Non-Spatial Setting in Nungon

Revised version of the paper presented at the Workshop on Non-Spatial Setting in Finisterre-Huon Languages, James Cook University, Cairns, Australia, 8 October 2013

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This paper covers non-spatial setting categories and mood in Nungon. Areas of verbal inflection and constructions involving verbs that do not relate to tense, aspect, mood, reality status, modality, and evidentiality—such as valency-increasing strategies and the nuances of deverbal nominalizations—are not discussed here. Polarity is only discussed insofar as it bears on the major categories of non-spatial setting.

1 Background on Nungon

Nungon is a Papuan language belonging to the Finisterre-Huon language group and spoken by about 1000 people in the highest inhabited part of the Uruwa River valley on the northern slopes of the Saruwaged Mountains, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. The Uruwa language area is located within an arduous day’s journey of the coast, where the Austronesian language Mato is spoken, and a day’s journey to the Som, Yopno, and Nukna (all Papuan) language areas.

Every village of the Uruwa River valley historically had its own dialect. Dialects are considered to belong to each village, so that people generally speak of ‘Worin’s language,’ ‘Towet’s language,’ etc. The form of the question word ‘what’ is also seen as diagnostic of dialect boundaries. ‘What’ ranges from nungon to nuon to yano to yau within the Uruwa River valley. The four villages of Kotet, Yawan, Towet, and Worin are said to speak Nungon, while Mitmit and Mup speak Nuon, and the lower Uruwa villages of Boksawin and Sugan speak Yau and Yanu, respectively. This paper draws on nine months of fieldwork based in Towet village, with some exploration into the dialects of Worin, Kotet and Yawan.

Towet and Yawan are the only villages within the Uruwa language area that do not have phonological word-final glottal stops: glottal stops in other dialects are expressed as unreleased /k/ in the Towet and Yawan dialects. Nungon has 15 contrasting consonant phonemes: /p t k b d g b m n ñ f h s r j/ and six contrasting vowels: /i u e o a ɔ/.
In the writing system developed by an SIL team in the lower Uruwa River valley in the late 1980s, the velar nasal is represented with the bigram /ng/ and the mid rounded [o] is represented as /ʊ/, as opposed to the lower [ɔ], represented as /o/. Stops are unreleased morpheme-finally. Vowel length is contrastive, and long vowels in Nungon often correspond to vowel-consonant-vowel sequences in other related languages, such as Nukna rahán ‘eye’ and Nungon daan ‘eye,’ as well as Nukna káráp ‘wood’ and Nungon eep ‘wood,’ and Nukna hákáp-má ‘steep’ and Nungon heep-mo ‘steep.’

As is common in Papuan languages in general (Foley 1986, McElhanon 1973), Nungon phonological words may only end in a vowel, a nasal, or an unreleased voiceless stop. As is also common in Papuan languages, Nungon features lenition of the voiced velar stop intervocally. That is, /g/ lenits to [ɣ] intervocally, except in the environment of the high back vowel /i/. Before the vowel [u], /g/ may elide completely with only a residual glide [w] left in its place. Speakers feel that the [ɣ] sound is underlingly /g/, however, and some small children pronounce /g/ as [g] in all environments, even intervocally. Although the voiced and unvoiced stops of all series contrast in word-initial position, final unvoiced stops become voiced before vowel-initial suffixes, usually taking the form of fricatives, i.e. unreleased final /t/ becomes [r], unreleased final /p/ becomes [β], and unreleased final /k/ becomes [ɣ] before vowel-initial suffixes.

2 Verbal sub-classes: morphological and syntactic
Nungon verbs may be divided into sub-classes based on verb root morphology and behavior, and on syntactic features.

2.1 Morphological sub-classes of verbs
In Nungon, verbal root morphology is more constrained than morphology of nouns. Verbal roots are rarely longer than two syllables (in fact, the only example of a simple predicate verbal root with more than two syllables is indongo- ‘stand up,’ which most likely historically comprised a separate word in and the verb ‘go,’ ongo- ) and must end in a vowel, the consonant /n/, or the consonant /t/. There seems to be no semantic or transitivity-related basis for the different endings.

Nungon verbs with verbal roots that end in vowels and those with verbal roots that end in consonants behave slightly differently under inflection. Besides the morphological differences, consonant-final roots lack the ability to form one type of
nominalization that reduplicates the final vowel of a vowel-final root. One main difference between the two is that verbs with vowel-final roots add a final velar nasal /ng/ to the root to allow it to function in dependent forms, while the bare root of consonant-final verbs stands alone in these contexts. Based on verbal root morphology and behaviour under suffixation, Nungon verbs may be divided into seven main subclasses. Comparison of the seven major classes is in Table 1. These are illustrated in Table 2 using an exemplary verb from each sub-class.

Table 1. Verbal morphological sub-class behaviour under inflection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vowel-final roots</th>
<th>Consonant-final roots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H-class</td>
<td>P-class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/h/ between root and suffix -i</td>
<td>/p/ after root followed by additional /p/ before suffix -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Imperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person singular inflection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present singular inflections</td>
<td>/h/ between root and tense suffix</td>
<td>/p/ between root and tense suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present non-singular inflections</td>
<td>/w/ between root and tense suffix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Past singular inflections</td>
<td>/w/ between root and tense suffix (except in certain sub-classes of H-class verbs)</td>
<td>/a/ of tense suffix eliminated, leaving only /o/ of root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Past non-singular inflections</td>
<td>nothing between root and tense suffix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past inflections (all numbers)</td>
<td>/g/ between root and person-number suffix</td>
<td>/b/ between root and person-number suffix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Examples of inflected verbs from each morphological sub-class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H-class</th>
<th>P-class</th>
<th>T-class</th>
<th>NG-class</th>
<th>O-class</th>
<th>N-R-class</th>
<th>T-R-class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hai-</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>hi-</td>
<td>mō-</td>
<td>ongo-</td>
<td>mon-</td>
<td>henet-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cut’</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>‘plant,’</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>‘throw’</td>
<td>‘tie’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2sg IMP</th>
<th>hai-hil</th>
<th>ep-pil</th>
<th>hit-til</th>
<th>mōng-kil</th>
<th>ongo-il</th>
<th>to-il!</th>
<th>mon-ti!</th>
<th>henet-ti!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>hai-ha-t</td>
<td>ep-pa-t</td>
<td>hit-ta-t</td>
<td>mōng-ka-t</td>
<td>ongo-y-at</td>
<td>ta-a-t</td>
<td>mon-ta-t</td>
<td>henet-ta-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3du</td>
<td>hai-wa-</td>
<td>e-wa-</td>
<td>hi-wa-</td>
<td>mō-wa-</td>
<td>ongo-</td>
<td>ta-a-</td>
<td>mor-a-</td>
<td>hener-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg NP</td>
<td>hai-wa-t</td>
<td>e-wa-t</td>
<td>hi-wa-t</td>
<td>mō-wa-t</td>
<td>ongo-0-t</td>
<td>to-0-t</td>
<td>mor-e-t</td>
<td>hener-e-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg RP</td>
<td>hai-go-t</td>
<td>ep-bo-t</td>
<td>hi-go-t</td>
<td>mōng-go-t</td>
<td>ongo-go-t</td>
<td>to-g-o-t</td>
<td>mon-do-t</td>
<td>henet-do-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3du</td>
<td>hai-go-</td>
<td>ep-bo-</td>
<td>hi-go-</td>
<td>mōng-go-</td>
<td>ongo-go-</td>
<td>to-go-</td>
<td>mon-do-</td>
<td>henet-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td>morok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Descriptions of the sub-classes and their sub-sub-classes follow:

The H-class.

