### THE MADAK VERB PHRASE

## Robert Lee, Summer Institute of Linguistics

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### 0. Introduction

The Madak language is an Austronesian language located in the central part of the New Ireland Province of Papua New Guinea. More than 2600 people speak this language which consists of five separate dialects. Research for this paper was carried out in the Malom dialect from 1976 through 1988.

#### 1. Verb Phrase Position and Structure

### 1.1 Position of the Verb Phrase in Madak Sentences

Madak is a Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) language with fairly rigid word order. The verb phrase occurs between the subject and the object. In the following example 'boys' is the subject, 'they were spearing' is the verb, and 'that pig' is the object.

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(1) [la-xa-mdak] [di-ga-ra-soso] [nom lo-bo]
nm-pl-boy they-rpst-psp-spear that nm-pig
'The boys were spearing that pig.'

In clauses without an object the verb phrase still follows the subject.

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(2) [li-mixin axap] [di-ga-unga]
nm-people all they-rpst-sleep
'All the people were sleeping.'

Although SVO is the normal word order there are two exceptions, object fronting and subject demotion. Object fronting is more common than subject demotion and it occurs when the object is in focus. In example (3) the brother, who is the object of the killing, has been brought into focus by fronting. Note that the third singular object pronoun marker, *i*, has replaced the fronted object. Object pronoun markers do not occur when there is a noun as the object. See example (4). Example (5), with both a noun as an object and an object person and number marker, is not possible.

- (3) neton le-eme Livingko di-ga-sep i his:brother nm-men Livingko they-rpst-strike him 'His brother the Livingko men killed him.'
- (4) la-va-kin di-ga-p-kip len-pas boro ka-tamang nm-pl-woman they-rpst-cn-carry nm:pl-taro from place:of-garden 'The women carried taro from the gardens.'
- (5) \*ma-ven di la-xa-mdak to la-xairing we:ex-see them nm-pl-boy in nm-bush 'We saw them the boys in the bush.'

Embedding is common in Madak. A clause may be substituted for any noun phrase (6). Also the fronting of objects occurs in these constructions. In the example (7) the bench is part of the first clause while also a part of the second clause.

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- (6) nedi nom di-t-kis at lo-ra di-ga-rupot galatno they that they-cn-sit on nm-bench they-rpst-arrive 2:days:ago 'The ones sitting on the bench arrived two days ago.'
- (7) di-t-kis at lo-ra ne-nia a-ga-gugu i they-cn-sit on nm-bench nn-I I-rpst-work it 'The are sitting on the bench that I made.'

Subject demotion is rare but occurs when the verb comes into focus. The first example (8) takes place when the main character of a discourse dies. This is a technique in a text for removing someone from a prominent position of a discourse to a less active role and in this case, he is not mentioned again in the narrative.

(8) ga-ra-met nom ne Solarala rpst-psp-die that nn Solarala 'He died that one Solarala.'

Another example of subject demotion is the following where a pronouncement is made upon some words that were spoken by someone other than the speaker or hearer. The pronouncement is in focus here, not the subject.

(9) i lok avukat la-vapase ren it do good nm-talk his 'It was good his talk.'

### 1.2 Verb Phrase Structure

There are four distinct parts to the Madak verb phrase. These include grammatical markers, the main verb, modifiers, and relative time markers. Their relative positions can be shown with the following diagram:

1) grammatical	2) <u>main</u>	3) modifiers	4) <u>relative</u>
markers	verb		time mkrs

### Action:

(18) la-xalik di-susu to la-ras nm-children they-bathe in nm-ocean 'The children are bathing in the ocean.'

### State:

(19) lo-gu rak i-lolos aleng nm-house my it-strong very 'My house is very strong.'

### 1.2.3 Modifiers

The third part of the verb phrase is the modification part. These modifiers follow the main verb. This group is composed of verbs, nouns, adverbs, and semi-verbs.

### Verb: serialization

(20) di-ga-t-kis mamana they-rpst-cn-sit be:level 'They were sitting resting.'

# Nouns: noun incorporation

(21) la-tlok tarak i-a-sisiliu ado nm-husband my he-prp-hunt possum 'My husband is possum-hunting.'

### Adverb:

(22) nemen mi-ta-t-kis pilo
don't you:pl-neg-cn-sit quietly
'Don't sit quietly (and not say anything).'

#### Semi-verb:

(23) di-ba-lok kaka len-mani atdi melemu they-rfut-do get nm:pl-money their later 'They will get their money later.'

#### 1.2.4 Relative Time Markers

The fourth part of the verb phrase is the relative time markers. These relative time markers establish the final boundary of the verb phrase. Their function is to give the VP a time setting relative to the clauses surrounding it. In the following example the relative markers put the first clause as prior to the second. It is a '...first, then...' relationship.

(24) le-eme Lasixi di-ba-gagas be la ma-ba-rupot ba nm-man Lasixi they-rfut-prepare first and we:ex-rfut-come then 'The Lasixi men will first prepare and then we will come.'

### 2. Verb Phrase Grammatical Functions

#### 2.1 Person and Number Markers

Each verb phrase in Madak is headed by a person marker (25). The only exception is that the third singular when followed by a tense marker drops out (26). For a listing of Madak person and number markers as well as pronouns, see Appendix A.

- (25) la-xa-mdak di-ga-nemen to Livintavixa nm-pl-boy they-rpst-live at Livintavixa 'The boys lived at Livintavixa.'
- (26) Tevene ga-mlong galatno

  Tevene rpst-return day:before:yesterday

  'Tevene returned the day before yesterday.'

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### 2.2 Negation

Negation, for the most part, occurs in the verb phrase. There are some aspects of it that occur outside. In order to be consistent I have included a complete study of the negative here.

### 2.2.1 Basic Form of the Negative

The basic form of the negative in Madak is kopmen - 'no'. It is used, first of all as a negative response to a question as in the following example. Although it appears as a free form it is actually an ellipsis of an entire statement.

(27) u-vot pasa vam ne Eliuda? kopmen you:sg-go to cpl nn Eliuda no 'Did you go and see Eliuda?' 'No.'

This form is also used as a verb meaning 'there was no...' in the past and 'there is no...' in the present. There have been no examples of this found as a future.

- (28) kopmen ta la-xalik e
  neg now nm-children there
  'There are no children there now.'
- (29) goxopmen li-mixin me-de rpst:neg nm-people from-here 'There were no people from here.'

# 2.2.2 Habitual Negative

The habitual negative not only negates the verb phrase but has the extended meaning that this has never happened and could never happen (in regard to an action) and has a permanency about it (in regard to a state). The markers used for this include the basic negative form *kopmen* plus the near future marker *na*. The basic form appears outside and prior to the verb phrase while the verb phrase is exactly the same as if tensed for the near future.

(30) ne-ni kopmen na-gugu nn-he neg ifut-work 'He never works.' (31) lo-gu ren kopmen na-silok nm-house his neg ifut-big 'His house is not big.'

