nini - pi ʔumu - ʔani - ra ya - sou
 mother 3pl GEN die C.-F. TOP lsg COM

mene - ʔani - ʔa
 stay C.-F. IND

'If their mother had died, they'd have stayed with me'

Like medial Counter-Factual clauses, final Counter-Factual clauses may occur with all verbal auxiliaries but Avolitional /-ʔate-/:

... ʔini - mene - ʔani - ʔa
 sleep STAT C.-F. IND

'... (he) would have been asleep' (Stative)

... ʔini - ti - ʔani - ʔa
 sleep PERF C.-F. IND

'... (he) would have slept' (Perfective)

... ʔini - we - ʔani - ʔa
 sleep CON C.-F. IND

'... (he) would have tried to sleep' (Conative)

etc.

But,

* ?ini - ?ate - ?ani - ?a
AVOL

('... it would have been bad if (he) had slept') (Avolitional)

Final Counter-Factual clauses may occur in only 2 moods, Indicative/Unmarked, as in the examples given above, and Interrogative. In the Interrogative mood, Counter-Factual clauses occur with the modal suffixes which are used with NP predicates, i.e., /-yae/ Polar and /-e/ Non-Polar:

na Bramani wate yate - ?ani - ra Tufuma - sa
2sg NEG go C.-F. TOP ADESS

yate - ?ani - yae
go C.-F. Q

'If you hadn't gone to Brahman, would you have gone to Tuguma?'

na Bramani wate yate - ?ani - ra mafi yate - ?ani - e
2sg NEG go C.-F. TOP where go C.-F. Q

'If you hadn't gone to Brahman, where would you have gone?'

3.4. Other Parts of Speech

As well as the categories Noun and Verb, other parts of speech in Tauya include various types of adverbial modifiers, interjections, and one subordinator.

3.4.1. Adverbial Modifiers

Adverbial modifiers can indicate temporal relation, locative relation, and manner. Morphologically, these modifiers form a rather diverse group. Most are uninflected independent forms; others, indicating locative relation, are derived forms, created by adding a locative suffix to a NP. Neither of these may be marked as topics. However, a few of the forms included in the following discussion as adverbials may perhaps be more correctly analyzed as NPs, since they may include the topic suffix. They are included in the discussion of adverbial modifiers both because they function as such, and because they may not occur with any other suffixes characteristic of NPs.

3.4.1.1. Temporal Relation

All morphemes indicating temporal relation are independent forms. Among the most frequently attested are /omo/ 'still' and /wai/ 'again/:

omo fofe - ʔafe - i - ʔa
 still come PROG 3pl IND

'They're still coming'

sa amufo yate tefe - a - na wai ʔini - pou - fe - pa ...
 road big go put 3sg COMP again sleep dawn TR SS

'He went and put them far away and again he slept until
 dawn and he ...'

Although translated above as 'again', /wai/ is often used to
 indicate a balance between two clauses. For example:

ya Bramani yate - e - te wai na Mom - sa yate - e - ʔa
 1sg go 1/2 DS 2sg ADESS go 1/2 IND

'I went to Brahman and you went to Mom'

ni - ʔunama ʔone ʔite topu - pa tei - i - te wai
 3pl too time garden plant SS catch 3pl DS

ni - ʔunama ʔone ʔite topu - a - o
 3sg too time garden plant 3sg ELLIP

'They too planted and had a feast garden and he too planted
 a feast garden'

Two other adverbial particles, /asamo/ and /iteite/ can be
 translated as 'always':

{asamo } ʔini - pope - a - ʔa
 {iteite} sleep HAB 3sg IND

'He always sleeps'

Two other morphemes marking temporal relation should perhaps
 be classed as NPs, since both may include the Topic suffix. These
 are /pofa/, translated variously as 'enough' and 'soon', and
 /ʔ^wisa/, 'later'.

/pofa/ is perhaps the most ubiquitous morpheme in Tauya discourse. In some cases it may be translated as 'enough', in others as 'soon':

pofa (- ra) te - e - ʔa
 enough TOP get 1/2 IND

'I got enough'

sa pofa (- ra) ʔ^wei - a - ʔa
 ENVIRON soon TOP night 3sg IND

'Soon it was night'

However, it is often impossible to provide an English gloss for /pofa/. Frequently occurring in dislocated form, followed by the resumptive pronoun /ʔi/ (cf.), /pofa/ is often used almost as an interjection, much like English 'alright' or 'ok':

" ʔ^wei - ʔa " o - a - na - ʔi pofa ʔi nono - ni
 no IND say 3sg COMP PRO DEM child ERG

nofona win - a - te pofa - ʔi ... pirisifina
 only win (Pid.) 3sg DS spirit

nono - ni pofa yate - a - na pasi fai - mene - a - na
 child ERG go 3sg COMP greens cut STAT 3sg COMP

amo fai - mene - a - na pofa - ʔi mepi urure
 tree cut STAT 3sg COMP come down fence

ʔeti - ti - a - na - ra ...
 remove PERF 3sg COMP TOP

'"No", he said; only that child won ... the spirit child and he went and cut pasi greens and he cut trees and he came down and removed the fence ...'

aniyamo ʔumu - a - te ʔumu - a - te ʔe - sami pofa - ʔi ...
 mother die 3sg DS die 3sg DS

mei - fe - i - na mei - pa mei - pa tefe - i - na
 cry PERF 3pl COMP cry SS cry SS put 3pl COMP

pofa - ʔi somo ʔu - fe - i - na ʔe - sami pofa - ʔi ...
 hole dig PERF 3pl COMP

ate Ø - ʔamai - te - i - na ...
 old woman 3sg carry get 3pl COMP

'His mother died, she died They cried a little, they
 cried and cried and put it [stopped], then they dug a hole....
 they carried the old woman ...'

The temporal adverb /ʔ^wisa/, like /pofa/, may occur with
 the Topic suffix. This form is perhaps most frequently used
 in the final clause of coordinate medial verb sequences, and
 implies that the actions are not simultaneous but sequential:

momune - pa ʔ^wisa (- ra) ʔini - a - ʔa
 sit SS later TOP sleep 3sg IND

'He sat and then he slept'

The fact that /ʔ^wisa/ may be marked as Topic suggests that it
 is perhaps better defined as a NP; like some other noun roots,
 /ʔ^wisa/ can be reduplicated yielding a verb stem:

ʔ^wisa-ʔ^wisa - pa fofe - a - ʔa
 later REDUP SS come 3sg IND

'He came last'

3.4.1.2. Locative Relation

A few locative modifiers are independent forms. Among them are /ʔofi/ 'middle', which is often reduplicated; /ʔuriʔuri/ 'among', which is not attested in non-reduplicated form; /amufi/ 'close'; /ʔoniniʔi/ 'near, beside'; and /aʔaofi/ 'above':

siya yaʔe ʔofi upunema - ʔai - ra
 salt water middle island ADESS TOP
 'on an island in the middle of the ocean'

ʔuriʔuri yate - a - ʔa
 among go 3sg IND
 'He went among (them)'

ya ʔoniniʔi momune - a - ʔa
 1sg beside sit 3sg IND
 'She sat beside me'

pai aʔaofi - mi
 pig above from
 'cuscus (tree kangaroo)' (lit., 'pig from above')

/ʔofi/ may be used with the Transitive/Perfective auxiliary /-fe-/ to derive a transitive verb stem:

fanu moʔotu - ni ʔofi ya - fe - i - ʔa
 man many ERG middle 1sg TR 3pl IND
 'Many men surrounded me' (lit., 'made me be in the middle')

Other locative modifiers are derived from noun roots via locative suffixes. For example:

wate - tata ~ wate - ta
 house on (reduced form)
 'on the house'

wate - ʔ^waresasa
 house underneath
 'underneath the house'

A few locative modifiers are derived from body part stems with the locative derivational suffix /-sa/ (cf.):

ya - nai - sa
 1sg rib LOC
 'beside me'

otufo - sa
 nose (3sg) LOC
 'in front of him'

na - ʔamasi - sa
 2sg back LOC
 'behind you'

If the NP referent is inanimate, 3sg body part stems are used:

wate maʔasi - sa
 house back (3sg) LOC
 'behind the house'
 etc.

The examples above which include the locative derivational suffix /-sa/ can be compared with the following example.

Here, the Adessive/Allative case suffix used with common nouns is present, and the interpretation is simply that of a noun in Locative case:

na - ʔamasi - ʔai
 2sg back ADESS
 'on your back'

Another locative-deriving suffix, /-tei/ is very limited in its distribution, having been attested with only two noun stems. It sometimes is used in place of the Adessive/Allative case suffix; it may also indicate general vicinity as opposed to exact location:

yaʔe - tei
 water 'to/in/near the water'

oʔo - tei
 fire 'near the fire' (= 'outside')

3.4.1.3. Manner

Tauya includes only a very few manner adverbials; the scarcity of such forms is alleviated somewhat by the fact the SS coordinate medial verbs may be used to express manner (cf.). Examples of manner adverbials include:

peima mene - a - e
carefully stay 2sgFut IMP
'Stay carefully/easily!' (= 'Good-bye')

satiyafo pu - pa yate - i - ?a
quickly run SS go 3pl IND
'They ran away quickly'

nisine saniya te - a - ?a
diligent work get 3sg IND
'He worked hard'

Another manner adverbial, /sa?afɔ/, is perhaps best translated as 'just, only':

apu - ra sa?afɔ mene - ame - ?a
now TOP only stay 1plFut IND
'Now we (inc.) will just stay' (i.e., without food, purpose, etc.)

sa?afɔ - piya yate fitau - i - no
just INTEN go throw 3pl SUBJUN
'They went away with nothing, after no success'

/sa?afɔ/ appears to be a derived form, consisting of /sa + ?a + fo/, although the functions of the individual morphemes are uncertain. A variant of /sa?afɔ/, /safo/, occurs in a habitual construction.

?i ?ai - e - mo safo te - pope - a - o
 DEM do 1/2 NOM get HAB 3sg ELLIP

'He always did only that' (i.e., to the exclusion of everything else)

mene - e - mo safo te - a - te ...
 stay 1/2 NOM get 3sg DS

'He always just stayed, and the other ...'

That final /-fo/ is a suffix is suggested by the existence of an undoubtedly cognate adjectival NP, /sa?ama/, 'just, only', also 'small'. Note that while /sa?afo/, as an adverb, cannot be marked as topic, /sa?ama/ can be so marked:

ate sa?ama - ra mene - a - na - ?ai ?atou - i - ?a
 old woman only TOP stay 3sg COMP ADESS arrive 3pl IND

'They arrived at where only an old woman stayed'

It is difficult to find an adequate English gloss for another adverbial, /soromu/. It appears to be very close in meaning to Melanesian Pidgin nating, which implies 'without reason, purpose, direction, etc.'. For example:

soromu yate - i - ?a
 go 3pl IND

Pid. Ol igo nating (implies: 'They went for no reason', etc; in context, this particular example implied 'They went where there was no path')

Although not attested with the Topic suffix, /soromu/ can occur with the suffix /-?unama/, 'too, also':

soromu - ?unama yate e?i ya - fe - we - a - e
 too go make lsg TR CON 2sgFut IMP

'Try to make one for me anyway!' (i.e., even though
 circumstances may be difficult)

/soromu/ appears to have nominal function in the following
 example:

soromu fei - ?atene
 boil PROHsg

'Don't talk nonsense!' (cf. /po fei-/ V.Intr. 'talk',
 lit. 'boil speech')

3.4.2.. Interjections

The following interjections have been attested:

o 'Yes'

ʔ^weiʔa 'No' (? < /ʔ^wei-/ NEG. (NP) + /-ʔa/ CIT.)

ae 'o.k.'

owowowo 'Great!'

ʔe ~ ʔeʔe 'Oh'

aiyiyi 'Oh no!'

mane 'Gosh!'

Greetings generally consist of NPs referring to the time of day; they may include the exclamatory suffix /-e/:

ʔ^weisinasa (- e)
morning EMPH 'Good morning!'

ʔoʔaisa (- e)
afternoon EMPH 'Good afternoon!'

ʔ^weisa (- e)
night EMPH 'Good night!'

etc.

"Good-bye" is expressed as:

peima mene - a - e ! ya yate - amu - ʔa
carefully stay 2sgFut IMP lsg go lsgFut IND
'You stay carefully! I will go'

3.4.3. Subordinator

There is one subordinator in Tauya, /wetena-/, which always occurs with one of two suffixes, /-ʔa/ Indicative/Unmarked or /-ra/ Topic. The subordinator follows subordinate medial clauses; it cannot follow coordinate medial clauses. Its function is primarily to rule out a causal relationship between two clauses. For example:

ya - ni peima fitau - fe - e - na {wetenaʔa}
 lsg ERG carefully throw PERF 1/2 COMP {wetenara}

tepau - a - ʔa
 break 3sg IND

'I threw it carefully and/but it broke'

(* ya - ni peima fitau - fe - e - te {wetenaʔa}
 DS {wetenara}

tepau - a - ʔa

'I threw it carefully and it broke')

ya - ni sisine - pa fitau - fe - e - na {wetenaʔa}
 lsg ERG forceful SS throw PERF 1/2 COMP {wetenara}

wate tepau - a - ʔa
 NEG break 3sg IND

'I threw it hard and/but it didn't break'

(* ya - ni sisine - pa fitau - fe - e - te {wetenaʔa}
 DS {wetenara}

wate tepau - a - ʔa

'I threw it hard and it didn't break')

If a causal relation is implied, the subordinator may not occur:

* ya - ni peima fitau - fe - e - na {wetena?a}
 lsg ERG carefully throw PERF 1/2 COMP {wetenara}

wate tepau - a - ?a
 NEG break 3sg IND

('I threw it carefully and it didn't break')

* ya - ni sisine - pa fitau - fe - e - na {wetena?a}
 lsg ERG forceful SS throw PERF 1/2 COMP {wetenara}

tepa - a - ?a
 break 3sg IND

('I threw it hard and it broke')

When a causal relation is implicit, as in the examples above, the first clause is rendered as a coordinate medial clause, or as a complement clause in the Ergative or Benefactive case.

Clauses which are followed by /wetena-/ may occur without a following contrary-to-expectations clause. These clauses are generally translated with 'nearly' or 'almost'; the implication appears to be that there was some interference and the action or state was not completed. In the absence of a following clause, /wetena-/ occurs with the Indicative/Unmarked suffix, not with the Topic suffix:

ya pomu - e - na wetena?a
 lsg fall 1/2 COMP

'I nearly fell'

ni ?umu - a - na wetena?a
 3sg die 3sg COMP

'She nearly died'

In the overwhelming majority of cases, the subordinator follows complement clauses, as in the examples above. Of the other two kinds of subordinate clauses, the subordinator may not follow Assertive clauses, and follows Counter-Factual clauses only rarely:

* ya Bramani yate - e - nani (- ra) {wetena?a} ...
 lsg go 1/2 ASSER TOP {wetenara}

('I did go to Brahman and/but ...')

na - ta wate fofe - ?ani - ra ya - ra pofa
 2sg TOP NEG come C.-F. TOP lsg TOP soon

?umu - ?ani wetena?a
 die C.-F.

