

# A grammar of Wano



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St. Catherine's College | University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of  
**Doctor of Philosophy**  
in General Linguistics and Comparative Philology  
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To

*Nada*

*Jonathan N Burung, Mark M Burung and Silvester Henan*

In remembrance of my

parents

*Nicolaas Burung and Emma M Samson*

brothers

*Stevanus Burung, Lukas Burung and Arnold Burung*

nephews

*Valentino P Leiwakabessy and Nicolaas Burung*



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United Kingdom | 2017



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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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Unless otherwise stated, guidelines for **special typefaces** and **abbreviations** follow *The Leipzig Glossing Rules* (2003). The following supplementary is based on Croft (1990, 2003), Foley (1986), Adelaar and Himmelmann (2005), Dixon (2010, 2012, 2013a-b), and my own additions.

## SPECIAL TYPEFACES

**Bold** typefaces refer to: (i) emphasised words or technical terms under discussion, (ii) words or technical terms when first defined or introduced, and (iii) titles of tables, figures or illustrations.

*Italics* typefaces indicate: (i) Wano forms when written orthographically, (ii) forms from languages other than English, such as Dani, Walak, Nggem, Melayu Papua, Indonesian, and (iii) loanwords from Melayu Papua or Indonesian, also given in square brackets, e.g. [*ngguru*] 'teacher', [*tuan*] *inyene* 'pineapple'.

ALL CAPS refer to (i) linguistic elements under discussion in the main body, tables, figures, illustrations, and (ii) stressed syllables in multisyllabic words that are not presented phonetically, e.g. *abuRI*, as opposed to [abu'ɾɪ].



SMALL CAPS indicate: (i) technical terms, and (ii) grammatical categories and functions used in the interlinear examples.

**Person markings** in the interlinear examples are presented as follows:

|                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Adr</i>      | addressee, in discourse and deictic marking                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>Cp</i>       | conversational participants, in discourse                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>ft.</i>      | free translation in English                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>lit.</i>     | literal translation                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>oDS</i>      | of different sex                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>oF</i>       | of female                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>oM</i>       | of male                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>oSS</i>      | of same sex                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>ref.</i>     | reference of examples                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>s, p, sp</i> | pronominal singular, plural, singular/plural, in phonemic representation, semantic interpretation, and/or grammatical glossing, e.g. <i>kat</i> {kat} \2s\ 'you.sg', -sp.SBJ- 'singular/plural subject' |
| <i>sg, pl</i>   | singular, plural for second person in free translation, i.e. 'you.sg' and 'you.pl'                                                                                                                      |
| <i>SG, PL</i>   | nominal singular, plural, singular/plural, e.g. <i>aburi</i> {ø-abut-i} \3s-child.oM-PL\ <3s.M>PL 'his children'                                                                                        |
| <i>Sp</i>       | speaker, in discourse and deictic marking                                                                                                                                                               |

For example,

|       |            |                                             |                  |                        |                         |
|-------|------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1.1) | <i>i</i>   | <i>kat</i>                                  | <i>ninyaburi</i> | <i>inyoko</i>          | <i>tendigo</i>          |
|       | <i>ii</i>  | kat                                         | nin-abut-i       | in-ot-k-o              | t-ent-ik=o              |
|       | <i>iii</i> | 2s                                          | 1p-child.oM-PL   | 3p.OBJ-hit-REAL-SG.SBJ | intend-2s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS |
|       | <i>iv</i>  | ‘You.sg want to hit our children (of male)’ |                  |                        |                         |
|       | <i>v</i>   |                                             |                  |                        |                         |

[Source of the example taken]

For the example in (1.1), note that *i* = linguistic forms of the Wano utterance (lexis), *ii* = morphophonological structures or representation, *iii* = morphophonological interpretation or glossing, *iv* = free translation in English, and *v* = source of example

taken. The examples taken either from various recorded oral texts or from my personal field notes, are indicated by: (i) [Text N: page number], e.g. [Text 35: 2.41] = 'from text 35, recorded in Burung 2007b as text 2 line 41', and/or (ii) [Fieldnote: place, (informant's initials, p.c.), date], e.g. [Fieldnote: Biricare, 1995], or [Fieldnote: Fawi, BM, p.c. 1995].

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used in this thesis follow *The Leipzig Glossing Rules* (2003). Only those that are not found in the List of Standard Abbreviations are listed below.

|                                                  |                                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| AN                                               | abstract nouns                                         |
| ANA                                              | anaphoric pronoun                                      |
| Ap                                               | apposition                                             |
| APN                                              | alienably possessed nouns, i.e. alienable nouns        |
| ApP                                              | appositional phrase                                    |
| ARG                                              | argument                                               |
| BL                                               | bridging linkage                                       |
| C                                                | (i) consonant, consonantal phoneme. (ii) coda          |
| Cl                                               | clause                                                 |
| Cl <sub>1</sub> , Cl <sub>2</sub> , ...          | clause 1, clause 2, ...                                |
| CM                                               | common nouns                                           |
| CN                                               | countable nouns                                        |
| CON                                              | concrete nouns                                         |
| CS                                               | conceptual structure, in mismatch discussion (chap. 8) |
| D.SEQ                                            | delayed sequential                                     |
| DS                                               | direct speech                                          |
| DST                                              | direct speech in thought                               |
| E                                                | event                                                  |
| E.IPN                                            | experiential.IPN, experiential.IPN                     |
| E <sub>1</sub> , E <sub>2</sub> , E <sub>3</sub> | event 1, event 2, event 3                              |
| ED, ED                                           | EXPERIENCED                                            |
| EE                                               | experiential events                                    |
| EEC                                              | experiential-event constructions                       |
| EH                                               | experiential head                                      |
| e-l                                              | east-longitude                                         |
| EO                                               | experiential object                                    |

|                                                  |                                                                     |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ER                                               | EXPERIENCER                                                         |
| ES                                               | experiential subject                                                |
| I.SEQ                                            | immediate sequential                                                |
| INTERJ                                           | interjection                                                        |
| IPN                                              | inalienably possessed nouns, i.e. inalienable nouns                 |
| k.o.                                             | kind of ...; species of ...                                         |
| <i>Lat.</i>                                      | in Latin                                                            |
| <i>lit.</i>                                      | literal translation                                                 |
| MC                                               | main clause                                                         |
| MN                                               | mass nouns                                                          |
| N                                                | (i) noun, (ii) nucleus                                              |
| NGK                                              | Nieuw Guinea Kaartmateriaal                                         |
| NTHL                                             | non-tail-head linkage                                               |
| NUML                                             | numeral                                                             |
| O                                                | (i) object, (ii) onset                                              |
| OBJ                                              | object                                                              |
| oDS                                              | of different sex                                                    |
| oF                                               | of female possessor                                                 |
| oM                                               | of male possessor                                                   |
| oSS                                              | of same sex                                                         |
| PAUS                                             | pausal                                                              |
| px                                               | prefix                                                              |
| R                                                | rhyme                                                               |
| RL                                               | receptient language (van Coetsem 1988)                              |
| ROOT                                             | root                                                                |
| RP                                               | resumptive pronoun                                                  |
| S                                                | intransitive subject                                                |
| SBJ                                              | subject of both transitive and intransitive verb in the interlinear |
| SC                                               | subordinate clause                                                  |
| SIA                                              | Smithsonian Institution Archives                                    |
| SL                                               | source language (van Coetsem 1988)                                  |
| <i>s-l</i>                                       | south-latitude                                                      |
| SPEC                                             | specifier                                                           |
| SS                                               | syntactic structure, in mismatch discussion in chapter 8            |
| STUT                                             | stutter                                                             |
| SVC                                              | serial verb constructions                                           |
| sx                                               | suffix                                                              |
| THL                                              | tail-head linkage                                                   |
| TNGP                                             | Trans-New Guinea Phylum                                             |
| V                                                | (i) vowel, vocalic phoneme; (ii) verb                               |
| V <sub>1</sub> , V <sub>2</sub> , V <sub>3</sub> | verb 1, verb 2, verb 3                                              |

# LIST OF SYMBOLS

---

Unless otherwise stated, **general symbols** below follow *The Leipzig Glossing Rules* (2003). The following supplementary is based on Croft (1990, 2003), Foley (1986), Adelaar and Himmelmann (2005), Dixon (2010, 2012, 2013a-b), and my own additions.

## GENERAL SYMBOLS

|         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1, 2, 3 | first, second, third possessors/persons (Note: because there is no gender distinction in '3', I will use 'he' to represent 'he/she/it' unless otherwise stated. This also applies to 'him/her/it' and 'his/hers/its' accordingly.) |
| \       | utterance final and/or falling intonation                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| \ .. \  | (i) morphophonological interpretation, meaning or glossing, (ii) semantic interpretation (specifically in chapter 3)                                                                                                               |
| /       | or                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| /.. /   | phonological representation                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| [..]    | phonetic realisation                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| [..]    | loanwords from Melayu Papua, Indonesian, or other languages in Indonesia, e.g. [ngguru] 'teacher', [tuan] inyene 'pineapple', [ndua-bedat] 'twelve'                                                                                |
| { .. }  | (i) morphophonological representation/structure, (ii) constituents, elements or components under discussion                                                                                                                        |
| < .. >  | (i) possessor slot in semantic interpretation, or (ii) semantic parameter or interpretation                                                                                                                                        |
| →       | is or becomes                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| ↘       | end of utterance in discourse                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| #       | word boundary                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| =       | clitic boundary                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| -       | morpheme boundary                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |

|       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| —     | compounding boundary in morphophonological representation/interpretation                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| :     | portmanteau morpheme boundary                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| .     | (i) syllable boundary, (ii) grammatical gloss boundary, as in G.REF 'general reference'                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <     | is derived from, or is of                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| ∅     | zero morpheme                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Ø     | (i) a constituent empty slot, (ii) pro-drop slot, (iii) elision (chapter 2)                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| +     | obligatory element or constituent                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| ±     | optional element or constituent                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| &     | (i) compound roots/stems/words, (ii) and (in phonological parameter)                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| ".."  | semantic readings                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|       | (i) morpheme breaks of root serialization/one-word SVC, (ii) meaning boundary of merging morphemes in the interlinear and/or grammatical glossing, (iii) utterance short pause in discourse, (iv) utterance drop or sudden stop, in morphophonological discussion (chapter 2) |
|       | utterance long pause in discourse, no falling intonation                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| ?     | (i) questionable form or entry, (ii) uncertain, in the interlinear gloss                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| ◀...▶ | direct speech of speech report or thought report in the interlinear texts or examples                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| ◀-▶   | tail-linker / non-tail-head-linker elements                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| ▶-▶   | head-linker elements                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |

In describing a phoneme with its allophonic variants, particularly in chapter 2, the following conventions are applied:

|                    |                                      |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| $\sigma$ -O        | syllable-onset                       |
| $\sigma$ -C        | syllable-coda                        |
| $\sigma$ .O-RED    | syllable-onset reduplication         |
| $\sigma$ .N(C)-RED | syllable-nucleus(coda) reduplication |
| /C/, /V/           | phoneme /C/, phoneme /V/             |
| [C], [V]           | allophonic variant [C], [V]          |
| ___                | in a phonological environment of     |
| #C_                | word-initially                       |

|     |                            |
|-----|----------------------------|
| _C# | word-finally               |
| _C_ | intervocally               |
| C/c | consonantal orthography    |
| V/v | vocalic orthography        |
| Ø   | elision                    |
| ↗   | rising intonation          |
| ↘   | falling intonation         |
| ↓   | sudden stop/utterance drop |
| ■   | high pitch                 |
| ■   | mid pitch                  |
| ■   | low pitch                  |

For examples:

Parameter: /C/ → [C] \_\_\_|| (i) #C\_ or (ii) \_C\_ or (iii) \_C#.

Reading: The phoneme /C/ is phonetically realised as [C] in the environment of, (i) word-initially, or (ii) intervocally, or (iii) word-finally.

## IPA SYMBOLS AND DEFINITION USED

IPA symbols and definitions, except prenasalised plosives, phonetic symbols with their definitions used in this study are of the Handbook of the International Phonetic Association, *A Guide to the Use of the International Phonetic Alphabet* (revised to 1993, updated 1999), with comparison to Pullum and Ladusaw (1996, 1993, 1989), Crystal (1997: xviii), and Carr (2008, 1993: 11). Should a different definition be used, this will be indicated in the footnotes.

### *Suprasegmental*

ˈ | primary stress, located preceding stressed syllable

|   |                                                       |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|
| ˌ | secondary stress, located preceding stressed syllable |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|

### ***Vowels***

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| i | close front      |
| ɪ | near-close front |
| ɛ | open-mid front   |
| a | open central     |
| ɔ | open-mid back    |
| u | close back       |

### ***Non-pulmonic consonants***

|   |                                                            |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------|
| ɓ | voiced glottalic ingressive (i.e. implosive) bilabial stop |
| ɗ | voiced glottalic ingressive (i.e. implosive) alveolar stop |

### ***Pulmonic consonants***

|   |                                |   |                                     |
|---|--------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| p | voiceless bilabial plosive     | ɲ | voiced palatal nasal                |
| b | voiced bilabial plosive        | ç | voiceless palatal fricative         |
| m | voiced bilabial nasal          | j | voiced palatal fricative            |
| β | voiced bilabial fricative      | j | voiced palatal affricate            |
| d | voiced alveolar plosive        | g | voiced velar plosive                |
| t | voiceless alveolar plosive     | k | voiceless velar plosive             |
| n | voiced nasal plosive           | ɣ | voiced velar fricative              |
| r | voiced alveolar flap           | w | voiced labial-velar approximant     |
| ʒ | voiced post-alveolar fricative | l | voiced alveolar lateral approximant |
| s | voiceless alveolar fricative   | ʔ | glottal stop                        |

### ***No audible release (i.e. unreleased) consonants***

|                |                                       |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| p <sup>̚</sup> | unreleased voiceless bilabial plosive |
| b <sup>̚</sup> | unreleased voiced bilabial plosive    |
| t <sup>̚</sup> | unreleased voiceless alveolar plosive |
| d <sup>̚</sup> | unreleased voiced alveolar plosive    |
| k <sup>̚</sup> | unreleased voiceless velar plosive    |

### ***Labialized consonants***

|            |                                       |
|------------|---------------------------------------|
| $p^w$      | labialized voiceless bilabial plosive |
| $k^w$      | labialized voiceless velar plosive    |
| $g^w$      | labialized voiced velar plosive       |
| $\gamma^w$ | labialized voiced velar fricative     |

### ***Prenasalised consonants***

|         |                                      |
|---------|--------------------------------------|
| $^mb$   | prenasalised voiced bilabial plosive |
| $^nd$   | prenasalised voiced alveolar plosive |
| $^ng$   | prenasalised voiced velar plosive    |
| $^ng^w$ | prenasalised labio-velar plosive     |



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# ABSTRACT

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This thesis is a descriptive analysis of Wano, a Trans-New Guinea language found in West Papua which is spoken by approximately 7,000 native speakers. The thesis includes: **(i)** an introduction of Wano topography and demography; a brief ethnographic sketch; some sociolinguistic issues such as name taboo, counting system and kinship terms; and typological profile of the language in chapter 1; **(ii)** morphophonological properties in chapter 2; **(iii)** forms and functions of nouns in chapter 3; **(iv)** verbs in chapter 4; **(v)** deixis in chapter 5; **(vi)** clause elements in chapter 6; and **(vii)** intransitive/transitive non-verbal predication in chapter 7; **(viii)** clause combination is consecutively observed in terms of coordination and subordination in chapter 8; serial verb constructions in chapter 9; clause linking in chapter 10; and bridging linkage in chapter 11. Chapter 12 sums-up the overall thesis.

Wano has 11 consonantal and 5 vocalic phonemes expressed through their allophonic variations, consonantal assimilation and vocalic diphthongs. The only fricative phoneme attested is bilabial fricative /β/. There are two open and two closed syllable patterns where all consonants are syllable-onset, while approximants can also be syllable-coda. Vowels are syllable-nucleus. Stress is syllable-final which will be penultimate in cliticization. The phonology-morphology interface provides a significant contribution to the shaping of conjugational verbs, which, in turn, plays

an essential role to an understanding of Wano verbal system where distinction between roots, stems, citation forms, sequential forms and tense-aspect-mood is defined.

Wano is a polysynthetic language that displays an agglutinative-fusional morphology. Although the alienable-inalienable noun distinction is essentially simple in its morphology, the sex-distinction of the possessor between kin terms allows room for semantic-pragmatic complexity in the interpretation of their various uses. Wano has four non-verbal predication types, consists of experiential event, nominal, adjectival, and deictic predicates. Wano is a verb-final language that allows pronominal pro-drop and has no rigid word order for arguments. A clause may consist only of (i) a single verb, (ii) a single inalienable noun, (iii) a serial verb construction, (iv) a combination of an inalienable noun with a verb, and or (v) a combination of an inalienable noun with a serial verb construction. To maintain discourse coherency, Wano makes use of tail-head linkage construction. The thesis consists of: *pre-sections* (i-xxxiii), *contents* (1-478), *bibliography* (479-498), and *appendices* (499-594) that include verb paradigms, noun paradigms, some oral texts and dialectal wordlist.

*A grammar of Wano*

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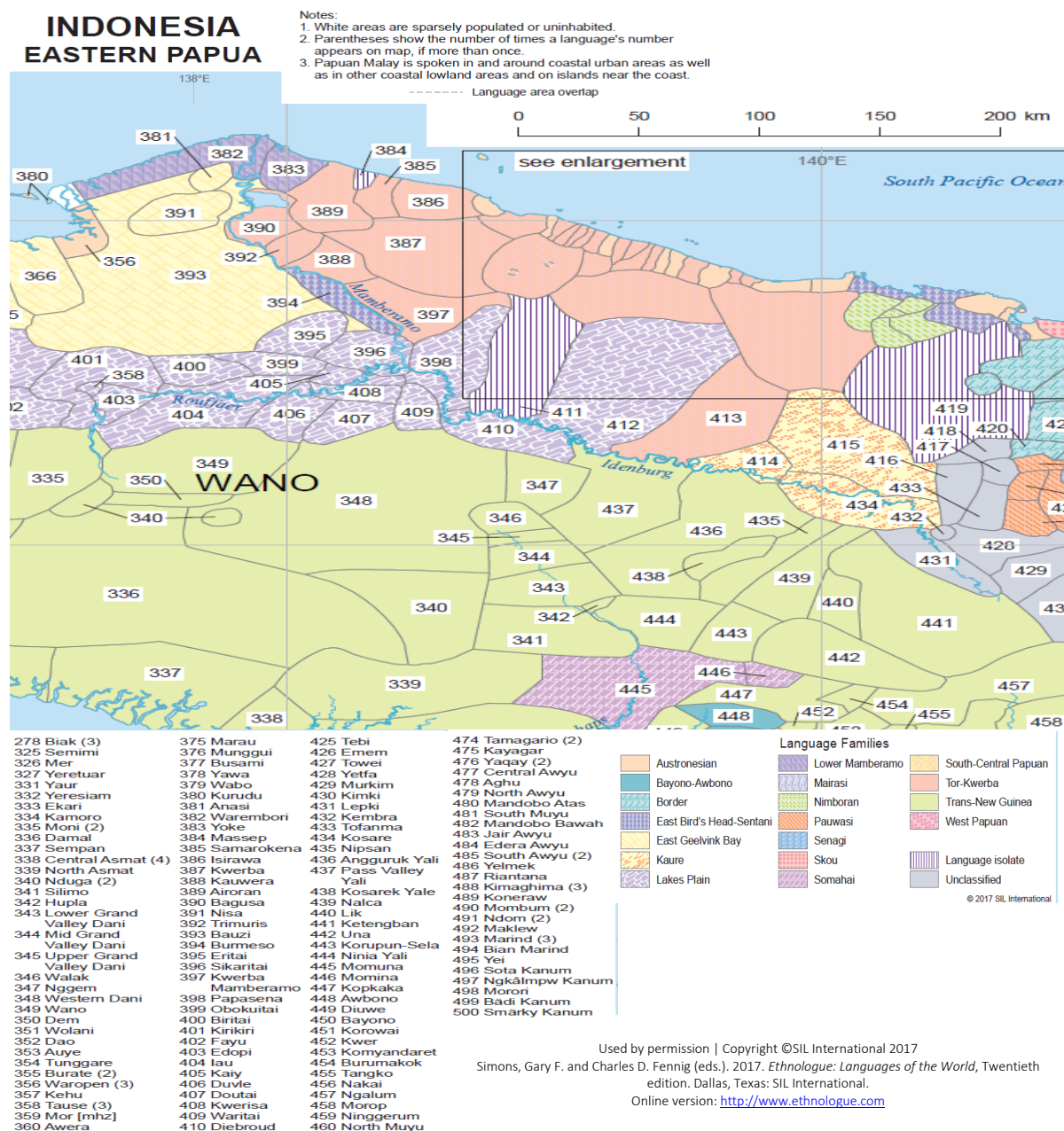
# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 BACKGROUND

While there are nearly 300 languages found in West Papua (Indonesia), scholarly studies that led to academic publication on those languages are few. The purpose of the present study is a detailed description of the grammatical structures of Wano which has been designated (i) the Glottol-code: *wano1243* (Hammarström, et.al. 2016), and (ii) the ISO 639-3: *wno* (Lewis, et.al. 2013, 2016). Map 1a indicates the location of the Wano region.

This chapter presents the background for this thesis. It is structured as follows: §1.1 gives background, §1.2 explores the name of the language and its meaning, §1.3 introduces the native speakers of the language, including their estimated number and social setting, §1.4 outlines topography and demography, §1.5 describes previous research and the current study of the language, §1.6 covers linguistic affiliation, §1.7 addresses dialects, §1.8 gives a typological overview, and §1.9 sets out the organisation of the thesis. The first four sections are based on Burung (2007b).

**Map 1a: Wano (number 349) in the SIL International's map of languages in Papua**  
(Enlarged version of Map 1)



In ecolinguistic studies, four integral domains are identified for the existence of language: symbolic, natural, sociocultural and cognitive ecology of language (Steffensen and Fill 2013; cf. also Kramsch and Steffensen 2008; Stibbe 2012; Chen 2016). I present the linguistic ecology of Wano in §1.2 through §1.7.

## 1.2 THE NAME

Wano is a Trans-New Guinea language spoken in Papua (Indonesia),<sup>1</sup> a member of the Dani family which also includes Dani, Walak and Nggem – cf. Grimes (1996), Pawley and Hammarström (2014), and Lewis et.al. (2016).

The self-referent term *Wano* ['wanɔ], refers to both the people and the language. It is a derivation of an interjection *wa* 'greetings and gratitude' (discussed in §6.7.7) and the referential marker *no* 'G.REF' (in §3.7.6) or could be the deictic word *no* 'like this' (in §5.1). When speaking of the language, the inalienably possessed noun, *inyone* {in-one} \3p-voice\ 'their voice', follows the term, hence *Wano inyone* 'their Wano voice/sound', that can be interpreted as 'the Wano language' or 'the language of the Wanos'. Concerning the *Wano* people, the nominal *ap* 'people, person or man' follows the term, hence *Wano ap* 'Wano man' or 'Wano people'.

---

<sup>1</sup> Papua was formerly known as Irian Jaya. It was Nederlands Nieuw Guinea before 1963. See Pawley and Hammarström (2014: 2, footnote 4) for the most recent development of the name.

### 1.3 THE PEOPLE

The language is spoken by approximately 7,000 native speakers (Burung 2007b: 16). The number of speakers is given as 3,000 in Larson (1977: 7), 1,500 in Foley (1986: 239), 3,500 in Grimes (1996), Wurm (2007: 549), Lewis, et.al. (2016), and 1,000 in Pawley and Hammarström (2014). My estimate is the result of counting the number of family members from each clan in every village or hamlet. This was done by the method of consulting several Wano elders from some of the villages during my visit to *Mbomban* and *Yei*. Some elders came to *Biricare* (where I mostly stayed) from *Puduk*, *Acodi*, *Kiagai* and *Lumo*. They informed me of the names of the clans as well as their family members.

As recorded in the Smithsonian Institution Archives (hereinafter *SIA*)<sup>2</sup>, in 1926 Matthew W. Stirling, an American archaeologist, conducted a Netherlands-American expedition<sup>3</sup> (cf. Stirling 1934:1) aiming "... to penetrate the unknown parts of the Nassau range lying on the northern slope of the central chain." (*SIA*: US consult report, dated Batavia, Java, Feb. 5, 1926, page 3).<sup>4</sup> The objective of the expedition was, according to Stirling, to find "the negritoës of the central Nassau Mountain." (*SIA*: Stirling's letter to Wetmore, dated Upper Rouffaer River, Sept. 9th. 1926).

Stirling experienced no difficulties in finding some native people whom he identified as the *Tapiro*, the *Pesechem*, the *Nogullo*, the *Ekaris* and the *Monis* (Stirling 1934:

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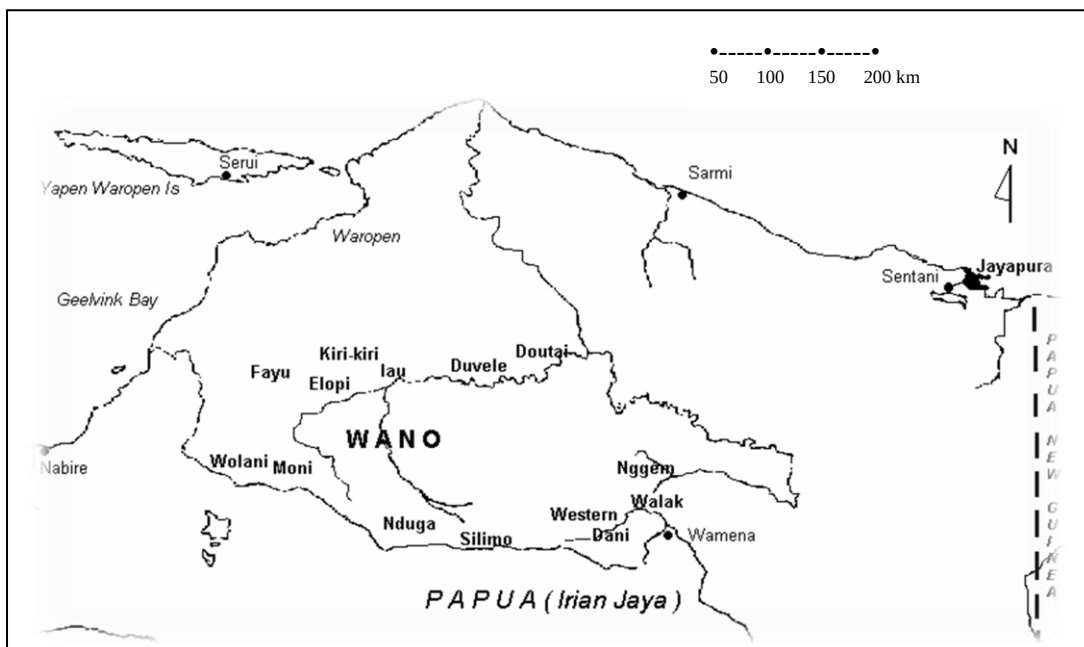
<sup>2</sup> Record unit 7006, Alexander Wetmore Papers, 1898-1976 (unprocessed), provided courtesy of Mike Moxness.

<sup>3</sup> The expedition was stimulated by Dr. A.F.R. Wollaston's book, *Papuans and Pygmies* (*SLA*: US consult report, Record unit 7006, Alexander Wetmore Papers, 1898-1976 (unprocessed)).

<sup>4</sup> The Nassau range is now known as Pegunungan Sudirman, Batavia is Jakarta and Java is Jawa.

12). Contact with the Pesechem people was reported earlier by Lorentz (1913). It is spelled *Pesegem* in Bromley (1973). Nogullo is mentioned in Bromley (ibid.) as the alternative name for *Upper Jamo* – it is written as *Nogolo*, the local name for Rouffaer River. The Tapiro are also known as *Kapauku*, *Ekagi*, *Ekari* or *Me*, of which the last mentioned is the self-referent term. They are the current inhabitants around Paniai. The Moni people live in the highlands southwest of the Wano area (cf. map 2). Details on Tapiro and Moni are found in Rawling (1913); van Eechoed (1938); Le Roux (1950); Boelaars (1950); Drabbe (1952, 1959); Larson and Larson (1958, 1972); Doble (1960, 1962, 1987); Capell (1962); Pospisil (1963); and Voorhoeve (1975a-c).

**Map 2: Wano and its related languages: Dani, Nggem and Walak**



Taken from Burung 2007b: 10. **Map 2: Wano and its neighbouring languages** – Based on Wurm 1982, Wurm and Hattori 1983, Voorhoeve 1975b and 1975c in comparison to Nieuw Guinea Kaartmateriaal of the Topographic Service 1941 and Grimes 2000.

Stirling also made a note about native people living in caves whom he was not able to find. Could they have been the Wano people? Lack of evidence makes it difficult to give a clear judgement. However, during my time spent with them, I was once taken to some caves in Mbowid and was told that "our ancestors used to live here" (Bat Medenggwa, p.c.).<sup>5</sup> Bromley, as well as Larson, gives promising observations. In Bromley (1973: 6) we read: "Wano is spoken on the north side of the Jamo valley, ..." and in Larson (1977: 6-7) that:

"[t]he Wano, though dispersed over a rather large area, are the least in number of all members of the Greater Dani family. They occupy areas on the north side of the Jamo of the Upper Rouffaer, and are also found in scattered pockets to as far north of Jamo as where the foothills join the Lakes Plains, and west of Jamo on into the lower Dugindoga."

According to Bat Medenggwa (p.c.), one of their original settlements was *Kimbin*, the name mentioned in Bromley (1973) as the area of Western *Dani*. Further, if we consider the geographical setting of Stirling's journey and the Nieuw Guinea Kaartmateriaal (hereinafter *NGK*) of the Topographic Service 1941<sup>6</sup>, and then compare the location of several places named on the map with some of those Wano villages, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the *Wano* people were present in that area at the time of the expedition. For instance, if we match the location of the place called Explorer Bivouac in *NGK* with that of the Wano village called Wodegoduk, we will find that their co-ordinates are about the same. Likewise, Bad-luck Bivouac

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<sup>5</sup> Bat Medenggwa was my main language teacher and consultant (1994-2006).

<sup>6</sup> The 1900-1963 edition of Nederlands Topographic Service 1954, no. 23, 31. Prepared and reproduced by USASOS, SWPA December 1942-January 1943, from Dutch map printed by Topographische Dienst (Topographic Service) Batavia 1941.

in NGK has about the same co-ordinates as Dukibeci, a Wano village. I will show this later in §1.4, but first I will provide some information about the social life of the Wano people.

Their social organisation is based on individual clans. Each clan is given an area for its own members, who will live close together. A village consists of several clans. A clan may also find a hamlet in a solitary place away from the main village. When moving to a new area, each clan will be allocated a piece of land according to their social status. The clan with royal blood, i.e., the lord (*nagwan*), has the privilege of taking the best available place. At present, this tradition is dying out, and everybody has the right to choose whatever place he likes for his family. However, the clan which is related to the witch (*kugwi*), who practices witchcraft (*irudik*), must reside at a distance from the village. This clan will normally be obliged to live in another hill or mountain across a river.

In social interaction, it is culturally determined that kin-related expressions like 'my-father' (*nova*) or 'my-mother' (*nica*) is used to address an elderly or a respected person. Likewise, a man usually calls his wife *nica*, instead of *nagwe*, i.e. 'my-wife', and a woman calls her husband *nova*, instead of *noin*, i.e. 'my-husband' in an intimate or otherwise polite relationship (cf. (3.37) in §3.4.2 and §5.2). In fact, *noin* 'my-husband' and *nagwe* 'my-wife' are used for statements like 'this is my wife/husband' (*ndi ta an nagwe/noin*), 'his/her wife/husband died yesterday' (*at agwe/oin kivit kanggirak*), or 'how many wives/husbands have you?' (*kagwe/koin mande-a?*). People also use the terms *nova* 'my-father' and *nica* 'my-mother' when expressing a sincere deep gratitude to an elderly and respected person by saying: *nova wa-o, kaye*

*nak-o!* that literally means 'thanks my-father, wish to eat your penis!' or *nica wa-o*, *kajak nak-o!* which means 'thanks my-mother, wish to suck your breast!' which is equivalent to 'from the bottom of my heart, I thank you!' It is an essentially concealed tradition of respected intimacy in some Papuan ethnics that seems to be kept hidden from outsiders, which is, however, disclosed through language use.<sup>7</sup> The custom of expressing grief for deceased family members by cutting off one's fingers, or a bit of a finger actually, (*enggit poriak*) is no more practised by young generation since the introduction of Christianity in 1960s. The tradition of cremation (*teveniak*), in this respect, will soon vanish; people begin to bury their dead but cremate the body in the interest of finding out the cause of his/her death. Revenge will take place (usually in the form of clan-fight) if the cause appears to be witchcraft (*irudik*).

The only domestic animals are pigs (*wom*). Even though we can still see women carrying piglets (*wom ayak*) with her baby (*at ayak*) in net-bags (*yum*) around a village, pigs are kept outside the village for reasons of hygiene, usually across a brook or a river and in an area which is well fenced with logs from felled trees. Traditionally, however, pigs were kept close to their owner, which can be seen in abandoned villages or hamlets where a pigsty (*davo*) was found underneath a family house (*awi*).

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<sup>7</sup> During my field research in around 1994, I was informed (anonymously) that in some traditions, touching each other's privates (of the same sex) is a means of consolidating an intimate relationship, which is strictly allowed among close friends and those who genuinely want to befriend with someone – it has nothing to do with (homo)sexuality. In the Wano context, I wonder if such a custom naturally vanished as the influence of foreign custom which was and is gradually penetrating the Wano world. It is, however, disclosed through language use.



Chickens (*towewom*) are also kept, an innovated tradition – the origin of this tradition is unclear. Both animals are used for special occasions such as bridal-price, births or deaths, to welcome or bid farewell, to settle a clan dispute (such as murder by sorcery, adultery<sup>8</sup>, accidental killing of a pig or chicken) and so on. In addition, games are conducted in certain seasons, like hunting for wild pigs (*nggoica*) and cassowaries (*ndumbuk*). Birds of paradise (*yawid*) and crowned doves (*yivivit*) are mostly hunted for their feathers, which are invaluable items for war decorations.

Under special circumstances, such as tribal war, clan disputes, bridal processions, and the like, a typical Wano warrior will carry weapons such as a bow (*egin*) and arrow (*wim*), a knife (*yedowi*), and a stone axe (*ye*). His face is painted (*mangga*) and his nose is pierced with the bone of a pig's snout (*tid*). The bravery of a warrior is measured by the size of his *tid*. The warrior leader is recognised by the decoration on his head: the *yawid* feather.

Referring to everyday clothing, when I first met the people in early 1992 most of the men wore a penis gourd (*kevewok*) and the women were wearing grass-skirts (*mbuk*). The *kevewok* is made of a kind of gourd, whilst the grass-skirt is made of *mbuk*, which is a kind of reed. The term *kevewok* is an inflection of the inalienable possessee {k-eve-ø-owok} \2s-body-3s-bone\ 'your.sg body's bone', or 'body's bone of yours.sg', that figuratively refers to 'a family bond' (Text 37: 1.14; Burung 2013a: 222, 230-1; see also example (3.75) in chapter 3 §3.7.3).

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<sup>8</sup> Even though sexual restrictions before marriage are non-existent, and polygamy is allowed.

In terms of agriculture, the Wano are a semi-nomadic people. This is apparent in four different terms referring to 'field': when a field is opened, it is *yavuk*; when being planted, it is *yarak*; when being harvested, it is *akut*; and when it is fallow, it is *wadik*. All members of the clans in a village will work together to open a new field. The main task for the men is clearing the area, which is normally on a steep slope or at the foot of a hill, beside a stream, brook or river. When the area is cleared, it will be divided into pieces for each clan (*kodak*), by means of fencing using the felled trees (*yenggen*). The well fenced area is then a new field which is ready to be planted (*yavuk*). When the *yavuk* is settled, the women of each family will take care of the planting. The women also will go to the field for harvesting (*yarak*) to collect food, clean them and carry home in their *netbag* (*yum*). The main staple foods are sweet potato (*mboid*), yam or taro (*kom*), peanuts (*nggwenkuma*), banana (*deid*) and sugar-cane (*en*). Some local greens are also planted, such as *tabi* (*Lat. abelmoschus manihot*; Papuan-Malay (PM), *sayur gedi*), a kind of pumpkin (*kevewok*), cucumber (*nggiduk*), *tivinggi* (*Lat. gnetum gnemon*; PM, *sayur genemo*), etc. *Tivinggi* is also used for tobacco (*tavo*). Wano tradition of cooking is to cook underground (*yugum tariak*), cf. §4.1.1, which is not a common practice now. Today, people have *yugum tariak* for special occasions only.

Regarding trading, the Wanos made their own stone axes (*ye*) and traded them with the neighbours, like the Dani people. The place they made the *ye* is called *yei* 'axe river' and the village is called *yedome* 'place of axe'. Hampton (1999) provides an anthropological study on how the Wano people make their *ye* 'axe'. This tradition is hardly practised now.

Contact with outsiders took place in early 1960s when foreign Christian missions began their evangelical work in the interior of Papua. Their missionaries,<sup>9</sup> while studying the language, established churches in almost every settlement of the ethnic groups they discovered. Elementary schools were also established, among others: in Apahapsili and Ninia for the Yali tribe; Pyramid and Mulia for the Dani; Beoga and Hitadipa for the Moni; Nggweri and Dagai for the Duvele; and Kobakma for the Nggem. Primers and scriptural materials were made available in Yali, Dani, Moni and Nggem, while nothing was available in Walak and Wano; they were considered dialects of Dani.

Like all other tribes, the Wano people were then converted into Christianity and were to give up their animistic belief. Although church services were conducted either in Dani or Moni, the influence of these Trans-New Guinea languages on the Wano people was undoubtedly ineffective. Only those whose been to the mission schools have good command of these languages. The fact is that either (i) the Wano people are inadaptable to other languages, or (ii) their inadaptability is due to their isolated dwellings. Furthermore, the available of literacy materials, primers and portions of scripture in Wano around 1975, through the work of Grace Cutts,<sup>10</sup> strengthened the prevention of linguistic influence mentioned above. By the help of some mission school graduate young men, Wano children then learned to read and write in their

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<sup>9</sup> These missionaries were mostly Dutch since Papua was then Nederland Nieuw Guinea. Soon after the political change in 1963, the time when the Indonesian government took hold of West Papua, those from Germany and other parts of Europe, United States, Canada, United Kingdom, and Australia joined the party, despite their restricted activities by the present government.

<sup>10</sup> Grace and Bill Cutts were missionaries to the Moni tribe. They were living in Hitadipa when she translated the Gospels into Wano. She was helped by Yahya Weya, a Wano native speaker, who was one of my language consultants later.

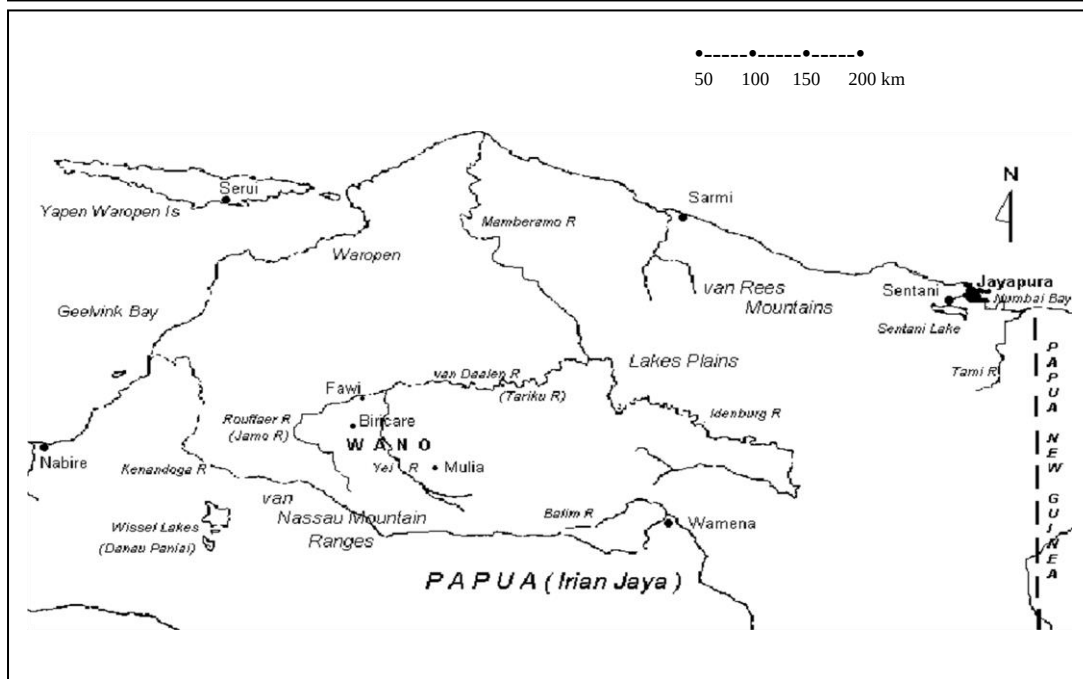
own language. Church services were conducted bilingually: Scriptures, read in Dani or Moni; songs, sung in either Dani, Moni or Wano; and sermons, preached in Wano. In short, despite language contact with Dani and Moni, most of the Wano people remain monolingual. Wano pastors, or those who attended mission schools, use Dani or Moni passively, generally for their personal study. Wano was and is predominantly used elsewhere.

In 1980s, Indonesian government extended its development programmes among these tribal groups by establishing the settlements as sub-districts, where we may find government offices, schools, clinics and police or military stations. Children were then obliged to attend the national schools, which resulted in the closing down of the mission schools, and thus allowed the penetration of Austronesian language-speaking people, where Melayu-Papua is native to most of them. Although the development programme of the government did not reach Wano settlements, in around 1995, some families migrated to nearby tribes for the schooling of their children. These children then became fluent in Melayu-Papua. At present, they are young adults with good command in Melayu-Papua and, in certain degrees, Indonesian. Some of them advanced their studies to bachelor's degrees and are now government leaders in their home land. If asked, they would claim themselves to be multilingual, and I would have no reason to deny it. When I first met the Wano people in early 1992, however, we were not able to communicate effectively with each other and the language learning, therefore, was in a semi-monolingual situation. More on this later in §1.5.

## 1.4 TOPOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

The land of the Wano people is in the rainforest, and includes mountains, ravines, waterfalls and rivers. The area is clouded over almost daily, and rainfall occurs about five nights in every week when the land is showered by rain. The elevation ranges from 1,800 to 5,500 feet or around 500 to 2,000 metres above sea level. Map 3 shows the Wano region.

**Map 3: Location of Wano in Burung's (2007b) map 1**



Taken from Burung 2007b: 9. **Map 1: Wano land** – Based on Wurm 1982, Wurm and Hattori 1983, Voorhoeve 1975b and 1975c in comparison to Nieuw Guinea Kaartmateriaal of the Topographic Service 1941 and Grimes 2000.

Due to its topography, I was not able to trace the whole area on foot or by other means of transportation to mark the geographical boundary where the *Wano* people are found. In my attempt to draw the lines, I have used the *NGK* (Nieuw Guinea Kaartmateriaal; see Map 3), in comparison to the linguistic boundary which was provided by Wurm (1982: 16-17). Then a line is stretched linking several villages

which are located closest to places belonging to the neighbouring tribes and estimating their co-ordinates. The co-ordinates of some villages are by courtesy of Roger Stuber (p.c.)<sup>11</sup>; others are my own estimation.

Based on this evidence, the boundary of the Wano land seems to be as follows (cf. Wano Map 3). For convenience, *e-l* reads east-longitude, *s-l* reads south-latitude, *alt* is altitude in metres above sea level. When different names are given to a place – those recorded in *NGK* as opposed to present names – they are indicated in brackets.

If we take *Biricare* (Stuber, 137° 42' 13" *e-l*, 03° 18' 44" *s-l*, ± 650 *alt*) as the central point, we can see that the easternmost position is somewhere between *Kiagai* (*NGK*, 137° 53' 05" *e-l*, 03° 35' 10" *s-l*, ± 1.500 *alt*) through *Lumo*<sup>12</sup> (Stuber, 137° 53' 10" *e-l*, 03° 40' 25" *s-l*, ± 1.900 *alt*). The south-easternmost position is *Lumo*. The southernmost position is *Weiga* (*NGK*, 137° 45' 47" *e-l*, 03° 40' 41" *s-l*, ± 2.000 *alt*) through *Puduk*<sup>13</sup> (*NGK*, 137° 34' 50" *e-l*, 03° 40' 55" *s-l*, ± 900 *alt*). The south-westernmost position is east of the Yamo river (*NGK*, Upper Rouffaer, 137° 19' 50" *e-l*, 03° 40' 00" *s-l*, ± 500 *alt*). The westernmost position is (*NGK*, Explorer Bivouac, 137° 20' 05" *e-l*, 03° 35' 15" *s-l*, ± 700 *alt*). The north-westernmost position is east of the Yamo river at the foot of the mountain around the Kendo-kendo river (*NGK*, 137° 19' 02" *e-l*, 03° 24' 00" *s-l*, ± 600 *alt*) through *Dukibeci* (*NGK*, Bad-luck Bivouac, 137° 28' 48" *e-l*, 03° 23' 34" *s-l*, ± 700 *alt*). The northernmost position is

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<sup>11</sup> Roger works as a missionary pilot for World Team (or Tariku) Mission based in *Taifei* along the *Tariku* river (*NGK*, Idenburg river).

<sup>12</sup> The name for *Dumo* in Wano. It is *Lumo* on the map, probably because of the Western Dani influence since the Danis are also found in *Lumo*.

<sup>13</sup> Referred to as *Puluk* by other tribes.

from *Dukibeci* through *Mui* river (NGK, 137° 35' 17" *e-l*, 03° 17' 05" *s-l*, ± 500 *alt*) to *Fawi* (Stuber, 137° 43' 56" *e-l*, 03° 13' 86" *s-l*, ± 120 *alt*). The north-easternmost position is *Nggweri* (Stuber, 137° 49' 86" *e-l*, 03° 17' 40" *s-l*, ± 120 *alt*) through *Dagai* (Stuber, 137° 56' 61" *e-l*, 03° 18' 22" *s-l*, ± 85 *alt*) to *Acodi* (NGK, 138° 01' 00" *e-l*, 03° 22' 00" *s-l*, ± 650 *alt*).

Nggweri and Dagai are not Wano villages, even though evidence suggests that they once lived there (as recorded in various episodes in Wano oral texts). The north-easternmost position should be *Mbomban*, a hamlet about four hours walk south of Dagai. A significant place for the Wano people is *Yei* (NGK, 137° 49' 30" *e-l*, 03° 31' 10" *s-l*, ± 1.000 *alt*). It is the place where the stone axes (*ye*) were made and bartered with the Dani people from Mulia (Stuber, 137° 54' 47" *e-l*, 03° 42' 16" *s-l*, ± 1.900 *alt*). These people used to travel via *Lumo* and *Kiagai* to exchange *ye* with shells (*wu*) or necklace-beads (*dimit*) – cf. §1.3.

Other Wano villages where a mission church can be found are Wuduma, Tigit, Lumo (mixed with Western Danis), Kirudumo, Puduk, Biricare, Mbomban, Yedome (or Yei), Acodi, Wanggiva, Kawaimu, Damuk, Anevawi, Tumbwi, Nggibaga and Nggubugani. Villages that have been abandoned or become hamlets (usually comprising less than five or six houses) are Ambogobak, Kembemu (NGK, Kembu), Keramu, Dukibeci (NGK, Bad-luck Bivouac), Mbidik, Mbowid, Mburu, Mburumeiyome, Mocami, Wandini, Weiga and Wodegoduk (NGK, Explorer

Bivouac). Some of the Wano people can be found living in Iratoi and Turumo (among the Elopi ethnic group) and Fawi (with the Iau people).<sup>14</sup>

With respect to education, there is no schooling in the Wano area. Children are sent to nearby towns where elementary schools can be found. Those from Wodegoduk go to Iratoi. Those from Mbowid find their way to Turumo, while the ones from Biricare study in Fawi. People from Yedome, Acodi and Mbomban send their children to Dagai. From Kiagai and Lumo, children go to Mulia, and from Puduk to Beoga or Hitadipa. At present, only a few of these children have been able to make their way to secondary schools and universities in Nabire, Jayapura or Manado.

In terms of healthcare, mission clinics with either a Wano or Dani nurse are situated in Anevawi, Damuk, Puduk, Yedome and Wuduma. Governmental clinics serve Fawi and Lumo.

## **1.5 PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND CURRENT STUDY**

Early works that supply some data on the Wano are: (i) the Swadesh wordlist made by Larson (1977, Iratoi, Turumo), (ii) the survey report made by Walker and Moxness (1988) on their visits to Iratoi, Turumo, Dagai, Nggweri and Lumo, and (iii) my personal field research, including the Swadesh-based UnCen-SIL wordlists of 1992-1994 (Burung 1992, 1993, 1994, 1997a, 1997b, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2011, 2013a, 2013b). The present study is synchronic

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<sup>14</sup> The Elopi (or Edopi) and Iau ethnic groups are referred to as *Turu* by the Wano people.



with a view to typological functional description. Let me begin with why Wano in this study.

I am a native speaker of Melayu-Papua. One of twelve children from a cross-ethnic family (a mix-blood of Sanger-Manado-Ambon) that makes me competent in Melayu-Sanger/Manado and Melayu-Ambon. I was born in Nederland Nieuw Guinea (now Papua) and grew up in a multi-ethnolinguistic environment. With bare feet, I started my first grade at a Catholic elementary school in a little remote village in the interior of Papua. I learnt Indonesian (a man-designed language) since 1970s, where the language of instruction was Melayu-Papua. I studied descriptive linguistics at SIL-British School (UK) and completed a master's degree in general linguistics at SOAS. My initial goal of doing linguistic training was scripture translation into a language in Papua. The choice of Wano was simply a personal interest. There is neither any academic reason nor institutional direction. My first research trip was in early 1992. It was a three-week journey of data collection using Swadesh-wordlist. Villages visited were based on the SIL survey report regarding settlements of the Wano people (cf. Walker and Moxness 1988): Iratoi, Turumo, Fawi, Nggweri, Dagai, Mulia and Kobakma. I found that Mulia was a shared-dwelling between Wano and Dani people, while the rest are foreign lands to the Wano. Further Swadesh-wordlist elicitation was mostly conducted in Biricare. Another reason for the trip was to find a base for me, a place that has less contact with other vernaculars, to learn the language and culture of the Wano people.

My language informants<sup>15</sup> were chosen based on their functional capacities: (i) As a *teacher*, from whom I learnt the language in a set-up environment, (ii) As an *assistant*, to help me mostly with data elicitation in various ways, such as: wordlist, random phrases and clauses occasionally collected, and recorded folklore of various genres. An assistant may also play a teaching role in casual situation. (iii) As a *consultant*, a source of cultural knowledge, from whom I came to appreciate Wano customs, beliefs and world view of their surroundings. A consultant is either an elderly man or woman, aged about 50 years old above, mostly monolingual and illiterate, food gatherer and seasonal hunter (see §1.3) or a young adult of about 20 years old above, who has been to a neighbour tribe or a coastal town for higher education, and thus is bi/multilingual in Dani and/or Moni that includes a basic command of Melayu-Papua and Indonesian. I worked with a *consultant* to discuss, analyse, revise or confirm my collected data and/or my analysis. The line separating the assisting and teaching roles is not clear-cut. School-aged children or teenagers may be a teacher or an assistant for me but may not be a consultant.

