COORDINATION IN ONO

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1. INTRODUCTION

Coordination occurs between speech units of equal status. Equal status does not necessarily mean that the units are of equal importance. In Ono, coordination can be used to express such semantic relationships between clauses as benefactive, cause-result, purpose and conditions. Subordination relates units of unequal status to each other and to the sentence as a whole. Coordination is addition while subordination is embedding. Reesink (1987:207) says "subordination contrasts then with coordination which simply adds one communicative unit to another" This is true also of clauses which are simple sentences without sentence final intonation.

In Ono, as in other Papuan languages, the medial verb system, with or without conjunctions, is used to express coordination between clauses. Between sentences, a device called tail-head linkage is most common. Conjunctions are an important feature of coordination. Some of the same conjunctions are used with phrases, clauses and sentences. In this paper I will also discuss the function of juxtaposition between phrases, clauses and sentences.

2. COORDINATION BETWEEN PHRASES

Under coordination I would like to include alternation as well as addition.

2.1 Alternation

The Ono alternative conjunction *me* is both inclusive and exclusive when used with phrases. One of the alternatives or all of the alternatives may be chosen.

> (1) *naso sisine   etke me karewe wane konap*
>   time its piece two or three   poss. equal
>   'A little time, two or three (minutes).'

(2) *kine kine   iwa kepe   wane kutno, didiwo*
   many things here earth poss. on   in the open

   de-ŋo   kakaine me mi kakaine, doku-o   me
   eye-inst. seen   or not seen   water in or

   kiwet-ko me wetela geli-wo me kepe   kutno
   ocean-in or above   sky-in   or earth on

   pa-mai-ke, so ŋei, ŋene korop Waom wano
   lie-pres-3s and man we   all   God   poss.

   ŋine-ka   wakon-ware-koi
   from-only   come into existence-comp.-fp-3plFV

In example (1) *me* is exclusive and in example (2) it is inclusive. In example (2) all of the things mentioned come from God. The singular verb *pamaike* agrees with the inanimate plural noun *kine kine* 'many things'. *Wakonwarekoi* 'we came into existence' has *ŋene* 'we' as its subject. *ŋene* is animate so therefore a plural verb is required. On the other hand the following example (3) indicates that the exclusive *me* requires the verb to agree in number with only one member of the alternation.

(3) *Tom me Staki ari-a-ke*
    Tom or Staki go-fut-3sFV
    'Tom or Staki will go.'

When *me* joins noun phrases with clitics (such as the possessive, locative, comitative and ergative clitics), the clitic occurs on both phrases. In example (2) the locative *-wo* (or *-o* or *-ko*) 'in', 'at' or 'on' or *kutno* 'on' occurs each time.

In example (4) *-ŋo* 'ergative' occurs only on the second phrase.

(4) *Iwa mezeŋ   me onokaka-ŋo ne-maike?*
    here bandicoot or what   eat-pres-3sFV
    'A bandicoot or what is eating this?'

This might be because the speaker thinks that it is not really a bandicoot that is doing the eating and he has a good idea what is doing the eating. The speaker therefore has a strong preference for *onokaka* 'what' as the subject and marks only this.

2.2 Addition

2.2.1 Addition of phrases is usually expressed using the coordinate conjunction *so* 'and'. When there are only two conjuncts *so* is obligatory. When there are three or more, Ono speakers have a choice, as English speakers do. They may list all the conjuncts without *so* except the last two and therefore put *so* between them. Or, they may put *so* between each set. I believe the multiple use of *so* provides emphasis, stressing the importance of each member of the list. In the following example, an origin story, it was important to the speaker that the hearer note who each of Nigumnigum's children were.

(5) *Nigumnigum ŋanom-ine koloŋ   doko-ine   momo*
   Nigumnigum wife-his   pandanus tree children-his wind

   so   kezoŋ so   memea   so   koya so   kup.
   and cloud and earthquake and rain and raincloud

   'Nigumnigum's wife was the pandanus tree, his children were the wind
    and the clouds and earthquakes and rain and rainclouds.'

Ono speakers may choose to group members of lists in other ways for emphasis as in the following example where the absence of *so* between **nagane** and **tatne** divides the list into two sections. The first 2 members of the list, **nae** and **nagane** are the most important members and are grouped together.

(6) *Paki ŋene,   nae so   nagane,   tat-ne   so*
   then we(pl) I and mother-my older brothers-my and

   ŋeso-ne   so   kiaro-kop-ne
   uncle-my and sister-pl-my

   'Then we, I and my mother and my brother, uncle and sister...'

After lists such as these, a pronoun copy (a personal pronoun or a relative pronoun) is often found in opposition, which seems to recapitulate or summarize all the conjoined items of the list. When coordinate noun phrases occur as subjects of verbs, the verb agrees in number with the total number of all the conjuncts and is therefore always dual or plural. Since *so* is an important conjunction also used in addition to medial verb forms to join clauses and sentences, it might be interesting to investigate the closeness of the relation between conjuncts on the phrase level. What clitics, if any, are strong enough to carry

back across the *so* and apply to both or all conjuncts? *So* seems to be a strong barrier between conjuncts since most clitics have to be repeated on both sides, as in:

(7) *Asu-ŋo   ŋine-rop   so   ŋene-rop   okora-ki*
    Holy Spirit-erg. you(pl)-with and us(pl)-with stand-3sDS
    'The Holy Spirit stand with you(pl) and with us(pl) and...'

In cases where a clitic occurs following only the second conjunct, either the conjuncts are so closely connected in the speaker's mind that he thinks of them as one, or a pronoun copy standing for both conjuncts takes the clitic.

(8) *koya so   kezoŋ-no   numa len-gi*
    rain   and   clouds-erg. way   block-3sDS
    'Rain and clouds blocked the way...'