'If you hadn't come, I would have died' ('... but you came')

When they are not followed by the subordinator, complement clauses in Tauya may be marked as topics if they are in the Nominative case; Counter-Factual clauses are generally marked as topics. However, if the subordinator is present, the preceding subordinate clause may not include the Topic suffix:

si - ni nu - tu - ene - na (* - ra) {wetena?a} ...
 1pl ERC 3pl give 1/2pl COMP TOP {wetenara}

'We gave (it) to them and/but ...'

ni ya?e ni - ani (* - ra) {wetena?a} ...
 3sg water eat C.-F. TOP {wetenara}

'He would have drowned but ...'

Complement clauses in Tauya include case suffixes, which may be deleted if the case relation is recoverable (cf.). When followed by /wetena-/, case suffixes are almost always absent. In fact, the only case suffix attested in this construction is Partitive /-?aimi/, which implies that the action or state specified by the complement clause was interrupted in progress (cf.):

pofa pomu - e - na - ?aimi {wetena?a} amo nepasi
 soon fall 1/2 COMP PART {wetenara} tree branch

tei - ti sa?ufe - e - ?a
 catch CONJ hasten 1/2 IND

'I nearly fell but I quickly grabbed a branch' ('... so I didn't fall!')

ne - ta ya?e ni - a - na - ?aimi {wetena?a}
 3sg TOP water eat 3sg COMP PART {wetenara}

∅ - tei - ti sa?ufe - i - ?a
 3sg catch CONJ hasten 3pl IND

'He nearly drowned but they quickly grabbed him' ('... so he didn't drown')

When not followed by /wetena-/, Complement clauses in Tauya may be questioned with Interrogative pronouns. However, when the subordinator is present, the preceding Complement clause must be in the Indicative mood, and cannot be questioned.

Thus:

* mafi yate - e - na {wetena?a} wate Ø - yau - e - ne
 where go 1/2 COMP {wetenara} NEG 3sg see 1/2 Q.
 ('Where did you go and/but you didn't see her?')

* wame ni - a - na {wetena?a} Ø - sepame - a - e
 what eat 3sg COMP {wetenara} 3sg sick 3sg Q
 ('What did he eat and/but he got sick?')

The impossibility of questioning complement clauses followed by /wetena-/ is in keeping with the fact that the latter must include either the Indicative/Unmarked modal suffix or the Topic suffix.

Chapter 4

SELECTED TOPICS IN SYNTAX

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, 4 topics in Tauya syntax are discussed, Relative Clauses, Conditional Clauses, Ergativity and Left-Dislocation. Obviously, these 4 areas by no means exhaust a syntactic analysis of the Tauya language. Many critical areas are excluded, such as discussion of Topicalization vs. Left-Dislocation; the expression of cause; direct quote constructions; etc. These and other topics are the subject of ongoing research.

4.2. Relative Clauses

4.2.1. Relative clauses in Tauya are formed by the following

rule:

[	X	NP _i	Y	V	+	Desinence	+	Mood	]	NP _i
	1	2	3	4		5		6		7

→ [1 ∅ 3 4 5 /na/] 7

That is, the relative clause precedes the head noun. The NP coreferential with the head is deleted, and the modal suffix is replaced by the relative suffix /-na/. For example:

[	ya - ni	fanu	∅ - yau - e - ʔa	]	fanu
	1sg ERG	man	3sg see 1/2 IND.		man

'the man [I saw the man]'

becomes,

[ya - ni	∅	∅ - yau - e - na]	fanu
---	---------	---	------------------	---	------

'the man I saw'

Note that the Relative suffix is homophonous with the Genitive suffix used with non-pronominal NPs, i.e.,

fanu - na	wate
man GEN	house

'the man's house'

This homophony is perhaps not accidental; Dixon (1969) notes a similar homophony in two Australian languages, Dyirbal and Gumbaingar. Relative clauses and Genitive NPs perform similar functions. Thus, Keenan and Comrie (1977) have defined relative

clauses as follows:

We consider any syntactic object to be an RC if it specifies a set of objects (perhaps a one-member set) in two steps: a larger set is specified, called the domain of relativization, and then restricted to some subset of which a certain sentence, the restricting sentence, is true. (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 63-64)

Genitive NPs perform this same function: the head noun in a possessive construction (corresponding to the head noun of a relative clause) specifies the domain, and the Genitive NP (corresponding to the relative clause) restricts reference to a particular subset of the domain. For example, in

Aresa - na ʔipai
 GEN arrow 'Aresa's arrow(s)'

ʔipai specifies as the domain the set of all arrows, and the Genitive NP, Aresa-na restricts reference to those arrows which belong to Aresa. As support for this analysis, note that the restricting suffix in Tauya is /-na(si)/

ʔi fanu ne - na(si)
 DEM man 3sg RESTR
 'that man alone'

4.2.2. Accessibility to Relativization

In Tauya, accessibility to relativization in simple sentences corresponds to the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) developed by Keenan and Comrie (1977), although this correspondence is rather loose at the lower end of the hierarchy. Deviation from the hierarchy appears to result largely from whether or not the case relation of the relativized NP is recoverable. The AH developed by Keenan and Comrie is as follows:

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique >
Genitive > Object of Comparison

According to Keenan and Comrie, all languages permit relativization of subjects. If a NP at a point lower down on the hierarchy can be relativized, then all NPs above that point can also be relativized. Thus, if a language permits relativization of oblique NPs, it will also permit relativization of indirect objects, direct objects, and subjects, but will not necessarily permit relativization of genitive NPs or objects of comparison.

As Keenan and Comrie predict, subjects in Tauya can be relativized:

NOM: ʔi fanu - Ø mu wate eʔi - a - ʔa
 DEM man NOM DEM house make 3sg IND
 'That man built this house'

→ [∅ mu wate eʔi - a - na] fanu
REL

'the man who built this house'

ERG: ʔi nono - ni nen - yau - a - ʔa
DEM child ERG 3pl see 3sg IND

'That child saw them'

→ [∅ nen - yau - a - na] nono
REL

'the child who saw them'

In Tauya, direct and indirect objects are collapsed into a single category, that is, indirect objects, which are typically human, are marked on the verb with an object prefix. Both direct and indirect objects can be relativized:

D.O.: waʔa nono wawiya ni - a - ʔa
female child mango eat 3sg IND

'The girl ate a mango'

→ [waʔa nono ∅ ni - a - na] wawiya
REL

'the mango that the girl ate'

I.O.: si - ni fanu nu - tu - ene - ʔa
1pl ERG man 3pl give 1/2pl IND

'We gave (it) to the men'

→ [si - ni ∅ nu - tu - ene - na] fanu
REL

'the men we gave (it) to'

nono surifo eʔi fei - fe - e - ʔa
child newborn make 3sg TR 1/2 IND

'I made it for the new baby'

→ [∅ eʔi fei - fe - e - na] nono surifo
REL

'the new baby I made it for'

Some verbs in Tauya take direct objects in the Benefactive case; these objects can also be relativized:

ni - ni fenaʔa - pe o - a - ʔa
3sg GEN woman BEN call 3sg IND

'She called the woman'

→ [ni - ni ∅ o - a - na] fenaʔa
REL

'the woman she called'

Relativizability of other NPs does not correspond as closely to the AH. Some oblique NPs can be relativized; and the relativization of Genitive NPs depends upon whether or not the case relation of the relativized noun is recoverable. There are no true comparative constructions in Tauya.

Oblique

Oblique case relations in Tauya include the Benefactive, various types of Locatives, and the Comitative.

There are two ways of marking beneficiaries in Tauya. First, the beneficiary may occur as the direct object of the transitivizing auxiliary /-fe-/; these NPs can be relativized:

si - ni wawi wate eʔi fei - fe - ene - ʔa
1pl ERC old man house make 3sg TR 1/2pl IND

'We built the house for the old man'

→ [si - ni ∅ wate eʔi fei - fe - ene - na] wawi
REL

'the old man we built the house for'

Second, beneficiaries can be marked with the Benefactive case suffix /-pe/; these NPs cannot be relativized:

Pename - ni fanu - pe ʔufiya fei - a - ʔa
 ERG man BEN food boil 3sg IND

'Pename cooked food for the man'

→ * [Pename - ni ∅ ʔufiya fei - a - na] fanu
 REL

('the man Pename cooked food for')

NPs in a Locative case which indicate Adessive/Allative case relations can be relativized:

wate - ʔai mene - i - ʔa
 house ADESS stay 3pl IND

'They stayed at the house'

→ [∅ mene - i - na] wate
 REL

'the house they stayed at'

ʔi ʔone - ʔai fofe - ame - ʔa
 DEM time ADESS come 1plFut IND

'We'll come at that time'

→ [∅ fofe - ame - na] ʔone
 REL

'the time we'll come'

However, Locative NPs indicating Ablative, Inessive and Elative case relations cannot be relativized:

ABL: ʔite - ʔaisami fofe - a - ʔa
 garden ABL come 3sg IND

'She came from the garden'

→ [* ∅ fofe - a - na] ʔite
 REL

('the garden she came from')

INESS: fai - ʔusa tefe - a - ʔa
 net bag INESS put 3sg IND
 'She put (it) into the net bag'
 → * [∅ tefe - a - na] fai
 REL
 ('the net bag she put (it) into')

ELAT: wate - ʔusami te - e - ʔa
 house ELAT get 1/2 IND
 'I got (it) from inside the house'
 → * [∅ te - e - na] wate
 REL
 ('the house I got it from inside of')

There is some evidence that the impossibility of relativizing NPs in the Ablative, Inessive and Elative case relations is due to the fact that these case relations are not recoverable. For a very few speakers, these NPs can be relativized by a pronominalization strategy, wherein the NP coreferential to the head is not deleted, but replaced by a pronoun, /ʔi/, which takes case inflection. Thus:

wate - ʔaisami fofe - i - ʔa
 house ABL come 3pl IND
 'They came from the house'
 → ? [ʔi - ʔaisami fofe - i - na] wate
 PRO ABL REL
 'the house they came from'

sema - ʔusami moma te - e - ʔa
 pot ELAT. taro get 1/2 IND
 → ? [ʔi - ʔusami moma te - e - na] sema
 PRO ELAT REL
 'the pot I got (it) from inside of'

Note, however, that these relative clauses are not grammatical for most Tauya speakers.

In Tauya, instruments may be marked with either the Ergative or Ablative case suffix. Instrumental NPs can be relativized; since NPs in the Ergative case can be relativized, but those in the Ablative case cannot, relativized instrumental NPs can be derived from underlying structures in which the instrument is marked as Ergative, i.e.,

(a) moma ʔasu - ni fai - a - ʔa
 taro knife ERG scrape 3sg IND

(b) " " - ʔaisami "
 ABL

'He scraped taro with the knife'

→ [moma ∅ fai - a - na] ʔasu (derived from (a))
 REL

'the knife he scraped taro with'

The Comitative case suffix, and this pattern of relativization, is found in constructions indicating similarity and in reciprocal constructions.

To express similarity, the verb root /ʔafatataʔa-/ 'be like' is used. The NP arguments of this root can be conjoined with /-sou/, or /-sou/ can be added to a single NP. The NP not including this suffix can be relativized:

- (a) ʔi fanu - sou mu fanu - sou - ra ʔafatataʔa - mene - i - ʔa
 DEM man COM DEM man COM TOP be like STAT 3pl IND

'That man and this man are alike'

- (b) ʔi fanu - ra mu - fanu - sou ʔafatataʔa - mene - a - ʔa
 DEM man TOP DEM man COM be like STAT 3sg IND

'That man is like this man'

→ [∅ mu fanu - sou ʔafatataʔa - mene - a - na] fanu
 REL

'the man who is like this man' (derived from (b))

Reciprocity is expressed in Tauya as follows: the verb root is reduplicated, and followed by the Reciprocal auxiliary /-waʔane-/. The transitive root is, in effect, de-transitivized, since object prefixes are not included. The subject NPs may be conjoined with /-sou/, or a single NP may include this suffix:

a) ?i fanu - sou fena?a - sou tu-tu - wa?ane - i - ?a
 DEM man COM woman COM giveREDUP RECIP 3pl IND
 'The man and the woman gave (it) to each other'

b) ?i fanu - ra fena?a - sou tu-tu - wa?ane - i - ?a
 DEM man TOP woman COM giveREDUP RECIP 3pl IND
 'The man and the woman gave (it) to each other'

The NP not including the Comitative suffix may be relativized:

[\emptyset fena?a - sou tu-tu - wa?ane - i - na] fanu
 REL

'the man who with the woman gave (it) to each other' (derived from (b))

For more discussion of reciprocal constructions, see .

Genitive

Non-pronominal NPs in the Genitive case are marked with the suffix /-na/. If the head noun in a possessive construction is alienable, the Genitive suffix alone marks the possessor; if the head is inalienable, the possessor NP is marked with the Genitive suffix and the head includes a pronominal prefix indicating the possessor. Thus:

ALIEN: ?i fanu - na wate
 DEM man GEN house
 'that man's house/those men's houses'

INALIEN: ?i fanu - na nono - potiyafo
 DEM man GEN 3pl arm
 'those men's arms'

?i fanu - na Ø - potiyafo
 3sg
 'that man's arm'

Only Genitive nouns in inalienable possessive constructions may be relativized. Thus:

INALIEN: ?i fanu - na nono - potiyafo tei - mene - e - ?a
 DEM man GEN 3pl arm catch STAT 1/2 IND
 'I held those men's arms'
 → [Ø nono - potiyafo tei - mene - e - na] fanu
 REL

'the men whose arms I held'

But,

ALIEN: ?i fanu - na wate yau - ene - ?a
 DEM man GEN house see 1/2pl IND
 'We saw that man's/those men's house'

→* [∅ wate yau - ene - na] fanu
REL

('the man/men whose house we saw')

This restriction on relativization appears to result from the fact that only in inalienable possessive constructions is the possessor marked on the possessed noun, such that only in these constructions is the case relation of the relativized noun recoverable. There is some additional support for this analysis: kin terms in Tauya are generally classed as alienable. Thus:

?i fanu - na awa
DEM man GEN father

'that man's father/those men's fathers'

However, some kinship terms have suppletive forms which may be used only when the possessor is 3sg:

omamo
father (3sg)

'his/her father'

For these terms, although there is no overt affix marking 3sg possessor (recall that 3sg possessors of inalienable nouns are marked with ∅), a 3sg possessor is implied. Possessors of these 3sg kin terms can be relativized:

?i fanu - na omamo ?umu - a - ?a
DEM man GEN father die 3sg IND

'That man's father died'

→ [∅ omamo ʔumu - a - na] fanu
REL

'the man whose father died'

Compare this with the example below. Here, the head noun is a general kin term, corresponding to /omamo/, and the Genitive NP cannot be relativized:

ʔi fanu - na awa ʔumu - a - ʔa
DEM man GEN father die 3sg IND

'That man's father died'

→ * [∅ awa ʔumu - a - na] fanu
REL

('the man whose father died')

Again, relativization of Genitive nouns is only possible if the case relation of the relativized noun can be inferred from the possessed noun.