Characteristics: This class contains by far the most members of all morphological verbal sub-classes, covering many semantic domains. About half of all verbs in the lexicon--77 of 148--belong to the H-class.

Example members: oo- ‘descend’ (INTR), ōō- ‘ascend’ (INTR), ini- ‘wrap twine around s.t. to carry it’ (S=A AMBITR), obō- ‘break’ (S=O AMBITR), deē- ‘snap (of long flexible objects)’ (INTR), kotu- ‘cut and bind kunai thatch bundles’ (S=A AMBITR), haga- ‘grate, scrape (cassava, hard banana, dirty daweng skin)’ (S=A AMBITR), y-andi- ‘show to s.o.’ (S=A AMBITR)

Sub-sub-classes:

1. A single H-class root, omo- ‘die,’ has /e/ in the Near Past paradigm, like consonant-final verbs. This may be explained by examining Nukna; in Nukna, the cognate form, kāmut- ‘die,’ is consonant-final.

2. Two H-class roots, i-no- ‘tell s.o.’ and i-mo- ‘give to s.o.,’ behave like 0-class verbs in the Near Past.
The P-class.

Characteristics

This class has only 6 members in Towet Nungon, but there is some spillage between this class and the H-class. That is, some verbs can be inflected with either /p/ or /h/ in the inflections in which these contrast. Some people describe this as dialect mixing.

It is also noteworthy that the verb *wet*- ‘beat s.o./s.t.’ (T-R-class), which features suppletive stems referencing O person/number, behaves as a P-class verb when the O is non-singular. Compare *net-ta-k* ‘s/he/it beats me’ with *nisop-pa-k* ‘s/he/it beats us’ and *get-ta-t* ‘I beat you (sg.)’ with *kaap-pa-t* ‘I beat you (non-sg.).’ See X.X below for more on O-referencing prefixes.

Example members

*e*- ‘come’ (INTR), *k-/h-e*- ‘bring it/them’ (AMBITR), *hoo*- ‘close, stop up’ (AMBITR), *ta*- ‘split’ (INTR), *doo*- ‘hit/kill them’ (AMBITR).

Inter-dialectal differences

Certain verbs that are H-class members in Towet Nungon are P-class members in other dialects; cf. Towet *guo-hi!* ‘bathe-IMP.2SG’ and Worin *guop-pl!* ‘bathe-IMP.2SG.’

In at least one pair of cognate verbal roots in Towet and Worin, the Towet verb is consonant-final while the Worin version is vowel final and P-class: Towet *öngkot* ‘emerge, be born’ (T-R-class; INTR), Worin *hönggo* ‘emerge, be born’ (P-class; INTR). This has led to a new, dialect-mixed verb used by young Towet people: *hönggot*- ‘emerge, be born’ (T-R-class; INTR).

The T-class.

Characteristics

Behaves like H-class in all contexts except the Present and 2sg. Immediate Imperative, in which the phantom /t/ surfaces.

Example members

Only two members are currently listed in the lexicon: *hi*- ‘put’ (AMBITR) and *k-/hu*- ‘take s.t. away’ (S=A AMBITR).

The 0-class.

Characteristics

All members of this sub-class have verbal roots that end in /o/, although not all verbs with roots ending in /o/ belong to this class: many more verbs with roots ending in /o/ belong to the H-class than to the 0-class.

Five members

*ongo*- ‘go’ (INTR), *indongo*- ‘stand up’ (INTR), *ho*- ‘cook’ (AMBITR), *to*- ‘do’ (AMBITR), *yo*- ‘say’ (AMBITR)

Sub-sub-classes

1. The ‘go’ subclass comprises *ongo*- ‘go’ and derived verb *indongo*- ‘get up; these verbs are characterized by an -u- after the verbal root in the Present paradigm, instead of an -a- as in all other classes.
The NG-class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>The two verbs that comprise this class are somewhat semantically related and may be derivationally related as well.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Members</td>
<td>mṑ ‘fall, plant’ (INTR as ‘fall’; S=A AMBITR as ‘plant’), y-ō- ‘place s.o. down’ (S=A AMBITR)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The T-R-class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Of consonant-final verb roots, /t/-final roots are about twice as common as /n/-final roots, at 37 vs. 17. Members of this class comprise about a quarter of all verbs in the lexicon.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Example members</td>
<td>As seen in Table 2 above, the Near Past inflection of consonant-final roots is characterized by an /el/, as opposed to vowel-final roots, which generally have /a/ or nil in the Near Past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example members</td>
<td>humbot- ‘bear on shoulder’ (S=A AMBITR), buot- ‘become infatuated’ (INTR), buret- ‘become finished’ (INTR), ut- ‘cry, weep’ (INTR), yonggut- ‘laugh’, dōat- ‘crush large leaves into pieces’ (S=A AMBITR), det- ‘strike’ (S=A AMBITR), it- ‘be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhyming members</td>
<td>humbot- ‘bear on shoulder’ rhymes with mumbot- ‘gather in (without covering with s.t. else)’ and tombot- ‘wrap completely in s.t. else.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The N-R-class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>About 12 percent of all verbs in the lexicon--17 verbs--have /n/-final roots.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Example members</td>
<td>tan- ‘follow s.o.’ (S=A AMBITR), hun- ‘burst’ (INTR), hinggan- ‘go around’ (INTR), dagun- ‘pick meat from bones’ (S=A AMBITR), iwan- ‘turn over’ (S=O AMBITR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A group of related members</td>
<td>din- ‘squeeze (s.t. pliant, like a rotten orange)’, tindin- ‘squeeze (pus out of a sore)’, hindin- ‘squeeze (milk out of a breast)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Syntactic sub-classes of verbs