Regarding language learning, I was in a semi-monolingual situation that involved live demonstrations and paradigms built-up at my first attempt to learn and study the language, where basic data on daily conversations (greetings, introducing oneself, getting information about something/someone, asking for directions, and the like) were gathered. Some months later, as the mutual language learning progressed, the situation was gradually changing, where code mixing and switching between Wano and Melayu-Papua took place. Since English, as a meta-language, is not my native

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<sup>15</sup> Their names are mentioned in the end of paragraph 3 of the acknowledgements.

language, I used Melayu-Papua as bridging-language in data elicitation. For instance, the Wano phrase *muni at ova* {that he his-father} was interpreted first in Melayu-Papua [*itu de bapa*] {that he father} then freely translated into English 'that is his father'.

The data built up thus far include: (i) Swadesh wordlist: no detection on dialectal differences; (ii) field-notes comprising 115 words of dialect cognacy (Appendix 4); (iii) field-notes on phrases and clauses collected on various occasions during the time spent with the people; (iv) a corpus of more than a hundred recorded oral texts about traditional and personal stories, including: the lives of ancestors, the migration of ancestors, tribal wars or relationship with other tribes, traditional belief and worldview, gardening, hunting, fishing, as well as folklores about sun and moon, kangaroo, cuscus, rainbow, and many more (cf. Appendix 1); (v) nominal and verbal paradigms; (vi) drafted Wano dictionaries, i.e. Wano-English; (vii) drafted Wano theological glossary; (viii) unpublished scriptures translation; and (ix) published scripture portions by SGM International. They are all stored on hard-drives (.doc and .pdf files), floppy-disks, 60' and 90' tapes, of which, the last two mentioned are not available anymore – vanished when a house where I kept all my files was on fire in around 2011.

To sum up, this thesis is written essentially from a view point of a native speaker of Melayu-Papua, an indigenous language spoken in Papua of Indonesia.

## 1.6 LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

Through various works mostly since 1970s, most Papuan languages are classified as being affiliated to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (*TNGP*) of languages – see Foley (1986: 229-245, 2000: 357-404) for an overview of the different genetic groups, and Grimes (1994, 1996) for the listing of such groupings. Wurm (1975, 1982) proposed genetic relations between Papuan languages. Ross (1995, 1998, 1999, 2005) provides a study of pronouns in Papuan and Oceanic languages. Pawley (1995, 1998, 2001, 2005) reviews the classification of proto and Trans-New Guinea languages. Bromley (1967, 1973) and Larson (1977) give details on the Dani languages, which they both call the Greater Dani family. Within this family, Bromley indicates three main groups: Western Dani, Grand Valley Dani and Wano, and suggests that Wano may be classified as part of the Central Dani sub-family pending further research. Larson, on the other hand, goes into more detail and divides Wano into two dialects, namely the Turumo dialect and the Lower Jamo dialect; however, I am not convinced of the validity of this division since Turumo is not a Wano settlement and no clear indication is given as to which villages are meant to be in Lower Jamo. For the present study, the works of Bromley (1967, 1973), Voorhoeve (1975), Foley (1986, 2000) and most recently, Hammarström and van den Heuvel (2012), Pawley and Hammarström (2014), and Hammarström et.al. (2016) are more reliable.

Wano is surrounded by speakers of Duvele and Doutai (to the east), Nggem, Walak and Western Dani (to the south-east), Silimo and Hupla (to the south), Damal, Dem, and Nduga (to the south-west), Moni and Wolani (to the west), Kiri-kiri and Fayu (to

the north-west), and Iau, Elopi and Duvele (to the north) – see map 2 in §1.3 for location of Wano and its related languages: Dani, Nggem and Walak.

In Voorhoeve's term, the Dani languages closely related to Wano are: Western Dani, Walak, Nggem, Silimo and Hupla – which should include Mugogo Dani of van der Staap (1966), cf. §4.1.1 in chapter 4. I will now briefly discuss the relationship between Wano and the first three mentioned.<sup>16</sup> Hereafter, I will use the name Dani to refer to Western Dani.

### 1.6.1 Phonology

Wurm, Laycock and Voorhoeve (hereinafter WLW, 1975) provide general observations on Papuan features. The implosives /b/ [ɓ] and /d/ [ɗ] are found in all languages. Nggem goes further, distinguishing these sounds from preglottalized implosives. The liquids /r/ [ɾ] and /l/ [l] have no phonemic contrast and are often allophones of a single phoneme. I found that Wano lacks /l/ [l] but has /r/ [ɾ] in the form of a flap. The others (Dani, Walak and Nggem) distinguish between them, inconsistent with what has been suggested in WLW. The sibilant /s/ [s] is found in all other languages except Wano. All languages feature the pre-nasalisation of plosives. As for the glottal fricative /h/ [h], Nggem and Walak employ the sound while it is not found in Wano and Dani. The bilabial and velar fricatives, /v/ [β] and /g/ [ɣ] are

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<sup>16</sup> These are from wordlists and some phrases including counting. Data was collected at various dates and occasions. In 1992, I managed to get a wordlist of Dani. This was in Iratoi and Mulia. At the same time, I visited Kobakma for the data on Nggem. I could only get a few wordlists done. Later, more information on the language was provided courtesy of Paul Etherington, a missionary and translator who was working in that area, mostly by email or personal communication when I visited Wamena. The data for Walak are elicited from Markus Kilungga (Pyramid 1994, Sentani 1999), Elius Wantik (1999) and Pennie Togodli (p.c.). For Dani, I have also consulted some works of Bromley's (1961) MA thesis and the unpublished and undated manuscript on the Grand Valley Dani verb. Simon Tabuni has also been consulted recently.

found in all the languages. Labio-velar plosives /kw/ [k<sup>w</sup>]/[g<sup>w</sup>] are also possible in all the languages. The frequent interchange of /t/ [t] and /k/ [k], particularly in final position, is a typical feature. WLV have indicated that regarding the consonant allophones, stops may have fricative allophones and vice-versa. I find this to be true in that /t/ [t] becoming /r/ [r] and /k/ [k] becoming /g/ [ɣ] in intervocalic position is common for all the languages, while Wano and Nggem also allow /b/ [β] to become /β/ [β] (the phoneme was presented as /v/ in Burung (2007b)). Sounds that are absent in these languages are retroflex and inter-dental. Regarding suprasegmental features, stress falls on the final syllable whilst penultimate stress is allowed in cliticization. The most recent typological account of the phonological and grammatical characteristics of Papuan languages is Foley's research (1986, 2000). Bromley (1961) provides comprehensive analysis on Dani and Etherington (2002) on Nggem.

### **1.6.2 Morphosyntax**

With reference to nominal morphology, all the languages distinguish a singular and plural person and share identical free pronouns with an exception in Nggem for the second person. Nggem has the glottal fricative /h/ [h] initial instead of the velar /k/ [k] that is found in Wano, Dani and Walak. Thus, *an* {an} '1s', *at* {at} '3s' and their plural forms *nit* {nit} '1p', *it* {it} '3p' for all languages, but *hat/hit* {hat}/{hit} '2s/2p' in Nggem for *kat/kit* {kat}/{kit} '2s/2p' in Wano, Dani and Walak. These languages evidence a characteristic of the Trans-New Guinea family, proposed in Foley (2000: 362), i.e. vocalic change indicating number: *a* {a} for singular and *i* {i} for plural.

|       |    |            |       |            |       |            |                  |
|-------|----|------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|------------------|
| (1.1) |    | WANO/DANI  |       | WALAK      |       | NGGEM      |                  |
|       | 1s | <i>an</i>  | {an}  | <i>an</i>  | {an}  | <i>an</i>  | {an} 'I'         |
|       | 2s | <i>kat</i> | {kat} | <i>kar</i> | {kar} | <i>hat</i> | {hat} 'you.sg'   |
|       | 3s | <i>at</i>  | {at}  | <i>ar</i>  | {ar}  | <i>at</i>  | {at} 'he/she/it' |
|       | 1p | <i>nit</i> | {nit} | <i>nir</i> | {nir} | <i>nit</i> | {nit} 'we'       |
|       | 2p | <i>kit</i> | {kit} | <i>kir</i> | {kir} | <i>hit</i> | {hit} 'you.pl'   |
|       | 3p | <i>it</i>  | {it}  | <i>ir</i>  | {ir}  | <i>it</i>  | {it} 'they'      |

The same is true for the bound pronouns, which are: *n* {n-} '1s-', zero { $\emptyset$ -} '3s-', and *h* {h-} '2s-' in Nggem but *k* {k-} '2s-' in the others, with their plural counterparts *niny* {nin-} '1p-' and *iny* {in-} '3p-', but *hin* {hin-} '2p-' in Nggem for *kiny* {kin-} '2p-' in the others. Wano, Dani and Nggem have *t* {t} word finally, in the second/third singular and plural persons, while Walak has *r* {r}. This shows that morphemes indicating number and possessor are typical nominal properties in these languages.

With regard to body parts we have the following example in (1.2),

|       |    |                 |                      |                |                                         |
|-------|----|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------------|
| (1.2) |    | WANO/DANI/WALAK |                      | NGGEM          |                                         |
|       | 1s | <i>neruk</i>    | {n-etuk}             | <i>niris</i>   | {n-itis} 'my hair'                      |
|       | 2s | <i>keruk</i>    | {k-etuk}             | <i>hiris</i>   | {h-itis} 'your hair'                    |
|       | 3s | <i>eruk</i>     | { $\emptyset$ -etuk} | <i>iris</i>    | { $\emptyset$ -itis} 'his/her/its hair' |
|       | 1p | <i>ninyeruk</i> | {nin-etuk}           | <i>niniris</i> | {nin-itis} 'our hair'                   |
|       | 2p | <i>kinyeruk</i> | {kin-etuk}           | <i>hiniris</i> | {hin-itis} 'your.pl hair'               |
|       | 3p | <i>inyeruk</i>  | {in-etuk}            | <i>iniris</i>  | {in-itis} 'their hair'                  |

The examples in (1.2) demonstrate that nouns in these languages may express meanings associated with full noun phrases in English. The same is also true for kinship terms such as *abut* { $\emptyset$ -abut} \3s-child oM\ 'his child of male', *nabut* {n-abut} \1s-child oM\ 'my child of male', *kabut* {k-abut} \2s-child oM\ 'your.sg child of male'. Furthermore, except for the plural form in Dani, all languages differentiate male and female possessors, as shown in (1.3).

- (1.3)
- |     |                                                                 |                        |                          |                        |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| a.  | Singular form for male possessor, i.e. 'his child of male'      |                        |                          |                        |
|     | WANO                                                            | DANI                   | WALAK                    | NGGEM                  |
|     | <i>abut</i>                                                     | <i>aput</i>            | <i>abut</i>              | <i>abut</i>            |
|     | { $\emptyset$ -abut}                                            | { $\emptyset$ -aput}   | { $\emptyset$ -abut}     | { $\emptyset$ -abut}   |
| b.  | Singular form for female possessor, i.e. 'her child of female'  |                        |                          |                        |
|     | WANO                                                            | DANI                   | WALAK                    | NGGEM                  |
|     | <i>ayak</i>                                                     | <i>agalu</i>           | <i>ak</i>                | <i>eyak</i>            |
|     | { $\emptyset$ -ajak}                                            | { $\emptyset$ -agalu}  | { $\emptyset$ -ak}       | { $\emptyset$ -ejak}   |
| c.  | Plural form for male possessor, i.e. 'his children of male'     |                        |                          |                        |
|     | WANO                                                            | DANI                   | WALAK                    | NGGEM                  |
|     | <i>aburi</i>                                                    | N/A                    | <i>aburiak</i>           | <i>aburi</i>           |
|     | { $\emptyset$ -abut-i}                                          |                        | { $\emptyset$ -abut-iak} | $\emptyset$ -abut-i    |
| d.  | Plural form for female possessor, i.e. 'her children of female' |                        |                          |                        |
|     | WANO                                                            | DANI                   | WALAK                    | NGGEM                  |
|     | <i>acui</i>                                                     | N/A                    | <i>agudlak</i>           | <i>eyagi</i>           |
|     | { $\emptyset$ -atjui}                                           |                        | { $\emptyset$ -agudlak}  | { $\emptyset$ -ejak-i} |
| d'. | Plural form for male/female possessor, i.e. 'his/her children'  |                        |                          |                        |
|     | WANO                                                            | DANI                   | WALAK                    | NGGEM                  |
|     | N/A                                                             | <i>apuri</i>           | N/A                      | N/A                    |
|     |                                                                 | { $\emptyset$ -aput-i} |                          |                        |

Further, verb roots in these languages take person/number and tense-aspect-mood markings. Thus, a single verb in these languages shares similar typological tendencies with more morphologically complex languages. Given that, a verb in these languages may perfectly express a meaning equivalent to a whole clause or sentence as we would expect to see it in languages like English, Dutch or Indonesian (cf. Foley 1968: 167-205). All Wano utterances in (1.4) express the same meaning, i.e. 'you.sg hit him/her/it', where the most commonly used are those in (1.4c-d) – these are examples of argument pro-drop, discussed in chapter 6.



- (1.4) WANO: 'you.sg hit him/her/it'
- |    |            |           |                             |
|----|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| a. | <i>kat</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>wakendak</i>             |
|    | <i>kat</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>wat-k-ent-ak</i>         |
|    | 2s         | 3s        | 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |
| b. | <i>kat</i> | Ø         | <i>wakendak</i>             |
|    | <i>kat</i> |           | <i>wat-k-ent-ak</i>         |
|    | 2s         |           | 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |
| c. | Ø          | <i>at</i> | <i>wakendak</i>             |
|    |            | <i>at</i> | <i>wat-k-ent-ak</i>         |
|    |            | 3s        | 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |
| d. | Ø          | Ø         | <i>wakendak</i>             |
|    |            |           | <i>wat-k-ent-ak</i>         |
|    |            |           | 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |

The OV pattern with argument pro-drop of Wano in (1.4), is also found in Dani and Walak.

- (1.5) DANI: 'you.sg hit him/her/it'
- |    |            |           |                 |
|----|------------|-----------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>kat</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>wakendak</i> |
| b. | <i>kat</i> | Ø         | <i>wakendak</i> |
| c. | Ø          | <i>at</i> | <i>wakendak</i> |
| d. | Ø          | Ø         | <i>wakendak</i> |
- WALAK: 'you.sg hit him/her/it'
- |    |            |           |              |
|----|------------|-----------|--------------|
| e. | <i>kar</i> | <i>ar</i> | <i>waken</i> |
| f. | <i>kar</i> | Ø         | <i>waken</i> |
| g. | Ø          | <i>ar</i> | <i>waken</i> |
| h. | Ø          | Ø         | <i>waken</i> |

Finally, at the phrase level, all languages (Wano, Dani, Walak, Nggem) share identical NP structure, i.e. [head-modifier].

- (1.6) NP structure: [head-modifier], e.g. *ap kode* \man old\ 'old man'
- |                |                |                 |       |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------|
| WANO           | DANI           | WALAK           | NGGEM |
| <i>ap kode</i> | <i>ap kore</i> | <i>ap kodle</i> | N/A   |

### 1.6.3 Counting

While data for Nggem is not available, both Wano and Dani have a 3-digit system, i.e. 1, 2, 3, where 4 is 2-2 and 5 is one's hand. Walak, on the other hand, has a 2-digit system, i.e. 1, 2, where 3 is 2-1, 4 is 2-2 and 5 is one's hand.

|       |                    |                    |                    |     |         |
|-------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----|---------|
| (1.7) | WANO               | DANI               | WALAK              |     |         |
| a.    | <i>ambui</i>       | <i>ambui</i>       | <i>ambui</i>       | 1   | 'one'   |
| b.    | <i>mbere</i>       | <i>mbere</i>       | <i>mbere</i>       | 2   | 'two'   |
| c.    | <i>kena</i>        | <i>kenagan</i>     | N/A                | 3   | 'three' |
| c'.   | N/A                | N/A                | <i>mbere-ambui</i> | 2-1 | 'three' |
| d.    | <i>mbere-mbere</i> | <i>mbere-mbere</i> | <i>mbere-mbere</i> | 2-2 | 'four'  |

Beyond that, all three languages apply the combination of one's hand and these basic digits. Thus, 6 is one's hand-1, 7 is one's hand-2, 8 is one's hand-3, for Wano and Dani, but one's hand-2-1 for Walak, and so on.

|       |    |                                                                                                                     |                                |         |
|-------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|
| (1.8) | a. | WANO: <i>enggit pemenok-ambui</i><br>DANI: <i>enggi pemenok-ambui</i><br>WALAK: <i>aringgi pemenok-ambui</i>        | one's hand-1                   | 'six'   |
|       | b. | WANO: <i>enggit pemenok-mbere</i><br>DANI: <i>enggi pemenok-mbere</i><br>WALAK: <i>aringgi pemenok-mbere</i>        | one's hand-2                   | 'seven' |
|       | c. | WANO: <i>enggit pemenok-kena</i><br>DANI: <i>enggi pemenok-kenagan</i><br>WALAK: <i>aringgi pemenok-mbere-ambui</i> | one's hand-3<br>one's hand-2-1 | 'eight' |

The Wano **counting system** is discussed in chapter 3 §3.10.

## 1.7 DIALECTS

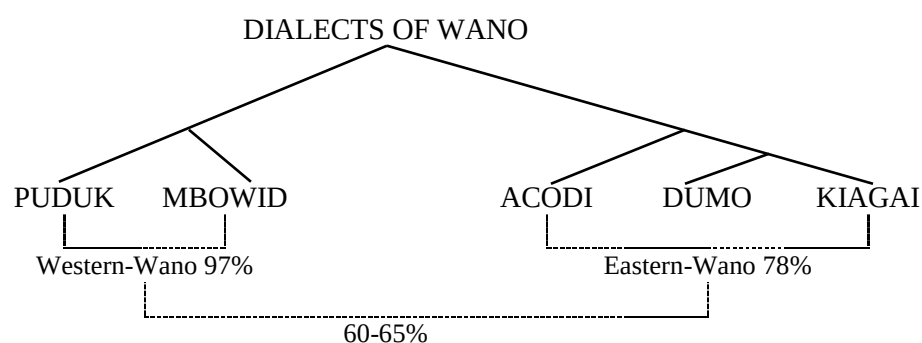
To determine possible dialects in Wano, some data were collected in collaboration with Isak Weya, representing Dumo and its surrounding area, Yote Wanimbo for the Kiagai area, and Yumilep Murib for the Acodi area. While lexical differences are not found based on Uncen-SIL Swadesh based wordlist, my field notes comprising 117 words (Appendix 4) indicate lexical cognacy (adapting Foley's (2000: 366) term) that suggests five dialects, which are: **Mbowid**, **Puduk** (Puluk), **Acodi**, **Dumo** (Lumo), and **Kiagai** (Tiagai), outlined in Table 1.1 and listed in (1.9) with the main villages where they are spoken.

Table 1.1

Lexical cognacy between Wano dialects in percentage

|          | 2 PUDUK | 3 ACODI | 4 DUMO | 5 KIAGAI |
|----------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
| 1 MBOWID | 97%     | 59%     | 65%    | 60%      |
| PUDUK    |         | 68%     | 64%    | 62%      |
| ACODI    |         |         | 78%    | 78%      |
| DUMO     |         |         |        | 78%      |

Puduk and Mbowid are closely related at 97% cognacy; Acodi, Dumo and Kiagai at 78% cognacy. This gives us a tree with two major branches and 60-65% cognacy between the branches. This is outlined in the following tree diagram.



List of Wano dialects with their main villages where they are spoken is given in:

(1.9) **Wano dialects with their main villages**

|   | DIALECTS | MAIN VILLAGES                                      |
|---|----------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | MBOWID   | Mbowid, Biricare, Yevamu, Turumo, Nggweri, Fawidua |
| 2 | PUDUK    | Puduk, Wodegoduk, Iratoi                           |
| 3 | ACODI    | Acodi, Mbomban, Yei (or Yedome)                    |
| 4 | DUMO     | Dumo, Kududomo, Ninggi, Mbinitmu, Wiga             |
| 5 | KIAGAI   | Kiagai, Wina, Tumbui, Anevawi, Nggiduweni          |

Map 4 gives the approximate location of these dialects based on their lexical cognacy.

**Map 4: Location of Wano dialects based on their lexical cognacy**

Note: 1 Mbowid; 2 Puduk (Puluk); 3 Acodi 4 Dumo (Lumo) 5 Kiagai



Taken from Burung 2007b: 10. Modified Map 2: **Wano and its neighbouring languages** – Based on Wurm 1982, Wurm and Hattori 1983, Voorhoeve 1975b and 1975c in comparison to Nieuw Guinea Kaartmateriaal of the Topographic Service 1941 and Grimes 2000.

The five dialects may be grouped into two main regional dialects, i.e. Western-Wano (Wano-Barat) including Puduk and Mbowid, and Eastern-Wano (Wano-Timur) including Acodi, Dumo and Kiagai. This study is based on Western-Wano.

## 1.8 TYPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

This section is organised in the following order: §1.8.1 considers the phonology of Wano, incorporating §1.6.1 where some phonological features of Wano and its related languages are discussed, §1.8.2 discusses Wano noun morphology, §1.8.3 its verbal morphology, §1.8.4 its deixis, and §1.8.5 its typology of clause.

### 1.8.1 Phonology

The language has eleven phonemic consonants and five vowels, which include: (i) two implosives, i.e. /b, d/; (ii) three plosives, i.e. /p, t, k/; (iii) two nasals, i.e. /m, n/; (iv) one fricative, i.e. /β/; (v) two approximants, i.e. /w, j/; and (vi) the glottal stop /q/. The vowels are: (i) two front vowels, i.e. /i, e/; (ii) one central vowel, i.e. /a/; and (iii) two back vowels, i.e. /o, u/. These phonemic properties exhibit (i) twenty-two allophonic consonants, (ii) seven allophonic vowels, (iii) four patterns of coalescent assimilation of phonemic consonants, and (iv) seven diphthongs. The basic syllable patterns found in Wano are: V, VC, CV and CVC. The **morphophonological features** of Wano are dealt with in chapter 2, where we will see that /β/ is the only fricative phoneme found in Wano (§2.1 and §2.2), which is an unusual Trans-New Guinea phonological feature (cf. Foley 1986; 2001).

### 1.8.2 Noun morphology

The basic internal structures for a noun in Wano are: (i) for alienably possessed nouns, a root with optional locative suffix *me/mu* {-me/-mu}; and (ii) for inalienably possessed nouns, a bound root with prefixes marking possessor and a suffix marking number. In this, the 3rd person singular is a zero morpheme. Since Wano distinguishes between alienably and inalienably possessed nouns, the language has a

simple noun structure with a complex semantic coding. This can be seen in its further distinction between male/female-possessor relation, i.e. two different kin terms are found for the word 'child', depending on the sex of the possessor – see example (1.3) in §1.6.2 above. The term *abut* is used for the child of a male possessor, while *ayak* is used for a female possessor. The morphology of *abut* is { $\emptyset$ -abut}, where the zero morpheme marks third person singular possessor, and since *abut* is the term used only for a male possessor, the word is translated 'his child of male'. On the other hand, the morphology of *ayak* is { $\emptyset$ -ajak}, and is translated 'her child of female', since the word is used only for a female possessor. Consequently, a husband cannot say *ninyabut* {nin-abut} 'our child of male' to his wife, despite the prefix {nin-} that marks first person plural possessor. Similarly, his wife cannot say *ninyayak* {nin-ajak} 'our child of female' to him. Chapter 3 deals with the **morphology of nouns**, where the discussion of these kinship terminologies and their applications are given in §3.4.2.

### 1.8.3 Verb morphology

In general, the basic internal structures for a verb are: (i) for a transitive verb, a portmanteau bound root with prefixes marking object, and suffixes marking subject, tense-aspect-mood, and a reflexive element; and (ii) the portmanteau bound root marking an anonymous (non-referential) singular subject. Note that there are many transitive roots, but only five with object marking in the root (see §4.1.3 in chapter 4). Lastly on verbs, the interface of phonology and morphology provides a significant contribution to the shaping of verb conjugations, where five basic verb classes are found. Chapter 4 discusses the **morphology of verbs** in Wano.

### 1.8.4 Deixis

Wano makes use of deictic words to encode (i) person, (ii) spatial orientation and (iii) time. Spatial deixis marks proximal (near-to-*Sp*), medial (medial-to-*Sp*) and distal (far-from-*Sp*). The first two mentioned will be discussed in chapter 5, while the latter will be included in §4.1.2 and §6.4.1.

### 1.8.5 Typology of clause

Wano is a verb-final language that commonly allows pro-drop and does not impose a rigid word order of arguments. As was pointed out in §1.6.2, the clause given in (1.4): *kat at wakendak* 'you.sg hit him' may undergo pro-drop of its arguments (i.e. *kat* {*kat*} '2s', here takes the role of A, and *at* {*at*} '3s', here takes the function of O), giving us the single verb as a clause by itself: *wakendak* 'you.sg hit him'. Since these A-O roles are apparent on the verb by its morphology, pro-drop of the arguments is permitted – cf. examples in (1.4), repeated here in (1.10a) where all forms in (1.10a-d) are possible to express 'you.sg hit him/her/it'.

(1.10) 'you.sg hit him/her/it' – from examples (1.4)

|    | A                       | O                     | PRED                                                                         |
|----|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>kat</i><br>kat<br>2s | <i>at</i><br>at<br>3s | <i>wakendak</i><br><b>wat-k-ent-ak</b><br><b>3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then</b> |
| b. | <i>kat</i><br>kat<br>2s | Ø                     | <i>wakendak</i><br>wat-k-ent-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then               |
| c. | Ø                       | <i>at</i><br>at<br>3s | <i>wakendak</i><br>wat-k-ent-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then               |
| d. | Ø                       | Ø                     | <i>wakendak</i><br>wat-k-ent-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then               |

Since the word order of arguments is not significant, it is possible to have the clause in (1.10a) modified as in (1.11), where the O argument is clause initial, for the same expression.

|        |                         |            |                                    |
|--------|-------------------------|------------|------------------------------------|
| (1.11) | 'you.sg hit him/her/it' |            |                                    |
|        | O                       | A          | PRED                               |
|        | <i>at</i>               | <i>kat</i> | <i>wakendak</i>                    |
|        | <i>at</i>               | <i>kat</i> | <b>wat-k-ent-ak</b>                |
|        | 3s                      | 2s         | <b>3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then</b> |

Furthermore, Wano is a right-headed language in terms of clause structure, but a left-headed language when referring to phrase structure. The above examples show a {argument-predicate} construction for a basic clause, supporting a right-headed typology, which is a typical feature of Trans-New Guinea languages. On the other hand, the phrase *ap kode* 'old man' in (1.6), constitutes a [head-modifier] pattern, thus a left-headed typology – cf. Foley (2000: 362-4). Even when the phrase *ap kode* 'old man' is modified by demonstrative *muni/ndi* 'that/this', the structure remains left-headed: {{*ap kode*} *muni*} 'that old man'. Since Wano lacks articles (a/the), the equivalent translation for *muni* 'that' in English could also be 'the', thus: *ap kode muni* is 'that/the old man' in English.

**Clause elements and structures.** Wano has non-verbal clauses that include transitive non-verbal predication. Thus, besides the usual OV pattern, there is also an ON pattern. Chapter 6 discusses clause elements and structures, where in §6.2.2, the transitive clauses with a noun (i.e. inalienable nouns) functioning as clause head are discussed.



**Non-verbal clauses.** In conjunction with §6.2.2, the notion of **experiential events** (§3.4.4), an exceptional language specific feature, of which the clause structure involves inalienable nouns as the head of both intransitive and transitive clauses, will be discussed in §s7.2-5. Wano has five **inalienably marked postpositions**, which are: *ambit* { $\emptyset$ -sake} 'his-sake' as in *ndi ta kat kambit* 'this is for-you', *inyom* { $\emptyset$ -with} 'his-with', *ambek* { $\emptyset$ -without} 'his-without', *adik* { $\emptyset$ -aloneness} 'his-aloneness', and *imbirak* { $\emptyset$ -togetherness} 'his-togetherness' will be discussed in §s3.5.1-2 and §8.2.2. Non-verbal clauses will be discussed in chapter 7.

**Clause combination.** Wano is a clause chaining language that lacks a switch-reference mechanism – cf. Comrie 1989 (1981), Croft 2003 (1990), Foley 1986, 2002. Instead, Wano allows five means of clause combination, which are: (i) coordination, (ii) subordination, (iii) serial verb constructions, (iv) clause linking and (v) bridging linkage.

**Coordination and Subordination.** Coordination is a way of combining at least two grammatically independent elements of similar status. There are four coordination particles found: (i) conjunction *me* {me} 'and-coordination', (ii) disjunction *mo* {mo} 'or-coordination', (iii) antithetical *kwe* {kwe} 'but-coordination', and cause-reason *nome* {nome} 'because-coordination'. In addition to this, two inalienably marked postpositions (see the non-verbal clauses mentioned above) are found functioning as conjunction elements, they are: (iv) comitative *inyom* { $\emptyset$ -inom} '3s-with-conjunction', and (v) abessive *ambek* { $\emptyset$ -ambek} '3s-without-conjunction'. Subordination is a way of combining at least two grammatical elements, of which

one is dependent on the other. These are (i) relative clauses, (ii) adverbial clauses, and (iii) direct speech. Coordination and subordination will be discussed in chapter 8.

**Serial Verb Constructions, Clause Linking and Bridging Linkage.** This grammar is built up on Wano's pragmatic discourse and various narratives, where strings of verbs are juxtaposed one after another in almost every utterance. Such phenomena have been described as verb serialization, clause linking and tail-head linkage. The last mentioned is also called bridging linkage, a term suggested by Aikhenvald (2015: 275-8, 284-5), which will be used in this study. The question is, how do we know that two juxtaposed verbs, for example, constitute a serial verb construction and not clause linking? In this respect, we need to differentiate between (i) sequences of verbs that express one event, and (ii) those which express more than one event. In fact, as we will see in chapter 9, such sequences also involve linkage of states. In practice, though, it is not always straightforward to distinguish between a serial verb construction and clause linking, but in theory we may propose a basic diagnostic. When some verbs function as elements of a single predicate that express a single event, we have a serial verb construction. On the other hand, when these verbs are elements of more than a single predicate and so express separate events, we have clause linking. This is schematised in (1.12), where  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  represent juxtaposed verbs and E represents event.

- (1.12)    a.     $V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow E$             = Serial Verb Construction  
              b.     $V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow E, E$         = Clause Linking

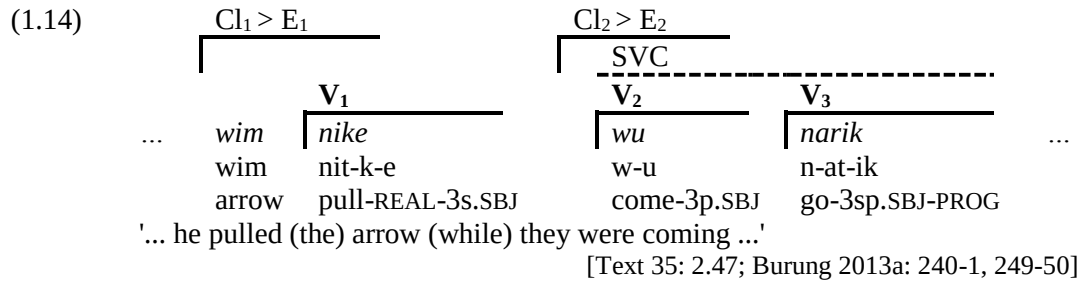
The structure in (1.12a) is possible when  $V_2$  no longer carries its basic lexical meaning. Consider the example in (1.13) that includes three juxtaposed verbs.

| Clause Linking |    |                              |        |                                                                          |
|----------------|----|------------------------------|--------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                |    | Serial Verb Construction     |        |                                                                          |
|                |    | $V_1$                        | $V_2$  | $V_3$                                                                    |
| (1.13)         | a. | $V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow E$    | as in: | <i>wu</i><br>they come<br>'they are/were coming'                         |
|                | b. | $V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow E, E$ | as in: | <i>nike</i><br>he pulled<br>'... he pulled ... (while) they were coming' |

There is a morphosyntactic-semantic relation between the last two verbs ( $V_2$  and  $V_3$ ), i.e., the verb *wu* 'they come' and *narik* 'they are going' in both (1.13a) and (1.13b). Firstly,  $V_2$  is a partially inflected verb that marks only the number of the subject, while  $V_3$  is a fully inflected verb<sup>17</sup> that marks person and tense-aspect-mood. Secondly, the lexical meaning of  $V_3$  is semantically bleached while it provides the aspectual information to  $V_2$ , and so renders the interpretation of a continuous event coded in  $V_2$ . Thus, the translation is 'come' (and not 'come' and 'go') – expressing one event. Thirdly, both verbs share one argument (i.e. third person plural subject) and have the same morphosyntactic agreement. The closest translation would, therefore, be: 'they are/were coming'. A question remains. What about  $V_1$ , which is the verb *nike* 'he pulled'?  $V_1$  must not be part of  $V_2$  and  $V_3$  since they do not share an argument. For this instance, I conclude that the relation between  $V_2$  and  $V_3$  represents the parameter in (1.12a) and (1.13a), while the relation between  $V_1$  and

<sup>17</sup> The terms partially/fully inflected verbs are defined in chapter 4. Their brief definitions are given later in this section.

the other two Vs represents (1.12b) and (1.13b). This is exemplified in (1.14), of the utterance *wim nike wu narik* 'he pulled the arrow while they were coming'.



The example in (1.14) shows that the first clause *wim nike* 'he pulled the arrow' is linked to the second clause *wu narik* 'they are/were coming' with the rough translation as given. The relation of the verbs *wu narik* in clause 2 is an example of **Serial Verb Constructions** (SVC) which is the topic of discussion of chapter 9. The relation of *wim nike* of clause 1 and *wu narik* is an instance of **Clause Linking** (CL), a way of combining clauses, which I will discuss in chapter 10 – where both clauses are components of CL, referred to as **clause chains**. Both SVCs and CLs are common morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic components of an **episode** in Wano narrative discourse. An episode may consist of one event or a series of events. To maintain a coherent relation between episodes, Wano applies **Bridging Linkage** (BL). This is schematised in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1  
Bridging linkage in Wano pragmatic-discourse

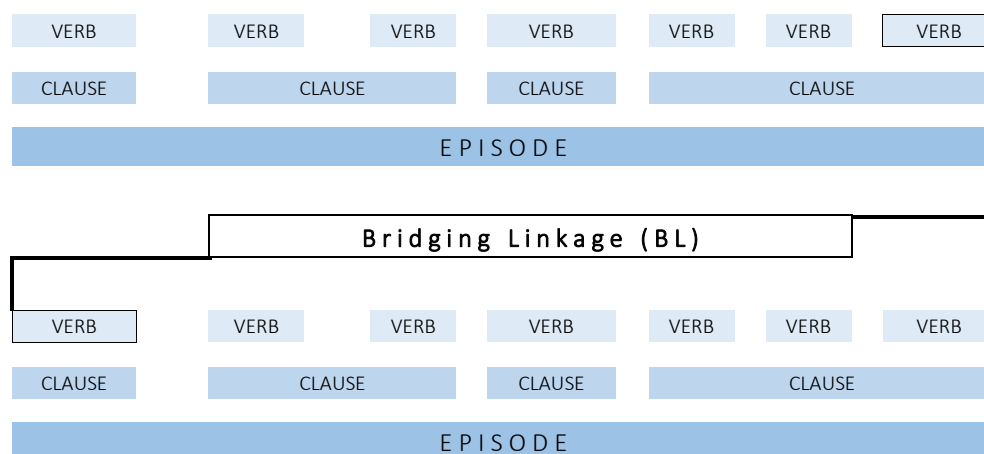


Figure 1.1 shows that a clause may contain one or more verbs. A clause may be formed by a SVC. A clause or a sequence of clauses then forms an episode. A series of episodes are linked by Bridging Linkage (BL). This can be in the form of tail-head linkage (THL, Guillames' abbreviation (2011)) or non-tail-head linkage (NTHL). Tail-head linkage is the recapitulation of the last clause of an episode at the beginning of the following episode. Non-tail-head linkage is a way of connecting a previous episode to the next episode by means of other devices instead of tail-head linkage. The last clause of the episode is called the **tail-linker** (TL), and its recapitulated form at the beginning of the following episode is then a **head-linker** (HL). To illustrate the relation between SVCs, CLs and BLs in Wano grammar in terms of Figure 1.1, consider the example in (1.15).

- (1.15) Episode 1  
**Head-linker** Cl<sub>1</sub>/E<sub>1</sub>  
 ➤ *embetnuk*, ➤ *ugu* *narik.* *it* *duvede*  
 empet-nuk| u-k-u n-at-ik| it duvele  
 think-next lie.down-REAL-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-PROG they PN  
 Cl<sub>2</sub>/E<sub>2</sub> Cl<sub>3</sub>/E<sub>3</sub>  
*no inyanini ne, inyagevewok nabagu,*  
*no in-anini ne| ina-kevewok na-ba-k-u|*  
*that 3p-anger there 3p-penis.gourd go-set-REAL-3p.SBJ*  
 Cl<sub>4</sub>/E<sub>4</sub> Cl<sub>5</sub>/E<sub>5</sub>  
*mbuk nabagu, inyakwi podenggu,*  
*mpuk na-ba-k-u| in-akwi poden-k-u|*  
*skirt go-set-REAL-3p.SBJ 3p-nose pierce-REAL-3p.SBJ*  
**Tail-linker** Cl<sub>6</sub>/E<sub>6</sub>  
*ekenok, <nggweri ndu*  
 it-k-e-nok| nkwetì n-d-u  
 do-REAL-3sp.SBJ-next PN ADV-steep-down  
 nouguarak-o. ➤  
 n-ou-k-at-ak=o\  
 go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'Having thought so, they slept (*lit.* 'they lie down, they go/are going'). As for them, (the) Duveles, they were angry (so), they put on their penis gourd, they put on their skirt, they pierced their noses, having done so, they went down to Nggweri.'

[Text 35: 2.19; Burung 2013a: 232-3, 241]

- Episode 2  
**Head-linker**  
 ➤ *ekenok*, ➤ *it wano no ta, avoda tu*  
 it-k-e-nok| it wano no ta| avoda tu  
 do-REAL-3sp.SBJ-next they PN that SPEC PN way  
 Cl<sub>1</sub>/E<sub>1</sub>  
*at ndet unggu ugu*  
*at ntet un-k-u u-k-u*  
*he there go.through-REAL-3p.SBJ lie.down-REAL-3p.SBJ*  
*warak ta,*  
*w-at-ak ta|*  
*come-3sp.SBJ-PROG SPEC*  
 'Meanwhile (*lit.* 'having done so'), as for the Wanos, they came through Avoda (and) stayed.'

NOTE: 'lie down' is a figurative expression for 'stay' or 'settle'  
 [Text 35: 2.20; Burung 2013a: 233, 241]

There are six clauses in episode 1 and the episode is divided into three parts. It begins with the verb *embetnuk* 'having thought (so)' which bears the immediate

sequential suffix {-nuk} 'next' and plays the back-reference role as the head-linker to the previous episode. The first clause (henceforth Cl<sub>1</sub>) consists of a SVC, *ugu narik* 'they slept'. This is the first event (E<sub>1</sub>) in the episode and it talks about a group of people who had some thoughts and who went to sleep with those thoughts. These people are the Wanos, as was clear in the previous episodes and will be so in the following one (episode 2). Then the phrase *it duvede no* 'as for the Duveles' introduces a new group of people, the Duveles, and that functions as a conjunction between E<sub>1</sub> and a new event (E<sub>2</sub>), i.e. *inyanini ne* 'as they are angry' (Cl<sub>2</sub>), which in turn, is followed by a sequence of clauses (Cl<sub>3</sub>–Cl<sub>5</sub>). They are: *inyagevewok nabagu* 'they put on their penis gourds' (Cl<sub>3</sub>), *mbuk nabagu* 'they put on (their) skirts' (Cl<sub>4</sub>), and *inyakwi podenggu* 'they pierced their noses' (Cl<sub>5</sub>). The change of action is then expressed in the last clause (Cl<sub>6</sub>), i.e. *nggweri ndu nougarak-o* 'they went down to Nggweri'. Finally, the verbal conjunction, *ekenok* 'sg/pl having done so' is the conjoining element that links the last clause with the tail-linker *nougarak-o* 'they went long ago'. The verb *ekenok* 'sg/pl having done so' will also act as the head-linker in the next episode. Episode 2 consists of only one event that tells us about the path the Wanos took, which is different from the Duveles. **Bridging Linkage** will be discussed in chapter 11.

## 1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is organised as follows,

Chapter 1 gives a general *introduction* of the thesis, chapter 2 describes the typology of *morphophonology*, chapter 3 explores *nominal complex*, chapter 4 investigates *verbal complex*, chapter 5 outlines *deixis*, chapter 6 discusses *clause elements and structures*, chapter 7 presents *non-verbal predication*, chapter 8 describes *coordination and subordination*, chapter 9 discusses *serial verb constructions*, chapter 10 investigates *clause linking*, chapter 11 explores *bridging linkage*, and chapter 12 recaps the overall discussion.

Finally, allow me to return to the opening paragraph of this chapter:

While there are nearly 300 languages found in West Papua (Indonesia), scholarly studies that led to academic publication on those languages are few. The purpose of the present study is a detailed description of the grammatical structures of Wano ...

With my limited knowledge of the language and its speakers, both of which I have come to appreciate throughout the time in which I have endeavoured to learn and so to understand and thus to know, I humbly present this grammar of Wano. My sincere apologies for the remaining shortcomings, which are entirely mine, which future research will hopefully address. This thesis reflects my understanding of the grammatical properties which have been found thus far in the Wano language. I hope that one day a native speaker linguist of Wano will read this grammar and revise what I have put forward for a better grammar of Wano.



## 2.1 BACKGROUND

This chapter is based on Burung (2007b). The orthography is my own analysis (Burung, *ibid.*) with reference to Bromley (1961), van der Staap (1966) and Foley (1986; 2000). Table 2.1 outlines the phonemic consonants and vowels. The phonetic definition and representation of each phoneme use IPA symbols outlined in pages *xxiii-iv* of this thesis – cf. also Pullum and Ladusaw (1996), Farmer and Demers (2001, 1986) among others.

*Table 2.1*  
**Phonemic consonants and vowels**

| <b>CONSONANTS</b> |                  | Bilabial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-------------------|------------------|----------|----------|---------|-------|---------|
| Stop              | <i>implosive</i> | b        | d        |         |       |         |
|                   | <i>plosive</i>   | p        | t        |         | k     | q       |
| Nasal             |                  | m        | n        |         |       |         |
| Fricative         |                  | β        |          |         |       |         |
| Approximant       |                  | w        |          | j       |       |         |
| <b>VOWELS</b>     |                  | Front    | Central  | Back    |       |         |
| Close             |                  | i        |          | u       |       |         |
| Open-mid          |                  | e        |          | o       |       |         |
| Open              |                  |          | a        |         |       |         |

The phoneme /β/, is the only fricative found in Wano. The language lacks an alveolar fricative /s/ which is a typical phonological features of Trans-New Guinea languages (cf. Foley 1986: 56-8; 2000: 368).<sup>18</sup> The phonemic symbol for glottal stop, [ʔ], is /q/ in this study, /ʔ/ in Burung (2007b). Coalescent (or reciprocal) assimilation is attested, resulting in: (i) pre-nasalization that includes three allophonic variants, [ᵐb, ᵑd, ᵑg]; (ii) two palatalization, [j, ɛ]; (iii) three labialized segments, [pʷ, kʷ, ɣʷ]; and (iv) a pre-nasalization of the labialized segment, [ᵑgʷ]. Table 2.2 outlines this coalescent assimilation.

*Table 2.2*  
**Coalescent assimilation of phonemic consonants**

|                             |      | Assimilation | Bilabial | Alveolar  | Velar       |
|-----------------------------|------|--------------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| Pre-nasalization            | i.   | /m + p/      | [ᵐb]     |           |             |
|                             | ii.  | /n + t/      |          | [ᵑd]      |             |
|                             | iii. | /n + k/      |          |           | [ᵑg]        |
| Palatalization              | i.   | /t + j/      |          | [j] ~ [ɛ] |             |
| Labialization               | i.   | /p + w/      | [pʷ]     |           |             |
|                             | ii.  | /k + w/      |          |           | [ɣʷ] ~ [kʷ] |
| Labialized pre-nasalization | i.   | /n + k + w/  |          |           | [ᵑgʷ]       |

Two types of diphthongs are also found. The rising-diphthong takes place when the second vowel is stressed or more sonorous: [i̯a]. The falling-diphthong occurs when

<sup>18</sup> In Lower Grand Valley Dani (Bromley 1961), bilabial fricative /β/ is unattested and alveolar fricative /s/ is an allophone of /t/. In Mugogo Dani (van der Staap 1966), /β/ is an allophone of /p/, and /s/ is a phoneme along-side glottal fricative /h/. Nggem (Etherington 2002) has /β/ as an allophone of /p/ and /s/ is the only fricative attested.

the first vowel is stressed or more sonorous: [ɛ<sup>i</sup>, a<sup>i</sup>, a<sup>u</sup>, ɔ<sup>i</sup>, ɔ<sup>u</sup>, u<sup>i</sup>] (cf. Lodge 2009: 42-3, Carr 2008: 52, 151), outlined in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3  
Diphthongs

|                   | Front          | Central                       | Back                          |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Rising-diphthong  | <sup>i</sup> a |                               |                               |
| Falling-diphthong |                |                               | u <sup>i</sup>                |
|                   | ɛ <sup>i</sup> | a <sup>i</sup> a <sup>u</sup> | ɔ <sup>i</sup> ɔ <sup>u</sup> |

## 2.2 CONSONANTS

I describe Wano consonants with respect to their manner of articulation, i.e. stops, nasals, fricatives, and approximants (Table 2.1). Except glottal stop /q/, which is found only syllable-coda, all consonant phonemes are found in a syllable-onset position, i.e. σ-O word-initially phonetic realization: #C\_ or intervocalically: \_C\_, and in syllable-coda position, i.e. σ-C word-finally: \_C#. Consonant phonemes also occur intervocalically in cliticization (resyllabification): \_C=\_.

Wano **stops** include (i) two implosives: /b, d/; and (ii) four plosives: /p, t, k, q/, outlined in Table 2.4. Except glottal /q/, all phonemes are phonetically unreleased word-finally. As for **phonemes** /b, d/, the non-pulmonic [b] and [d] become pulmonic [bʰ] and [dʰ] word-finally. They are fricatives [β] and [ɟ], in cliticization,

just like **phoneme** /p/ is [b]. Regarding **phonemes** /t, k/, they are intervocalically a voiced alveolar flap [ɾ] and a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] respectively (Table 2.4). Note: *C/c* 'orthography'.