4.2.3. Relativization from Complex Sentences

NPs can be relativized from within Coordinate medial clauses in Tauya; however, if the medial is interpreted as the protasis of a hypothetical conditional sentence, relativization is then impossible. NPs cannot be relativized from within Complement, Assertive or Counter-Factual clauses.

4.2.3.1. Coordinate Clauses

NPs can be relativized from within coordinate clauses, both SS and DS, as follows:

SS: ya - ni fanu Ø - yau - fe - pa Ø - tu - e - ʔa
 lsg ERG man 3sg see PERF SS 3sg give 1/2 IND

'I saw the man and gave (it) to him'

→ [ya - ni Ø Ø - yau - fe - pa Ø - tu - e - na] fanu
 REL

'the man who I saw and gave (it) to'

ʔi fanu mei fofe - pa ni - a - ʔa
 DEM man here come SS eat 3sg IND

'That man came here and ate'

→ [Ø mei fofe - pa ni - a - na] fanu
 REL

'the man who came here and ate'

DS: ʔi fenaʔa fofe - a - te ya - ni Ø - tu - e - ʔa
 DEM woman come 3sg DS lsg ERG 3sg give 1/2 IND

'That woman came and I gave (it) to her'

→ [Ø fofe - a - te ya - ni Ø - tu - e - na] fenaʔa
 REL

'the woman who came and I gave (it) to'

ʔi nono mei - a - te aniyamo ni - pi - ni
 DEM child cry 3sg DS mother 3sg GEN ERG

∅ - ʔamai - te - a - ʔa
 3sg carry get 3sg IND

'That child cried and his mother carried him'

→ [∅ mei - a - te aniyamo ni - pi - ni
 ∅ - ʔamai - te - a - na] nono
 REL

'the child who cried and his mother carried'

There are several ways of expressing hypothetical conditional sentences in Tauya, all of which involve coordinate medial clauses. If a conditional interpretation is drawn, relativization from coordinate clauses is impossible.

First, if both the medial and final verbs in a sentence are in future tense, and the medial includes the Topic suffix, the sentence may be interpreted as a hypothetical conditional:

ʔi fenaʔa - ni ya - yau - fe - pa-ra pofei - ti
 DEM woman ERG lsg see PERF SS TOP talk CONJ

ya - tu - ʔe - ʔa
 lsg give 3sgFut IND

{ 'That woman will see me and talk to me' }
 { 'If that woman sees me, she'll talk to me' }

NPs can be relativized from within these topicalized coordinate clauses. However, the interpretation then appears to be obligatorily non-conditional:

[∅ ya - yau - fe - pa - ra pofei - ti ya - tu - ?e - na]
fena?a

'the woman who will see me and talk to me'

(?* 'the woman who if she sees me will talk to me')

Second, hypothetical protases may be expressed as coordinate medial clauses followed by the morpheme /fanura/; the interpretation is almost always hypothetical conditional (cf.). NPs cannot be relativized from within these clauses:

pai te - pa fanura na - tu - amu - ?a
pig get SS 2sg give lsgFut IND

'If I get the pig, I'll give it to you'

→ * [∅ te - pa fanura na - tu - amu - na] pai
REL

('the pig which if I get I'll give to you')

Finally, hypothetical conditional sentences can be formed with coordinate medial clauses followed by /?ai + a + te (+ ra)/, 'do' + 3sg + DS (+ TOP) (cf.). NPs cannot be relativized from these clauses, which always have a conditional interpretation:

?i fanu mei fofe - a - te ?ai-a-te-ra ∅ - yau - amu - ?a
DEM man here come 3sg DS 3sg see lsgFut IND

'If that man comes here, I'll see him'

→ * [∅ mei fofe - a - te ?ai-a-te-ra ∅ - yau - amu - na]
REL

fanu

('the man who if he comes here I'll see')

2.3.2. Subordinate Clauses

NPs cannot be relativized from within Complement,

Assertive or Counter-Factual clauses.

COMP: amo foi - a - na - ni ?utine - a - ?a
tree wet 3sg COMP ERG fall 3sg IND

'The tree was rotten so it fell'

→ * [∅ foi - a - na - ni ?utine - a - na] amo
REL

('the tree that was rotten so it fell')

ASSER: ?i fanu Bramani yate - a - nani - ra si - ni
DEM man go 3sg ASSER TOP 1pl ERG

?ei ∅ - yau - ene - ?a
there 3sg see 1/2pl IND

'That man did go to Brahman and we saw him there'

→ [∅ Bramani yate - a - nani - ra si - ni ?ei
∅ - yau - ene - na] fanu
REL

('the man who did go to Brahman and we saw there')

C.-F.: na - ni fena?a ∅ - tu - ?ani - ra te - pa
2sg ERG woman 3sg give C.-F. TOP get SS

yate - ?ani - ?a
go C.-F. IND

'If you'd given (it) to the woman she'd have taken it'

→ * [na - ni ∅ ∅ - tu - ?ani - ra te - pa
yate - ?ani - na] fena?a
REL

('the woman who if you'd given (it) to would have taken it')

" fena?a ?umu - a - ?a " o - pa ?ati ya - fe - e - ?a
 woman die 3sg IND say SS say lsg TP 1/2 IND
 'You told me that the woman died'

" ?i fanu Ø - yau - amu - ?a " o - pa fofe - a - ?a
 DEM man 3sg see lsgFut IND say SS come 3sg IND
 'He came to see that man' (lit., 'I will see that man' he
 said and he came')

NPs cannot be relativized from within embedded Ss:

* ["Ø ?umu - a - ?a" o - pa ?ati - ya - fe - e - na] fena?a
 REL

('the woman who you told me died')

* ["Ø Ø - yau - amu - ?a" o - pa fofe - a - na] fanu
 REL

('the man who he came to see')

4.2.4. Tense in Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are independent of the tense of the final verb. They may include either aorist or future desinences, and are interpreted as being in the tense marked by the desinences which they include:

[∅ - yau - e - na] fanu - ra ∅ - tu - a - ʔa
 3sg see 1/2 REL man TOP 3sg give 3sg IND

'She gave (it) to the man I saw'

[∅ - yau - amu - na] fanu - ra ∅ - tu - a - ʔa
 3sg see 1sgFut REL man TOP 3sg give 3sg IND

'She gave (it) to the man I'll see'

[ʔumu - a - na] fenaʔa - ra afe nini - pi - ʔa
 die 3sg REL woman TOP mother 3pl GEN IND

'The woman who died is their mother'

[ʔumu - ʔe - na] fenaʔa - ra afe nini - pi - ʔa
 die 3sgFut REL woman TOP mother 3pl GEN IND

'The woman who'll die is their mother'

4.2.5. Mood in Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are always interpreted as Indicative, regardless of the mood of the final verb. Thus:

[Tei - sami mepi - a - na] fanu Ø - yau - e - nae
 ABL come down 3sg REL man 3sg see 1/2 Q

'Did you see the man who came down from Teri?'

[?ei mene - i - na] fena?a - ra Ø - tu - ane - e
 there stay 3pl REL woman TOP 3sg give 2plFut IMP

'Give (it) to the women who are over there!'

etc.

Relative clauses may not include any verbal affixes which have mood-like force. Thus, they may not include the Avolitional auxiliary /-?ate-/, Dubitative /-rafo-/, nor may they be Assertive or Counter-Factual:

AVOL: * [Ø ?umu - ?ate - a - na] fanu
 die AVOL 3sg REL man

('the man who it would be bad if he died')

DUB: * [pate Ø fofe - ?e - rafo - na] fena?a
 tomorrow come 3sgFut DUB REL woman

('the woman who might come tomorrow')

ASSER: * [Ø Tufuma - sa yate - a - nani - na] fanu
 ADESS go 3sg ASSER REL man

('the man who did go to Tuguma')

C.-F. * [Ø pomu - ?ani - na] nono
 fall C.-F. REL child

('the child who nearly fell')

Generally, relative clauses may not be questioned with interrogative pronouns. For example:

* [∅ mafi yate - a - na] fenaʔa ∅ - yau - e - ne
 where go 3sg REL woman 3sg see 1/2 Q
 ('You saw the woman who went where?')

* [we - ni ∅ ∅ - tu - a - na] fanu - ra ∅ - yau - mene - i - ne
 who ERC 3sg give 3sg REL man TOP 3sg see STAT 3pl Q
 ('They know the man who who gave (it) to?')

However, if the relativized noun functions as the predicate of the higher sentence in an equational construction, the relative clause may be questioned with an interrogative pronoun. Thus:

ʔe - ra [wame ni - pope - a - na] fanu - e
 DEM TOP what eat HAB 3sg REL man Q
 'That is a man who always eats what?'

ʔe - ra [mafi yate - a - na] fenaʔa - e
 DEM TOP where go 3sg REL woman Q
 'That is a woman who went where?'

This pattern of questioning relative clauses is also found in Hua (see Haiman 1980: 460).

4.2.6. Negation in Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are not affected by negation of the higher clause:

[fomitiya yate - a - na] fanu - ra wate ∅ - yau - ene - ʔa
 yesterday go 3sg PEL man TOP NEG 3sg see 1/2pl IND
 'We didn't see the man who went yesterday'

[fomitiya wate yate - a - na] fanu - ra ∅ - yau = ene - ʔa
 yesterday NEG go 3sg REL man TOP 3sg see 1/2pl IND
 'We saw the man who didn't go yesterday'

4.2.7. Auxiliaries in Relative Clauses

Relative clauses may include any of the auxiliaries possible for final verbs, with the exception of Avolitional /-ʔate-/. They may not be marked as Dubitative. The auxiliaries occur in the same order and with the same co-occurrence restrictions as for final verbs:

[∅ ʔini - mene - a - na] nono
 sleep STAT 3sg REL child
 'the child who is asleep' (STATIVE)

[∅ ʔini - ti - a - na] nono
 PERF
 'the child who slept' (PERFECTIVE)

[∅ ʔini - we - a - na] nono
 CON
 'the child who tried to sleep/slept a little' (CONATIVE)

[∅ ʔini - ʔafe - a - na] nono
 PROG
 'the child who was sleeping' (PROGRESSIVE)

etc.

4.3. Conditional Clauses

- 4.3.1. Haiman (1978) offers the following definition of conditional clauses:

A conditional clause is (perhaps only hypothetically) a part of the knowledge shared by the speaker and his hearer. As such, it constitutes the framework that has been selected for the following discourse. (1978: 583).

This definition applies to all three types of conditional clauses, Counter-Factual, Hypothetical and Given. Since they are functionally similar, languages do not necessarily make a three-way distinction. Thus, Haiman points out that in Hua Hypothetical and Given conditionals have the same morphology; in English, both Counter-Factual and Hypothetical conditionals occur as 'If ... (then)...' sentences:

If I had gone, (then) I'd have seen him.

If I go, (then) I'll see him.

In Tauya, Counter-Factual, Hypothetical and Given conditionals all occur in distinct constructions. Only the Counter-Factual construction is generally limited to conditional clauses; constructions used to express Hypothetical and Given conditionals have other functions as well. However,

all three constructions perform the function specified in Haiman's definition of conditional clauses, that is, they indicate topics or presuppositions, i.e., knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer. The fact that they are presuppositional is reflected in both their morphological and syntactic structures.

4.3.2. Counter-Factual Conditionals

Counter-Factual conditional clauses are discussed in some detail elsewhere , and are described only briefly here. These conditionals are marked by the Counter-Factual suffix /-ʔani/ on both protasis and apodosis. Personal desinences are not included; subject reference is marked by an independent NP in the clause, or is inferred from context. Tense is interpreted as irrealis. The protasis and apodosis of Counter-Factual conditional sentences are distinguished by the presence of the Topic suffix on the former and a modal suffix on the latter:

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ya - ni} \\ \text{na - ni} \\ \text{ni - ni} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\}$	\emptyset - yau - ʔani - ra \emptyset - tu - ʔani - ʔa
	3sg see C.-F. TOP 3sg give C.-F. IND

'If I/you/he/etc. had seen her, I/you/he etc. would have given (it) to her'

The topic status of the protasis is morphologically marked by the presence of the topic suffix; this suffix occurs on these clauses in an overwhelming majority of examples. Their status as topics is also reflected syntactically by the fact that the protasis may not be questioned, either with interrogative pronouns or with a final interrogative modal suffix. Final Counter-Factual clauses, however, may be questioned. Thus:

* mafi yate - ʔani - ra Ø - yau - ʔani - e
 where go C.-F. TOP 3sg see C.-F. Q
 ('If (you'd) gone where, (you'd) have seen him')

But,

Bramani yate - ʔani - ra we Ø - yau - ʔani - e
 go C.-F. TOP who 3sg see C.-F. Q
 'If (you'd) gone to Brahman, who would (you) have seen?'

Bramani yate - ʔani - ra Ø - yau - ʔani - yae
 go C.-F. TOP 3sg see C.-F. Q
 'If (you'd) gone to Brahman, would (you) have seen him?'

4.3.3. Hypothetical Conditional Clauses

There are three constructions used in Tauya to express hypothetical conditions. They have some crucial features in common: all three include a protasis in the form of a coordinate medial clause; in all, the protasis is marked as topic. Finally, in all three constructions the final verb is in future tense, and hence the medial is interpreted as future.

The three constructions differ only in how the protasis is marked as topic. In one construction, topic marking is achieved solely by the presence of the Topic suffix on the medial clause. In the other two constructions, the medial clause is followed by another morpheme, apparently some sort of proform, which itself is marked as topic.

4.3.3.1. Unmarked

The least marked construction used to express hypothetical conditional clauses is simply a coordinate medial verb construction wherein the medial clause includes the Topic suffix. These constructions are ambiguous between a hypothetical interpretation and a simple conjunction;

?ei yate - pa - ra saniya wate te - amu - ?a
 there go SS TOP work NEG get lsgFut IND

{ 'If I go there, I won't work' }
 { 'I will go there and I won't work' }

na - tu - a - te - ra fofe - pa ?ati ya - fe - ?a - nae
 2sg give 3sg DS TOP come SS say lsg TR 2sgFut Q

{ 'If he gives (it) to you, will you come and tell me?' }
 { 'He will give (it) to you and will you come and tell me?' }

Coordinate medial clauses which include the Topic suffix can be questioned by some speakers, although this is not grammatical for all. Generally, if a coordinate medial is questioned, the interpretation is then non-conditional. For example:

mafi yate - pa - ra Ø - yau - ?a - ne
 where go SS TOP 3sg see 2sgFut Q

? 'Where will you go and you'll see him?'

(?* 'If you go where you will see him?')