## 2.2.3 Common Negation

Common negation markers occur as a juxtaposed tense marker and xo, an abbreviated form of the basic negative. Thus the past tense negative marker is ga + xo = goxo. The yesterday past tense negative marker is ta + xo = toxo and the future tense negative is na + xo = noxo. The abbreviated form is also the near past negative marker.

### Past:

(32) di-goxo-rupot soso they-rpst:neg-come quickly "They didn't come quickly."

## Yesterday Past:

(33) di-toxo-vas u to-nak Kantubu they-ypst:neg-walk mm to-east Kantubu 'They didn't go to Kantubu (yesterday).'

#### Near Past:

(34) na len-bi i-xo so avukat this nm:pl-greens it-neg taste good 'These greens did not taste good.'

#### Future:

(35) di-noxo-minu bok ba they-ifut:neg-thirsty also then 'They will not be thirsty again.'

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### 2.2.4 Double Negatives

The basic negative form, kopmen, may occur with a negated tense marker in the same clause. The basic form occurs outside of the verb phrase and the negated tense marker occurs inside. The function of the double negative is to deny a positive presupposition on the addressee's part. The addressee may believe that something is true or will be true. The speaker, in order to deny this, must use the basic form of the negative as well as the negated tense marker. In the following example the villagers believe that their village is doing well and will do well in the future but their leader speaks to the contrary.

(36) le-menemen atnedik kopmen noxo-lok nunuan solo nm-village our:inc neg ifut:neg-do good very 'Our village will not do very well (contrary to what you expect).'

Example (37) is from a myth where some young men are eating some food and contrary to expectation, the food does not taste good.

(37) ne-du du-ga-ra-anan i la kopmen goxo-so avukat nn-they:2 they:2-rpst-psp-eat it and neg pst:neg-taste good 'They were eating it and it didn't taste (as) good (as usual).'

# 2.2.5 Constituent Negation

Constituent negation takes place when a noun with the remote noun marker occurs following the basic negative marker, kopmen.

(38) kopmen ti-sim goxo-kas ka i neg nm-canoe rpst:neg-carry get her 'There was not a canoe to take her.'

This example (38) differs from the contrary to expectation negatives in that here the negative form occurs before the noun and in the contrary to expectation examples the negative occurs after the noun.

(39) kopmen tan-meres i rupot at lo-roro rak neg nm-illness it come to nm-life my 'No illness has come into my life.'

### 2.2.6 Negation in Imperative and Modality

The negative marker for both negative imperative and negative modality is ta. The negative imperative is considerably different from the affirmative. (See section 2.3.2 for examples of the positive imperative.)

The first item of the negative imperative is one of two unmarked verbs, either *nemen* - 'remain' or *keke* - 'leave alone.' Occurring secondly is the person and number marker and thirdly is the negative marker ta.

- (40) nemen u-ta-marat remain you:sg-neg-be:afraid 'Don't be afraid.'
- (41) keke mi-ta-t-kis gamasa leave:alone you:pl-neg-cn-sit purposelessly 'Don't sit there doing nothing.'

Also possibilities are first person negative imperatives.

(42) nemen dik-ta-gugu de remain we:inc-neg-work here 'Let's not work here.'

The modality marker gi is followed by ta to make the negative modality with the meaning might not.

(43) nom la-tkin do ne-ni gi ta-ba pukus lo-roro ren that nm-woman there nn-she md neg-turn change nm-life her 'That woman there she might not change her life.'

# 2.2.7 Scope of Negation

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The negation markers in Madak negate only the clause that they occur in. If two clauses in sequence are both negated then both need full negation markers. Note the following two examples.

(44) do di-mlong u-kolonu kopmen di-na-doxoma silok lotu when they-return mm-home neg they-ifut-think big church

la kopmen bok di-na-doxoma lu-vut-temen-di and neg also they-ifut-think nm-pl-father-their

'When they return home they don't think much about church' 'and they don't think about their fathers.'

(45) at mo le-ven-mares di-goxo-gugu avukat in that nm-pl-year they-rpst:neg-work good

la di-goxo-nemen avukat and they-rpst:neg-remain good

'In those years they did not work well and they did' 'not live well.'

#### 2.3 Tense

In Madak only the past and the future tenses are defined. The point of reference or the time axis occurs at that point at which the past ends and the future follows. This could be called the present tense, although there are no overt markers for the present in Madak. An event covering the time axis would be marked as near past progressive. (See 2.4.1 below.) The following chart shows a time line with the time axis and the various past and future distinctions, remote past (rpst), yesterday past (ypst), near past (npst), immediate future (ifut), remote future (rfut), and certain future (cfut).

Time	Span					
Time	T inc					rfut/cfut-
·11me Line	time axis					

#### 2.3.1 Past Tense

The past has three distinctions beginning with the near past which includes the time from when a person awakens in the morning until the time axis. This is unmarked and also covers the habitual. Evidently the Madaks view habitual as being true in the past but only up until the time axis.

### Near Past:

- (46) Pani i-vot pam.
  Pani he-come cpl
  'Pani has already come.'
- (47) la-va-kin di-gugu la-ramang tarak maxantamak nm-pl-woman they-work nm-garden my morning 'The women worked my garden this morning.'

### Habitual:

(48) la-madak teren i-k-meres amisik nm-boy his he-cn-sick always 'His son is always sick.'

The yesterday past tense covers the entire day previous to the day in which the time axis occurs. Any event that occurs during the night is taken as yesterday past as long as those involved sleep after the event takes place. The remote past covers any event from the day before the yesterday past, whether it be two days before or into infinity.

# Yesterday past:

(49) di-ta-mlong itinongo nm-ypst-return yesterday 'They returned yesterday.'

In the previous example the lexical item 'yesterday' is included. This is very common if the context is not known. However, if the event is known to have

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happened the day before then the 'yesterday' is not included. Thus, the question, 'Where did you go yesterday?', elicited the response in example (50).

(50) ne-ma lo-xotemen ma-ta-urut to-xun Lelet nn-we:ex nm-family we:ex-ypst-go:up to-south Lelet 'Our family went up to Lelet.'

#### Remote Past:

- (51) *li-mixin di-ga-un ka i at la-mares kavaxap* nm-people they-rpst-buy get him in nm-year last "The people bought it last year."
- (52) gano ma-ga-anan mene le-vem-peven una at la-xairing before we:ex-rpst-eat only nm-pl-fruit tree in nm-bush 'Before we only ate wild food from the bush.'

#### 2.3.2 Future Tense

The future tense is not nearly so precisely defined as the past. As in the past there are three distinctions made. The first is the immediate future which has the time limitation of marking only those items which are going to occur immediately. There is no clear cut-off point between the immediate and the remote future. In the nature of the case, activities marked as occurring in the immediate and remote future times could take place within a relatively short time span, i.e. the same day. But an immediate event would precede a remote event.