Table 2.4

**Wano stop phonemes with their phonetic realization and syllabic distribution**

|     |          | Phonetic realization |     |               |          | Examples |                    |
|-----|----------|----------------------|-----|---------------|----------|----------|--------------------|
| /C/ | C/c      | <u>σ-onset</u>       |     | <u>σ-coda</u> |          |          |                    |
|     |          | #C_                  | _C_ | _C#           | _C=_     |          |                    |
| 1.  | <b>b</b> | <b>B/b</b>           | ḃ_  | ḃ_            | bʰ_      | _β=_     | (2.1)              |
| 2.  | <b>d</b> | <b>D/d</b>           | dʰ_ | dʰ_           | dʰ_      | _j=_     | (2.2)              |
| 3.  | <b>p</b> | <b>P/p</b>           | p_  | _p_           | pʰ_      | _b=_     | (2.3)              |
| 4.  | <b>t</b> | <b>T/t</b>           | t_  |               | _tʰ_     | _r=_     | (2.4a-d, i-m)      |
|     | <b>r</b> |                      |     | _r_           |          |          | (2.4e-h), cf. §3.3 |
| 5.  | <b>k</b> | <b>K/k</b>           | k_  |               | _kʰ_     | _γ=_     | (2.5a-d, i-l)      |
|     | <b>g</b> |                      |     | _γ_           |          |          | (2.5e-h), cf. §3.3 |
| 6.  | <b>q</b> | <b>q</b>             |     |               | _q_ kʰ ∅ |          | Table 2.5          |

To illustrate Table 2.4, examples are given in:

(2.1) /b/: mono/disyllabic distribution, phonetic realization and orthography

|    |            |                         |                |                     |
|----|------------|-------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| a. | /bu/       | [ḃu]                    | <i>bu</i>      | 'unwilling'         |
| b. | /bok/      | [ḃɔkʰ]                  | <i>bok</i>     | 'good'              |
| c. | /ba.ki/    | [ḃa'ɣi]                 | <i>bagi</i>    | 'k.o. cuscus'       |
| d. | /bo.nko/   | [ḃɔ <sup>n</sup> gɔ]    | <i>bonggo</i>  | 'crab'              |
| e. | /ba.bo/    | [ḃa'ḃɔ]                 | <i>babo</i>    | 'k.o. tree'         |
| f. | /na.bi/    | [na'ḃi]                 | <i>nabi</i>    | 'dream'             |
| g. | /te.bon/   | [tɛ'ḃɔn]                | <i>tebon</i>   | 'fly (N)'           |
| h. | /nke.bak/  | [ <sup>n</sup> gɛ'ḃakʰ] | <i>nggebak</i> | 'canoe'             |
| i. | /wab/      | [wabʰ]                  | <i>wab</i>     | 'time'              |
| j. | /mi.tib/   | [mi'ɾibʰ]               | <i>mirib</i>   | 'mirib (PN)'        |
| k. | /do.nkob/  | [dɔ <sup>n</sup> gɔbʰ]  | <i>donggob</i> | 'wild chicken'      |
| l. | /na.ne.bo/ | [na'neβɔ]               | <i>naneb-o</i> | 'you.sg come (IMP)' |

(2.2) /d/: mono/disyllabic distribution, phonetic realization and orthography

|    |           |                        |                |                |
|----|-----------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| a. | /de/      | [dɛ]                   | <i>de</i>      | 'cry'          |
| b. | /dem/     | [dɛm]                  | <i>dem</i>     | 'k.o. tree'    |
| c. | /da.ku/   | [da'ɣu]                | <i>dagu</i>    | 'pandanus'     |
| d. | /do.nkob/ | [dɔ <sup>n</sup> gɔbʰ] | <i>donggob</i> | 'wild chicken' |
| e. | /a.dom/   | [a'dɔm]                | <i>adom</i>    | 'its root'     |

|    |           |             |               |               |
|----|-----------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| f. | /a.di/    | [a'di]      | <i>adi</i>    | 'treasure'    |
| g. | /mu.di/   | [mu'di]     | <i>mudi</i>   | 'leech'       |
| h. | /ke.de/   | [kɛ'dɛ]     | <i>kede</i>   | 'rattan'      |
| i. | /tid/     | [tidʰ]      | <i>tid</i>    | 'pig's snout' |
| j. | /baid/    | [ʰbaɪdʰ]    | <i>baid</i>   | 'cuscus'      |
| l. | /mpo.wid/ | [ʰmboʷwidʰ] | <i>mbowid</i> | 'Mbowid (PN)' |
| m. | /dei.djo/ | [dɛi'dʒo]   | <i>deid-o</i> | 'banana'      |

(2.3) /p/: mono/disyllabic distribution, phonetic realization and orthography

|    |            |           |                |                 |
|----|------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|
| a. | /pit/      | [pitʰ]    | <i>pit</i>     | 'k.o. tree'     |
| b. | /pou/      | [pɔʰ]     | <i>pou</i>     | 'short'         |
| c. | /po.de/    | [pɔʰdɛ]   | <i>pode</i>    | 'thin'          |
| d. | /pa.βuk/   | [pa'βukʰ] | <i>pavuk</i>   | 'bush'          |
| e. | /a.pu/     | [a'pu]    | <i>apu</i>     | 'his ingestion' |
| f. | /a.pik/    | [a'pikʰ]  | <i>apik</i>    | 'all'           |
| h. | /ap/       | [apʰ]     | <i>ap</i>      | 'man'           |
| i. | /dip/      | [dipʰ]    | <i>dip</i>     | 'k.o. pandanus' |
| j. | /a.nkup/   | [aʰŋgupʰ] | <i>anggup</i>  | 'pulp'          |
| k. | /a.nkop/   | [aʰŋgɔpʰ] | <i>anggop</i>  | 'his tip'       |
| l. | /na.no.po/ | [na'nɔbo] | <i>nanop-o</i> | 'my head'       |

(2.4) /t/: mono/disyllabic distribution, phonetic realization and orthography

|    |            |             |                |                   |
|----|------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|
| a. | /tu/       | [tu]        | <i>tu</i>      | 'path'            |
| b. | /tid/      | [tidʰ]      | <i>tid</i>     | 'pig's snout'     |
| c. | /ta.βo/    | [ta'βɔ]     | <i>tavo</i>    | 'tobacco'         |
| d. | /te.βen/   | [te'βɛn]    | <i>teven</i>   | 'bat'             |
| e. | /bi.ti/    | [bi'ri]     | <i>biri</i>    | 'white'           |
| f. | /bi.tu/    | [bi'ru]     | <i>biru</i>    | 'lake'            |
| g. | /e.tuk/    | [ɛ'rukʰ]    | <i>eruk</i>    | 'his hair'        |
| h. | /ja.tak/   | [ja'rakʰ]   | <i>yarak</i>   | 'harvested field' |
| i. | /it/       | [itʰ]       | <i>it</i>      | 'they'            |
| j. | /kat/      | [katʰ]      | <i>kat</i>     | 'you.sg'          |
| k. | /ti.kit/   | [ti'ɣitʰ]   | <i>tigit</i>   | 'k.o. tree'       |
| l. | /mpi.nit/  | [ʰmbi'nitʰ] | <i>mbinit</i>  | 'sand'            |
| m. | /a.mbi.to/ | [aʰmbiɔ]    | <i>ambit-o</i> | 'his sake-pausal' |

(2.5) /k/: mono/disyllabic distribution, phonetic realization and orthography

|    |          |           |              |                  |
|----|----------|-----------|--------------|------------------|
| a. | /kit/    | [kitʰ]    | <i>kit</i>   | 'you.pl'         |
| b. | /kup/    | [kupʰ]    | <i>kup</i>   | 'dark'           |
| c. | /ka.bi/  | [ka'bi]   | <i>kabi</i>  | 'iguana'         |
| d. | /ku.kwi/ | [ku'ɣʷi]  | <i>kugwi</i> | 'witch'          |
| e. | /te.ken/ | [te'ɣɛn]  | <i>tegen</i> | 'k.o. palm tree' |
| f. | /ta.ket/ | [ta'ɣɛtʰ] | <i>taget</i> | 'spider'         |
| g. | /ju.kum/ | [ju'ɣum]  | <i>yugum</i> | 'stone'          |
| h. | /ku.kup/ | [ku'ɣupʰ] | <i>kugup</i> | 'thick'          |
| i. | /mek/    | [mekʰ]    | <i>mek</i>   | 'impossible'     |

|    |            |            |                |                   |
|----|------------|------------|----------------|-------------------|
| j. | /wa.dik/   | [wa'dɪkʰ]  | <i>wadik</i>   | 'abandoned field' |
| k. | /ma.duk/   | [ma'dʊkʰ]  | <i>maduk</i>   | 'bad'             |
| l. | /ma.du.ko/ | [ma'dʊɾɔʰ] | <i>maduk-o</i> | 'bad-pausal'      |

**Phoneme /q/** is only found word-finally. It may be realised as: (i) [ʔ], (ii) [kʰ] or (iii) [elision], according to the following five types of its phonetic realization due to deletion processes (Table 2.5). Orthographically, /k/ is written: (i) **q** when realised as [ʔ], or (ii) **k** when realised as [kʰ] and (iii) no graphemic spelling when elided.

Table 2.5:

**Deletion processes of glottal stop**

|         |     |   |           |   |           |                                                                                             |
|---------|-----|---|-----------|---|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Type 1: | [ʔ] | = | [kʰ]      | = | [elision] | no contrast in meaning, e.g. (2.6a)                                                         |
| Type 2: | [ʔ] | = | [kʰ]      | ≠ | [elision] | no contrast in meaning for [ʔ] and [kʰ], but contrast in meaning for [elision], e.g. (2.6b) |
| Type 3: | [ʔ] | = | [elision] | ≠ | [kʰ]      | no contrast in meaning for [ʔ] and [elision], but contrast in meaning for [kʰ], e.g. (2.6c) |
| Type 4: | [ʔ] | = | [elision] |   |           | no contrast in meaning for [ʔ] and [elision], while [kʰ] is not found, e.g. (2.6d)          |
| Type 5: | [ʔ] | ≠ | [elision] |   |           | change in meaning for [ʔ] and [elision], while [kʰ] is not found, e.g. (2.6e)               |

Examples of each types are given in:

|       |            |         |   |          |   |           |                |
|-------|------------|---------|---|----------|---|-----------|----------------|
| (2.6) | a. Type 1: | [ʔ]     | = | [kʰ]     | = | [elision] |                |
|       | i.         | [ɛʰʔ]   | = | [ɛʰkʰ]   | = | [ɛʰ]      | 'up'           |
|       | ii.        | [ɔʊʔ]   | = | [ɔʊkʰ]   | = | [ɔʊ]      | 'down'         |
|       | iii.       | [i'diʔ] | = | [i'dikʰ] | = | [i'di]    | 'be afraid of' |
|       | b. Type 2: | [ʔ]     | = | [kʰ]     | ≠ | [elision] |                |
|       | i.         | [i'ruʔ] | = | [i'rukʰ] | ≠ | [i'ru]    | 'hot' ≠ 'hole' |

|            |         |   |           |   |          |                          |
|------------|---------|---|-----------|---|----------|--------------------------|
| c. Type 3: | [ʔ]     | = | [elision] | ≠ | [kʰ]     |                          |
| i.         | [jɔʔ]   | = | [jɔ]      | ≠ | [jɔkʰ]   | 'steal' ≠ 'now'          |
| ii.        | [a'jaʔ] | = | [a'ja]    | ≠ | [a'jakʰ] | 'awesome' ≠ 'her breast' |
| iii.       | [a'mɔʔ] | = | [a'mɔ]    | ≠ | [a'mɔkʰ] | 'his palm' ≠ 'his fat'   |
| d. Type 4: | [ʔ]     | = | [elision] |   | no [kʰ]  |                          |
| i.         | [ʙɛʔ]   | = | [ʙɛ]      |   | N/A      | 'little'                 |
| ii.        | [mbɛʔ]  | = | [mbɛ]     |   | N/A      | 'secret'                 |
| iii.       | [iʰdiʔ] | = | [iʰdi]    |   | N/A      | 'his name'               |
| iv.        | [ta'ɛʔ] | = | [ta'ɛ]    |   | N/A      | 'lightning'              |
| e. Type 5: | [ʔ]     | ≠ | [elision] |   | no [kʰ]  |                          |
| i.         | [maʔ]   | ≠ | [ma]      |   | N/A      | 'vomit' ≠ 'sacred'       |

Type 4 is the most common type of the realization of /q/. This type lacks the allophone [kʰ] – see example (2.6d). In the speech community, expressions such as [ʙɛ] as well as [ʙɛʔ] for 'little' may be found, but never \*[ʙɛkʰ]. For non-native speakers of Wano, the presence of the glottal stop is hardly audible; only when the attachment of the enclitic *o* {=o} 'pausal' is it clearly audible, such as: [a'puɔ] versus [a'puʔɔ] both for 'his-ingestion'.

Wano **nasals** include bilabial /m/ and alveolar /n/. **Phoneme /m/** has only one phonetic realization, which is realised as [m] word-initially, intervocally, or syllable-onset, and word-finally, or syllable-coda. /m/ is written **m** orthographically.

|       |                                                                   |           |              |                |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|
| (2.7) | /m/ is [m] in all distributions: #C_, _C_, _C#, _C=_ σ-onset/coda |           |              |                |
| a.    | /ma/                                                              | [ma]      | <i>ma</i>    | 'don't'        |
| b.    | /mek/                                                             | [mekʰ]    | <i>mek</i>   | 'impossible'   |
| c.    | /ma.de/                                                           | [ma'dɛ]   | <i>made</i>  | 'arrow'        |
| e.    | /da.mit/                                                          | [da'mitʰ] | <i>damit</i> | 'horse fly'    |
| f.    | /di.mit/                                                          | [di'mitʰ] | <i>dimit</i> | 'necklace'     |
| g.    | /na.mok/                                                          | [na'mɔkʰ] | <i>namok</i> | 'porcupine'    |
| h.    | /wom/                                                             | [wɔm]     | <i>wom</i>   | 'domestic pig' |

|    |          |          |              |             |
|----|----------|----------|--------------|-------------|
| i. | /yum/    | [jum]    | <i>yum</i>   | 'net bag'   |
| j. | /ta.βom/ | [ta'βom] | <i>tavom</i> | 'k.o. bird' |
| k. | /ku.βem/ | [ku'βem] | <i>kuvem</i> | 'afternoon' |

**Phoneme /n/** is realised as: (i) [n] word-initially, intervocalically, and word-finally.

It is [ɲ] when preceded by the high-front vowel [i]. The phoneme /n/ is written as: (i) **n** word-initially, word-finally and intervocalically (2.8a); and (ii) **ny** when preceded by the high-front vowel (2.8b) and the following vowel is not high (2.8b.v).

|       |       |                                                                    |                                   |               |                  |
|-------|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|------------------|
| (2.8) | a.    | /n/ is [n] in all distributions: #C_, _C_, _C#, _C= _ σ-onset/coda |                                   |               |                  |
|       | i.    | /ni/                                                               | [ni]                              | <i>ni</i>     | 'other'          |
|       | ii.   | /nit/                                                              | [nit]                             | <i>nit</i>    | 'we'             |
|       | iii.  | /na.kwan/                                                          | [na'ɣ <sup>w</sup> an]            | <i>nagwan</i> | 'lord'           |
|       | iv.   | /o.ne/                                                             | [ɔ'nɛ]                            | <i>one</i>    | 'his voice'      |
|       | v.    | /a.nop/                                                            | [a'nɔp <sup>ʔ</sup> ]             | <i>anop</i>   | 'his head'       |
|       | vi.   | /na.no/                                                            | [na'nɔ]                           | <i>nano</i>   | 'what'           |
|       | vii.  | /ke.na/                                                            | [kɛ'na]                           | <i>kena</i>   | 'three'          |
|       | viii. | /en/                                                               | [ɛn]                              | <i>en</i>     | 'sugar cane'     |
|       | ix.   | /te.ken/                                                           | [tɛ'ɣɛn]                          | <i>tegen</i>  | 'k.o. palm tree' |
|       | x.    | /nkwen/                                                            | [ <sup>ŋ</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ɛn] | <i>nggwen</i> | 'earth'          |
|       | xi.   | /di.an/                                                            | [di'an]                           | <i>dian</i>   | 'blood'          |
|       | xii.  | /a.nken/                                                           | [a <sup>ŋ</sup> gɛn]              | <i>anggen</i> | 'fruit'          |
|       | b.    | /n/ is [ɲ] if preceded by [i] in the _C# and _C_                   |                                   |               |                  |
|       | i.    | /min/                                                              | [miɲ]                             | <i>min</i>    | 'cold'           |
|       | ii.   | /oin/                                                              | [ɔ <sup>i</sup> ɲ]                | <i>oin</i>    | 'her husband'    |
|       | iii.  | /wein/                                                             | [wɛ <sup>i</sup> ɲ]               | <i>wein</i>   | 'bayan tree'     |
|       | iv.   | /wuin/                                                             | [wu <sup>i</sup> ɲ]               | <i>wuin</i>   | 'ash'            |
|       | v.    | /i.nyom/                                                           | [i <sup>i</sup> ɲom]              | <i>inyom</i>  | 'with'           |

In contrast to (2.8b) where /n/ is [ɲ] when preceded by [i], phoneme /n/ remains [n] intervocalically, when both vowels are high vowels in either a \_iCi\_ (2.9a), \_iCu\_ (2.9b), \_uCi\_ (2.9c), or \_uCu\_ (2.9d) construction.



(2.9) /n/ is [ɲ] in the \_C\_ slot, where both Vs are high vowels

|    |           |                         |               |               |
|----|-----------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| a. | /mpi.nit/ | [ <sup>m</sup> bi'nitʰ] | <i>mbinit</i> | 'sand'        |
| b. | /i.nu/    | [i'nu]                  | <i>inu</i>    | 'inside'      |
| c. | /mu.ni/   | [mu'ni]                 | <i>muni</i>   | 'that'        |
| d. | /pu.nu/   | [pu'nu]                 | <i>punu</i>   | 'k.o. pigeon' |

**Phoneme /β/** is realised as: [β] word-initially, word-finally and intervocalically. It is the only fricative phoneme found in Wano (§2.1; §1.8). /β/ is written as *v* orthographically. Note that /β/ was presented as /v/ in Burung (2007b).

(2.10) /β/ is [β] in #C\_ in mono/disyllabic words

|    |          |           |              |                    |
|----|----------|-----------|--------------|--------------------|
| a. | /βi/     | [βi]      | <i>vi</i>    | 'mute'             |
| b. | /βi.ju/  | [βi'ju]   | <i>viyu</i>  | 'k.o. bird'        |
| c. | /e.βe/   | [ε'βε]    | <i>eve</i>   | 'also', 'his body' |
| d. | /ta.βi/  | [ta'βi]   | <i>tavi</i>  | 'rain'             |
| e. | /ko.βu/  | [kɔ'βu]   | <i>kovu</i>  | 'tomorrow'         |
| f. | /di.βud/ | [di'βudʰ] | <i>divud</i> | 'k.o. tree'        |
| g. | /duβ/    | [duβ]     | <i>duv</i>   | 'k.o. tree'        |
| h. | /a.wiβ/  | [a'wiβ]   | <i>awiv</i>  | 'k.o. tree'        |

**Phoneme /w/** is realised as: (i) [w] word-initially and intervocalically, or syllable-onset; and (ii) [u] word-finally. Orthographically, /w/ is written: (i) *w* word-initially and intervocalically, and (ii) *u* word-finally. Likewise, **phoneme /j/** is realised as: (i) [j] word-initially and intervocalically, or syllable-onset, and (ii) [i] word-finally. Orthographically, /j/ is written: (i) *y* word-initially and intervocalically, and (ii) *i* word-finally. This is to say that the phonetic glides [w] and [j] are interpreted as the approximants /w/ and /j/ word-initially and intervocalically, and vowels /u/ and /i/ word-finally. Thus, something like (2.11) and (2.12) are permissible:

- (2.11)            /w/            or            /u/
- a.        / #wV /            / #uV /
- b.        / VwV /            / VuV /
- c.        / Vw# /            / Vu# /
- (2.12)            /j/            or            /i/
- a.        / #jV /            / #iV /
- b.        / VjV /            / ViV /
- c.        / Vj# /            / Vi# /

If we base our analysis on (2.11a), then the term for expressing 'gratitude' in Wano can either be /wa/ or /ua/ and 'cowrie' can either be /wu/ or /uu/. Likewise, referring to (2.12a), the word for 'axe' can either be /je/ or /ie/ and 'this' can be either /ji/ or /ii/. In the medial position, the possessive form for 'his cowrie' can either be /awu/ or /auu/ – cf. (2.11b), and 'spirit' can either be /aju/ or /aiu/ – cf. (2.12b). In the final position, the elevative deixis 'down' can either be /ow/ or /ou/ – cf. (2.11c), and 'up' can either be /ej/ or /ei/ – cf. (2.12c). There are possibilities to disambiguate /w/ and /j/ from being either consonants, i.e. [w]/[j], or vowels, i.e. [u]/[i].

In the word-initial position, Wano allows phonemic contrast between /w/ and /u/, since the word for 'hawk' is *u* while *wu* is 'cowrie'. The term for 'hawk' is realised with vocalic close-back rounded, [u], and the term for 'cowrie' with [u] following frictionless continuant, [w], which yields [wu]. Such contrast holds for /j/ and /i/ as well, where *yi* 'this' versus *i* 'water' is found. The term for 'water' is expressed by vocalic close-front unrounded, [i], as opposed to *yi* 'this' where frictionless continuant, [j], precedes the vowel, thus yielding [ji]. It is then appropriate to orthographically represent [wu] as *wu* 'cowrie' and not *uu*, as well as [ji] as *yi* 'this'

and not *ii*. Consider further examples below where /w/, given in (2.13), and /j/, in (2.14), precede a vowel, in comparison to those examples in (2.15).

|        |    |      |         |          |                          |
|--------|----|------|---------|----------|--------------------------|
| (2.13) |    |      | / #wV / | */ #uV / |                          |
|        | a. | /wu/ | [wu]    | wu       | *uu 'cowrie'             |
|        | b. | /we/ | [wɛ]    | we       | *ue 'he comes/is coming' |
|        | c. | /wi/ | [wi]    | wi       | *ui 'plural marker'      |
|        | d. | /wo/ | [wɔ]    | wo       | *uo 'soft'               |
| (2.14) |    |      | / #jV / | / #iV /  |                          |
|        | a. | /ju/ | [ju]    | ju       | *iu 'they say'           |
|        | b. | /je/ | [jɛ]    | je       | *ie 'axe'                |
|        | c. | /ji/ | [ji]    | ji       | *ii 'this'               |
|        | d. | /jo/ | [jɔ]    | jo       | *io 'steal'              |
| (2.15) |    |      | / #V# / |          |                          |
|        | a. | /u/  | [u]     | u        | 'hawk'                   |
|        | b. | /e/  | [ɛ]     | e        | 'wood', 'tree'           |
|        | c. | /i/  | [i]     | i        | 'water'                  |
|        | d. | /o/  | [ɔ]     | o        | 'place'                  |

Examples for word-medial position are also possible. There is a phonemic contrast between /V'wV/ and /V'jV/ and /V'V/ in disyllabic words. The distinction is clearly audible with respect to the suprasegmental feature as well, in which stress falls on the final syllable in the following contrastive words.

|        |    |         |         |      |       |               |
|--------|----|---------|---------|------|-------|---------------|
| (2.16) | a. | /a.wi/  | [a'wi]  | awi  | *aui  | 'his house'   |
|        | b. | /ta.we/ | [ta'wɛ] | tawe | *taui | 'young'       |
| (2.17) | a. | /a.je/  | [a'jɛ]  | aye  | *aie  | 'his penis'   |
|        | b. | /ta.je/ | [ta'jɛ] | taye | *taie | 'light' (ADJ) |

Contrast the forms in (2.16) and (2.17) with (2.18a-b) respectively for comparison.

|        |    |        |        |            |                 |
|--------|----|--------|--------|------------|-----------------|
| (2.18) | a. | /a.i/  | [a'i]  | <i>ai</i>  | 'eternal'       |
|        | b. | /ta.e/ | [ta'ɛ] | <i>tae</i> | 'lightning' (N) |

In word-final position, however, such contrastive features are not possible. The problem for  $V_w\# \sim V_u\#$  (2.11c) and  $V_j\# \sim V_i\#$  (2.12c) remains unsolved, since the elevative deixis 'down' can either be [ɔu] or [ɔw] – cf. (2.11c) and 'up' can either be [ɛi] or [ɛj] – cf. (2.12c).

However, since these deictic words may be pronounced with either [kʰ] or [ʔ], i.e. [ɔuʔ]  $\sim$  [ɔukʰ] and [ɛiʔ]  $\sim$  [ɛikʰ] (cf. (2.6) – regarding discussion on glottal stop /q/), the conventions *ou* 'down' and *ei* 'up' are preferred to *ow* and *ej*. Choosing the latter will end up with the addition of /CC/ syllable-coda: *owk*  $\sim$  *owq* and *ejk*  $\sim$  *ejq*, while /CC/ syllable-coda is not permitted in Wano (see §2.4). The contrast between /w/ and /j/ with their vocalic counterparts /u/ and /i/ is, therefore, neutralised in the word-final position. It follows that [w] or [j] word-finally are considered as vowels and will be written as *u* and *i*. Thus, the phonetic glides [w] and [j] are approximants /w/ and /j/ when found word-initially and intervocalically, or syllable-onset. They are written orthographically as *w* and *y*. When found word-finally, or syllable-coda, they are neutralised and written as *u* and *i*.

## 2.3 VOWELS

The phonemic Wano vowels are /i, e, a, o, u/. These are the only permissible segments to be syllable-nucleus. All vowels are found (i) word-initially, i.e. #V\_, (ii) word-medially, i.e. \_CVC\_, (iii) word-finally, i.e. \_V#, and (iv) as a minimal free form, i.e. #V#. This is to say that a vocalic phoneme, which is composed of a single nucleus, can be construed as a morphological word, taking for granted that, "...a word is the smallest unit that can exist on its own." (Spencer 1991:43). The distribution of Wano vowels follows.

**Phoneme /i/** is realised as [i], found in the following environments: (i) #V# (2.19a), (ii) #V\_ (2.19b), (iii) \_V# (2.19c-d), and (iv) CVC (2.19e-f).

(2.19) Phoneme /i/

|    |        |          |             |           |
|----|--------|----------|-------------|-----------|
| a. | /i/    | [i]      | <i>i</i>    | 'water'   |
| b. | /it/   | [itʰ]    | <i>it</i>   | 'they'    |
| c. | /βi/   | [βi]     | <i>vi</i>   | 'mute'    |
| d. | /ni/   | [ni]     | <i>ni</i>   | 'as such' |
| e. | /kin/  | [kin]    | <i>kin</i>  | 'visible' |
| f. | /mpit/ | [ʰmbitʰ] | <i>mbit</i> | 'moon'    |

When /i/ is not a nucleus of a syllable that bears primary stress, it is sometimes articulated in free variation with the centralised front-close vowel: [ɪ], given in (2.20) as opposed to (2.21).

|        |                                            |            |                                                                                   |              |               |
|--------|--------------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| (2.20) | $/i/ \rightarrow [i] \sim [ɪ] \text{ in }$ |            | $\begin{array}{c} \sigma \quad \sigma' \\   \quad   \\ i \quad (C)CV \end{array}$ |              |               |
|        | a.                                         | $/i.no/$   | $[i'ɲɔ] \sim [ɪ'ɲɔ]$                                                              | <i>inyo</i>  | 'bread fruit' |
|        | b.                                         | $/i.ntu/$  | $[i'nɗu] \sim [ɪ'nɗu]$                                                            | <i>indu</i>  | 'fire'        |
| (2.21) | a.                                         | $/da.mit/$ | $[ɗa'mitʰ]$                                                                       | <i>damit</i> | 'horse fly'   |
|        | b.                                         | $/ei.kik/$ | $[ɛ'ikikʰ]$                                                                       | <i>eikik</i> | 'k.o. tree'   |

**Phoneme /e/** is realised as  $[\epsilon]$ , found in the following environments: (i) #V# (2.22a), (ii) #V\_ (2.22b), (iii) \_V# (2.22c-d), and (iv) CVC (2.22e-f).

|        |    |            |                           |              |                |
|--------|----|------------|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| (2.22) | a. | $/e/$      | $[\epsilon]$              | <i>e</i>     | 'tree', 'wood' |
|        | b. | $/en/$     | $[\epsilon n]$            | <i>en</i>    | 'sugar cane'   |
|        | c. | $/te/$     | $[t\epsilon]$             | <i>te</i>    | 'he intends'   |
|        | d. | $/ka.ne/$  | $[ka'n\epsilon]$          | <i>kane</i>  | 'firewood'     |
|        | e. | $/dem/$    | $[d\epsilon m]$           | <i>dem</i>   | 'k.o. tree'    |
|        | f. | $/te.ben/$ | $[t\epsilon'b\epsilon n]$ | <i>teben</i> | 'bat'          |

**Phonemes /a/, /o/ and /u/** are realised as  $[a]$ ,  $[\ɔ]$  and  $[u]$ , found in the following environments: (i) #V#, (ii) #VC, (iii) CV#, and (iv) CVC#. Some examples given in:

|        |    |         |          |            |         |
|--------|----|---------|----------|------------|---------|
| (2.23) | a. | $/u/$   | $[u]$    | <i>u</i>   | 'hawk'  |
|        | b. | $/an/$  | $[an]$   | <i>an</i>  | 'I'     |
|        | c. | $/wi/$  | $[wi]$   | <i>wi</i>  | 'mute'  |
|        | d. | $/mot/$ | $[mɔtʰ]$ | <i>mot</i> | 'short' |

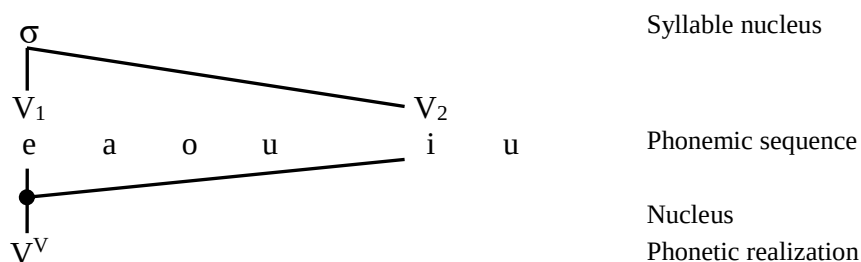
The Wano sequence of vowels is outlined in Table 2.6.

*Table 2.6:*  
**Sequence of vowels**

| V <sub>1</sub> | V <sub>2</sub> |     |     |     |     |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                | /i/            | /e/ | /a/ | /o/ | /u/ |
| /i/            | -              | -   | +   | -   | -   |
| /e/            | +              | -   | -   | -   | -   |
| /a/            | +              | -   | -   | -   | +   |
| /o/            | +              | -   | -   | -   | +   |
| /u/            | +              | -   | -   | -   | -   |

A sequence consisting of two juxtaposed vocalic segments (V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>) can either be analysed as a monosyllabic word, thus construing a diphthong (Table 2.3), or as a disyllabic word. What distinguishes the two is determined by where the stress is in the word. When the stress falls on V<sub>1</sub>, the vocalic sequence is a diphthong. When the stress falls on V<sub>2</sub>, then the sequence comprises two syllables. For instance, a deictic word /ei/ 'up' is realised with the stress on V<sub>1</sub>, [ˈei], but when artificially contrasted by locating stress on V<sub>2</sub>, it is rejected: \*[ɛ'i]. This gives us an onset-less monosyllabic word with a diphthong as its nucleus. On the other hand, a morphologically derived proper noun /jei/ 'Yei' is realised with the stress on V<sub>2</sub>, thus: [jɛ'i]. This realization suggests a disyllabic word, of which the first syllable employs /e/ as its nucleus, whilst the last syllable has /i/. In this instance, we have evidence of a vocalic sequence: /ei/. When constructing a single syllable, the sequences /ia/ and /au/ are not attested. Consider the contrast given in Figures 2.1 and 2.2 with their examples in (2.24) and (2.25) respectively.

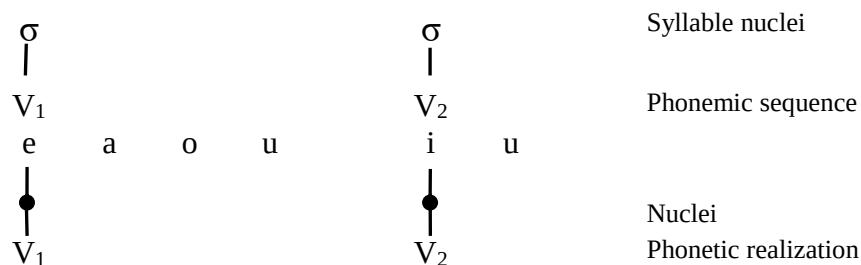
Figure 2.1: V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> as one nucleus



(2.24) V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub> as one nucleus (Figure 2.1)

|    |       |         |                                                 |               |             |
|----|-------|---------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| a. | i + a | N/A     |                                                 |               |             |
| b. | e + i | /ei/    | [ɛ <sup>i</sup> ]                               | <i>ei</i>     | 'up'        |
| c. | a + i | /kaid/  | [ka <sup>i</sup> d <sup>ː</sup> ]               | <i>kaid</i>   | 'sprout'    |
| d. | a + u | N/A     |                                                 |               |             |
| e. | o + i | /nkoid/ | [ <sup>n</sup> gɔ <sup>i</sup> d <sup>ː</sup> ] | <i>nggoid</i> | 'landslide' |
| f. | o + u | /mbouq/ | [ <sup>m</sup> bɔ <sup>u</sup> ʔ]               | <i>mbouq</i>  | 'sky'       |
| g. | u + i | /a.bui/ | [a <sup>u</sup> ɬu <sup>i</sup> ]               | <i>abui</i>   | 'possum'    |

Figure 2.2: V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> as two nuclei



(2.25) V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub> as two nuclei (Figure 2.2)

|    |       |           |                                                  |               |             |
|----|-------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| a. | i + a | /di.an/   | [di'an]                                          | <i>dian</i>   | 'blood'     |
| b. | e + i | /je.i/    | [jɛ'i]                                           | <i>yei</i>    | 'Yei (PN)'  |
| c. | a + i | /a.i/     | [a'i]                                            | <i>ai</i>     | 'eternal'   |
| d. | a + u | /kau.be/  | [ka,u'ɛɛ]                                        | <i>kaube</i>  | 'k.o. tree' |
| e. | o + i | /o.mpoïd/ | [ɔ <sup>m</sup> bɔ <sup>i</sup> d <sup>ː</sup> ] | <i>omboid</i> | 'his ulcer' |
| f. | o + u | /mpo.u/   | [ <sup>m</sup> bɔ <sup>u</sup> ]                 | <i>mbou</i>   | 'lizard'    |
| g. | u + i | /du.kui/  | [du,ɣu'i]                                        | <i>dugui</i>  | 'k.o. tree' |



## 2.4 SYLLABIFICATION

The syllable structure in Wano can be presented as: (C)V(C), where the initial C, i.e. syllable-onset, may consist of one consonant or sequences of two or three consonants. This allows for eight syllable types: V(C), CV(C), CCV(C), CCCV(C), as shown in (2.26) and (2.27). In multisyllabic words, a heavy-syllable is not found in initial position.

(2.26) Light syllable

|    |      |        |                                  |              |                |
|----|------|--------|----------------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| a. | V    | /i/    | [i]                              | <i>i</i>     | 'water'        |
| b. | CV   | /tu/   | [tu]                             | <i>tu</i>    | 'path'         |
| c. | CCV  | /nka/  | [ <sup>h</sup> ga]               | <i>ngga</i>  | 'where'        |
| d. | CCCV | /nkwe/ | [ <sup>h</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ε] | <i>nggwe</i> | 'sound of pig' |

(2.27) Heavy syllable

|    |      |         |                                   |               |           |
|----|------|---------|-----------------------------------|---------------|-----------|
| a. | VV   | /ei/    | [ε <sup>i</sup> ]                 | <i>ei</i>     | 'up'      |
| b. | VC   | /ut/    | [ut <sup>ː</sup> ]                | <i>ut</i>     | 'moss'    |
| c. | CVC  | /kat/   | [kat <sup>ː</sup> ]               | <i>kat</i>    | 'you.sg'  |
| d. | CCVC | /ntuk/  | [ <sup>n</sup> duk <sup>ː</sup> ] | <i>nduk</i>   | 'thunder' |
| e. | CCVC | /nkwen/ | [ <sup>h</sup> g <sup>w</sup> εn] | <i>nggwen</i> | 'earth'   |

Vowels are the only permissible segments to be a nucleus, that is, the central segment of the syllable. All consonants can occur as either an onset or a coda, except /w/ and /j/ which do not occur in the coda position (see §2.2 on /w/ and /j/). Sequences of consonants are not possible in the coda position, i.e. syllable-coda. Regarding syllable-onset of (C)CC-sequence, the four corollaries follow.

(2.28) **Corollaries of syllable-onset of (C)CC-sequence**

---

- a. *Corollary 1:*  
In the C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V(C) type, C<sub>1</sub> is a nasal (/m/ or /n/) and C<sub>2</sub> can be /p/, /t/, or /k/, yielding pre-nasalized segments – cf. Figure 2.3.
  - b. *Corollary 2:*  
In the C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V(C) type, C<sub>1</sub> can be /p/ or /k/ and C<sub>2</sub> is a bilabial approximant /w/, yielding labialized segments – cf. Figure 2.4.
  - c. *Corollary 3:*  
In the C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V(C) type, C<sub>1</sub> can be /t/ or /d/ and C<sub>2</sub> is the palatal approximant /j/ – cf. Figure 2.5.
  - d. *Corollary 4:*  
The type C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>V(C) is highly restricted to /nkw/ sequences – cf. Figure 2.6.
- 

In the layered structure, corollary 2 appears to be a mirror image of corollary 1 as captured in Figure 2.3.

*Figure 2.3: Pre-nasalization*

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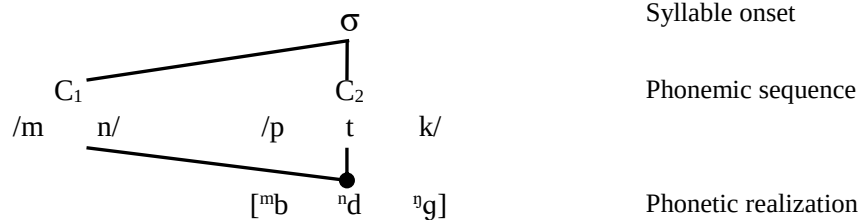


*Figure 2.4: Labialization*

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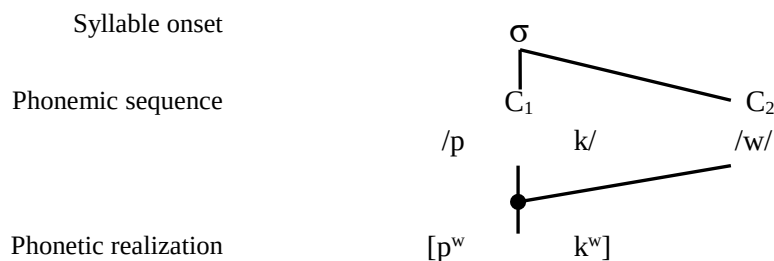


Figure 2.5: Palatalization

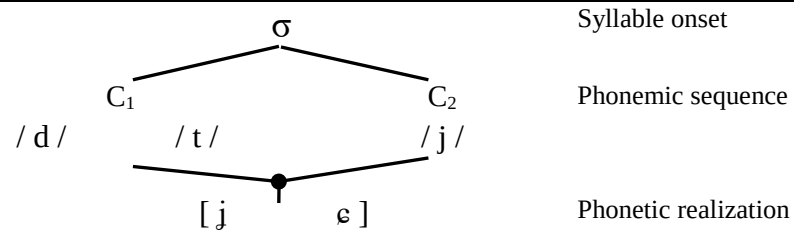
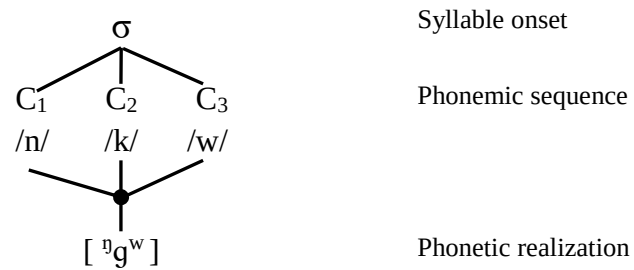


Figure 2.6: Labialized pre-nasalization



## 2.5 SEQUENCE OF CONSONANTS

Table 2.1 in §2.1 lists four forms of the **sequence of consonants** (henceforth: /CC/):

(i) pre-nasalization; /mp, nt, nk/, (ii) palatalization; /tj/, (iii) labialization; /pw, kw/, and (iv) labialized pre-nasalization; /nkw/. In this section, I give a brief account of each phoneme of these four forms, based on the detailed description given in Burung (2007b: §s7.3 and 7.4).

In a syllable structure, /CC/ is limited to the syllable-onset position (i.e. word-initially and intervocalically), i.e. CCV(C). In other words, /CC/ is not found in the syllable-coda position, i.e. \*(C)VCC. The /CC/ is not limited regarding syllable

weight: (i) it may be found in either a light syllable, i.e. CCV, or a heavy syllable, i.e. CCVC, and (ii) in the case of (i), it may be found in monosyllabic words, and in disyllabic words, as outlined in:

(2.29) Distribution of /CC/ pre-nasalization in monosyllabic and disyllabic words

|    |                    | Light syllables                    | Heavy syllables                          |
|----|--------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| a. | Monosyllabic words | CCV<br>*VCC<br>CCCV                | CCVC<br>*CVCC<br>CCCVC                   |
| b. | Disyllabic words   | CCV-σ<br>CCCV-σ<br>σ-CCV<br>σ-CCCV | *CCVC-σ<br>*CCCVC-σ<br>σ-CCVC<br>σ-CCCVC |

This tells us that light syllables with CC-onset of disyllabic words are free in distribution. Thus, in a disyllabic word, a light syllable can be expected in the first syllable slot or in the second one. On the other hand, heavy syllables are limited to the second syllable only – cf. (2.31d).

(2.30) /CC/ pre-nasalization stops in monosyllabic words

|    |       |         |                                   |               |                |
|----|-------|---------|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| a. | CCV   | /nka/   | [ <sup>ɲ</sup> ga]                | <i>ngga</i>   | 'where'        |
| b. | *VCC  | N/A     |                                   |               |                |
| c. | CCVC  | /ntuk/  | [ <sup>ɲ</sup> dukʔ]              | <i>nduk</i>   | 'thunder'      |
| d. | *CVCC | N/A     |                                   |               |                |
| e. | CCCV  | /nkwe/  | [ <sup>ɲ</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ɛ]  | <i>nggwe</i>  | 'sound of pig' |
| f. | CCCVC | /nkwen/ | [ <sup>ɲ</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ɛn] | <i>nggwen</i> | 'earth'        |

(2.31) /CC/ pre-nasalization stops in disyllabic words

|    |         |           |                                     |                |                |
|----|---------|-----------|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| a. | CCV-σ   | /mpe.te/  | [ <sup>m</sup> be're]               | <i>mbere</i>   | 'two'          |
| b. | σ-CCV   | /a.ndo/   | [a <sup>ɲ</sup> do]                 | <i>ando</i>    | 'others'       |
| c. | σ-CCVC  | /e.mpet/  | [ɛ <sup>m</sup> bɛtʔ]               | <i>embet</i>   | 'sharp'        |
| d. | *CCVC-σ | N/A       |                                     |                |                |
| e. | CCCV-σ  | /nkwe.ti/ | [ <sup>ɲ</sup> g <sup>w</sup> e'ri] | <i>nggweri</i> | 'Nggweri' (PN) |
| f. | σ-CCCV  | /ja.nkwi/ | [ja <sup>ɲ</sup> g <sup>w</sup> i]  | <i>yanggwi</i> | 'cockatoo'     |
| g. | σ-CCCVC | /a.nkwom/ | [a <sup>ɲ</sup> g <sup>w</sup> ɔm]  | <i>anggwom</i> | 'his pig'      |

Examples given in (2.30) and (2.31) show the distribution of /nasal + stops/ as the /CC/ phoneme. Examples for labialization and palatalization are few. Consider (2.32) and (2.33).

(2.32) /CC/ labialization and palatalization in monosyllabic words

|    |      |        |                     |             |                |
|----|------|--------|---------------------|-------------|----------------|
| a. | CCV  | /pwi/  | [p <sup>w</sup> i]  | <i>pwi</i>  | 'louse (head)' |
| b. | CCVC | /kwam/ | [k <sup>w</sup> am] | <i>kwam</i> | 'turtle'       |

(2.33) /CC/ labialization and palatalization in disyllabic words

|    |        |           |                        |               |                 |
|----|--------|-----------|------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| a. | CCV-σ  | /kwe.mpa/ | [k <sup>w</sup> ε'mba] | <i>kwemba</i> | 'grass'         |
| b. | σ-CCV  | /pi.kwi/  | [pi'k <sup>w</sup> i]  | <i>pikwi</i>  | 'k.o. pandanus' |
| c. | σ-CCVC | /a.tjok/  | [a'εɔk <sup>ɔ</sup> ]  | <i>acok</i>   | 'his foot'      |

## 2.6 COMPLEX SEQUENCES

Constructions like /ei/ 'up' illustrate a complex syllable structure: a diphthong forming a syllable – captured in Figure 2.7.

Figure 2.7: V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub> is a nucleus forming a diphthong

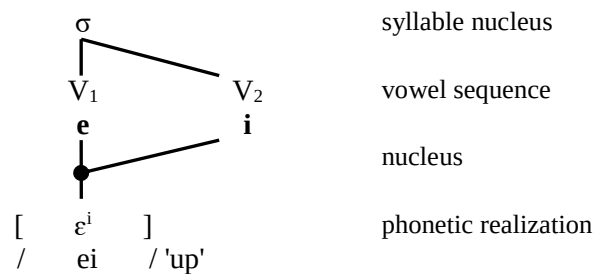


Figure 2.7 represents a falling diphthong (Table 2.3 in §2.1). When two sequences are adjacent in one syllable, a complex sequence is formed. In this structure, a consonantal sequence and a diphthong are adjoined in occupying the onset and nucleus slots, respectively. Such a phenomenon is common in Wano phonology. Consider /mboid/ 'potato' in Figure 2.8 and the second syllables of /i.nkwoid/ 'k.o. banana' in Figure 2.9.

Figure 2.8: Complex sequences of CCVVC

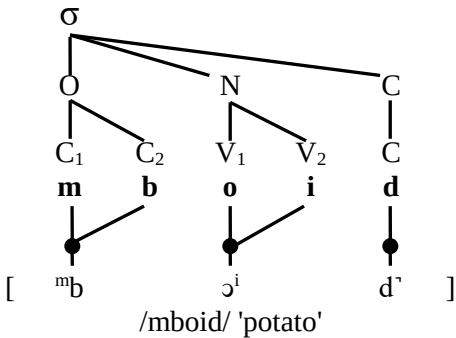
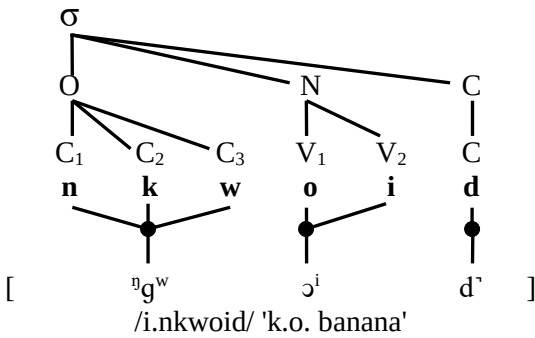


Figure 2.9: Complex sequences of CCCVVC



## 2.7 WORD STRESS

Stress patterns in Wano can be outlined as follows:

Table 2.7:  
Stress patterns

|      |                                     | <i>Disyllabic</i> | <i>Polysyllabic</i> |            |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------|
| i.   | <i>Basic: final-σ</i>               | σ.'σ              | σ.σ.'σ              | σ.σ.σ.'σ   |
| ii.  | <i>Cliticization: penultimate-σ</i> | σ.'σ-σ            | σ.σ.'σ-σ            | σ.σ.σ.'σ-σ |
| iii. | <i>Affixation: final-σ</i>          | σ.σ-'σ            | σ.σ.σ-'σ            | σ.σ.σ.σ-'σ |

The following examples illustrate final stress in multisyllabic words of the basic pattern (Table 2.7i). Nouns of four syllables (2.34c) are rare but are possible.

|        |    |                 |                            |                   |  |               |
|--------|----|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------------|--|---------------|
| (2.34) | a. | σ.'σ            |                            |                   |  |               |
|        |    | /i.no/          | [i'no]                     | <i>ino</i>        |  | 'bread fruit' |
|        |    | /ma.de/         | [ma'de]                    | <i>made</i>       |  | 'arrow'       |
|        |    | /te.bon/        | [te'bon]                   | <i>tebon</i>      |  | 'fly (N)'     |
|        |    | /pa.βuk/        | [pa'βuk]                   | <i>pavuk</i>      |  | 'bush'        |
|        | b. | σ.σ.'σ          |                            |                   |  |               |
|        |    | /i.ne.nek/      | [i'ne'nek]                 | <i>inyenek</i>    |  | 'k.o. bird'   |
|        |    | /ki.ki.tu/      | [ki'ki'ru]                 | <i>kigiru</i>     |  | 'mosquito'    |
|        |    | /ji.βi.βit/     | [ji'βi'βit]                | <i>yivivit</i>    |  | 'butterfly'   |
|        | c. | σ.σ.σ.'σ        |                            |                   |  |               |
|        |    | /na.ka.mpu.tu/  | [na'ka <sup>m</sup> bu'ru] | <i>nagamburu</i>  |  | 'pumpkin'     |
|        |    | /mpu.ti.tja.ja/ | [ <sup>m</sup> buriea'ja]  | <i>mburicaya</i>  |  | 'k.o. yam'    |
|        |    | /ta.mpa.ta.kwi/ | [ta <sup>m</sup> bara'kwi] | <i>tambaragwi</i> |  | 'cricket'     |

In a morphophonological process, however, a penultimate stress is possible because of cliticization (cf. Table 2.7ii), shown in:

|        |    |                |                        |                |                    |
|--------|----|----------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| (2.35) | a. | <i>maduk</i>   | [ma'duk <sup>ˈ</sup> ] | 'bad'          | final stress       |
|        | b. | <i>maduk=a</i> | [ma'duga]              | '(is it) bad?' | penultimate stress |
|        | c. | <i>maduk=a</i> | *[maɖu'ga]             |                | non-native sound   |

Unlike cliticization, stress remains final-syllable in affixation (cf. Table 2.7iii). For instance, a disyllabic noun /pa.βuk/ 'bush' has stress on the second syllable, i.e. /pa.βuk/ 'bush'. When the locative suffix *me* {-me} 'LOC' is affixed to the noun, i.e. /pa.βuk.mu/ 'bush-location', the affix takes the stress, so resulting the word-final stress, i.e. /pa.βuk.'mu/ 'bush-location', as illustrated in:

|        |    |                 |                        |                 |                  |
|--------|----|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (2.36) | a. | <i>pavuk</i>    | [pa'βuk <sup>ˈ</sup> ] | 'bush'          | final stress     |
|        | b. | <i>pavuk-mu</i> | *[pa'βukmu]            |                 | non-native sound |
|        | c. | <i>pavuk-mu</i> | [paβuk'mu]             | 'in (the) bush' | final stress     |

To conclude, Wano stress is always word-final. In terms of cliticization, stress remains in the same syllable, thus resulting in penultimate stress.

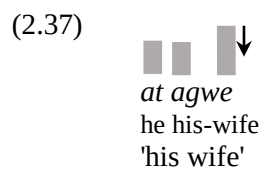
## 2.8 INTONATION

Wano intonation presented here is essentially based on my intuition of Wano suprasegmental features. I will describe various types of Wano utterances like: statements, negations, questions, commands, requests, prohibitive, hortative and interjections. In general, Wano intonation is characterized by: (1) *falling intonation* to (i) mark utterance-final (i.e. end of an utterance), usually accompanied by enclitic {=o} 'pausal' ('PAUS'), (ii) indicate hortative expression as opposed to imperative, (iii)



indicate question with non-compulsory answer, or (iv) an intention to greet someone, (2) *flat intonation* (i.e. considerable length of the same pitch level) at the end of an utterance to indicate clause chaining, usually accompanied by a sudden stop, and (3) *rising intonation* to mark question with compulsory answer and/or to emphasize the question, accompanied by an enclitic {=a} 'question' ('Q'). Wano intonation is best explained along side pitch contours. For conventions referring to levels of pitch and rising/falling intonation, see page xxii.

*Simple statements* in Wano have no falling intonation. Instead, high pitch along side primary stress is utterance-final. For example, the word *agwe* 'his-wife'<sup>19</sup> has stress on the last syllable (cf. §2.7). When a pronoun precedes it: *at agwe* /he his-wife/ 'his wife', the pronoun has the same pitch as the first syllable of *agwe* 'his-wife', thus giving low-low-high pitch pattern for the phrase *at agwe* 'his wife', shown in:

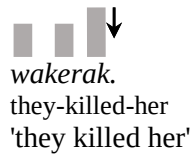


Turning to *wakerak* 'they killed her', the last syllable is stressed while the first two bear no stress. The same low-low-high pitch pattern as that of *at agwe* 'his wife' (2.37) is retained. Consider:

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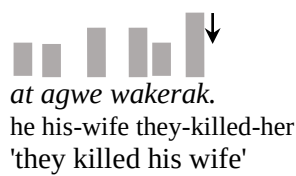
<sup>19</sup> The word *agwe* 'his wife', so glossed, is an inalienably possessed kin term noun, discussed in §3.4.

(2.38)



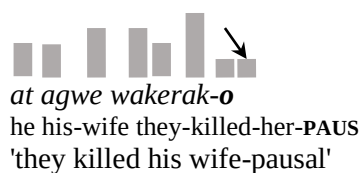
Merging the phrase *at agwe* 'his wife' and the verb *wakerak* 'they killed her' in responding to questions like 'who is she' or 'who did they kill', we have an utterance with pitch contours: low-low-mid-mid-low-high pattern, illustrated in:

(2.39)

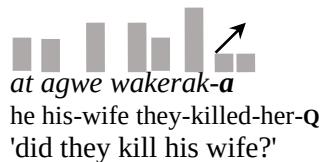


The examples above (2.37-39) show neither falling nor rising intonation. All three utterances are ended with (i) high pitch clause, (ii) primary stress on the last syllable of the last word of the clause, and (iii) flat intonation at the end of the clause. Only when we have either enclitic *-o* 'PAUS' or *-a* 'Q' will we have falling (2.40) and rising (2.41) intonation:

(2.40)



(2.41)



Observe further the following examples:

- (2.42) a.   
*muni nano*  
 that what  
 'what is that?' (non-compulsory answer)
- b.   
*muni nano-a*  
 that what-Q  
 'what is that?' (compulsory answer/emphasize)
- c.   
*muni-a*  
 that-Q  
 (is it) that?
-   
*nengguq-o*  
 I-don't.know-PAUS  
 I don't know!

