

Two Verbal Constructions in Kaugel

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0. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

This article describes two aspects of Kaugel verbs: (1) the functions of *te* 'to do', and (2) active-passive verb compounds, which include *te*.

Kaugel (called Gawigl in Wurm, 1982), is spoken by about 60,000 people living in the Western and Southern Highlands Provinces of Papua New Guinea, in an area roughly bordered by the towns of Mt.Hagen, Mendi and Ialibu. Wurm (1982) describes Gawigl (Kaugel) as a member of the Hagen sub-family, of the Central family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock of the Eastern-Central Trans-New Guinea Phylum of Papuan languages. The dialect specifically under study in this paper is the Umbungu dialect of Kaugel spoken in the Tambul area of the Western Highlands Province and the Upper Mendi area of the Southern Highlands Province.¹

Kaugel, like many Papuan languages, is an SOV language. It is an ergative-absolutive language, so far as the Noun Phrase is concerned; that is the actor of the transitive clause is marked with an ergative clitic (*ne/ni*), but both the subject of the intransitive clause and the object of the transitive clause are unmarked. However, the verb suffixes reflect a nominative-accusative system, in that the same set of person suffixes indicate both the subject of the intransitive verb and the actor of transitive verb. There is no verb suffix indicating object. The Kaugel participant identification system, both in verb suffixes and free-form pronouns, distinguishes first, second, and third singular, and first and non-first dual and plural. Ordering rules for other structures include the following: adjectives follow nouns, the possessor precedes the thing possessed, and the relative clause usually precedes the noun it is relativising. There are no prefixes, only suffixes; and post-positions rather than pre-positions.

Words in Kaugel fall into two major types; verbs and non-verbs. Non-verbs take no affixation of their own but almost all of them can accept phrase-final case clitics indicating such things as ergative, locative and indirect object. Verbs consist of a stem plus suffixes and are either dependent or independent. Dependent verbs are obligatorily suffixed for person (subject) but do not reflect tense, which is indicated by a suffix on the following independent verb. Independent verbs obligatorily occur sentence finally and wherever there is a change of tense or person. They occur with a different set of person (subject) suffixes for each tense.

1. THE VERB AND 'to do' VERBS

The three classes of verbs are existential verbs, modifying verbs and regular verbs. The verb *te* 'to do' is a regular verb which may also be used as a modifying verb, in which case it is used to encode probabilative aspect (see examples (28), (29) and (30)).

The functions of *te* can be summarized as follows:

- 1.1. As the verb 'to do', with a secondary semantic component of 'to make' or 'to happen';
- 1.2. As a pro-verb;
 - 1.3.1. With adjuncts to form other verbal concepts;
 - 1.3.2. With adjuncts in 3rd person singular only to form stative/passive type verbs;
 - 1.3.3. with adjuncts and the benefactive suffix;
 - 1.3.4. with foreign words functioning as adjuncts;
- 1.4. in the formation of the terms for 'how' and 'why';
- 1.5. to indicate probabilative aspect;
- 1.6. as a summarizing verb, occurring sentence finally;
- 1.7. to encode the act of preparing to perform another action;
- 1.8. special uses with other verbs;

1.1 The verb *te* 'to do'

This verb form occurs with a secondary meaning of 'to make'. It is a regular verb which can occur in both dependent and independent forms. It can be affixed for all appropriate tenses, moods, aspects, and persons.²

The first order benefactive suffix is not included in the chart in appendix 2 because its occurrence is not obligatory. The second order suffix on the

independent verbs indicates tense, mood or aspect. It should be noted that the tense marker for both future and near past tenses is a zero morpheme. The third order is a person suffix indicating subject. The person suffix is a portmanteau morpheme, combining as it does both person and number. And inasmuch as there is a different set of person suffixes for each tense, mood or aspect these person morphemes include an indication of tense, mood and aspect as well.

The person markers, especially in the indicative, exhibit a certain amount of patterning. First of all, both past and present tenses are the same; Secondly, the second person singular is always signified by nV, third person singular tends to be signified by mV, dual by mbVIV and/or ngVIV, and plural by mVIV and/or ngV. The dependent verbs have a very simple set of person suffixes and are not inflected for tense, mood, or aspect.