As mentioned above, verbs may also be divided into sub-classes based on syntactic behaviour. Nungon verbs may be intransitive, ambitransitive, transitive, or ambiditransitive. Transitivity values do not correlate to the morphology-based verbal sub-classes.
Syntactic sub-classes of verbs in Nungon are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive verbs:</th>
<th>Core argument is S, which may be explicit or not.</th>
<th>About 30% of verbs are intransitive.</th>
<th>A sub-class of intransitive verbs includes the weather verbs <em>iso</em> - ‘dawn’ and <em>wari</em> - ‘flash lightning.’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambitransitive verbs:</td>
<td>Core arguments when transitive are A and O, which may be explicit or not; when intransitive, core argument is S.</td>
<td>The vast majority of verbs are ambitransitive according to this definition.</td>
<td>Examples where S=A are: <em>boo</em> - ‘sew’ (H-class), <em>woro</em> - ‘pull’ (H-class), and <em>hoo</em> - ‘close’ (P-class). Examples where S=O are: <em>obö</em> - ‘break/be broken’ (H-class), <em>di</em> - ‘burn/be burned’ (H-class), and <em>mö</em> - ‘plant/fall’ (NG-class).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive verbs:</td>
<td>Core arguments are A and O. The only verbs in Nungon that are always transitive are those that bear a prefix referencing the person and number of the O argument.</td>
<td>These are divided into two classes: the class of verbs that takes a full range of person-number-referencing O prefixes, and the class in which verbal roots are suppletive in reference to number of the O argument.</td>
<td>Note that the transitive verb <em>aa</em> - ‘look at’ (H-class), which takes the full range of O prefixes, may be contrasted with the intransitive verb <em>hori</em> - ‘stare.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditransitive verbs:</td>
<td>These three verbs are transitive, bearing O-referencing prefixes, and they may optionally take a second explicit O argument. If so, core arguments are A, O₁ and O₂.</td>
<td>Ditransitive verbs are: <em>imo</em> - ‘give s.o. (s.t.),’ <em>ino</em> - ‘tell s.o. (s.t.),’ and <em>yandi</em> - ‘show s.o. (s.t.),’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We take a closer look at verbs that take requisite O-referencing prefixes. These verbs divide into two classes: those which take prefixes that reference both person and number of the O argument, and those which take prefixes that only reference the O argument’s number (these may also be considered to have suppletive roots for O argument number).
Verbs that take number-referencing O prefixes

Synchronically opaque forms:
ku-/hu- (T-class) ‘take s.t. away’
to-/yoo- (0-class/P-class) ‘take/get s.t.’

[Note that in the Causative I construction, the form mo- (possibly related to i-mo- ‘give to s.o.’) references a sg. O, while yoo- is its counterpart, referencing a non-sg. O.]

Synchronically transparent forms:
ke-/he- (P-class) ‘bring s.t.’ (from e- ‘come’)
köö-/höö- (H-class) ‘raise s.t.’ (from öö- ‘ascend’)
koo-/hoo- (H-class) ‘lower s.t.’ (from oo- ‘descend’)

Verbs with requisite person-number-referencing O prefixes
(citation form has 3sg. O prefix without morpheme boundary-marking hyphen here)
--Roots in bold do not prototypically take human O arguments--

aa- ‘look at s.t./s.o.’ (H-class)
imo- ‘give s.o.’ (H-class) (AMBI-DITR)
ino- ‘tell s.o.’ (H-class) (AMBI-DITR)
taambit- ‘tread on s.t./s.o.’ (T-R-class)
tan- ‘follow s.t./s.o.’ (N-R-class)
temo- ‘shoot s.t./s.o.’ (H-class)
wet- ‘beat s.t./s.o.’ (T-R-class, P-class)
yama- ‘watch over s.o.’ (H-class)
yandi- ‘show s.o.’ (H-class) (AMBI-DITR)
yangat- ‘escort s.o.’ (T-R-class)
yii- ‘bite, hurt, affect s.o.’ (H-class)
yö- ‘place s.o. down’ (NG-class)
yu- ‘roll from side to side’ in expression ino-ng yu- ‘pull s.o.’s leg, mislead s.o.’

Additional expressions that use these prefixes:
aam poto- ‘leave s.o. behind’ (literally: see s.o. and decline) (final /ng/ of aa-ng has assimilated)
aang mut yan- ‘keep an eye on s.o.’ (literally: see s.o. and point and tie string to bow)
aang yo- ‘rebuke s.o.’ (lit.: see s.o. and speak)
aang tamba to- ‘observe s.t./s.o. carefully’ (lit.: see s.o. and divide up)
wep mo- ‘touch s.t./s.o.’ (lit. meaning unclear)
yeng hot- ‘pass by s.t./s.o.’ (lit. meaning unclear)

The person/number O prefixes vary in form slightly from verb to verb. Note that when the O argument referent is not prototypically human, the 3rd person O prefixes do not begin with i- or y-, but the 1st and 2nd person O prefixes do take the usual forms. The prefixes behave more like Nungon basic personal pronouns than Nungon verbal suffixes in maintaining a strict distinction between second and third persons in the non-singular numbers, and in their two-way number distinction. In general, the prefixes take the
form of the beginning of the personal pronoun with the same person-number as the referent of the prefix, except that the 2nd person non-singular is usually ka-.

Compare the person-number-referencing O prefixes with the basic (non-emphatic) personal pronouns below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/number ref. O prefixes</th>
<th>Basic personal pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>non-sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>n(a)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>g(a)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>y-/i-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the verb aa- 'see' may also take reduced forms of the demonstratives ngo 'here' and wo 'there' in the O prefix slot, and only in the 2sg Immediate Imperative form: ng-aa-hi! 'look at this!' and w-aa-hi! 'look at that!'

3 Tense, Reality Status, and Mood

The Nungon grammatical category of tense primarily functions to demarcate the time of the action indicated by the verb. Speakers clearly understand the five grammatical tense distinctions in Nungon to relate to time, and there is no inconsistency in how different individuals apply the grammatical tenses to actual time. But, as is common cross-linguistically (Dixon 2010: 153-154 and 2012: 6-8), the Nungon future tenses also have other functions in the sphere of irrealis. Further, the Present may not be directly negated; negative actions at the present time must be expressed with the negated Near Past. Similarly, the Near Future may not be directly negated; negative actions in the near future must be expressed with the negated Remote Future.

3.1 Grammatical tenses as they relate to time

Table 3 illustrates the grammatical tense typically used by Nungon speakers to describe times relative to unga 'today/now,' when the reference time unga em bon 'right now' is afternoon.
Table 3. Grammatical tense use as it relates to relative time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before</th>
<th>Yesterday</th>
<th>Earlier today</th>
<th>Right now</th>
<th>Between now and later today</th>
<th>Tomorrow and beyond</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>oipmon</td>
<td>unga</td>
<td>unga em</td>
<td>unga mee</td>
<td>keembok, isuna, isunon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that when the reference time is late at night, events anticipated for after dawn are couched in the Near Future.