*Imperative-hortative* distinction is expressed using -o 'PAUS' (cf. (6.35) in §6.5).

- (2.43) a.   
*woraneb yavuk iriak*  
 you.pl-come work do  
 'come, let's do (some) work!' (imperative to you.pl)
- b.   
*woraneb-o yavuk iriak-o*  
 you.pl-come-PAUSAL work do-PAUS  
 'come, let's do (some) work!' (hortative to you.pl)

Rising intonation is insignificant in interrogative utterances with question words.

- (2.44) a.   
*kat ngga nendik*  
 you.sg. **where** you.sg-are-going  
 'where are you.sg going?' (non-compulsory answer/greeting)

- b.   
*kat ngga nendik-a*  
 you.sg. **where** you.sg-are-going-Q  
 'where are you.sg going?' (compulsory answer/emphasize)
- c.   
*nendik-a*  
 you.sg-are-going-Q  
 'where are you.sg going?' (compulsory answer/emphasize)

In general, flat intonation dominantly features Wano utterance, while falling and rising intonation are needed for the purposes outlined above. In clause combination, flat intonation plays key role to mark event continuation. Consider:

- (2.45)   
*at agwe wakerak kanggirak.*  
 he his-wife they-killed-her she-died  
 'they killed his wife (and) she died'

In Wano narrative discourse, tail-head linkage is crucial to maintain the coherency of the discourse. Tail-linkage is typically marked by falling intonation and enclitic -o 'PAUSAL', while head-linkage is usually coded by flat intonation (§11.2). Observe (2.46) where tail-linkage (underlined) is *dik worak wone-o* 'she was not there' and head-linkage (underlined) is *mono kenok* 'in fact':

(2.46)

*T no at agwe wakerak kanggirak nome dik worak wone-o.*  
 T that he his-wife they-killed-her she-died therefore no come-then she-exist-PAUS  
 'As for T, they killed his wife (and) because she died, she wasn't there.'

*mono kenok, ndi yok at eve mono, dik worak we wone-o.*  
like that see-then this now he his-body like that no come-then he-come he-exist-PAUS  
'In fact, in this case, now his family is like that, he has no offspring.'  
 [Text 37: 1.11-12; Burung 2013a: 222, 230; cf. (11.3)]

I will discuss tail-head linkage in §11.2.

## 2.9 ALLOMORPHS

The particle *ta* {ta} is a specifier ('SPEC'), a term used here to cover its three functions: (i) specifier (§6.6.6), (ii) question marker (§3.7.8), and (iii) focus marker (§6.6.6). It has six allomorphs: {pa, ta, ka, ba, da, ra} (cf. Burung 2004: 52-5, 2007b: 47-50). The particle {ta} is realised as allomorphs: {pa, ta, ka} when {ta} follows a homorganic **stop**-final word, as shown in:

- (2.47) **Phonetic realization of the particle {ta} as allomorphs {pa}, {ta}, {ka}**
- a. / ap#ta / > {ap [p]a}  
 ap ta '(a/the) man (specific)' or '(it is a/the) man!'
  - b. / kat#ta / > {kat [t]a}  
 kat ta 'you.sg (are specific)' or '(it is) you.sg!'
  - c. / yok#ta / > {yok [k]a}  
 yok ta 'now (specific)' or '(it is) now!'

To emphasise or to specify that '(it is a) man', {ta} 'SPEC' is attached to {ap} 'man', resulting in /ap ta/, which is phonetically realised ['ap:a], for a possible morphophonological structure {ap#ta}. It is apparent that, in one or the other case, the two /p/s in /pp/ are a result of morpheme sequencing, {ap ta}, and therefore are different in their syllabic status. The preceding /p/ is the coda of the VC syllable {ap} 'man', while the following /p/ is the onset of the CV syllable {pa} which is the allomorph of {ta} 'SPEC'. The same process applied to the allomorphs {ta} and {ka}. Orthographically, the allomorphs {pa}, {ta}, {ka} will be presented *ap ta* '(a/the) man (specific)' or '(it is a) man!', *kat ta* 'you.sg (are, specific) or '(it is) you.sg!' and *yok ta* 'now (specific)' or '(it is) now!'.

The particle {ta} is realised as allomorphs: {ba, da} when {ta} follows a homorganic *nasal*-final word, as shown in:

(2.48) **Phonetic realization of the particle {ta} as allomorphs {ba} and {da}**

- a. /wom#ta / > {wom [b]a}  
*wom ta* '(it is a) pig!'
- b. /an#ta / > {an [d]a}  
*an ta* '(it is) me!'

The sequences /nt/ and /mp/ are realised [ʰd] and [ᵐb] respectively. A quick look may lead us to the conclusion that an overlap between a purely phonological phenomenon and a morphophonological one has taken place. This is not so. The notion of /n + t/ and /m + p/ is a matter of sequencing of phonemes, that is, /NC/ construing a single phonetic realization [ʰC], as in [ʰdi] of /nti/ 'this', [aʰduk] of /a.ntuk/ 'pain' or [ᵐbit]

of /mpit/ 'moon', and [a<sup>m</sup>bit'] of /a.mpit/ 'his sake'. But in the case of {m, n + t}, as in {wom + ta} and {an + ta} above, we have evidence of morpheme sequencing with two phonetic properties, that is [C:C]. This is found across morpheme or word boundaries, as in {...C-C...} or in {...C#C...}. In the case of the allomorphs {ba} and {da}, orthographically, both will be presented *wom ta* '(it is a/the) pig!' and *an ta* '(it is) me!'.

The particle {ta} is realised as an allomorph: {ra} when {ta} follows a **vowel**-final word, as shown in:

(2.49) **Phonetic realization of the particle {ta} as allomorph {ra}**

/ ndi#ta / > {ndi [r]a}  
*ndi ta*

'this (is specific)' or '(it is) this!'

The spelling of *ndi ta* 'this (is specific)' or '(it is) this' is a more logical form than any other, such as: *ndi ra*, *nti ra*, or *nti ta*. This also suggests that, in the Wano orthography, (i) any independent (single) lexeme (its phonological form) should be written in accordance with its surface form (which is accepted by the native speakers of Wano) and (ii) any lexeme that occurs across a word boundary resulting in the changing of its phonetic shape (its morphophonological form) should be written in accordance with its underlying form. More examples follow.

- |        |    |                |           |             |                                                 |
|--------|----|----------------|-----------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| (2.50) | a. | <i>muni ta</i> | /muni#ta/ | {muni [r]a} | 'that (is specific)' or '(it is) that!'         |
|        | b. | <i>nome ta</i> | /nome#ta/ | {nome [r]a} | 'because (of that specific)'                    |
|        | c. | <i>kovu ta</i> | /kovu#ta/ | {kovu [r]a} | 'tomorrow (specific)'<br>or '(it is) tomorrow!' |

The examples in (2.40) shows evidence of a morphophonological feature of /t/ across word boundary. The same holds for word-intervocalically, discussed in §2.2. Consider the examples in (2.4c-d), repeated here in:

(2.51) /t/ is [ɾ] in the \_C\_ slot or syllable-onset in disyllabic words

|    |          |           |              |                   |
|----|----------|-----------|--------------|-------------------|
| a. | /bi.ti/  | [bi'ri]   | <i>biri</i>  | 'white'           |
| b. | /bi.tu/  | [bi'ru]   | <i>biru</i>  | 'lake'            |
| c. | /e.tuk/  | [ɛ'rukʔ]  | <i>eruk</i>  | 'his hair'        |
| d. | /ja.tak/ | [ja'rakʔ] | <i>yarak</i> | 'harvested field' |

This tells us that the phonetic realization of the phoneme /t/ intervocalically, whether word-internally or word boundary (§2.2) and (2.50), is always [ɾ], i.e. voiced alveolar flap, in Wano.

## 2.10 ENCLITIC PARTICLES

Two enclitic particles are found: (i) the pausal marker *-o* {=o} 'PAUS', and (ii) the question marker *-a* {=a}. When an enclitic particle is attached to a *stop*-final word, regressive (or anticipatory) assimilation takes place, as outlined below.

As was asserted in §2.2, (i) phoneme /b/ is realised as [β] intervocalically syllable-coda in cliticization, as shown in (2.52a-b), (ii) phoneme /p/ is realised as: [b] intervocalically syllable-coda in cliticization (2.52c-d).



- (2.52)
- |    |                |           |            |                          |
|----|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------------------|
| a. | <i>naneb-o</i> | [na'nɛβɔ] | {naneb=o}  | 'you.sg come (IMP)!'     |
| b. | <i>naneb-a</i> | [na'nɛβa] | {naneb=a}  | 'can you.sg come (IMP)?' |
| c. | <i>nanop-o</i> | [na'nɔbɔ] | {n-anop=o} | 'my head'                |
| d. | <i>nanop-a</i> | [na'nɔba] | {n-anop=a} | 'is it my head?'         |

In §2.2, /b/ is [bʰ] and /p/ is [pʰ] in word-final position or syllable-coda. In such a distribution, the contrast between /b/ and /p/ is either neutralised to [pʰ] or hardly noticeable. Only when a vowel, which is usually the enclitic -o {=o} 'PAUS', follows is the difference revealed. In this case, lenition takes place in two ways: (i) affecting manner of articulation, i.e. /b/ becomes [β] (2.52a-b) and (ii) affecting voicing, i.e. /p/ becomes [b] (2.52c-d). Orthographically, /b/ is written: **b** and /p/ is written: **p**.

The same holds for the phonemes /d/ and /t/. Thus, /d/ is realised as [j], and /t/ is realised as [ɾ] intervocally syllable-coda in cliticization, as shown in:

- (2.53)
- |    |                |                       |             |                         |
|----|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| a. | <i>deid-o</i>  | ['dɛijɔ]              | {deid=o}    | 'banana'                |
| b. | <i>deid-a</i>  | ['dɛija]              | {deid=a}    | '(is it) banana?'       |
| c. | <i>ambit-o</i> | [a <sup>m</sup> birɔ] | {ø-ambit=o} | 'his sake' or 'for him' |
| d. | <i>ambit-a</i> | [a <sup>m</sup> bira] | {ø-ambit=a} | '(is it) for him'       |

## 2.11 VERBAL INFLECTIONS

Assimilation, elision, epenthesis, and vowel harmony are the features found in verbal morphology.

**Reciprocal** (or coalescent) **assimilation** is attested in morpheme sequencing in the structure of /n + k/, given in Figure 2.10.

Figure 2.10:

**Assimilation of *n* and *k***

---

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \{ \text{NASAL} + \text{C} \} & \rightarrow & [{}^N\text{C}] \\
 | \quad \quad | & & | \\
 \text{n} \quad \quad \text{k} & \rightarrow & {}^n\text{g}
 \end{array}$$


---

In the following example, the verb root for 'die' is *kan* {kan-}, an *-n* type (see chapter 4 for details on verb conjugational types). When it occurs in a realis verb form, reciprocal assimilation unfolds between /n/ and the realis marker /k/ {k} 'REAL'. This affects points of articulation and voicing, resulting in the phonetic realization as in Figure 2.10: /n/ is [ŋ] and /k/ is [g]; in coalescence, they become [ʎg] – cf. §2.5 and §2.6.

- (2.54) *kanggirak*  
 {kan-**k**-it-ak}  
 [kaŋ-**g**-ir-'ak']  
 die-REAL-3s.SBJ-then  
 'he died (and) then'

When two consonants are juxtaposed across a morpheme boundary, **syncopal elision** (the omission of the preceding segment) is commonly attested, as shown in Figure 2.11.

Figure 2.11

**Consonantal syncopal elision**

---

|    |                                             |   |                                            |
|----|---------------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------------|
| a. | { ... C <sub>1</sub> + C <sub>2</sub> ... } | → | [ ...C <sub>1</sub> + C <sub>2</sub> ... ] |
|    |                                             |   |                                            |
|    | t      k                                    |   | elided  k                                  |

|    |                                            |   |                                           |
|----|--------------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------------|
| b. | {... N <sub>1</sub> + N <sub>2</sub> ... } | → | [ ...N <sub>1</sub> + N <sub>2</sub> ...] |
|    |                                            |   |                                           |
|    | n      m, n                                |   | elided  m, n                              |

---

For instance, the verb stem for 'roast' is *tat* {tat-}, a -*t* type. When it is expressed in realis mode, the /t/ is elided preceding /k/ 'REAL', resulting in the phonetic realization as in Figure 2.11a, with examples in (2.55a). Similarly, in Figure 2.11b, the preceding /n/ is omitted when followed by a nasal, i.e. /m, n/, as in Figure 2.11b, with examples in (2.55b-c).

- (2.55)
- a. *takirak*  
{tat-**k**-it-ak}  
[ta -**k**-ir-'ak']  
roast-REAL-3s.SBJ-then  
'he roasted (and) then'
  - b. *kambi*  
{kan-**mpi**}  
[ka -'mbi]  
die-curse  
'die due to a curse'
  - c. *wanuk*  
{wan-**nuk**}  
[wa -'nuk']  
take-next  
'after taking ...'

A prothetic vowel is often encountered which has its effect on the morphology. Take the sequential suffix *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'next' in (2.55c), for instance. Although it is not commonly found, its occurrence as an independent element following a noun phrase is possible. In such circumstances, **epenthesis** occurs. The phrase *Tiagai enok* 'after Tiagai, ...' from an oral text gives evidence of epenthesis in the following example.

- (2.56) *Tiagai enok, Kembu omarib muni nggigit*  
 tiagai **enok** | kembu ø-marib muni nkikit  
 PN next PN 3s-bottom that pull out
- wu nouguarik ta, ...*  
 w-u n-ou-k-uat-ik ta |  
 com-3p.SBJ go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG SPEC  
 'After Tiagai, they were coming along/from the foot of the Kembu mountain ..'  
 [Text 35: 4; Burung 2013a: 277-8, 236]

This phenomenon is, however, stylistic. Evidence suggests that *enok* 'next' in the given phrase in (2.56) is possible without the epenthesis. See the following example of the same text by the same narrator for the noun phrase *Acodi nok* 'after Acodi, ...' in:

- (2.57) *ando ta, ou acodi nok mbonggu, ...*  
 anto ta | ou atjodi **nok** mpon-k-u ...  
 other SPEC down PN **then** cut-REAL-PL.SBJ ...  
 'As for others, they went down (*lit.* 'cut down) to Acodi, ...'  
 [Text 35: 2.12; Burung 2013a: 230, 239]

Likewise, the sequential *ak* {-ak} 'then' adds an obligatory /j/ when it stands alone in a discourse, yielding *yak* {jak} 'then', as shown in:

- (2.58)     ...     ...     **yak**     yuk-o     tetik-o.  
               ...     ...     **jak**     jot-k=o     t-et-ik=o \  
               ...     ...     then     say-REAL=PAUS     intend-1s.SBJ-PROG-PAUS  
               '..., their staying in caves, I will tell that later.'  
[Text 37: 1.1; Burung 2013a: 220, 228]

In verbal inflection, **vowel harmony** is also attested. In this respect, both progressive and regressive (or anticipatory) assimilation are attested as outlined in Figure 2.12.

Figure 2.12

**Realization of vowel harmony**

---

|    |                                                                                |             |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| a. | {... V <sub>1</sub> C V <sub>2</sub> ...} → [V <sub>1</sub> C V <sub>1</sub> ] | Progressive |
| b. | {... V <sub>1</sub> C V <sub>2</sub> ...} → [V <sub>2</sub> C V <sub>2</sub> ] | Regressive  |

---

V<sub>1</sub> in Figure 2.12a are /i, o/ and V<sub>2</sub> are /e, o, u/ pertaining to the compositions given in (2.59) as found in the verb for 'do'.

- (2.59)     a.     / i C e /     →     [ ε C ε ]  
               b.     / i C o /     →     [ ɔ C ɔ ]  
               c.     / o C u /     →     [ u C u ]

The root for the verb 'do' is *it-*. When inflected, it can phonetically surface as *e-*, *o-*, and *u-* as shown in (2.60a-c). The 'singular marker' is signalled by *-e* or *-o*. When 'singular' is marked by /e/, /i/ in the verb root becomes /e/, as in (2.60a). When singular is indicated by /o/, the vowel of the root becomes /o/ (2.60b). The number for 'plural' is marked by /u/. When this occurs, /i/ of the verb root becomes /u/ (2.60c).

- (2.60) a. **eke**  
 it-k-e  
 ε -k-'ε  
 do-REAL-3s.SBJ.PROG  
 'one is/was doing'
- b. **oko**  
 it-k-o  
 ɔ -k-'ɔ  
 do-REAL-3s.SBJ  
 'one did'
- c. **uku**  
 it-k-u  
 u -k-'u  
 do-REAL-3p.SBJ  
 'some did'

In terms of progressive harmonic assimilation, Figure 2.13, the property of V<sub>1</sub> is restricted to /u/, and V<sub>2</sub> is /o/ as shown in the following construction.

Figure 2.13

**Progressive assimilation in vowel harmony**

---

/ u C o / → [ u C u ]

---

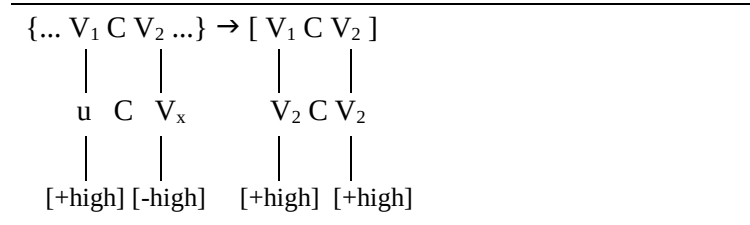
In general, this feature is found in verbs ending with a vowel. Consider (2.61) for instance. The root for the existential verb 'exist' is *won* {won-}. The 'singular' is marked by /e/, thus *won-e* 'one exists'. When 'plural' is given, we have *wun-u* 'some exist'.

- |                 |              |
|-----------------|--------------|
| (2.61) SINGULAR | PLURAL       |
| <i>wone</i>     | <i>wunu</i>  |
| won-e           | won-u        |
| wɔn-ε           | wun-u        |
| 'one exists'    | 'some exist' |

Finally, a vowel with the [-high] feature becomes [+high] when preceded by /u/. This is structured in Figure 2.14, where V<sub>x</sub> means 'any vowel', and illustrated by a derived personal name in (2.62).

Figure 2.14

**Vowel harmony with u**



- (2.62) **tavuni**  
 tavu    ne  
 ta'βu   ni  
 tobacco S.REF  
 'Tavuni (PN)'

## 2.12 REDUPLICATION

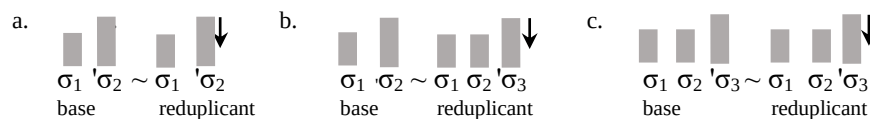
Wano may reduplicates adjectives, nouns and verbs in full or prefixal form to express: (i) 'of ADJ status quo', (i.e. 'of state in which', or 'of state of affairs'), (ii) 'intensity', (iii) 'manner adverb', (iv) 'constancy/continuation, iterative and/or persistence', and (v) 'reciprocal state of beneficiary'.

Reduplication of **adjectives** may take full form to express 'of ADJ status quo', i.e. 'of state in which' or 'of state of affairs' (2.63):

- (2.63) *tu maduk me yanduk maduk me apik maduk~maduk-o*  
 way bad and bridge bad and all *of*-bad~bad-status quo-PAUSAL  
 '(the) road (is) bad and (the) bridge (is) bad, all (are) of bad condition-PAUSAL'

Reduplicative elements have no prosodic effect. Stress remains word-final with consistent intonational pattern in both the base form and the reduplicant (Figure 2.15a) as we observe words like: {*ma'duk~ma'duk*} 'of bad condition' (2.63), {*ye'dok~ye'dok*} 'of big thing', {*ko'de~ko'de*} 'of old age', {*ta'we~ta'we*} 'of young age', among others.

Figure 2.15  
**Suprasegmental features of reduplication**



Examples in (2.63) and (2.64) show that adjectival reduplication is *syllable-onset* reduplication ({ $\sigma.O$ -RED}). When the reduplicant's first syllable onset of any consonant (i.e. {/C/}) is changed to {/p/}, the phoneme /p/ functions to indicate intensity:

- |        |                                       |                                              |
|--------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| (2.64) | Reduplicant's $\sigma$ -onset is {C}  | Reduplicant's $\sigma$ -onset is {p}         |
|        | <i>maduk~maduk</i> 'of bad condition' | <i>maduk~/p/aduk</i> 'of very bad condition' |
|        | <i>yedok~yedok</i> 'of big thing'     | <i>yedok~/p/edok</i> 'of very big thing'     |
|        | <i>kode~kode</i> 'of old age'         | <i>kode~/p/ode</i> 'of very old age'         |
|        | <i>tawe~tawe</i> 'of young age'       | <i>tawe~/p/awe</i> 'of very young age'       |
|        | {C} stands for any consonant          | {p} stands for phoneme /p/                   |



The insertion of /p/ is possible only for multisyllabic adjectives as {*bok~bok*} 'of good thing' and {*beq~beq*} 'of little thing' are ungrammatical as \*{*bok~/p/ok*} and \*{*beq~/p/eq*}. These monosyllabic adjectives will then need the intensifier {*ki*} 'very' to mark intensity: {*bok~bok ki*} 'of very good thing' and {*beq~beq ki*} 'of very little thing'. Nevertheless, {*maduk~paduk ki*} 'of very-very bad thing' is possible even though it is considered an exaggeration. To a lesser degree, in the counting system, {*mbere*} 'two' is reduplicated: {*mbere~mbere*} for 'four'. Neither \*{*mbere~/p/ere*} nor \*{*mbere~mbere ki*} is possible.

Reduplication of **nouns** is restricted to *experiential-events* type of inalienable nouns, which are *physiological* and *cognitive* nouns (§3.4.4, §7.2).<sup>20</sup> The construction of **physiological** reduplication is like that of the adjectival ones, i.e. {*σ.O-RED*} but with slightly different semantic function, i.e. 'continuation of being in status quo'. Consider:

- (2.65)    a.    *anduk*  
                      3s-pain  
                      (i) 'he/she (is) in pain' (ii) 'he/she (is) sick'
- b.    *anduk~anduk*  
                      3s-pain~3s-pain  
                      (i) 'he/she keeps on (being) in pain'  
                      (ii) 'he/she keeps on (being) sick'

---

<sup>20</sup> Experiential events, as sub-division of inalienable nouns, include words related to physiological and cognitive domains. Detailed discussion on the notion is given in §3.4.4 and §7.2.

- c. *anduk~panduk*  
 3s-pain~very-pain  
 (i) 'he/she keeps on (being) in a lot of pain'  
 (ii) 'he/she keeps on (being) very sick'
- d. \**panduk* but *anduk ki*  
 3s-pain very  
 (i) 'he/she (is) in a lot of pain' (ii) 'he/she (is) very sick'

Thus: *nanduk ki* 'I (am) very sick', *nanduk-panduk* 'I keep on (being) very sick', but *kinyanduk-panduk* 'you.pl keep on (being) in a lot of pain' instead of \**kinyanduk~pinyanduk* as we might expect.

Reduplication of **cognitive nouns** is meant to express (i) 'continuation of being in status quo' and (ii) 'reciprocal state of beneficiary'. It also takes the {*σ.O-RED*} pattern, where the onset can be a zero element (∅) that marks '3s'.

- (2.66) *abua*  
 3s-love  
 (a) *lit.* 'his/her love'  
 (b) 'love him/her' or 'pity on him/her' or 'sorry for him/her'  
 (c) '[AGT] love(s) her/him'

Examples in (2.66b) are pragmatic use we may encounter in Wano daily interaction, and (2.66c) is a free translation for 'he/she loves her/him'. The zero onset [AGT] can be replaced by any of: {n-} '1s', {k-} '2s', {iny-} '3p', {niny-} '1p' and {kiny-} '2p' (see Table 3.1). When *abua* '3s-love' is reduplicated, we have:

- (2.67) a. *abua~abua*  
 3s-love~3s-love  
 (i) 'he/she keeps on (being) in love with him/her'  
 (ii) 'they keep on (being) in love with each other'
- b. *abua~pabua*  
 3s-love~very-love  
 (i) 'he/she keeps on (being) much in love with him/her'  
 (ii) 'they keep on (being) much in love with each other'

as well as:

- (2.68) *abua~kabua*  
 3s-love~2s-love  
 (i) 'he/she keeps on (being) in love with you.sg'  
 (ii) 'he/she (and) you.sg keep on (being) in love with each other'  
 (iii) 'you.pl keep on (being) in love with each other'

The switched position of person markers does not change the meaning, thus:

*kabua~abua* is like *abua~kabua* (2.68). Consider further:

- (2.69) *nabua~abua*  
1s-love~3s-love  
 (i) 'I keep on (being) in love with him/her'  
 (ii) 'I (and) he/she keep on (being) in love with each other'  
 (iii) 'we keep on (being) in love with each other'

and

- (2.70) *inyabua~abua*  
3p-love~3s-love  
 (i) 'they keep on (being) in love with him/her'  
 (ii) 'they (and) he/she keep on (being) in love with each other'  
 (iii) 'they keep on (being) in love with each other'

The intensity of /p/ in the reduplication form may be expressed by intensifier {*ki*} 'very':

- (2.71)     *abua~abua ki* (cf. 2.67)  
             3s-love~3s-love very  
             (i) 'he/she keeps on (being) in much love with him/her'  
             (ii) 'they keep on (being) in much love with each other'

The form \*/*p/abua* on its own is impermissible (cf. (2.65d)).

Reduplication of **verbs** is limited to the *sub-t* verb class (§4.1.5)<sup>21</sup> and has *syllable-nucleus(coda)* reduplication, i.e. { $\sigma.N(C)$ -RED} (or VC-reduplication): *worak-wororak* (2.65), *pirek~parek* (2.66) and *nuk~nak* '(2.67) to express manner adverb. Further discussion on verbal reduplication is given in §4.8.

## 2.13 PHONOLOGICAL LOANS

This section is based on Burung (2007b, chapter 10). I will discuss phonological adaptation of Melayu-Papua<sup>22</sup> by Wano speakers, referring to van Coetsem's (1988: 7) term **phonological loan**: "to indicate any form of loan in the realm of segmental or suprasegmental phonology, regardless of whether it affects the paradigmatic

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<sup>21</sup> Wano has four major conjugational verb classes: *-t*, *sub-t*, *-d*, *-n* and *-vocalic* verbs (§4.1.5 and §4.8).

<sup>22</sup> Also known as Papuan Malay. For an in-depth reference grammar of the language, see Kluge (2017, 2014).

dimension, the syntagmatic dimension or both". I limit myself to *loan-phonemes* and *word stress* only. In van Coetsem's term (ibid.), recipient language (*RL*-agentivity) takes place if the *RL* speaker is the agent, using some source language (*SL*) words while speaking his/her own language. This is the case of **borrowing**. *SL*-agentivity occurs, however, when the agent is the *SL* speaker using his/her native articulatory while speaking *RL*. This is the case of **imposition**. The discussion hereunder is regarding *RL*-agentivity. Data observed for Melayu-Papua words with their segmental and suprasegmental behaviours are based on my native intuition of the language. The term Melayu-Papua is used in a broad sense without considering dialectal differences. The introduction and spread of Melayu-Papua to Wano community took place through: (i) the influence of various foreign missionaries, mostly Westerners who, at the first contact, used "foreigner-based" Indonesian as a lingua franca, and (ii) native speakers of Melayu-Papua who played key roles in introducing new words where government posts are found. I will discuss each phoneme by first describing its phonetic status in the *SL*, i.e. Melayu-Papua, and then showing its new phonetic status in the *RL*, i.e. Wano. These phonemes are: /b, d, g, h, l, s/. The characteristics of stress will be presented when needed. Word stress in Wano is syllable-final, while penultimate in Melayu-Papua. Consider Figure 2.16:

Figure 2.16: **Phonological loans in Wano: Phonetic realization and distribution**

|     | MELAYU-PAPUA |     |      | WANO      |              |            |
|-----|--------------|-----|------|-----------|--------------|------------|
|     | #C_          | _C_ | _C#  | #C_       | _C_          | _C#        |
| /b/ | [b]          | [b] | [pʰ] | [ḃ, ṹb]   | [ḃ]          | [bʰ]       |
| /d/ | [d]          | [d] | [tʰ] | [ḋ, ṹd]   | [ḋ]          | [dʰ]       |
| /g/ | [g]          | [g] | Ø    | [k, ṹg]   | [ɣ]          | Ø          |
| /h/ | [h]          | [h] | [h]  | Ø         | [Ø, ɣ]       | Ø          |
| /l/ | [l]          | [l] | [l]  | [d] ~ [l] | [ḋ, ɾ] ~ [l] | [dʰ] ~ [l] |
| /s/ | [s]          | [s] | [s]  | [ɕ, t]    | [ɕ]          | [tʰ]       |

**Phoneme /b/** in Melayu-Papua is: (i) [b], voiced bilabial plosive syllable-onset, and (ii) [pʰ], unreleased voiceless word-finally. It is either [ḃ], voiced bilabial implosive, or [ṹb], pre-nasalized /p/ in Wano. Thus: *bapa* 'father' is [ḃapa] in Melayu-Papua, is pronounced either [ḃapa] or [ṹbapa] in Wano. Here, Melayu-Papua penultimate stress is retained. In word-medial position, pre-nasalization is unattested. The name *Habel* 'Abel' is [habel] in Melayu-Papua and is [aḋedʰ], but \*[aṹḃedʰ] in Wano. Rarely, in word-final position, *sebab* 'because' is [sɛbapʰ] in Melayu-Papua but is [tɛḃabʰ] in Wano. For the last two cases, stress is switched from the penultimate to the final syllable in Wano.

**Phoneme /d/** in Melayu-Papua is (i) [d], voiced alveolar plosive syllable-onset, and (ii) [tʰ], unreleased voiceless alveolar plosive word-finally. In Wano, it is (i) either [ḋ], voiced alveolar implosive syllable-onset, or pre-nasalized [ṹd], pre-nasalized voiced alveolar plosive syllable-onset, and (ii) [dʰ], unreleased voiced alveolar plosive word-finally. For instance, word-initially, the Melayu-Papua *dari* 'from' is [ḋari] but is either [ḋari] or [ṹḋari] in Wano. Likewise, *domba* 'sheep' is [ḋomba] in

Melayu-Papua but is [ɖᵐba] or [ᵐba] in Wano. In word-medial position, /d/ is sometimes [ɾ] instead of [d], as found in *Yahudi* 'Jews' which is [ja'hudi] in Melayu-Papua but is either [jau'di] or [jaɣu'ri] in Wano. This, however, is not always the case since we find that *Adam* 'Adam' is ['adam] in Melayu-Papua and [a'dam] in Wano, but \*[a'ram] is unattested. In word-final position, *maksud* 'intend' is ['maksut'] in Melayu-Papua and [ma'tud'] in Wano. Stress switching, i.e. penultimate to final syllable, takes place.

**Phoneme /g/** in Melayu-Papua is [g], voiced velar plosive word-initially, but it is either devoiced [k], or pre-nasalized [ᵑg] in Wano. Words like *guru* 'teacher' is ['guru] in Melayu-Papua but it is [ku'ru] or [ᵑgu'ru] in Wano, with stress switched. In word-medial position, it is velar fricative [ɣ] in Wano, like *agar* 'in order to' which is ['agar] in Melayu-Papua but [a'ɣar] and not \*[a'kar] nor \*[aᵐgar] in Wano. Here, the stress is switched.

**Phoneme /h/** in Melayu-Papua is [h], glottal fricative syllable-onset, i.e. may be found in word initial and medial positions only. Examples are mostly the Indonesian loans of proper nouns, introduced through Melayu-Papua. Wano lacks the sounds in all positions but may substitute it with [ɣ] word-medially. In a word-initial position, for instance, *Herodes* 'Herod' in Melayu-Papua is [he'rɔdes], but [ɛrɔ'det'] in Wano. In word-medial position, *Yahudi* 'Jews' is [ja'hudi] in Melayu-Papua and [jaɣu'ri] in Wano (see discussion on /d/ above). Likewise, *Rahab* 'Rahab' is ['rahap'] in Melayu-

Papua, but [ra'ɣabʔ] in Wano. Regarding stress, Melayu-Papua is penultimate, and Wano is on the final syllable.

**Phoneme /l/** in Melayu-Papua is an alveolar lateral approximant, [l], found in all positions. In Wano, it is realised as [d] word-initially, either [d] or [r] word-medially, and [dʔ] word-finally. Melayu-Papua [ˈlukas] for *Lukas* 'Luke', is [dʊˈkatʔ], but \*[ruˈkatʔ] in Wano. In a medial-position, [ˈgula] for *gula* 'sugar' in Melayu-Papua, is [kuˈra] or [ʔguˈra], but \*[kuˈdʌ] or [ʔguˈdʌ]. In final position, we have [ˈbatal] for *batal* 'cancel' in Melayu-Papua. In Wano, it can be [ʁaˈtadʔ] or [ˈbaˈtadʔ]. Both final stress and penultimate stress are allowed in this instance. Thus, [ˈkura], [ʔgura], [ˈbatadʔ] and [ˈbaˈtadʔ] are possible. It is also observed that /l/ is more adaptable than the other loan phonemes, since we may find [luˈkatʔ], [ʔguˈla], [kuˈla] or [ˈbaˈtal] among young speakers. When /l/ is followed by /d/, for instance, we will find /d/ remains [d] while /l/ changes to either [d] or [r] or remains [l]. The proper noun *Magdalena* 'Magdalene', for instance, may be pronounced: [...d...d...], [...d...r...], [...d...l...] but \* [...r...d...] or \* [...l...d...].

**Phoneme /s/** in Melayu-Papua is a voiceless alveolar fricative, [s], found in all positions. In Wano it could [ɕ], palatal fricative or [t], alveolar plosive word-initially, [ɕ] word-medially, and [tʔ] word-finally. Melayu-Papua *surat* 'letter' is [ˈsʊrat]. It is [ɕuˈratʔ] or [tuˈratʔ] in Wano. Likewise, *Isak* 'Isaac' is [iˈɕakʔ] or, rarely [iˈtakʔ], and *emas* 'gold' is [ɛˈmatʔ] in Wano. When a syllable includes /s/ in both onset and coda



positions, the onset element takes either [ɛ] or [t] while the coda can only take [t]. Thus, *Yeṣuṣ* 'Jesus' is [ʔjɛṣuṣ] in Melayu-Papua, while either [jɛ'ɛut̚] or [jɛ'tut̚] is found in Wano.

In conclusion, even though full nativization is dubious, phonological change may happen through two stages as the language grows: First, in the use of loanwords, interchange between the following sounds will take place: (i) implosive and plosive stops, (ii) stops and pre-nasalized stops, (iii) sibilant /s/ and affricate /tj/ and/or unreleased stops like /t/, (iv) insertion and elision of glottal fricative /h/, (v) penultimate and final syllable stress. Second, not only in the use of loanwords, but Wano phonology in general will gradually (i) lose implosive stops, (ii) nasals and pre-nasalized stops will depart from each other, (iii) likewise, sibilant /s/ and affricate /tj/ and unreleased stops will be lost, (iv) either lose or retain glottal fricative /h/, and (v) penultimate stress will be a dominant feature over final syllable stress.

## **2.14 SUMMARY**

This chapter has outlined the morphophonology of Wano.

In §2.1 and §2.2, it was noted that, regarding place of articulation, the consonantal phonemes include (i) five bilabials, (ii) three alveolars, (iii) one palatal, (iv) one

velar, i.e. /β/, and (v) a glottal stop. Concerning manner of articulation, (i) six stops, (ii) two nasals, (iii) one fricative, and (iv) two approximants, are attested. Out of these eleven consonantal phonemes, there are twenty-four allophones, including two implosives, which are [ɓ] and [ɗ]. Nine phonetic realizations of coalescent assimilation include: (i) three pre-nasalized consonants, (ii) two palatalized consonants, (iii) three labialized consonants, and (iv) one labialized pre-nasalized consonant. The five vocalic phonemes are /i, e, a, o, u/, where seven diphthongs made up of one rising-diphthong and six falling-diphthongs are found (§2.1 and §2.3).

In terms of syllabification, Wano has both light syllables and heavy syllables, where all consonants can either be an onset or a coda, except the two approximants cannot be a coda. This was discussed in §2.4.

Stress is non-phonemic but plays a role in syllable breaking (§2.7). As was pointed out in §2.3, stress plays a key role in determining whether a vowel sequence ( $V_1V_2$ ), (i) forms separate syllable nuclei, or (ii) forms a diphthong.

Intonation was described in §2.8. It is characterized by: (1) *falling intonation* to denote (i) utterance-final, (ii) hortative as opposed to imperative, (iii) a question with non-compulsory answer, or (iv) an intention to greet someone, (2) *flat intonation* to indicate clause chaining, and (3) *rising intonation* to mark a question with a

compulsory answer and/or to emphasize the question. Wano intonation is best explained along side pitch contours.

Six allomorphic variants of the morpheme {ta} 'SPEC', were discussed in §2.9, followed by discussion on enclitic particles in §2.10: {=o} 'pausal' and {=a} 'question'. In §2.11, four features of verbal morphology including (i) assimilation, (ii) elision, (iii) epenthesis, and (iv) vowel harmony, were discussed.

Reduplication was discussed in §2.12. Wano allows full and prefixal reduplication in the forms of {*ROOT*-RED}, {*σ.O*-RED} and {*σ.N(C)*-RED} to express: 'of ADJ status quo', 'intensity', 'manner adverb', 'constancy/continuation, iterative and/or persistence', 'reciprocal state of beneficiary' and 'counting'. Only nouns, verbs and adjectives may undergo reduplication. Nouns are restricted to experiential events which are further subdivided into physiological and cognitive nouns. Verbs are limited to the *sub-t* verb class. The prosodic features of reduplication are consistent: stress is final, and intonation has the flat-flat-high pitch pattern.

Finally, phonological change due to Melayu-Papua loans was discussed in §2.13, in terms of *RL*-agentivity. It was suggested that Wano may lose implosive sounds. The claim, however, needs further investigation. New phonemes: /b, d, g, h, l, s/ from Melayu-Papua are merging into Wano and will soon be in the phonological inventory of the language. Full nativization, however, remains questionable.



### 3.1 BACKGROUND

This chapter describes the structural and distributional properties of nouns and noun phrases in Wano. It is organised as follows: §3.2 defines the differences between alienably possessed nouns and inalienably possessed nouns, §3.3 provides a description of alienable nouns, §3.4 presents a description of inalienable nouns, §3.5 describes inalienably marked words, §3.6 briefly presents locative markers, §3.7 observes the structural properties of noun phrases, §3.8 describes proper nouns, §3.9 presents compounding, and §3.10 talks about the counting system in Wano.

Wano allows both **free** and **bound pronouns**, each with a set of six members expressing person/number (1, 2, 3/sg, pl) distinction. There is no inclusive-exclusive distinction. In the free pronouns, there is a correlation of the vocalic phoneme /a/ with singular and /i/ with plural. Both free and bound pronouns have the correlation of the consonantal phoneme /n/ with first person, /k/ with second person and the zero morpheme (indicated by the  $\emptyset$  symbol) with the third person. The vocalic phoneme is not found in the set of inalienable bound pronouns, because all inalienable forms start with a vowel, the plural marker is *iny* {-in} which is immediately suffixed to the person prefixes. This is outlined in Table 3.1:

*Table 3.1*  
**Wano Personal Pronouns**

|       | <u>SINGULAR</u> |            |             | <u>PLURAL</u> |             |            |
|-------|-----------------|------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|------------|
|       | 1               | 2          | 3           | 1             | 2           | 3          |
| FREE  | <i>an</i>       | <i>kat</i> | <i>at</i>   | <i>nit</i>    | <i>kit</i>  | <i>it</i>  |
| BOUND | <i>n</i>        | <i>K</i>   | <i>zero</i> | <i>niny</i>   | <i>kiny</i> | <i>iny</i> |
|       | {n-}            | {k-}       | {ø-}        | {nin-}        | {kin-}      | {in-}      |

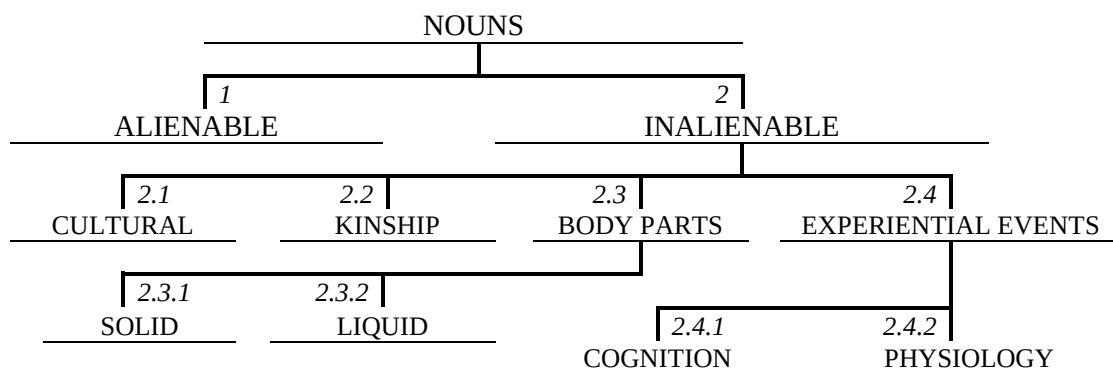
This set of personal pronouns does not vary in accordance with grammatical function. In general, free pronouns may take on the role of transitive Subject (A), intransitive Subject (S), transitive Object (DO), or Beneficiary (IO/BEN). Bound pronouns may function as (i) DO/IO/BEN, or (ii) possessor (POSS).

**Nouns** are linguistic elements that form an open word class of a language. Regarding their grammatical roles, nouns are heads of noun phrases, and arguments that functions either as subject or object of clause nucleus. For their structural properties, nouns usually take possessive and/or plural affixes, as opposed to verbs that take tense-aspect-mood and person markers. In general, nouns may be distinguished in terms of (i) common-proper relation, (ii) non-count/mass-count relation, and (iii) concrete-abstract relation. Common nouns are those denoting some 'general concept' (Crystal 2008: 89), while proper nouns are those denoting individual names such as people, places, dates and periods of time (Cruse 2007: 142-3). Count nouns are separable and countable entities that can be individuated, e.g. chairs, tables. They have observable reference. Mass nouns are continuous and uncountable entities that cannot be individuated, e.g. *chairs*, *tables*, *furniture*. They lack observable reference (Crystal 2008: 119-20; Cruse 2006: 32; Evans 2007: 13). Givón (2001: 57-8) observes that the non-count/mass-count relation, at least in English, may be

subdivided into: (ii.a) concrete-mass-count, and (ii.b) abstract-mass-count. For details on the above types of nouns and their examples, see, among others: Payne (1997; 2006); Weiss et.al. (2000); Croft (2003); Barner and Snedeker (2005); Kroeger (2005); Cruse (2006); Aikhenvald (2007); Andrews (2007, 1985); Bickel and Nichols (2007); Dryer (2007); Foley (2007); Kärkkäinen et.al. (2007); Noonan (2007, 1985); Schachter and Shopen (2007); and Papagno et.al. (2009).

The internal structure of nouns in Wano includes possessive prefixes, plural suffixes (PL) and locative suffixes (LOC). The first two mentioned will be discussed in §3.2 and the latter in §3.6. I will describe Wano nouns by first considering their possessiveness, since the language differentiates *alienably possessed nouns* from *inalienably possessed nouns* in their structural and distributional properties. Figure 3.1 summarizes the typology of possessive nouns in Wano, whereby nouns are divided into **alienably possessed nouns** (APN) and **inalienably possessed nouns** (IPN) – cf. §7.2.

Figure 3.1  
Typology of possessive nouns in Wano



Further subdivisions of inalienably possessed nouns are lexical items denoting cultural and kinship terms, as well as those terms for body parts and experiential events. Terms for body parts are divided into solid and liquid types of properties, while those for experiential events are categorised into terms connected with the cognitive sphere and physiological domain.

In this study, hereafter, I will shorten the term *alienably possessed nouns* to **alienable nouns**, and *inalienably possessed nouns* to **inalienable nouns** while retaining their abbreviations: APN and IPN. I will first distinguish these two categories of nouns.

### 3.2 ALIENABILITY AND INALIENABILITY

The differences between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns, in Wano, can be explained as follows.

Firstly, in terms of the abstract-concrete relation, abstract nouns are not found as alienable nouns. In terms of the common-proper relation, proper nouns are unattested as inalienable nouns. I will further consider this in §3.2.1.

Secondly, alienable nouns and inalienable nouns can be distinguished with respect to their lexical forms. Alienable nouns include both consonant-initial and vowel-initial



words, like *tavo* 'tobacco'<sup>23</sup> and *abui* 'possum'. Inalienable nouns, on the other hand, are restricted to vowel-initial words, such as *abut* 'his-child' and *ova* 'his-father'. I will discuss this in §3.2.2.

Thirdly, alienable nouns and inalienable nouns are different in their plural coding, concerning common, countable and concrete nouns. Alienable nouns are pluralised by numeral modifying, whilst inalienable nouns are pluralised by suffixation. I will investigate this in §3.2.3.

Fourthly, regarding their possessive constructions, alienable nouns use a prefixal vowel-insertion strategy, while inalienable nouns use vocalic bound prefixes. I will discuss this in §3.2.4.

Lastly, as I will show in §3.2.5, while both alienable nouns and inalienable nouns are the head of noun phrases, only the latter can be the head of a clause.

### **3.2.1 Nominal generalisation**

The first distinction we can make between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns is by their nominal generalisation. Regarding the abstract-concrete relation, abstract nouns are not found as alienable nouns. Concerning the common-proper relation, proper nouns are not attested as inalienable nouns, as outlined in Table 3.2. The

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<sup>23</sup> The time tobacco was introduced to Papua, specifically to Wano, is uncertain.

abbreviations are: AN means 'abstract nouns', CM 'common nouns', CN 'countable nouns', CON 'concrete nouns', MN 'mass nouns', PN 'proper nouns'.

*Table 3.2*

**Nominal generalisation of alienable nouns (APN) and inalienable nouns (IPN) in Wano**

| NOUNS | CM | PN  | MN | CN | AN  | CON |
|-------|----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|
| APN   | ✓  | ✓   | ✓  | ✓  | N/A | ✓   |
| IPN   | ✓  | N/A | ✓  | ✓  | ✓   | ✓   |

Referring to Table 3.2, the alienable *yugum* 'stone', and the inalienable *ova* 'his-father' are examples of common, countable and concrete nouns. In terms of mass nouns, we have examples like *i* 'water' for the alienable nouns, and *adian* 'his-blood' for the inalienable nouns. For the abstract nouns in Wano, there are only examples of inalienable nouns, such as *abua* 'his-love' and *anduk* 'his-pain'. Lastly, the proper nouns can only be expressed as alienable nouns, e.g. *mirib* is a clan name in Wano. These examples are outlined in (3.1).

|       |                          |    |    |    |    |    |     |
|-------|--------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| (3.1) | NOUNS                    | CM | PN | MN | CN | AN | CON |
|       | <b>Alienable nouns</b>   |    |    |    |    |    |     |
|       | <i>yugum</i> 'stone'     | ✓  |    |    | ✓  | ✗  | ✓   |
|       | <i>i</i> 'water'         |    |    | ✓  |    | ✗  |     |
|       | <i>mirib</i> a clan name |    | ✓  |    |    | ✗  |     |
|       | <b>Inalienable nouns</b> |    |    |    |    |    |     |
|       | <i>ova</i> 'his-father'  | ✓  | ✗  |    | ✓  |    | ✓   |
|       | <i>adian</i> 'his blood' |    | ✗  | ✓  |    |    |     |
|       | <i>abua</i> 'his-love'   |    |    |    |    | ✓  |     |

### 3.2.2 Lexical forms

The second way to distinguish alienable nouns and inalienable nouns is by looking at their lexical forms. Alienable nouns are both consonant-initial (henceforth: C-initial)

and vowel-initial (v-initial), like *tavo* 'tobacco' and *abui* 'possum' (3.2a, b). Inalienable nouns are restricted to vowel initial, such as *abut* 'his-child' and *indiq* 'his-name' (3.2c, d).

|       |                       |                          |                         |
|-------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| (3.2) |                       | <b>Consonant-initial</b> |                         |
|       |                       | <hr/>                    |                         |
| a.    | Alienable nouns       | c.                       | Inalienable nouns       |
| 1.    | <i>tavo</i> 'tobacco' |                          | N/A                     |
| 2.    | <i>yugum</i> 'stone'  |                          |                         |
|       |                       | <hr/>                    |                         |
|       |                       | <b>Vowel-initial</b>     |                         |
|       |                       | <hr/>                    |                         |
| b.    | Alienable nouns       | d.                       | Inalienable nouns       |
| 1.    | <i>abui</i> 'possum'  | 1.                       | <i>abut</i> 'his-child' |
| 2.    | <i>indu</i> 'fire'    | 2.                       | <i>indiq</i> 'his-name' |

### 3.2.3 Plurality

The third way to differentiate alienable nouns from inalienable nouns is by observing the way they are pluralised. They are different in their plural coding, with regards to common, countable and concrete nouns. The quantity of alienable nouns is coded by means of nominal modification, i.e. numeral modifier in the {head-modifier} structure, as shown in (3.3a), whilst inalienable nouns are pluralised by suffixation: {ROOT-plural suffix}, as given in (3.3b).

|       |                     |                           |  |
|-------|---------------------|---------------------------|--|
| (3.3) |                     | <b>Alienable nouns:</b>   |  |
| a.    | <i>yugum mbere</i>  | 'two stones'              |  |
| a'.   | <i>*yugum-vi</i>    |                           |  |
|       |                     | <b>Inalienable nouns:</b> |  |
| b.    | <i>ova-vi</i>       | 'his-fathers'             |  |
| b'.   | <i>*ova mbere</i>   |                           |  |
|       | but:                |                           |  |
| c.    | <i>ova-vi mbere</i> | 'his two fathers'         |  |

To count inalienable nouns, we have {IPN-PL NUML} pattern (3.3c), (3.4c) and (3.5b).

The inalienable noun plural suffixes are: *wi* {-wi} ~ *vi* {-vi} 'PL', when the noun is a vowel-final root, otherwise *i* {-i} 'PL', as can be seen in (3.3b, c) and (3.4), for example:

|       |                                 |                                           |
|-------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| (3.4) | a. <b>Vowel-final Root:</b>     |                                           |
|       | SINGULAR                        | PLURAL                                    |
|       | <i>are</i>                      | <i>arevi</i>                              |
|       | ø-ate                           | ø-ate-vi                                  |
|       | 3s-uncle                        | 3s-uncle-PL                               |
|       | 'his/her uncle'                 | 'his/her uncles'                          |
|       | b. <b>Consonant-final Root:</b> |                                           |
|       | SINGULAR                        | PLURAL                                    |
|       | <i>abut</i>                     | <i>aburi</i>                              |
|       | ø-abut                          | ø-abut-i                                  |
|       | 3s-child.oM                     | 3s-child.oM-PL                            |
|       | 'his child'                     | 'his children'                            |
|       | (lit. 'his child.of.male')      | (lit. 'his children.of.male')             |
|       | c. <i>*abut kena</i>            | <i>aburi kena</i><br>'his three children' |

The term for 'child' in (3.4b) is different for a female possessor in (3.5), where the plural form is suppletive with the plural morpheme.

|       |                       |                                         |
|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| (3.5) | a. SINGULAR           | PLURAL                                  |
|       | <i>Ayak</i>           | <i>acui</i>                             |
|       | ø-ajak                | ø-atjui                                 |
|       | 3s-child.oF           | 3s-child.oF.PL                          |
|       | 'her child'           | 'her children'                          |
|       | b. <i>*ayak mbere</i> | <i>acui mbere</i><br>'her two children' |

A detailed discussion on the different forms and their uses of *abut* 'his-child' and *ayak* 'her-child' is given in §3.4.2.