Various examples of the *te* verb now follow (where V stands for any vowel):

- (1) *nu nambe te-ke-no-ye*
2s what (action) do-pr-2s-qu.
'What are you doing?'
- (2) *nu nambolka te -ke-no-ye*
2s what (thing) make-pr-2s-qu.
'What are you making?'
- (3) *ene te -le -mela*
2/3p do -asp-2/3p.subj
'They might do it.'
- (4) *na -ndo kongono te -ini-mu*
me-to work do qi.2s-say-3s
'He told me to work'
- (5) *yu te -pili*
3s do-hort.3s
'Let him do it!' or, more usually and somewhat colloquially,
'Let it be!' / 'Leave it!'

1.2 The verb *te* 'to do' as a pro-verb

When *te* stands in place of another verb which is understood in the context, usually in conversation, it occurs as a pro-verb. It cannot be used to stand in place of verbs of being or motion:

- (6) *nunge ulke konde tewale tako -ni -ye koronga te -ndu*
 your house new when build-2s.fut-qu already do-np.1p
 'When are you going to build your new house?'
- (7) *ye nawe-ne kongi to -pa koyo -pa si -mu -ye Yalipu te -mu*
 man who -act pig hit-3sd cook-3sd give-3s.np-qu Yalibu do-3s.np
 'Which man killed, cooked and gave pig?' 'Yalibu did.'

1.3 Adjunct-verb compounds

The most common use of the verb *te* 'to do' in Umbungu is in adjunct-verb compounds. These consist of an adjunct plus a verb, a common construction type in Papuan languages (Foley 1986).³ In our Kaugel to English dictionary there are some 250 verb compounds using the verb *te* 'to do', which indicates how commonly it is used in this way.

1.3.1 Other verbal concepts

- (8) *yu kakapu te -ri -ngi*
 3s surround do-dp-2/3p
 'they encircled/surrounded him'
- (9) *unju kolomongo te -ndu*
 wood cross.cut do-np.1s
 'I cross-cut the wood'
- (10) *ambola kola te -ke -mo*
 girl tear do-pr-3s
 'the girl is crying'
- (11) *koro kelo malli te -nge*
 rest small dance do-2/3pl
 'they will dance on Saturday'
- (12) *lou nanga te -nu -ye*
 axe sharp do-2sg-qu
 'Have you sharpened the axe?'

- (13) *ambo -ma gele te -le -mele*
 women-plart skirt do-asp-cust.2/3p
 'the women wear skirts'

- (14a) *unjo karaye te -ke-mo*
 wood bent do-pr-3s
 'the wood is bent'

I consider (14a) to be the normal use of this verb compound and (14b) to be an extended or idiomatic use.

- (14b) *kanu ye -mo karaye te -ke-mo*
 that man-sart bent do-pr-3s
 'that man is stubborn/insistent'

1.3.2 Verbal Stative Types

One specific type of Adjunct-Verb compound calls for special attention. These are the 'passive' or 'stative verb compounds formed with an adjunct plus *te* 'to do'. These occur only in the thirdperson singular, i.e. they are impersonal verb constructions, with the one affected functioning as patient, hence the use of the term passive.⁴

- (15) *ambo -mo mopune te -ri -mu*
 woman-sart attractive do-dp-3s
 'the woman was attractive'

- (16) *ene olie te -ri -mu*
 2/3p shame do-dp-3s
 'they were ashamed/embarrassed'

- (17) *na paa pange te -ke-mo*
 1s very weak do-pr-3s
 'I am very weak'

- (18) *na olo te -ke-mo*
 1s stomach do-pr-3s
 'I am burdened' or '(it) is too heavy for me'

(19a) *ene engele te-ri -mu*
 2/3p hunger do-dp-3s
 'they were hungry'

The verb *te* 'to do' is a transitive verb and only occurs in the third person singular form. Hence there is a mis-match between the NP (pronoun) and the suffixation on the verb, so that the NP cannot be functioning as the grammatical subject. Instead the whole construction is quite like a transitive clause with the NP (pronoun) functioning like an object, something like 'Hunger is doing them' (19a). However, although the predominant ordering of clausal elements in the language is SOV, in this construction the ordering is always and only as presented in the examples, i.e. if we consider the NP (pronoun) is functioning as an Object, this gives the ordering of OSV. Of course the ordering is influenced by the close-knit nature of the Adjunct Verb compound. In some languages, such as Kalam, which mark the object on the NP, the construction is marked for the accusative case. Note the example from Kalam (in Foley 1986:122):