Rain and clouds are being considered as a unit. Together they block the way.

(9) *ŋei so   ŋerep eto   ge-ma-mit*
    boy   and girl   they(d)erg. hit him-pres-3d
    'The boy and the girl, they are hitting him.'

   Eto is the agentive form of the third dual personal pronoun incorporating the ergative marker *ŋo*. The following example with the possessive clitic *wane* shows clearly that difference in form equals difference in meaning.

(10) *Roger wane so   Rebecca wane apum*
     Roger poss. and Rebecca poss. ball
     'Roger's ball and Rebecca's ball.'
     (there are two balls here)

(11) *Roger so   Rebecca wane apum*
     Roger and Rebecca poss. ball
     'Roger and Rebecca's ball.'
     (only 1 ball here)

2.2.2 -ŋo

The one ergative marker, -ŋo (P. Phinnemore, 1982) seems to be used with proper names to coordinate them in much the same way *so* does, as in:

(12) *Akolak-ŋo   Biaŋo   erane   don kisi*
cockatoo-erg. flying fox them(2) story
'The story of Cockatoo and Flying fox.'

(13) *Tom-ŋo Peni   ere   weti   Ukarumpa gemamit.*
Tom-erg. Penny they(d) on top Ukarumpa are living.
'Tom and Penny are living up at Ukarumpa.'

(14) *Staki-ŋo   Pekewe-ŋo Awasi baŋ   sari-k-ei.*
Staki-erg. Pekewe-erg. Awasi later come-fut-3plFV
'Staki and Pekewe and Awasi will come later.'

I have been told by an Ono speaker that *so* used in place of *ŋo* in these sentences would not alter the meaning, yet the principle of "one form - one meaning" prompts me to look for a meaning difference between the two. The ergative marker *-ŋo* also highlights topics which are controlling clitics and perhaps the focus in example (12), (13) and (14) is on which nouns are more in control than the others. The ergative marker is also used with the relative pronoun to relativize clauses which are agents or instruments (Phinnemore, 1982). Between coordinated sentences and clauses it is best translated as 'but'. Further analysis of the use of *-ŋo* with clauses should shed light on its use as a coordinator of noun phrases and sentences, if indeed it is a coordinator at all.

2.2.3 -rop

In the clause, *-rop* marks accompaniment as in example (7). It can be used with the relativizer *ea* to embed one clause within another.

For this reason and because I don't believe it is used to mark units of equal status, I don't really consider *-rop* a coordinate conjunction at any level.

(15) *eŋe gau-in-rop   mat-ko   met-pit   mo*
he grandmother-his-with village-at sit-3dDS and
'He stayed in the village with his grandmother and...'

'He', the child, is the main participant in the act of staying, but his grandmother stayed too, so is marked with *-rop*.

In many instances the addition of the comitative role does not change the number of the verb. In the following example there is only agreement in number with the subject:

> (16) *na ŋon-ne-rop*   *ari-kale*
>   I   younger brother-with-my go-fut-1sFV
>   'I will go with my younger brother.'

It is also possible to say:

> (17) *na ŋon-ne-rop*   *ari-ke-te*
>   I   younger brother-my-with go-fut-1dFV
>   'I with my younger brother will go.'

It is difficult to show a difference in English, yet I believe there is a subtle difference between the two. In the first example the speaker is focusing on his own going, whereas in the second example he is thinking about going with his brother.

In both cases the brother does not have equal status with the speaker syntactically or semantically, and I would not consider this to be real coordination.

3. COORDINATION BETWEEN CLAUSES

Now I will discuss coordination of clauses, keeping in mind that coordination is joining units of equal status (not necessarily importance) and that coordination contrasts with subordination syntactically in that coordination is encoded by the medial verb system and conjunctions, while subordination is encoded by final verbs embedded within clauses using deictics.

First, though, since alternation is a type of coordination we need to discuss the use of *me* with clauses.

3.1 Alternation *me*

Me is different than other types of coordination on the clause level in that medial verbs are not used. Yet the clauses are obviously of equal status. As on the phrase level, *me* is both inclusive and exclusive when used between two clauses.

(18) *mit-nom   paki kiek-ke-ne   me kes-ike-ne*
      dye-2sDS then begin-fut-2sFV or go down-gut-2sFV
      '...dye it and then you will begin or go down.'
      (After dying the string you will begin the string bag or
      continue weaving it.)

(19) *di   gado gadoŋ misuk bira-ke-i   me misuk ramu-ke-i*
      ?? dirty things don't wear-fut-2plFV or don't wrap-fut-2plFV
      'Don't wear or wrap yourself in dirty clothes.'

(18) is exclusive and (19) is inclusive. These two sentences also show that alternation requires final verbs in both clauses. While semantically it might seem possible to have alternation between a string of medial verbs, the fact that medial verbs are sequential is probably the reason why alternate constructions with medial verbs do not occur.

The most common use of *me* in Ono is as an interrogative marker for yes-no questions. As such it is exclusive. Only one alternative is allowable. When *me* is used with *mide* 'no', the speaker expects either a "yes" or "no" answer, with no strong preference either way. But when *me* is used alone the speaker definitely expects a positive response.

(20) *Ge Sialum ari-ke-ne   me mide?*
      you Sialum go-gut-2s or   no
      'Are you going to Sialum or not?'

In (20) *mide* stands for the alternative of not going to Sialum and the speaker is just asking a question.

(21) *Ge Sialum ari-ke- ne me?*
      you Sialum go- fut-2s or
      'You are going to Sialum, aren't you?'

In (21) the speaker expects a positive response. A negative response would require an explanation of some kind.

A further extension of this use of *me* is to strengthen jussives.

(22) *ŋara ebot-te   me*
        taro   plant-1dJus or
        'We had better plant taro, or else.'