.3.3.2. /fanura/

To express hypothetical conditions, a coordinate medial clause may be followed by the form /fanura/; this form appears to be bimorphemic, consisting of initial /fanu/ (homophonous with /fanu/ N. 'man, person') and final /-ra/, Topic. The coordinate medial clause itself may not be marked as topic; there is usually a pause between /fanura/ and the final clause. Examples include:

?ei yate - pa fanura ?ufiya neri na - fe - ?anene - ?a
 there go SS food buy 2sg TR 1plExc.Fut IND
 'If we go there, we (Exc.) will buy food for you'

Mom - sa wate Ø - yau - pa fanura etite mai - amu - ?a
 ADESS NEG 3sg see SS return come up 1sgFut IND
 'If I don't see him in Mom, I'll come back up'

fai ni - pi ?ite - ?ai nare - fe - a - te fanura
 net bag 3sg GEN garden ADESS leave TR 3sg DS
 yate te - a - e
 go get 2sgFut IMP
 'If she left her net bag in the garden, go and get it!'

ya - ni wate no - ?aute - e - te fanura Aresa - nani
 1sg ERG NEG 3pl help 1/2 DS ADESS
 yate - ?ai - ?a
 go 3plFut IND
 'If I don't help them, they'll go to Aresa'

Coordinate medial clauses followed by /fanura/ may not be questioned; thus:

* mafi yate - pa fanura ...
 where go SS

* we - ni na - yau - a - te fanura ...
 who ERG 2sg see 3sg DS

etc.

The examples presented above are all unambiguously interpreted as hypothetical conditional clauses. This status is supported by the fact that most informants reject sentences such as the following, which includes a coordinate medial

clause in past tense (recall that hypothetical conditional sentences are invariably future):

?* ?ei yate - pa fanura ni - e - ?a
 there go SS eat 1/2 IND

('I went there and ate'/'If I went there, I ate')

However, /fanura/ is not restricted to hypothetical conditional sentences. Although it may not occur in coordinate, non-conditional sentences with a single medial clause, as shown above, it may follow a series of coordinate clauses in a non-conditional sentence:

Bramani yate - pa saniya te - pa ?ausi - sa yate - pa
 go SS work get SS ADESS go SS

semetei - pa Tauya - sa pu - pa yate - pa fanura
 play SS ADESS run SS go SS

ya - esei roroti - a - ?a
 1sg bone exhausted 3sg IND

'I went to Brahman and worked and I went to Kausi and played and I ran back to Tauya and I'm exhausted'

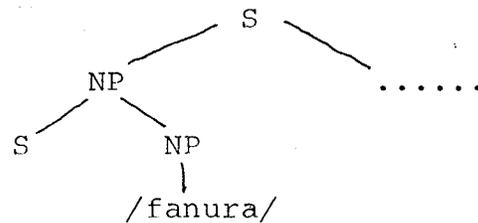
ya - ni Ø - a?ate - e - te na - ni Ø - a?ate - a - fe
 1sg ERG 3sg hit 1/2 DS 2sg ERG 3sg hit 2sgFut DS

Towe - ni po ?ati - fe - a - te Aresa - ni ?ufiya
 ERG talk say TR 3sg DS ERG food

wate Ø - tu - a - te fanura mei - a - ?a
 NEG 3sg give 3sg DS cry 3sg IND

'I hit him and you hit him and Towe scolded him and Aresa didn't give him food and he cried'

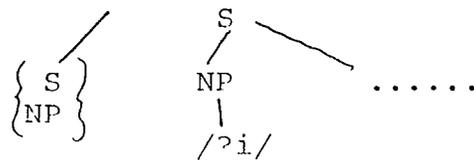
In both single clause, conditional sentences and multiple clause, non-conditional sentences, the form /fanura/ appears to function as a head noun, with the preceding medial clause(s) acting as modifiers, i.e.,



In order to justify this underlying structure, it is useful to compare /fanura/ constructions with another somewhat similar construction, left-dislocations. In the latter, the dislocated clause is followed by the resumptive pronoun /ʔi/:

ya - pe Ø - ʔisafe - a - te ʔi - pe ...
 lsg BEN 3sg angry 3sg DS PRO BEN
 'He's angry at me; that's why ...'

Dislocated constructions have the following form:



/fanura/ and dislocated constructions do have some similarities; perhaps most significant is the fact that coordinate medial clauses followed by either resumptive /ʔi/ or by /fanura/ may not be questioned. However, there are two kinds of

evidence which suggest that these constructions have distinct structures, and support the structures proposed above.

First, clauses followed by /fanura/ may not themselves be marked as topics, which suggests that they are dominated by the same NP node which dominates /fanura/. Clauses followed by the resumptive pronoun /ʔi/, on the other hand, can be marked as topics:

yate - a - te (*- ra) fanura ...
 go 3sg DS TOP 'If he goes ...'

yate - a - te (- ra) ʔi ...
 go 3sg DS TOP PRO 'He went; and the other ...'

Second, both constructions are characterized by pronounced pauses, but these pauses occur in different positions. In constructions with /fanura/, the pause follows this morpheme; in dislocated constructions, the pause follows the medial clause, but precedes the resumptive pronoun.

The fact that medial clauses which precede /fanura/ function as modifiers is suggested by other constructions which include this form. First, /fanura/ can function as head in NPs which include two or more nouns. For example, it may follow adjectival nouns:

amufo fanura
 big 'the big one'

k^wanesaʔama fanura
 small 'the small one'

It may act as head for the few 'pure' adjectives in Tauya, which may not function independently as NPs.

wate awi - ʔamu fanura
 house 2 with
 'the one with two houses'

Similarly, /fanura/ may act as head in a relative clause construction:

tepau - a - na fanura
 break 3sg GEN

/fanura/ may also follow two or more NPs to signal that they are coreferential; for example:

Pename - na ota ni - pi Kereisiya - na ota ni - pi
 GEN male 3sg GEN GEN male 3sg GEN
fanura pai aʔate - pa ʔumu - fe - a - ʔa
 pig hit SS die TR 3sg IND

'The one (who is) Pename's and Kereisiya's husband killed the pig'

isai ya - pi isai orou fanura
 spear 1sg GEN spear long

'my spear (which is) the long spear'

It is apparent that /fanura/ constructions involving multiple clauses in non-conditional sentences and those involving single clauses in conditional sentences have the same underlying structure, i.e., that presented above. Thus, for example, restrictions on topicalization and the position of the pause are the same in both cases; in neither case can the clause(s) preceding /fanura/ be questioned. However, this structure appears to have different functions: in the case of multiple clauses, it increases symmetry; in the case of a single clause, it marks this clause as topic.

Symmetry

When /fanura/ follows a list of coordinate clauses in non-conditional sentences, it appears to establish symmetry among the clauses. Lists are inherently asymmetrical; for example, Haiman gives as part of an 'iconic principle of individuation', "A separate word denotes a separate entity ..." (1983: 795). We have already seen how the /fanura/ construction can overcome this principle in a list of NPs; /fanura/ is interpreted as head when it follows such lists, and a single referent is implied. Coordinate clauses are asymmetrical in at least two ways. First, the clauses are obligatorily interpreted as being tense-iconic: the order of the clauses reflects the

the order of events:

fofe - pa momune - ene - ?a
 come SS sit 1/2pl IND

'We came and sat'

(*'We sat and (then) came')

Unfortunately, it is not yet clear whether or not clauses followed by /fanura/ are interpreted as tense-iconic; more research into this area is required (note, however, that there are other ways of establishing temporal symmetry among coordinate clauses; cf.). However, there is another kind of asymmetry in a list of coordinate clauses which is overcome by the /fanura/ construction. Due to the fact that these clauses are interpreted as tense-iconic, coordinate clauses can be interpreted as causes of the following clauses:

$$C_1 \xrightarrow{\text{CAUSE}} C_2$$

A causal interpretation is not necessarily made; C_1C_2 can be interpreted as a simple conjunction. However, if a causal interpretation is ruled out by lexical content, coordinate clauses may not be used:

ya - ni fitau - fe - e - te tepau - a - ?a
 lsg ERG throw PERF 1/2 DS break 3sg IND

'I threw it and it broke'

But,

* ya - ni peima fitau - fe - e - te tepau - a - ?a
carefully

('I threw it carefully and it broke')

However, this restriction applies only between a coordinate clause and the immediately following clause. Thus, for example, while the first example below is interpreted as ungrammatical, since lexical content appears to rule out a causal interpretation, the second example is perfectly acceptable, since another clause intervenes:

?* Tei - sa ?ini - pa ya - esei roroti - a - ?a
ADESS sleep SS lsg bone exhausted 3sg IND

('I slept in Teri and I'm exhausted')

Tei - sa ?ini - pa Tauya - sa mepi - e - te
ADESS come down 1/2 DS

ya - esei roroti - a - ?a

'I slept in Teri and came down to Tauya and I'm exhausted'

(Note, however, that the first example would be acceptable in certain contexts, for example, if speaker and hearer were both aware of uncomfortable sleeping conditions in Teri, such that C_1 could be interpreted as causal). Thus, a causal inference is asymmetrical in a list of coordinate clauses: in a list of the form $C_1 C_2 \dots C_{n-1} C_n$, only C_{n-1} need be interpretable as the cause of C_n .

However, the /fanura/ construction overcomes this causal

asymmetry; that is, when /fanura/ follows a list of coordinate clauses, all of the clauses are given equal weight in the causal interpretation. Thus, compare the two examples below:

[ya - ni Ø - aʔate - e - te] [na - ni Ø - aʔate - a - fe]
 1sg ERG 3sg hit 1/2 DS 2sg ERG 3sg hit 2sgFut DS
 [Towe - ni po ʔati - fe - a - te] [Aresa - ni wate
 ERG talk say TR 3sg DS ERG NEG
 ʔufiya Ø - tu - a - te] fanura mei - a - ʔa
 food 3sg give 3sg DS cry 3sg IND
 'I hit him and you hit him and Towe scolded him and Aresa didn't give him food and/so he cried'

But,

?* [ya - ni Ø - aʔate - e - te] [na - ni Ø - aʔate - a - fe]
 [Towe - ni Ø - ʔaute - a - te] [Aresa - ni wate ʔufiya
 3sg help 3sg DS
 Ø - tu - a - te] fanura mei - a - ʔa
 ('I hit him and you hit him and Towe helped him and Aresa didn't give him food and/so he cried')

This sentence is interpreted as ungrammatical, or at least as rather odd, because one of the clauses preceding and modifying /fanura/ cannot be interpreted as causal.

Therefore, /fanura/ can be used to increase the symmetry of two or more preceding coordinate clauses. Thus, in a construction of the form $C_1 C_2 \dots C_{n-1} /fanura/ C_n$, $C_1 C_2 \dots C_{n-1}$ are all equally interpreted as being causes of C_n .

Topicalization

When /fanura/ follows a single clause in a conditional sentence, its function cannot be interpreted as one of increasing symmetry. In this construction, /fanura/ appears to indicate that the preceding constituent, the conditional clause, is highly marked as topic. That conditional clauses are, in fact, topics has been well established; see Haiman 1978.

Unfortunately, little data is available to support this hypothesis; however, the following examples are suggestive. As well as following lexical nouns and coordinate clauses, /fanura/ may follow complement clauses. Thus, pairs of constructions like the following are possible:

nono	mei	-	a	-	na	-	na	aniyamo	ʔumu	-	a	-	ʔa
child	cry		3sg	COMP	GEN			mother	die		3sg		IND

nono	mei	-	a	-	na	<u>fanura</u>	aniyamo	ʔumu	-	a	-	ʔa
child	cry		3sg	COMP			mother	die		3sg		IND

Both of these sentences can be very loosely translated as 'The child who's crying - his mother died'. However, they are used in different contexts. Thus, informants suggest that the first, which involves a simple complement clause, could be used in answer to the question Whose mother died?. The second sentence, which includes /fanura/, would be used in answer to Who is the crying child?. That is, when it follows a

complement clause, /fanura/ indicates that this clause is topic; it perhaps performs the same function when it follows coordinate clauses which are to be interpreted as conditionals.

4.3.3.3. ʔayate(ra)

A third hypothetical conditional construction in Tauya includes a protasis in the form of a coordinate medial clause followed by ʔayate(ra). This form appears to consist of /ʔai + a + te (+ ra)/, 'do' + 3sg + DS (+ TOP). Although the Topic suffix is not obligatory, it is usually present.

Examples include:

Bramani yate - pa ʔayatera Makisi - pe saniya te - ʔe - ʔa
 go SS BEN work get 3sgFut IND

'If he goes to Brahman, he'll work for Max'

ya - ni wate nu - tu - e - te ʔayatera ya - pe
 lsg ERG NEG 3pl give 1/2 DS lsg BEN

ni - ʔisafe - ʔe - ʔa
 3pl angry 3sgFut IND

'If I don't give (it) to them, they'll be angry at me'

Note that, although ʔayate(ra) has the form of a DS coordinate medial, it is ignored in the system of switch-reference.

Thus, in SS constructions, like the first example above, the conditional clause is marked as SS because its subject is coreferential with the subject of the final clause; the DS suffix in ʔayate(ra) is not interpreted as signalling a switch in reference.

Like other hypothetical conditional clauses, clauses followed by ʔayate(ra) are interpreted as topics. Although these clauses may not themselves be marked as topics, they are

in conjunction with ?ayate(ra), which generally includes the topic suffix. As topics, these clauses cannot be questioned:

* mafi yate - a - te (*- ra) ?ayate(ra) ...
 where go 3sg DS TOP
 ('If he goes where ...?')

4.4. Ergativity

4.4.1. Introduction

Tauya has ergative constructions, that is, subjects of transitive verbs may be marked with the ergative suffix /-ni/, which distinguished them morphologically from intransitive subjects and transitive objects, both of which are in nominative case with suffix \emptyset :

Tr: ?i fanu - ni fena?a - \emptyset \emptyset - yau - a - ?a
 DEM man ERG woman NOM 3sg see 3sg IND
 'That man (ERG) saw the woman (NOM)'

Intr: ?i fanu - \emptyset fofe - a - ?a
 DEM man NOM come 3sg IND
 'That man (NOM) came'

However, ergativity in Tauya, as in many other languages (see Anderson 1977) is very superficial. Thus, although transitive subjects may be in the ergative case, they may also be nominative; furthermore, ergative case marking is not restricted to transitive subjects. Thus, ergative morphology is inconsistent. Syntactically, Tauya is a nominative/accusative language, that is, rules referring to subject affect both transitive and intransitive subjects, and exclude transitive objects.

Li and Lang (1979) suggest that ergative constructions in Enga, a language of the western family, TNGP, derive from a historic passive construction. In Tauya, however, a much simpler development can be proposed, that is, the ergative case suffix has arisen via a reanalysis of the 3sg object pronoun.

4.4.2. Case Marking

The Tauya ergative case suffix, /-ni/, may be used to mark transitive subjects, as follows:

ni - ni pai 'osai - a - 'a
3sg ERG pig chase 3sg IND

'He chased the pig'

ni - ni waiyamo ni - pi - Ø Ø - wate - pa Ø - tu - i - 'a
3pl ERG wife 3sg GEN NOM 3sg tie SS 3sg give 3pl IND

'They got him a wife' (lit., 'They tied his wife and gave (her) to him')

se - ta pirisifina ate - ni so - 'ou - pa
1pl TOP spirit old woman ERG 1pl bite SS

ni - e - mo - pe 'ai - a - te ...
eat 1/2 NOM BEN do 3sg DS

'The old spirit woman was about to eat us and ...'

However, not all transitive subjects are in the ergative case.