(19b) *yp ywan g -p -o*
 1s.ACC hunger do-perf-3s
 'I feel hungry'

1.3.3. With Adjuncts and the Benefactive suffix

Sometimes the benefactive suffix can be used in the verb with a difference in meaning:

(20a) *kake te -ke-mo*
 clean do-pr-3s
 'it/he/she is clean'

(20b) *kake te -nji -ki -mu*
 clean do-ben-pr-3s
 'he/she is cleaning (it)'

(21a) *na kimbu arili-kurili te -ke-mo*
 1s foot itch do-pr-3s
 'my foot is itchy'

- (21b) *na kimbu arili-kurili te -nji -ki -mu*
 1s foot tickle do -ben-pr-3s
 'he is tickling my foot'

Pronouns are not usually suffixed for possession when occurring with body parts or kin terms (21).

1.3.4 With foreign words

New verbal expressions come into Kaugel from Tok Pisin, and in these cases verbal compounds invoking *te* are also used:

- (22) *lou te -le -mele*
 church do-asp-cust.2/3p
 'They regularly go to church'
- (23) *wasi-wasi te-ke-ro*
 wash do-pr-is
 'I am washing (myself)'
- (24) *Lei baeme te -mulu*
 Lae buy do-np.1p
 'We bought it in Lae'

1.4. The formation of the interrogatives 'how' and 'why'

To form the term for 'how' the verb *te* 'to do' is used in dependent form in conjunction with *nambe* 'what', as in (25b) and (26):

- (25a) *oleanga na Akena pu-ndu*
 yesterday 1s Hagen go -np.1s
 'Yesterday I went to Hagen.'
- (25b) *Akena nambe te -ko pu-nu-ye*
 Hagen what do-2d go-2s-qu.
 'How did you go to Hagen?'
- (25c) *karo-na pu-ndu*
 car -by go-np.1s
 'I went by car.'
- (26) *kako nambe te -pa te -ri -mu-ye*
 belt what do-3sd make-dp-3s -qu
 'How did he make his belt?'

The term for 'why' is derived in much the same way as the term for 'how'. The main difference in these two terms is that the verb *te* 'to do' occurs in dependent form when being used as 'how', and in independent form when being used as 'why'. The form in which the word for why usually occurs at this time is *nambemuna*, or sometimes *nambe temuna*. It seems to be in a stage of transition in which it is losing the first phoneme of the verb stem and becoming a one word lexicalised form. The derivation/ underlying meaning of this term is as follows:

(27a) *nambe (t)e-mu -na*
 what do -np.3s-because
 'because what happened / why?'

(27b) *aku si -ku nambemuna te -nu-ye*
 that give-2sd why do-np-qu
 'Why did you do/act like that?'

In (27b) *aku* 'that' plus *si* 'give' is an adjunct-verb compound which occurs only in dependent form, meaning 'like that'.

1.5 Probabilitive aspect

When the verb *te* 'to do' is used to encode probabilitive aspect it follows the verb which it modifies. The modified verb always occurs in dependent form and the verb *te* 'to do' in independent form, as in (28) - (30). The two verbs agree in person and number:

(28) *gamare mundu -ne pe -pa te-ke-mo*
 sweet.potato some mound in-be.in -3sd do-pr-3s
 'There are probably some sweet potatoes in the sweet potato mound.'

(29) *ulke molo -pa te-ke-mo*
 house be -3sd do-pr-3s
 'She is probably in the house.'

(30) *oleanga pu-ku te -ngi*
 yesterday go-2d do-np.2/3p
 'They probably went yesterday.'

1.6 As a summarizing verb

Another use of the verb *te* 'to do' is its summarizing function when it occurs sentence finally to summarize all the preceding actions of the sentence. The various actions of the sentence are indicated by a series of two or more dependent verbs/clauses which are then summarized by the verb *te* 'to do', always in independent form, i.e. carrying the full verbal inflexion pertinent to the total sentence. This whole construction is named the Summary Sentence.