There is, however, another parameter of meaning attached to the future tense markers and that is a contrast of evidentiality. The immediate future has a high degree of evidentiality. This is brought out by the usage of the immediate future marker for the imperative ((53) & (54)). It should be noted that when the point of reference changes for the imperative, the immediate marker does not. Note example (54). The point of reference switches to Wednesday and both the degree of certainty and the immediacy are still maintained.

The remote future, on the other hand, has a low degree of evidentiality. If someone tells you that he will ba come tomorrow, there is no assurance of him coming. A good English equivalent is "possibly."

## Immediate Future: Imperative

- (53) mi-na-gugu to kat-tamang lingina you:pl-ifut-work at place:of-garden today 'Work in the gardens today.'
- (54) at lengpantun u-na-gagas li lem-panga anan ti-dik on Wednesday you:sg-ifut-prepare put nm:pl-thing eat for-us 'On Wednesday prepare food for us.'

Note that there is essentially no structural difference between the immediate future as an imperative or a non-imperative. The native speaker relies on intonation and context to determine which it is.

## Immediate Future: Non-imperative

- (55) ma-na-onon ta
  we:ex-ifut-go now
  'We are about to leave.'
- (56) nia a-na-xis de
  I I-ifut-sit here
  'I am going to sit down here.'

#### Remote Future:

- (57) le-eme Malom di-ba-vot lengpalimo nm-man Malom they-rfut-come Friday 'The Malom men will (possibly) come on Friday.'
- (58) *li-mixin me-de di-ba-ronga le-ve-linga ram* nm-people from-here they-rfut-hear nm-pl-word your 'The people from here will (possibly) listen to your words.'

The certain future tense in Madak occurs on a time line in the identical position to the remote future. While the time range is the same, the degree of evidentiality is not. The certain future, marking an event, states that the event will certainly take place.

#### Certain future:

- (59) melemu Iesu Karisito naba-mlong later Jesus Christ cfut-return 'Later Jesus Christ will (certainly) return.'
- (60) le-ven-tamang tarak naba-p-visik avukat nm-pl-garden my cfut-cn-bear good 'My gardens will (certainly) bear well.'

The following chart summarizes the Madak future tense, in reference to both proximity in time and evidentiality. Note that a marker for immediate and uncertain does not exist.

	immediate	distant
certain	na	naba
uncertain	*	ba

Chart 2: Madak future tense

## 2.4. Aspect

In Madak there are a number of aspectual distinctions. They are, habitual, resultative, progressive, continuous, iterative, completive, and non-continuous. Habitual has already been discussed above under tense. Resultative appears in surface form as a serial verb with a resultative marker. (See section 4.1.1 for more details.) Completive is discussed as a relative time marker in section 5.

Resultative:

(61) la-xangking ba-sep a-met i nm-sun rfut-strike rs-die it 'The sun will kill it.'

Continuous and iterative are both manifest in the same exact way so they will be lumped together under continuous.

Some linguists view progressive and continuous as one entity but here they are separate. Progressive includes a set of markers which define a span of time over which a particular event takes place. Continuous, on the other hand, only defines whether the action of the verb is on-going or not. Thus a verb marked for continuous aspect may or may not be marked for progressive whereas a verb not marked for continuous aspect can never be marked for progressive.

### 2.4.1 Progressive

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Progressive is concerned with the length or the span of time over which an event takes place. There are three distinctions that are made in progressive. The first is near past progressive marked by -a- and the second is vague past progressive marked by -ra-. The third is certain past progressive in which the remote and yesterday past tense markers join with the progressive marker ra to form gara 'have been' and tara 'have been yesterday.'

# Near Past Progressive:

- (62) di-a-p-vuse luxa ti-nama they-prp-cn-search food for-us:ex 'They are food searching for us.'
- (63) di-a-gugu lem-panga sala they-prp-work nm:pl-thing which 'They are doing what kind of work?'

# Certain Past Progressive:

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- (64) li-mixin Lole di-gara-bilong ta u-to-xun nm-people Lole they-rpst.psp-return now mm-to-south 'The people from Lole were now returning south.'
- (65) Rupen tara-gagas li la-anan teren
  Rupen ypst:psp-prepare put nm-eat his
  '(Yesterday) Rupen was preparing his feast.'

## Vague Past Progressive:

(66) i-ra-p-kip kaka mo le-ven-pas he-psp-cn-carry get that nm-pl-taro 'He has been taking and carrying that taro.'

#### 2.4.2 Continuous

Continuous aspect in Madak is the on-goingness of an event. This is manifested in Madak by reduplication. For a fuller explanation of Madak reduplication with examples see appendix B. The following examples give a good contrast between continuous and non-continuous.

- (67) nege mo i-reng
  who that he-cry
  'Who is that who cried out?'
- (68) la-xadede ram i-(te)ng-teng nm-baby your he-cn-cry 'Your baby is crying.'

In example (67) the crying is not extended but simply a scream or a shout. The reduplicated form is *tengteng* and with the initial two letters dropped off becomes *-ngteng* and means 'crying' (68).

Iterative is a type of continuous and no distinction between the two needs to be made since they are both manifest as reduplication. In (69) there is only a single striking involved while in (70) many blows are involved.

- (69) neton i-sep i brother; his he-hit him
- (70) le-eme Malom di-ga-(se)p-sep i nm-man Malom they-rpst-cn-strike him 'The Malom men beat him.'

#### 2.4.3 Non-continuous

Something should be said here about the absence of a continuous marker on the verb. There are three areas where this might take place. The first is a punctual or a very short time span involved in the event over against the longer time span of the reduplicated form. The 'cry out' in example (67) above versus the 'crying' in (68) is a good example of this. The unreduplicated form of xis - 'sit' occurs only in the context of being seated (71) while the reduplicated form is used for a longer period of time (72).

- (71) *u-na-xis* de you:sg-ifut-sit here 'Sit down here.'
- (72) la-va-kin di-t-kis gugu leng-kaxi atdi nm-pl-woman they-cn-sit work nm:pl-basket their 'The women sat making their baskets.'

Although the non-continuous form is not common in Madak text material, it is more common when used with the negative. In a study of more than one hundred negatives 76% were non-continuous forms.

- (73) kopmen ma-goxo bulu neg we:ex-rpst:neg sad 'We were not saddened.'
- (74) ni noxo ven nom le-menemen avukat he ifut:neg see that nm-village good 'He will not see that good village.'

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A third usage of the non-continuous is with the lexical adverbs for begin and finish. The Madaks view this type of construction as punctual.

- (75) la-va-kin di-ga-vas kaxat u-to-nak Kantubu nm-pl-woman they-rpst-walk begin mm-to-east Kantubu 'The women started walking east to Kantubu.'
- (76) mi-ra-an axap pam i
  you:pl-psp-eat finish cpl it
  'Have you finished eating it?'

### 2.5 Modality

A state or event in Madak marked for modality would not in actuality have happened. It would merely be dealing with the hypothetical, the possible, or the uncertain. In Madak there is only one marker gi which covers all the possibilities.