Subjects in transitive constructions are obligatorily ergative only if the object is human; if the object in a transitive construction is non-human, the subject may be ergative or nominative:

ya - { ni ERG } fanu - Ø Ø - yau - e - 'a
lsg { *Ø NOM } man NOM 3sg see 1/2 IND

'I saw the man'

ya - { ni ERG } pai - Ø yau - e - 'a
lsg { Ø NOM } pig NOM see 1/2 IND

'I saw the pig'

Furthermore, ergative case marking is not confined to transitive subjects:

(a) Although transitive objects may not be marked for ergative case, intransitive subjects can be so marked if they are semantically actors or experiencers:

?i fanu - { ni ERG } yate - a - ?a
 DEM man { ∅ NOM } go 3sg IND

'That man went'

mu nono - { ni ERG } momúne - a - ?a
 DEM child { ∅ NOM } sit 3sg IND

'This child sāt'

But,

?i wa?a nono - { *ni } ∅ - yau - ene - ?a
 DEM female child { ∅ } 3sg see 1/2pl IND

'We saw that little girl'

Intransitive subjects with the semantic role of patient, however, may not be in the ergative case:

?i fanu - { *ni ERG } ?umu - a - ?a
 DEM man { ∅ NOM } die 3sg IND

'That man died'

(b) The ergative suffix is used to mark complement and coordinate clauses as cause clauses:

ya - ni wate nu - tu - e - te - ni ni - ?isafe - a - ?a
 1sg ERG NEG 3pl give 1/2 DS ERG 3pl angry 3sg IND

'I didn't give (it) to them so they were angry'

amo foi - a - na - ni ?utine - a - ?a
 tree wet 3sg COMP ERG fall 3sg IND

'The tree was rotten so it fell'

(c) The ergative suffix is used to mark source:

yau?a - ra ∅ - neme - ni - ?a : i?ai - ra
yam TOP 3sg head ERG IND yam TOP
∅ - fateifo - ni - ?a : urifina - ra ∅ - ni?imo
3sg shin ERG IND yam TOP 3sg hand
eseifo - ni - ?a
bone(3sg) ERG IND

'yau?a yams emerged from her head; i?ai yams emerged from her shins; urifina yams emerged from her fingers [after she was buried]'

(d) Instruments in Tauya may be marked as ergative:

?asu - ni fai - e - ?a
knife ERG scrape 1/2 IND

'I scraped (it) with a knife'

In all of the examples above, the ergative suffix appears to be related to some degree of agency or instrument associated with the ergative-marked constituent. However, this interpretation is not a prerequisite for ergative case marking. Thus:

(e) The ergative suffix may be used on inanimate nouns which function as subject of their clauses. It is perhaps significant that most of these examples involve inanimate nouns which refer to gardens (/?ite/ 'garden'; /wasu/ 'orchard'; etc.):

?ufu wasu - ni ?ai wasu - ni ?amo
casuarina orchard ERG ginger orchard ERG bamboo
wasu - ni nipa - mene - a - na - ?ai ?atou - pa ...
orchard ERG bad STAT 3sg COMP ADESS arrive SS

'He arrived at where the ?ufu casuarina orchards and the ginger orchards and the bamboo orchards were no good and he ...'

(f) The ergative suffix can be found on NP predicates with an apparently assertive force:

ya - ni - 'a
1sg ERG IND

'(Who's that outside my door?) It's me'

Towe - ni - 'a
ERG IND

'It's Towe'

As an assertive suffix, ergative /-ni/ may well be part of the Assertive subordinate clause suffix, /-nani/.

ya - ni Bramani na - yau - e - nani - 'a
1sg ERG 2sg see 1/2 ASSER IND

'I did see you in Brahman'

That is, /-nani/ may be bimorphemic, consisting of the Complement suffix /-na/ followed by ergative /-ni/. This analysis explains the subordinate status of medial assertive clauses.

However, if this is the case, ergative /-ni/ has undergone reanalysis such that it has lost its case interpretation in this construction.

Thus, generally the ergative and topic suffixes in Tauya are mutually exclusive. however, medial Assertive clauses with /-nani/ are marked as topics more often than not.

4.4.3. Nominative/Accusative Patterns in Syntax

There are at least three syntactic processes in Tauya which suggest that, despite ergative morphological patterns, the language is syntactically nominative/accusative. These are (a) subject agreement on the verb; (b) patterns of switch-reference; and (c) the formation of sentential complements.

4.4.3.1. Subject Agreement

Subject agreement on the verb follows a nominative/accusative pattern. Verbs in Tauya include personal desinences which agree with the subject of the clause in person and in number (except SS coordinate medials, which do not include desinences; cf.). These personal desinences agree with the subject whether the clause is transitive or intransitive:

Intr. ?i fanu - Ø mei fofe - a - ?a
 DEM man NOM here come 3sg IND
 'That man came here'

Tr. ?i fanu - ni nono mo?otu nen - yau - a - ?a
 DEM man ERG child many 3pl see 3sg IND
 'That man saw many children'

4.3.2. Switch-Reference

Switch-reference, marked on coordinate clauses, also follows a nominative/accusative pattern, since it is sensitive to the identity or non-identity of subjects in both transitive and intransitive clauses.

Nominalized complements are more restricted in their distribution than are direct quotes. /-mo/ nominalizations obligatorily include the 1/2sg aorist desinence /-e-/. Thus:

?ini - e - mo - pe ?ai - a - ?a
 sleep 1/2 NOM BEN do 3sg IND
 'He wants to sleep'

But,

* ?ini - a - mo - pe ?ai - a - ?a
 3sg
 ('He wants to sleep')

As complements these nominalizations are interpreted as having a subject coreferential with the subject of the higher verb. Direct quotes, on the other hand, may include any of the personal desinences, and the subject may or may not be coreferential with the subject of the higher verb. Thus:

" Ø - yau - amu - ?a " o - pa mei fofe - a - ?a
 3sg see 2sgFut IND say SS here come 3sg IND
 'He came here to see me' (lit., '"I will see her" he said and he came here')

" ya - yau - ?e - ?a " o - pa mei fofe - a - ?a
 1sg see 3sgFut IND say SS here come 3sg IND
 'He came here so I'd see him' (lit., "She will see me", he said and he came here')

The coreferentiality restriction on subjects of nominalized complements and the higher verb is sensitive to the syntactic category of subject, whether the subjects occur in transitive or intransitive clauses:

na - yau - e - mo - pe mei fofe - e - ?a
 2sg see 1/2 NOM BEN here come 1/2 IND

'I came here to see you' (C₁ is Tr; C₂ is Intr)

?ini - e - mo - pe mei fofe - e - ?a
 sleep 1/2 NOM BEN here come 1/2 IND

'I came here to sleep' (C₁ is Intr; C₂ is Intr)

4.4. Ergative Patterns in Syntax

The process of topicalization in Tauya appears to follow an ergative pattern. i.e., intransitive subjects and transitive objects are distinguished from transitive subjects. However, closer inspection suggests that this pattern is relatively superficial.

In Tauya, the topic suffix /-ra/ is mutually exclusive with all non-null case suffixes. The result of this co-occurrence restriction is that intransitive subjects and transitive objects, both of which are in the nominative case with case suffix \emptyset , may freely be topicalized, while transitive subjects in the ergative case may not be marked as topics:

?i fanu - ra fofe - a - ?a
 DEM man TOP come 3sg IND

'That man (Nom, TOP) came'

?i fanu - ni (*- ra) fena?a - ra \emptyset - yau - a - ?a
 DEM man ERG TOP woman TOP 3sg see 3sg IND

'That man (Erg, *TOP) saw the woman (Nom, TOP)'

However, there is evidence that this ergative pattern of topicalization is relatively superficial. First, transitive subjects are not always obligatorily ergative; if the object of a transitive verb is non-human, the subject may be in the

nominative case. If it is nominative, a transitive subject may be marked as topic:

?i fanu - { ni (*- ra) } pai - Ø yau - a - ?a
 DEM man { Ø (- ra) } pig NOM see 3sg IND
 'That man { ERG (*TOP) } saw the pig!
 { NOM (TOP) }

In fact, there appears to be a preference for transitive subjects to be marked: thus, if not ergative, these subjects generally are marked as topics.

Second, a transitive subject in the ergative case can be left-dislocated (cf.); in this case, it is followed by the resumptive pronoun /?e/ which is marked for case. If dislocated, a transitive subject may be freely marked as topic:

?i fanu - ra ?i - ni fena?a - Ø Ø - yau - a - ?a
 DEM man TOP PRO ERG woman NOM 3sg see 3sg IND
 'That man, he saw the woman'

Thus, the ergative pattern of topicalization appears to be relatively superficial; the possibility of left-dislocation permits topicalization of ergative subjects.

4.4.5. The Origin of Ergative Case Marking

Li and Lang (1979) have proposed a passive origin for ergative case marking in Papuan languages:

Ergativity in Enga (and probably in other Papua New Guinea languages) emerged via the pathway of passivization centuries or even millenia ago. (1979: 322).

In some ways, postulating a passive origin is an attractive explanation for the existence of ergative morphology in some Papuan languages. First, a passive to ergative shift has been well documented for some of the better-known language families, for eg., Chung (1978) has discussed this shift in the Polynesian languages. Second, as Li and Lang point out, a passive to ergative shift accounts for some of the characteristics of Papuan languages, eg., the fact that these languages generally lack a synchronic passive construction, and the homophony of ergative and instrumental suffixes in some of these languages (eg., Enga, Tauya).

However, lack of evidence for this proposal appears to make it untenable. In the Polynesian languages, there is synchronic evidence for a passive to ergative reanalysis, such that a continuum of language types exists from Nominative/Accusative (eg. Maori) to mixed Nominative and Ergative (eg. Pukapukan) to Ergative (eg. Tongan). However, there is no synchronic evidence for a passive construction in any of the better-known Papuan languages, and thus the proposal that such a construction existed

historically is pure speculation. Thus, one of the arguments that Li and Lang use to support their proposal, i.e., the lack of a synchronic passive in these languages, can also be interpreted as an argument against this proposal.

In this section, a much simpler and more superficial origin of ergative morphology in Tauya is proposed. That is, it is suggested that the ergative case suffix arose from a reanalysis of the 3sg object pronoun.

The 3sg pronoun in Tauya is /ne/; in nominative case, it occurs phonetically as [ni] due to a raising rule (R20). The ergative case suffix is phonetically [ni]; it is possible that it is also /ne/ in underlying form.

In postulating /ne/ as the underlying form of the ergative suffix, some problems are encountered. Specifically, it must then be proposed that the vowel in this suffix undergoes raising when the environment for this rule is not met. R20 states:

$$\text{R20: } \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [-\text{HI}] \\ [+FR] \end{array} \rightarrow [+HI] / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Pro} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right] \#$$

This rule could be re-written to accommodate the ergative suffix as:

$$\text{R20': } \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [-\text{HI}] \\ [+FR] \end{array} \rightarrow [+HI] / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Pro} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{Erg} \end{array} \right] \#$$

Thus,

/fanu + ne/ → [fanuni]
 man ERG R20'

'the man ERG'

However, the ergative case suffix occurs phonetically as [ni] when the environment for R20' is not met, i.e., when it is followed by non-null suffixes such as Indicative/Unmarked /-ʔa/ and Topic /-ra/:

ya - ni - ʔa
 1sg ERG IND

'It's me'

mei fofe - a - te - ni - ra ...
 here come 3sg DS ERG TOP

'He came here so ...'

However, this difficulty is not crucial. Note, for example, that the 3sg pronoun is also irregularly raised in some cases when it is non-final:

/ne - sou/ → [nisou]
 3sg COM Raising

'with him'

/ne - ʔa/ → [niʔa]
 3sg IND Raising

'(It was) him'

In the reanalysis of the 3sg object pronoun as an ergative suffix, 3 stages of development need be proposed.

At an early stage in the development of Tauya, transitive

verbs do not include object prefixes; objects are indicated by independent NPs. Subject and object NPs are not marked for case, and word order is fairly rigidly SOV:

Transitive S O V

Intransitive S V

Assuming that transitive constructions with 3sg pronominal objects occur with relatively high frequency, a commonly occurring transitive construction would have the form:

S /ne/ V
 3sg

In a later stage of development, the 3sg pronoun indicating object is reanalyzed as a suffix on the preceding NP, the transitive subject, i.e.,

S /ne/ V → S + /ne/ V

This suffix gradually spreads to other transitive subjects. It may, in fact, have also spread to some intransitive subjects; note that, synchronically, intransitive subjects which are semantically actors or experiencers may be marked as ergative. Alternatively, marking of intransitive subjects as ergative may be a fairly recent phenomenon.

Finally, other pronominal object NPs, i.e., those indicating non-3sg objects, are re-analyzed as prefixes on the transitive verb, i.e.,

This origin of the ergative case suffix in Tauya appears to be a viable alternative to the passive-to-ergative reanalysis proposed by Li and Lang. The three stages of development proposed are well-motivated, since all are based upon synchronic evidence (i.e., SOV word order; the homophony of independent and prefixed forms of the personal pronouns; the distribution of the ergative suffix and object prefixes; etc.). Although admittedly a very superficial reanalysis, ergativity in Tauya is, as demonstrated above, a very superficial phenomenon.

4.5. Left-Dislocation

4.5.1. Introduction

Left-dislocations are defined as those elements which occur to the left of S in surface structure and are followed by a resumptive, or anaphoric, pronoun. For example:

?i fena?a ?i - ni wawi ?ati - fe - pa ...
DEM woman PRO ERG old man say TR SS

'That woman, she told the old man ...'

Generally, discussion of left-dislocation in language is restricted to the category NP (see, for example, Rodman 1974). In Tauya, however, lexical nouns, complement clauses, coordinate clauses and some adverbs may all be dislocated. The first two are clearly NPs; however, there is some doubt as to the nominal status of coordinate clauses, and the nominal status of adverbs is even less certain. The availability of these last two categories for left-dislocation may simply reflect fuzziness in the identification of NPs.

Left-dislocation is an extremely common phenomenon in Tauya.

For example:

pofa - ?i ta?u ?one - ?i ∅ - tu - a - na - ?i
ok PRO moon time PRO 3sg give 3sg COMP PRO

" ta?u - ra - ?i nambawan mun o - e - na - ra - ?i
moon TOP PRO (first month) say 1/2 COMP TOP PRO

itasa - ?a "
CIT

'OK, the times of the moon (= months)', she gave them to him, "The moon, the first month I call it itasa"'

?i nono ?i - ni mepi te - pa - ?i otufo - pope - a - o
 DEM child PRO ERG come down get SS PRO work around HAB 3sg ELLIP

'That child, he came down and got them, and always worked the fences around [i.e., starts building a fence around a garden, working right around and back to where he started]'

ate - ?i afo?u - fe - a - na - ?i ne - ta ?^Wisa
 old woman PRO go first TR 3sg COMP PRO 3sg TOP later

mene - a - na - ?i ...
 stay 3sg COMP PRO

'That old woman, he made her go first, he stayed behind ...'

In the examples above, all the underlined constituents are dislocated, as is evident by the presence of resumptive pronouns. These examples are not at all unusual in Tauya texts, and could be multiplied easily many times over.

The morphology and syntax of left-dislocations are discussed in following sections. I suggest that 2 kinds of left-dislocations must be distinguished, which differ in morphology and in function, and perhaps in deep structure. In this analysis, the extreme frequency of left-dislocations in narrative discourse can be explained as a result of the fact that one kind of left-dislocation is used to relay background information.