In (31) there are two Summary Sentences in one utterance, the first being embedded in a quote. In this example / indicates clause break while // indicates the end of the Summary Sentence. The end of the sentence is indicated both by final intonation and by the *-mo* assertative clitic which belongs to a class of clitics which occur only sentence finally.

(31) *neka no -ngo-no /*
pandanus.fruit-eat -2d s

owa no -ngo-no/ te -le- no // ni -ngu -lie
dog eat-2d -s/ do-asp-2s.cust//say-2/3pd-seq

o -ngo kopiaka-mo -nga me -ngo/ suku naa pu ku /
come-2/3pd spirit -sart-loc lead-2/3pd/ inside not go 2/3pd/

eno -no mindi / koyo -ko/ te-le -mele -mo //
2/3p rflx only just/ sacrifice-2/3pd do-asp-2/3p.cust-ass

'Saying "You eat pandanus fruit (and) you eat dog, you do,"
 they do not take (me) into the Kopiaka spirit's place, they
 themselves just go in alone and sacrifice, they definitely do.'

1.7 Imminent intent

The verb *te* 'to do' is also used, in conjunction with future tense in the preceding verb, to encode preparation or imminent intent to perform another action. This construction is named the Preparation Merged Sentence. The Merged Sentence has only two clauses, which are very closely linked phonologically. There is also always a close and specialised association between the actions of the two

clauses. Unlike the more common Dependent Sentence the first clause in the Merged Sentence is always independent.

The verb *te* 'to do', in any tense, mood or aspect except imperative, is used in the second clause of the sentence to indicate that the actor of the sentence is preparing to carry out the action of the first clause. The verb of the first clause will always be suffixed for future tense, indicating that the action is yet to be accomplished. Examples are as follows:

(32) *pu-mbo te -ke-ro*
 go-fut.1s do-pr-1s
 I.will.go I.am.doing
 'I am preparing to go.'

(33) *kondoli to -mba te -ri -mu*
 red(man) strike-3s.fut do-dp-3s
 'He was about to strike the white man.'

(34) *ye komo -mo -nga menu -ni ga kalo-pa si -mbe te-pa*
 man first.born-sart-poss spouse act sweet.potato cook-3sd give-fut.3s do-3sd
 'The firstborn man's wife preparing to cook and give
 sweet potato to...'
 or
 'The firstborn man's wife having cooked sweet potato
 she preparing to give it to...'

1.8 Special uses

Sections 1.1-1.7 cover all the different structural uses of the verb *te* 'to do' in Umbungu. There are also some special semi-idomatic uses of the verb when used in conjunction with certain other verbs (35-39):

(35) *te -pa kaye te -ri -mu*
 do-3sd good do-dp-3s
 'He did (it) well./ He put (it) to rights.'

(36a) *olio te -pa embambo si -ri -mu*
 us do-3sd confuse give-dp-3s
 'He confused us.' (by something he did). Compare (36b):

(36b) *olio ni -mbe embambo si -ri -mu*
 us say-3sd confuse give -dp-3s
 'He confused us.' (by something he said)

(37) *ambolango-mo te -pa li -ri -mu*
 child -sart do-3sd take-dp-3s
 'She adopted the child.'

(38) *karo te -pa mimi te -ri -mu*
 car do-3sd repair do-dp-3s
 'He repaired the car.'

(39) *te-pa koropa mundu-mu*
 do-3sd poor send -np.3s
 'He is bankrupt.'

1.9 Conclusion:

As in other Papuan Languages the verb *te* 'to do' has many functions in Umbungu.⁵ These include encoding the semantic area of 'do', 'make', 'construct' and 'happen', as a cohesive device to refer anaphorically to previously mentioned events, with various adjuncts to form other verbal concepts, to encode information questions, to signal probabilitive aspect, to summarize a series of actions, to encode the concept of 'preparation', and as a component of several idiom-like constructions.