### 3.2.4 Possessive constructions

Possessive constructions are another way to distinguish between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns. Possession for alienable nouns is prefixal with vowel-insertion, while possessive marking for inalienable nouns involves bound prefixes. Inalienable nouns cannot occur without possessive marking. Alienable nouns are those that do not require possessive marking, cf. §3.3 and §3.4.

The possessive markers for alienable nouns are prefixal with vowel-insertion, as illustrated in (3.6) and (3.7a-c). They are: *nV* {nV-} \1s- 'my-', *kV* {kV-} \2s- 'your.sg', *V* {V-} \3s- 'his-', *ninyV* {ninV-} \1p- 'our-', *kinyV* {kinV-} \2p- 'your.pl-', *inyV* {inV-} \3p- 'their-', cf. Table 3.3a-a'.

The possessive markers for inalienable nouns are prefixal bound pronouns, as apparent in (3.6) and (3.7d-f). They are: *n* {n-} \1s- 'my-', *k* {k-} \2s- 'your.sg-', *zero* {∅-} \3s- 'his-', *niny* {nin-} \1p- 'our-', *kiny* {kin-} \2p- 'your.pl-' and *iny* {in-} \3p- 'their-', cf. Table 3.3b.

The inflections of the plural forms are: (i) *niny* {nin-} < {n-in-} \1s-PL- 'my-PL-', (ii) *kiny* {kin-} < {k-in-} \2s-PL- 'your.sg-PL-' and (iii) *iny* {in-} < {∅-in-} \3s-PL- 'his-PL-'. Henceforth, I shall present them as single morphemes for the sake of simplicity and practicality. This is outlined in Table 3.3:

**Table 3.3**

Bound possessive pronouns in Wano

**a. Consonant-initial alienable nouns**

| SINGULAR        |                 |                |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1               | 2               | 3              |
| <i>nVC</i>      | <i>kVC</i>      | <i>VC</i>      |
| { <i>nV-C</i> } | { <i>kV-C</i> } | { <i>V-C</i> } |
| \1s-\           | \2s-\           | \3s-\          |
| 'my-'           | 'your.sg-'      | 'his-'         |

| PLURAL            |                   |                  |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1                 | 2                 | 3                |
| <i>ninyVC</i>     | <i>kinyVC</i>     | <i>inyVC</i>     |
| { <i>ninV-C</i> } | { <i>kinV-C</i> } | { <i>inV-C</i> } |
| \1p-\             | \2p-\             | \3p-\            |
| 'our-'            | 'your.pl-'        | 'their-'         |

**a'. Vowel-initial alienable nouns**

| SINGULAR        |                 |                |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1               | 2               | 3              |
| <i>nVV</i>      | <i>kVV</i>      | <i>VV</i>      |
| { <i>nV-V</i> } | { <i>kV-V</i> } | { <i>V-V</i> } |
| \1s-\           | \2s-\           | \3s-\          |
| 'my-'           | 'your.sg-'      | 'his-'         |

| PLURAL            |                   |                  |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1                 | 2                 | 3                |
| <i>ninyVV</i>     | <i>kinyVV</i>     | <i>inyVV</i>     |
| { <i>ninV-V</i> } | { <i>kinV-V</i> } | { <i>inV-V</i> } |
| \1p-\             | \2p-\             | \3p-\            |
| 'our-'            | 'your.pl-'        | 'their-'         |

**b. Inalienable nouns**

| SINGULAR      |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1             | 2             | 3             |
| <i>n</i>      | <i>k</i>      | <i>zero</i>   |
| { <i>n-</i> } | { <i>k-</i> } | { <i>∅-</i> } |
| \1s-\         | \2s-\         | \3s-\         |
| 'my-'         | 'your.sg-'    | 'his-'        |

| PLURAL          |                 |                |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1               | 2               | 3              |
| <i>niny</i>     | <i>kiny</i>     | <i>iny</i>     |
| { <i>nin-</i> } | { <i>kin-</i> } | { <i>in-</i> } |
| \1p-\           | \2p-\           | \3p-\          |
| 'our-'          | 'your.pl-'      | 'their-'       |

The examples are:

**(3.6) Alienable nouns:**

- |    |                |               |              |
|----|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>e-tavo</i>  | 'his tobacco' | [Table 3.3a] |
| a' | <i>ne-tavo</i> | 'my tobacco'  |              |
| b. | <i>e-abui</i>  | 'his possum'  | [Table 3.3a] |
| b' | <i>ne-abui</i> | 'my possum'   |              |

**Inalienable nouns:**

- |    |               |              |              |
|----|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| c. | <i>∅-ova</i>  | 'his-father' | [Table 3.3b] |
| c' | <i>n-ova</i>  | 'my-father'  |              |
| d. | <i>∅-abut</i> | 'his-child'  |              |
| d' | <i>n-abut</i> | 'my-child'   |              |

The possessive expression of alienable nouns and inalienable nouns can also be coded by using the inalienable *ene* 'his-belonging', as illustrated in:

|                               |                             |                           |                               |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (3.7) <b>Alienable nouns:</b> |                             | <b>Inalienable nouns:</b> |                               |
| a.                            | <i>tavo Ene</i>             | c.                        | <i>ova ene</i>                |
|                               | <i>tavo ø-ene</i>           |                           | <i>ø-ova ø-ene</i>            |
|                               | <i>tobacco 3s-belonging</i> |                           | <i>3s-father 3s-belonging</i> |
|                               | <i>'tobacco of his'</i>     |                           | <i>'father of his'</i>        |
| b.                            | <i>tavo Nene</i>            | d.                        | <i>nova nene</i>              |
|                               | <i>tavo n-ene</i>           |                           | <i>n-ova n-ene</i>            |
|                               | <i>tobacco 1s-belonging</i> |                           | <i>1s-father 1s-belonging</i> |
|                               | <i>'tobacco of mine'</i>    |                           | <i>'father of mine'</i>       |

The syntactic expression in (3.7) is also found for the difference between cultural items and body part nouns as we can see in the example given in (3.18) in §3.4.1. Meanwhile, Figure 3.2 compares the structures of alienable and inalienable nouns.

Figure 3.2  
Structures of alienable and inalienable nouns

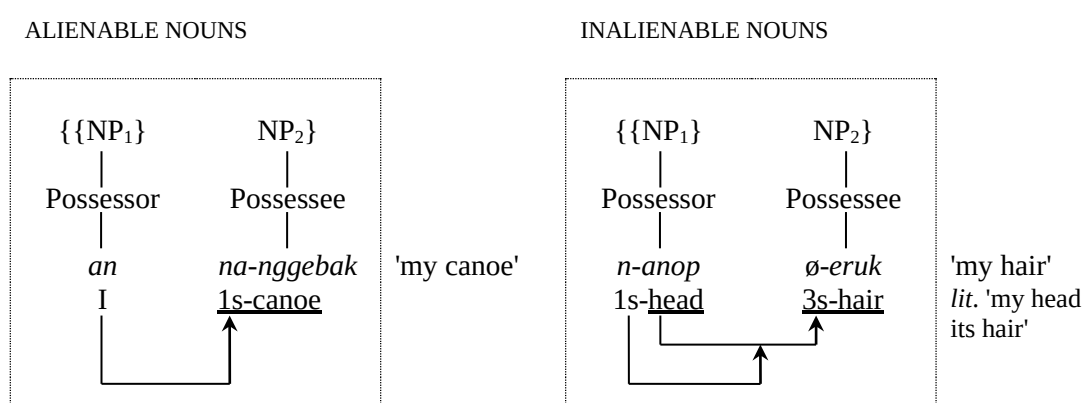


Figure 3.2 shows a seemingly identical NP structure for alienable and inalienable nouns. They are different, however, regarding grammatical relation in some respects:

(i) Here, *an* 'I', of the alienable phrase, and *nanop* 'my head', of the inalienable phrase, take the role of possessors, whilst *nggebak* 'canoe', which is an alienable

noun, and *eruk* 'his hair', an inalienable noun, are the possessees. (ii) There is agreement in terms of person/number. In alienable nouns, *nggebak* 'canoe' is '3s' but should bear the prefix *na-* '1s (not *a* for '3s') because the possessor *an* is '1s'. The phrase *an nanggebak* can be interpreted as 'my canoe', a structure of {I my-canoe}. Pronominal prodrop is allowed; *nanggebak* will still mean 'my canoe', that is {my-canoe}. In inalienable nouns, *eruk* is '3s' and should bear the zero prefix '3s' since the possessor *nanop* is '3s', we have *nanop eruk* 'my hair' (*lit.* 'my head's hair'), that is a structure of {my-head his-hair}. (iii) The alienable phrase has closed and open class constituents, while the inalienable one has open class, which in turn, are independent words. We may have just *nanop* 'my-head' and *eruk* 'his-hair' independently. (iv) Furthermore, NP<sub>1</sub> in both types of possession is not obligatory since *nanggebak* and *eruk* alone have phrasal meanings 'my canoe' and 'his-hair'. The difference is that the root of alienable nouns, in this instance, *nggebak* 'canoe', is not a vowel-initial alienable noun, while the root of inalienable nouns, i.e. *eruk* 'his-hair' is a vowel-initial word. This is consistent with our claim earlier that inalienable nouns are vowel-initial words, whereas alienable nouns are not necessarily vowel-initial words. In fact, almost all alienable nouns are consonant-initial. The paradigms in (3.8) show that alienable nouns require vocalic insertion to mark possession, as *nggebak* 'canoe' becomes *na-nggebak* 'my-canoe', while this is not required for inalienable nouns.



(3.8) **A distinctive paradigm of alienable and inalienable nouns**

|    | ALIENABLE NOUNS                                                              |                                                                                   | INALIENABLE NOUNS                                                   |                                                                          |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    | Root: <i>nggebak</i> 'canoe'                                                 |                                                                                   | Root: <i>eruk</i> 'his-hair'                                        |                                                                          |
|    | SINGULAR                                                                     | PLURAL                                                                            | SINGULAR                                                            | PLURAL                                                                   |
| a. | <i>nanggebak</i><br><b>na</b> -nkebak<br><b>1s</b> -canoe<br>'my canoe'      | <i>ninyanggebak</i><br><b>nina</b> -nkebak<br><b>1p</b> -canoe<br>'our canoe'     | <i>neruk</i><br><b>n</b> -etuk<br><b>1s</b> -hair<br>'my hair'      | <i>ninyeruk</i><br><b>nin</b> -etuk<br><b>1p</b> -hair<br>'our hair'     |
| b. | <i>kanggebak</i><br><b>ka</b> -nkebak<br><b>2s</b> -canoe<br>'your.sg canoe' | <i>kinyanggebak</i><br><b>kina</b> -nkebak<br><b>2p</b> -canoe<br>'your.pl canoe' | <i>keruk</i><br><b>k</b> -etuk<br><b>2s</b> -hair<br>'your.sg hair' | <i>kinyeruk</i><br><b>kin</b> -etuk<br><b>2p</b> -hair<br>'your.pl hair' |
| c. | <i>anggebak</i><br><b>a</b> -nkebak<br><b>3s</b> -canoe<br>'his canoe'       | <i>inyanggebak</i><br><b>ina</b> -nkebak<br><b>3p</b> -canoe<br>'their canoe'     | <i>eruk</i><br><b>ø</b> -etuk<br><b>3s</b> -hair<br>'his hair'      | <i>inyeruk</i><br><b>in</b> -etuk<br><b>3p</b> -hair<br>'their hair'     |

Since the examples in (3.8) involve a consonant-initial alienable noun, the difference is apparent between these two types of nouns. Let us now consider (3.9) that has a vowel-initial alienable noun. There, we contrast the alienable *abui* 'possum' to the inalienable *abut* 'his-child'. Note: OM = of male.

(3.9) **A distinctive paradigm of alienable and inalienable nouns**

|    | ALIENABLE NOUNS                                                           |                                                                                | INALIENABLE NOUNS                                                       |                                                                              |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    | Root: <i>abui</i> 'possum'                                                |                                                                                | Root: <i>abut</i> 'his-child'                                           |                                                                              |
|    | SINGULAR                                                                  | PLURAL                                                                         | SINGULAR                                                                | PLURAL                                                                       |
| a. | <i>neabui</i><br><b>ne</b> -abui<br><b>1s</b> -possum<br>'my possum'      | <i>ninyeabui</i><br><b>nine</b> -abui<br><b>1p</b> -possum<br>'our possum'     | <i>neabut</i><br><b>ne</b> -abut<br><b>1s</b> -child<br>'my child'      | <i>ninyeabut</i><br><b>nine</b> -abut<br><b>1p</b> -child<br>'our child'     |
| b. | <i>keabui</i><br><b>ke</b> -abui<br><b>2s</b> -possum<br>'your.sg possum' | <i>kinyeabui</i><br><b>kine</b> -abui<br><b>2p</b> -possum<br>'your.pl possum' | <i>keabut</i><br><b>ke</b> -abut<br><b>2s</b> -child<br>'your.sg child' | <i>kinyeabut</i><br><b>kine</b> -abut<br><b>2p</b> -child<br>'your.pl child' |
| c. | <i>eabui</i><br><b>e</b> -abui<br><b>3s</b> -possum<br>'his possum'       | <i>inyeabui</i><br><b>ine</b> -abui<br><b>3p</b> -possum<br>'their possum'     | <i>eabut</i><br><b>ø</b> -abut<br><b>3s</b> -child<br>'his child'       | <i>inyeabut</i><br><b>in</b> -abut<br><b>3p</b> -child<br>'their child'      |

# INALIENABLE NOUNS

Root: **abut** 'his-child.om'

|    |                                       |                 |  |                                         |                 |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----------------|--|-----------------------------------------|-----------------|
| d. | SINGULAR                              |                 |  | PLURAL                                  |                 |
|    | <i>nabut</i>                          | 'my child'      |  | <i>ninyabut</i>                         | 'our child'     |
|    | <b>n</b> -abut<br><b>1s</b> -child.om |                 |  | <b>nin</b> -abut<br><b>1p</b> -child.om |                 |
| e. | <i>kabut</i>                          | 'your.sg child' |  | <i>kinyabut</i>                         | 'your.pl child' |
|    | <b>k</b> -abut<br><b>2s</b> -child.om |                 |  | <b>kin</b> -abut<br><b>2p</b> -child.om |                 |
|    |                                       |                 |  |                                         |                 |
| f. | <i>abut</i>                           | 'his child'     |  | <i>inyabut</i>                          | 'their child'   |
|    | <b>ø</b> -abut<br><b>3s</b> -child.om |                 |  | <b>in</b> -abut<br><b>3p</b> -child.om  |                 |
|    |                                       |                 |  |                                         |                 |

In (3.9a-c), we note that there is a vowel-insertion process to mark possession of the alienable *abui* 'possum', which is *eabui* {e-abui} 'his-possum' (3.9c). In (3.9d-f), however, there is no need for the vowel-insertion process to possess the inalienable *abut* 'his-child', as is apparent in (3.9f), i.e. *abut* {ø-abut} 'his-child'. In terms of their plural coding (cf. §3.2.3), we cannot have *\*abuivi* {abui-vi} for 'possums', but we can have *aburi* {ø-abut-i} for 'his-children'. In this instance, the {head-modifier} agreement shows a clear distinction between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns. In (3.10a-b), there is no {head-modifier} agreement in terms of number in the alienable nouns. In (3.10a'-b'), however, there is {head-modifier} agreement in the inalienable nouns, cf. (3.3c) as well.

## (3.10) Vowel-initial alienable nouns: *abui* 'possum'

- |    |                                   |              |               |
|----|-----------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>abui</i>                       | <i>mbere</i> | 'two possums' |
|    | possum                            | two          |               |
| b. | <i>*abuivi</i> {abui- <u>vi</u> } | <i>mbere</i> | N/A           |
|    | possum <u>s</u>                   | two          |               |

## Inalienable nouns: *abut* 'his-child.om'

- |     |                                  |              |                    |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| a'. | <i>*abut</i>                     | <i>mbere</i> | N/A                |
|     | his-child.om                     | two          |                    |
| b'. | <i>aburi</i> {ø-abut- <u>i</u> } | <i>mbere</i> | 'his two children' |
|     | his- <u>children</u> .om         | two          |                    |

The complete list of inalienable noun *abut* 'his child', is given in Appendix 2. The following is a list of some vowel-initial alienable nouns in Wano.

(3.11) **Vowel-initial alienable nouns:**

|    |              |                           |
|----|--------------|---------------------------|
| a. | <i>akomi</i> | 'women'                   |
| b. | <i>akut</i>  | 'already harvested field' |
| c. | <i>ambo</i>  | 'k.o. tree'               |
| d. | <i>en</i>    | 'sugar cane'              |
| e. | <i>ico</i>   | 'k.o. tree'               |
| f. | <i>indu</i>  | 'fire' or 'flame'         |
| g. | <i>inyo</i>  | 'bread-fruit'             |
| h. | <i>ijom</i>  | 'grasshopper'             |
| i. | <i>ongga</i> | 'k.o. palm'               |
| j. | <i>ap</i>    | 'man', 'person', 'people' |
| k. | <i>uyak</i>  | 'hornbill'                |
| l. | <i>ut</i>    | 'moss'                    |

Further description of alienable nouns is detailed in §3.3, and that of inalienable nouns is given in §3.4.

### 3.2.5 Grammatical relation

Alienable nouns and inalienable nouns can be distinguished in terms of their grammatical relation. In this case, while both alienable and inalienable nouns may be the head of a phrase, only the latter can be the head of a clause.

In a noun phrase, for instance, *ap kode* {ap kode} 'old man' constitutes a {head-modifier} structure where the alienable noun is the head. Likewise, *eruk kik* {ø-etuk kik} 'his-dirty hair' for the same structure. Thus, in a noun phrase, both alienable nouns and inalienable nouns may be the head.

- (3.12)    **Alienable nouns:**
- |    | HEAD           | MODIFIER    |
|----|----------------|-------------|
| a. | <i>ap</i>      | <i>kode</i> |
|    | man            | old         |
|    | '(an) old man' |             |
- Inalienable nouns:**
- |    | HEAD             | MODIFIER   |
|----|------------------|------------|
| b. | <i>eruk</i>      | <i>kik</i> |
|    | ø-etuk           | kik        |
|    | 3s-hair          | dirty      |
|    | 'his dirty hair' |            |

In a clause, however, whilst both types of nouns take the argument (ARG) roles, only inalienable nouns are permitted to function as the head of the clause. I will briefly discuss this in §3.4.4 on the notion of Experiential Events. A detailed discussion is given in §7.2 of chapter 7.

I will now explore these two categories of nouns in turn.

### 3.3 ALIENABLE NOUNS

I distinguished alienable nouns and inalienable nouns in §3.1-2, where the possession for the first type is prefixal vowel-insertion (§3.2.4). It is not always easy, however, to predict which vowel a possessee can take. The following guideline may suffice.

When the initial consonant of the possee nouns is either an alveolar or palatal, the inserted vowel is *e*. Note that *e* is in variation with *i* in this case.

|        |                                   |                                                                       |
|--------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.13) | <u>ROOT</u>                       | <u>i ~ e-ROOT</u>                                                     |
| a.     | <i>tavo</i><br>'tobacco'          | <i>eravo</i> {e-tavo} \3s-tobacco\<br>'his tobacco'                   |
| b.     | <i>yanggwi</i><br>'cockatoo'      | <i>eyanggwi</i> {e-jankwi} \3s-cockatoo\<br>'his cockatoo'            |
| c.     | <i>yavuk</i><br>'planted field'   | <i>eyavuk</i> {e-javuk} \3s-planted field\<br>'his planted field'     |
| d.     | <i>yarak</i><br>'harvested field' | <i>eyarak</i> {e-jatak} \3s-harvested field\<br>'his harvested field' |

When the initial consonant is bilabial, we have **o**.

|        |              |          |                                                   |  |
|--------|--------------|----------|---------------------------------------------------|--|
| (3.14) | <u>ROOT</u>  |          | <u>o-ROOT</u>                                     |  |
| a.     | <i>bato</i>  | 'corn'   | <i>obato</i> {o-bato} \3s-corn\<br>'his corn'     |  |
| b.     | <i>mboid</i> | 'potato' | <i>omoid</i> {o-moid} \3s-potato\<br>'his potato' |  |
| c.     | <i>mbit</i>  | 'moon'   | <i>ombit</i> {o-mbit} \3s-moon\<br>'his moon'     |  |
| d.     | <i>poiya</i> | 'sun'    | <i>opoiya</i> {o-poiya} \3s-sun\<br>'his sun'     |  |

Finally, we will have **a** elsewhere.

|        |                 |          |                                                        |  |
|--------|-----------------|----------|--------------------------------------------------------|--|
| (3.15) | <u>ROOT</u>     |          | <u>a-ROOT</u>                                          |  |
| a.     | <i>kede</i>     | 'rattan' | <i>agede</i> {a-kede} \3s-rattan\<br>'his rattan'      |  |
| b.     | <i>ndok</i>     | 'reed'   | <i>andok</i> {a-ndok} \3s-reed\<br>'his reed'          |  |
| c.     | <i>nggidivi</i> | 'lemon'  | <i>anggidivi</i> {a-nkidivi} \3s-lemon\<br>'his lemon' |  |
| d.     | <i>nggewo</i>   | 'dog'    | <i>anggewo</i> {a-nkewo} \3s-nkewo\<br>'his dog'       |  |
| e.     | <i>wom</i>      | 'pig'    | <i>anggwom</i> {a-nkwom} \3s-pig\<br>'his pig'         |  |

Except for the two nouns *ap* 'man' and *kwa* 'woman', common nouns may be inflected to be possessed, as was illustrated above. There is no plural form for *ap* 'man' as opposed to its counterpart *kwa* 'woman' which has the plural *akomi* 'women', a fossilized form that is derived from an inflection of *ap* {ap} \ap\ 'man' + *komi* {kom-i} \yam-PL\ 'yams'; literally: 'A person who deals with yams or meal\food.' Furthermore, reduplication of *ap* 'man' and *kwa* 'woman' is not possible to express plurality: \**ap-ap* {ap~ap}, \**kwa-gwa* {kwa~kwa}, while numerals are

allowed: *ap mbere* {ap mpete} \man two\ 'two men', and *kwa kena* {kwa kena} \woman three\ 'three women'. This is outlined in:

|        |    |              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|--------|----|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.16) | a. | <i>ap</i>    | <div>PLURALITY</div> <div><i>*ap-ap</i> {ap~ap} \man-man\<br/> <i>ap mbere</i> 'two men', 'two persons', 'two people'</div> <div><i>*kwa-gwa</i> {kwa~kwa} \kwa-kwa\<br/> <i>kwa kena</i> 'three women'</div> <div><i>*akomi-akomi</i> {akomi~akomi} \women-women\<br/> <i>akomi kena</i> 'three women'</div> |
|        | b. | <i>kwa</i>   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|        | c. | <i>akomi</i> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

Numerals like *yedogo* 'many' can modify *ap* 'man', as in *ap yedogo* {ap jedoko} \man many\ 'many men' or 'many people'. This is not possible for *kwa* 'woman', but *akomi* 'women' instead. Thus *\*kwa yedogo*, but *akomi yedogo* {akomi jedoko} \women many\ 'many women'.

|        |    |              |                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|--------|----|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.17) | a. | <i>ap</i>    | <div><i>ap yedogo</i> {ap jedoko} \man many\<br/> 'many men', 'many persons', 'many people'</div> <div><i>*kwa yedogo</i></div> <div><i>akomi yedogo</i>{akomi jedoko} \women many\<br/> 'many women'</div> |
|        | b. | <i>kwa</i>   |                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|        | c. | <i>akomi</i> |                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

As is apparent in (3.16) and (3.17), *ap* 'man/men, person/persons, people/people' is also a mass noun and *kwa* 'woman' is is a count noun. Reduplication may occur on concrete nouns like *yugum* 'stone' to render plurality, *yugum-yugum* 'stones', or *en-en* for 'pieces of sugarcane'. No inflection appears on mass nouns like *i* 'water' to express plurality. However, possessive expression is possible as in *an ne-i* {I 1s-water} for 'my drink'. This is also true for locative expression, thus: *i-mu* {water-LOC} 'in (the) water/river', *e-me* {wood-LOC} 'in (the) wood/jungle'.

In a noun phrase, nouns precede adjectival words, such as *yedok* 'large', *yedogo* 'many' or *beq* 'small', yielding the structure {NP = N Adj}. Thus, *i yedogo* 'a lot of water' (*lit.* 'water many') for alienable nouns, and *adian yedogo* 'a lot of blood' (*lit.* 'his-blood many') for inalienable nouns, illustrated in:

(3.18) **Alienable nouns:**

- a. *i yedok* 'flood' (*lit.* 'water large')
- b. *i yedogo* 'a lot of water' (*lit.* 'water many')
- c. *i beq* 'a bit of water' (*lit.* 'water small')

**Inalienable nouns:**

- d. *adian yedogo* 'a lot of blood' (*lit.* 'his-blood many')
- e. *adian beq* 'a bit of blood' (*lit.* 'his-blood small')

### 3.4 INALIENABLE NOUNS

As was outlined in Figure 3.1 in §3.1, inalienable nouns are divided into four main categories, which are: **cultural items** discussed in §3.4.1, **kinship terms**, in §3.4.2, **body parts**, in §3.4.3, and **experiential events**, in §3.4.4.

#### 3.4.1 Cultural items

Wano includes some cultural items as inalienable nouns. They are *egin* {ø-egin} \3s-bow\ 'his-bow' (3.16) and *awi* {ø-awi} \3s-awi\ 'his-house' (3.17):

|        |                                                 |                                                      |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.16) | SINGULAR                                        | PLURAL                                               |
| 1      | <i>negin</i> {n-ekin} \1s-bow\<br>'my bow'      | <i>ninyegin</i> {nin-ekin} \1p-bow\<br>'our bow'     |
| 2      | <i>kegin</i> {k-ekin} \2s-bow\<br>'your.sg-bow' | <i>kinyegin</i> {kin-ekin} \2p-bow\<br>'your.pl bow' |
| 3      | <i>egin</i> {ø-ekin} \3s-bow\<br>'his bow'      | <i>inyegin</i> {in-ekin} \3p-bow\<br>'their bow'     |

and

|        |   |                                                   |                                                        |
|--------|---|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.17) |   | SINGULAR                                          | PLURAL                                                 |
|        | 1 | <i>nawi</i> {n-awi} \1s-house\<br>'my house'      | <i>ninyawi</i> {nin-awi} \1p-house\<br>'our house'     |
|        | 2 | <i>kawi</i> {k-awi} \2s-house\<br>'your.sg house' | <i>kinyawi</i> {kin-awi} \2p-house\<br>'your.pl house' |
|        | 3 | <i>awi</i> {ø-awi} \1s-house\<br>'his house'      | <i>inyawi</i> {in-awi} \3p-house\<br>'their house'     |

Syntactic evidence for the distinction between cultural items and body part nouns is shown in (3.18). In (3.18a), Wano allows phrases like *awi at e-ne* 'a house of his', but not *\*eruk at ene* 'hair of his/its' in (3.18b).

|        |    |                  |           |              |
|--------|----|------------------|-----------|--------------|
| (3.18) | a. | <i>awi</i>       | <i>at</i> | <i>ene</i>   |
|        |    | ø-awi            | at        | ø-ene        |
|        |    | 3s-house         | he        | 3s-belonging |
|        |    | 'a house of his' |           |              |
|        | b. | <i>*eruk</i>     | <i>at</i> | <i>ene</i>   |
|        |    | ø-etuk           | at        | ø-ene        |
|        |    | 3s-hair          | he        | 3s-belonging |
|        |    | 'hair of his'    |           |              |

### 3.4.2 Kinship terms

All kinship terms are vowel-initial, as listed in (3.19), but items with initial *u* are not attested.

|        |    |                                                            |                                                                     |
|--------|----|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.19) | a. | <b>Vowel-final Root</b>                                    |                                                                     |
|        |    | SINGULAR                                                   | PLURAL                                                              |
|        |    | <i>are</i> {ø-ate} \3s-uncle\<br>'his/her uncle'           | <i>arevi</i> {ø-ate-vi} \3s-uncle-PL\<br>'his/her uncles'           |
|        |    | <i>icawo</i> {ø-itjawo} \3s-aunt\<br>'his/her aunt'        | <i>icawowi</i> {ø-itjawo-wi} \3s-aunts\<br>'his/her aunts'          |
|        |    | <i>omba</i> {ø-ompa} \3s-grandpa\<br>'his/her grandfather' | <i>ombavi</i> {ø-ompa-vi} \3p-grandpa-PL\<br>'his/her grandfathers' |



*owe* { $\emptyset$ -owe}  
 \3s-older sibling OSS\  
 'his/her older brother/sister'

*owewi* { $\emptyset$ -owe-wi}  
 \3s-older sibling OSS-PL\  
 'his/her older brothers/sisters'

*iri* { $\emptyset$ -iti} \3s-sibling ODS\  
 'his/her sister/brother'

*irivi* { $\emptyset$ -iti-vi} \3s-sibling ODS-PL\  
 'his/her sisters/brothers'

b. **Consonant-final Root**

SINGULAR  
*awot* { $\emptyset$ -awot}  
 \3s-younger sibling OSS\  
 'his/her younger brother/sister'

PLURAL  
*awori* { $\emptyset$ -awot-i}  
 \3s-younger sibling OSS-PL\  
 'his/her younger brothers/sisters'

*abut* { $\emptyset$ -abut} \3s-child.OM\  
 'his child'

*aburi* { $\emptyset$ -abut-i} \3s-child.OM-PL\  
 'his children'

*ayak* { $\emptyset$ -ajak} \3s-child.OF\  
 'her child'

*acui* { $\emptyset$ -atjui} \3s-children.OF\  
 'her children'

In the nuclear family, that includes parents, spouses, children and siblings, I will describe the terms used in the parent-child, spousal and sibling relationship (cf. Foley 1997:133-149).

In the **parent-child** relationship, the terms for ego's father and mother do not depend on ego's sex – cf. §5.2 in chapter 5 for discussion on deixis.

- |        |                                                                 |                                                                          |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.20) | SINGULAR                                                        | PLURAL                                                                   |
| a.     | <i>ova</i> { $\emptyset$ -ova} \3s-father\<br>'his/her father'  | <i>ovavi</i> { $\emptyset$ -ova-vi} \3s-father-PL\<br>'his/her fathers'  |
| b.     | <i>ica</i> { $\emptyset$ -itja} \3s-mother\<br>'his/her mother' | <i>icavi</i> { $\emptyset$ -itja-vi} \3s-mother-PL\<br>'his/her mothers' |

The use of different words by men and women as speakers of a language is not unusual. As Kirton (1988) pointed out, it is common to expect a language to have a dialect for men and one for women, as she studied Yanyuwa, an aboriginal language spoken in Australia. According to Kirton (ibid.), male and female speakers of

Yanyuwa have their own dialect, while passively having the knowledge of the others' dialect. The distinction mostly found in terms of both (i) noun prefixation, that includes: noun class markers, pronominal forms (i.e. personal pronouns and demonstratives) and possessive forms (i.e. body parts and kin terms), and (ii) verb prefixation found in existential, intransitive, transitive and reflexive verbs, among others. Kirton (ibid.) further claimed that Yanyuwa seems to be the only language among its neighbour Aboriginal languages that the only language in the area with this differentiation, while pointing out that similar distinctions are universal as she listed some findings reported by other linguists (see Kirton (1988) for details, also Evans (1994)). In conclusion, this sex-based differentiation of a language is not uncommon.<sup>24</sup> Regarding Trans-New Guinea languages, Bromley (1973: 9) writes, "The kinship terminologies in these languages group a woman's children with a man's children; the terminologies in the Western Dani and Grand Valley areas distinguish them." Note that this also holds for other languages in the Dani language family, including Wano (cf. §1.6.2 for the list of comparison between Wano, Dani, Walak and Nggem given in (1.3)).

Since in Wano it is limited only to the term for 'child', Kirton's (ibid.) men-dialect and women-dialect will be referred to as male-term and female-term in this study. When ego is a parent, the term for 'child' is determined by the sex of ego, regardless of the sex of the child. In English, the sex of a child is clear by the terms 'son' and 'daughter'. In Wano, however, the sex of a parent is clear by the terms **abut**, i.e. 'child

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<sup>24</sup> See also Mageo (1999) for Samoan and Rotuman.

of male person', and **ayak**, i.e. 'child of female person'. (3.21a) is the term for a child of a male ego, while (3.21b) is for a female ego – cf. (3.19b).

- (3.21) a. **Male ego forms: 'his child'**
- |             |                |
|-------------|----------------|
| SINGULAR    | PLURAL         |
| <b>Abut</b> | <b>aburi</b>   |
| ø-abut      | ø-abut-i       |
| 3s-child.OM | 3s-child.OM-PL |
| 'his child' | 'his children' |
- b. **Female ego forms: 'her child'**
- |             |                |
|-------------|----------------|
| SINGULAR    | PLURAL         |
| <b>Ayak</b> | <b>acui</b>    |
| ø-ajak      | ø-atjui        |
| 3s-child.OF | 3s-children.OF |
| 'her child' | 'her children' |

The distribution of (3.21) is outlined in (3.22-23).

- (3.22) SINGULAR TERMS  
**abut** {ø-abut} \3s-child.OM\ <3s.M>SG 'his child'  
**ayak** {ø-ajak} \3s-child.OF \ <3s.F>SG 'her child'

|         |             | ADDRESSEE                                         |                                           |
|---------|-------------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| SPEAKER |             | Male                                              | Female                                    |
| a1.     | Father      | i. <b>ninyabut</b>                                | j. *ninyabut<br>jj. kayak                 |
| a2.     | Mother      | i. *ninyayak<br>ii. kabut                         | j. <b>ninyayak</b>                        |
| a3.     | Non-parents | i. kabut<br>ii. kabut-ayak                        | j. kayak<br>jj. kayak-abut                |
|         |             | ADDRESSEE                                         |                                           |
| SPEAKER |             | Spouse (husband-wife)                             | Other                                     |
| b1.     | Father      | i. <b>ninyayak-ninyabut</b><br>ii. ninyayak-nabut | j. ayak-nabut                             |
| b2.     | Mother      | i. <b>ninyabut-ninyayak</b><br>ii. ninyabut-nayak | j. abut-nayak                             |
| b3.     | Non-parents | i. kinyabut-kinyayak<br>ii. kinyayak-kinyabut     | j. inyayak-inyabut<br>jj. inyabut-inyayak |

The plural forms of *abut* 'his child' and *ayak* 'her child' in (3.22) are given in:

- (3.23) PLURAL TERMS  
*aburi* {ø-abut-i} \3s-child.oM-plural\ <3s.M>PL 'his children'  
*acui* {ø-atjui} \3s-child.oF:plural\ <3s.F>PL 'her children'

|         |             | ADDRESSEE                                           |                                             |
|---------|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| SPEAKER |             | Male                                                | Female                                      |
| a1.     | Father      | i. <b>ninyaburi</b>                                 | j. *ninyaburi<br>jj. kacui                  |
| a2.     | Mother      | i. *ninyacui<br>ii. kaburi                          | j. <b>ninyacui</b>                          |
| a3.     | Non-parents | i. kaburi<br>ii. kaburi-acui                        | j. kacui<br>jj. kacui-aburi                 |
|         |             | ADDRESSEE                                           |                                             |
| SPEAKER |             | Spouse (husband-wife)                               | Other                                       |
| b1.     | Father      | i. <b>ninyacui-ninyaburi</b><br>ii. ninyacui-naburi | j. acui-naburi                              |
| b2.     | Mother      | i. <b>ninyaburi-ninyacui</b><br>ii. ninyaburi-nacui | j. aburi-nacui                              |
| b3.     | Non-parents | i. kinyaburi-kinyacui<br>ii. kinyacui-kinyaburi     | j. inyacui-inyaburi<br>jj. inyaburi-inyacui |

The use and implication of *abut* 'his child' and *ayak* 'her child' with their plural forms outlined in (3.22-23) above are explained in §3.4.2.1. I will limit the discussion to those kin terms which are common in use, i.e. *ninyabut* 'our child' (3.22a.1i) in §3.4.2.2, *ninyayak* 'our child' (3.22a.2j) in §3.4.2.3, *ninyayak-ninyabut* 'our child' (3.22b.1i) in §3.4.2.4, and *ninyabut-ninyayak* 'our child' (3.22b.2i) in §3.4.2.5, including their plural counterparts in each related section: *ninyaburi* (3.23a.1i), *ninyacui* (3.23a.2j), *ninyacui-ninyaburi* (3.23b.1i), and *ninyaburi-ninyacui* (3.23b.2i). At a glance, it is not always easy to catch the meaning of each given compounded term.<sup>25</sup> Wano has the following guidelines in (3.24), for the examples we will be examining, particularly those given in §3.4.2.4 and §3.4.2.5.

<sup>25</sup> Compounding is discussed in §3.9.

- (3.24) a. Regarding the speaker (*Sp*)-addressee (*Adr*) relation, when two words are combined, i.e. {*W*<sub>1</sub>-*W*<sub>2</sub>}, the first word (*W*<sub>1</sub>) points to *Adr*, and the second word (*W*<sub>2</sub>) indicates *Sp*. Thus: {*W*<sub>1</sub>-*W*<sub>2</sub>} = {*Adr*-*Sp*}. In *ninyayak-ninyabut*, *W*<sub>1</sub> is *ninyayak* 'our child of.female' and *W*<sub>2</sub> is *ninyabut* 'our child of.male'. This means that *Adr* is a woman, and *Sp* is a man. This is the example of man/husband speaking to woman/wife. Conversely, in *ninyabut-ninyayak*, it is woman/wife/mother speaking to man/husband/father.
- b. Concerning the non-genetic-genetic relation, when *W*<sub>1</sub> has singular prefix, then the child genetically belongs to *Adr*, i.e. *Adr* is the genetic parent. When *W*<sub>2</sub> has singular prefix, the child genetically belongs to *Sp*, i.e. *Sp* is the genetic parent of the child. Thus *kayak-ninyabut* tells us that *Adr* is the woman/wife/mother and that the child genetically belongs to *Adr*. But *ninyayak-nabut* tells us that *Adr* is the woman/wife/mother and the child genetically belongs to *Sp*. Note that the singular forms are exclusive; *kayak* {k-ajak} \2s-child of.female\ 'your.sg child of.female', and *nabut* {n-abut} \1s-child of.male\ 'my child of.male'. The term *kayak-ninyabut* roughly means 'our child, you are the genetic mother', and *ninyayak-nabut* 'our child, I am the genetic father'.
- c. Referring to the focus/centre participant of a conversation, *W*<sub>1</sub> also indicates the focus/centre of the conversation. In those two examples above, the mother is the focus/centre.

By **genetic parents** in (3.24b), I mean the true biological father/mother of the child, since Wano culture allows men and women to view the offsprings of their siblings or kin-related persons as their own children. The distinction of who the genetic parents are, as opposed to the non-genetic or adopted parents, is therefore made clear through the language, which in this case is through inalienable nouns. Since the upcoming discussion is limited to the most common used kin terms, the rest of the kin terms found in (3.22-23) are listed in Appendix 2 including their short description. Further, the meaning of *abut* is 'his child.of.male', and *ayak* is 'her child.of.female'. Note the semantic interpretation of both terms, i.e. 'his child' and 'her child' refer to the possessors (male/female possessors), while 'of.male' and 'of.female' refer to the possesseees (*abut* and *ayak*). For the sake of practicality and simplicity, unless further clarification is needed, I will here translate *abut* as 'his child', *ayak* as 'her child',

*aburi* 'his children', and *acui* 'her children'. The sex distinction of the possessors will still be indicated on the morphophonological representation. In the following discussion, the semantic interpretation of each term is presented as given in Paradigm 3.1:

| <b>Paradigm 3.1</b>                 | <u>MALE POSSESSOR</u>       | <u>FEMALE POSSESSOR</u>       |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>kin terms</i>                    | <b><i>abut</i></b>          | <b><i>ayak</i></b>            |
| <i>morphophonological structure</i> | {ø-abut}                    | {ø-ajak}                      |
| <i>morphophonological meaning</i>   | \3s-child.om\               | \3s-child.oF\                 |
| <i>semantic interpretation</i>      | <3s.M>SG                    | <3s.F>SG                      |
| <i>semantic reading</i>             | "child.of.singular.male"    | "child.of.singular.female"    |
| <i>free translation</i>             | 'his child'                 | 'her child'                   |
|                                     | <b><i>aburi</i></b>         | <b><i>acui</i></b>            |
|                                     | {ø-abut-i}                  | {ø-atjui}                     |
|                                     | \3s-children.om\            | \3s-children.oF\              |
|                                     | <3s.M>PL                    | <3s.F>PL                      |
|                                     | "children.of.singular.male" | "children.of.singular.female" |
|                                     | 'his children'              | 'her children'                |
|                                     | <b><i>inyabut</i></b>       | <b><i>inyayak</i></b>         |
|                                     | {in-abut}                   | {in-ajak}                     |
|                                     | \3p-child.om\               | \3p-child.oF\                 |
|                                     | <3p.M>SG                    | <3p.F>SG                      |
|                                     | "child.of.plural.male"      | "child.of.plural.female"      |
|                                     | 'their child'               | 'their child'                 |
|                                     | <b><i>inyaburi</i></b>      | <b><i>inyacui</i></b>         |
|                                     | {in-abut-i}                 | {in-atjui}                    |
|                                     | \3p-children.om\            | \3p-children.of.male\         |
|                                     | <3p.M>PL                    | <3p.F>PL                      |
|                                     | "children.of.plural.male"   | "children.of.plural.female"   |
|                                     | 'their children'            | 'their children'              |

In Paradigm 3.1, the semantic reading (SR) must be (SR.i) "child.of.singular.male" for the term ***abut*** and "child.of.singular.female" for the term ***ayak***, and must not be (SR.ii) \*"singular.male.child" for ***abut*** and \*"singular.female.child" for ***ayak***, for the following reasons:

(i) The terms, i.e. *abut* and *ayak*, refer to the sex of the possessor, instead of to the sex of the possessee, i.e. the child, as was stated early in this section '... the term for 'child' is determined by the sex of ego, regardless of the sex of the child.' Thus, in this case,

(ii) (SR.i) indicates that *abut* refers to a child who belongs to a male possessor, and *ayak* refers to a child who belongs to a female possessor. Or in terms of inalienability, *abut* inalienably includes a male possessor while *ayak* inalienably includes a female possessor. On the other hand, (SR.ii) indicates that *abut* refers to a male singular child, and *ayak* refers to a female singular child, ruling out the inclusion of the possessor in each term. In (SR.i), the terms refer to the sex of the possessor, while in (SR.ii), the terms refer to the sex of the child. It follows that,

(iii) the grammatical structure of (SR.i)'s expression is {{child} of.singular.male}, while the grammatical structure of (SR.ii)'s expression is {singular.male.child}, i.e. 'son' in English, and

(iv) the semantic interpretation (SI) is then <3s.M>SG, where <3s.M> refers to "of.singular.male" and SG, outside the angle brackets, indicates the number of the term, which is singular in this example for *abut* and *ayak* – cf. *aburi*, the semantic interpretation is <3s.M>PL, i.e. {{children} of.singular.male}.

(v) In Wano, (SR.i) is true for the meaning of *abut* and *ayak*, and (SR.ii) is not true for the meaning of *abut* and *ayak*. Since in (SR.i), *abut* is 'child.of.male' and *ayak* is

'child.of.female', whereas in (SR.ii), *abut* is 'his/her son' and *ayak* is 'his/her daughter', which is not true in Wano.

For the compound terms, we have, for instance:

- (3.25) a. ***abut-ayak***  
 { $\emptyset$ -abut- $\emptyset$ -ajak}  
 \3s-child.oM\_3s-child.oF\  
 <3s.M>SG&<3s.F>SG  
 "child.of.singular.male\_child.of.singular.female"  
 'their child' (*lit.* 'his child\_her child')
- b. ***aburi-acui***  
 { $\emptyset$ -abut-i- $\emptyset$ -atjui}  
 \3s-children.oM\_3s-children.oF\  
 <3s.M>PL&<3s.F>PL  
 "children.of.singular.male\_children.of.singular.female"  
 'their children' (*lit.* 'his children\_her children')

#### 3.4.2.1 *Abut 'his child of male' and ayak 'her child of female'*

As was outlined in Paradigm 3.1, the term ***abut*** 'his child of male' and ***ayak*** 'her child of female', cf. (3.22), with their plural forms ***aburi*** 'his children of male' and ***acui*** 'her children of female', cf. (3.23), are semantically exclusive, i.e. they are strictly male-terms and female-terms. Thus, the terms *abut* 'his child of male' and *aburi* 'his children of male' are applicable only to male possessor(s). Likewise, the terms *ayak* 'her child of female' and *acui* 'her children of female' are used only for female possessor(s).

When a person, regardless of sex of the person, talks to a male parent, i.e. a father, concerning a child of his and his wife, the <2s.M>SG&<3s.F>SG term: ***kabut-ayak*** (3.22a.3ii) is used, as given in (3.26). Consider the semantic interpretation with its literal and free translations.



- (3.26) Scenario 1  
 Someone addresses a male parent, i.e. a father:  
 <2s.M>SG&<3s.F>SG  
*kabut-ayak*  
 k-abut\_ø-ajak  
 2s-child.oM\_3s-child.oF  
 'your.sg and her child' or 'child of your.sg and hers'

On the other hand, when the person talks to a female parent, i.e. a mother, concerning a child of hers and her husband's, <2s.F>SG&<3s.M>SG term: ***kayak-abut*** (3.22a.3jj) is used, as given in (3.27).

- (3.27) Scenario 2  
 Someone addresses a female parent, i.e. a mother:  
 <2s.F>SG&<3s.M>SG  
*kayak-abut*  
 k-ajak\_ø-abut  
 2s-child.oF\_3s-child.oM  
 'your.sg and his child' or 'child of your.sg and his'

Furthermore, when the person talks to both parents referring to their child, he or she uses either *kinyabut-kinyayak*, i.e. <2p.M>SG&<2p.F>SG, or *kinyayak-kinyabut*, <2p.F>SG&<2p.M>SG for the expression of 'both your.pl child' or 'child of both yours.pl'. The reverse *ayak-abut*, i.e. <3s.F>SG&<3s.M>SG and *abut-ayak*, i.e. <3s.M>SG&<3s.F>SG signifies possessor-focus in terms of speaker's personal judgement, which is indicated by initial word ( $W_1$ ) in  $\{W_1-W_2\}$  pattern, cf. (3.24c). This is illustrated as follows. In (3.28a), the focus/centre is the father, since *abut* 'his child' is front-positioned ( $W_1$ ), while in (3.28b), it is the mother, for *ayak* 'her child' is front-positioned ( $W_1$ ).

- (3.28) a. Scenario 3  
 Someone addresses parents, father is the focus:  
 <2p.M>SG&<2p.F>SG  
*kinyabut-kinyayak*  
 kin-abut\_kin-ajak  
 2p-child.oM\_2p-child.oF  
 'your.pl child' or 'child of your.pl'
- b. Scenario 4  
 Someone addresses parents, mother is the focus:  
 <2p.F>SG&<2p.M>SG  
*kinyayak-kinyabut*  
 kin-ajak\_kin-abut  
 2p-child.oF\_2p-child.oM  
 'your.pl child' or 'child of your.pl'

I may now consider further use of the terms *abut* 'his child' and *ayak* 'her child', in §3.4.2.2 to §3.4.2.5.

### 3.4.2.2 *Ninyabut* 'our child'

The term ***ninyabut*** {nin-abut} \1p-child.oM\ <1p.M>SG 'our child' or 'child of ours' (3.22a.1i), is "our child.of.male". The plural form is ***ninyaburi*** {nin-abut-i} \1p-child.oM-PL\ <1p.M>PL 'our children' or 'children of ours' (3.23a.1i) is "our children.of.male". It is inapplicable for female persons, as shown in (3.22a.1j).

|        |                    |                  |
|--------|--------------------|------------------|
| (3.29) | SINGULAR: <1p.M>SG | PLURAL: <1p.M>PL |
|        | <i>ninyabut</i>    | <i>ninyaburi</i> |
|        | nin-abut           | nin-abut-i       |
|        | 1p-child.oM        | 1p-child.oM-PL   |
|        | 'our child'        | 'our children'   |

The prefixation of the first-person plural morpheme (i.e. *niny* {nin-} \1p-\ 'our') and the root (*abut* 'his child') implies that the term is used when a man speaks either to his brother(s), kin-related men about his child (son or daughter). In this term, his wife is excluded. The child concerned could be his own or his and his wife's child. The

man, however, can refer to the same child when speaking to his wife by using the term **kayak** {k-ajak} \2s-child.oF\ <2s.M>SG 'your.sg child', see (3.22a.1jj). This term can be used by other speakers, regardless of sex distinction, when talking to a woman about her child (3.22a.3j). The plural form of *kayak* 'your.sg child' is **kacui** {k-acui} \2s.children\ <2s.F>PL 'your.sg children' (3.23a.3j), which is female.plural.

### 3.4.2.3 *Ninyayak 'our child'*

The term **ninyayak** {nin-ajak} \1p-child.oF\ <1p.F>SG 'our child' or 'child of ours' (3.22a.2j). The plural form is **ninyacui** {nin-atjui} \1p.children.oF\ <1p.F>PL 'our children' (3.23a.2j). The term is inapplicable for male persons (3.22a.2i).

|        |                    |                  |
|--------|--------------------|------------------|
| (3.30) | SINGULAR: <1p.F>SG | PLURAL: <1p.F>PL |
|        | <i>ninyayak</i>    | <i>ninyacui</i>  |
|        | nin-ajak           | nin-atjui        |
|        | 1p-child.oF        | 1p.children.oF   |
|        | 'our child'        | 'our children'   |

The term is used when a woman speaks either to her sister(s), kin-related women or when her sister(s) or kin-related women speak to a woman about her child (son or daughter). Her husband is excluded. The child referred to could be hers alone as a genetic parent, or hers and her husband's. She can refer to the same child when speaking to her husband, using the term **kabut** {k-abut} \2s-child.oM\ <2s.M>SG 'your.sg child', see (3.22a.2ii). This term can be used by other speaker(s), regardless of sex distinction, when talking to a man about his child (3.22a.3i).