The modality marker occurs along with the following grammatical markers: immediate future tense, remote future tense, present progressive aspect, past progressive aspect, and negatives.

When occurring without a grammatical marker the sense of the verb is then a habitual with the modality marker best translated as 'perhaps.' This is also true with the present and past progressive aspect. The modal together with the future tense markers give the idea of a weak command, a hope, or a wish. These are used when the imperative is too strong of a command for the setting.

## Modality: No Grammatical Marker

- (77) li-mixin gi-unun i mi la-vantun lolo nm-people md-buy it with nm-three ten:kina 'People perhaps buy it for thirty kina.'
- (78) len-taba gi-lok at li-sikul len-taba di lok de nm:pl-some md-do at nm-school nm:pl-some they do here 'Some perhaps are in school some are here.'

## Modality: Near Future Tense Marker

(79) di-ga-tong i do la-parpar Kadan they-rpst-say it that nm-church:section Kadan

axap gi-na-lok tong pen i la gi-na-vavang all md-ifut-do say see it and md-ifut-preach

mi la-vapase atdik with nm-talk our:inc

They said that all of the Kadan church section should try it and should preach with our language.'

## Modality: Remote Future Tense

(80) dola lo-xot ove la susu gi-lok petpes if nm-place cook and bathe md-do different

gi-ba-lok avukat tinotno md-rfut-do good very

'If the place for cooking and bathing were somewhere else it would be very good.'

(81) a-gi-ba-an mo la-xat teren I-md-rfut-eat that nm-liver his 'I ought to eat his liver.'

# Modality: Near Past Progressive

(82) gi-a-lok panga anan ti-nama
md-prp-do thing eat for-us:exc
'They perhaps are getting things for us to eat.'

## Modality: Past Progressive

(83) la gi-ra-k-pixan amisik and md-psp-cn-sing always 'And perhaps they were singing always.'

## Modality: Negatives

(84) la la-xa-mdak gi-ta-ng-tagap solo and nm-pl-boy md-neg-cn-around much

gi-ta-lok la-xan-ai mo kopmen md-neg-do nm-much-what that neg

'And the boys might have gone around causing trouble or whatever but they didn't.'

- (85) dik gi-xo-klen avukat len-galing ti-tlotlo len-tamang we:inc md-neg-know good nm:pl-moon to-plant nm:pl-garden 'We probably don't know well the months to plant gardens.'
- (86) do neni gi-ta-ba-pukus lo-roro ren if she md-neg-rfut-turn nm-life her

i epovo ne Iesu gi-ta-ba-raba i nom la-dan it enough nn Jesus md-neg-rfut-give her that nm-water

'If she would have changed her life Jesus would have been able to give her that water; (but it didn't happen that way).'

## 2.6 Reciprocality

Reciprocality in Madak is marked by -e- in the verb phrase. It's position is following the other grammatical markers and affixed directly onto the verb. When the reciprocal is used either the subject must be plural or there needs to be

a relator axis phrase expressing accompaniment included after the verb phrase as in examples (88) and (89).

- (87) le-eme Kosobang di-e-sep amisik
  nm-man Kosobang they-rec-strike always
  'The people of Kosobang are always fighting among themselves.'
- (88) ma-ga-e-pase mi lu-vut-tadi gugu we:exc-rpst-rec-speak with nm-pl-man work 'We spoke together with the workmen.'
- (89) ni ga-e-xip tangarang mi li-mixin teren he rpst-rec-carry meet with nm-people his 'He met up with his people.'

### 2.7 Totality

Madak also has a way of expressing totality. The marker is -va-, an infix that occurs following other grammatical markers and is attached to the verb.

- (90) *u-ra-va-anan* la-xan-tamang tarak you:sg-psp-tot-eat nm-many-garden my 'You have totally eaten my many gardens.'
- (91) a-va-m-taba nemu mi-n
  I-tot-cn-give you:2 with-it
  'I gave it entirely to you two.'

## 2.8 Causality

Causality is marked by the marker -vaxa- which is affixed to the verb itself.

(92) di-ga-vaxa-rem la-xan-kexe soso at mo la-ven-una they-rpst-caus-hang nm-many-bundle spear in that nm-pl-tree 'They hung many bundles of spears in those trees.'

(93) mi-na-vaxa-midi nom la-radi at na lo-ra you:pl-ifut-caus-lay that nm-man on this nm-bench 'Lay the man on this bench.'

#### 3. The Main Verb

#### 3.1 Verb Structure

Verb structure is quite straightforward with reduplication as the only change. See Appendix B for details of reduplication.

#### 3.2 Verb Function

As well as being the nucleus or the main verb of the verb phrase, the verb also has other roles. First of all it is a modifier for the main verb of the VP. See section 4 for a full description of this. Secondly it has an adjectival function in the NP. In this role it follows the noun as in examples (94) and (95).

- (94) *u-na-ra* kaka na lo-xon-una mokmokso you:sg-ifut-cut get this nm-part-tree straight 'Cut this straight log.'
- (95) mo la-radi bunbun ba-vot kantamak that nm-man white rfut-come tomorrow.'

Thirdly verbs are nominalized to be the nuclear part of a noun phrase. Thus the noun marker la - nm + roro - be alive la - lororo - be alive la - lororo - be alive la - lororo - be

#### 3.3 Verb Classes

Verb classes in Madak are based on the various cases that occur with the verbs. There are seven classes based on these divisions.

#### 3.3.1 Case Roles

The major case roles being used to classify Madak verbs are as follows:

- 1) Agent
- (A) initiator of events
- 2) Patient
- (P) that which is in a state or a change of state

- 3) Experiencer (E) experiencer but not initiator of the event
- 4) Dative
- (D) recipient of event or state
- 5) Locational
- (L) the point at which the event took place
- 6) Instrument (I) the instrument used to bring about the event

### 3.3.1.1 Agent: [\_\_A]

Verbs that include only an agent are common. Those in Madak are as follows: bathe, agree, sing, fall down.

- (96) la-xa-mdak di-gosogos nm-pl-boy they-play 'The boys are playing.'
- (97) la-va-pixa kerepmo i-p-tava soso nm-pl-bird like:that it-cn-fly quickly 'Birds like that fly swiftly.'

## 3.3.1.2 Agent, Patient: [\_A,P]

The combination of agent and patient with the verb is the most common of all classes. Examples are blow, plant, distribute, plant.

- (98) di-ga-anan mene lem-panga boro la-xairing they-rpst-eat only nm:pl-thing from nm-bush 'They ate only food from the bush.'
- (99) du-ga-ra-soso nom lo-bo they:2-rpst-psp-spear that nm-pig 'They were spearing that pig.'

# 3.3.1.3 Agent, (Patient), Location: [\_A, (P), L]

There are numerous verbs in Madak which express movement and locations occur with them. Those with patients are less common than those without. Examples: lead, send, run, climb. There are also non-movement verbs that can be included here: remain, sit, stand.