2. ACTIVE-PASSIVE VERB COMPOUNDS

Adjunct-verb compounds consist of an adjunct plus a verb. These adjuncts are usually non-verb words which have no readily isolatable meaning and which occur only in this construction. Sometimes words which act as/are nouns in other contexts serve as adjuncts in the adjunct-verb compound. Nouns and adjuncts used in this construction do not accept any affixation.⁶ The verb does not retain its basic meaning. In fact it only seems to be there to hang the affixation on. The meaning of the compound is carried by the whole construction, rather than being the sum of the meaning of the parts. In this sense these constructions could be classified as idioms, though some already have both a primary and an idiomatic meaning.

Adjunct-verb compounds are like verb words in their distribution, but like phrases in structure in that they comprise more than one free form. They actually constitute an intermediate level between the verb word and the verb phrase.⁷

Although adjunct-verb compound pairs are not at all unusual in themselves the most interesting feature of these in Umbungu is that some occur in active/passive (or stative) pairs.⁸ In the stative form, similar in some ways to passive, the verb occurs only in third person singular, i.e. they are impersonal verb constructions, with the one affected functioning as patient, hence the use of the term passive. In the active form the verb may occur in any person i.e. the person appropriate to the context. There are two sets of such pairs in Kaugel, one which speaks of human states or emotions, the other used mainly of the state of inanimate objects.

2.1. Compounds with *te* 'do' and *kolo* 'die'

One set of pairs uses the verb *kolo* 'to die' for the active form and *te* 'to do' in the passive/stative form. The constructions employing the verbs *kolo* 'to die' and *te* 'to do' are used to speak of human states or emotions. First of all, we now give some examples of these two verbs in normal useage:

- (40) *oleangaye te kolo -mu*
 yesterday man a die -3s.np
 'A man died yesterday.'
- (41) *wambie-ne nu no -mba kiniekolo-ni*
 snake act 2s bite -3s.fut whendie-2s.fut
 'When a snake bites you you will die.'
- (42) *nu nambe te -ke-no-ye*
 2s what (action) do-pr-2s-qu
 'What are you doing?'
- (43) *nu nambolka te -ke-no-ye*
 2s what (thing) make-pr -2s-qu
 'What are you making?'
- (44) *ene te -le -mela*
 2/3p do-asp-2/3p.subj
 'They might do it.'

The following are some examples of these verbs used in adjunct-verb compound pairs:

(45a) *na kondo kol-ko-ro*
 1s sorrow die-pr-1s
 'I (+ control) am sorry'

(45b) *na kondo te-ke-mo*
 1s sorrow do-pr-3s
 'I (-control) am sorry'

The (+ control) is an attempt to reflect the difference between these two constructions. (45a) marked (+ control) indicates a greater depth of feeling and personal involvement. The speaker is more likely to take some action about the cause of his sorrow. So it could perhaps better be translated as 'sympathise' or 'have mercy'. In (45b), marked (-control) indicates an involuntary and more superficial feeling of sorrow/pity in response to some sad or moving situation, but about which he is not likely to do anything; i.e. he has, or exercises, less control.

(46a) *ene engele te -ri-mu*
 2/3p hunger do-dp-3s
 'They were hungry.'

(46b) *ene engele -ne kolo-ri -ngi*
 2/3p hunger-instr die -dp-2/3p
 'They were hungry.' / 'They were dying of hunger.'
 (usually not literally)

(47a) *na umbune te-ke-mo*
 1s burden do-pr-3s
 'I am burdened' or '(it) is too heavy for me'

(47b) *na umbune-ne kol-ko-ro*
 1s burden-instr die-pr-1s
 'I am burdened'

(48a) *nu ali te-ke-mo-ye*
 2s cold do-pr-3s-qu
 'Are you cold?'

(48b) *pe, na ali -ni kol-ko-ro*
 yes 1s cold-instr die-pr-1s
 'Yes, I am cold.'

This reply (48b) could also have used the verb *te* 'to do'; use of the verb *kolo* 'to die' in responses is by no means obligatory. However, it is unusual to use the *kolo* 'to die' form when asking a question. One would only use it if the person addressed was obviously suffering intensely.