Table 4. Tense morphology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Suffix morphology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REMOTE PAST</td>
<td>Voiced stop, /g/ after vowels, /b/ or /d/ after homoarticulated consonants, followed by /o/ or /u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEAR PAST</td>
<td>After vowel-final roots, (/w/ followed by) the vowel /a/ in sg., with no vowel between root and person-number suffix in non-sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After consonant-final roots, the vowel /e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESENT</td>
<td>The vowel /a/ preceded by various consonants depending on verb subclass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEAR FUTURE</td>
<td>After vowel-final roots, three-way alternation between /w/ (sg. S/A), /r/ (du. S/A), /n/ (pl. S/A), followed by -ang- and then -ka- or -ha- (-ta- in other dialects)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After consonant-final roots, same as above but no /w/ consonant in sg. numbers, and -eng- instead of -ang-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REMOTE FUTURE</td>
<td>Three-way alternation between -i- (singular S/A), -ri- (dual S/A) and -ni- (plural S/A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When used to demarcate time and when not negated, the Remote Future inflection is followed by the clitic =ma, which serves elsewhere in the grammar as specifier and relativizer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1 Special functions of some tenses

The Remote Past inflection has no secondary function: this suffix always denotes the past from yesterday or the day before yesterday all the way into the very distant past. Similarly, the Near Past inflection functions either to denote recently-finished events,
recent non-events, or present-time non-events. Example (1) below illustrates use of the Near Past form in negating present-time actions in an overheard exchange between a child and her mother:

1) A:  
Mak,  
ongo-ra!  
Mother go-IIM.IMP.IDU  
Mother, let’s (the two of us) go!

B:  
Nok  
usandu  
ma=ngo-0-t.  
1SG.PRO somewhat NEG=go-NP-1SG  
I’m not going anywhere.

The mother here seems to have used the negated Present tense (formally, the Near Past) because her daughter was insisting on their leaving immediately. Note that the mother’s response in (1) could also mean ‘I haven’t gone anywhere’: that is, the distinction between Near Past and Present is neutralized under negation.

The Present inflection is used for present-time events and for events that have concluded in the recent past in a few categories. For instance, I have noted instances of di- ‘burn,’ na- ‘eat’ and wet- ‘beat/hurt/affect s.t./s.o.’ inflected for the Present to refer to events that took place in the previous hour or so. If more time elapsed between the event and the speech act, the Near Past would be greatly preferred over the Present.

The Near Future inflection both strictly demarcates the time period from the reference time to ‘tonight,’ and serves another function: marking events that are likely to happen at any time, i.e. general truths. The secondary function of the Near Future may be guessed at by the Near Future paradigm’s morphological idiosyncracies, mentioned further below.

Similarly, the Remote Future inflection as marker of time always bears the enclitic =ma (when not negated). But without this =ma, the Remote Future is used to express both future commands and possible but unrealized wishes.

The Near Future and Remote Future inflections have special functions in the domain of reality status, in addition to simply marking location in time. In fact, the Nungon verbal inflectional system may be divided into two classes of inflections based on a combination of morphological and semantic criteria. In this respect, the grammatical tense system bleeds into the marking of imperatives and other verbal inflectional systems.

Table 5 compares two morphological features across verbal inflections.
Table 5. Morphological comparison of verbal inflections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inherent S/A number distinction</th>
<th>Morphologically related to another verbal inflection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Past</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>unclear: possibly PRES because of /a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>unclear: possibly NP and NF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Future</td>
<td>3-way</td>
<td>combines PROB and PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Future</td>
<td>3-way</td>
<td>= RF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Imperative</td>
<td>only in non-sg. 1st pers</td>
<td>= IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended Imperative</td>
<td>3-way</td>
<td>related to RF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive</td>
<td>3-way</td>
<td>related to RF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Wishful Thinking)</td>
<td>3-way</td>
<td>related to RF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td></td>
<td>related to IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterfactual</td>
<td>only in non-sg. 1st pers</td>
<td>related to IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probable</td>
<td>3-way</td>
<td>= PROB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desiderative</td>
<td>3-way</td>
<td>related to PROB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Mood and Reality Status-related verbal inflectional paradigms

Table 4 above listed the five Nungon tense inflections. In addition to these inflections, Nungon final verbs inflect for the IMMEDIATE and EXTENDED (distal/future) IMPERATIVE, and for the COUNTERFACTUAL, which is transparently derived from the Immediate Imperative paradigm with a suffix -m. The IRREALIS denotes ‘would that...’ notions and is the morphological basis for deriving the Remote Future, the Extended Imperative, and the PROHIBITIVE, while the Near Future and DESIDERATIVE are based on the PROBABLE inflection.

3.2.1 The Immediate Imperative and Counterfactual

The Immediate Imperative in Nungon may be expressed for all nine person-number distinctions (with the usual collapse of 2nd and 3rd persons in the non-sg.). Nungon speakers perceive of the canonical and non-canonical imperative inflections alike as part of a single paradigm (see Aikhenvald 2010: 17). But the 2nd person singular Immediate Imperative does have slightly different meaning and use than, for instance, that of the 1st person singular, as shown in the example below:

2) To-wa ha ma to-wa?
   do-IMP.1sg CONJ NEG do-IMP.1sg
   Shall I do it or shall I not do it?
The equivalent in the 2sg, ?to-i ha ma to-i, does not make much sense, since the commanding force of that inflection is much stronger than for the first person.

The Counterfactual is used to express non-actualities that could have been but are definitely not--this is in contrast to the ‘wishful thinking’ Irrealis, which expresses wishes for an alternative reality that would be preferable to the present reality. In English, the difference between Counterfactual and Irrealis may be approximated as ‘we would have been (but we’re not)’ versus ‘would that we were (though we’re not).’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immediate Imperative</th>
<th>Counterfactual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>du.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-wa</td>
<td>na-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-hi</td>
<td>na-warun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-hun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The consonant-final Immediate Imperative forms do not receive -m in the Counterfactual, so the meaning of these--whether they act as injunctives or as counterfactuals--must be interpreted from context.

The example below illustrates the Counterfactual combined with Continuous aspect (see 4.1). I had asked whether a certain plant was edible, and the speaker joked that if only it were eaten, she was sure it would taste wonderful and they would enjoy eating it:

3) `Na-ng ir-a-ng hut=ta-i imbange
   eat-DEP be-PRES-2/3pl new=BEN-CONJ wonderful
   na-ng-a it-nam.
   eat-DEP-MV be-CONTR.1pl
   If (people) did indeed eat it, we’d be eating it wonderfully.