4.5.2. Morphology

Left dislocations in Tauya have the following form:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{COORD} \\ \text{ADV} \end{array} \right\} \text{PPO (+ CASE)}$$

That is, the dislocated element occurs to the left of S; it is followed by a resumptive pronoun /ʔe/, the distal deictic, which is generally realized phonetically as [ʔi].

The dislocated element may not be marked for case; if it is a NP or a coordinate clause (i.e., a constituent which may bear a case suffix), its case relation to the verb in the matrix clause is marked by a case suffix on the resumptive pronoun.

If the resumptive pronoun includes an overt case suffix, a pause occurs between the dislocated element and this pronoun: if it is not marked for case, it is reduced to a clitic on the dislocated element and, in some cases, may be deleted entirely (cf. 3).

Examples of left-dislocations in Tauya include:

Lexical Noun

ʔi nono ʔi - ni pai aʔate - pa ʔumu - fe - pa ...
DEM child PRO ERG pig hit SS die TR SS

'That child, he killed the pig and he ...'

Tufuma ʔe - na ʔ^weiteimo - ʔa
PRO GEN story IND

'Tuguma, a story from there'

Complement Clause

?i amo foi - a - na ?i - ni ?utine - a - ?a
 DEM tree wet 3sg COMP PRO ERG fall 3sg IND

'That tree was rotten, that's why it fell'

?i fena?a ?ite saniya te - ?afe - a - na ?i - ni
 DEM woman garden work get PROG 3sg COMP PRO ERG

nono Ø - sepame - a - ?a
 child 3sg sick 3sg IND

'The woman doing garden work, her child is sick'

Coordinate Clause

ni mei fofe - a - te ?i - pe yate fitau - e - ?a
 3sg here come 3sg DS PRO BEN go throw 1/2 IND

'He's coming here, that's why I'm going away'

siya ofo - te - a - na siya epi - fe - a - na
 salt pull get 3sg COMP salt put on TR 3sg COMP

Ø - tu - a - te - ?i ...
 3sg give 3sg DS PRO

'She pulled out the salt and put salt on it and gave it to him ...'

Adverb

?e - sami pofa - ?i mene - pa mene - pa ...
 DEM ABL PRO stay SS stay SS

'Then they stayed and stayed ...'

wai - ?i mepi - a - na ...
 again PRO come down 3sg COMP

'Again he came down and ...'

Just as a single S in a clausal conjunction can be dislocated, a single NP in a NP conjunction can be dislocated.

Examples, however, are rare:

?i watamu ?i --sou panei sapiti - sou ?one
 DEM thing PRO COM rat bundle COM time(feast)

?efi - a - na - ra ...
 mumu 3sg COMP TOP

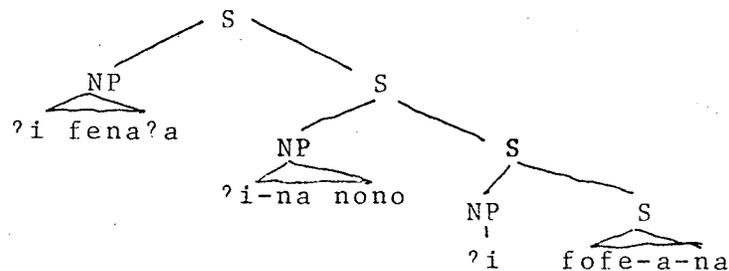
'That thing, he made a feast with it and the bundles of rats and ...'

Left-dislocation is recursive. For example:

?i fena?a ?i - na nono - ?i fofe - a - na ...
 DEM woman PRO GEN child PRO come 3sg COMP

'That woman, her child, he came ...'

The last example above has the following structure:



The fact that NPs, coordinate clauses and adverbs may all be dislocated suggests that this process applies fairly freely in Tauya. However, there are some restrictions on the kinds of constituents which can be dislocated.

Pronouns occur as dislocations only rarely. When they do, they appear to be obligatorily marked as topics:

ne - ta - ?i
3sg TOP PRO

'(as for) him ...'

But,

?* ni - ?i
3sg PRO

Full nouns which are dislocated, however, need not be marked as topics:

?i fanu (- ra) - ?i
DEM man TOP PRO

'(as for) that man ...'

Full nouns in the genitive case occur as left-dislocations more often than not; however, pronouns in the genitive case may not be dislocated. Thus:

?i fanu ?i - na waiyamo
DEM man PRO GEN wife

'that man, his wife'

But,

* ne - ta ?i - pi waiyamo
3sg TOP PRO GEN wife

('him, his wife')

Not all subordinate clauses can be dislocated. Complements occur freely as dislocations: Assertive clauses are dislocated only rarely:

" pofa " o - fe - a - nani - ra - ?i ...
enough say PERF 3sg ASSERT TOP PRO

'"Enough", he said ...'

No examples of dislocated Counter-Factual clauses are attested.

Finally, although some adverbs may occur as dislocations, others may not. This may reflect a reinterpretation of some adverbs as NPs:

wai - ?i mepi - a - na ...
 again PRO come down 3sg COMP
 'Again he came down ...'

But,

* omo - ?i mepi - ?afe - a - na ...
 still PRO come down PROG 3sg COMP
 ('He's still coming down ...')

4.5.3. Syntax

4.5.3.1. Origin of Left-Dislocations

Transformational vs. Non-Transformational Derivation

The syntax of left-dislocations has been the source of some controversy. Ross (1967) has suggested that they are to be derived via a transformational rule from their non-dislocated counterparts. Applied to Tauya, (b), below, would thus be derived from (a):

- (a) ?i nono - na aniyamo
 DEM child GEN mother
 'that child's mother'
- (b) ?i nono ?i - na aniyamo
 PRO GEN
 'that child, his mother'

Rodman (1974), on the other hand, argues that left-dislocations are base-generated in dislocated position. In this analysis, (a) and (b) would have different deep structures.

Ross suggests that left-dislocations in English can be derived by the following transformational rule:

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 X - NP - Y & & \\
 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 & \text{OPTIONAL} \Rightarrow & \\
 2\# \left[\begin{array}{ccc} 1 & 2 & 3 \\ & +\text{PRO} & \end{array} \right] & & (\text{Ross 1967: 232})
 \end{array}$$

That is, NP is moved to the left of S, leaving behind a pronominal copy. Thus:

- (a) I saw that man yesterday
 (b) That man, I saw him yesterday

There is little evidence in favour of this analysis in English; however, Ross (1973; cited in Rodman 1974) provides evidence for a transformational analysis from German. He points out that, in German, dislocated NPs are marked for case, and they must agree in case with their anaphors in the matrix sentence. For example:

sie lobten $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{den} \\ * \text{dem} \end{array} \right\}$ Professor
 'They praised $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the (acc)} \\ * \text{the (dat)} \end{array} \right\}$ professor'
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{den} \\ * \text{dem} \end{array} \right\}$ Professor, sie lobten ihn
 'The professor, they praised him (acc)'

This suggests that dislocated NPs in German have their origin in the matrix sentence and, after case marking, are moved out by a transformational rule.

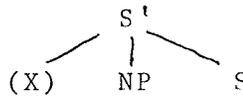
Rodman (1974) provides several arguments in support of a base-generated analysis of left-dislocations. Although admitting that Ross' argument based on case marking in German is convincing, he points out that there are left-dislocations in German (and in other languages) which cannot be transformationally derived, since they have no possible source in the matrix sentence. Rodman provides the following German example:

Der Reifenschaden, John erklärte, dass Nägel auf dem
Boden gelegen hatten

'The flat tire (nom.), John explained that there had been
nails on the road' (p.456)

Here, the dislocated NP has no anaphor and no potential source in the matrix sentence; thus, Rodman suggests that it cannot be transformationally derived. Rodman argues that all left-dislocations in a language are to be derived by a single process (p.447); since some left-dislocations in German and other languages cannot be derived transformationally but must be base-generated, he concludes that all left-dislocations in these languages must be base-generated, as follows:

$S' \rightarrow (X) NP S$



where S' is the 'start symbol' of a phrase-structure
grammar (1974: 450)

('X' represents expressions which may introduce left-dislocations in English, such as 'About ...'; 'Speaking of ...'; etc.). Rodman accounts for case marking of dislocated NPs in German as follows:

It appears that the rule that assigns case to noun phrases in German must be designed to assign the nominative case to the left-dislocation unless that element has an anaphor in the main sentence, in which circumstance it is assigned the same case as its nearest anaphor. (1974: 458)

4.5.3.2. Left-Dislocation in Tauya

With some modification, either Ross' transformational analysis or Rodman's non-transformational analysis can accommodate left-dislocations in Tauya.

In a transformational analysis, all that is required is that the symbol NP in Ross' rule be replaced by {NP,COORD,ADV} (the initial variable of Ross' rule is omitted, since it does not appear to be possible in Tauya to have a constituent intervene between a dislocation and its anaphor):

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{COORD} \\ \text{ADV} \end{array} \right\} - \text{X}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc} 1 & 2 & \text{OPTIONAL} \Rightarrow \\ 1\# \left[\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ +\text{PRO} \end{array} \right. & 2 & \end{array}$$

For example,

wai mei fofe - a - ?a
again here come 3sg IND

⇒ wai - ?i mei fofe - a - ?a
 PRO

'Again he came here'

Rodman's non-transformational analysis can be modified in a similar fashion:

$$S' \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{COORD} \\ \text{ADV} \end{array} \right\} S$$

A (simplified) deep structure of the example presented above is then as follows:



However, closer inspection reveals that the situation in Tauya is actually more complex than is suggested here. Complexities arise from the fact that two kinds of left-dislocations must be distinguished in Tauya, both in terms of function and of surface structure, and quite possibly at the level of deep structure.

5.3.3. Two Kinds of Left-Dislocation

Rodman (1974) regards both of the following as examples of left-dislocations in English, having similar deep structures:

- (a) The beans, George ate most of them (p.439)
- (b) As to noxious odors, our sheepdog farts after eating escargots (p.447)

Note that in (a) the dislocated NP has an anaphor (them) in the main clause, while that in (b) does not. As justification for classifying both as left-dislocations, Rodman points out that in both cases, the dislocated NP acts as the theme of the following S; that is, they are functionally related.

In Tauya, a somewhat similar situation occurs. That is, some left-dislocations are represented in the matrix clause by

resumptive pronouns while others are not. However, the structures in Tauya are not exactly parallel to those in English. In Tauya, both kinds of left-dislocations are followed by resumptive pronouns: they are distinguished, however, by the position of these resumptive pronouns. That is, the resumptive pronoun may be internal to the matrix clause, as in (a), or external to it, as in (b):

- (a) X_i [PRO_i ...]
 (b) $X_i + PRO_i$ [...]

Left-dislocations with the structure represented by (a) will be called transparent left-dislocations; those with the structure represented by (b) will be called opaque left-dislocations.

In following sections, I demonstrate that, in some cases, the difference between (a) and (b) exists only on the surface. Thus, transparent dislocations have surface structure (a), while obligatorily opaque dislocations have surface structure (b). In both cases, however, (a) represents deep structure; both kinds of left-dislocations have similar functions.

However, in other cases, (b) must be assigned as deep structure. These are non-obligatorily opaque dislocations; parallel to a distinction in deep structure, these dislocations have a unique function.

4.5.3.3.1. Transparent Left-Dislocations

Examples of transparent left-dislocations in Tauya include:

?i fanu ?i - na waiyamo ?umu - a - ?a
DEM man PRO GEN wife die 3sg IND

'That man, his wife died'

amo foi - a - na ?i - ni ?utine - a - ?a
tree wet 3sg COMP PRO ERG fall 3sg IND

'The tree was rotten, that's why it fell'

mei fofe - a - te ?i - pe yate fitau - e - ?a
here come 3sg DS PRO BEN go throw 1/2 IND

'He came here, that's why I'm leaving'

Like the English example (a), above, these left-dislocations are represented in the matrix clause by a resumptive pronoun.

Although the dislocated elements themselves may not be marked for case, their anaphors in the matrix clause are so marked. That the case marking on the resumptive pronoun reflects a case interpretation assigned to the dislocated element is demonstrated by the fact that this case marking is constrained by the kinds of case relations that can be assigned to the dislocated element.

That the resumptive pronoun is here within the matrix clause is apparent from the fact that these constructions are characterized by a pause which occurs between the dislocated element and its anaphor, i.e.,

$$X_i \quad [\text{PAUSE}] \quad \text{PRO}_i + \text{CASE} \quad \dots$$

(a) Presupposition

Transparent left-dislocations are presupposed. Thus, while non-dislocated NPs and coordinate clauses can be questioned with

interrogative pronouns, dislocated constituents may not be questioned:

Lexical Noun: we - na nono ?umu - a - e
 who GEN child die 3sg Q
 'Whose child died?'

But, * we ?i - na nono ...
 who PRO GEN child
 ('Who, his child ...')

Complement: na mafi mene - e - na - ?aisami fofe - e - ne
 2sg where stay 1/2 COMP ABL come 1/2 Q
 'You came here from staying where?'
 (= 'Where did you come from?')

But, * na mafi mene - e - na ?i - ?aisami ...
 2sg where stay 1/2 COMP PRO ABL
 ('You stayed where, from there ...')

Coordinate

Clause : we - ni Ø - a?ate - a - te - ni mei - a - e
 who ERG 3sg hit 3sg DS ERG cry 3sg Q
 'Who hit him and so he cried?'

But, * we - ni Ø - a?ate - a - te ?i - ni ...
 who ERG 3sg hit 3sg DS PRO ERG
 ('Who hit him, that's why ...')

(b) Iconicity

The anaphor of a transparent dislocation occurs within the matrix clause. This structure thus iconically reflects the fact that the dislocation has a function defined in terms of ... the matrix clause, i.e., case relation to the verb or genitive relation to a noun.

4.5.3.3.2. Opaque Left-Dislocations

Opaque left-dislocations in Tauya are defined as those which are not represented within the matrix clause by an anaphor. Two kinds of opaque left-dislocations must be distinguished, obligatorily opaque and non-obligatorily opaque. The latter may derive via an iconic reinterpretation of the former.

4.5.3.3.2.1. Obligatorily Opaque Left-Dislocations

Some left-dislocations in Tauya are necessarily opaque. If a resumptive pronoun does not include a case suffix, it is reduced to a clitic on the dislocated element, and is thus external to the matrix clause, i.e.,

$$X_i \left[\text{PRO}_i \dots \right] \rightarrow X_i + \text{PRO}_i \left[\dots \right]$$

That the resumptive pronoun is here external to the matrix clause is apparent from the fact that a pause occurs after this pronoun, i.e.,

$$X_i + \text{PRO}_i \left[\text{PAUSE} \right] \dots$$

Obligatorily opaque left-dislocations arise as follows:

- (a) The nominative case suffix in Tauya is \emptyset . Thus, dislocated complement clauses and lexical nouns which bear a nominative case relation to the verb in the matrix clause are obligatorily opaque. Since the resumptive pronoun has no overt case suffix, it is reduced to a clitic. For example:

(a) Presupposition

Obligatorily opaque left-dislocations are presupposed and thus cannot be questioned. Thus:

Lexical Noun: we ?umu - a - e
 who die 3sg Q
 'Who died?'