This use of *me* gives the jussive mood the sense of a threat. A parent might say to a child:

(23) *Ma-nom*!
        do it-2sJus

If the child doesn't obey, then the parent will say:

(24) *Ma-nom   me*!
        do it-2sJus or
        'Do it, or else!'

3.2 Medial Verb System

Medial verbs are infinitive-like verb stems which cannot normally stand alone in a sentence. They look forward to the final verbs in a series for tense, some aspects and after person and number. Medial verbs also incorporate a system of switch reference whereby each verb signals whether the one following will have the same subject or not. If it will have a different subject, then the first verb must be marked for person and number. If it will have the same subject, then the marking of person and number is held off until the end of the string, i.e., until the subject is about to change.

If the verb stem ends in a consonant, then -*e* is added with resulting morphophonemic changes, but otherwise the same subject following is marked by the absence of person-number suffixation. Ono uses a special set of medial verb suffixes for person-number.

	singular	dual	plural
(25) 1st	*-we(-pe)*	*-te*	*-ŋem*
2nd	*-nom*	*-ut(-pit)*	*-u(-pi)*
3rd	*-ki*	*-ut(-pit)*	*-u(-pi)*

Except for third person singular, they are identical with the person-number affixes used for jussive mood. Jussive third person singular is *-kep* rather than *-ki*.

The repetitive aspect marker *-mage* or *-maŋ*, the intensifier *-uluk* and the completive *ware* may occur on medial verbs. Objects and reflexives are also marked. Habitual aspect *-okan* is never marked on medial verbs, but when marked on the final verb carries back over the preceding medial verbs just as tense does in example (26). The order of suffixes is the same as on final verbs.

(26) *gemore   naso baŋem ot-ki   ere*
     continuing SS every day   see them(2)-3sDS they(2)
     ŋara mir-e   more medep yewa man-bik   oŋo
     food cook-SS and   child that give him-3duDS he
     wa   mo   aŋainoka   ne-okan-ge
     go up already through his mouth eat-hab.3s.feFV
     'Continuing every day he saw them(2) and they used to
     cook food and give it to that child (and) he used to go
     up and eat it through his mouth.'

Ono, like other Papuan languages, uses the S/R system to monitor the subjects of the verbs and referents of the pronouns, so very few nouns are needed. Example (26) illustrates how the habitual aspect *-okan* and the tense of the final verb (far past) apply anaphorically over the whole string of medial verbs until a final verb is reached in the previous sentence. The person + number of the final verb apply anaphorically within the sentence until we come to a medial verb marked for a different referent. The person + number of a different subject medial verb apply anaphorically within the sentence until we come to another medial verb marked for a different referent of the subject. (If a final verb occurred in a subordinate clause first it would be skipped over. Only the subject referents of verbs in coordinate relationship are monitored.) In (26), the object *ŋara* 'food' applies cataphorically to every verb which may semantically take it as an object ('went up' *wa* obviously does not take *ŋara* 'food' as its object, but the following verb *neokange* 'he used to eat(it)' does.

In Ono there are several instances where the S/R system as described above is not strictly observed for one reason or another.

3.2.1 Parallel construction

As Reesink (1983b) has said, there is no problem with parallel constructions unless a mechanistic approach is taken to the S/R system. Ono speakers may reduplicate a clause to show that the action is repeated several times.

(27) *yale   ra-we   ra-we   so   ŋei   so   kasi...*
     like that say-1sDS say-2sDS and men and dogs
     'I said that many times and the men and dogs...'

Obviously the same person is speaking in both clauses, but Ono speakers understand that this type of reduplication suspends the S/R system until the next clause.

3.2.2 Partitioning

Partitioning of participant sets referred to by subjects is one of the seeming exceptions to the S/R system in Ono. Reesink (1983b) quotes Longacre as saying that "sequences involving partitioning of participant sets are not so much exceptions as refinement of what are to be considered same or different referents."

    Ono regards a shift from plural to dual or singular, or from dual to singular, where the singular or dual set are part of the plural or the singular is part of the dual set as having the same referents, and therefore the S/R system requires SS affixation. This seems to be very strictly observed. There do not seem to be any options, as Reesink notes for Usan and Kewa. In Usan it is possible to use either SS or DS affixation when going from 3 pl, 2 pl or 1 pl to 3S, and 1 pl to 2S and 3S. In Ono, choosing SS reflects the situation where the referent of the second subject is a subset of the referents of the first subject. Choosing DS means that the subject – referent of the following clause – does not belong to the referent set of the first subject. Examples (28) and (29) illustrate this with 1 pl and 3d.

(28) *ŋene   euoŋine   sari   mo   ere   doku tau-ke-it*
     we(3) from the garden comeSR already they(2) water wash-fut-3dFV
     'When we come from the garden, then they(2) will wash.'

(29) *ŋene   euoŋine   sari-ŋem   mo   ere   doku tau-ke-ıt*
     we(3) from the garden come-1plDS already they(2) water wash-fut-3dFV
     'When we come from the garden then they(2) will wash.'

In (28) *ere* 'they(2)' are part of the group that is coming back from the garden. In (29) *ere* 'they(2)' are not part of the group that is coming from the garden.

When the shift in number goes from singular to dual or plural or from dual to plural, Ono speakers always use DS affixation even if the referent of the subject of the first clause is one of the referents of the subjects of the second clause.

> (30) ŋei   matkoŋine   sari-ki,   eto   ari-ke-it
>   man from the house come-3sDS they(2) go-fut-3d
>   'When the man comes from his house, they(2) will go.'

ŋei 'man' is one of the referents of *eto* 'they 2'.