### 3.4.2.4 *Ninyayak-ninyabut 'our child'*

This term is restricted to genetic parents. The compound term **ninyayak-ninyabut** {nin-ajak\_nin-abut} \1p-child.oF\_1p-child.oM\ <1p.F>SG&<1p.M>SG 'our child',

(3.22b.1i), uttered in the context of husband-wife relationship by the husband, is "child.of.plural.female\_child.of.plural.male". Recall the guidelines in (3.24), how do we know that the father is the speaker? The fronted term is the clue. In the case of *ninyayak-ninyabut* 'our child', it is *ayak* 'her-child', that is fronted to indicate that the mother is the addressee and that the mother is the focus. Both father and mother are genetic parents. This term is the pair of the one given in (3.33) of §3.4.2.5. The plural form is ***ninyacui-ninyaburi*** {nin-atjui\_nin-abut-i} \1p-children.of\_1p-child.OM-PL\ <1p.F>PL&<1p.M>PL 'our children' (3.22b.1i), which renders semantic reading: "children.of.plural.female\_children.of.plural.male".

- (3.31) Scenario 5 (3.22b.1i) and (3.23b.1i) – cf. (3.34)  
 A husband addresses his wife:  
 <1p.F>SG&<1p.M>SG and <1p.F>PL&<1p.M>PL
- a. *ninyayak-ninyabut*  
 nin-ajak\_nin-abut  
 1p-child.of\_1p-child.OM  
 'our child' (lit. "our child.of.female\_our child.of.male")
  - b. *ninyacui-ninyaburi*  
 nin-atjui\_nin-abut-i  
 1p-children.of.PL\_1p-child-PL  
 'our children' (lit. "our children.of.female\_our children.of male")

Both compounded kin terms in (3.30) are used only for/by genetic parents. When the husband wants to single out one of the parents as the genetic parent, he will use the terms *kayak-ninyabut*, i.e. <2s.F>SG&<1p.M>SG (3.31a) or *ninyayak-nabut*, i.e. <1p.F>SG&<1s.M>SG (3.31b). Note in (3.31a), the female term in the singular form, i.e. *kayak* 'your.sg child' or <2s.F>SG, indicates that the genetic parent is the mother – cf. (3.24b). On the other hand, in (3.31b), the male term is in the singular form, i.e. *nabut* 'my child' or <1s.M>SG, thus marks the father as the genetic parent.

- (3.32) a. Scenario 6  
 A husband addresses his wife, genetic parent is the mother:  
 <2s.F>SG&<1p.M>SG  
*kayak-ninyabut*  
 k-ajak\_nin-abut  
 2s-child.oF\_1p-child.oM  
 'our child:your.sg genetic child'
- b. Scenario 7  
 A husband addresses his wife, genetic parent is the father:  
 <1p.F>SG&<1s.M>SG  
*ninyayak-nabut*  
 nin-ajak\_n-abut  
 1p-child.oF\_1s-child.oM  
 'our child:my genetic child'

The plural forms for (3.32a) is **kacui-ninyaburi**, i.e. <2s.F>PL&<1p.M>PL and for (3.32b) is **ninyacui-naburi**, i.e. <1p.F>PL&<1s.M>PL. The examples in (3.32) are symmetric to those given in (3.34).

#### 3.4.2.5 *Ninyabut-ninyayak 'our child'*

The compound term **ninyabut-ninyayak**, {nin-abut\_nin-ajak} \1p-child.oM\_1p-child.oF\ <1p.M>SG&<1p.F>SG 'our child' (3.22b.2i), is used by the wife in the context of husband-wife relationship. Both husband and wife are genetic parents. The father is the focus since *abut* 'his child' is fronted. The plural form of *ninyabut-ninyayak* 'our child' is **ninyaburi-ninyacui** {nin-abut-i\_nin-acui} \1p-child.oM-PL\_1p-children.oF\ <1p.M>PL&<1p.F>PL 'our children' (3.23b.2i).

- (3.33) Scenario 8 (3.22b.2i) and (3.23b.2i) – cf. (3.31)  
 A wife addresses her husband:  
 <1p.M>SG&<1p.F>SG and <1p.M>PL&<1p.F>PL
- a. *ninyabut-ninyayak*  
 nin-abut\_nin-ajak  
 1p-child.oF\_1p-child.oF  
 'our child' (*lit.* "our child.of.male\_our child.of.female")

- b. *ninyaburi-ninyacui*  
 nin-abut-i\_nin-atjui  
 1p.child.oM-PL\_1p-children.oF  
 'our children' (lit. "our children.of.male\_our children.of.female")

When the wife wants to specify either one of the parents as the genetic parent, the terms *kabut-ninyayak*, i.e. <2s.M>SG&<1p.F>SG (3.34a) or *ninyabut-nayak*, i.e. <1p.M>SG&<1s.F>SG (3.34b) is used.

- (3.34) a. Scenario 9  
 A wife addresses her husband, genetic parent is the father:  
 <2s.M>SG&<1p.F>SG  
*kabut-ninyayak*  
 k-abut\_nin-ajak  
 2s-child.oM\_1p-child.oF.PL  
 'our child:your.sg genetic child' (lit. "your.sg genetic child.of.male\_our child.of.female")  
 b. Scenario 10  
 A wife addresses her husband, genetic parent is the mother:  
 <1p.M>SG&<1s.F>SG  
*ninyabut-nayak*  
 nin-abut\_n-ayak  
 1p-child.oM\_1s-child.oF  
 'our child:my genetic child' (lit. "our child.of.male\_my genetic child.of.female")

The plural forms of (3.34a) is *kaburi-ninyacui*, i.e. <2s.M>PL&<1p.F>PL and of (3.34b) is *ninyaburi-nacui*, i.e. <1p.M>PL&<1s.F>PL. The examples in (3.34) are symmetric to those in (3.32).

When the sex of the child has to be specified, *ap* 'man' or *kwa* 'woman' modifies the head noun in the structure of {modifier-head}, although this is not a very common practice.

|        |    |                |             |                 |                |
|--------|----|----------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|
| (3.35) | a. | MALE EGO       |             |                 |                |
|        |    | SINGULAR       |             |                 | PLURAL         |
|        |    | <i>ap</i>      | <i>abut</i> | <i>ap</i>       | <i>aburi</i>   |
|        |    | <i>ap</i>      | ø-abut      | <i>ap</i>       | ø-abut-i       |
|        |    | man            | 3s-child.OM | man             | 3s-child.OM-PL |
|        |    | 'his son'      |             | 'his sons'      |                |
|        |    | <i>kwa</i>     | <i>abut</i> | <i>kwa</i>      | <i>aburi</i>   |
|        |    | <i>kwa</i>     | ø-abut      | <i>kwa</i>      | ø-abut-i       |
|        |    | woman          | 3s-child.OM | woman           | 3s-child.OM-PL |
|        |    | 'his daughter' |             | 'his daughters' |                |
|        | b. | FEMALE EGO     |             |                 |                |
|        |    | SINGULAR       |             |                 | PLURAL         |
|        |    | <i>ap</i>      | <i>ayak</i> | <i>ap</i>       | <i>acui</i>    |
|        |    | <i>ap</i>      | ø-ajak      | <i>ap</i>       | ø-atjui        |
|        |    | man            | 3s-child.OF | man             | 3s-children.OF |
|        |    | 'her son'      |             | 'her sons'      |                |
|        |    | <i>kwa</i>     | <i>ayak</i> | <i>kwa</i>      | <i>acui</i>    |
|        |    | <i>kwa</i>     | ø-ajak      | <i>kwa</i>      | ø-atjui        |
|        |    | woman          | 3s-child.OF | woman           | 3s-children.OF |
|        |    | 'her daughter' |             | 'her daughters' |                |

Further mention must be made regarding *abut* 'his child' and *ayak* 'her child'. Such terms refer to the kinship relation, while the generic term for 'child' as opposed to grown-ups or adults is expressed by a verbal phrase *nonggobe* 'child', that is a figurative speech of *nong* {non-} 'consume' + *k* {k-} 'REAL' + *o* {-o} '3s.SBJ' + *be* {be} 'small'; literally: 'little one who eats', implies 'the one who still needs to be fed'. This term is used for infants, toddlers and young children. Its plural form is derived by means of reduplication and suffixed with *vi* {-vi} 'PL', rendering *nonggodunggwi* 'children'; *nong* {non-} 'consume' + *k* {k-} 'REAL' + *o* {-o} '3s.SBJ' ~ *dung* {dun-} 'REDUP' + *g* {k-} 'REAL' + *vi* {-vi} 'plural'.

- (3.36) a. SINGULAR  
*at ap nonggobe*  
*at ap non-k-o-be*  
*he man consume-REAL-s-small*  
 'his little/baby boy' or 'his male infant' or 'his young son'
- b. PLURAL  
*at kwa nonggodungwi*  
*at kwa non-k-o~d-un-k-vi*  
*he woman consume-REAL-s-small~REDUP-PL*  
 'his little/baby girls' or 'his female infants' or 'his young daughter'

Regarding **spousal relationship**, different terms are used for spouses (cf. also §1.3).

- (3.37) a. SINGULAR PLURAL  
*agwe {ø-akwe} \3s-wife\ agwevi {ø-akwe-vi} \3s-wife-PL\*  
 'his wife' 'his wives'
- b. *oiny {ø-oin} \3s-husband\ oinyi {ø-oin-i} \3s-husband-PL\*  
 'her husband' 'her husbands'

Pertaining to (3.37), Wano expresses something like 'family' or 'household' in terms of sex distinction of the possessor as illustrated in (3.38a), for 'family of male', and (3.38b), for 'family of female'.

- (3.38) a. MALE EGO  
*agwebut {ø-akwe\_ø-but} \3s-wife\_3s-child.oM\*  
 'his family/household'
- b. FEMALE EGO  
*oinyayak {ø-oin\_ø-ajak} \3s-husband\_3s-child.oF\*  
 'her family/household'

Concerning **sibling relationship**, in the ego's own generation, when ego and sibling are of the same sex (oss), age determines the choice of referring terms – see also §5.2 in chapter 5 for discussion on deixis.



- (3.39)
- a. *awot* { $\emptyset$ -awot} \3s-younger sibling.oss\  
'his younger brother' or 'her younger sister'  
(lit. 'his/her younger sibling of the same sex')
  - b. *awori* { $\emptyset$ -awot-i} \3s-younger sibling.oss-PL\  
'his younger brothers' or 'her younger sisters'  
(lit. 'his/her younger siblings of the same sex')
  - c. *owe* { $\emptyset$ -owe} \3s-older sibling.oss\  
'his older brother' or 'her older sister'  
(lit. 'his/her older sibling of the same sex')
  - d. *owewi* { $\emptyset$ -owe-wi} \3s-older sibling.oss-PL\  
'his older brothers' or 'her older sisters'  
(lit. 'his/her older siblings of the same sex')

If ego and sibling are of the different sexes (ODS), a different term is used regardless of age distinction.

- (3.40)
- a. SINGULAR  
*iri* { $\emptyset$ -iti} \3s-sibling.ods\  
'his/her opposite sex sibling' or 'his sister/her brother'  
(lit. 'his/her sibling of a different sex')
  - b. PLURAL  
*irivi* { $\emptyset$ -iti-vi} \3s-sibling.ods-PL\  
'his/her opposite sex siblings' or 'his sisters/her brothers'  
(lit. 'his/her siblings of a different sex')

### 3.4.3 Body parts

Nouns denoting body parts are divided into two categories, namely: **solid** (§3.4.3.1) and **liquid** (§3.4.3.2) body parts.

#### 3.4.3.1 Solid bodily parts

Items referring to body parts including hand, hair, eyes, head, and the like, are categorised as solid body parts. Examples in (3.41) give only third person-singular possessor.

- (3.41) a. *indit* { $\emptyset$ -intit} \3s-cheek\ 'his cheek'  
 b. *enak* { $\emptyset$ -enak} \3s-tooth\ 'his tooth'  
 c. *akwi* { $\emptyset$ -atkwi} \3s-nose\ 'his nose'  
 d. *ombagit* { $\emptyset$ -ompakit} \3s-vein\ 'his vein'

### 3.4.3.2 Liquid bodily excreta

Items referring to bodily excreta including tears, saliva, blood, and the like, are in the liquid body parts group. Terms for excretive items are all *a*-initial, but can be realised without the initial vowel, with some exceptions. The term *owarid* 'his saliva' takes the vowel *o* {*o*-} instead of *a* {*a*-}. Likewise, *eravun* 'her menstrual flow' is *e*-initial. The possessor of term *enan* 'excrement' is zero, { $\emptyset$ -}. Excretions, once they have been detached from the body are no longer possessed and the possessive marker will be dropped. Examples are given in (3.42).

- |        |                                                                                             |                                                                                     |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.42) | a. <u>ATTACHED TO BODY</u><br><i>ademburu</i><br>a-de-mputu<br>3s-cry-liquid<br>'his tears' | b. <u>DETACHED FROM BODY</u><br><i>demburu</i><br>de-mputu<br>cry-liquid<br>'tears' |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The list of liquid bodily excretive items follows.

- |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.43) | a. <u>ATTACHED TO BODY</u><br><i>ademburu</i> 'his tears'<br><i>adian</i> 'his blood'<br><i>ameiyo</i> 'his urine'<br><i>amburu</i> 'his liquid'<br><i>angguret</i> 'his mucus'<br><i>anggudit</i> 'his pus'<br><i>aringgu</i> 'his snot'<br><i>ayenggoda</i> 'his sperm'<br><i>eravun</i> 'her menstrual flow'<br><i>owarid</i> 'his saliva' | b. <u>DETACHED FROM BODY</u><br><i>demburu</i> 'tears'<br><i>dian</i> 'blood'<br><i>meiyo</i> 'urine'<br><i>mburu</i> 'liquid'<br><i>ngguret</i> 'mucus'<br><i>kundit</i> 'pus'<br><i>tinggu</i> 'snot'<br><i>yenggoda</i> 'sperm'<br><i>tavun</i> 'menstrual flow'<br><i>warid</i> 'saliva' |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Notice that *ademburu* is an inflection of *a-de-mburu* '3s-cry-liquid', and *ayenggoda* is probably of *ø-aye-nggodan* '3s-penis-?'.

#### 3.4.4 Experiential events

Terms denoting **experiential events** are divided into two categories: nouns related to the **cognitive** sphere and those to do with **physiological** sense or feeling. A detailed discussion of experiential events is given in chapters 7 §7.2 and 9 §9.4 (see also Burung 2002, 2003, 2004 and 2007a). A brief account is given here.

Words related to thought, memory, dream and the like fall under the cognition type of experiential events. The word *enokweid* {*ø-enokweid*} \3s-mind\ in (3.44), is an example, which can be translated as 'his thought', or 'his mind', or 'his idea'.

- (3.44)     *an*        *at*        *enokweid*  
               *an*        *at*        *ø-enokweid*  
               I        he        3s-mind  
               'I think of him' or 'I have a thought of him' or 'I am mindful of him' (*lit.* 'I have his mind')

Words related to physical feeling and emotion, like happiness, heaviness or pain, are properties of the physiological domain of experiential events. The word *anggin* {*ø-an*  
*ankin*} \3s-weariness\ in (3.45) is an example that can be translated as 'his weariness', or 'his tiredness', and the like.

- (3.45) a. *an nanggin*  
           *an n-ankin*  
           I 1s-weariness  
           'I am weary' or 'I am tired' (*lit.* 'I have my weariness')
- b. *an kat kanggin*  
      *an kat k-ankin*  
      I you.sg 2s-weariness  
      'I am tired of you' (*lit.* 'I have your.sg weariness')

Note further that the examples in (3.44) and (3.45b) contain 2-place predicates of non-verbal clauses, and the one in (3.45) is a 1-place predicate of non-verbal clause. I will discuss non-verbal clauses in chapter 7.

### 3.5 INALIENABLY MARKED WORDS

Lexical items expressing beneficiary (§3.5.1), and comitative-abessive (§3.5.2) are also inalienably marked.

#### 3.5.1 Benefactive

The word *ambit* {*ø-ampit*} \3s-sake\ 'his sake' marks 'beneficiary', which takes direct object/possessor prefixes. In an everyday mother and child's dialogue we will notice the use of *ambit* 'his sake' for third person singular in (3.46c, d). In (3.46e), for first person singular, and (3.46f) for second person singular. What follows is an example of a conversation (Burung's fieldnote, Biricare 1994) where a mother was about to go to the field for some cassava leaves to feed her pig. Having been noticed by her child, she was called to – hence the conversation in (3.46), follows:

- (3.46) a. Child:  
*nica-o, ngga nendik-a.*  
 n-itja=o nka n-ent-ik=a  
 1s-mother=PAUS where go-2s-PROG=Q  
 'My mother, where are you going?'
- b. Mother:  
*e kom engga waniak netik-o.*  
 e kom enka wan-iak n-ett-ik=o \  
 tree yam leaf gather-then go-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 'I am going to gather some cassava leaves.'
- c. Child:  
*ta ne ambit-a.*  
 ta ne ø-ampit=a  
 SPEC S.REF 3s-sake-Q  
 'for whom?' (lit. 'for whose sake?')
- d. Mother:  
*nanggwom ambit-o.*  
 n-awom ø-ampit=o \  
 2s-pig 3s-sake-PAUS  
 'for my pig.'
- e. Child:  
*nambit ta, nano-a.*  
 n-ampit ta | nano=a  
 1s-sake SPEC what=Q  
 'What is for me?' (lit. 'What is for my sake?')
- f. Mother:  
*nda doiak ta, bok-o, nggwen kuma ne*  
*nta do-iak ta | bok=o | nkwen kuma ne*  
*here stay-DSEQ SPEC good= SPEC earth peanut SREF*
- kambit wiriak tetik-o.*  
 k-ampit wit-iak t-ett-ik=o \  
 2s-sake pull out-then intend-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 'You better stay here! I will get some peanuts for you.'

[Burung's fieldnotes, Biricare 1994]

### 3.5.2 Comitative-Abessive

There are four postpositions that have a basic comitative-abessive meaning. They are *inyom* {ø-with} \3s-with\ 'his with', *ambek* 'his without', *adik* 'his aloneness', and *imbirak* 'his togetherness'. The antonyms, *inyom* and *ambek* occur following (pro)nouns, with which they agree in person/number. While *inyom* occurs in the

coordinate structure of {(NP (*inyom*)) NP *inyom*}, *ambek* strictly has {(NP) NP *ambek*}.

Further discussion is given in §8.2.2.

- (3.47) a. *an* (***ninyom***) *kat* ***kinyom*** *werak-o.*  
 an n-inom kat k-inom we-**et**-ak=o \  
 I 1s-with you.sg 2s-with come-**1s.SBJ**-then= PAUS  
 'I came with you.sg'
- a'. *an* ***ninyom*** *kat* (***kinyom***) *wendak-o.*  
 an n-inom kat k-inom we-**ent**-ak=o \  
 I 1s-with you.sg 2s-with come-**2s.SBJ**-then= PAUS  
 'You.sg came with me.'
- b. *an* *kat* ***kambek*** *werak-o.*  
 an kat k-ampek we-**et**-ak=o\  
 I you.sg 2s-without come-**1s.SBJ**-then=PAUS  
 'I came without you.sg'
- b'. *an* *kat* ***nambek*** *wendak-o.*  
 an kat n-ampek we-ent-ak=o \  
 I you.sg 1s-without come-**2s.SBJ**-then=PAUS  
 'You.sg came without me.'

While it is possible to employ the comitative *inyom* '3s-with' twice as in (3.47a) and (3.47a') or only once as in (3.48a), the abessive *ambek* 'without' can only occur once as in (3.47b) and (3.47b'). Something like (3.48b), intended as expressing a correlative conjunction: 'neither I, nor you' is not possible.

- (3.48) a. *an* *kat* ***kinyom*** *werak-o.*  
 an kat k-inom w-et-ak=o\  
 I you.sg 2s-with come-1p.SBJ-D.SEQ=PAUS  
 'I came with you.sg'
- b. \**an* ***nambek*** *kat* ***kambek*** *werak-o.*  
 an n-ambek kat k-ambek w-et-ak=o\  
 I 1s-without you.sg 2s-without come-1p.SBJ-D.SEQ=PAUS

Some further examples. A conversation narrated in (3.49) took place in Iratoi some time in 1992. It was when I was asking some young men about the murder of an old woman who was accused as being the cause of my first language teacher's death. Note in (3.49a), Speaker 1 was interrupted by Speaker 2, in (3.49b), when he was

informing me about the killer. He then responded in (3.49c), which was followed by another conversant with his additional remark on the murderer in (4.49c').

- (3.49) a. SPEAKER 1:  
*at ta, nawot wakirak-o.*  
*at ta | n-awot wat-k-it-ak=o\*  
 he SPEC 1s-younger sibling.OSS 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'he was the one who killed my younger brother'  
 b. SPEAKER 2:  
*ta, ne*  
*ta ne*  
 SPEC S.REF  
 'which one?'  
 c. SPEAKER 1:  
*kevewok yedok inyom*  
*kevewok jedok ø-inom*  
 penis gourd large 3s-with  
 '(the one) with a big penis gourd'  
 c'. SPEAKER 3:  
*anop eruk ambek*  
*ø-anop ø-eruk ø-ambek*  
 3s-head 3s-hair 3s-without  
 '(the one) without hair' or '(the) bald (one)'

[Fieldnotes, Iratoi 1992]

The comitative *imbirak* '3s-together' has no paired antonym.

- (3.50) *nit apik ninyimbirak, yanduk iruid-o.*  
*nit apik nin-impitak | janduk it-uid=o \*  
 we all 3p-togetherness bridge do-1p.SBJ:INCEP=PAUS  
 'we all together, let us make a bridge!' or 'let us all make the bridge together!'

Wano, however, can make use of the negator *adik* '3s-aloneness' or '3s-nothing' to express the opposite of *imbirak* '3s-togetherness'.

- (3.51) *nit apik niny-adik, yanduk iruid-o.*  
*nit apik nin-adik | janduk it-uid=o \*  
 we all 1p-aloneness bridge do-1p.SBJ:INCEP=PAUS  
 'we alone, let us make a bridge!' or 'let us all make a bridge by ourselves!' or 'let us all make a bridge with no help!'

In comparison, while *adik* '3s-aloneness' simply expresses the opposite sense of *imbirak* '3s-togetherness', *ambek* '3s-without' may be used to refer to one's right to do something.

- (3.52) a. *at anggwom ambek wakirak-o.*  
           at a-wom ø-ampek wat-k-it-ak=o \  
           he 3s-pig 3s-without 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
           'he himself killed his pig' (because of ownership right/privilege)  
       b. *at anggwom adik wakirak-o.*  
           at a-wom ø-adik | wat-k-it-ak=o \  
           he 3s-pig 3p-aloneness 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
           'he killed his pig alone (without anyone else involved)'

Culturally, this term is used in occasions like a wedding ceremony whereby the bridegroom must hand over all the required items of the bridal price to the father (represented by the mother's brother) of his bride:

- (3.53) *at ambek wanbanuk wokirak-o.*  
           at ø-ampek wan-ban-uk wot-k-it-ak=o\  
           he 3s-without gather-put down-next 3s.OBJ:give-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
           'having presented, he himself gave then ..' or 'he himself, having presented, he gave then ..'

[see also Text 35: 2.49-50; Burung 2013a: 241, 250-1]

### 3.6 LOCATIVE MARKERS

In §3.1, I showed that the internal structure of Wano nouns includes possessor (POSS), plural (PL) and location (LOC). The possessive coding for alienable nouns is by means of prefixal vowel-insertion (§3.2.4), while the plural markers are suffixes (§3.2.3). Like the latter, the locative markers are suffixes. They are considered suffixes, not clitics, based on their morphophonological behaviour. When suffixed to



(3.54) a. *yarak* 'harvested field'  
           *ja'tak*  
           harvested field  
       b. *yarakme* 'In the harvested field'  
           *jatak-'me*  
           harvested field-LOC

The suffixes *me/mu* {-me/-mu} 'LOC' are identical in function to the etymologically related locative suffixes *-ma* ~ *-mo* of Lower Grand-Valley Dani described in Bromley (1981: 78-80).

- (3.55) *poiya me, mbit me, mbouqmu me, wunu-o,*  
*poiya **me** | mpit **me** | mpouq-mu **me** | wun-u=o |*  
*sun and moon and sky-LOC and exist-SBJ.PL=PAUS*
- e me, ap apik me, nggwenme me, wunu-o,*  
*e **me** | ap apik **me** | nkwen-me **me** | wun-u=o |*  
*tree and man all and earth-LOC and exist-SBJ.PL=PAUS*
- dianggen yedogo me, i inumu me, wunu-o,*  
*dianken jedogo **me** | i inu-mu **me** | wun-u=o |*  
*fish many and water inside-LOC and exist-SBJ.PL=PAUS*  
 'The sun and the moon are in the sky, the trees and all people are on earth, and  
 the fish are in/under the sea/water.'
- [BM and YW, p.c. Biricare/Iratoi 1996]

The allomorph *-mu* 'LOC' occurs only following high vowels, [i] and [u], as outlined in (3.56).

- (3.56) a. **me** {-me} 'locative' (LOC)
- |               |   |                 |                                  |
|---------------|---|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>yarak</i>  | > | <i>yarakme</i>  | 'in the harvested field'         |
| <i>nggwen</i> | > | <i>nggwenme</i> | 'in the earth'                   |
| <i>o</i>      | > | <i>ome</i>      | 'in the place'                   |
| <i>dingge</i> | > | <i>dinggeme</i> | 'in the light' 'in the day time' |
- b. **mu** {-mu} 'locative' (LOC)
- |                |   |                  |                          |
|----------------|---|------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>wadik</i>   | > | <i>wadikmu</i>   | 'in the abandoned field' |
| <i>nggweri</i> | > | <i>nggwerimu</i> | 'in Nggweri'             |
| <i>mbouq</i>   | > | <i>mbouqmu</i>   | 'in the sky'             |
| <i>yavuk</i>   | > | <i>yavukmu</i>   | 'in the planted field'   |

Further examples in (3.57-58) illustrate occurrences of *me/mu* {-me/-mu} 'LOC'.

- (3.57) *an no ta, nggebak avudimu kweikaid-o,*  
*an no ta | nkebak ø-avudi-mu kweid-k-id=o |*  
*I G.REF SPEC canoe 3s-abdomen-LOC sit-REAL-1s.INCEP=PAUS*
- nabut ambui ta, nggebak anopme*  
*n-abut ampui ta | nkebak ø-anop-me*  
*1s-child.OM one SPEC canoe 3s-head-LOC*

*kweid ki-o.*  
*kweid ki=o.*  
*sit very=PAUS*  
 'as for me, I sat at the belly of the canoe, one of my children (or 'a child of mine') sat at the very front of the canoe.'  
 [Text 67: 3.6; Burung 2013a: 256, 265]

- (3.58) *an turumo dokniq ta, an no nggebak*  
*an tutumo do-k-niq ta | an no nkebak*  
*I PN stay-REAL-as such SPEC I G.REF canoe*
- inumū inggi nirak*  
*ø-inu-mu in-k-i n-ir-ak*  
*3s-inside-LOC climb up-REAL-SBJ.PL go-REAL-1s.SBJ-then*  
 (when) I lived in Turumo, I went up (the river) in a canoe.'  
 [Text 67: 3.2; Burung 2013a: 225, 264]

The locative *me/mu* {-me/-mu} 'LOC' may be found on verbs and adjectives as well.

- (3.59) *mbinitmu kenok ta, niku, bokme*  
*mpinit-mu k-e-nok ta | nit-k-u || bok-me*  
*sand-LOC see-SBJ.PL-next SPEC pull-REAL-SBJ.PL good-LOC*
- kenok ta, wu ekenaq*  
*k-e-nok ta | w-u it-k-e-naq*  
*see-SBJ.PL-next SPEC come-3p.SBJ do-REAL-SBJ.PL-as such*
- nikik, bok wumu ta.*  
*nit-k-ik | bok w-u-mu ta |*  
*pull-REAL-PROG good come-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC*  
 'having seen (the) sandy place, we pulled (the canoe), having seen that it was a good place, we came (down to the sand).' (*lit.* '., it's good we came')  
 [Text 67: 3.8; Burung 2013: 256, 266]

When occurring with an adjective, as in *bokme* 'good-LOC' (3.59), the locative *me/mu* {-me/-mu} 'LOC' carries the pragmatic function to maintain that a given topic remains valid. Note the relation between *bokme* 'good-LOC' and *mbinitmu* 'sand-LOC'; the adjective modifies the fact of finding that the sand is good and that the place itself is indeed good. Hence, the translation 'having seen it was a good place' for *bokme kenok ta*. Further, as we will see in various examples of the following chapters, the

locative *me/mu* {-me/-mu} 'LOC', when found (i) on verbs, marks tense-aspect-mood as in (3.60), topic continuity as in (3.59) above, (ii) on deictic words, marks spatial location (chapter 5 §5.3.3), (iii) on question words, marks specific location and/or direction (chapter 6 §6.6), (iv) on clause linking, marks topic continuity (chapter 10 §10.5.7; chapter 11 §11.2), and (v) on tail-head linkage, marks head-linker (chapter 11 §11.2).

|        |                                                                                                  |                                                 |                                               |                                                               |                            |                       |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| (3.60) | <i>pigenuk</i><br>pike-nuk<br>grab-next                                                          | <i>winggo</i><br>win-k-o<br>come up-REAL-SBJ.SG | <i>nirik</i><br>n-it-ik<br>go-1s.SBJ-PROG     | <i>ta,</i><br>ta  <br>SPEC                                    | <i>nit</i><br>nit<br>we    | <i>at</i><br>at<br>he |
|        | <i>de</i><br>de<br>cry                                                                           | <i>wukduk</i><br>wuk~RED<br>battle cry          | <i>yuniq</i><br>j-u-niq<br>say-SBJ.PL-as such | <i>wunumu</i><br>wun-u- <u>mu</u><br>exist-3p.SBJ- <u>LOC</u> | <i>ta.</i><br>ta  <br>SPEC |                       |
|        | 'having grabbed (and) brought her out (of the water), (while) we remained crying and screaming.' |                                                 |                                               |                                                               |                            |                       |

[Text 67: 3.12; Burung 2013a: 257, 267]

## 3.7 STRUCTURAL PROPERTIES OF NOUN PHRASES

I discuss the structural properties of noun phrases in the following order: possessors in §3.7.1, adjectives in §3.7.2, numerals in §3.7.3, demonstratives in §3.7.4, source in §3.7.5, referential markers in §3.7.6, instrument in §3.7.7 and specifier in §3.7.8.

### 3.7.1 Possessors

Since reference to the possessor is always marked on the possessed noun, the possessive constituent is optional. The possessor may be a free pronoun, a noun or a possessed noun itself. The head noun can be either an inalienable or alienable noun. Consider the following utterance:

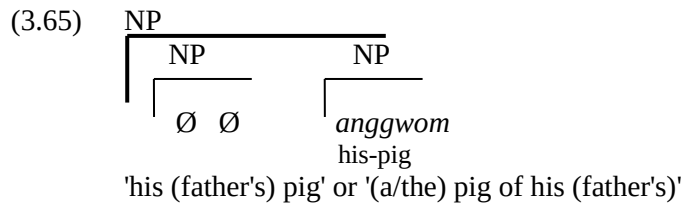
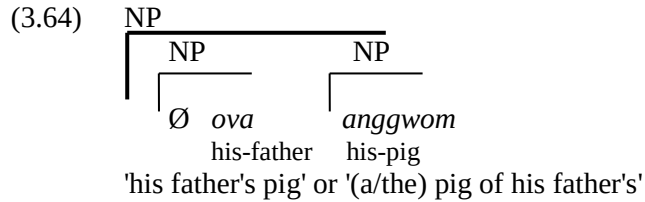
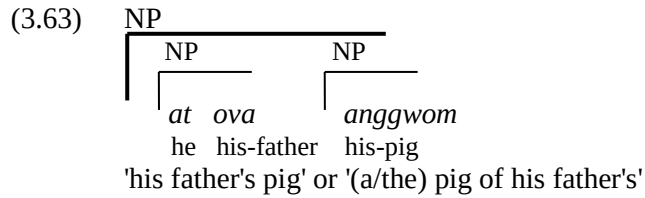
- (3.61)    *at*    *ova*            *anggwom*    *yedok*    *ki*    *kena*    *muni*    *ta*,  
           at    ø-ova        a-wom        jedok    ki    kena    muni    ta |  
           he    his-father   his-pig        large    very   three   that   SPEC  
           'his father's those three very big pigs' or 'those three very big pigs of his father'

The utterance in (3.61) is a noun phrase (NP). It is composed of a possessive noun phrase (possessive-NP), an adjective phrase (AP), a demonstrative (DEM) and three particles expressing intensifier, numeral and specifier. The possessive-NP includes a possessor phrase, *at ova* 'his father' and possessee, i.e. *anggwom* 'his-pig'. They are the elements of the NP head of the utterance in (3.61), as presented in:

- (3.62)
- 
- ```

graph TD
    NP1[NP] --- NP2[NP]
    NP1 --- NP3[NP]
    NP2 --- at[at]
    NP2 --- ova[ova]
    NP3 --- anggwom[anggwom]
    NP1 --- AP[AP]
    NP1 --- INT[INT]
    NP1 --- NUML[NUML]
    NP1 --- DEM[DEM]
    NP1 --- SPEC[SPEC]
    AP --- yedok[yedok]
    AP --- A[A]
    A --- ki[ki]
    INT --- kena[kena]
    INT --- muni[muni]
    INT --- ta[ta]
    NUML --- very[very]
    NUML --- three[three]
    DEM --- that[that]
    DEM --- specific[specific]
    SPEC --- specific2[specific]
  
```
- at ova*        *anggwom*    *yedok*    *ki*    *kena*    *muni*    *ta*  
           he his-father his-pig        large    very   three   that   specific  
           'his father's those three very big pigs' or 'those three very big pigs of his father's'

Re the possessive-NP (3.62), the pronoun *at* 'he' is optional since pro-drop is allowed in Wano – cf. (3.63). In fact, both the pronoun *at* 'he' and the noun *ova* 'his-father' can be deleted when the context regarding the semantic relation between the possessor, *at ova* 'his father', and the possessee, *anggwom* 'his-pig', is clear. The forms in (3.63) to (3.65) are, therefore, in common use.



Based on the three structures above, (3.63) to (3.65), the nominal possessive relation in Wano is {(possessor)-possessee} and the possessive-phrase structure is {(modifier)-head}.

Elements functioning as modifiers (MOD) of the NP in (3.61) and (3.62) are: (i) Adjective Phrase, i.e. *yedok* + *ki* 'very big', (ii) numeral, i.e. *kena* 'three', (iii) demonstrative, i.e. *muni* 'that', and (iv) specifier *ta* 'SPEC'.

With reference to the utterance in (3.61), beside the basic structure that was given in (3.62), repeated here in (3.66), two common structures as given in (3.67-8) are attested. Note: elements of each unit are put within the same boundary; broken lines indicate modifier elements.

- (3.66)
- 
- at ova anggwom yedok ki kena muni ta  
 he his-father his-pig large very three that specific  
 'his father's those three very big pigs' or 'those three very big pigs of his father's'

- (3.67)
- 
- Ø ova anggwom yedok ki kena muni ta  
 his-father his-pig large very three that specific  
 'his father's those three very big pigs' or 'those three very big pigs of his father's'

- (3.68)
- 
- Ø Ø anggwom yedok ki kena muni ta  
 his-pig large very three that specific  
 'his (father's) those three very big pigs' or 'those three very big pigs of his (father's)'

Either the possessor or the possessed item may be a conjoined NP, as evidenced in (3.69) and (3.70). The first conjoined NP in (3.69) demonstrates bisyndetic postpositive coordination, i.e. {*A co B co*}, while the second shows that Wano allows full omission of coordinators in both coordinands, i.e. {*A B*} (cf. §8.2). This gives the structures of {<sub>NP</sub> {NP *me* NP *me*} and {<sub>NP</sub> {NP NP} Adj}.

- (3.69)
- |                |                |                        |           |
|----------------|----------------|------------------------|-----------|
| NP             |                |                        |           |
| ┌ CONJ.NP      |                |                        |           |
| <i>naburi</i>  | <i>me</i>      | <i>nawori</i>          | <i>me</i> |
| n-abut-i       | me             | n-awot-i               | me        |
| 1s-child.OM-PL | and            | 1s-younger sibling.oss | and       |
| CON.NP         |                | MOD                    |           |
| <i>inyayum</i> | <i>inyegin</i> | ┌ <i>apik</i> ───      |           |
| ø-ina-jum      | ø-in-ekin      | └ apik                 |           |
| 3s-PL-netbag   | 3s-PL-bow      | all                    |           |
| PRED           |                |                        |           |
| <i>i</i>       | <i>ndu</i>     | <i>ki-o.</i>           |           |
| i              | n-t-u          | ki=o \                 |           |
| water          | ADV-steep-down | very= PAUS             |           |
- 'My children and my younger brothers, all of their net-bags and bows fell deeply into the water/river (= sunk).'
- [Text 67: 3.25; Burung 2013a: 260, 270]

In (3.70), we have an example of multisyndetic postpositive coordination, i.e. {A co B co C co}, which gives the structure of {NP *me* NP *me* NP *me*}. Details on coordination are found in chapter 8.

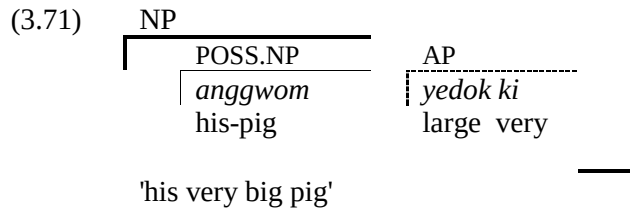
- (3.70)
- |                   |                |                        |             |
|-------------------|----------------|------------------------|-------------|
| <i>pinica</i>     | <i>nirak,</i>  |                        |             |
| pin-i-tja         | n-it-ak        |                        |             |
| arrive-S.SBJ-PURP | go-1p.SBJ-then |                        |             |
| NP                |                |                        |             |
| ┌ CONJ.NP         |                |                        |             |
| <i>an nagwe</i>   | <i>me,</i>     | <i>naburi</i>          | <i>me,</i>  |
| an n-akwe         | me             | n-abut-i               | me          |
| I 1s-wife         | and            | 1s-child.OM-PL         | and         |
|                   |                | <i>nawot</i>           | <i>abut</i> |
|                   |                | n-awot                 | ø-abut      |
|                   |                | 1s-younger sibling.oss | 3s-child.OM |
|                   |                | <i>ambui</i>           | <i>me,</i>  |
|                   |                | ambui                  | me          |
|                   |                | one                    | and         |
| <i>wunu</i>       | <i>nerak.</i>  |                        |             |
| wun-u             | n-et-ak\       |                        |             |
| exist-3p.SBJ      | go-1p.SBJ.then |                        |             |
- 'In order to reach (Lukibesi), I, my wife and child, and one of my younger brother's children, we kept on going, ...'
- [Text 67; 3.4; Burung 2013a: 255, 265]

Besides the possessor, discussed in this section, there are six more dependants found, which I will now discuss in turn.

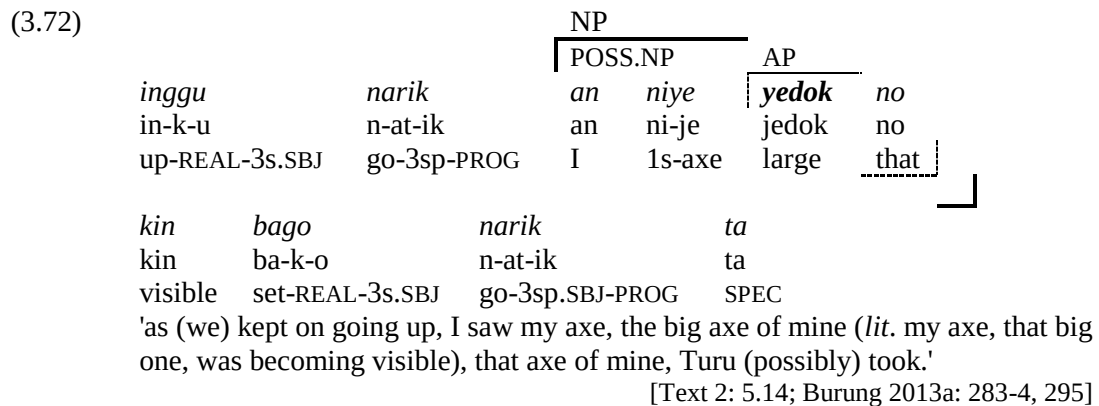


### 3.7.2 Adjectives

Within a NP, adjectives always follow the noun, and elements like the intensifier *ki* 'very' appears after the adjective as can be seen in (3.66) to (3.68), repeated here in (3.71), i.e. {*anggwom* {*yedok ki*}} 'his very big pig'.



In the following example, (3.72), we find a demonstrative following the adjective.



Adjectives in Wano form a closed class, whose members can be classified according to Dixon's semantic categories (1977: 19-80; 2010: 62-113). Table 3.4 outlines Wano adjectives in antonym pairs attested so far. In terms of colour, there are two basic terms: *biri* 'white' and *kik* 'black' are the only pair found, while they also mean 'clean' and 'dirty' (Table 3.4j). The other three colour terms with no pairs are: *kwi* 'red', *tiri* 'yellow' and *nggerengga* 'green'. Semantic-pragmatically, *kwi* 'red' represents all red-like colours that include blood red, dark brown; *tiri* 'yellow'

includes all yellow-like colours such as brown, soft brown and soft green; *nggerengga* 'green' includes any thing green-like, such as dark green, blue, soft blue.

Table 3.4

**Antonym pairs of adjectives in Wano with their semantic categories**

|      |                           |                  |                              |
|------|---------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| a.   | <b>Aduk</b>               | <b>pou</b>       |                              |
| i.   | long, tall                | short            | dimension                    |
| ii.  | High                      | N/A              | position                     |
| b.   | <b>yedok</b>              | <b>beq</b>       |                              |
|      | large/huge, big           | small, little    | dimension                    |
| c.   | <b>yedogo</b>             | <b>beq</b>       |                              |
|      | many                      | few              | numeral                      |
| d1.  | <b>bok</b>                | <b>maduk</b>     |                              |
| i.   | good, right, correct      | bad, evil, wrong | value                        |
| ii.  | good, kind                | evil, cruel      | human-propensity             |
| d2.  | <b>nggarek</b>            | <b>maduk</b>     |                              |
| i.   | pretty, handsome          | ugly             | value; physical-property     |
| d3.  | <b>andu</b>               | <b>maduk</b>     |                              |
| i.   | beautiful                 | ugly             | value; physical-property     |
| e.   | <b>tigiak</b>             | <b>on</b>        |                              |
| i.   | shallow                   | deep             | dimension; physical-property |
| f.   | <b>iru</b>                | <b>nggore</b>    |                              |
| i.   | hot, warm                 | cold, chill      | physical property            |
| g.   | <b>tawe</b>               | <b>kode</b>      |                              |
| i.   | young                     | old              | age-human                    |
| ii.  | N/A                       | ripe             | age-plant                    |
| h.   | <b>anggudi</b>            | <b>obaruk</b>    |                              |
| i.   | raw                       | defective/rotten | age-plant                    |
| ii.  | N/A                       | old              | age-animal                   |
| i.   | <b>icadok</b>             | N/A              |                              |
| i.   | virgin                    |                  | age-human                    |
| ii.  | new, young                |                  | age-animal                   |
| iii. | fresh, raw, lush          |                  | age-plant                    |
| j.   | <b>biri</b>               | <b>kik</b>       |                              |
| i.   | clean                     | dirty            | value                        |
| ii.  | white                     | black            | colour                       |
| k.   | <b>kwi</b> 'red'          | N/A              | colour                       |
| l.   | <b>tiri</b> 'yellow'      | N/A              | colour                       |
| m.   | <b>nggerengga</b> 'green' | N/A              | colour                       |

### 3.7.3 Numerals

In an NP structure, numerals follow the noun, i.e. {head-modifier} structure. For instance, the NP {<sub>NP</sub> {*nawot abut*} *ambui*} 'one child of my younger brother's' given in (3.69), repeated here in (3.73).

- (3.73)
- |                        |             |              |  |
|------------------------|-------------|--------------|--|
| NP                     |             |              |  |
| POSS.NP-HEAD           |             | NUML-MOD     |  |
| <i>nawot</i>           | <i>abut</i> | <i>ambui</i> |  |
| n-awot                 | ø-abut      | ambui        |  |
| 1s-younger sibling.oss | 3s-child.om | one          |  |
- 'one of my younger brother's children' or 'one child of my younger brother'
- [Text 67; 3.4; Burung 2013a: 255, 265]

In (3.74), the numeral is a part of an adjective phrase functioning as modifier.

- (3.74)
- |              |            |              |              |
|--------------|------------|--------------|--------------|
|              | NP         |              |              |
|              | N          | AP           |              |
| <i>mudu,</i> | <i>kwa</i> | <i>yedok</i> | <i>ambui</i> |
| mudu         | kwa        | jedok        | ambui        |
| INTERJ       | woman      | large        | one          |
- ndi,*  
ndi |  
this
- 
- |                   |                   |              |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| <i>ugo</i>        | <i>dokniq</i>     | <i>wone.</i> |
| u-k-o             | do-k-niq          | won-e        |
| sleep-REAL-3s.SBJ | stay-REAL-as such | exist-3s.SBJ |
- 'Gosh! There is a big woman sleeping.' (*lit.* 'This one big woman is sleeping')
- [Text 2: 5.14; Burung 2013a: 283-4, 295]

The example in (3.75) indicates that a numeral can also be the head of an AP, as the constituent in a NP.

- (3.75)
- |             |                |              |               |                   |             |            |  |  |  |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|--|--|--|
|             |                | NP           |               |                   |             |            |  |  |  |
|             |                | ┌ N          |               | ┌ AP              |             |            |  |  |  |
| <i>ndi,</i> | <i>kevewok</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <i>baneq,</i> | <i>endarak.</i>   | <i>muni</i> | <i>ta,</i> |  |  |  |
| <i>nti</i>  | <i>kevewok</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <i>baneq</i>  | <i>entat-ak \</i> | <i>muni</i> | <i>ta</i>  |  |  |  |
| this        | penis-gourd    | one          | INST          | occur-then        | that        | SPEC       |  |  |  |
- 
- |                |              |               |            |               |           |                   |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|-----------|-------------------|
| <i>kevewok</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <i>baneq,</i> | <i>nit</i> | <i>mbowid</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>endarak.</i>   |
| <i>kevewok</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <i>baneq</i>  | <i>nit</i> | <i>mpowid</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>entat-ak \</i> |
| penis-gourd    | one          | INST          | we         | PN            | G.REF     | occur-then        |
- 'In this case, the one generation was born, namely: the one generation, we (from) Mbowid, was born, ...'
- [Text 37: 1.14; Burung 2013a: 222, 230-1]

Numerals higher than 'four' are themselves NPs (3.76): the NP *nenggit pemenok apik* 'all my one-half hand' is the head, is modified by the numeral *ambui* 'one', and together they express 'six'.

- (3.76)
- |                |                |             |              |             |  |
|----------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--|
|                |                | NP          |              |             |  |
|                |                | ┌ NUML.NP   |              | ┌ DEM       |  |
| <i>nenggit</i> | <i>pemenok</i> | <i>apik</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <i>muni</i> |  |
| <i>n-enkit</i> | <i>pemenok</i> | <i>apik</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <i>muni</i> |  |
| 1p-finger      | one-half       | all         | one          | that        |  |
- 'those six'

The universal feature here is that the lower numerals are adjective-like, while the higher ones are noun-like constructions. In this instance, the higher numerals start at 4, which is language specific. Further discussion discussion of numerals is given in §3.10.

### 3.7.4 Demonstratives

Wano demonstratives are spatial deictic words and will be discussed in detail in chapter 5. They are divided into three types: near-to-speaker, medial-to-speaker and far-from-speaker. The first two have the basic form of {n + V}, while the last has the {no ~ muni} basic form. Table 3.5 outlines Wano demonstratives.

Table 3.5  
Demonstratives in Wano

|                | <u>Proximal</u>                        | <u>Medial</u>                                  | <u>Distal</u>                      |
|----------------|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ROOT           | {n(d)V(t)}                             | {n(d)V(t)}                                     | {mVni/na/no}<br>V = harmonic vowel |
| DEMONSTRATIVES | <i>ni, ndi, ndit</i><br>This<br>'this' | <i>ne, nde, ndet</i><br>this.far<br>'this far' | <i>muni</i><br>that<br>'that'      |

In a NP, demonstratives take the final position before the specifier *ta* {ta}, as can be seen in (3.61), (3.67) and (3.68), outlined here in (3.77) with an example in (3.78).

- (3.77)
- |                   |               |
|-------------------|---------------|
| NP                |               |
| ┌ N               | DEM           |
| └ <i>anggwom</i>  | └ <i>muni</i> |
| his-pig           | that          |
| 'that pig of his' |               |

- (3.78)
- |                  |  |     |               |                   |           |
|------------------|--|-----|---------------|-------------------|-----------|
| NP               |  | ApP | DEM           |                   |           |
| ┌ NP             |  | ┌ T | ┌ <i>muni</i> | <i>dokniq</i>     | <i>ta</i> |
| └ <i>ap kode</i> |  | └ T | └ <i>muni</i> | <i>do-k-niq</i>   | <i>ta</i> |
| ap kode          |  | T   | muni          | do-k-niq          | ta        |
| man old          |  | PN  | that          | stay-REAL-as such | SPEC      |

- |                |     |                 |      |                |                    |                   |
|----------------|-----|-----------------|------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| NP             |     | NP              | ApP  | NUML           |                    |                   |
| ┌ NP           | DEM | ┌ <i>agwe</i>   | ┌ MD | ┌ <i>ambui</i> | <i>wanbannuk</i>   | <i>dokniq</i>     |
| └ <i>at no</i> |     | └ <i>ø-akwe</i> | └ MD | └ <i>ampui</i> | <i>wan-ban-nuk</i> | <i>do-k-niq</i>   |
| at no          |     | ø-akwe          | MD   | ampui          | wan-ban-nuk        | do-k-niq          |
| he that        |     | 3s-wife         | PN   | one            | take-put-next      | stay-REAL-as such |
- '(the) old man, that T, stayed (and) took one wife MD'

[Text 37: 1.3; Burung 2013a: 220, 228]

### 3.7.5 Source

The source (SRC) particle, *mende* occurs in the structure of {NP *mende*} expressing several senses. In general, it marks possession or belonging. It is translated as 'of NP' or 'belonging to NP'. Etymologically, *mende* 'SRC' may be derived from *me* 'and' plus *ndi* 'this' and might relate to *mekke* 'relator' of the Lower Grand Valley Dani as described in Bromley (1981: 93-94, 262-265). Examples in (3.79) illustrate that

someone, here a group of people, belong to a certain place, i.e. *wodegoduk mende* 'of wodegoduk' where an appositional phrase (*ap akomi apik ne* 'all men (and) women') is found (3.79a).