- (100) nege ba-lam nedik to xolonu who rfut-lead us:inc to home 'Who will lead us home?'
- (101) la-masa ga-riki i u-to-u lo-xon nm-leader rpst-sent him mm-to-north nm-beach 'The leader sent him north to the beach.'
- (102) la-va-kin di-mlong pam to Malom nm-pl-woman they-return cpl to Malom 'The women have returned to Malom.'
- (103) la-masa ga-nemen to-xun Laban nm-leader rpst-remain to-south Laban 'The leader lived south at Laban.'

## 3.3.1.4 Agent, (Patient), Dative: [\_A, (P),D,]

Those verbs where the dative is obligatory are not common. The following few have been found: carve, tell, search for, go ahead of, prepare.

- (104) tamak ga-malagan lu-buk ti-a father:my rpst-carve nm-book to-me 'My father wrote a letter to me.'
- (105) neni ga-tong lo-voporang ti-nama he rpst-tell nm-answer to-us:exc 'He told the answer to us.'
- (106) li-mixin me-de di-ba-gagas ti mo lokpanga nm-people from-here they-rfut-prepare for that feast. The people from here will prepare for that feast.
- (107) mo lu-mdak ga-mgomgo ti lo-bo that nm:2-boy rpst-go:ahead of nm-pig 'Those two boys ran ahead of the pig.'

## 3.3.1.5 Agent, (Patient), Instrument: [\_A, (P), I]

The agent and instrument with the verb is a small class and only the following verbs have been found: throw, speak, sell, preach, give.

- (108) nemen u-ta-lu mi nom la-rat remain you:sg-neg-throw with that nm-basket 'Don't throw that basket away.'
- (109) u-na-p-pase be mi ne Malo you:sg-ifut-cn-speak first with nn Malo 'You speak first with Malo.
- (110) Sisida ga-raba nom lu-tkin mi lo-xon-kao Sisida rpst-give that nm:2-woman with nm-piece-fire 'Sisida gave those two women a hot coal.'
- (111) le-eme Kama di-xo-para i do di-na-sesep nm-man Kama they-neg-want it that they-ifut-sell with

mi lem-pene atdi nm:pl-shell:money their

'The people from Kama do not want to sell their shell money.'

## 3.3.1.6 Patient: [ P]

Examples of verbs that occur in this class are as follows: be dirty, be heavy, be hungry, be red.

- (112) na la-xanimin i-main aleng this nm-night it-dark very 'This night is very dark.'
- (113) nom la-xan-koso i-mada avukat this nm-pl-mango it-ripe good 'These mangoes are nice and ripe.'

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#### 3.3.1.7 [ E]

The verbs that form the class with experiencer as subject is not a large class. They do, however, contrast with verbs of other classes in that there are unusual structural variations in the reduplicated and nominal forms. In the reduplicated form these verbs, the second consonant, instead of being reduplicated, drops out and is replaced by a -k-. Note example (114) where meres - 'sick' reduplicates with a -k- instead of the expected -t-.

- (114) a. meres
  - b. mekmeres
  - c. \*metmeres

Also when this type of verb is nominalized, an -n- is inserted where none normally occurs. This is the normal way of nominalizing a verb:

But note example (115) in which the n is inserted.

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(115) bulu- 'be sad' lanbulu- 'sadness'
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The following verbs are included in this class: be sad, be hungry, be afraid, die, die by unnatural causes, be sick.

- (116) la-mdak ga-marat at ne Bubuxalik nm-boy rpst-fear at nn Bubuxalik 'The boy was afraid of Bubuxalik.'
- (117) ne tamak bok ga-met at la-mares kavaxap nn father:my also rpst-die at nm-year last 'My father also died last year.'

### 3.3.2 Double Membership in Verb Classes

In Madak some verbs may belong to more than one verb class. The verb "be angry" is one of these. In (118), the subject "mother" is the patient [\_P]. In (119), the subject is the agent [\_A,P].

- (118) nenen-di i-musak aleng mother-their she-angry very 'Their mother is very angry.'
- (119) li-mixin axap di-ga-musak ne Pano nm-people all they-rpst-angry nn Pano 'All the people were angry at Pano.'

Another example of dual class membership is the Madak verb 'marry.' It may have either an agent or a patient as the subject. In (120), it takes a patient and in (121), it takes an agent as well as a patient.

- (120) lara ga-epot la lara goxo epot one rpst-marry and one rpst:neg marry 'One was married and one wasn't married.'
- (121) Betok ga-epot at la-tkin me Bungaring
  Betok rpst-marry to nm-woman from Bungaring
  'Betok married a woman from Bungaring.'

Other verbs also have dual membership based on whether they are reduplicated or not. The general meaning of reduplication is that of continuousness. The following examples show a verb that in the continuous form (122) is in one class [\_A] and in the non-continuous form (123) is in another class [\_A,P].

- (122) li-mixin lotu di-ga-epeseres nm-people church they-rpst-dispersed 'The church people dispersed.'
- (123) di-ga-epes len-kaukau ti-dik they-rpst-divide nm:pl-sweet:potato to-us:inc 'They distributed the sweet potato to us.'

Another example of dual class membership occurs with the word lok - 'do'. The reduplicated form suggests not only a separate class but also a different meaning.

- (124) la-va-kin di-ga-lok na lu-gugu nm-pl-woman they-rpst-do this nm-work 'The women did this work.'
- (125) la-mdak ga-k-lok amisik to ka-ntin nm-boy rpst-cn-do always at place:of-men's:house 'They boy always remained in the men's house.'

There are also some intransitive verbs that may occur with either agent or experiencer. In the following examples the difference is a matter of volition. Where there is volition, then the case role is agent.

- (126) Nara goxo ven li-ixe una la ga subu

  Nara pst:neg see nm-root tree and pst fall:down
  'Nara didn't see the tree root and fell down.'
- (127) Ni i ven di rupot la i subu kusu ri lipe he he see them come and he fall:down so:that to hide 'He saw them coming and fell down to hide.'

# 3.3.3 Object Suppression

Although objects can also be described under sentences, they are included here in conjunction with verb classes and case roles. It is not uncommon in Madak for a verb in a class with both agent and patient to have the patient or syntactic object suppressed or simply deleted when its presence is not particularly relevant. Examples (128) and (129) demonstrate this phenomenon.

- (128) a. di-ga-anan i 'They ate it.'
- (129) a. mo la-man i-atat ne Amos
  b. mo la-man i-atat
  'That dog bit Amos.'
  That dog bites.'

In the following example the focus is on the writing and not on the patient. The word *malagan* - 'carve/write' is in the class [\_A,P,D].

(130) Pitin ga-malagan ti li-bibinat teren
Pitin rpst-write to nm-relative her
'Pitin wrote to her relatives.'

### 4. Modification of the Verb

The third part of the structure of the Madak verb phrase is the modification part. Modifiers in every instance follow the main verb. Some verbs may take many modifiers, but others take few. The list of modifiers is as follows: verbs, semi-verbs, nouns, and adverbs. Each of these are discussed below. The ordering rules are: the main verb must occur first and the adverb must occur last. Also, an incorporated noun occurs last and does not have any modifiers following it.