(49a) *olio / siye te -ke -mo*
 1p tired/ lazy do-pr -3s
 'We are tired/lazy/sick of (it)'

(49b) *olio / siye kol-ko-molo*
 1p tired/ lazy die -pr-1p
 'We are tired/lazy/sick of (it)'

In the 'active voice' form which uses the verb *kolo* 'to die', the adjunct takes the instrument case clitic *ni/ne* in (46b) (47b) (49b) above, and (50b) below. This instrument case marker, which is identical to the ergative case marker which occurs on noun phrases, is almost always used in this construction on this small closed class of adjuncts. When this marker is used the resultant construction is similar in meaning to the idiomatic turn of phrase in English viz 'I am dying of hunger.' etc. This marker does not occur with the adjunct *kondo* 'sorrow' (45).

The (a) forms of (46-49) use the verb *te* 'to do', which of course is a transitive verb. As we have mentioned, this verb, when used in this particular construction, only occurs in the third person singular form. There is therefore a mis-match between the NP (pronoun) and the suffixation on the verb, so that the NP cannot be functioning as grammatical subject. Instead the whole construction is quite like a transitive clause with the NP (pronoun) functioning like an object, something like 'Hunger is doing them' (13a). However, although the predominant ordering of clausal elements in the language is SOV, in this construction the ordering is always and only as presented in these examples, i.e. if we consider the NP (pronoun) is functioning as an object, this gives the ordering OSV. Of course this ordering has a lot to do with the close-knit nature of the adjunct verb compound.

In some languages, such as Kalam, the NP is actually marked for accusative case. (See Foley 1986:122 and example 20b given earlier.) Another example from Umbungu is the following:

(50a) *na mumindili te -mu*
 1s anger do-np.3s
 'I was angry'

(50b) *na mumindili-ni kolo-ndu*
 1s anger -instr die -np.1s
 'I was angry'

A third construction in which this particular adjunct occurs is as follows:

(50c) *na te-ko mumindili kondo-ri-ngi*
 1s do-2/3pd anger well -dp-2/3p
 'They/You plural made me angry'

This third use of the adjunct *mumindili* 'anger', in a causative construction (in which *te* 'to do' is obligatory), shows that *ni/ne* 'instrument' in (b) of (47-50) is not just being used as a causative as Foley (1986: 93) suggests. Note the following example from Kewa, which borders on the Kaugel language but is not in the same linguistic sub-family⁹:

(51a) *ni paala-me oma-lo*
 I fright-cause die -1s.pr
 'I am afraid'

Compare the Kaugel equivalent:

(51b) *na pipili-ni kol-ko-ro*
 I fear -instru die -pr-1s
 'I am afraid'

Note now its minus control equivalent using *te* 'to do':

(51c) *na pipili te-ke-mo*
 I fear do-pr-3s
 'I am afraid'

2.2. Pairs with *ni* 'to speak' and *si* 'to give'.

This second set of pairs uses the verbs *ni* 'to speak' and *si* 'to give'. The stative form, similar in some ways to passive, occurs most commonly in past tense, indicating that some item is in a certain state as the result of something which occurred in the past, usually recently. In contrast to the pairs of constructions using the verbs *kolo* 'to die' and *te* 'to do' which reflect human states or emotions, those using the verbs *si* 'to give' and *ni* 'to speak' are used mainly to encode the state of inanimate entities, with one exception which will be presented first, as example

(57b) *wale sungu ni -mu*
 string.bag tear speak-np.3s
 'the bag is torn'

(58a) *ingi si -ki-ru*
 tight give-pr-1s
 'I am tightening (it)'

(58b) *ingi ni -ki-mu*
 tight speak-pr-3s
 'it is tight'

(59a) *iku si -ki-ru*
 bend give-pr-1s

The verb used in (59a) does not mean to bend oneself, as in bending over.

(59b) *iku ni -mu*
 bend speak-np.3s
 'it is bent'

(60a) *melu para si -ndu*
 trap spring give-np.1s
 'I sprung the trap'

(60b) *melu para ni -mu*
 trap spring speak-np.3s
 'the trap is sprung'

(61a) *tambu si -ki-ru*
 stick give-pr-1s
 'I am sticking (it) together'

(61b) *tambu ni -mu*
 stick speak-np.3s
 'it is stuck'

The adjunct verb compound meaning 'to finish', when used with the verb *si* 'to give', is most commonly used adverbially in Umbungu, and occurs following a verb to indicate completive aspect, (63a) However it can also be used alone, especially in response to a question. Its 'matching pair', using the verb *ni* 'to speak' is not ever used in this adverbial sense:

(62a) *kongono te-popora si -ndu*
 work do-1d finish give-np.1s
 'I (have) finished doing (the) work'

(62b) *kongono pora ni -mu*
 work finish speak-np.3s
 '(the) work is finished'

2.3 Conclusion

Although these adjunct plus verb constructions commonly occur in many Papuan languages, such active/passive pairs as have been presented in this paper are more unusual and therefore worthy of note. One of each pair illustrates the transferring of the indication of grammatical subject from the human NP to an inanimate entity. The matching pair indicates one way in which + control is encoded in Kaugel verbal constructions.