But, * we - ?i ?umu - a - e
 who PRO die 3sg Q
 ('Who, he died?')

Complement: wame fitau - fe - e - na - Ø wate tepau - a - e
 what throw PERF 1/2 COMP NOM NEG break 3sg Q
 'What did you throw that didn't break?'

But, * wame fitau - fe - e - na - ?i ...
 what throw PERF 1/2 COMP PRO
 ('What did you throw, it ...')

Coordinate mafi yate - pa Ø - yau - e - ne
 Clause: where go SS 3sg see 1/2 Q
 'Where did you go and you saw him?'

But, * mafi yate - pa - ?i ...
 where go SS PRO
 ('Where did you go, and you ...')

(b) Iconicity

Obligatorily opaque left-dislocations are not iconic in the sense discussed above. That is, they are interpreted as having a function defined in terms of the matrix clause (nominative subject, nominative object, conjunct, modifier) and in underlying structure they are represented by an anaphor within this clause. The effect of the rule reducing an uninflected resumptive pronoun to

a clitic is that iconicity is destroyed, i.e., constituents having a function defined in terms of the matrix clause are not represented within that clause in surface structure.

5.3.2.2. Non-Obligatorily Opaque Left-Dislocations

Non-dislocated NPs in Tauya, i.e., lexical nouns and complement clauses, always include a case suffix, though it may be the phonologically null nominative suffix. Dislocated lexical nouns and complement clauses are also interpreted as bearing a case relation defined in terms of the main clause, although the case suffix is added to the following resumptive pronoun. If this case relation is nominative, they occur as obligatorily opaque left-dislocations.

However, there are many examples in which a NP has the form of an opaque left-dislocation, i.e., it is not represented within the matrix clause by an anaphor, but which cannot be interpreted as bearing a nominative case relation, i.e., it is not interpreted as subject or object. These dislocations are thus analogous to English example (b), 3.1.3. For example:

satepa - ?i tofi?i yau - mene - a - na - ?i
 door PRO below see STAT 3sg COMP PRO

yau - mene - a - te ...
 see STAT 3sg DS

'The door, he watched it below; he watched it and the other ...'

In this example, C_1 is a dislocated complement clause, as is evident by the following resumptive pronoun; however, it does not bear a nominative case relation to C_2 .

In Tauya, this kind of left-dislocation rarely involves a lexical noun, but is encountered very frequently with complement

clauses. The resumptive pronouns following these left-dislocations (henceforth, simply opaque dislocations) may be deleted. Thus, they have the following form:

COMP (+ PRO) [...]

Until now, the resumptive pronoun has been considered as diagnostic of dislocations. Since in the structure described here this pronoun may be deleted, it is necessary to justify the claim that they are, in fact, dislocations.

Dislocated Vs Non-Dislocated Complements

Complement clauses in Tauya can be a pretty messy phenomenon. Not only can they occur dislocated or non-dislocated, but the diagnostic morphological features of dislocation vs. non-dislocation can be deleted.

Non-dislocated complements can be identified morphologically as those complements which include a case suffix (which may be the phonologically null nominative suffix). However, if the case relation of a complement clause is recoverable, either by lexical content or from context, the case suffix may be deleted. Thus:

fanu	ni - pi	ʔumu - a - na - ni	wamasi	mene - a - ʔa
man	3sg CEN	die 3sg COMP ERG	widow	stay 3sg IND
		↓	OPT.	
		∅		

'Her husband died so she's a widow'

to opaque left-dislocations with deleted resumptive pronouns, i.e., those dislocations which bear no case relation to the matrix clause. The task now is to find criteria which distinguish these two constructions.

Fortunately, this task is not difficult. Aside from surface morphology, these two kinds of complements differ both in function and in presuppositional status.

Non-dislocated complements are interpreted as bearing a case relation to the verb in the matrix clause, whether or not a case suffix is overtly present:

fanu ni - pi 'umu - a - na (- ni) wamasi mene - a - 'a
 man 3sg GEN die 3sg COMP ERG widow stay 3sg IND
 'Her husband died so she's a widow'

Opaque dislocations, on the other hand, have no case interpretation, even if a resumptive pronoun is not overtly present:

fomitiya na Bramani yate - e - na (- 'i) apu
 yesterday 2sg go 1/2 COMP PRO now
 'ausi - sa yate - a - 'a
 ADESS go 2sgFut IND

'Yesterday you went to Brahman (and) now you'll go to Kausi'

Of course, some ambiguity arises. If case relation is not recoverable from lexical content, a complement may be ambiguous between a non-dislocated (i.e., case interpretation) reading and a dislocated reading. Thus,

ni mene - a - na ({ - ?ai ADESS }) yate - e - ?a
 3sg stay 3sg COMP { - ?i PRO } go 1/2 IND

If neither the case suffix nor the pronoun occurs on the surface, then this sentence is ambiguous between a non-dislocated reading (i.e., I went to where he stayed) and a dislocated reading (i.e., He stayed (and) I went). Disambiguation must come from context.

Second, non-dislocated complements are not presupposed. Thus, they can be questioned with interrogative pronouns whether or not an overt case suffix is present:

we ?umu - a - na (- ni) wamasi mene - a - e
 who die 3sg COMP ERG widow stay 3sg Q

'Who died such that she's a widow?'

However, opaque dislocated complements, like all other dislocations, are presupposed. They cannot be questioned with interrogative pronouns whether or not a resumptive pronoun is overtly present:

* fomitiya na mafi yate - e - na (?i) apu ?ausi - sa
 yesterday 2sg where go 1/2 COMP now ADESS
 yate - ?a - ne
 go 2sgFut Q

('Where did you go yesterday (and) now you'll go to Kausi?')

Thus, there are clear distinctions between dislocated and non-dislocated complements: any complement clause which (a) bears no case relation to the following clause and (b) cannot be questioned can be identified as an opaque dislocation.

Functions of Opaque Dislocations

The opaque dislocated complements discussed in this section have two major functions.

Their first function is more-or-less automatic. Unlike coordinate clauses, complement clauses are independent in tense and in mood from the following clause. Thus, opaque dislocated complements are used when either the tense or the mood, or both, of C_1 differs from that of C_2 :

ni mei fofe - a - na \emptyset - yau - e - ne
 3sg here come 3sg COMP 3sg see 1/2 Q

'He came here and did you see him?' (C_1 Mood \neq C_2 Mood)

ni mei fofe - a - na \emptyset - yau - a - ?a
 3sg see 2sgFut IND

'He came here and you'll see him' (C_1 Tense \neq C_2 Tense)

In comparison, coordinate clauses obligatorily share the tense of the following clause, and may share its mood (cf.).

Similarly, and again unlike coordinate clauses, complement clauses are not necessarily interpreted as being tense-iconic. They are therefore used when C_1 is interpreted as following C_2 in time. For example:

pate saniya te - amu - na apu ?ini - e - mo - pe
 tomorrow work get lsgFut COMP now sleep 1/2 NOM BEN
 ?ai - e - ?a
 do 1/2 IND

'Tomorrow I'll work (and) now I want to sleep'

The second function of these dislocated complements is that they are used to relay background information, i.e., events which set the stage for more crucial parts of the discourse:

That part of discourse which does not immediately and crucially contribute to the speaker's goal, but which merely assists, amplifies, or comments on it, is referred to as background. By contrast, the material which supplies the main points of the discourse is known as foreground. (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 280)

Hopper and Thompson (1980: 281) suggest two major characteristics of background clauses. First, there is the kind of information which they impart, i.e., information which is not crucial to the structure of the discourse. Second, background clauses are not tense-iconic.

That Tauya dislocated complements are characterized by absence of tense-iconicity has already been demonstrated; there is also evidence that the information which they contain sets the stage for the narrative, rather than contributing crucially to it.

Most Tauya texts include an initial introduction to characters and setting; generally, these introductions include dislocated complement clauses:

nono nonai ?ini - pe - i - na ?ini - pe - i - na
 child pre-initiate sleep HAB 3pl COMP sleep HAB 3pl COMP
 ?ini - pe - i - na ?ite topu - pa ni - pa saniya
 sleep HAB 3pl COMP garden plant SS eat SS work
 te - pa ?ufiya ?aufu topu - pa
 get SS sweet potato betelnut plant SS
 ?ini - pe - i - na - ra ...
 sleep HAB 3pl COMP TOP

'The uninitiated boys lived and lived and lived; they planted gardens and ate and worked and planted sweet potatoes and betelnut and they lived ...'

This example includes 4 verbs which are marked as SS coordinate, with suffix /-pa/. Note, however, that the coordinate clauses here are part of the dislocated element:

...[[?ite topu-pa] [ni-pa] [saniya te-pa] [?ufiya ?aufu topu-pa] mene - pe - i - na - ra] ...

awi wamu ?ini - mene - pope - i - na pofa ?ite
 2 sibling sleep STAT HAB 3pl COMP garden
 topu - pa ni - pa mene - pe - i - na mene - pe - i - na
 plant SS eat SS stay HAB 3pl COMP stay HAB 3pl COMP
 pofa ?ite nini - pi ?^wei - a - te - o
 garden 3pl GEN gone 3sg DS ELLIP

'Two siblings lived; they planted gardens and ate and stayed and stayed, then their gardens were finished [i.e., no longer producing] ...'

In this example, dislocated complement clauses set the stage for the narrative. The final clause is a coordinate clause; it relays foreground information, since the event represents a pivotal point in the life of the characters.

Another kind of background information frequently encountered in Tauya texts is repetitions. It should be noted that not all instances of repeated clauses can be considered background; for example, a clause can be repeated to signal long duration. However, in many cases a clause is repeated with no apparent functional correlate. Frequently, either the first or second token is in the form of a dislocated complement:

te - pa omai-omai - fu - a - na - ?i omai-omai - fu - a - te
get SS climbREDUP TRpl 3sg COMP PRO climbREDUP TRpl 3sg DS

mene - pa ...
stay SS

'He got them and made them climb; he made them climb and they ...'

ate sa?ama ?afa ?ini - tei - pe - a - o
old woman only INDEF sleep ITER HAB 3sg ELLIP

?ini - tei - pe - a - na - ?i ...
sleep ITER HAB 3sg COMP PRO

'Only an old woman lived. She lived and ...'

Third, clauses which include a verb of speech or perception frequently occur as dislocated complements. This is somewhat unexpected in the case of verbs of speech, since the direct quotes which form their sentential complements must often be characterized as foreground information.

" ?i ?ai - pa ?i ?ai - pa te - pa omai-omai - fu - a - e"
 DEM do SS DEM do SS get SS climbREDUP TRpl 2sgFut IMF

o - pa ?ati fei - fe - a - na - ?i te - pa
say SS say 3sg TR 3sg COMP PRO get SS

omai-omai - fu - a - na - ?i ...
climbREDUP TRpl 3sg COMP PRO

'"Like that, like that, get them and make them climb", she told him; he got them and made them climb ...'

" panei - ra wame ti - fe - pa mepi - e - ne "
 rat TOP what do TR SS come down 1/2 Q

o - a - na - ?i " ?e?e pofa ?i sa?ama ?i ti - a - ?a "
 say 3sg COMP PRO oh DEM little DEM do 3sg IND

o - a - na - ?i " wesa - ra wame ti - fe - e - ne "
 say 3sg COMP PRO some TOP what do TR 1/2 Q

o - a - na - ?i ...
 say 3sg COMP PRO

'"What did you do with the rats and you came down?", she said; "Oh, that little bit is there", he said; "What did you do with the others?", she said ...'

The use of dislocated complements for clauses containing verbs of perception is somewhat more easily explained. A disproportionately large number of dislocated complements in available texts include the verb root /yau-/ V.Tr. 'see': in these cases, the clause of perception acts much like an introduction to the event that follows. For example:

fofe yau - i - na - ra tawane amu-amufo arei amu-amufo
 come see 3pl COMP TOP largeREDUP largeREDUP

emane amu-amufo poru - pa fitau - a - na - Ø nofona
 largeREDUP pull SS throw 3sg COMP NOM only

mene - a - te ...
 stay 3sg DS

'They came and looked; only the large tawane trees and the large arei trees and the large emane trees that he pulled out and threw were there ...'

?i wawiya - ra nunume - a - te ?e - sami yau - fe - i - na - ra
 DEM mango TOP ripe 3sg DS DEM ABL see PERF 3pl COMP T

mopamo ni - pi - sou ai ni - pi - sou - ?i
 younger sibling 3sg GEN COM older sibling 3sg GEN COM PRO

fofe - i - no
 come 3pl SBJNCT

'That mango was ripe, then, they saw it; [the younger brother and the older brother], came ...'

Finally, there are, of course, a number of dislocated complement clauses which do not fall into any of the three categories of background information described above. However, context generally suggests that the events which they relay do constitute background material. Some examples include:

fofe fofe fofe ?atou - ti - i - na ni?iti - ?ai
 come come come arrive PERF 3pl COMP root ADESS

wesi-wesi tei poru - ti - pa ...
 grassREDUP catch pull PERF SS

'They came, came, came and arrived; at the root of the tree he pulled out a lot of grass and he ...'

ni?i-ni?ime - a - na - ra wai isai fitau - a - o
 handREDUP 3sg COMP TOP again spear throw 3sg ELLIP

'He threw out his hands and again he threw the spear'

yate - pa yate - pa yate - i - na - ra - ?i
 go SS go SS go 3pl COMP TOP PRO

?e - sa yau eti ?e - sa wetewete mo?otu
 DEM LOC fish DEM LOC thing many

nen - yau - pa ...
 3pl see SS

'They went and went and went; there, an eti fish, what else, there they saw many things and they ...'

Iconicity

These opaque left-dislocations may well derive from a reinterpretation of the structure of obligatorily opaque left-dislocations discussed in 3.1.3.2.1. Recall that the latter are non-iconic, i.e., even though the dislocated element has a function defined in terms of the matrix clause, it is not represented within that clause by an anaphor:

COMP + PRO [...]

The use of this construction for background clauses may arise from an iconic reinterpretation of its structure. That is, the fact that the dislocated clause is not represented in the matrix clause is iconically interpreted as signalling that the dislocation is peripheral, or background, to the matrix.

4.5.3.4. Derivation of Left-Dislocations in Tauya

In previous sections, three kinds of left-dislocations were described: transparent dislocations, opaque dislocations, and obligatorily opaque dislocations. In this section, it is proposed that two deep structures must be proposed to account for Tauya left-dislocations. Transparent dislocations and obligatorily opaque dislocations are derived from their non-dislocated counterparts via a transformational rule, as suggested by Ross (1967); their differences in surface structure result from a low-level rule which may reduce the resumptive pronoun to a clitic. Opaque left-dislocations, on the other hand, are base-generated, as suggested by Rodman (1974).