It seems strange at first that Ono speakers consider a shift from plural to singular as same referent, but a shift from singular to plural as different referent. Yet, in the first case, all the participants have been introduced and the speaker is choosing to focus on one of them and talk about what he is doing. Therefore, same referent is used. In the second case, only one of the participants has been introduced and a new participant or participants are being introduced in the second clause. Therefore, different referent is used. We can see then that, in partitioning, Ono speakers are actually following the S/R system as they perceive same and different referents, which is different from other language group, such as Usan or Kewa.

3.2.3 Temporals

Expecting temporals to act in some way outside the S/R mechanism, as they sometimes do in Usan and Timbe, I looked for examples in texts. I found that with temporals such as *kepe gaeki* 'the sun rose' and *ruo kereki* 'night fell', the S/R system monitors them as different subjects and requires DS affixation on the preceding clause and on the temporal clause. This is true even where the temporal clause might be considered background information or setting. Consider:

(31) *Finshapen   okora-ŋem   ruo   kere-ki   ruo*
   Finschhafen stand-1plDS night fell-3sDS night

   wane Finshapen   geliŋ-ka   sari-ŋem   kepe
   poss. Finschhafen leave-itSS come-1plDS sun

   gae-ki   ea   mo   Lae kito-ko-ne
   rise-3sDS that already Lae dock-fp-1plFV

   'We stood at Finshhafen, night fell, at night we leftFinschhafen and came,
   and after the sun rose we docked in Lae.'

When two temporal clauses are used together with no other clause between them,
then the first temporal clause is marked with SS even though the subject of the second
clause is different, as in:

(32) *waŋem   kepe gae   ruo   kere-ki   so*
   go up-1plDS sun   riseSS night fall-3sDS and

   ea   Mayawa ruo-o   lewag-e don girem
   there Mayawa night-at meetSS talk warning

   edan-gone
   give them-fp-??

   'We went up, the sun rose, night fell, and we met at
   Mayawa and warned them.'

kepe gae ruo kereki 'the sun rose, night fell' specifies a day, from dawn to dusk, and tells
us that a whole day passed between their going up and the meeting taking place.

3.2.4 Experiential Verbs

In Ono, certain verbs, which we can call experiential verbs, encode the experiencer of
the action as an object in the verb. In Ono, some of the physical or psychological states
(as Reesink calls them) encoded in this way are sickness, pain, itchiness, fear and
coughing.

(33) *Na geŋane   simi-nan-mai-ke*
   I   about you sweet-see me-pres.3s
   'I like you.'

(34) *ŋene korop zoma ŋon-maike*
   we   all   sick   see-us-pres.3s
   'We are all sick.'

Ono object markers come from the verb 'to see' which belongs to a set of object verbs which encode objects and the verb root as an unseparable morpheme. Ono seems to view certain psychological states as being caused by the sweetness (33) or the sickness (34) "seeing" the patient. When experiential verbs are one of a string of medial verbs, the S/R system seems to allow some choice as to the SS or DS marking of the verbs. Consider:

> (35) *mat-ine   gelig-e   taun-go ari   more zoma*
>   village-his leave-SS town-to goSS then sickness
>
>   *ka-ki   so   ea   seu-ke*
>   see him-3sDS and there die-fp.-3s
>
>   'He left his village, went to town, and got sick and died there.'

It is possible to have **ari-ki** 'go-3sDS' in place of **ari** 'goSS' with no change in meaning. When the verb preceding the experiential verb is SS, there is a strong tendency to use a conjunction (usually **more**) afterwards, but it is not absolutely necessary. Wit DS suffixation, a conjunction is less frequently used.

It would seem that Ono speakers can monitor the grammatical subject or the "real" subject of experiential verbs. This has something to do with the degree to which either the experience or causing entity is considered as topic by the speaker.

In our texts I have noticed one verb acting in a similar way with experiential verbs, yet it could not be considered an experiential verb. That is the verb **bira** 'throw' when it is used in the sense of a ship or car or even a person taking someone somewhere and leaving ('throwing') them there:

> (36) *Qaeki   ea-ŋine   berek mane-ŋo   koso*
>   next day there-from car   another-ag/ins again
>
>   *ŋ ??   ari eri   Kaliwo-wo naŋi*
>   take usSS goSS over there Kaliwo-wo plane
>
>   *sobeŋin-o bira-ŋon-gi   naŋi ma   more*
>   airstrip-at leave-us-3sDS plane takeSS and
>
>   *ari   Midik   ket   bira-ŋon-ge.*
>   goSS Mindik go downSS leave-us-3s-fp.FV
>
>   'The next day, another car again took us over there to the airstrip at Kaliwo-wo, left us, we took a plane and it went to Mindik, went down and left us there.'

There is no problem here until we get to *ma* 'take'. Until then the subject has been *berek* 'can' and the object 'us' (*ŋebu* 'take us' and *-ŋon-* 'us' in *biraŋongi*).

In contrast with *ŋebu-* which can have both animate and inanimate subjects, *ma* cannot have an inanimate subject. Therefore, its subject must be 'we'. *Biraŋongi* indicates DS following. Normally the next expressed subject would apply to the preceding string of medial verbs. Yet the affixation on *biraŋonge* indicates that *naŋi* 'plane' is its subject. Since *naŋi* cannot be the subject of *ma* 'take', we conclude that between *ma* 'take' and *biraŋonge* the subject has changed without its being marked on any verb. It would seem that the S/R system can pick up the object of one verb *biraŋongi*, use it as a subject and then go back again to the original subject without saying so. It might be possible to consider *ma more* 'we took and' as background information and therefore off the story line, but the preceding verb points to a different subject ahead. This is not an isolated example, but as yet I have not seen it with verbs other than *bira* 'leave'. Perhaps this is evidence for the topical hierarchy, (Reesink, 1983b) which says that animate topics are higher than inanimate topics and therefore are easily recovered from the context even when they are not marked in the normal ways.

I have described the Ono medial verb system and shown that it is consistent and very adequate as a means of monitoring the subjects of consecutive clauses. But what other functions does it have?