Appendix 1: The Phonemes of Kaugel

/p/	[p]	[p]	[b]	/l/	[dl]	[rl]	[kl]	[gl]	[l]
/mb/	[mb]	[t]	[t]	/r/	[r]				
/t/	[t]	[s]	[s]	/w/	[w]				
/nd/	[nd]			/y/	[y]				
/nj/	[nj]	[nz]		/a/	[a]				
/k/	[k]	[k]	[g]	/e/	[e]				
/ng/	[ng]			/i/	[i]				
/m/	[m]			/o/	[o]				
/n/	[n]			/u/	[u]				

There have been recent changes to the Kaugel orthography, specifically the pre-nasalized stops and the [s] and [t] phones. These represent the choice of the Kaugel people themselves as to how their language should be written. In the current orthography the phonemes are written: *p, mb (med), b (ini), t, s, nd (med), d (ini), nu (med), j (ini), k, ng (med) g (ini), m, n, l, ll, r, w, y, a, e, i, o, u*. Formerly in Blowers (1970) and Head (1970) the medial and initial orthographical variants were not written. Dieter Klemm, formerly working in a dialect of Kaugel with the Evangelical Lutheran Mission, wrote some of the sub-members of the // phoneme phonetically.

Appendix 2: Conjugation of the verb *te* 'to do'independent

<u>customary aspect</u>				<u>subjunctive mood</u>		
	singular	dual	plural	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>te-l-io</i>	<i>te-le-mbolo</i>	<i>te-le-molo</i>	<i>te-l-ka</i>	<i>te-le-mbola</i>	<i>te-le-mola</i>
second	<i>te-le-no</i>			<i>te-le-na</i>		
third	<i>te-le-mo</i>	<i>te-le-mbele</i>	<i>te-le-mele</i>	<i>te-l-ka</i>	<i>te-le-mbela</i>	<i>te-le-mela</i>
<u>distant past tense</u>			<u>near past tense</u>			
	<i>te-ri-ndu</i>	<i>te-ri-mbulu</i>	<i>te-ri-mulu</i>	<i>te-ndu</i>	<i>te-mbulu</i>	<i>te-mulu</i>
	<i>te-ri-nu</i>			<i>te-nu</i>		
	<i>te-ri-mu</i>	<i>te-ri-ngili</i>	<i>te-ri-ngi</i>		<i>te-ngili</i>	<i>te-ngi</i>
					<i>te-mu</i>	
<u>present tense</u>			<u>present awareness tense</u>			
	<i>te-ke-ro</i>	<i>te-ke-mbolo</i>	<i>te-ke-molo</i>	<i>te-pa-ro</i>	<i>te-pa-mbolo</i>	<i>te-pa-molo</i>
	<i>te-ke-no</i>			<i>te-pa-no</i>	<i>te-pa-no</i>	
	<i>te-ke-mo</i>	<i>te-ke-mbele</i>	<i>te-ke-mele</i>	<i>te-pa-mbele</i>	<i>te-pa-mele</i>	
				<i>te-pa-mo</i>		
<u>future tense</u>			<u>hortative</u>			
	<i>te-mbo</i>	<i>te-mbolo</i>	<i>te-molo</i>	<i>te-a-mbo</i>	<i>te-a-mbili</i>	<i>te-a-mili</i>
	<i>te-ni</i>			<i>te-a-ni</i>		
	<i>te-mba</i>	<i>te-ngele</i>	<i>te-nge</i>	<i>te-pili</i>	<i>te-a-ngili</i>	<i>te-a-ngi</i>
<u>emphatic imperative</u>			<u>quoted imperative</u>			
second	<i>te-a</i>	<i>te-a-le</i>	<i>te-a-me</i>	second: <i>te-i</i>	<i>te-a-le</i>	<i>te-a-i</i>
<u>polite imperative</u>						
first	<i>te-a-mbo</i>	<i>te-a-mbolo</i>	<i>te-a-molo</i>			
second	<i>te-yo</i>	<i>te-a-lio</i>	<i>te-a-yo</i>			
<u>dependent</u>						
	singular	plural	dual			
first	<i>te-po</i>	<i>te-po</i>	<i>te-po/te-polo</i>			
second	<i>te-ko</i>	<i>te-ko</i>	<i>te-ko/te-kolo</i>			
third	<i>te-pa</i>					