### 3.2.2 The Probable

The Probable inflection is quite rare, and it may in fact be an abbreviated form of the Near Future. It describes events that are reasonably likely to occur. It is anomalous in that it can conclude sentences, but does not reference the person of its S/A argument, only its number. See (4) below for an example of the Probable.
3.2.3 Hybrid status of the Near Future

To emphasize again: the Near Future inflection is understood by all speakers to encode a time demarcation from the current time through the rest of ‘today.’ But morphologically, the first part of the Near Future is the same as the verb stem used for the Probable and the Desiderative. Thus, the Near Future seems to comprise two parts:

The Near Future dissected: \textit{ongo-ra(-)ng-ka-morok} ‘you two will go (later today)’

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
| \textit{ongo-go-} | \textit{-ra-ng-} & \textit{-ka-} | \textit{-morok} | \\
| ?DUMMY.CONSONANT- & morpheme relating the action to the Present? & | \\
| S/A-number reference & | & | \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

We see here that there are two morphemes in this word that reference the number of the S/A: the consonant \textit{/r/} of the morpheme in the second slot, and the person-number suffix \textit{morok}. The second slot reference seems superfluous, until we note that the stem formed by the first two morphemes is identical to the stem used in the Probable and the Desiderative, illustrated in (4) and (5), respectively, below:

4) \textit{Mee, ga-mo-ra-ng}, \textit{back 2sgO-give-du-DUMMY CONS}
   Later we/they (two) \textit{will} give it to you. [Probable; not necessarily later today or tomorrow, but a likely occurrence at some point in the future.]

5) \textit{Gok numa rot hinom ongo-ra-ng-na}, \textit{2sgPRO who COMIT INTENS go-du-DUMMY CONS-DESID}
   \textit{ta-a-morok?}
   \textit{do-PRES-2/3du}
   You with whom really are you two \textit{wanting to go}? [Desiderative; preparing/wanting/planning/being about to go in the imminent future]

3.2.4 Hybrid status of the Remote Future

The Remote Future is based on the ‘wishful thinking’ Irrealis verbal inflection, followed by the enclitic \textit{ma}, which serves as a specifier, nominalizer, and relativizer elsewhere in Nungon grammar (Sarvasy 2013). When the Irrealis inflectional paradigm occurs without \textit{ma}, the resulting form has Irrealis modality, and, in the first and third person inflections, may be used to express the distal (in time and space) imperative. When a verb inflected for Irrealis is followed by \textit{ma}, this represents the Remote Future tense: a specific event tomorrow or beyond. Under negation, the distinction between the two future tenses is neutralized, with both negated Near Future and Remote Future
expressed with the negated Irrealis; negated Remote Future may not be followed by ma, which seems to indicate a relationship between negation and Irrealis status.

The following examples illustrate the positive declarative Remote Future and negated future (Near or Remote):

6) **Nok** $e-i-t=ma$.
1sgPRO come-sg.IRR-1sg=SPEC
I will come (tomorrow or beyond).

7) **Nok** $ma$ $e-i-t$.
1sgPRO NEG come-sg.IRR-1sg
I won't come (later today, tomorrow, or beyond).

If *ma* were omitted from example (6), the resulting Irrealis statement would translate as ‘would that I could come.’

Example (8) below, from an oral re-telling of the Biblical Exodus story, quotes some among the Israelites as complaining about the conditions as they wandered in the desert and wishing they were back in slavery in Egypt. Here, the verb *it-* in the Irrealis inflection without *ma* serves as Irrealis, describing an alternate reality:

8) “**Isip noni it-ni-n,**” $yo-ng-a$, “**nungon ta ep-bo-mong? Tanak noni orogo na-ng it-do-mong; come-RP-1pl [food 1plPOSS good eat-DEP be-RP-1pl]
non $w-eyo it-ni-n,” $yo-ng-a$. [1non-sg.PRO that-far.dist be-IRR.pl-1pl] say-DEP-MV

“Would that we were in our own Egypt,” saying, “why did we come? We used to eat our own good food (in Egypt), would that we were there,” saying.

In the next example, which describes Nungon speakers’ quest for a way to expand the economic possibilities within their valley, we have the same Irrealis verbal inflection with *ma* yielding Remote Future meaning:

9) **Horo noni ha dawi-go-mong.** “**Deo-go deo-go base 1plPOSS BEN search-RP-1pl how-NOMZ how-NOMZ

It-ni-n=ma?” $yo-ng-a$, $dawi-go-mong$. $be$-IRR.pl-1pl=SPEC $say$-DEP-MV search-RP-1pl
We searched for our own support. Saying: “How and how will we subsist?” we searched.
3.2.5 The Extended Imperative

The Extended Imperative is morphologically similar to the Irrealis and is probably derived from the Irrealis through alteration of the final vowel of Irrealis forms (see 5.2). This Imperative paradigm features most prominently in leave-taking and is also used to issue commands relating to time somewhat removed from the immediate present and relating to actions that will take place in locations other than the current location. The Extended Imperative only includes 2nd person forms.

Table 6. Comparison of 2nd person forms of the Immediate and Extended Imperatives, and Irrealis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2sg.</th>
<th>2du.</th>
<th>2pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Imperative</td>
<td>ongo-i</td>
<td>ongo-run</td>
<td>ongo-rut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended Imperative</td>
<td>ong-irök</td>
<td>ongo-rimirök</td>
<td>ongo-nung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>ong-i-rok</td>
<td>ongo-ri-morök</td>
<td>ongo-ni-ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In leave-taking, the Extended Imperative form ong-irök is greatly preferred over the Immediate Imperative form in the singular regardless of the distance the leave-taker is expected to travel. But in the dual and plural, the distance the leave-takers are about to travel makes the difference in determining whether the Immediate Imperative form or the Extended Imperative form is used: The Extended Imperative is used for immediate leave-taking by people who are expected to travel a relatively long distance: this could be from one village to another roughly 1.5 hours away, for instance.

The following command is framed with the Extended Imperative because it instructs the hearers to perform actions over far distance and time:

10) Hon  ongo-ng-a  Mungku  duo-ng-a,
     2non-sg.PRO  go-DEP-MV  Mungku  sleep-DEP-MV

     Sapmanggo  ongo-ng-a,  Sugan  öö-rimirök.
     Sapmanga  go-DEP-MV  Sugan  ascend-2du.EXT.IMP

     You going on, sleeping at Mungku, going on to Sapmanga, ascend to Sugan.

3.2.6 The Prohibitive

Nungon has more negative command strategies than it does positive command strategies. The Prohibitive is a verbal inflection that adds the suffix -a, possibly related to the Attention-commanding suffix -a, to verbs inflected for the Irrealis, to express a prohibition.
3.3 Tense, Mood and Reality Status in non-final verbs

Non-final verbs do not inflect for tense, reality status, or mood. Same-subject non-final verbs are unmarked. I call the two types of non-final verbs Dependent and Medial. Dependent verbs are either the bare verb root or the root with a final dummy consonant -ng; these may function as non-ultimate verbs in serial constructions and bear Different-Subject marking but may not conclude a medial clause. Medial verbs are formally Dependent verbs, complete with Different-Subject inflections if applicable, plus the Medial suffix -a; once a Dependent verb bears the suffix -a, it may no longer function as anything but the ultimate member in a serial construction, and may conclude a medial clause.