The main verb plus strings of verbs in a verb phrase is called verb serialization. In Madak there are no intervening markers which would indicate a separate verb phrase. The only grammatical marker occurring in a string of verbs is a resultative marker. (For more information on serialization, see section 4.5.)

### 4.1 Verbs as Modifiers

It is common in Madak to have a verb occurring in a verb phrase as a modifier immediately following the main verb, but it is rare to have more than two verbs following. The modifying verbs have four different functions. The first would be an adverbial sense.

#### Adverbial:

- (131) la-vanga axap di-ga-xis momo at lotu nm-thing all they-rpst-sit happy at church 'They all sat happily in church.'
- (132) *u-ga-doma* lolos tino ti la-vanga you:sg-rpst-think strong very concerning nm-thing 'You thought very strongly concerning the thing.'

A second function of the modifying verb is to give a location for the main verb.

### Locational:

- (133) la-xa-mdak di-ga-eng urut at la-lamas nm-pl-boy they-rpst-climb up on nm-coconut 'The boys climbed up the coconut.'
- (134) di-ga-t-pas auret ba lo-gu they-rpst-walk be:near then nm-house 'They then walked near the house.'

The third type of modifying verbs defines a complex set of integrated actions where two verbs take place simultaneously with the same subject.

### Simultaneous:

- (135) la-xa-lik no di-t-kis gosogos nm-pl-girl there they-cn-sit play 'The girls are sitting there playing.'
- (136) la-va-eme silok di-ga-doxoma vupuse la-ngas ti-n nm-pl-man big they-rpst-cn:think cn:search nm-road for-him 'The big men were planning to find a way for him.'

The fourth type of modification also involves a complex set of integrated actions, but the actions of the verbs are sequential.

# Sequential:

- (137) nenen na-ro aus i mother: his ifut-call awaken him 'His mother will call and awaken him.'
- (138) ma-ga-sak tiki ne Tengbo we:ex-rpst-strike send nn Tengbo 'We picked and sent Tengbo.'

#### 4.1.1 Resultative Constructions

Another type of construction occurs in the verb phrase. This is the resultative. In this type of construction, an agent occurs as subject, and a patient as object. The agent does something that results in something happening to the patient. The object of the first verb is the patient, which becomes the agent of the second verb. The grammatical marker for this is a- which is prefixed on the second verb.

(139) di-ba-riki a-mlong la-mdak tarak they-rfut-send rs-return nm-son my 'They will send back my son.'

In the above example my son is the patient of 'send' and also the agent of 'return'. In the following example the same phenomenom occurs. The subject is the agent of the main verb and its object is the patient, which becomes the agent of the second verb.

(140) di-ga-suang a-beles nema they-rpst-opened rs-enter we:ex 'They opened to let us in.'

A slightly different type of resultative construction occurs where the subject is the agent for both verbs.

(141) a-ga-t-tu a-k-mokso tinotno I-rpst-cn-stand rs-cn-straight very 'I stood very straight.'

(142) ma-ga-an a-xap we:ex-rpst-eat rs-finish 'We finished eating.'

### 4.2 Semi-verbs as Modifiers

Semi-verbs are a class of words that have a verb-like meaning but they are never used as main verbs. That is, they can never stand alone in the first

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position of a verb phrase and they never occur with any grammatical markers such as tense or person and number markers. Note the following example:

- (143) a. di-ga-ru pe nama they-rpst-stand block us:exc 'They stood blocking our way.'
  - b. \* u-na-pe la-ngas you:sg-ifut-block nm-road 'Block the road.'

In example (143a.) above pe 'block' is the semi-verb and is used as a modifier for the word ru 'stand.' In (143b.), however, the same semi-verb is used as a main verb which is not allowed. In (143a.) the main verb 'stand' is intransitive, but the semi-verb has an object.

Some semi-verbs may also be reduplicated and nominalized. The word for bad, *kapmek* appears in reduplicated form as *kakapmek*. When nominalized *laxakapmek* means badness or evil. Many of the semi-verbs normally occur with the verb *lok* - 'do.' When nominalized they retain the reduplicated form of *lok*. For example:

(144) a. lok ase 'show/teach' b. loklok ase 'the teaching'

Another feature of some semi-verbs is that they may stand outside of a verb phrase and still retain an object. In (145) the main verb has both an agent and a patient while the patient is the apparent agent of the semi-verb which also has its own patient.

(145) ni ga-lok pes lo-songsongot basinge di he rpst-do erase nm-pain leave them 'He removed the pain from them.'

In some verb phrases that include a semi-verb, the bulk of meaning of the verbal construction is contained in the semi-verb rather than the main verb. The following two examples exhibit this:

(146) mi-na-lok tata la-xa-lik you:pl-ifut-do take:care:of nm-pl-girl 'Take care of the children.'

(147) di-ga-on tangarang nom la-radi at la-ngas they-rpst-go meet that nm-man on nm-road 'They met up with that man on the road.'

The word class comprising semi-verbs is a closed, fairly small class. The following is a complete list of semi-verbs that come from a lexicon of 2334 items.

alis	'hold'	kamkam	'raw'
li	'put'	kangkan	'surround'
anarong	'bless'	kape	'remove'
angtang	'busy'	katling	'mark'
antos	'light (a fire)'	kaxat	'begin'
ase	'show'	kisip	'recognize'
basinge	'leave'	korop	'halve'
episa	'distribute'	lenget	'notice'
gili	'turn'	pasa	'visit'
tooro	'help'	pinga	'taste'
gusugus	'attentive'	pukus	'turn'
kakalik	'small'	pava	'cover'
kalise	'joke'	epasum	ʻjoin'
kapmek	'bad'	tata	'take care of'
avukat	'good'	sanga	'wait for'
pes	'erase'	pe	'block'
ase	'show'	tangarang	'meet'

### 4.3 Nouns as Modifiers

The construction in which a noun occurs in a verb phrase is known as noun incorporation. It is a common construction with a wide variety of nouns being incorporated. Nouns, when incorporated, do not occur with the noun marker. Some common examples are as follows:

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(148) la-va-kin di-na-puse luxa ti-nama nm-pl-woman they-ifut-search:for food for-us:exc 'The women are about to food-search for us.'

- (149) nege ba-gugu tamang e who rfut-work garden there 'Who will garden-work there?'
- (150) la-xa-mdak axap di-ga-sisiliu ado nm-pl-boy all they-rpst-hunt possum 'All the boys possum-hunted.'
- (151) ma-ga-unun panga to Kavieng we:exc-rpst-buy thing at Kavieng.'

Proper nouns are sometimes incorporated.

(152) di-pase Rabaul they-speak Rabaul 'They speak the Tolai language.'

(153) nia a-ga-nemen Keravat I I-rpst-remain Keravat 'I lived at Keravat.'

A rare construction is the incorporation of a kinship term.