4.5.3.4.1. Transformationally Derived Left-Dislocations

Ross' argument for a transformational derivation of left-dislocation based upon case-marking in German (cf. 3.1.1.) has a direct bearing upon the situation in Tauya. In Tauya, left-dislocations are not marked for case; rather, case is marked on the resumptive pronoun, i.e.,

Non-Dislocated: X (+ CASE)
 Dislocated: X PRO (+ CASE) ,

where X represents any dislocated element (NP, Coordinate clause or adverb). For example:

?i fanu - na waiyamo
 DEM man GEN wife 'that man's wife'
 ?i fanu ?i - na waiyamo
 PRO 'that man, his wife'

However, just as a grammar of German must allow for identical case marking on a dislocated NP and its anaphor, a grammar of Tauya must allow for the fact that the case suffix on the resumptive pronoun indicates the case relation of the dislocated constituent to the matrix clause. That this is true can be demonstrated as follows: in Tauya, lexical nouns and complement clauses may occur with any case suffix. If these constituents occur as dislocations, the following resumptive pronoun may be marked with any case suffix. For example:

?i ?ite ?i - ?ai mai - e - ?a
 DEM garden PRO ADESS come up 1/2 IND
 'The garden, I came up to it'

?i nono ?i - ni ya - tu - a - ?a
 DEM child PRO ERG 1sg give 3sg IND
 'That child, he gave (it) to me'

ni mene - i - na ?i - ?aisami mepi - ene - ?a
 3pl stay 3pl COMP PRO ABL come down 1/2pl IND
 'Where they stayed, we came down from there'

aniyamo ni - pi ?umu - a - na ?i - pe mei - a - ?a
 mother 3sg GEN die 3sg COMP PRO BEN cry 3sg IND
 'His mother died, that's why he cried'

?i fena?a ?ite saniya te - ?afe - a - na ?i - na
 DEM woman garden work get PROG 3sg COMP PRO GEN
 nono Ø - sepame - a - ?a
 child 3sg sick 3sg IND
 'The woman doing garden work, her child is sick'

However, both coordinate clauses and adverbs are restricted in their potential for case marking. Coordinate clauses may be marked only for the ergative and benefactive cases; if a coordinate clause is dislocated, the following resumptive pronoun may be only marked as ergative or benefactive:

ni mei fofe - a - te ?i - pe yate fitau - e - ?a
 3sg here come 3sg DS PRO BEN go throw 1/2 IND

'He's coming here, that's why I'm leaving'

?i nono pomu - pa ?i - ni mei - a - ?a
 DEM child fall SS PRO ERG cry 3sg IND

'That child fell, that's why he cried'

Resumptive pronouns following coordinate clauses may not occur with any other case suffixes:

* ni mene - a - te ?i - ?aisami ...
 3sg stay 3sg DS PRO ABL

('He stayed, from there ...')

* ?i fena?a saniya te - a - te ?i - na nono ...
 DEM woman work get 3sg DS PRO GEN child

('That woman worked, her child ...')

Adverbs in Tauya are not marked for case. Although they may occur as dislocations, the following resumptive pronouns may not include a case suffix:

wai - ?i (- { *pe BEN
 again PRO { *ni ERG
 { *?ai ADESS
 etc. }) fofe - a - ?a
 come 3sg IND

'Again he came'

Note that restrictions on case marking of resumptive pronouns can easily be accounted for in a transformational analysis. That is, case marking restrictions apply to non-dislocated constituents; a transformational analysis will ensure that, after a constituent is dislocated, the restrictions on case marking will continue to apply to its pronominal trace. All that is required is a slight modification of the transformational rule proposed above (3.1.2) as follows:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \quad +\text{CASE} \\ \text{COORD} \quad (+\text{CASE}) \\ \text{ADV} \end{array} \right\} - \text{X}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc} 1 & 2 & 3 \end{array} \quad \text{OPTIONAL} \Rightarrow$$

$$1 \# [1 \quad 2 \quad 3]$$

$$\quad \quad \quad +\text{PRO}$$

This can be followed by a rule which cliticizes PRO to the dislocated element when CASE has no overt realization, which then accomodates the obligatorily opaque dislocations.

Turning to a non-transformational, base-generated analysis, it is readily apparent that any modification made to account for case marking will necessarily be very complex. That is, the dislocated element would be generated external to the matrix clause and unmarked for case; it must nonetheless somehow be assigned a case interpretation, defined in terms of the matrix clause, and this interpretation must then be realized as a case

suffix on the resumptive pronoun. Note that the reverse is not possible. That is, although matters would be greatly simplified if the resumptive pronoun is first marked for case and the dislocated element is then interpreted as bearing this case relation, this cannot be done. The resumptive pronoun has the potential to occur with any case suffix; the case suffix which is actually present, however, is constrained by the kind of constituent which is dislocated.

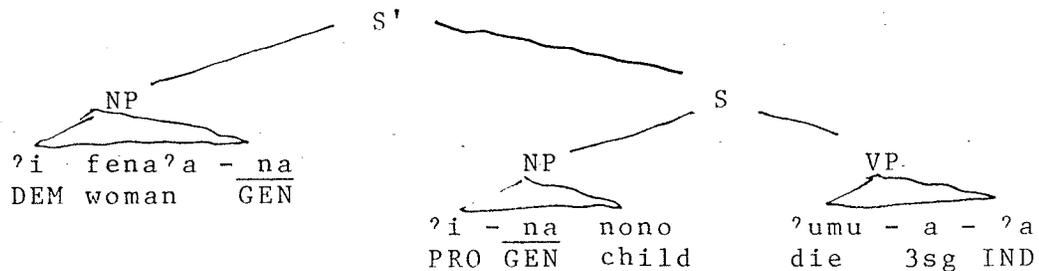
Thus, case marking of resumptive pronouns in Tauya suggests that some left-dislocations, i.e., transparent dislocations and obligatorily opaque dislocations, cannot have a non-transformational origin. However, before completely abandoning a non-transformational analysis, a modification of it can be considered.

It is possible to propose that, in deep structure, both the dislocated element and its pronominal anaphor are marked for case. The normal constraints on case marking could apply to the dislocation (i.e., coordinate clauses, if marked for case, may only be ergative or benefactive; adverbs are not marked for case); a rule could be devised to ensure that the dislocated element and its anaphor have the same case suffix, if a suffix is present at all. For example:

?i fena?a ?i - na nono ?umu - a - ?a
 DEM woman PRO GEN child die 3sg IND

'That woman, her child died' ,

would have a deep structure like:



A low-level rule could then delete the case suffix on the dislocation. This alternative permits base-generation of left-dislocations, and solves the problem created by case-marking, ensuring that a resumptive pronoun is only marked for those case relations which are compatible with the dislocated constituent.

However, this analysis is not possible in Tauya; evidence is as follows: in Tauya, the only constituents internal to the matrix clause that permit deletion of case suffixes are complement clauses. If the case relation of a complement is recoverable, the case suffix may be deleted:

Mom - sa mene - e - na (- ?aisami) mei fofe - e - ?a
 ADESS stay 1/2 COMP ABL here come 1/2 IND

'I came here from staying in Mom'

The topic suffix in Tauya is mutually exclusive with all non-null case suffixes (cf.); this mutual exclusivity is maintained even after deletion of a case suffix:

Mom - sa mene - e - na (- ?aisami) (* - ra) mei fofe - e - ?a
 TOP

Dislocations, however, can freely be marked as topics. Thus:

?i fanu - ra ?i - na waiyamo
DEM man TOP PRO GEN wife

'that man, his wife'

ni mene - a - na - ra ?i - ?aisami ...
3sg stay 3sg COMP TOP PRO ABL

'Where he stayed, from there ...'

?i wawi - ra - ?i momune - a - ?a
DEM old man TOP PRO sit 3sg IND

'That old man, he sat'

The fact that dislocations can be marked as topics suggests that they are not marked for case in deep structure. Again, a non-transformational analysis of transparent and obligatorily opaque left-dislocations must be rejected.

Before turning to opaque dislocations, however, it must be pointed out that there is some evidence against the transformational analysis proposed here. Consider the following examples:

na - nasi - piya ?i - pe - ?a
2sg RESTR INTEN PRO BEN IND

'You stay completely alone, that's why'

?^wai ya - ?ofe - a - na ?i - ni - ?a
lazy 1sg feel 3sg COMP PRO ERG IND

'I'm lazy, that's why'

Bramani mene - e - na ?i - ?aisami - ?a
stay 1/2 COMP PRO ABL IND

'I stayed in Brahman, from there'

wate fu - ?e - na ?i - pene - e
 house burn 3sgFut COMP PRO IMMED.RESP. EXCLAM

'The house will burn, that's why!'

These sentences are all examples of transparent left-dislocations, as is evident by the presence of a resumptive pronoun which is marked for case. However, here a transformational analysis appears to be impossible, since there are no matrix clauses in which the dislocations could be generated.

However, the first three examples represent sentence fragments. Thus, in elicitation, they are accepted as grammatical by informants only if a context is provided. For example:

mei - ?afe - a - na ?i - pe - ?a
 cry PROG 3sg COMP PRO BEN IND

'(Why did she run to that child?) He's crying, that's why'

Note that these constructions all have non-dislocated counterparts which are also interpreted as sentence fragments:

mei - ?afe - a - na - pe - ?a
 cry PROG 3sg COMP BEN IND

'Because he's crying'

In both cases, even though a matrix clause is not present, one is implied.

The last example above is a typical threat construction. The resumptive pronoun is marked with the suffix /-pene/, which indicates that what follows is an immediate response to the complement. Thus, a better gloss than the one provided above is The house will burn, then watch out! (this was said to a child

holding a lighted match to a grass roof). Again, although no matrix clause is overtly present, one is implied.

4.5.3.4.2. Base-Generated Left-Dislocations

In this section, it is suggested that opaque left-dislocations, i.e., those providing background information, cannot be derived by transformational rule and therefore must be base-generated.

Rodman (1974) presents examples of dislocated NPs in English and other languages which, he says, cannot be derived by a transformational rule since they have no possible source in the matrix sentence. His examples include the following:

(Funny about) Les' outrageous appearance, we wondered whether he could possibly be a CIA agent (p.446)

Speaking of horses, have you seen Dick's big roan?

Rodman argues that these and similar left-dislocations must be base generated.

A similar argument applies to Tauya opaque dislocations. These dislocations have no function defined in terms of the matrix clause, i.e., they bear no case relation to its verb, and thus have no possible source in it. For example:

fomitiya	Bundi	-	sami	mepi	-	a	-	na	-	?i	pate
yesterday			ABL	come down	3sg	COMP		PRO		tomorrow	
si	awi	Mandani	yate	-	?anene	-	?a				
lpl	two		go		lplFut		IND				

'Yesterday he came down from Bundi (and) tomorrow the two of us will go to Madang'

In this example, no case interpretation can be assigned to the dislocated clause. Following Rodman, the fact that this clause

has no apparent main clause source indicates that it must be base-generated in dislocated position.

There is additional evidence that these dislocations are base-generated in Tauya. Consider the following examples:

youse nutumo topi - te - pa ate ?^watifo
tapiok end cut get SS old woman friend

yate Ø - tu - a - te yau - a - na - ?a
go 3sg give 3sg DS see 3sg COMP IND

'She cut off the end of the tapiok and gave it to the old woman, her friend; the latter looked at it'

a?ifo mu - ?ai fu - a - na - ?a
eye(3sg) DEM ADESS glance 3sg COMP IND

'He glanced at this'

apu - ma - ra ate afe sini - pi
now ? TOP old woman mother 1pl GEN

sotou - fe - ene - na - ?i - ?a
bury TR 1/2pl COMP PRO IND

'We just buried the old woman, our mother'

These sentences are examples of opaque left-dislocations occurring in final position. Note that the last example includes a resumptive pronoun, and can thus be identified as a dislocation on morphological grounds. Further, these and similar sentences provide background information. Thus for example, just like non-final opaque dislocations, many such examples include the verb root /yau-/, 'see', and in context they appear to introduce the following event. For example, the textual context in which the first example occurs goes on to note that the 'tapiok end' is actually a human finger. (Note also 'glance' in the second example).

Final opaque dislocations occur very frequently in texts. In elicitation, they are judged grammatical whether or not a context is supplied. For example:

mai - a - na - ?a
come up 3sg COMP IND

'She's coming up'

Bramani yate - e - na - ?a
go 1/2 COMP IND

'I went to Brahman'

These examples appear to be interpreted much like inconsequential clauses (cf.). Thus, Pidgin translations provided by informants frequently include the morpheme tasol 'just, only' (eg., Mi go long Braman tasol 'I just went to Brahman').

Final opaque dislocations are very often used as exclamations, as in the first example below. Dislocated exclamations alternate with regular exclamations, illustrated by the second example:

pomu - a - na ?i - e
fall 3sg COMP PRO EXCLAM

'He fell!'

pomu - a - ?a - e
fall 3sg IND EXCLAM

'He fell!'

The difference between these two forms is pragmatic. The first example is used when both speaker and hearer witness the event, such that it is presupposed; the second example is used when the hearer is not a witness to the event, and the speaker is

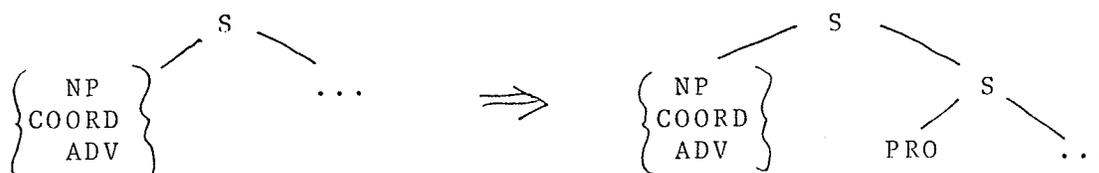
calling it to his attention.

In all these cases, there is no evidence that final opaque dislocations are interpreted as sentence fragments. That is, there is no evidence that a matrix clause is implied; this suggests that opaque left-dislocations cannot be transformationally derived, but must be base-generated.

4.5.3.5. Summary - Derivation of Left-Dislocations in Tauya

Two kinds of left-dislocation must be distinguished in Tauya.

Transparent left-dislocations and obligatorily opaque left-dislocations are transformationally derived, i.e.,



Transparent left-dislocations have the iconic surface structure:

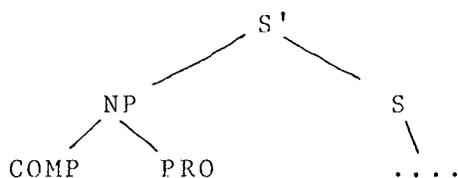
$$X_i \left[\text{PRO}_i + \text{CASE} \dots \right]$$

This structure is iconic since it reflects the fact that the dislocated element has a function defined in terms of the matrix clause. Obligatorily opaque dislocations, due to a low-level rule of cliticization, have the surface structure:

$$X_i + \text{PRO}_i \left[\dots \right]$$

This structure is non-iconic, since the fact that the dislocated element has a function defined in terms of the matrix clause is not reflected in surface structure.

Non-obligatorily opaque left-dislocations, on the other hand, are base-generated:



The surface structure here is iconic, i.e.,

$COMP_i + PRO_i$ [...]

reflects the fact that the dislocated complement clause has no function defined in terms of the matrix clause, and is thus not represented in it. These left-dislocations may have arisen as an iconic reinterpretation of the (non-iconic) surface structure of obligatorily opaque left-dislocations.

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