4 Aspect, with a tinge of evidentiality

In Nungon, six aspects are marked grammatically in the final verbal inflectional system, with perfective as the unmarked aspect. In non-final verbs and deverbal nominalizations, further aspectual distinctions are marked; these are addressed in 4.2 below.

4.1 Aspect in the final verbal system

Aspects marked on the verb are: Habitual, Continuous, Continuous Habitual, Inferred Predilection, Completive, and Desiderative. These aspects employ non-final forms of the lexical verb with the verbs it- ‘be’ or to- ‘do’ as auxiliaries.

Nungon non-final verbs without different-subject endings take two forms: the Dependent form, which serves in serial verb constructions and in the Habitual aspect, but cannot stand alone before a pause, and the Medial Verb form, which stands alone in clause chains as a full medial clause or the conclusion of one. These two forms are the basis for the six aspectual constructions below.

**Formation of the uninflected Dependent and Medial Verb forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vowel-final verb roots</th>
<th>Consonant-final verb roots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent form</td>
<td>root + -ng</td>
<td>root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial Verb form</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dependent form + -a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 7. Comparison of Nungon aspects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Continuous</th>
<th>Inferred Predilection</th>
<th>Completeive</th>
<th>Desiderative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formation</strong></td>
<td>Dependent verb + <em>it</em>- ‘be’</td>
<td>Medial Verb + <em>it</em>- ‘be’</td>
<td>Medial Verb + <em>to</em>- ‘do’ with infix /g/ in Habitual form</td>
<td>Dependent verb + =<em>dup</em>, usually followed by <em>to</em>- ‘do’</td>
<td>Probable verb stem + -<em>na</em>, usually followed by <em>to</em>- ‘do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phon. word status</strong></td>
<td>1 phonological word</td>
<td>2 phonological words</td>
<td>2 phonological words</td>
<td>2 phonological words; =<em>dup</em> bears primary stress in first</td>
<td>2 phonological words; -<em>na</em> unstressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tense, mood, modality inflections possible for auxiliary</strong></td>
<td>Remote Past, Present, Remote Future; imperatives and irrealis modalities not possible</td>
<td>Remote Past, Near Past, Present, Near Future, Remote Future</td>
<td>Remote Past, Present, Remote Future; imperatives and irrealis modalities not possible</td>
<td>Present; imperatives and irrealis modalities not possible; clause chaining not possible</td>
<td>All; also imperatives and irrealis modalities possible; no imperative, nor usually irrealis modalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example using ongo- ‘go’</strong></td>
<td>ongo-ng=it-ta-t go-DEP=be-PRES-1sg</td>
<td>ongo-ng-a it-ta-t go-DEP-MV be-PRES-1sg</td>
<td>ongo-ng-a it=it-ta-t go-DEP-MV be=be-PRES-1sg</td>
<td>ongo-ng-a ta-g-a-t go-DEP-MV do-INF. PRES-1sg</td>
<td>ongo-ng=dup ta-a-ng go-DEP=COMP L do-PRES-2/3pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gloss of example</strong></td>
<td>I (always) go</td>
<td>I am (presently) going</td>
<td>I am (always) going</td>
<td>I seem to regularly go</td>
<td>They are all going</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.1.1 Examples of aspect use

The Habitual is used to express ongoing actions that span large stretches of time.

12) **Yup to-ng-o mu-ya aap wer=ir-a-ng.**
    - *bird do-DEP-MVii PERF-MV song 3sg.O.beat=be-PRES-2/3pl*
    - Having made their feather decorations, they (always) beat out their songs.

In contrast, the Continuous refers to actions that were/are/will be in progress in the time of reference, with no requirement that they continue beyond that time. In the following example describing the fate of sinners according to a Biblical source, the speaker uses the Continuous in the Remote Future to highlight the internal composition of the burning they will experience:
13) Idit-no  bongon  wakwag-o  
existence-DEF  time  long-ADJ  
di-ng-a  it-ni-ng=ma  ya-a-k.  
burn-DEP-MV  be-PL.IRR-2/3PL=RF  say-PRES-3SG  
They will be burning for a very long time, he says.

The Continuous Habitual, which morphologically and semantically combines the two aspects, brings the Habitual into closer focus, emphasizing the unceasing character of the ongoing action.

14) Ep-ni-ng=ma  yo-ng-a,  hori-ng-a  ir=ir-a-ng.  
come-pl.IRR-2/3pl=RF  say-DEP-MV  wait-DEP-MV  be=be-PRES-2/3pl  
Thinking that they will come, they are always waiting.

The Inferred Predilection canonically refers to an action that is presumably being done regularly, but which the speaker has not directly observed; this aspect can only be used with animate S/A arguments. Here, of course, we see a melding of the categories of evidentiality and aspect:

15) Oe-no  wet-a  ta-g-a-k.  
woman-3sgPOSS  3sg.O.beat-MV  do-INF.PRED-PRES-3sg  
He must beat his wife (regularly). [But the speaker has not witnessed this.]

16) Tanak  ma  na-ng-a  ta-g-a-k.  
food  NEG  eat-DEP-MV  do-INF.PRED-PRES-3sg  
She must not be eating food. [Because she has a large sore on her lips; but the speaker does not know for sure, since the afflicted woman has confined herself to her house and cannot speak.]

The Completive is different from the first four aspects in that it is more a judgment about the thoroughness of the action than a true aspectual distinction. Further, the Dependent verb + =dup carries full Completive meaning without the auxiliary to- ‘do’ in a kind of shorthand; the four other aspects bear their special aspectual meanings only because of the presence of the auxiliary verb.

17) Gungak  yoni  hottop  omo-ng=dup  to-gu-ng.  
child  3plPOSS  first-born  die-DEP=COMPL  do-RP-2/3pl  
Their first-born children died out completely.  
[Intransitive verb omo- ‘die’ in the Compl.]
18) Amna ho eet-na obu-na henet=dup to-gu-ng.
man FOC leg-1sgPOSS arm-1sgPOSS tie.up=COMPL do-RP-2/3pl
It was the men who tied up my arms and legs completely.
[Ambitrans. verb henet- ‘tie up’]

19) ööp bon ööp bon amna temo-ng=dup doo-ng=dup.
quiet ADV quiet ADV man shoot-DEP=COMPL 3pl.O-DEP=COMPL
Quietly, quietly, (they) shot all the men and killed them all.
[No auxiliary to- ‘do’]

The Desiderative combines modal and aspectual meanings, as in colloquial American English ‘be fitting to do s.t.: I’m fitting to go could imply either or both desire for action and the imminence of the action (even if undesired). One example in use is (3) above. As with the Completive, the Desiderative still bears total Desiderative meaning if the auxiliary to- ‘do’ is omitted, as in the example below:

20) Imun gamun to-nang-na, Hamerengan ongo-ng it-du-ng.
trade do-pl.PROB-DESID Hamerengan go-DEP be-RP-2/3pl
Wanting to conduct trade, they used to go to Hamerengan. [Note that the standard expression for ‘trade’ means in synchronic Nungon: ‘he_g gives him_j/k, he_j gives you.’]