Appendix 3: Adjunct verb compounds involving *ni* 'to speak'

a ni -ki-mu
 dressing-up speak-pr-3s
 'He is dressing up'

ala -polo ni -mu
 crinkling.noise speak -3s.np
 'It makes a crinkling noise'

a-pungu-pungu ni -mu
 selfish speak -3s.np
 'He is selfish'

elke-malke ni -mui
 bad -tempered speak -3s.np
 'He is bad-tempered'

enge ni -mu
 firm/strong speak -3s.np
 'It is firm/strong'

gulumu ni -ku-mu
 smoulder speak -pr-3s.np
 'It is smouldering'

kakara ni -mu
 proud/haughty speak-3s.np
 'He is proud/haughty'

kiminieke ni -mu
 overcast speak -3s.np
 'It is overcast' TS

Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows:

act	actor clitic
qu	question marker
asp	aspect
rflx	reflexive pronoun suffix
ass	assertative clitic
sart	singular definite article
ben	benefactive suffix
seq	sequence connector
cust	customary

sing	singular
dp	distant past tense
subj	subjunctive
fut	future tense
1d	first person dependent
hort	hortatory
1s	first person singular
imp	imperative
2d	second person dependent
instr	instrument clitic
2s	second person singular
np	near past tense
2/3p	second or third person plural
pl	plural
2/3pd	second or third person plural plart plural definite article dependent
poss	possessive suffix
3s	third person singular
pr	present tense
3sd	third person singular

NOTES

1. Other works on Kaugel and closely related languages include those written on Kaugel by Blowers and Blowers (1970), on Wahgi by Phillips (1976), and on Nii by Stucky (1976). William A. Ross also wrote a paper in 1946 on the grammar of the Mogeï (Melpa) language (which is on file in typescript at the Catholic Mission at Rebiamul but this was not available to me when writing this current paper).
2. A complete conjugation of the verb *te* 'to do' is given in appendix 2; a summary of the phonology of Kaugel, with comments on past and present orthographies, is presented in appendix 1.
3. Many different names have been given to these constructions, though adjunct is the name most commonly used for the first element. Foley simply refers to them as "combinations of adjunct nominals and generic verbs" (Foley 1986:xxx). They have also been called Adjunct-Auxiliary Compound Verbs (Renck 1975), Augmented Verb Phrases (Irwin 1974), Periphrastic Verb Complexes (Young 1971), Complex Verbs (Phillips 1976), and Predications, an adjunct with a pro-verb (Lang 1975).

4. See section two for a more complete range of examples. Foley (1986:127) claims that the impersonal constructions express uncontrolled events or states and that the inanimate cause functions as the actor, with animate affected functioning as undergoer. The person of the object is the experiencer, but usually appears as the subject in the English translation.
5. Foley (1986) and Larsen (1982) are among those who have written on this topic.
6. The only exception is a small sub-set of four or five adjuncts which may take the instrument case clitic in one particular construction which is mentioned later (see examples 47b, 48b, 49b, and 50b).
7. This type of construction occurs very commonly in the Papuan languages of New Guinea, particularly highland languages, as presented by Foley (1986) and in many grammars of highlands languages.
8. Foley (1986:121) alludes to this phenomenon in other New Guinea Highland languages, specifically Kalam, Enga, Kewa and Hua. Lang (1975:104ff) describes them in Enga.
9. This is Foley's analysis of the Kewa data. Franklin (1971) analyses it as: I fright-instrument, in that the causative is always marked in Kewa by the pre-clitic *ma-*.

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