Basically, clauses conjoined using the medial verb system with or without conjunctions are in a sequential or simultaneous relationship to each other. Ono speakers can encode such semantic relationships as conditions, cause-result, benefactive and purpose in medial verb constructions, but when they do, I believe that the "collection" (Grimes, 1975) relationship between the clauses is the one being expressed, whereas the other relationships can be inferred on the basis of extralinguistic knowledge.

Ono speakers can express other semantic relations in much stronger ways using subordination (T. Phinnemore, 1982) when they want to.

Thus, to show one action following after another, Ono uses medial verbs. All the medial verbs in a string take their tense from the lost verb which is a fully inflected final verb. While actions may all take place in the far past, for example, they may, at the same time, have taken quite a long period of time from the first to the last. There may also be relatively longer or shorter gaps between each event. Ono uses conjunctions to show this. Ono conjunctions also break up series of medial verbs into decodable chunks.

In the following section I will attempt to back up these claims with examples.

3.3 Ono Coordinate Conjunctions

In this section I want to describe each of the Ono conjunctions used with clauses and sentences, showing how many are actually medial verbs with subject monitoring affixation and subject monitoring function. It is difficult to translate these conjunctions by a single English word. Sometimes their translation is determined by the semantic relationships mentioned above. Many times "and" or "then" or "after that" is an adequate translation for any of them. Yet, as Reesink (1983a, 1983b) says of Usan conjunctions, the meaning changes slightly with the choice of the conjunction or combination of conjunctions. I think there is a continuum whereby clauses are in a loose sequential relationship or a tight sequential relationship, depending on which conjunctions are used. We might consider serialization to be at the tightly sequential end of the continuum, if in fact serialization in Ono acts any differently than other Ono medial verbs in sequence.

3.3.1 *So* 'and'

So is the most neutral conjunction in Ono and can usually be translated 'and'. As we have seen, it is also used to conjoin phrases. Events joined by *so* occur in loose sequence. That is, they may occur one immediately following the other or there may be a time lapse. The speaker is not really specifying one way or the other. Consider:

> (37) *ra-ki   so   eŋe ra-ke...*
>   say-3sDS and he say-3sfpFV
>   'He said and he said...'

In a conversation there is no significant break between the end of one person's speech and the beginning of the other person's response.

> (38) *paki   medep ea   eŋe urata-o mari-ki   so   eŋe arok-maŋ-ge*
>   then   child   that she work-to take-3sDS and he cry-rep.-3sfp.FV
>   'Then she took that child to work and he cried and cried.'

Here the child did not necessarily begin to cry the moment she took him to work. There probably was a time lapse between their going and his crying.

As when phrases are conjoined, there is also quite a lot of choice when *so* is used to conjoin clauses. *So* is rare between events that seem to belong close together in Ono scripts or expectancy chains.

(39) *ŋara mir-e   nin-om   ne-ve*
food cook-SS give me-2sDS eat-1sJussive
'Cook food and give it to me to eat.'

Ono speakers use *so*, as we do in English, to break up very long strings of verbs. Other conjunctions have this function too.

3.3.2 *Mo* 'already'

Mo is an adverb meaning 'already' which may be used as a conjunction when it applies to the whole clause or string of clauses preceding it. In (40) *mo* is an adverb.

(40) *ŋosa-ine   mo   kulu pa-mai-ke*
grandchild-her already sleep be-pres.-3sFV
'Her grandchild is already asleep.'

In (41) *mo* as a conjunction applies to the two preceding clauses.

(41) *na moka geliŋ-nan-e ari-u   mo   i-mna   ge-mai-le*
me before leave-me-SS go-3pl.DS already this-dim. live-pres.-1sFV
'They left me a long time ago and so I am living in this little place.'

Mo strengthens the sequential relationship between the clauses preceding and following it. In (41) the speaker is emphasizing the fact that the parents left the child before he began to live in that place. There is not necessarily a time lapse between the two events. In (42) the two events joined by *mo* are in tight sequence.

(42) *ra-ut   mo   eŋe etan-e   ra-ke...*
say-3dDS already he   say to them(2)-SS say-3sfpFV
'After they (2) said that, he said to them (2) ...'

Mo and *so* both occur following SS and DS medial forms of the verb.

3.3.3 *Paki* and *More*

The rest of the Ono conjunctions are medial verb forms. They are used metaphorically to convey interclausal relationships such as completed action, simultaneous action or overlap, and one action continuing until another occurs. They have subject-monitoring affixation but it is sometimes necessary, as I will try to demonstrate, to post the preceding clause as the referent of the subject or of the object of the conjunction-verb in order to follow the switching of the reference.

With some Ono verbs it is necessary or at least usual to express the resultant state of an action as well as the action in a series of clauses. Consider:

> (43) *papia zake-o   mot-ki   pa-ia-ke*
>   book table-on put-3sDS lie-fut-3sFV
>   'He will put the book on the table and it will lie there.'

Paiake 'it will lie (there)' is the resultant state of *zakeo motki* 'he put it on the table'.
The same verb *pa* 'lie' as found in (43) is used in its medial DS form in (44).

> (44) *wa   more kit-in-o   mot-ki   pa-ki   ra-ke...*
>   go up and   stringbag-his-in put-3sDS he-3sDS say-3sfpFV
>   'After he went up, he put it in his string bag and said...'

kitino motki paki is literally 'he put it in his string bag, it lay (there)'. In this example it is the thing that he put in his string bag that is doing the action of 'lying' there. It is not really such a big jump to example (45) where it is not a particular object which is doing the lying but a whole event, in the sense that the event has occurred and is now completed.

> (45) *ra-ki   pa-ki   ari-ke*
>   say-3sDS he-3sDS go-3sfpFV
>   'After he said that, he went.'