4.1.2 Correspondences between aspect and tense
The auxiliary verb it- ‘be’ in the Habitual and Continuous Habitual may only inflect for Remote Past, Present, or Remote Future, reflecting the meanings of these aspects ‘used to do/be doing,’ ‘always do/am doing,’ and ‘will always do/be doing.’ It seems to make sense that the Habitual and Continuous Habitual, which refer to actions over long spans of time, cannot be used with the tenses that refer to short stretches of time--it does not make sense to say ‘This morning, I used to walk/used to be walking,’ for instance.

In contrast, the it- auxiliary of the Continuous may inflect for any of the five Nungon tenses, and in the following example is shown inflected for Near Future:

21) Maa opm=opmou yo-ng-o it-na-ng-ko-mong.
speech small=small say-DEP-MV be-pl-DUMMY.CONS-NF-1pl
We will (presently) be speaking small talk (to pass the time on the Sabbath).

The Inferred Predilection only occurs in the Present.

4.1.3 Aspect with serial constructions
These aspects may be readily applied to expressions that are usually expressed in serial constructions, such as ho-ng i-mo- ‘feed’ (literally ‘cook and give to s.o.’). To express ‘feed’ in the Continuous Habitual and past, for instance, the last verb of the serial
construction must be in the appropriate form—in this case, Medial Verb form—and this is followed by the auxiliary verb—for the Continuous Habitual, the past Habitual form of the verb it- ‘be.’

22) Ho-ng    i-mo-ng-a    ir=it-do-t.
    cook·DEP  3sgO·give·DEP·MV  be=be·RP·1sg
‘I used to (always) be feeding her.’

4.1.4 Negation of aspect

The Habitual, Continuous, Continuous Habitual, and Inferred Present Continuous are all negated with the negator ma before the first lexical verb. Thus, the past Continuous Habitual example in (22) is negated as follows:

23) Ma    ho-ng    i-mo-ng-a    ir=it-do-t.
    NEG  cook·DEP  3sgO·give·DEP·MV  be=be·RP·1sg
‘I did not used to be feeding her.’

Note that in these aspects, it is possible to negate a predicate ending in a final verb inflected for the Present tense, as long as the negator ma does not directly precede the verb inflected for Present tense (the Habitual of the verb it- ‘be’ may stand on its own):

24) Nok    ng-ondo    ma    ir=it-la-t.
    1sgPRO  here·LOC·ADV  NEG  be=be·PRES·1sg
‘I’m not usually around here.

4.1.5 The Habitual, Continuous, Continuous Habitual, and Completive in clause chains

All aspects except the Inferred Predilection can occur in clause chains if the auxiliary verb is in the Medial Verb form. The following example illustrates this with the Continuous aspect:

25) Ya-ma-ng-a    e-e-ya    urop    yo-gu-ndo.
    3persO·watch·over·DEP·MV  be·DS·1sg·MV  enough  say·RP·2/3pl
As I was watching over him, that’s it, they spoke.

4.2 Aspectual marking on non-final verbs and deverbal nominalizations

In non-final verbs, as in final verbs, the unmarked aspect is perfective. As in 4.1.5 above, the complex predicate constructions indicating Habitual, Continuous, Continuous Habitual, and Completive may be equally represented in medial clauses as in final
clauses, with the only difference being the form of the final auxiliary verb. But non-final verbs also express aspect in two special ways: the Perfect and the Antecedent.

4.2.1 Perfect aspect with Medial verbs
Optional Perfect aspect marking denotes that an event within a clause chain has finished before the onset of the next event. This marking is helpful for head-tail linkage within long clause chains. It combines the lexical verb in Medial form with the morpheme \( m(o)(t) \) (possibly related to the verb \( i-mo \) ‘give s.o.’), which inflects in a similar way to the Causative, which inflects in nearly the same way as the Different-Subject paradigm. The Perfect is also one area of grammar where language change in action is evident: older and more conservative speakers employ a suffix -\( o \) on the Medial verb before the Perfect instead of the usual Medial verb suffix -\( a \).

Perfect marking specifies the S/A of the lexical verb it follows, but it may be followed by either a different-subject clause or one with the same S/A argument.

Table 8. The Perfect inflection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>du</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>moraina</td>
<td>motdaina</td>
<td>motnaina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mor-a i-in-a</td>
<td>mot-da i-in-a</td>
<td>mot-na i-in-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mina</td>
<td>munya</td>
<td>muya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>muna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first person, speakers can separate the two underlying parts of the Perfect with a slight pause: a T-R-class-behaving verb \( mot \) in Dependent form, marked for Different-Subject, followed by the verb \( it \) ‘be’ inflected for 3sg Different Subject and in Medial form, with rough meaning ‘I having \( mot \)-ed, it being (like that)...’ But in the 2\(^{nd} \) and 3\(^{rd} \) persons, speakers never separate these single words into parts. The next example is from the speech of a man in his mid-twenties. He does not use the archaic suffix -\( o \) on the Medial verb before the Perfect marker.

26) Winduwa towi-ng hoo-ng-a moraina,

window arrange-DEP close-DEP-MV PERF.1sg

yama ha öö-ng ongo-go-mok.
door BEN ascend-DEP go-RP.1du
I having arranged and closed the windows, the two of us went up for (wood for) the doors.
4.2.2 The Antecedent construction in Dependent verbs

Different-subject-marked Medial verbs cannot be repeated; a thrice-repetition of a verb marked for 3sg Different Subject implies ‘A having acted, then B having acted, C (or A again) acted.’ But in the Antecedent construction, a Dependent verb marked for different-subject is repeated twice, usually followed by either the Focus postposition ho (which marks S/A, Instrument, Manner and sometimes Location) or the Benefactive postposition ha (which marks Reason, Subject of Discussion, and Recipient). The meaning is that the event so described occurs before some other event discussed.

27) **Pauk** yoo-ng **waga dek** hi-ng-o m-uny-a
sweet.potato non-sg.O.take-DEP dish LOC put-DEP-MVii PERF-2/3du-MV

iso-un iso-un to. Yup y-un y-un to,
dawn-DS.3sg dawn-DS.3sg FOC bird speak-DS.3sg speak-DS.3sg FOC

urop ongo-ng-a gombo dek hori-ng-a it-do-morok.