- (3.79) a. NP  

|                  |               |           |           |              |             |               |
|------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| PN               | MOD           | ApP       |           |              |             |               |
| <i>wodegoduk</i> | <i>mende,</i> | <i>it</i> | <i>ap</i> | <i>akomi</i> | <i>apik</i> | <i>ne</i> ... |
| <i>wodegoduk</i> | <i>mende</i>  | <i>it</i> | <i>ap</i> | <i>akomi</i> | <i>apik</i> | <i>ne</i> ... |
| PN               | SRC           | they      | men       | women        | all         | S.REF         |

'(people) of Wodegoduk, they, all men and women ...'  
[Text 39: 4.39; Burung 2013a: 273-4, 284]

b. NP  

|           |                |              |           |  |     |
|-----------|----------------|--------------|-----------|--|-----|
| PRON      | ApP            |              |           |  |     |
| <i>it</i> | <i>nggweri</i> | <i>mende</i> | <i>ne</i> |  | ... |
| <i>it</i> | <i>nggweri</i> | <i>mende</i> | <i>ne</i> |  | ... |
| they      | PN             | SRC          | S.REF     |  |     |

'they, (people) of Nggweri ...' or 'they, from Nggweri ...'  
[Text 91: 9; Burung 2013a: 144]

c. NP  

|                    |                 |              |                  |    |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|----|
| N                  | ApP             |              |                  |    |
| <i>[nggembala]</i> | <i>wanggiva</i> | <i>mende</i> | <i>woneme</i>    | .. |
| <i>[nggembala]</i> | <i>wanggiva</i> | <i>mende</i> | <i>won-e-me</i>  |    |
| Evangelist         | PN              | SRC          | exist-3s.SBJ.LOC |    |

'(the) evangelist from Wanggiva is here.'  
[Text 38: 26; Burung 2013a: 144]

In (3.79a-b), *mende* 'SRC' specifies that someone belongs to or is originally from a certain place. In (3.79c), it specifies that someone is a member of a social group. The particle *mende* 'SRC' is also used to specify that someone is a member of a specific kin, as shown in (3.80):

- (3.80) *an nova,*

|                  |            |               |               |                |
|------------------|------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>Ap</i>        | <i>eve</i> | <i>nggire</i> | <i>mende,</i> | ...            |
| <i>Ap</i>        | <i>eve</i> | <i>nggire</i> | <i>mende</i>  | ...            |
| <i>1s-father</i> | <i>man</i> | <i>also</i>   | <i>PN</i>     | <i>SRC</i> ... |

'my father, also a man of (the) Nggire clan, ...'  
[Text 4: 29; Burung 2013a: 144]

Furthermore, *mende* 'SRC' may also describe that something is of something, or from a certain place.

- (3.81) *ndi*, *mbouqmu* *mende* *no*, *o* *kup* *ekenok*  
 ndi| *mbouq-mu* *mende* *no*| *o* *kup* *it-k-e-nok*  
 this sky-LOC SRC G.REF place dark do-REAL-3p.SBJ-next
- ta*, *mbouq* *baneq* *inggu*  
 ta| *mbouq* *baneq* *in-k-u*  
 SPEC sky INST climb-REAL-3p.SBJ  
 'Given that, (the) ones of the sky (= the stars), after it has become dark, they appear.'
- [Text 3: 3; Burung 2013: 145]

When the particle *mende* 'SRC' occurs following the question word *nano* 'what', such as: *nano mende* 'of what\which', it refers to the preceding event, thus taking on the role of linking element.

- (3.82) *yeimu* *ye* *adom* *iruk* *ti*,<sup>26</sup>  
 je-i-mu je ø-adom it-uk ti|  
 axe-water-LOC axe 3s-root do-3sp.SBJ.INCEP there
- neirowak* *tavo* *wanggendak* *nano* *mende*  
 neirowak tavo wan-k-ent-ak nano mende  
 PN tobacco take-REAL-2s.SBJ-then what SRC
- kunyedunggwi* *wu* *wanggendak*  
 kunyedunggwi wu wan-k-ent-ak  
 necklaces cowrie shell<sup>27</sup> take-REAL-2s.SBJ-then
- an* *novavi* *no* *woigucu* *ni-o*.  
 an n-ova-vi no wo-i-k-tju ni=o\  
 I 1s-father-PL S.REF give-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ as such=PAUS  
 'The origin of the axe was in Yei, where you gathered tobacco in Neirowak, of which, you took necklaces, my fathers, they gave them (with that).'
- [Text 6: 13; Burung 2013a: 145]

<sup>26</sup> The deictic *ti* 'there' is the Yei dialect for *mona* 'there'

<sup>27</sup> Cowrie-shells (*wu*) and necklaces (*kunyedunggwi*) were used to barter for other goods. Today, the word *wu* is used for 'money'.

The particle *mende* 'SRC' may also follow deictic words, such as: {it mona-me mende ne} 'they of (the) ones there', as shown in (3.83) or in the conjunctive formation like: {ji mende ndi mende} 'of everywhere', as in (3.84).

(3.84)    *yavuk*                      *uku*                      *yi*    *mende*            *ndi*    *mende*, ..  
           *yavuk*                      *it-k-u*                      *ji*    *mende*            *ndi*    *mende*| ..  
           *planted field*        *do-REAL-3p.SBJ*    *this*    *SRC*                *this*    *SRC*    ..  
           *'of everywhere they work ..'*

[Text 7: 40; Burung 2013a: 145]

(3.85)      wone            kwe,       nit           ninyagwe       ndi       ta,  
won-e          kwe|       nit           nin-akwe       ndi       ta|  
exist-3s.SBJ   but       we           1p-wife         this       SPEC

[ aiya       bok       mende       ninyinap       kunggu                   nome,  
aija       bok       mende       nin-inap       kun-k-u                   nome|  
INTERJ   good       SRC       1p-mouth       prepare-REAL-3p.SBJ       therefore  
'It was there but, our wives were amazingly good at feeding us, thus ..'  
[Text 42: 39; Burung 2013: 146]



(3.86)

waku

wat-k-u

hit.3s.OBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ

kenok,

k-e-nok|

see-3s.SBJ-next

nit

nit

we

ninyiye,

nin-iyē|

1p-axe

nougue-ougue,

n-ou-k-ue~ou-k-ue

go-REM-REAL-3sp.SBJ~REDUP

▶yoq

joq

take

wakunaq◀

wat-k-u-naq

hit.3s.OBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ

embetnuk,

embet-nuk|

think-next

ye

je

axe

no,

no|

S.REF

ando

ando

other

awo

awo

still

NP

PRON

RC

it

it

they

inyanduk

in-anduk

3p-before

mende

mende

SRC

no,

no

S.REF

indu

indu

fire

kunggu

kun-k-u

make-REAL-3p.SBJ

kenok,

k-e-nok|

see-3p.SBJ-next

'Having cut (them), our axes, they were gone, "Why did they take (them)", having thought so, those of before (us), made some fire, ...'

[Text 45: 7; Burung 2013: 146]

From the above description regarding the distribution and function of the particle *mende* 'SRC', I conclude that *mende* 'SRC' is a nominal element found after the head noun, illustrated in (3.78-80, 83, 85-86), functioning as 'source marker' that is translated as 'of what/which'.

### 3.7.6 Referential markers

There are two particles which are still unclear regarding their distribution and function. They are *no* and *ne*. Here, I will call them *no* {no} 'general referent (G.REF)' and *ne* {ne} 'specific referent (S.REF)', with no further attempt to define them. Their grammatical status, at present, remains unresolved and therefore pending further investigation.

In (3.87), *no* 'G.REF' seems to function as topic marker, and *ne* 'S.REF' as specific referent marker which is a referent mentioned as set apart from the other referents.

Likewise, in (3.88), *no* 'G.REF' marks topic, and *ne* 'S.REF' marks specific referent.

It looks like *no* 'G.REF' in (3.89) takes the role of topic marker, while *ne* 'S.REF' as focus marker. In (3.89a), *an* 'I' is the topic, who has the feeling of love towards *kat* 'you.sg', in turn is the focus. The particle *ne* 'S.REF' here indicates that there is no other one, but *kat* 'you.sg', hence the translation 'I love only you.sg'. In (3.89b), on the other hand, *an* 'I' is the focus and *kat* 'you.sg' is the topic, so the translation 'only me (who) loves you.sg'.

- (3.89) a. *an no kat ne kabua.*  
 an no kat ne k-abua\  
 I G.REF you.sg S.REF 2s-love  
 'I love only you.sg' or 'only you.sg (whom) I love' or 'It is me (who) loves only you.sg'
- b. *an ne kat no kabua.*  
 an ne kat no k-abua\  
 I S.REF you.sg G.REF 2s-love  
 'only me (who) loves you' or 'It is only me (who) love you.sg'
- [Burung 2013a: 147]

The referential markers *no* {no} 'G.REF' and *ne* {ne} 'S.REF' may also indicate whether the preceding NP is definite or not. This occurs in a structure of {(NP<sub>1</sub>) NP<sub>2</sub> (*no/ne*) V}. Consider the semantic interpretation, given in square brackets, in (3.90):

- (3.90) a. *an wom warid-o.*  
 an wom wat-id=o  
 I wom hit.3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ.INCEP=PAUS  
 'I am about to kill [any] pig' (non-specific object)
- b. *an wom no warid-o.*  
 an wom no wat-id=o  
 I wom G.REF hit.3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ.INCEP=PAUS  
 'I am about to kill [a] pig' (indefinite object)
- c. *an wom ne warid-o.*  
 an wom ne wat-id=o  
 I wom S.REF hit.3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ.INCEP=PAUS  
 'I am about to kill [the] pig' (definite object)
- [Burung 2013a: 147]

Consider further the semantic interpretation when demonstrative *muni* {muni} 'that' is inserted in the above clauses (3.90), as illustrated in (3.91).

- (3.91) a. *an wom muni warid-o.*  
 an wom muni wat-id=o  
 I wom that hit.3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ.INCEP=PAUS  
 'I am about to kill that pig'
- b. *an wom muni no warid-o.*  
 an wom muni no wat-id=o  
 I wom that G.REF hit.3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ.INCEP=PAUS  
 'I am about to kill that [general] pig'

- c.    *an*    *wom*    *muni*    *ne*    *warid-o.*  
       *an*    *wom*    *muni*    *ne*    *wat-id=o*  
       I     *wom*    *that*    *S.REF*    *hit.3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ.INCEP=PAUS*  
       'I am about to kill that [particular] pig'

[Burung 2013a: 147]

Further interpretation when the specifier *ta* {*ta*} 'SPEC' is added is given in §3.7.8.

### 3.7.7 Instrument

Bromley (1981: 78-80) describes the enclitics *-en/-nen* and suffix *-mo/-ma* of Lower Grand Valley Dani (LGV Dani) as the properties of what he calls post-posed relators. In Wano we have evidence of *me/mu* {-*me/-mu*} marking the locative (see §3.6), which seems to be like the Dani's *-mo/-ma*. The particle *baneq* may be like LGV Dani's *-en/-nen*. This is illustrated in:

- (3.92)    NP    *baneq*    [event]

Whilst the suffix *me/mu* {-*me/-mu*} is called a 'locative marker', *baneq* is termed 'instrument' (INST). In its pronunciation, we may sometimes hear it without post-glottal: *bane* with no semantic difference. In this grammar, the glottal will be included, except in some examples from various texts where we may find evidence of *bane ta*, that is pronounced either {*bane* [r]a} or {*bane* [t]a} with the same glossing or meaning. In the following examples, *baneq* 'INST' marks instrument and is, therefore, translated as 'with' in (3.93a) and 'by' in (3.93b).

- (3.93) a. *at aye baneq kane pokirak-o.*  
 at a-je baneq kane pot-k-it-ak=o\  
 he 3s-axe INST firewood split-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'He split firewood with his axe'
- b. *nit nggebak baneq turumo naruid-o.*  
 nit nkebak baneq turumo nat-uid=o\  
 we canoe INST PN go-1p.SBJ-INCEP=PAUS  
 'Let us go to Turumo by canoe!'
- [Burung 2013a: 148]

The particle *baneq* 'INST' may also mark time in a general sense, as shown in (3.94a), and in a 'given that ...' sense as in (3.94b). Here, *baneq* 'INST' is translated as 'in'/'on'.

- (3.94) a. *[mei] baneq an biricare worak tetik-o.*  
 [mei] baneq an biricare wot-ak t-ett-ik=o\  
 PN INST I PN come-then intend-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 'I will come to Biricare in May'
- b. *o baneq [decembet] wab nome,*  
*o baneq [decembet] wab nome|*  
 place INST PN time therefore
- an ta, baid warid ◄*  
 an ta| baid wat-id|  
 I SPEC possum hit.3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ-INCEP
- embeko nirik-o.*  
 embet-k-o n-it-ik=o\  
 think-REAL-3s.SBJ go-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 'Since it was December, I thought: "Let me go hunting for possum", so I went ...'
- [Burung 2013: 148]

A sense of source or origin is also marked by the particle *baneq* 'INST', where it can be translated with 'from' or 'in'/'on'. This is also true in a narrative, where *baneq* 'INST' marks names of places in a locative sense.

- (3.95) *iratoi baneq wupik-a.*  
 iratoi baneq w-up-ik-a  
 PN INST come-2p.SBJ-PROG-Q  
 'Are you coming from Iratoi?'
- [Burung 2013a: 148-9]

The form {iratoi baneq} ‘from/in Iratoi’ is allowed but \*{iratoi-me baneq} is not possible. On the other hand, certain places that have established names with the suffix *me/mu* {-me/-mu} ‘LOC’, are possible, such as {yedome baneq} ‘from/in Yedome’ or {wadikmu baneq} ‘from/in Wadikmu’. Likewise, we may find {mbou baneq} ‘from/in sky’ and {nggwen baneq} ‘from/on earth’ but not \*{mbou-mu baneq} or \*{nggwen-me baneq}. Such a feature distinguishes Wano’s *baneq* {baneq} ‘INST’ from LGV Dani’s *-en/-nen* described in Bromley (1981: 84). Consider (3.96). The free translation of the phrases with *baneq* ‘INST’ are underlined.

- (3.96)
- |            |               |              |              |                      |                 |                |
|------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>nit</i> | <i>nggwen</i> | <i>baneq</i> | <i>kugwi</i> | <i>yedok~pedok</i> , | <i>inyindiq</i> | <i>baneq</i> , |
| nit        | nkwen         | <u>baneq</u> | kukwi        | jedok~REDUP          | in-indiq        | <u>baneq</u>   |
| we         | earth         | INST         | ghost        | large-REDUP          | 3p-name         | INST           |
- 
- |                 |             |           |            |              |                   |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------|------------|--------------|-------------------|
| <i>yirak</i>    | <i>no</i> , | <i>it</i> | <i>yu</i>  | <i>baneq</i> | <i>dokniq</i>     |
| j-it-ak         | no          | it        | j-u        | <u>baneq</u> | do-k-niq          |
| say-1s.SBJ-then | G.REF       | they      | say-3p.SBJ | INST         | stay-REAL-as such |
- 
- |                  |              |              |                           |
|------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| <i>ninyicawi</i> | <i>inumu</i> | <i>wunu</i>  | <i>ugarik-o</i> .         |
| nin-ica-wi       | inu-mu       | wun-u        | u-k-at-ik=o\              |
| 1p-mother-PL     | inside-LOC   | exist-3p.SBJ | do-REAL-3sp.SBJ-PROG=PAUS |
- 'As for us (living) on earth, there are many ghosts of what names I mentioned, of what they said, they are living inside our mothers.'
- [Text 42: 7; Burung 2013: 149]

Finally, the particle *baneq* {baneq} ‘INST’ is also used to mark ordinal number.

- (3.97)
- | <u>Cardinal</u>    |         | <u>Ordinal</u>     |              |          |
|--------------------|---------|--------------------|--------------|----------|
| <i>ambui</i>       | 'one'   | <i>ambui</i>       | <i>baneq</i> | 'first'  |
| <i>mbere</i>       | 'two'   | <i>mbere</i>       | <i>baneq</i> | 'second' |
| <i>kena</i>        | 'three' | <i>kena</i>        | <i>baneq</i> | 'third'  |
| <i>mbere-mbere</i> | 'four'  | <i>mbere-mbere</i> | <i>baneq</i> | 'fourth' |

Such an ordinal expression is also found in temporal order, as shown in (3.98).

|        |                    |                            |
|--------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| (3.98) | <i>yok</i>         | 'today' or 'now'           |
|        | <i>kivit</i>       | 'yesterday'                |
|        | <i>kovu</i>        | 'tomorrow'                 |
|        | <i>kivit baneq</i> | 'the day before yesterday' |
|        | <i>kovu baneq</i>  | 'the day after tomorrow'   |

### 3.7.8 Specifier

As a discourse element, the particle *ta* {*ta*} 'SPEC' functions as (i) specifier, (ii) question marker and (iii) focus marker, which will be discussed in §6.6.6 (cf. §2.9; Burung 2007b: 47-50 and 2004: 52-5). As a noun phrase element, the particle *ta* {*ta*} 'SPEC' is found phrase finally. It functions as a specifier in expressions like *an ta* 'I (specific)', *muni ta* 'that (specific)', etc. Consider the example in (3.90a) in §3.7.6, repeated here with insertion of the specifier *ta* {*ta*} 'SPEC'. The Wano clause in (3.99a) is unclear about which pig is going to be killed, hence the translation '... [a] pig'. In (3.99b), the particle *ta* {*ta*} 'SPEC' is added to specify which pig is going to be killed, so the translation given is '... [a specific] pig'. In (3.99c), the particle *ta* {*ta*} 'SPEC' is changed to modify the subject 'I' to make it explicit that it is 'I', and no one else, who is going to kill the pig. So, the translation is, 'I [specific] am ...'.

- (3.99)
- |    |                                                                                   |             |             |                                     |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>an</i>                                                                         | <i>wom</i>  |             | <i>warid-o.</i>                     |
|    | <i>an</i>                                                                         | <i>wom</i>  |             | <i>wat-id=o</i>                     |
|    | <i>I</i>                                                                          | <i>wom</i>  |             | <i>hit.3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ.INCEP=PAUS</i> |
|    | 'I am about to kill [a] pig' (i.e. any kind of/non-specific pig)                  |             |             |                                     |
|    | [cf. example (3.91a)]                                                             |             |             |                                     |
| b. | <i>an</i>                                                                         | <i>wom</i>  | <i>ta</i>   | <i>warid-o.</i>                     |
|    | <i>an</i>                                                                         | <i>wom</i>  | <i>ta</i>   | <i>wat-id=o</i>                     |
|    | <i>I</i>                                                                          | <i>wom</i>  | <i>SPEC</i> | <i>hit.3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ.INCEP=PAUS</i> |
|    | 'I am about to kill [a <u>specific</u> ] pig' (i.e. any specific pig)             |             |             |                                     |
| c. | <i>an</i>                                                                         | <i>ta</i>   | <i>wom</i>  | <i>warid-o.</i>                     |
|    | <i>an</i>                                                                         | <i>ta</i>   | <i>wom</i>  | <i>wat-id=o</i>                     |
|    | <i>I</i>                                                                          | <i>SPEC</i> | <i>wom</i>  | <i>hit.3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ.INCEP=PAUS</i> |
|    | 'I [ <u>specific</u> ] am about to kill (a) pig' (i.e. it is no one else, but me) |             |             |                                     |

### 3.7.9 Apposition

Appositional phrases are found in various examples given in previous sections. I retrieve them here. In (3.100), the pronoun *it* 'they' and the noun phrase *nggweri mende ne* '(people) of Nggweri' are in an appositional relationship.

- (3.100)
- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |    |      |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |                             |                      |              |                                                                    |                       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-----------|----|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <table border="0"> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">NP</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">PRON</td></tr> <tr><td><i>it</i></td></tr> <tr><td>it</td></tr> <tr><td>they</td></tr> </table> | NP | PRON | <i>it</i> | it | they | <table border="0"> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">ApP</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"><i>nggweri mende ne ...</i></td></tr> <tr><td>nggweri mende ne ...</td></tr> <tr><td>PN SRC S.REF</td></tr> </table> | ApP | <i>nggweri mende ne ...</i> | nggweri mende ne ... | PN SRC S.REF | <p>'they, (people) of Nggweri ...' or 'they, from Nggweri ...'</p> | <p>[From (3.79b)]</p> |
| NP                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |    |      |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |                             |                      |              |                                                                    |                       |
| PRON                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |    |      |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |                             |                      |              |                                                                    |                       |
| <i>it</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |    |      |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |                             |                      |              |                                                                    |                       |
| it                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |    |      |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |                             |                      |              |                                                                    |                       |
| they                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |    |      |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |                             |                      |              |                                                                    |                       |
| ApP                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |    |      |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |                             |                      |              |                                                                    |                       |
| <i>nggweri mende ne ...</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                     |    |      |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |                             |                      |              |                                                                    |                       |
| nggweri mende ne ...                                                                                                                                                                                                            |    |      |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |                             |                      |              |                                                                    |                       |
| PN SRC S.REF                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |    |      |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |                             |                      |              |                                                                    |                       |

Likewise, in (3.101), the Melayu-Papua loan common noun [*nggembala*] 'evangelist' is in appositional relationship with the noun phrase *wanggiva mende* '(people) of Wanggiva'.

- (3.101)
- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|---|----------------------|-------------|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------|----------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----|---------------|----------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <table border="0"> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">NP</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">N</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">[<i>nggembala</i>]</td></tr> <tr><td>[nggembala]</td></tr> <tr><td>evangelist</td></tr> </table> | NP | N | [ <i>nggembala</i> ] | [nggembala] | evangelist | <table border="0"> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">ApP</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"><i>wanggiva mende</i></td></tr> <tr><td>wanggiva mende</td></tr> <tr><td>PN SRC</td></tr> </table> | ApP | <i>wanggiva mende</i> | wanggiva mende | PN SRC | <table border="0"> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">PRED</td></tr> <tr><td>..</td></tr> <tr><td><i>woneme</i></td></tr> <tr><td>won-e-me</td></tr> <tr><td>exist-3s.SBJ.LOC</td></tr> </table> | PRED | .. | <i>woneme</i> | won-e-me | exist-3s.SBJ.LOC | <p>'(the) evangelist from Wanggiva is here'</p> | <p>[From (3.79c)]</p> |
| NP                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| N                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| [ <i>nggembala</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| [nggembala]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| evangelist                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| ApP                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| <i>wanggiva mende</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| wanggiva mende                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| PN SRC                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| PRED                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| <i>woneme</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| won-e-me                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |
| exist-3s.SBJ.LOC                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |    |   |                      |             |            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |                       |                |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |    |               |          |                  |                                                 |                       |

Proper names in the appositional position are also possible. (3.102) illustrates the appositional relationship between *T* 'T' and the noun phrase *ap kode* 'old man'.

- (3.102)
- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----------------|---------|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|---------------|--------|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------|----|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|---------------|----------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----|------|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| <table border="0"> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">NP</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">NP</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"><i>ap kode</i></td></tr> <tr><td>ap kode</td></tr> <tr><td>man old</td></tr> </table> | NP | NP | <i>ap kode</i> | ap kode | man old | <table border="0"> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">ApP</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"><i>T muni</i></td></tr> <tr><td>T muni</td></tr> <tr><td>PN that</td></tr> </table> | ApP | <i>T muni</i> | T muni | PN that | <table border="0"> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">DEM</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"><i>ta</i></td></tr> <tr><td>ta</td></tr> <tr><td>SPEC</td></tr> </table> | DEM | <i>ta</i> | ta | SPEC | <table border="0"> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;">PRED</td></tr> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"><i>dokniq</i></td></tr> <tr><td>do-k-niq</td></tr> <tr><td>stay-REAL-as such</td></tr> </table> | PRED | <i>dokniq</i> | do-k-niq | stay-REAL-as such | <table border="0"> <tr><td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"><i>ta</i></td></tr> <tr><td>ta</td></tr> <tr><td>SPEC</td></tr> </table> | <i>ta</i> | ta | SPEC | <p>'(the) old man, that T, stayed'</p> | <p>[From (3.78); Text 37: 1.3; Burung 2013a: 220, 228]</p> |
| NP                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| NP                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| <i>ap kode</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| ap kode                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| man old                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| ApP                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| <i>T muni</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| T muni                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| PN that                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| DEM                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| <i>ta</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| ta                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| SPEC                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| PRED                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| <i>dokniq</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| do-k-niq                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| stay-REAL-as such                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| <i>ta</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| ta                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |
| SPEC                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |    |    |                |         |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |     |               |        |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |           |    |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |               |          |                   |                                                                                                                                             |           |    |      |                                        |                                                            |



A sequence of multi-appositional phrases is also possible in Wano narratives. An utterance like *wodegoduk mende, it, ap akomi apik ne ...* '(people) of Wodegoduk, they, all men and women ...' is an example, given in:

(3.103)

| NP        |        |      | ApP |       | ApP                  |       |      |        |
|-----------|--------|------|-----|-------|----------------------|-------|------|--------|
| PN        |        |      | it  |       | ap akomi apik ne ... |       |      |        |
| wodegoduk | mende, |      | it  |       | ap                   | akomi | apik | ne ... |
| wodegoduk | mende  |      |     |       | ap                   | akomi | apik | ne ... |
| PN        | SRC    | they | men | women | all                  | S.REF |      |        |

'(people) of Wodegoduk, they, all men and women ...'

[From (3.79a); Text 39:4.39; Burung 2013a: 273-4, 284]

In (3.103), we may have: (i) *wodegoduk mende, it ...* '(people) of Wodegoduk, they ...' (ii) *it, ap akomi apik ne ...* 'they, all men and women ...', (iii) *wodegoduk mende, ap akomi apik ne ...* '(people) of Wodegoduk, all men and women ...'.

### 3.8 PROPER NOUNS

Personal and geographical names are commonly related to events or certain undergoers that are connected with the origins of a group of people or a clan. Mostly such names are morphologically complex, betraying either their verbal or nominal origin. These proper nouns in Wano relating to people, both groups and individuals, and to places will be discussed in this section. In Wano tradition, names are given to a person (or a domestic animal) in accordance with either (i) animistic belief, (ii) certain events, (iii) personal physical appearance, (iv) the social status of the name's bearer, or (v) the person's profession. The clan name Weya will be shown first. Even

*Weya* means 'wallaby'. It is believed that the Weya clan originates from the wallaby. Their origin story relates to how two brothers got into a fight. Having lost the fight, the younger then ran away with a sense of guilt – there is no clear indication as to why he had such a feeling. After a while, having forgiven his brother, the older brother went looking for his younger brother. On his way, he saw a wallaby and wanted to kill it in order to satisfy his empty stomach. As he aimed the arrow at his target, he suddenly heard a human voice,

- In response to that, the older brother asked,

- and the wallaby answered,

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The origin story establishes the *weya* as the clan's totem. It was, therefore, taboo for the Weya clan to kill and eat wallabies. This totemic story supports what Stirling observes: “Most of the Nassau Mountain tribes do not eat kangaroo as it is a totemic animal.” (1943: 15) – Nassau Mountain is now known as Pegunungan Sudirman (cf. chapter 1 §1.2).

Other clan names include Tavuni, which means 'the tobacco' < *tavo* 'tobacco' + *=ne* 'S.REF' marker. Note that \o\ in *tavo* and \e\ in *ne* could also be said to show harmony; for some reason these back and front vowels are raised. It was believed that the man *Tavuni* was a rough and bad-tempered man, just like the taste of tobacco (rough and sharp). A sub-clan of Tavuni is the Medenggwa 'the one who smokes' clan, which is < *meden* {meden-} \roll-\ 'roll (tobacco)' + *k* {k} 'REAL' + *wa* {-wa} 'HAB'. Nowadays, the Medenggwas are known for being energetic, outgoing and excitable people.

The name Wano itself is bimorphemic – as mentioned earlier in §1.2, briefly repeated here. It is made up of *wa* 'INTERJ' + *no* 'S.REF' marker. In Wano, *wa* is commonly used for the English antonymic pairs that express 'thank you' and 'you are welcome' or 'welcome' and 'goodbye'. As it was believed, when the first Wano people came out of the earth, they greeted each other by saying: *wa ... wa ... no ...* which roughly means 'we welcome each other as a group of people belonging together'.

|         |           |           |           |           |            |                  |               |
|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------------|---------------|
| (3.107) | <i>it</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>wa</i> | <i>wa</i> | <i>no,</i> | <i>inyenggit</i> | <i>dombak</i> |
|         | it        | ne        | wa        | wa        | no         | ø-in-enkit       | dompak        |
|         | they      | S.REF     | gratitude | gratitude | G.REF      | 3s-PL-hand       | finger click  |

*wakouguarak-o*

wat-k-o-gw-at-ak=o \

3sOBJ.hit-REAL-REM-REAL-3p= PAUS

'They clicked their fingers, greeting each other.'

Implying: 'They welcomed each other as a group of people belonging together.'

[BM, p.c. Biricare nd]

Personal names may reflect the habitual behaviour of person. A name like *Inyoro* 'he eats them' is the inflection of *iny* {in-} \3p.OBJ-\ + *not* {not-} \consume-\ + *o* {-o} \-3s.SBJ\, clearly shows that a man called by such a name 'eats people'. Similarly, *Ninyombovigiduk* 'the smoke of our ancestors' is the inflectional form of *niny* {nin-} \1p-\ + *ombo* {ø-ombo} \his-ancestor\ + *vi* {-vi} \-PL\ + *kiduk* 'smoke', refers to an ogre with fangs who roasts human bodies. The colourful smoke of his cooking place can be seen from a distance; in other words, as the rainbow, and so *Ninyombowigiduk* is the contemporary term for the rainbow in Wano. We may note that the name bears variant possessive prefixes depending on the context of its use. When it is used by a Wano speaker, it is *ninyombovigiduk*. When it is uttered by a non-speaker of Wano addressing a Wano speaker, it is *kiny* {kin-} \2p-\ 'your.pl-'. In fact, I was corrected to use *kinyombovigiduk*, whenever I used the term *ninyombovigiduk*. When it is meant to belong to different tribes, it is *iny* {in-} \3p-\ 'their-'. The wife of *Ninyombovigiduk* is *Kugwi*, i.e. an ogress, who is responsible for going around looking for food, which is human flesh: *ap engga-anggum*, a formation of: *ap* 'man' + *engga* {ø-enka} \3s-leaf\ + *anggum* {ø-ankun} \3s-flesh\ . She is the most terrifying of the beings the Wano see as being a ghost or a witch. Hence, the name *Kugwi* is also the contemporary term for 'ghost', or more closely, 'female ghost'

since *kwi* {*kwi*} indicates 'female' – cf. (3.108) and (3.109). During her hunting for food, Kugwi will normally enter a woman, making her her kugwi. Women who practice witchcraft are called *kugwici* 'of Kugwi' or 'belongs to Kugwi'; the inflectional form of: *kugwi* 'female ghost' + *ci* {-tji} \-of\ 'belongs to'.<sup>28</sup> Since it is taboo to mention the name, these women are generally referred to by their common practices, which is *irudik*, a compound word of *iru* 'hole' and *dik* 'NEG' – see (3.122) and §3.8.

Sex distinction is also found in proper nouns. Names of females will bear the suffix *kwe* or *kwi*. The narrative in (3.108) lists some female names with the suffix *kwe* {-kwe}. It might be the case that such a suffix is derived from the inalienable-possessee *ø-agwe* 'his wife', giving the structure of {PN -(a)*gwe*}. Note that this is a story about evil spirits with their names. All names bear the feminine inflection. This does not guarantee, however, that the persons bearing the names are all women. It is the way the Wanos express someone or something as a 'source' or 'origin' of an affair: female ancestors would always be referred to as the root of all their descendants.

|         |                                    |                                      |                                  |                                      |                               |                           |
|---------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (3.108) | <i>Muni</i><br>Muni<br>That        | <i>inyindi</i><br>in-indi<br>3p-name | <i>baneq</i><br>baneq<br>INST    | <i>ta,</i><br>ta <br>SPEC            |                               |                           |
|         | <i>Inyive</i><br>in-eve<br>3p-body | <i>nagwan</i><br>nakwan<br>lord      | <i>dombok</i><br>dompok<br>above | <i>inyindi</i><br>in-indi<br>3p-name | <i>baneq</i><br>baneq<br>INST | <i>ta,</i><br>ta <br>SPEC |

<sup>28</sup> The suffix *ci* {-tji} \-of\ 'of' or 'belong to' is rarely used. According to Bat Medenggwa (p.c.), it was used by their ancestors. While *kugwici* 'of kugwi', the suffix is not found elsewhere in my corpus. Possibly because of its status of being a taboo word (a sacral word) that relates to evil spirits, people tend to avoid using it, resulting in the vanishing of the word.

|                                                                                                        |                                                                   |                                                                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ndougwe,</i><br>ntou- <b>kwe</b>  <br>PN-FEM                                                        | <i>kovakwe,</i><br>kovak- <b>kwe</b><br>PN-FEM                    | <i>ndok-tedakwe,</i><br>ntok-tedak- <b>kwe</b>  <br>PN-PN-FEM    |
| <i>donggobgwe,</i><br>donkob- <b>kwe</b>  <br>PN-FEM                                                   | <i>kunumgwe,</i><br>kunum- <b>kwe</b>  <br>PN-FEM                 | <i>pavid-ovokwe,</i><br>pavid-ovok- <b>kwe</b>  <br>PN-FEM       |
| <i>it</i> <i>muni</i> <i>ne,</i><br><i>it</i> <i>muni</i> <i>ne</i>  <br><i>they</i> <i>that</i> G.REF | <i>inyavudmu</i><br><i>in-avud-mu</i>  <br>3p-abdomen-LOC         |                                                                  |
| <i>pinggik-denggakwe,</i><br>pinkik-denkak- <b>kwe</b>  <br>PN-PN-FEM                                  | <i>peambourarogwe,</i><br>peamboutato- <b>kwe</b>  <br>PN-FEM     | <i>nawid-nawidgwe,</i><br>nauid-nauid- <b>kwe</b>  <br>PN-PN-FEM |
| <i>nacidmbedagwe,</i><br>natjidmbeda- <b>kwe</b>  <br>PN-FEM                                           | <i>wandinawimayugwe,</i><br>wandinawimayu- <b>kwe</b>  <br>PN-FEM | <i>nggomndonakwe,</i><br>nkomndonak- <b>kwe</b>  <br>PN-FEM      |
| <i>it</i> <i>muni</i> <i>no</i><br><i>it</i> <i>muni</i> <i>no</i><br><i>they</i> <i>that</i> S.REF    | <i>dokniq,</i><br><i>do-k-niq</i>  <br>stay-REAL-as such          |                                                                  |
| <i>it</i> <i>muni</i> <i>no</i><br><i>it</i> <i>muni</i> <i>no</i><br><i>they</i> <i>that</i> S.REF    | <i>wunumu</i><br><i>wun-u-mu</i><br>exist-3p.SBJ-LOC              | <i>ta,</i><br><i>ta</i>  <br>SPEC                                |
| <i>tidje</i> <i>we</i><br><i>tidje</i> <i>w-e</i><br>pn     come-3s.SBJ                                | <i>narik-o.</i><br><i>n-at-ik=o\</i><br>go-3sp.SBJ=PAUS           |                                                                  |

'These are their names, the leaders above them are Ndougwe, Kovakwe, Ndok Tedakwe, Donggobgwe, Kunumgwe, Pavid Owokwe. Under them are: Pinggik Denggakwe, Peambourarogwe, Nawid Nawidgwe, Nadid Mbedagwe, Wandin Awimayugwe, Nggom Ndonakwe. So, they were. While they were there, came Tidje.'

[Text 41: 31]

For the suffix *kwi* {-kwi} 'female', we may find evidence as in:

|         |                 |                      |
|---------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (3.109) | MALE NAME       | FEMALE NAME          |
|         | <i>inyoro</i>   | <i>inyorogwi</i>     |
|         | PN              | PN-FEM               |
|         | 'Inyoro (male)' | 'Inyorogwi (female)' |

Finally, a person can also be given a name in accordance with his or her physical appearance, as evidenced in the following narrative. In (3.110a), we have the female name *Mbunggarigwe* as that refers to the second wife of the narrator's father. The name of his first wife is mentioned in (3.110b). The name identifies the appearance of the person: *Kwanggarek* 'pretty woman' < *kwa-* 'woman' + *nggarek* 'good looking' (or 'pretty', 'charming', 'beautiful').

- (3.110) a. *nome ta, anggup kwa muni, indi ta,*  
 nome ta || ø-ankup kwa muni | ø-inti ta |  
 therefore SPEC 3s-tip woman that 3s-name SPEC  
*mbunggarigwe.*  
 mpunkati-kwe \  
 PN-FEM  
 'Thus (it was so), that second wife, her name was Mbunggarigwe.'  
 [Text 39: 4.9; Burung 2013a: 266, 276]
- b. *nova, at ica adom kwa,*  
 n-ova | at ø-itja ø-adom kwa |  
 1s-father he 3s-mother 3s-root woman  
*indi ta, kwanggarek.*  
 ø-inti ta | kwa-nkatek \<\  
 3s-name SPEC PN  
 'My father's mother (implying: wife), who was the first wife, her name was kwanggarek.'  
 [Text 39: 4.10; Burung 2013a: 266, 276]

With regard to geographical names, places are named according to their function within people's lives. Examples are given in (3.111). There is a place where the people used to forge stone axes, for their daily use as well as for trading with the neighbouring tribe, the Danis. The axe was normally traded for *wu* 'shell(s)'. The settlement of the people who forged the axes is called *Yedome* and the river there is *Yei*.

- (3.111) a. *yei*  
           *je-i*  
           axe-water  
           'Ye river' or 'axe river'  
       b. *yedome*  
           ye-do-me  
           axe-stay-LOC  
           'Ye village' or 'axe village'

Names are also given according to certain beliefs. Certain places in Wano are considered sacred or taboo, and therefore are forbidden and must not be entered. The word for 'forbid' is *ma* (or *mu*). A particular sacred mountain is therefore called *yugut ma* 'the forbidden mountain' and the river coming down along its foothills is called *mui*, 'the forbidden river', see (3.109a-b) – the mountain is approximately 1400 meters high and is located in 137° 37' 55" EL, 03° 19' 30" SL (Map 26: Rouffaer River, Nieuw Guinea Kaartmateriaal, Topographic Service 1939, Nederland Topographic Service 1954).

- (3.112) a. *ma* {ma} \forbid\  
           'do not!'  
       b. *yugut* *ma*  
           *jukut* *ma*  
           mountain forbid  
           'Ma mountain' or 'forbidden mountain'  
       c. *mui* {mu-i} \forbid-water\  
           forbid-water  
           'Mui river' or 'forbidden river'<sup>29</sup>

The names of certain places are also given in accordance with events that took place on occasions.

---

<sup>29</sup> The river flows northwards and merges with the van Daalen River.



- (3.113) *o indiꞑ abanop tariak ta, yugutmu*  
*o ø-indiꞑ apanop tariak ta | yugut-mu*  
 place 3s-name PN PN SPEC mountain-LOC  
*adomungga', ...*  
*a-d-o-mu-nkaq | ...*  
 ATTR-steep-down-LOC-where ...  
 'There was a place called Abanop Tariak, in a steep mountain down there'  
 (lit. 'Place name Abanop Tariak, in steep mountain down there')  
 [Text 35: 2.79; Burung 2013a: 250, 259]

The name *abanop tariak* in (3.113), is of the clause *ap anop tariak* {ap} 'man' + {ø-anop} 'his-head' + *tariak* {tat-iak} 'roast-then', refers to a place where the captured enemies were burnt and eaten. The real name of the place was *Nggabokworak* – cf. a village of the Yali ethnic group by the name *Apahapsili* 'place of man's skin' with similar connotation.

Like the word for 'rainbow', *ninyombovigiduk*, mentioned earlier in this section, *abanop tariak* in (3.113) has inflectional variants, e.g. *abanop takougwa*, as shown in (3.114). Here, the verb is changed to the past-tense with a habitual suffix: *takougwa* {tat-k-ou-k-wa} \roast-REAL-3sp.SBJ:REM-REAL-HAB\ 'they used to roast long ago'. The difference between *ninyombovi kiduk* and *abanop tariak* is that the first one is a nominal derivation, while the latter is a verbal clause.

- (3.114) *yugut ambui indiꞑ no abanop takougwame ...*  
*jukut ampui ø-indiꞑ no abanop takoukwame ...*  
 mountain one 3s-name that PN PN ...  
 'as for that one mountain's name, Abanop Takougwame (i.e. the place where people roast men's head) ...'  
 [Text 35: 2.80; Burung 2013a: 250, 260]

It is worthwhile noticing that, for personal names, only the clan names at present are used, while traditional first names are rarely used since the introduction of

Christianity in the 1970s. It is now common practice for a Wano to call his son by a name like Yoanet for John (Dutch Johannes), Matiut for Matthew (Matthijs), Marakut for Mark (Markus) or Jakobut for James (Jakobus), and his daughter by the name of Mareta for Martha, Edicabet for Elizabeth (Elisabet) or Maria for Mary (Maria) preceding the clan name. Even though the tradition of original names is dying out, the idea still lingers in people's minds and is reflected in their speech. When somebody dies, his relatives will summon his spirit, *anggena iriak* 'call his spirit' < *ø*- '3s' + *anggena* 'ghost'<sup>30</sup> + *it*- 'do' + *-iak* 'then', in order to find out which of the women, known as *kugwici*, has killed him. Once the killer is known, revenge will take place, which results in the killing of the woman.<sup>31</sup> It is also a taboo to introduce somebody's parents or older persons using their original name, since a *kugwici* may use it for the purposes of witchcraft. Most young children today have no traditional first name, but only Christian names.

### 3.9 COMPOUNDING

Certain nouns are compounded to derive new meaning. The structure is {modifier-head}. The following examples take items denoting body parts as the head. They are

---

<sup>30</sup> The word *anggena* is used only for somebody who has died.

<sup>31</sup> Even now, people are still afraid of a person who is known to be *kugwici*. The fear is so great that nobody dares even to identify the person. In fact, Text 41, a story about evil spirits with their names (listed in 31, 120; cf. (3.110)), was told and recorded in Sentani, a town about two hours' flight and an entire day's trek away from Biricare. The reason was whispered to me by my language consultant when we were in Biricare: "I am afraid to tell you about it here. Wait till we are out of here!"

*engga* 'his tail' as in (3.115), *owok* 'his bone' (3.116), *amoq* 'his palm' (3.117) and *umbun* 'his top' (3.118).

|         |    |                                     |                                   |                          |
|---------|----|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (3.115) | a. | <i>acok</i><br>ø-atjok<br>3s-foot   | <i>engga</i><br>ø-enka<br>3s-tail | 'his toe'                |
|         | b. | <i>enggit</i><br>ø-enkit<br>3s-hand | <i>engga</i><br>ø-enka<br>3s-tail | 'his finger'             |
|         | c. | <i>mboid</i><br>mpoid<br>potato     | <i>engga</i><br>ø-enka<br>3s-tail | 'his vegetable'          |
| (3.116) | a. | <i>anop</i><br>ø-anop<br>3s-head    | <i>owok</i><br>ø-owok<br>3s-bone  | 'his skull'              |
|         | b. | <i>engga</i><br>ø-enka<br>3s-annex  | <i>owok</i><br>ø-owok<br>3s-bone  | 'his ribs' or 'his tail' |
| (3.117) | a. | <i>acok</i><br>ø-tjok<br>3s-foot    | <i>amoq</i><br>ø-amoq<br>3s-palm  | 'his sole'               |
|         | b. | <i>enggit</i><br>ø-enkit<br>3s-hand | <i>amoq</i><br>ø-amoq<br>3s-palm  | 'his palm of the hand'   |
| (3.118) | a. | <i>acok</i><br>ø-tjok<br>3s-foot    | <i>umbun</i><br>ø-umbun<br>3s-top | 'his back of the foot'   |
|         | b. | <i>enggit</i><br>ø-enkit<br>3s-hand | <i>umbun</i><br>ø-umbun<br>3s-top | 'his back of the hand'   |

Various examples of items denoting body parts follow.

|         |    |                                     |                                           |             |
|---------|----|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------|
| (3.119) | a. | <i>anggo</i><br>ø-anko<br>3s-flesh  | <i>kede</i><br>kede<br>rattan             | 'his neck'  |
|         | b. | <i>enggit</i><br>ø-enkit<br>3s-hand | <i>anggop</i><br>ø-ankop<br>3s-tip        | 'his nail'  |
|         | c. | <i>enggit</i><br>ø-enkit<br>3s-hand | <i>amunggut</i><br>ø-amunkut<br>3s-corner | 'his elbow' |

- |    |                                    |                                     |               |
|----|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|
| d. | <i>engga</i><br>ø-enka<br>3s-annex | <i>anggum</i><br>ø-ankum<br>3s-meat | 'his flesh'   |
| e. | <i>ingge</i><br>ø-inke<br>3s-eye   | <i>eruk</i><br>ø-etuk<br>3s-hair    | 'his eyelash' |

Compounding with items denoting certain animals (3.120) that function as heads is also attested.

- |         |    |                                  |                             |                |
|---------|----|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| (3.120) | a. | <i>donggob</i><br>donkob<br>wild | <i>towe</i><br>towe<br>bird | 'wild chicken' |
|         | b. | <i>towe</i><br>towe<br>bird      | <i>wom</i><br>wom<br>pig    | 'chicken'      |

Compounding with items denoting certain inanimate items (3.121) that function as

- |         |    |                                                  |                                |
|---------|----|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (3.121) | a. | <i>ndumbuk</i><br>ntu_mpuk<br>downward_reed      | 'cassowary'                    |
|         | b. | <i>yumbuk</i><br>jum_mpuk<br>netbag_reed         | 'skirt' or 'grass skirt'       |
|         | c. | <i>kugwidom</i><br>kugwi_ø-adom<br>witch_3s-root | 'spiritual articles/ornaments' |

Negator may be used in compounding to denote a new semantic orientation.

- |         |                                                                                                               |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.122) | <i>irudik</i><br>itu_dik<br>hole_NEG<br>'magic power' or 'witchcraft' – see (§3.8) for the origin of the name |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Further, a formation of an Indonesian word (N<sub>1</sub>) plus a Wano noun (N<sub>2</sub>) introduces some new items, where N<sub>1</sub> semantically qualifies N<sub>2</sub>.

- |         |    |                 |               |             |
|---------|----|-----------------|---------------|-------------|
| (3.123) | a. | <i>[anggur]</i> | <i>i</i>      | 'wine'      |
|         |    | wine            | water         |             |
|         | b. | <i>[ndomba]</i> | <i>wom</i>    | 'sheep'     |
|         |    | sheep           | pig           |             |
|         | c. | <i>[unda]</i>   | <i>wom</i>    | 'camel'     |
|         |    | camel           | pig           |             |
|         | d. | <i>[roti]</i>   | <i>kom</i>    | 'bread'     |
|         |    | bread           | yam           |             |
|         | e. | <i>[tuan]</i>   | <i>inyene</i> | 'pineapple' |
|         |    | sir             | 3p-belonging  |             |

Compounding with an inalienable-possessee may express a certain condition or character.

- |         |    |               |            |                              |
|---------|----|---------------|------------|------------------------------|
| (3.124) | a. | <i>avud</i>   | <i>kwa</i> | 'feminine' or 'lesbian'      |
|         |    | ø-avud        | kwa        |                              |
|         |    | 3s-abdomen    | woman      |                              |
|         | b. | <i>avud</i>   | <i>ap</i>  | 'masculine' or 'gay'         |
|         |    | ø-avud        | ap         |                              |
|         |    | 3s-abdomen    | man        |                              |
|         | c. | <i>anggup</i> | <i>kwa</i> | 'second wife' or 'concubine' |
|         |    | ø-ankup       | kwa        |                              |
|         |    | 3s-tip        | woman      |                              |
|         | d. | <i>adom</i>   | <i>kwa</i> | 'first wife' or 'true wife'  |
|         |    | ø-adom        | kwa        |                              |
|         |    | 3s-root       | woman      |                              |

Regarding the structure of {N V}<sub>N</sub>, we have evidence of *dianggen* 'fish' + *wakwa* 'sg always hits him' in the following clause, where the compound *dianggen wakwa* refers to a name of a kind of bird.

- (3.125)    *at*            *dianggen*    *wakwa*                    *mbere*  
               *at*            *dianken*    *wat-k-wa*                *mpete*  
               *he*            *fish*            3s.OBJ:hit.3s.SBJ-REAL-HAB    *two*
- wakirak-o.*  
*wat-k-it-ak=o \*  
*hit.3s.OBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
 'he shot two birds (i.e., *dianggen wakwa*).'

New cultural items may be referred to by expressions formed with a new semantic orientation of Wano nouns. Note that *mbouqmu nagwan* is written separately as two words for phonological reasons. Both words bear the same stress word finally, i.e. \mbouq.'mu na.'kwan\ (3.126a). On the other hand, *urukuma* should be one word, since \u.'tu\ 'spirit' and \ku.'ma\ 'shell' have one main stress, i.e. \u.tu.ku.'ma\, yielding 'aeroplane'.

- (3.126)    a.    *mbouqmu*            *nagwan*            'god'  
                   *mpouq-mu*            *nakwan*  
                   *sky-LOC*            *lord*  
               b.    *urukuma*                                    'aeroplane'  
                   *utu\_kuma*  
                   *spirit\_shell*

Finally, compounding of inalienable nouns specifically of the terms *abut* 'his child of.male' and *ayak* 'her child of.female' is a means of conveying cultural interpretation of the terms, since *ninyabut* 'our child' is the men-term, and *ninyayak* 'our child' is the women-term. These terms are, therefore, exclusive; a man cannot use *ninyabut* 'our child' to his wife, and so his wife cannot use *ninyayak* to him. They need to put the words together if they want the term to be inclusive. We then have either *ninyayak-ninyabut* or *ninyabut-ninyayak*, both for 'our child' (see §3.4.2 for detail). The combination is treated as compounding in this study.

### 3.10 COUNTING

In chapter 1 §1.6.3, I briefly indicated that the counting system in Wano has 3-digits structure, i.e. 1, 2, 3, where 4 is 2-2 and 5 is one's hand. This is basically a body-part system focused solely on hands and feet only, with three basic numerals – unrelated to body parts. These appear in the forms of: (i) three basic numerals, i.e., 'one, two, three', (ii) extended use of the three basic numerals, such as 'two-two', and (iii) combination of body part with (i) and (ii).

|         |              |         |
|---------|--------------|---------|
| (3.127) | <i>ambui</i> | 'one'   |
|         | <i>mbere</i> | 'two'   |
|         | <i>kena</i>  | 'three' |

The reduplication of *mbere* 'two', thus *mbere-mbere* (2-2) is for 'four'.

|         |                    |        |
|---------|--------------------|--------|
| (3.128) | <i>mbere-mbere</i> | 'four' |
|         | two-two            |        |

When counting, someone will fold each of his fingers with one of the thumbs beginning with the small finger of one hand, followed by ring finger, middle and finally index finger, saying: *ambui* 'one', *mbere* 'two', *kena* 'three', *mbere-mbere* 'four'. When all the four fingers have been folded, he will fold his thumb and show his fist while saying:

|         |                                                                                       |                |             |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| (3.129) | <i>nenggit</i>                                                                        | <i>pemenok</i> | <i>apik</i> |
|         | n-enkit                                                                               | pemenok        | apik        |
|         | 1s-hand                                                                               | one-half       | all         |
|         | 'five' ( <i>lit.</i> 'all my one-half hand/finger' or 'all part of my one-half hand') |                |             |

He will then repeat the same process with the other hand, saying: *nenggit pemenok apik* while showing his fist, then bending the small finger of the other hand saying *ambui*, yielding the numeral 'six', and so on up to 'nine'.