Literally (45) is 'he said it, it lay (there), he went.' 'It', the object of *ra-* 'say' and the subject of *pa-* 'lie' has as its referent words which 'he' spoke in the previous sentence.

In example (46) *paki* follows an intransitive verb.

(46) *eŋe   eu-o   ari   lotke-u   pa-ki*
they(pl) garden-to goSS arrive-3plDS he-3sDS

nabok so magak ere   kepe digil-o ket
mother and father they(2) ground flat-to go downSS

ge   urata ma   ge-ko-ik
staySS work doSS stay-fp-3dFV

'After they had gone and (they) arrived at the garden, (and it lay and) the
mother and father went down and stayed in the valley (flat ground) and
stayed doing the work.'

lotkeu 'arrive' has DS affixation, but the next overt subject *nabok so magak ere* 'mother and
father they' has the same referent (since partitioning of participants is marked by SS in
Ono). If *paki* DS has as its subject the preceding clauses *ari lotkeu* 'they went and arrived',
then the marking of *lotkeu* makes sense.

More has the same meaning as *paki*. They both strengthen, even more than *mo*
'already' does, the sequential relationship between two events. *More* is the SS medial form
of the verb *mot* 'put'. As we did with *paki*, we can first look at an example using *more*
where a literal translation is possible and then move on to other sentences. Consider
example (25) again:

(25) *Gemor-e   naso baŋem ot-ki   ere*
continuing-SS every day   see them(2)-3sDS they(2)

ŋara mir-e   mor-e   medep yewa man-bik   oŋo
food cook-SS   put-SS   child   that   give him-3dDS   he

wa   mo   aŋainoka   ne-okan-ge
go up already through his mouth eat-hab.-3sfp.FV

'Continuing, every day he saw them(2) and they used to
cook food and give it to that child (and) he used to go
up and eat it through his mouth.'

In (25) it would be possible to translate *more* literally as 'they put it' with *ŋara* 'food' as
the understood object. However, *more* seems to function more as a conjunction like *paki*,
creating a strong sense of succession between the two clauses. This interpretation is
strengthened by its presence in sentences where no object for *mot-* 'put' is available.

(47) *doku-o   ari   mor-e   koma eŋet-ine   Mari*
    water-to goSS put-SS snake name-its Mari

    ka   mor-e   ma-ko-i
    see itSS put-SS take-fp.-eplFV

    'When they had gone to the water, they saw a snake named
    Mari and took it.'

In both instances in (47) *more* indicates that the event preceding *more* is finished before the event following *more* begins. I believe Ono speakers think of finishing or completing an action as 'putting' it.

    The difference between *paki* 'it lies DS' and *more* '(it) putsSS' as conjunctions is a subtle one. Either one may occur in a context such as (48) or (49). *Paki* follows verbs with DS affixation and *more* follows verbs with SS affixation, but the real participants in the events are the same. It is *paki* which causes the preceding verb to be DS, not the other way around. Compare:

    (48) *kauŋ   mir-e   mor-e   man-gi ne-ke*
        sweet potato cook-SS put-SS give him-3sDS eat-3sfp.FV

    (49) *kauŋ   mit-ki   pa-ki   man-gi ne-ke*
        sweet potato cook-3sDS lie-3sDS give him-3sDS eat-3sfp.FV
        'After she had cooked sweet potato, she gave it to him and he ate it.'

Reesink (1983b) suggests that using a different referent medial form puts more "distance" or "causal" connection between clauses than a same referent medial form does. Thus in (49) the speaker would be indicating more distance between the cooking and giving than he would be in (48). This distance is not necessarily distance in time or space, but it may be. It may also be distance−, in the speaker's mind psychological distance.

3.3.4 *Qoeki*

Qoeki 'finish 3s DS' is another medial verb used as a conjunction in Ono. *Qoeki*, when used in strings of clauses, has the same meaning as *paki* and *more* do, but the sense of completed action is stronger. For example,

(50) *ŋene   ŋara met-ŋem   goe-ki   koni yaso-mai-ne*
     we(3) taro plant-1pl.DS finish-3sDS corn plant-pres.-1plFV
     'When we have finished planting taro, we plant corn.'

The grammatical subject of *goe-* 'finish' cannot be *ŋene* 'we' because *metŋem* 'we plant' indicates a change of subject to follow.

    The grammatical subject of *goe* 'finish' is the previous clause, *ŋene ŋara metŋem* 'we plant taro'. When the event of our planting taro is completed, then we can plant corn. Thus the verb preceding *goeki* is DS.

3.3.5 *Metki*

Metki 'sit 3s DS' contrasts with *paki, more* and *goeki*. The latter are used for consecutive events, while the former expressestemporal overlap. For example:

(51) *ŋei   weku eŋe sitog-e sari   met-ki mogat-ka   sari-ke*
     man one he run-SS comeSS sit-3sDS run after-him come-3sfpFV
     'One man was running (away) and she ran after him.'

The man started to run away first and she ran after him from village to village, in this story.

(52) *malilipke met-ki   ebe-ne   kitat-pi so*
     holdSS   sit-3sDS neck-my cut-3plDS and
     lewe-na ea   mo   ma   ari
     head-my that already takeSS goSS
     'While she is holding onto it (my head), they will cut my
     neck, and my head, that she should bring and...'

With respect to example (51) and (52), it is possible to ask if *metki* is not simply the verb 'sit' used in its literal sense. Example (52) would then portray the situation of a man coming, running, and sitting down (in this context sitting in a village) and then the woman chasing after him. Either interpretation is possible (grammatically), just as in example (25) either a literal or metaphorical interpretation of *more* is possible but not probable. A literal interpretation of (52) would be saying that the girl is actually sitting and holding onto the snake's head. There is a problem semantically, though, in that we wonder what the connection is between the girl sitting holding the head of the snake and the others

cutting its neck. If the two are simply consecutive events, the sentence doesn't make much sense.