Having taken the sweet potatoes and put them in a dish, (they waited) for it to
dawn first. A bird having first spoken, that’s it, going to the fence, they were
waiting.

The Antecedent aspect may be considered a semi-nominal form of the verb; it can serve as Manner oblique argument of another verb, as below:

28) **Amna wo** ong-un ong-un to ongo-ng-a m-un-a,
man that go-DS.3sg go-DS.3sg FOC go-DEP-MV PERF-DS.3sg-MV

ong-un ong-un to, mee-no-n don ongo-gu-ng.
go-DS.3sg go-DS.3sg FOC back-3sgPOSS-LOC ADV go-RP-2/3pl

The man, that one (who was) going ahead having gone, (he) going ahead, they went after him.

The Antecedent with Focus postposition may serve as a command:

29) **Ong-i** ong-i ho!

You go ahead (of me)!

It is noteworthy that some nominalised expressions involving exchange—for verbal interchange and for traditional trade—comprise repetitions of, apparently, the DS.3sg inflections of the verbs i-no- ‘tell s.o.’ and i-mo- ‘give s.o.’ But these never inflect. ‘Trade,’ seen in example (20) above, is imun gamun (i.e. i-m-un ga-m-un ‘he, gives him and he’
gives you’), while ‘conversation’ is inun ganun (i.e. i-n-un ga-n-un ‘he1 tells him and he3 tells you’).

4.3 Another way of marking aspect: mō-ng
The verb mō- ‘fall, plant’ in Dependent form, as first verb in a serial construction, may be used to indicate that an action was completed with finality and purposefulness. Use of this construction is not obligatory to indicate that an action was completed, and its occurrence is restricted to narrative contexts. It seems to be translate fairly well as colloquial English ‘up and X,’ as in I up and left.

A boy accused of theft defended himself with an alibi describing where he had been earlier that day. At the end of several clauses, he stated:

30) ... nok mō-ng e-wa-t.
     1sgPRO fall-DEP come-NP-1sg
     ...I just/surely/up and came.

Use of mō-ng here seems to add finality and vehemence to the boy’s statement. He could have substituted an adverb such as urop ‘enough, that’s it’ for mō-ng, for slightly different meaning.

5 The Frustrative Modality and Calls At Distance
The Frustrative in Nungon is expressed through a complex construction involving an archaic verb. Additionally, the above exposition did not cover categories of mood that are not solely marked on verbs, and a brief word on the role that adverbials play in marking non-spatial setting is in order.

5.1 The Frustrative
In Nungon, an archaic verb so- with even-more archaic variant ho- seems to have originally meant ‘come to fruition,’ but it only occurs now negated, as part of the Frustrative construction.

The Frustrative construction is formed with the Dependent form of the lexical verb, followed by a Causative inflected form indicating person/number of the S/A--which may be repeated numerous times to emphasize the extent of efforts that were in the end frustrated--and then the negated verb so- (younger speakers) or ho- (only the very-oldest male speaker), always inflected for 3sg S/A, apparently referring to the foiled action. An example is:
Having waited and waited and waited to no avail, being upset, I went home.

5.2 Polar questions and Calls at Distance

Imperatives were covered above. In Nungon, polar questions may simply be marked through intonation. They may also be marked with the conjunction/polar question-marking word *ha*, which may be distinguished from Benefactive postposition *ha* through its phonological word status (it bears stress) and syntactic behaviour.

In Nungon, a special subtype of speech acts are Calls at Distance. A command, question, or declarative statement may be phrased as a Call at Distance by changing the vowel of the final syllable of the utterance to /o/. Thus, the Present-inflected verb *ep-pa-t* ‘come-PRES-1sg’ becomes *ep-po-t* when phrased as a Call at Distance, distinguishable from Remote Past *ep-bo-t* ‘come-RP-1sg’ only through the voiced onset of the second syllable. An utterance comprising a single word of any word class may have its final syllable altered in this way to mark it as a Call at Distance. Although my name is normally pronounced as *Hanna*, for instance, it may form a Call at Distance on its own as *Hanno!* In the final verbal sentence *Hanna ng-ondo it-ta-k*, ‘Hannah here-DEM be-PRES-3sg,’ however, *Hanna* is not the final element; the Call at Distance form of the utterance would be *Hanna ng-ondo it-to-k*, with the usual Present tense vowel /a/ of the verb altered.

Although a Call at Distance is prototypically shouted out, the form may be used in non-shouted direct speech reports, or an utterance that pretends to call to someone who is not in hearing range, as in example (32), below. A Towet woman came to her sister’s home when only her sister’s 12-year-old daughter was home and took some of the other woman’s pitpit. The niece, watching, castigated her aunt jokingly, saying softly:

32) *Mak,* *daa-ya* *dee* *hawek to-ng-a*

Mother sister.of.fem-2sgPOSS pitpit theft do-DEP-MV

*ongo-ya-k!*

go-PRES.CaD-3sg

Mother, your sister is going off having committed pitpit theft!

Although the speaker in (32) speaks softly, her utterance presumes to call out to the absent mother across a distance, alerting her to the aunt’s theft.
6 Conclusion

This paper introduced the parameters of non-spatial setting marking in Nungon. Nungon verbs may be grouped into sub-classes based on both morphological and syntactic criteria; membership in morphological sub-classes and in syntactic sub-classes are unrelated. Five grammatical tenses relate to a strict division of time into five areas: ‘before yesterday (and yesterday),’ ‘(yesterday and) earlier today,’ ‘right now,’ ‘later today,’ and ‘tomorrow and beyond.’ Both the Remote Past tense and the Near Past tense are judged acceptable in relating events that occurred ‘yesterday.’ The Near Future and Remote Future tenses also serve other functions within the grammar, however, with Near Future used to discuss general truths, and Remote Future used to express the ‘wishful thinking irrealis.’

Aspectual distinctions—Habitual, Continuous, Continuous Habitual, Inferred Predilection, Completive, and Desiderative—are marked through light verbal constructions. These constructions are acceptable in medial clauses: the auxiliary element of the light verbal construction is inflected as a medial verb. A further aspectual distinction, the Perfect, occurs only in complex clause chains. Further, a tight multi-verb construction using mö-ŋg ‘fall-DEP’ represents a newer, not-yet-grammaticalized strategy for aspect marking.

The paper also introduced two other areas of the Nungon grammar related to non-spatial setting: the Frustrative modality, which seems to involve an archaic verb now extant only in Frustrative constructions, and Calls At Distance, a grammatical category marked by the alteration of the vowel of the final syllable of an utterance.

Abbreviations Used
References