(154) a-ta-t-kis eton avukat ju-we:inc-cn-sit brother good 'Let us live together well as brothers.'

#### 4.4 Adverbs

There are several types of adverbs in Madak. The only type that occurs in a verb phrase is common adverbs. This includes adverbs such as quietly, quickly and so on. It also includes intensifiers. The position of adverbs is after the verb, and in serial constructions, the adverbs always occur last.

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- (155) di-ga-gugu atnasan to katamang they-rpst-work carefully in gardens 'They worked carefully in the gardens.'
- (156) la-va-kin di-pase nemnem nm-pl-woman they-speak softly 'The women are speaking softly.'
- (157) nenia a-roxo aleng
  I I-hungry very
  'I am very hungry.'
- (158) le-ve-linga ren i-ruturun tinotno nm-pl-word his it-true very 'His words are very true.'

### 4.5 Modifiers in Serial Construction

Various combinations of verbs, semi-verbs, and nouns occur in serial construction. Adverbs occur also but always at the end of the construction, so they are not very significant in this discussion.

#### 4.5.1 Verbs in Serial Construction

The following are examples of verbs in serial construction. It is rare to find more than two verbs, although (163) is an example of three verbs.

- (159) nege ba-anan tooro u ren who rfut-eat help you in:it 'Who will help you eat it?'
- (160) a-na-t-pas gosogos mi-n
  I-ifut-cn-walk play with-him
  'I am going to walk around visiting with him.'

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- (161) la-xaxak ga-xis lipe to melemu at lo-gu nm-chicken rpst-sit hide there behind at nm-house 'The chicken sat hiding behind the house.'
- (162) ma-sixit mumu la-ngas at la-ramang kofi we:exc-run follow nm-road in nm-garden coffee 'We followed the road in the coffee plantation.'
- (163) mo la-radi ga-t-pas auret taba i that nm-man rpst-cn-walk be:near give him 'That man walked right up to him.'

There are some verbs that do not occur in serial constructions at all. Then there are other verbs which frequently occur in serial constructions. Some of these tend to be in the first position while others more commonly occur in the second or third position. The following chart contains a partial listing of Madak verbs grouped according to their occurrence and position in serial constructions.

Do Not Occur	Occur Initially	Occur Non-initially
dede 'shake' vorang 'answer' epes 'disperse' epot 'marry' balamu 'pity' epovo 'be enough' tlatla 'paddle' inin 'drink' lolos 'be strong' malagan 'carve' mit 'bury' mokso 'straight' gugu 'work' vara 'want' riki 'send' rin 'roast'	met 'die' on 'go' ven 'see' ronga 'hear' xarang 'lie' xasep 'be clear' xip 'carry' xis 'sit' doma 'think' rem 'hang' tong 'tell'	momo 'be happy' ruturun 'be true' maxat 'be new' lipe 'hide' kaka 'get' ngangais 'wait for' taba 'give' volo 'surpass'

Chart 3: Madak serial verb positions

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#### 4.5.2 Semi-verbs in Serial Construction

Semi-verbs also occur serially but of course must follow the main verb. Examples (164) and (165) each have a verb followed by two semi-verbs.

- (164) di-ga-vas kaxat basinge mo lo-xot they-rpst-walk begin leave that nm-area 'They started out walking away from that area.'
- (165) la-xa-mdak di-ga-lok ase avukat le-ve-linga ren nm-pl-boy they-rpst-do show good nm-pl-word his 'The boys learned his words well.'

Another variation on the position of verbs and semi-verbs is to have a main verb first, then a semi-verb and finally a verb.

(166) lo-bo ga-rem gili taba du nm-pig rpst-hang turn give them:2 'The pig turned towards them.'

Another possibility is verb, verb, and semi-verb.

(167) mi-na-ronga mumu avukat la-xaxak you:pl-ifut-hear follow good nm-chicken 'Listen carefully to the chicken.'

Resultatives can also be mixed into the serial constructions.

- (168) *u-na-lok li a-mlong la-varise rak*you:sg-ifut put rs-return nm-bushknife my
  'Put back my bushknife.'
- (169) le-vem-panga i-sat a-sogong ka lo-roro atnedi nm-pl-thing it-pull rs-wander get nm-life their Things get a hold of their lives causing them to err.

#### 4.5.3 Nouns in Serial Construction

Nouns in serial construction are incorporated nouns and occur finally in a string of modifiers that may include semi-verbs as well as verbs.

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- (170) di-goxo-klen lotlo panga they-pst:neg-know plant thing 'They didn't know how to thing-plant.'
- (171) nedi li-mixin di-ga-ba gili linga they nm-people they-rpst-turn turn word 'They were the one people who turned the talk.'

### 5. Relative Time Markers

Relative time markers are a small class of conjunction-like words that occur in the final position of the verb phrase. Their function is to relate a verb phrase/clause to other clauses. There are only four of these markers: be 'first', ta 'now', ba 'then', and pam which is the completive marker.

In (172) the speaker says that he will go and his going will be prior to anything else. He does not have to say what else he has to do. Although the hearer may know what that is, it is not obligatory for him to know.

(172) nenia a-na-onon be
I I-ifut-go first
'I will go first (before I do anything else).'

(173) mu-na-t-kis mimin be you:2-ifut-cn-sit by:the:fire first 'Sit by the fire first (and then go).'

In (174) the speaker makes an announcement that he is now well. His previous illness is implied in this example.

(174) nenia a-lok avukat ta
I I-do good now
'(I was sick and) now I am well.'

In the following example Nirut lived at first at one village but now lived at a different one.

(175) Nirut ga-nemen ta at le-menemen Puradun Nirut rpst-live now at nm-village Puradun 'Nirut now lived at the village of Puradun.'

The third relative time marker is a future indicator, translated as 'then.' This marker ba is identical to remote future tense marker and also identical to one of the markers for indirect speech.

The function of this marker is to indicate that one event took place and then a second one took place.

- (176) ma-ga-ven di la di-ga-vas kaxat ba we:exc-rpst-see them and they-rpst-walk begin then 'We saw them and then they came.'
- (177) ni ga-ven la-vat-libung la ga-eng urut ba ren he rpst-see nm-big-libung and rpst-climb up then it 'He saw a libung palm and then climbed up it.'

The last of these markers is the completive *pam*. It lets the hearer know that something had been taking place and now it is finished.

- (178) la-va-kin di-gugu axap pam i nm-pl-woman they-work finish cpl it 'The women finished making it.'
- (179) ma-klen avukat pam mo le-ve-linga we:exc-know good cpl that nm-pl-word 'We already know that talk.'

#### ABBREVIATIONS

cs - causality
cfut - certain future
cn - continuative
cpl - completive
ex/exc - exclusive
ht - hortatory

inclusive modality
· . •
movement marker
negative
noun marker
non-focus
· plural
near past progressive
past progressive
· reciprocal
remote future
remote past
- resultative
- singular
- totality
- yesterday's past

### APPENDIX A

### Pronouns in Madak

The following listing are the pronouns of Madak. These consist of subject and object pronouns and also person and number markers. Also included are the pronouns that occur with the three case markers, 1) at - location in time and space, possession; 2) mi - accompaniment and instrument; 3) ti - benefactive, goal, reference, comparison, and purpose.