A literal sense of *metki* 'he sat and he...' is not possible in the following example:

(53) *koyaŋo   ge   met-ki   ruo   kere-ki*
     rain-inst hitSS sit-3sDS night fall-3sDS
     'While it was raining, night fell...'

In English we use the metaphor of "sitting" doing something to convey the idea of repeated or continuous action. Ono speakers use the metaphor of "sitting" to convey overlap between two events.

Metki is different from *paki* and *goeki* in that it has a real subject, which is the same as the subject of the previous clause. Therefore the preceding clause always has SS affixation and *metki* may change its own person-number affixation according to normal S/R rules. It may also mark SS following.

3.3.6 *Gemaqe*

Gemaqe is a medial verb made up of three verb roots, *qe* 'be', *ma* 'do', and *qe* 'be' marked for SS following. *Ma* and *qe* form the Ono repetitive aspect marker, *maqe*. *Gemaqe* is used to indicate that the action of the preceding clause continues on for a period of time and finishes just as the action of the following clause begins. The beginning of the second event sometimes seems to precipitate the ending of the first event.

(54) *..kiwet-ŋo   popoq-e ma-wa   ma-ket*
     ocean-inst float-SS do-go upSS do-go downSS

     qemaqe   sia-o   Tuam Malai wa-ke
     continueSS island-to Tuam Malai go up-3sfpFV
     '...it floated on the ocean continuing up and down until
     it went up on the island of Tuam Malai.'

The object (a small package) continued going up and down on the waves until it came to the island. Of necessity, when it went up on the island it stopped going up and down on the ocean.

Like *metki* 'sit 3s DS' *qemaqe* manifests the full range of medial affixes.

More than one Ono conjunction may be used to conjoin clauses. The two most neutral conjunctions never occur together, but either of them may be used with any one of the other verbal conjunctions except *qemaqe*. Consider example (55):

(55) *seki   sa-ki   ma-te   pa-ki   so*
     ship   come-3sDS   take-2d.DS   he-3sDS   and

     mat-so   ari   Sialum   bira-ŋot-ki
     home-our(2)   goSS   Sialum   leave-us(2)-3sDS

     so   Kip   mat-so   ari-ko-te
     and   Kip   village-our(2)   go-fp.-1dFV

     'When the ship had come (and) we had taken it, and it went
     towards home and left us at Sialum, we went to our
     village, Kip.' ·

Here we find clauses connected with medial verb affixes, *ari* 'go SS' and *saki* 'come 3s DS', a medial verb with *so* 'and' and a medial verb with *paki so* 'lie 3s DS and'.

All these clauses stand in coordinate relationship with each other. But the more material which is used to express such a relationship, the more distance is signalled, which is a specific instance of the iconicity of language (Haiman, 1980). Such distance is not just spacial or temporal. It can also be psychological.

First of all, culturally determined expectancy chains hardly ever use more than sequences of medial verbs as in (56).

(56) *woune   ma   ari   mir-e   ne-ka-le*
     egg   takeSS   goSS   cook-SS   eat-fut.-1sFV
     'I will take the egg and go and cook and eat it.'

In example (55) the amount of time lapse between clauses corresponds to the amount of material (i.e. medial verbs and conjunctions) between them. The greatest time lapse occurs between the boarding of the ship and arriving in Sialum, therefore *paki so* 'lie 3s DS and'. Less time lapses between the ship's leaving them in Sialum and their going to Kip, therefore *so* 'and'. While there probably is a time elapse between the ship's coming and their boarding it, the speaker is not thinking about that. He is describing his trip, not the ship's routine, and it doesn't matter how long the ship was in port, and therefore there are no conjunctions between *saki* 'it came' and *mate* "we boarded it'. Likewise, no

conjunctions are used between *ari* 'go' and *biraŋotki* 'leave us' because the speaker considers the 'going' and 'leaving' as part of the same event.

To summarize, we can say that for Ono that a medial SS sequence is the tightest, almost directly followed by a DS sequence. Either *so* or *mo* increases the distance. *More* is an SS verb form used only after SS verbs, but *paki* is a DS form. Thus, *paki* pulls the two conjuncts farther apart than *more* does. *Qoeki* increases the distance even more. A verbal conjunction with *so* or *mo* signals more distance again between the clauses.

Gemage and *metki* relate clauses in special ways. *Gemage* is never used with conjunctions because it signals very tight sequence between events. Using *so* or *mo* with *metki* indicates greater distance between the beginnings of events which are partly simultaneous.

3.4 Serialization: Benefactives and Causatives

I Take the following (James 1983:27,28) as a broad definition of serialization:

"Two or more verbs which occur in series with neither normal coordinating nor subordinating markers, which share at least some core arguments (normally subject and/or object/goal), and which in some sense function together semantically like a single predication."

It is hard to say whether it occurs, at least widely, in Ono. Certain verbs do occur in series, and in the minds of Ono speakers, at least, are like a single predication. The most common example would be the one I have already mentioned.

> (57) *ŋara ma   sari   mir-e   man-qi   ni-ki*
> food takeSS come-SS cook-SS give him-3sDS eat-3sfp.FV
> 'She brought and cooked food, and gave it to him to eat.'

The verbs in this example, though, are marked with normal coordinating markers, i.e., SS and DS affixes on medial verbs. All the verbs share the same object *ŋara* 'food', and the first four share the same subject 'she', but once again, this is normal for coordination between clauses in Ono.

The verb 'to give' *man-* is used for benefactives in Ono. To do something for someone is to give it to him. Therefore *mire mangi nike* could just as easily be translated "she cooked it for him to eat". Another example of a benefactive follows:

(58) *Qa-ine   eŋane tun-go   plet   sauk-e   man-ia-ke*
     little sister-her her   place-in dishes wash-SS give her-fut3sFV
     'In her place her little sister will wash the dishes for her.'

Here, the younger sister did not wash the dishes and give them to her older sister. The Ono verb 'give' expresses the benefactive relationship and is a type of serialization.

Causatives, in Ono, are another type of serialization. For example,

(59) *qesonqeson pa-mai-ke   yewa   korop qe*
     questions   lie-pres.-3sFV that all   hit itSS

     watke   more mot-nom   sar-ia-ke
     fill upSS and   put-3sDS come-fut.-3sFV
     'You will fill in all the questions (on an application
     form) and send it (the form) (to me).'

The subject of *qe* 'hit it' is 'you' and the subject of *watke* 'fill up' is 'it' (the questions on the form), yet *qe* is marked SS. *Qe watke* means to cause the questions on the form to be filled up.

Ma 'do' (with your hands)' and *la* 'do (with your feet)' are also used as causatives in the same way as *qe* 'hit' is.

3.5 Coordination between Sentences

A sentence is a clause with a final verb and sentence final intonation. Sentences may be juxtaposed, joined with conjunctions or tail-head linkage. Juxtaposition of clauses using medial verbs without extra links or conjunctions normally indicates temporal sequence. Juxtaposition of sentences breaks the sequence and marks background information or explanations which are off the event line.

So 'and', when it is used to join sentences, also marks background or explanatory information when it is used sentence initially.

3.5.1 Tail-Head Linkage

The most usual way to join sentences in Ono, especially in narrative and procedural texts, is tail-head linkage. In tail-head linkage, the final verb of one sentence is repeated at the beginning of the next sentence. This joins up consecutive events and keeps the story moving.

The repeated verb takes the medial SS or DS form of the last final verb. The following example illustrates tail-head linkage between sentences. It is the beginning of a procedural text telling how to make a string bag.

   (60) (a) *imu*   *kitas-ike-ne*
        pandanus air root cut-fut-2sFV
        'Cut a pandanus air root.'

     (b) *imu*   *kitar-e ma   sari kito-ke-ne*
        pandanus air root cut-SS takeSS comeSS scrape-fut-2sFV
        'Cut an air root, bring it and scrape it.'

     (c) *kito*   *kaiwe-o mot-nom pa-ka-ia-ke*
        scrapeSS sun-in   put-2sDS lie-see it-fut-3sFV
        'Scrape it, put it in the sun and it will lie there
        and see it (dry).'

All of sentence (a) is recapitulated at the beginning of sentence (b). It is common, but not necessary, for objects and locatives to be repeated with the linking verb. *Imu* 'air root' is also the object of *kito* in the third sentence but it is not repeated there. *Kitare* 'cut' and *kito* 'scrape' are medial forms indicating SS following.

    Sometimes more than one clause may be repeated, especially when the clauses express culturally determined expectancy chains, as in (61).

   (61) (a) *maga-ine-ŋo   mept-wane   wa   ket-ke*
        father-his-erg forked stick-for go upSS go down-3s.fpFV
        'His father went up and went down for a forked stick.'

     (b) *wa   ket-ki   so   gifo-le-ŋo   olat-ke...*
        go upSS go down-3sDS and son -his-erg. tell him-3s.fpFV
        'He went up and went down and his son told him...'

Note DS affixation on *ketki* 'he went down' in (b) because the following subject has a different referent.

Occasionally, additional information may be included in the link. In (62) (b) *ŋetseka* 'we(2) only' specifies explicitly that only 'I' and '*Satoŋ*' were present for the discussion. Only *ŋere* 'we(2)' would be needed to pick up *na* 'I' and *Satoŋ* from the preceding sentence.

> (62) (a) ...*na det-pe   paki   Satoŋ gorop au-ko-te*
>   I   think-1sDS afterDS Satoŋ with   discuss-fp-1dFV
>   '...after, I had thought, I discussed (it) with Satoŋ.'

> (b) *ŋetse-ka   au   more   mo   wesi   qeduqu-te...*
>   we(2)-only discussSS andSS already money gather together-1dDS
>   'Only we (2) discussed (it) and then we gathered together the
>   money...'

3.5.2 Non Verbation Tail-Head Linkage

Not only may additional information appear in the recapitulation, but the verb itself may be changed. Normally a more generic lexical item is used to recapitulate the specific event of the previous sentence. *Mau* 'they took' is substituted for the more specific verb *mararakkoi* 'they grabbed' in (63).

> (63) (a) ...*eŋe kiŋzaŋ kaŋzaŋ wie   ŋerep mararak-ko-i*
>   they suddenly   get upSS girl   grab-fp.-3plFV
>   '...they suddenly got up and grabbed the girl.'

> (b) *ma-u   paki...*
>   take-3plDS afterDS
>   'After they took (her)...'

Recapitulated verbs may be followed by the full range of conjunctions I discussed under the clause. Note *ketki so* 'he went down and' in (61) (b) and *au more mo* 'we discussed it and then' in (62) (b).

The conjunctions *paki* 'lie 3s DS', *qemaqe* 'continue SS' and *qoeki* 'finish 3s DS' may be substituted for verb repetition in tail-head links between sentences. They refer to the previous event or events as they do when used as clausal conjunctions. They may be combined with *so* 'and', *mo* 'already' and *more* 'putSS' as descussed under clauses.

(64) (a) ...*berek ma   sari   engu   ne-ko-i*
                  pig   takeSS comeSS themSS eat-fp-3plFV
                  '...they brought pigs, killed and ate them.'

   (b) *paki   ŋano wesi ea   eŋe koso anaŋ-qe*
                  after thatDS later stone that it   again open-3s.fpFV
                  'After that later that stone opened up again.'

The conjunction *paki* in (b) refers to the previous sentence (a).

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