# **Subject Pronouns:**

	singular	dual	plural
1inc	(ne)nia	neda	nedik
1exc	nema	nema	
2nd	(ne)nu	nemu	nemi
3rd	(ne)ni	nedu	nedi

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Object Pronouns:				
	singular	dual	plural	
1inc	ia	da	dik	
1exc	nama	nama		
2nd	u	numu	nimi	
3rd	<i>i</i> .	du	di	
Person and Number	Person and Number Markers:			
	singular	dual	plural	
1inc	a	da	ta	
1exc		ma	ma ·	
2nd	u	mu	mi	
3rd	i ·	du	di	
Case Markers: Locat	Case Markers: Location in Time and Space, Possession			
	singular	dual	plural	
1inc	atarak	atda	atdik	
1exc		atnama	atnama	
2nd	ataram	atnumu	atnimi	
3rd	ateren	atdu	atdi	

# Case Markers: Accompaniment and Instrument

	singular	dual	plural
1inc	minia	mida	midik
1exc		minama	minama
2nd	minu	minumu	minimi
3rd	min	midu	midi

# Case Markers: Benefactive, Goal, etc.

	singular	dual	plural
1inc	tia	tida	tidik
1exc		tinama	tinama
2nd	tu	tinumu	tinimi
3rd	tin	tidu	tidi

### APPENDIX B

# Reduplication in Madak

### 0. Introduction

Reduplication is common in Madak. In fact, every verb has a reduplicated form. A few nouns are reduplicated, and nominalized and adjectivized verbs are normally reduplicated.

### 1. The function of Reduplication

### 1.1 Verbs

Virtually all verbs are reduplicated. The first function is to mark a verb for continuous aspect. In example (1) the shouting is just a single shout, but in example (2) it is a continuous shouting.

- (1) la-madak i-xup ti nege nm-boy he-shout to whom 'Whom did the boy shout to?'
- (2) la-vanga di-ga-p-kup kaka dik nm-thing they-rpst-cn-shout get us:inc 'All of them were shouting for us to come.'

Another function of reduplication of verbs is manifested when the verb is used as a modifier or a noun. When used as a noun, the verb is prefixed by a noun marker. Modifier:

- (3) mo la-radi papase no i-t-kis that nm-man speak there he-cn-sit 'There sits that talkative man.'
- (4) nedi li-mixin pakpakes kopmen na-anan avukat they nm-people needy neg ifut-eat good 'Those needy people are not eating well.'
- (5) ma-ga-un kaka lo-bo ren we:exc-rpst-buy get nm-pig his 'We bought his pig.'

#### Noun:

(6) lo-songsongot teren i-lolos aleng nm-pain his it-strong very 'His pain is very strong.'

Ø

(7) la-ramtaba atdi ga-silok nm-give their rpst-big 'Their gift was big.'

## 1.2 Reduplicated Nouns

There are only a few nouns that are reduplicated.

la-manman 'wind'
la-bangbangis 'side (of body)'
la-mamara 'hole'
la-kakan 'branch'
la-xaxak 'chicken'
li-bibinat 'relative'

## 2. The Structure of Reduplication

The following discussion on the structure of reduplication will be divided into two sections based on whether there is any deletion or insertion of letters during the reduplication process. The first section will cover those verbs in which either part or all of the verb is reduplicated. This is called standard reduplication.

# 2.1 Standard Reduplication

## 2.1.1 Total Reduplication

mu, mumu 'follow'; ro, roro 'be alive' lu, lulu 'throw'; xo, xoxo 'throw'

on, onon 'go'; in, inin 'drink'
ot, otot 'grasp'; at, atat 'bite'

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CVC -> CVCCVC

lok, loklok 'do'; sep, sepsep 'strike' teng, tengteng 'cry'; kam, kamkam 'unripe'

CCV -> CCVCCV

tlo, tlotlo 'plant'; pso, psopso 'rot'
ntu, ntuntu 'draw water'; mgo, mgomgo 'go ahead'

CVCV -> CVCVCVCV

gine, ginegine 'crookedly';

VCVC -> VCVCVCVC

epes, epeseves 'distribute'

## 2.1.2 Partial Reduplication

CV + -> CVCV +

sen, sesen 'flow'; sue, susue 'ask' vara, vavara 'want'; suang, susuang 'open'

CVC+ -> CVCCVC+

tingon, tingtingon 'container'; kumbilik, kumkumbilik 'short'

CCV + -> CCVCCV +

klen, kleklen 'know'; mlong, mlomlong 'return' mlut, mlumlut

# 2.2 Non-Standard Reduplication

### 2.2.1 Vowel Insertion

men, menemen 'remain'; gos, gosogos 'play'
kat, karakat 'dispute'; lik, lixilik 'be small'

#### 2.2.2 Consonant and Vowel Deletion

### Total:

kup, (ku)pkup, pkup 'shout' tin, (ti)ntin, ntin 'roast' sok, (so)ksok, ksok 'sew' sing, (si)ngsing, ngsing 'request'

### Partial:

longon, (lo) nglongon, nglongon 'laugh'
mokso, (mo) kmokso, kmokso 'be straight'
lomon, (lo) mlomon, mlomon 'mix food'
tonga, (to) ngtonga, ngtonga 'hear'

## 2.2.3 Vowel Insertion Followed By CV Deletion

rem, remerem, (re)merem, merem 'hang' bok, bokobok, (bo)kobok, kobok 'swim' gos, gosogos, (go)sogos, sogos 'wash' lum, lumulum (lu)mulum, mulum 'be soft' LLM 113

## 3. Morphophonemic Changes in Reduplication

When Madak verbs reduplicate in a certain manner, there are often morphophonemic changes that occur in the consonants. This change takes place in the second consonant of the stem of the verb. When the verb is reduplicated, the consonant becomes a different consonant as shown by "N" below:

pas, patpas 'walk'
subu, sumsubu 'fall down'

### 3.1 Morphophonemic Examples

s -> t

ngas, ngatngas 'chew'

kis, kitkis 'sit'

b -> m

taba, tamtaba 'give'

tebeng, temtebeng 'hold on'

g -> ng
siga, singsiga 'put on (clothing)'
tagap, tangtagap 'walk around'

1 -> t

beles, betbeles 'enter'

### 3.2 Verb Class "K"

The above examples contrast with the special verb class where the consonant after the first vowel when reduplicated becomes k. These are all strong emotive verbs.

d -> k

midi, mikmidi 'lay down'

- t -> k

  mit, mikmit 'bury'

  r -> k

  meres, mekmeres 'be sick'
- s -> k

  musak, mukmusak 'be angry'

marak makmarat 'be afraid'

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