- (3.130)
- |    |                                              |                |             |                    |
|----|----------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>nenggit</i>                               | <i>pemenok</i> | <i>apik</i> | <i>ambui</i>       |
|    | n-enkit                                      | pemenok        | apik        | ampui              |
|    | 1s-hand                                      | one-half       | all         | one                |
|    | 'six' (lit. 'all my hand/fingers, one')      |                |             |                    |
| b. | <i>nenggit</i>                               | <i>pemenok</i> | <i>apik</i> | <i>mbere</i>       |
|    | n-enkit                                      | pemenok        | apik        | mpete              |
|    | 1s-hand                                      | one-half       | all         | two                |
|    | 'seven' (lit. 'all my hand/fingers, two')    |                |             |                    |
| c. | <i>nenggit</i>                               | <i>pemenok</i> | <i>apik</i> | <i>kena</i>        |
|    | n-enkit                                      | pemenok        | apik        | kena               |
|    | 1s-hand                                      | one-half       | all         | three              |
|    | 'eight' (lit. 'all my hand/fingers, three')  |                |             |                    |
| d. | <i>nenggit</i>                               | <i>pemenok</i> | <i>apik</i> | <i>mbere-mbere</i> |
|    | n-enkit                                      | pemenok        | apik        | mpete-mpete        |
|    | 1s-hand                                      | one-half       | all         | two-two            |
|    | 'nine' (lit. 'all my hand/fingers, two-two') |                |             |                    |

Then both fists are shown one by one, while saying *nenggit pemenok apik*, *nenggit pemenok apik imbirak*, shown in (3.131). When saying *imbirak*, the fists are put together. This is the way of showing the numeral 'ten'.

- (3.131)
- |                |                |              |                |                |              |
|----------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>nenggit</i> | <i>pemenok</i> | <i>apik,</i> | <i>nenggit</i> | <i>pemenok</i> | <i>apik,</i> |
| n-enkit        | pemenok        | apik         | n-enkit        | pemenok        | apik         |
| 1s-hand        | one-half       | all          | 1s-hand        | one-half       | all          |
- imbirak.*  
 impitak \  
 together  
 'ten' (lit. 'all my hand/fingers, all my hand/fingers together')

The person counting will then point to his small toe of one foot, saying *ambui* 'one' following (3.131) for 'eleven'. In the same way he will go up to 'fourteen'.



- (3.132) a. *nenggit*    *pemenok*    *apik,*    *nenggit*    *pemenok*  
n-enkit    pemenok    apik |    n-enkit    pemenok  
1s-hand    one-half    all    1s-hand    one-half
- apik,*    *imbirak*    *ambui*  
apik |    impitak    ampui  
all    together    one  
'eleven' (lit. 'one-half of all my hand/fingers, one-half of all my hand/fingers together, one')
- b. *nenggit*    *pemenok*    *apik,*    *nenggit*    *pemenok*  
n-enkit    pemenok    apik |    n-enkit    pemenok  
1s-hand    one-half    all    1s-hand    one-half
- apik,*    *imbirak*    *mbere*  
apik |    impitak    mpete  
all    together    two  
'twelve' (lit. 'one-half of all my hand/fingers, one-half of all my hand/fingers together, two')
- c. *nenggit*    *pemenok*    *apik,*    *nenggit*    *pemenok*  
n-enkit    pemenok    apik |    n-enkit    pemenok  
1s-hand    one-half    all    1s-hand    one-half
- apik,*    *imbirak*    *kena*  
apik |    impitak    kena  
all    together    three  
'thirteen' (lit. 'one-half of all my hand/fingers, one-half of all my hand/fingers together, three')
- d. *nenggit*    *pemenok*    *apik,*    *nenggit*    *pemenok*  
n-enkit    pemenok    apik |    n-enkit    pemenok  
1s-hand    one-half    all    1s-hand    one-half
- apik,*    *imbirak*    *mbere-mbere*  
apik |    impitak    mpete-mpete  
all    together    two-two  
'fourteen' (lit. 'one-half of all my hand/fingers, one-half of all my hand/fingers together, two-two')

Upon reaching the big toe, the Speaker will repeat (3.132) followed by *nacok pemenok apik* for 'fifteen', shown in (3.133).

- (3.133) *nenggit*    *pemenok*    *apik,*    *nenggit*    *pemenok*  
n-enkit    pemenok    apik |    n-enkit    pemenok  
1s-hand    one-half    all    1s-hand    one-half
- apik,*    *imbirak,*    *nacok*    *pemenok*    *apik.*  
apik |    impitak |    n-atjok    pemenok    apik  
all    together    1s-toe    one-half    all  
'fifteen' (lit. 'one-half of all my hand/fingers, one-half of all my hand/fingers  
together, one-half of all my foot/toes')

And so he goes on, repeating (3.133) then adding *ambui* 'one' for 'sixteen' and so on until the other big toe is reached for 'twenty', given in (3.134), while putting his fists and feet together.

- (3.134) *nenggit*    *pemenok*    *apik,*    *nenggit*    *pemenok*  
n-enkit    pemenok    apik |    n-enkit    pemenok  
1s-hand    one-half    all    1s-hand    one-half
- apik,*    *imbirak,*    ***nacok***    *pemenok*    *apik,*    *nacok*  
apik |    impitak |    n-atjok    pemenok    apik |    n-atjok  
all    together    1s-toe    one-half    all    1s-toe
- pemenok*    *apik,*    *imbirak.*  
pemenok    apik |    impitak \  
one-half    all    together  
'twenty' (lit. 'one-half of all my hand/fingers, all one-half of all my hand/fingers  
together, one-half of all my foot/toes, one-half of all my foot/toes together)

While people are able to count up to 'twenty', beyond that it is apparently too cumbersome. The Speaker will say *yambeniak mek=o* 'uncountable'.

- (3.135) *yambeniak*    *mek-o.*  
jampen-iak    mek=o \  
count -then    impossible=PAUS  
'uncountable'

Nevertheless, when asked for 'twenty five', the Speaker would repeat (134) then either refer back to his one fist, or to someone else's fist. He would say: *enggit*

*pemenok apik* 'all part of his hand' as illustrated in (3.136), even though this is unusually done.

- (3.136)
- |                                       |                                          |                                          |                                            |                                       |                                   |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>nenggit</i><br>n-enkit<br>1s-hand  | <i>pemenok</i><br>pemenok<br>one-half    | <i>apik,</i><br>apik  <br>all            | <i>nenggit</i><br>n-enkit<br>1s-hand       | <i>pemenok</i><br>pemenok<br>one-half |                                   |
| <i>apik,</i><br>apik  <br>all         | <i>imbirak,</i><br>impitak  <br>together | <i>nacok</i><br>n-atjok<br>1s-toe        | <i>pemenok</i><br>pemenok<br>one-half      | <i>apik,</i><br>apik  <br>all         | <i>nacok</i><br>n-atjok<br>1s-toe |
| <i>pemenok</i><br>pemenok<br>one-half | <i>apik,</i><br>apik  <br>all            | <i>imbirak,</i><br>impitak  <br>together | <b><i>enggit</i></b><br>ø-enkit<br>3s-hand | <i>pemenok</i><br>pemenok<br>one-half | <i>apik.</i><br>apik \<br>all     |
- 'twenty-five' (lit. 'one-half of all my hand/fingers, all my hand/fingers together, one-half of all my foot/toes, one-half of all my foot/toes together, his hand/fingers)

It is worth noticing that *pemenok* 'one-half' is also used when talking about dividing some things into pieces or groups rendering the structure of {NOUN group NUML} as in: *yugum pemenok mbere* 'two piles of stones', *akomi pemenok kena* 'three groups of women', and so on.

- (3.137)
- |    |                                                   |                            |                      |
|----|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | <i>yugum</i><br>stone<br>'two piles of stones.'   | <i>pemenok</i><br>one-half | <i>mbere</i><br>two  |
| b. | <i>akomi</i><br>women<br>'three groups of women.' | <i>pemenok</i><br>one-half | <i>kena</i><br>three |

As was mentioned earlier in §1.8, it is worth noticing that for the higher numbers, those above 'twenty', at present, Indonesian terms have been introduced. In this case, we will find phonological variations as shown in (3.138-139). Notice that /d/ is realised as implosive [ɗ]. Word initially, it alternates with prenasalised [ʰnd].

|         |                                                                                                      |                   |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| (3.138) | WANO LOANS                                                                                           | INDONESIAN        |
| '21'    | [ <i>duapudutatu</i> ] ~ [ <i>duapuducatu</i> ] ~<br>[ <i>duapulucatu</i> ] ~ [ <i>duapulutatu</i> ] | < dua puluh satu  |
| '22'    | [ <i>duapudua</i> ] ~ [ <i>duapuludua</i> ]                                                          | < dua puluh dua   |
| '23'    | [ <i>duapudutiga</i> ] ~ [ <i>duapulutiga</i> ]                                                      | < dua puluh tiga  |
| '24'    | [ <i>duapuduembat</i> ] ~ [ <i>duapuluembat</i> ]                                                    | < dua puluh empat |
| '25'    | [ <i>duapududima</i> ] ~ [ <i>duapululima</i> ]                                                      | < dua puluh lima  |
| etc.    |                                                                                                      |                   |

Even the Indonesian numeral terms from 'eleven' up are often being used now as alternatives to the Wano expressions.

|         |                                               |              |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------|
| (3.139) | WANO LOANS                                    | INDONESIAN   |
| '11'    | [ <i>tebedat</i> ] ~ [ <i>tebelat</i> ]       | < sebelas    |
| '12'    | [ <i>duabedat</i> ] ~ [ <i>duabelat</i> ]     | < duabelas   |
| '13'    | [ <i>tigabedat</i> ] ~ [ <i>tigabelat</i> ]   | < tigabelas  |
| '14'    | [ <i>embatbedat</i> ] ~ [ <i>embatbelat</i> ] | < empatbelas |
| '15'    | [ <i>dimabedat</i> ] ~ [ <i>dimabelat</i> ]   | < limabelas  |

On the other hand, in a traditional story numbering in the pure Wano system can still be found. The example in (3.140) gives evidence from an oral text, in which the phrase *nit nenggit pemenok no* is translated as 'there are five groups of us' or 'a group of us five'.

|         |                                                                                    |                                           |                                               |                                      |                                                    |                             |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (3.140) | <i>wunuerik</i><br>wun-uet-ik<br>exist-1p.SBJ-PROG                                 | <i>nome,</i><br>nome  <br>therefore       | <i>nit</i><br>nit<br>we                       | <i>nenggit</i><br>n-enkit<br>1s-hand | <i>pemenok</i><br>pemenok<br>one-half              | <i>no,</i><br>no  <br>G.REF |
|         | <i>ninyicawi-ninyovavi</i><br>nin-itja-vi-n-in-ova-vi<br>1p-mother-PL-1p-father-PL | <i>inyindi</i><br>in-inti<br>3p-name      | <i>ambit</i><br>ø-ambit<br>3s-sake            | <i>ta,</i><br>ta  <br>SPEC           | <i>ambui</i><br>ampui<br>one                       |                             |
|         | <i>indi</i><br>ø-inti<br>3s-name                                                   | <i>kugwigwe,</i><br>kukwi-kwe  <br>PN-FEM | <i>ambui</i><br>ampui<br>one                  | <i>indi</i><br>ø-inti<br>3s-name     | <i>aricawudigwe,</i><br>atitjawudi-kwe  <br>PN-FEM |                             |
|         | <i>ambui</i><br>ampui<br>one                                                       | <i>indi</i><br>ø-inti<br>3s-name          | <i>inyoriakwe,</i><br>inotiak-kwe  <br>PN-FEM | <i>ambui</i><br>ampui<br>one         | <i>indi</i><br>ø-inti<br>3s-name                   |                             |

*mbadiakwe, mono.*  
 mpadiak-kwe | mono \  
 PN-FEM like that  
 'Thus, we are, there are five of us, names of our parents are: one is Kugwigwe,  
 one is Aricawudigwe, one is Inyoriakwe, one is Mbadiakwe, that's it!'  
 [Text 37: 1.21; Burung 2013a: 224, 232-3]

Finally, in a simple nominal phrase, the numeral words are positioned following the noun.

- (3.141)
- |    |                          |                     |                       |                       |                    |                    |
|----|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>ap</i>                | <b><i>kena</i></b>  |                       |                       |                    |                    |
|    | man                      | three               |                       |                       |                    |                    |
|    | 'three men'              |                     |                       |                       |                    |                    |
| b. | <i>yugum</i>             | <b><i>mbere</i></b> |                       |                       |                    |                    |
|    | stone                    | two                 |                       |                       |                    |                    |
|    | 'two stones'             |                     |                       |                       |                    |                    |
| c. | <i>an</i>                | <i>naburi</i>       | <b><i>nenggit</i></b> | <b><i>pemenok</i></b> | <b><i>apik</i></b> | <b><i>kena</i></b> |
|    | an                       | n-abut-i            | n-enkit               | <i>pemenok</i>        | apik               | kena               |
|    | I                        | 1s-child-PL         | 1s-hand               | one-half              | all                | three              |
|    | 'I have eight children.' |                     |                       |                       |                    |                    |

There is agreement between noun and number with respect to singular/plural when the noun is an inalienable noun.

- (3.142)
- |     | <u>SINGULAR</u> |              | <u>PLURAL</u>   |              |
|-----|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| a.  | <i>icawo</i>    | <i>ambui</i> | <i>icawowi</i>  | <i>mbere</i> |
|     | 3s-aunt         | one          | 3s-aunt-PL      | two          |
|     | 'his one aunt'  |              |                 |              |
| b.  | <i>ayak</i>     | <i>ambui</i> | <i>acui</i>     | <i>kena</i>  |
|     | 3s-child.of     | one          | 3s-child.of     | three        |
|     | 'her one child' |              |                 |              |
| a'. | <i>*icawo</i>   | <i>mbere</i> | <i>*icawowi</i> | <i>ambui</i> |
| b'. | <i>*ayak</i>    | <i>mbere</i> | <i>*acui</i>    | <i>ambui</i> |

Such agreement is unattested in alienable nouns. Thus *yugum ambui* 'one stone' or *yugum mbere* 'two stones' but not *\*yugum~yugum mbere*. Or one can say *an nayum ambui* for 'I have one net-bag' as well as *an nayum kena* 'I have three net-bags' but not *\*an nayum~nayum kena*. Likewise, the alienable nouns must not take the plural

suffix *vi* 'PL'. Thus, *yugum mbere* but *\*yugumi* or *\*yugum mberewi* are impossible, as illustrated in:

|                  |                                                                |                              |                                                                       |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.143) SINGULAR |                                                                |                              |                                                                       |
| a.               | <i>yugum</i><br>jukum<br>'one stone'                           | <i>ambui</i><br>one          |                                                                       |
| b.               | <i>nayum</i><br>na-jum<br>1s-netbag<br>'I have one net-bag'    | <i>ambui</i><br>ampui<br>one |                                                                       |
| PLURAL           |                                                                |                              | UNACCEPTABLE FORMS                                                    |
| a'.              | <i>yugum</i><br>jukum<br>'two stones'                          | <i>mbere</i><br>two          | <i>*yugum-i</i><br><i>*yugum mbere-i</i><br><i>*yugum~yugum mbere</i> |
| b'.              | <i>nayum</i><br>na-jum<br>1s-netbag<br>'I have three net-bags' | <i>kena</i><br>kena<br>three | <i>*nayum-i</i><br><i>*nayum kena-wi</i><br><i>*nayum~nayum kena</i>  |

An exception is the term for 'woman' which is *kwa* and its plural counterpart *akomi*, and for 'man', which is *ap* for both numbers.

|         |                                      |                     |                                                                |
|---------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3.144) |                                      | SINGULAR            | PLURAL                                                         |
| a.      | <i>ap</i><br>man<br>'a/one man'      | <i>ambui</i><br>one | <i>ap</i><br>man<br>'two men'                                  |
| b.      |                                      |                     | <i>ap</i><br>man<br>'many men'                                 |
| c.      | <i>kwa</i><br>woman<br>'a/one woman' | <i>ambui</i><br>one | <i>mbere</i><br>two<br>'two women'                             |
| d.      |                                      |                     | <i>akomi</i><br>women<br>'two women'                           |
| e.      |                                      |                     | <i>*kwa</i><br>woman<br>N/A                                    |
| f.      |                                      |                     | <i>yedogo</i><br>many<br><i>yedogo</i><br>many<br>'many women' |

### 3.11 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have discussed nominal properties found in Wano by focusing on its alienable and inalienable nouns. In §3.1, I set out several ways of looking at how alienable nouns and inalienable nouns are different. The conclusion was, firstly, that alienable nouns are not found as abstract nouns, while inalienable nouns are not found as proper nouns (§3.2.1); secondly, that alienable nouns are both C-initial and v-initial, whilst inalienable nouns are limited to v-initial words (§3.2.2); thirdly, that alienable nouns have no pluralisation, whereas inalienable nouns are pluralised by suffixation (§3.2.3); fourthly, that with respect to their possessive structure, alienable nouns are prefixal vowel insertion, while inalienable nouns are vocalic bound prefixes (§3.2.4); and fifthly, that while both nouns may be the head of a noun phrase, only inalienable nouns may play a role as the head of a clause.

A detailed discussion on inalienable nouns was provided in §3.4. Four types of inalienable nouns were discussed: cultural items (§3.4.1), kin terms (§3.4.2), body parts (§3.4.3) and experiential events (§3.4.4). Sex distinction that is based on the possessor regarding terms for 'child' was explored, i.e. *abut* 'his child' is the term used only for male possessors, and *ayak* 'her child' is used only for female possessors. Hence, morphological paradigms with their semantic interpretations were provided to better understand Wano social interaction through its grammar. In §3.4.4, I briefly introduced the notion of experiential events, for which inalienable nouns may function as the head of a clause – see the example in (3.44).

Some words are morphologically structured as inalienable nouns. They denote beneficiary and comitative-abessive expressions and were discussed in §3.5.

In §3.6, I discussed the locative suffix *me/mu* {-me/-mu} 'LOC' that is also found in verbs and adjectives with semantic-pragmatic functions. In §3.7, I discussed eight types of phrasal modifiers, including possessor, adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, source, referential markers, instrument, and specifier. The basic noun phrase structure in Wano was proposed in this section.

In §3.8, I described proper nouns. Personal and geographical names in Wano are related to events or certain experiences that are connected to the origin of a group of people or a clan. Mostly such names are morphologically complex, betraying either their verbal or nominal origin. Finally, compounding was discussed in §3.9, and the counting system was described in §3.10.



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## VERBAL COMPLEX

### 4.1 BACKGROUND

This chapter deals with the structural properties of Wano verbs. It is organised as follows: §4.1 gives background, §4.2 describes partially inflected irrealis verbs, while §4.3 concerns partially inflected realis verbs, §4.4 examines fully inflected irrealis verbs, and §4.5 fully inflected realis verbs, §4.6 looks at vocalic-verbs, §4.7 analysis transitive and ditransitive verbs, §4.8 describes reduplication, §4.9 explores the reflexive, §4.10 examines questions, and §4.11 provides a summary.

#### 4.1.1 Citation forms

Wano has four conjugational classes and one sub-class: **-t**, **-d**, **-n**, **-vocalic**, and **sub-t** verbs. In data elicitation using a Swadesh-based wordlist, the following **citation forms** are obtained.

|       |               |               |
|-------|---------------|---------------|
| (4.1) | ENGLISH       | WANO          |
| a.    | 'to roast'    | <i>tariak</i> |
| b.    | 'to hit'      | <i>wariak</i> |
| c.    | 'to lift up'  | <i>mediak</i> |
| d.    | 'to fetch'    | <i>widiak</i> |
| e.    | 'to put down' | <i>baniak</i> |
| f.    | 'to carry'    | <i>woniak</i> |
| g.    | 'to stay'     | <i>doiak</i>  |
| h.    | 'to cry'      | <i>deiak</i>  |
| i.    | 'to go'       | <i>norak</i>  |
| j.    | 'to come'     | <i>worak</i>  |

In fact, these forms are naturally given by native speakers in any means of language contact, such as language learning and/or data elicitation. Regarding their semantics, the verb *tariak* does not simply mean 'to roast' but 'one roasts underground and then' since there is also *wodeniak*, which is: 'one roasts on stake and then'. The reason why *tariak* is given for the English 'to roast', instead of *wodeniak*, is because the Wano tradition of cooking is to cook underground.

In addition, *woniak* does not simply mean 'to carry' but 'one carries by hand and then' as opposed to *yeriak* 'one carries on one's shoulders and then' and *nggiraniak* 'one carries on one's head and then'. The verb *mediak* is not 'to lift up' but 'one lifts up and then' and can also mean 'one leans (something) on and then' or 'one erects and then'. Likewise, *widiak* is 'one fetches and then', 'one gets and then', 'one finds and then' or 'one discovers and then'. The verb *wariak* has the primary meaning 'one hits him and then' or 'one kills him and then' but is also used to express meanings relating to 'strike', 'kick', 'stab', 'pierce', 'poke', 'arrow', 'shoot', 'trample', 'attack', 'fight' or 'play'.

In this study, however, I will use only the main meaning of the above verbs, unless otherwise stated. For the sake of efficiency, I propose the closest equivalent translation of those verbs into English as given in:

|       |               |                                                                                         |
|-------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (4.2) | WANO          | ENGLISH EQUIVALENT                                                                      |
| a.    | <i>tariak</i> | 'roast underground and then'<br>as opposed to <i>wodeniak</i> 'roast on stake and then' |
| b.    | <i>wariak</i> | 'hit him and then'                                                                      |
| c.    | <i>mediak</i> | 'lift up and then'                                                                      |
| d.    | <i>widiak</i> | 'get and then'                                                                          |

- |    |               |                                                                |
|----|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| e. | <i>baniak</i> | 'put down and then'                                            |
| f. | <i>woniak</i> | 'carry by hand(s) and then'                                    |
|    |               | as opposed to <i>nggiraniak</i> 'carry on one's head and then' |
|    |               | and <i>yeriak</i> 'carry on one's shoulders and then'          |
| g. | <i>doiak</i>  | 'stay and then'                                                |
| h. | <i>deiak</i>  | 'cry and then'                                                 |
| i. | <i>norak</i>  | 'go and then'                                                  |
| j. | <i>worak</i>  | 'come and then'                                                |

All verbs in (4.2) have *iak* {-iak} endings (4.2a-h), except for the last two verbs that have *ak* {-ak} endings (4.2i-j). Moreover, the verb roots in (4.2a-b) and (4.2i-j) end in /r/, (4.2c-d) in /d/, (4.2e-f) in /n/ and (4.2g-h) in /-vowel/. They represent the four conjugational classes mentioned earlier: *-t*, *-d*, *-n* and *-vocalic*, while those in (4.2i-j) are examples of the sub-*t* verb class. In fact, all citation forms of Wano verbs end in *(i)ak* {-(i)ak}. A similar morphological feature is observed in Western Dani (Elius Wantik, p.c. Swadesh-based Wordlist, Sentani 2001) as illustrated in (4.3), a related language to Wano (see §1.6).

- (4.3) WESTERN DANI (Elius Wantik, p.c. 2001)
- |    |                   |                  |                                   |
|----|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. | <i>waruak</i>     | 'to hit/to kill' | (Wordlist 2001: numbers 210, 212) |
| b. | <i>koriak</i>     | 'to erase'       | (Wordlist 2001: number 240)       |
| c. | <i>ponggoriak</i> | 'to push'        | (Wordlist 2001: number 237)       |
| d. | <i>ndoniak</i>    | 'to stab'        | (Wordlist 2001: number 211)       |
| e. | <i>guguniak</i>   | 'to rub'         | (Wordlist 2001: number 239)       |
| f. | <i>nikorak</i>    | 'to pull'        | (Wordlist 2001: number 238)       |

It is apparent in (4.3) that Western Dani has similar endings to Wano, except for the addition of {-uak} to the *-t* verb class.

Furthermore, the same verb morphological structure is also found in Mugogo Dani, another Trans-NewGuinea language. Examples in (4.4) are taken from van der Staap (1966: 7-12).

- (4.4) MUGOGO DANI (van der Staap, 1966)
- |    |                |            |                    |
|----|----------------|------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>wetasin</i> | 'to roast' | (pp. 7, 9, 10, 12) |
| b. | <i>balin</i>   | 'to cut'   | (pp. 7, 9, 10)     |
| c. | <i>isasin</i>  | 'to cook'  | (pp. 7, 9, 10)     |
| d. | <i>hymasin</i> | 'to hide'  | (p. 12)            |
| e. | <i>jokosin</i> | 'to say'   | (p. 12)            |
| f. | <i>wakanin</i> | 'to take'  | (pp. 7, 12)        |

In defining the verbal system of Mugogo Dani, van der Staap labelled those citation forms in (4.4) basic forms. They end in {-in}.

Finally, Nggem, a language related to Wano, also shares the same structure as recorded by Etherington (2002: 82), who described those forms in (4.5) as underlying verb roots plus the infinitive *-up*.

- (4.5) NGGEM (Etherington, 2002)
- |    | Underlying<br>Verb Roots | Root + <i>-up</i><br>'infinitive' | English<br>Gloss |
|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| a. | <i>la-</i>               | <i>laup</i>                       | 'to go'          |
| b. | <i>wa-</i>               | <i>waup</i>                       | 'to get'         |
| c. | <i>wat-, wa-</i>         | <i>warup</i>                      | 'to come'        |
| d. | <i>wat-</i>              | <i>warup</i>                      | 'to hit'         |
| e. | <i>haved-</i>            | <i>havedup</i>                    | 'to search'      |
| f. | <i>mbal-</i>             | <i>mbalup</i>                     | 'to cut'         |
| g. | <i>hin-</i>              | <i>hinup</i>                      | 'to join'        |
| h. | <i>hamb-</i>             | <i>hambup</i>                     | 'to die'         |

In short, these phenomena are widely found in Trans-NewGuinea languages (cf. Foley 1986, 2000), particularly in those belong to the Wano-Kwerba Phylum (§1.6).

Trans-New Guinea languages, as have been investigated thus far, will naturally have inflectional roots as citation forms by their native speakers. In Nggem, as shown in (4.5), the citation forms are those of root + *-up* 'infinitive', such as *laup* 'to go', *waup* 'to get', etc. In Mugogo Dani (4.4), there are verbs such as *wetasin* 'to roast', *balin* 'to cut', etc., which van der Staap (1966) called basic forms (note that all of them end with the suffix {-in}), which means that the verb roots are the bound morphemes *wetas-* and *bal-* that are suffixed by {-in} to form the citation forms. In Western-Dani (4.3), *waruak* 'to hit/to kill' and *koriak* 'to erase' are found, where their verb roots are *wat-* and *kot-* being suffixed by *-uak* and *-iak*. This is identical to Wano if we consider examples in (4.2), i.e. *tariak* {tat-iak} 'roast underground and then', *wariak* {wat-iak} 'hit him and then', etc. They denote **delayed sequential** (adapting Foley's (1986) term) relation and they have the morphological pattern of {root-suffixes}, i.e. (i) the bound-root *tat* {tat-} 'roast underground' plus the delayed sequential *iak* {-iak} 'then', and (ii) the bound-root *wat* {wat-} 'one hits him' plus the delayed sequential suffix *iak* {-iak} 'then'. How we come to the above conclusion will be the subject of our discussion in this chapter. Let me begin by defining Wano tense-aspect-mood in §4.1.2, verb roots in §4.2.3, verb stems in §4.2.4, sequential forms in §4.2.5, and person affixes in §4.2.6.

#### 4.1.2 Tense-Aspect-Mood

**Tense-aspect-mood** are semantic elements that can be grammatically coded. In Crystal (2008: 38, 321, 479) we read, tense '... [r]eferring primarily to the way the grammar marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place. ...' while aspect '... to the way the grammar marks the duration or time of temporal activity denoted by the verb. ...' and mood '... to a set of SYNTACTIC and SEMANTIC CONTRASTS signalled by alternative paradigms of the verb, e.g. INDICATIVE ... SUBJUNCTIVE, IMPERATIVE. ...' (underlined are mine) – cf. Olson (1975, 1981), Comrie (1976, 1985), Palmer (1982, 2001), Matthews (1991), Bybee (1985), Foley (1986, 2000), Croft (1990, 2003), Binnick (1991), Payne (1997, 2006), Haspelmath (2001), and Kroeger (2005), among others.

Wano encodes tense-aspect-mood in two ways: morphological and morphosyntactic. **Tense** refers to the time when an event took place, which includes **now** (*yok* 'now') and **not-now** (*op* 'finished'; *awo* 'still/not yet') at the time of utterance. **Aspect** describes the sequentiality, habituality, inception, progressiveness and completeness of an event. **Mood** determines the expressions that include wishfulness/desire, prohibition, exhortation, imperativeness and actuality status of an event denoted by the verb.

To understand Wano verbs, it is essential to establish the basic verb root in terms of the morphophonological interface with regards to their tense-aspect-mood (TAM), specifically, aspect-mood orientation which is schematised in:

(4.6) **Morphosyntactic-semantic properties of Wano verbs**

- (i) **TENSE** consists of:      •Non-past  
                                             •Proximate-past •Remote-past
- (ii) **ASPECT** consists of:    •Sequential •Habitual •Progressive  
                                             •Inceptive
- (iii) **MOOD** consists of:      •Realis •Irrealis •Optative •Purposive  
                                             •Imperative •Hortative •Prohibitive

Regarding **tense**, Wano distinguishes between **non-past** and **past tenses**. The past tense is divided into **proximate** and **remote-past**. Even though it is morphologically marked, there is no clear-cut distinction between the proximate and remote-past. Semantic-pragmatically, some events that happened some time beyond last week could either be marked proximately or remotely by Wano speakers. Anything beyond that is remote. The only morphologically marked non-past tense is **simple non-past**, while expressing future events is a property of syntax. Temporal adverbs for past tense are *muk* 'long ago' for remote-past, and *kivit* 'yesterday' for proximate-past. The adverb that means 'now' or 'today' is *yok*. The word is also used in the proximate-past of today, while *kovu* 'tomorrow' is used to refer to an event that will happen in the future. A day in Wano is divided into four temporal divisions, which are *kuperak* 'morning', *dingge* 'noon', *kevem* 'afternoon' and *kupmu* 'evening' or 'night'. They may be used for tenses – see also §6.4.1 in chapter 6 regarding these temporal adverbs. The **aspectual** functions found in Wano are: SEQUENTIAL, HABITUAL, PROGRESSIVE, and INCEPTIVE. **Mood** functions in Wano are: REALIS/IRREALIS, OPTATIVE, PURPOSIVE, IMPERATIVE, HORTATIVE and PROHIBITIVE. The REALIS is found in the past tenses and IRREALIS is in the non-past. While purposive and prohibitive mood

may be found in both tenses, optative, imperative and hortative are restricted to non-past.

### 4.1.3 Roots

Verb **ROOTS** are almost always monosyllabic ((4.7a, b), cf. §4.1.5); disyllabic roots are rare (4.7c).<sup>32</sup> They are basically bound portmanteau morphemes, i.e. a root with more than one lexical meaning and/or grammatical function,<sup>33</sup> which can be interpreted as taking ANONYMOUS SINGULAR.SUBJECT (abbreviated: SG.SBJ) – see detailed discussion on HABITUAL NON-PAST forms in §4.3.2. Regarding transitivity, there are many transitive roots, but only five transitive roots that have prefixal object marking in the root (cf. §1.8). They are: (i) *wat* {wat-} 'one hits him', (ii) *kot* {kot-} 'one sees him', (iii) *wot* {wot-} 'one gives him', (iv) *yot* {jot-} 'one tells him', and (v) *it* {it-} 'one does him' and/or 'one says to him'. They bear object marking (4.7a), yielding the structure in (4.7d). They also change in accordance with the PERSON/NUMBER of the OBJECT (4.7), cf. Foley (2000: 362-3).

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<sup>32</sup> This is not to say, however, that compounding root forms are not found. In texts, we may encounter examples like *pan-wat-n-a-ca* 'in order to hang him ...' [Text 35: 2.62; Burung 2013a: 245, 255].

<sup>33</sup> See various examples of portmanteau morphemes found in Papuan languages described by Foley (1986: 111-66).



|       |     |                                                                          |                                                                                                                   |
|-------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (4.7) | a.  | <i>wat</i><br>wat-<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-<br>'one hits him' <sup>34</sup> | Graphemic spelling of phonetic realisation<br>Morphophonological form<br>Grammatical glossing<br>Free translation |
|       | a'. | <i>inyot</i><br>inot-<br>3p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-<br>'one hits them'           |                                                                                                                   |
|       | b.  | <i>med</i><br>med-<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-<br>'one lifts up'                  |                                                                                                                   |
|       | c.  | <i>teven</i><br>teven-<br>cremate:SG.SBJ-<br>'one cremates'              |                                                                                                                   |
|       | d.  | {(OBJECT):ROOT:SG.SUBJECT-}                                              |                                                                                                                   |

#### 4.1.4 Stems

Verb **stems** are verbs that consist of root(s) and suffixes encoding SEQUENTIAL ASPECT, PERSON/NUMBER and TAM. They can be either **partially** or **fully inflected**.

The structure is set out in:

|       |                        |                    |                                                       |
|-------|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| (4.8) | (OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT- | -SUFFIXES          |                                                       |
|       |                        | •SEQUENTIAL        | i.e. <i>delayed</i> and <i>immediate</i> (Foley 1986) |
|       |                        | •PERSON/NUMBER     | incl. <i>reflexive</i> marking                        |
|       |                        | •TENSE-ASPECT-MOOD |                                                       |

Examples are:

|       |    |                                                                        |
|-------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (4.9) | a. | <i>tariak</i><br>tat-iak<br>roast:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one roasts and then' |
|-------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------|

<sup>34</sup> Because there is no gender distinction in '3s', I will use 'he' to represent 'he/she/it' unless otherwise stated. This also applies to 'him/her/it' and 'his/hers/its' accordingly. See conventions.

- b.     *takacak*  
           tat-k-atj-ak  
           roast:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then  
           'I roasted and then'

A stem may consist of more than one root or a combination of one root with a stem. This is exemplified in (4.10), where the compound verb *wanbanuk* 'one having presented' has two roots: *wan-* 'one takes' and *ban-* 'one puts down', taking the sequential suffix *-nuk* 'next'.

- (4.10)   *wanbanuk*  
           wan-ban-nuk  
           take:SG.SBJ-put.down:SG.SBJ-next  
           'one having presented'

I will discuss this construction in §9.2.

#### 4.1.5 Sequential forms

Foley (1986: 180) observed that there are three types of sequential relations found in Barai (Olson 1981 for details), a Papuan language spoken in Papua New Guinea, which are: (i) IMMEDIATE sequence, (ii) DELAYED sequence, and (iii) SPAN sequence. The first two types are also found in Wano.

The IMMEDIATE SEQUENCE is when the first event terminates and is immediately followed by the second event. This is expressed in Wano with the suffix *-nuk~nok* 'next', taken by the verb of the first event. The DELAYED SEQUENCE is when the first event terminates, and is followed by a duration of time without any relevant event



For the sake of clarity, I need to restate that in §2.2.1 and §2.2.2, I demonstrated that /t/ becomes [ɾ] intervocalically and /d/ becomes [d̪], while both remain plosives when preceding a nasal. The alveolar nasal, /n/ is elided before another /n/, and is [ɲ] following the high front vowel /i/. These morphophonological processes support the formulation of the **four morphophonological classes of verbs** outlined in:

|        |      |                       |                                                                                                           |
|--------|------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (4.12) | i.   | <b>-t</b> verbs       | i.e. verbs whose root ends in /t/, e.g.<br><i>wat</i> { <b>wat-</b> } \3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-\ 'one hits him' |
|        | ii.  | <b>-d</b> verbs       | i.e. verbs whose root ends in /d/, e.g.<br><i>med</i> { <b>med-</b> } \lift.up:SG.SBJ-\ 'one lifts.up'    |
|        | iii. | <b>-n</b> verbs       | i.e. verbs whose root ends in /n/, e.g.<br><i>ban</i> { <b>ban-</b> } \put.down:SG.SBJ-\ 'one puts.down'  |
|        | iv.  | <b>-vocalic</b> verbs | i.e. verbs whose root ends in a vowel, e.g.<br><i>de</i> { <b>de-</b> } \cry:SG.SBJ-\ 'one cries'         |

In response to requests for a particular verb meaning, Wano verbs are normally realised in the DELAYED SEQUENTIAL (D.SEQ) forms, interlinearly glossed 'then', which, in fact, is the citation form discussed in §4.1.1, yielding *wariak* {**wat-iak**} 'one hits him and then', *mediak* {**med-iak**} 'one lifts.up and then', *baniak* {**ban-iak**} 'one puts down and then' and *deiak* {**de-iak**} 'one cries and then', with their IMMEDIATE SEQUENTIAL (I.SEQ) forms, interlinearly glossed 'next', *watnuk* {**wat-nuk**} 'one having hit him', *mednuk* {**med-nuk**} 'one having lifted.up', *banuk* {**ban-nuk**} 'one having put.down' and *deinyuk* {**de-nuk**} 'one having cried' respectively, outlined in:

|        |                                                                               |                                                                            |                             |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (4.13) |                                                                               | <b>DELAYED SEQUENTIAL</b>                                                  | <b>IMMEDIATE SEQUENTIAL</b> |
| a.     | <i>wariak</i><br>wat-iak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one hits him and then' | <i>watnuk</i><br>wat-nuk<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-next<br>'one having hit him' |                             |
| b.     | <i>mediak</i><br>med-iak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one lifts up and then'    | <i>mednuk</i><br>med-nuk<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-next<br>'one having lifted up'  |                             |
| c.     | <i>baniak</i><br>ban-iak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one puts down and then'  | <i>banuk</i><br>ban-nuk<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-next<br>'one having put down'   |                             |
| d.     | <i>deiak</i><br>de-iak<br>cry:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one cries and then'             | <i>deinyuk</i><br>de-nuk<br>cry:SG.SBJ-next<br>'one having cried'          |                             |

All verbs in these classes have the **iak** {-iak} realization of D.SEQ 'then' attached to their root. There is a closed sub-class of *-t* verbs that has suffix **ak** {-ak} 'then' and shares the basic root forms as that of the *-t* verbs, outlined in:

|        |                                                                             |                                                                              |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (4.14) | <b>DELAYED SEQUENTIAL</b>                                                   | <b>IMMEDIATE SEQUENTIAL</b>                                                  |
| a.     | <i>norak</i><br>not-ak<br>go:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one goes and then'             | <i>notnuk</i><br>not-nuk<br>go:SG.SBJ-next<br>'one having gone'              |
| b.     | <i>worak</i><br>wot-ak<br>come:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one comes and then'          | <i>wotnuk</i><br>wot-nuk<br>come:SG.SBJ-next<br>'one having come'            |
| c.     | <i>korak</i><br>kot-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one sees him and then' | <i>kot-nuk</i><br>kot-nuk<br>3s.OBJ:see:SG.SBJ-next<br>'one having seen him' |
| d.     | <i>torak</i><br>tot-ak<br>intend:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one intends and then'      | <i>totnuk</i><br>tot-nuk<br>intend:SG.SBJ-next<br>'one having intended'      |

Because there is no gender distinction in '3s', I will use 'he' to represent 'he/she/it' unless otherwise stated. This also applies to 'him/her/it' and 'his/hers/its' accordingly.

I will discuss the *-vocalic* verbs separately at a later stage (in §4.6) since they behave in a rather different way from all the others. In the next sections, I will basically deal with various forms in the four major classes including the sub-*t* verbs. Each illustration will follow the order of: *-t* verbs, *-d* verbs, *-n* verbs, *-vocalic* verbs and finally sub-*t* verbs, when needed. A summary is given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Classes of verb conjugations

| CLASS           | ROOT               | DELAYED SEQUENTIAL       | IMMEDIATE SEQUENTIAL   |
|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| <b>-t</b>       | <i>wat</i>         | <i>wariak</i>            | <i>watnuk</i>          |
|                 | <i>wat-</i>        | <i>wat-iak</i>           | <i>wat-nuk</i>         |
|                 | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ- | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-then   | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-next |
|                 | 'one hits him'     | 'one hits him and then'  | 'one having hit him'   |
| <b>-d</b>       | <i>med</i>         | <i>mediak</i>            | <i>mednuk</i>          |
|                 | <i>med-</i>        | <i>med-iak</i>           | <i>med-nuk</i>         |
|                 | lift.up:SG.SBJ-    | lift.up:SG.SBJ-then      | lift.up:SG.SBJ-next    |
|                 | 'one lifts up'     | 'one lifts up and then'  | 'one having lifted up' |
| <b>-n</b>       | <i>ban</i>         | <i>baniak</i>            | <i>banuk</i>           |
|                 | <i>ban-</i>        | <i>ban-iak</i>           | <i>ban-uk</i>          |
|                 | put.down:SG.SBJ-   | put.down:SG.SBJ-then     | put.down:SG.SBJ-next   |
|                 | 'one puts down'    | 'one puts down and then' | 'one having put down'  |
| <b>-vocalic</b> | <i>de</i>          | <i>deiak</i>             | <i>deinyuk</i>         |
|                 | <i>de-</i>         | <i>de-iak</i>            | <i>de-inuk</i>         |
|                 | cry:SG.SBJ-        | cry:SG.SBJ-then          | cry:SG.SBJ-next        |
|                 | 'one cries'        | 'one cries and then'     | 'one having cried'     |
| <b>sub-t</b>    | <i>not</i>         | <i>norak</i>             | <i>notnuk</i>          |
|                 | <i>not-</i>        | <i>not-ak</i>            | <i>not-nuk</i>         |
|                 | go:SG.SBJ-         | go:SG.SBJ-then           | go:SG.SBJ-next         |
|                 | 'one goes'         | 'one goes and then'      | 'one having gone'      |

Having established the basic verb roots and their stems, I will now discuss various categories that are expressed by inflection of the verb root. Let me begin with Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: **Conjugational forms of Wano verb**

|                                  | IRREALIS                                                                                                                                                                  | REALIS                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Partially inflected verbs</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Optative non-past (§4.2.1)</li> <li>•Delayed sequential (§4.1.3 §4.2.2)</li> <li>•Immediate sequential (§4.1.3 §5.2.3)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Simple non-past (§4.3.1)</li> <li>•Habitual non-past (§4.3.2)</li> <li>•Purposive proximate-past (§4.3.3)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                     |
|                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Purposive non-past (§4.2.4)</li> </ul>                                                                                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Purposive remote-past (§4.3.4)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b>Fully inflected verbs</b>     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Inceptive non-past (§4.4.1)</li> </ul>                                                                                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Progressive non-past (§4.5.1)</li> <li>•Progressive proximate past (§4.5.2)</li> <li>•Progressive remote past (§4.5.3)</li> <li>•Delayed sequential proximate past (§4.5.4)</li> <li>•Delayed sequential remote past (§4.5.4)</li> </ul> |

Basically, verbs in Wano are distinguished by two types of epistemic modality: **IRREALIS** (IRREAL) and **REALIS** (REAL). While the first mentioned is marked by a zero morpheme, the **REALIS** mood is explicitly marked by the morpheme *k* {-k}, which most likely derives from the root of the verb 'one sees him', given in (4.15), cf. §4.7 for the morphophonological forms of Wano (di)transitive verbs.

|        |                                        |                                             |
|--------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| (4.15) | IRREALIS FORM                          | REALIS FORM                                 |
|        | <i>wariak</i>                          | <i>wakirak</i>                              |
|        | wat- $\emptyset$ -ak                   | wat- <b>k</b> -it-ak                        |
|        | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ- <b>IRREAL</b> -then | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ- <b>REAL</b> -3s.SBJ-then |
|        | 'one hits/kills him and then'          | 'he hit/killed him and then'                |

In this study, I will not appeal to zero morphemes in the morphophonological representation for the irrealis marker. The presence of the {-k} morpheme, on the other hand, is evidenced by allophonic variants, such as the intervocalic [ɣ], following the allophonic rule for /k/ established in chapter 2. There are inflected forms where a phonetic [k] does occur intervocalically. Such a realisation is explained as the result of coalescence of some other consonant, in this case the root-

final /t/ or /d/, and /k/. When /k/ is preceded by /n/, the nasal becomes velar [ŋ] and the velar plosive, representing the category REALIS, becomes voiced [g] (cf. chapter 2).

In both IRREALIS and REALIS mood, **partially inflected** and **fully inflected** verbs can be recognised. I will call *verb forms that are characterized by full inflection for the person and number categories of the subject* **fully inflected verbs** (abbreviated: FIV when needed), and *verb forms that lack at least one of the above affixes* **partially inflected verbs** (PIV). §4.2 describes **partially inflected irrealis**, i.e., those verbs that are in irrealis mood. §4.3 deals with **partially inflected realis**, §4.4 with **fully inflected irrealis**, and §4.5 with **fully inflected realis** verb forms.

To sum up, we may understand the Wano verbal system by considering the conjugational forms in terms of their categorical distribution as outlined in (4.6), Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 above.

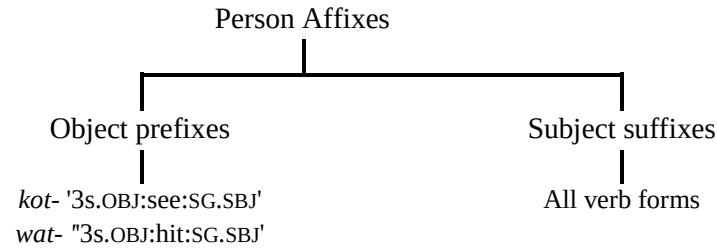
#### 4.1.6 Person affixes

Wano marks **object** prefixes, **subject** suffixes and **anonymous subject** root-portmanteau on verb roots (see also §4.1.3). The object prefixes {OBJ-} are found on verbs *wat* 'one hits him', *kot* 'one sees him', *wot* 'one gives him', *yot* 'one tells him' and *it* 'one does him' and/or 'one says to him' displaying three-PERSON/two-NUMBER system (i.e. first, second, third PERSON SINGULAR/PLURAL) – details in §4.7. The subject suffixes {-SBJ} vary across verb forms, and also follow the three-



PERSON/two-NUMBER system. The ANONYMOUS SUBJECT root-portmanteau distinguishes SINGULAR/PLURAL person that I will gloss { :SG.SBJ }/{ :PL.SBJ } with its free translation 'one/some' in this grammar. Figure 4.1 outlines person affixes of Wano, and (4.16)-(4.18) displays their morphophonological shapes and distributions.

Figure 4.1: Person Affixes in Wano



(4.16) displays the object prefixes of *wat* 'one hits him' in the past tenses, (4.17-18) of *kot* 'sees him' in the past tenses - including anonymous ones.

(4.16) Object prefixes of *wat*- '3s.OBJ:hit:3s.SBJ-' of PAST TENSES

| PERSON | SINGULAR                                                                                                                                                          | PLURAL                                                             |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | <i>not</i><br>not-<br>1s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-<br>'one hits me'                                                                                                         | <i>ninyot</i><br>ninot-<br>1p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-<br>'one hits us'     |
| 2      | <i>kot</i><br>kot-<br>2s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-<br>'one hits you.sg'                                                                                                     | <i>kinyot</i><br>kinot-<br>2p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-<br>'one hits you.pl' |
| 3      | <i>wat</i><br><div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">           wat-<br/>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-<br/>'one hits him'         </div> | <i>inyot</i><br>inot-<br>3p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-<br>'one hits them'     |

(4.17) Object prefixes of *kot-* '3s.OBJ:see' of the PROXIMATE-PAST

| PERSON | SINGULAR                                                     | PLURAL                                                            |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | <i>ne</i><br>ne-<br>1s.OBJ:see.PROX<br>'saw me recently'     | <i>ninye</i><br>nine-<br>1p.OBJ:see.PROX<br>'saw us recently'     |
| 2      | <i>ke</i><br>ke-<br>2s.OBJ:see.PROX<br>'saw you.sg recently' | <i>kinye</i><br>kine-<br>2p.OBJ:see.PROX<br>'saw you.pl recently' |
| 3      | <i>kit</i><br>kit-<br>3s.OBJ:see.PROX<br>'saw him recently'  | <i>inye</i><br>ine-<br>3p.OBJ:see.PROX<br>'saw them recently'     |

(4.18) Object prefixes of *kot-* '3s.OBJ:see' of the REMOTE-PAST

| PERSON | SINGULAR                                                        | PLURAL                                                             |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | <i>neat</i><br>neat-<br>1s.OBJ:see.REM<br>'saw me long ago'     | <i>nicat</i><br>nitjat-<br>1p.OBJ:see.REM<br>'saw us long ago'     |
| 2      | <i>keat</i><br>keat-<br>2s.OBJ:see.REM<br>'saw you.sg long ago' | <i>kicat</i><br>kitjat-<br>2p.OBJ:see.REM<br>'saw you.pl long ago' |
| 3      | <i>kat</i><br>kat-<br>3s.OBJ:see.REM<br>'saw him long ago'      | <i>icat</i><br>itjat-<br>3p.OBJ:see.REM<br>'saw them long ago'     |

I will now examine the internal structures of those four verb conjugation forms one by one.

## 4.2 PARTIALLY INFLECTED IRREALIS VERBS

There are four categories found in the **partially inflected irrealis** forms. They include forms with optative (OPT) expression (discussed in §4.2.1), **delayed**

**sequential** (§4.2.2), **immediate sequential** (§4.2.3), and **purposive non-past** (§4.2.4).

#### 4.2.1 Partially inflected irrealis optative

The **partially inflected irrealis optative** verb form is used to express a desire, a wish or a hope. The structure is given in (4.19) where {-o} marks 'singular person' and {-u} 'plural person', both function as 'anonymous subject', thus: 'SG.SBJ.OPT' and 'PL.SBJ.OPT'.

##### (4.19) Partially inflected irrealis optative

(OBJECT):ROOT:SG.SUBJECT- -PERSON/NUMBER:OPTATIVE  
 {-o} for SG.SBJ:OPT  
 {-u} for PL.SBJ:OPT

This is evidenced in (4.20) and (4.21).

| (4.20) | CLASS | SINGULAR                                                                                        | PLURAL                                                                                         |
|--------|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|        | -t    | <i>waro</i><br>wat- <b>o</b><br>3s.OBJ.hit:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ:OPT</b><br>'one wishes to hit him' | <i>waru</i><br>wat- <b>u</b><br>3s.OBJ.hit:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ:OPT</b><br>'some wish to hit him' |
|        | -d    | <i>medo</i><br>med-o<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-SG.SBJ:OPT<br>'one wishes to lift up'                    | <i>medu</i><br>med-u<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-PL.SBJ:OPT<br>'some wish to lift up'                    |
|        | -n    | <i>bano</i><br>ban-o<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-SG.SBJ:OPT<br>'one wishes to put down'                  | <i>banu</i><br>ban-u<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-PL.SBJ:OPT<br>'some wish to put down'                  |
|        | sub-t | <i>noru</i><br>not-o<br>go:SG.SBJ-SG.SBJ:OPT<br>'one wishes to go'                              | <i>noru</i><br>not-u<br>go:SG.SBJ-PL.SBJ:OPT<br>'some wish to go'                              |

The following attested conversation demonstrates the usage of this form, mostly attested in oral interactions and/or texts, where a serial verb may be found. Speaker 1 is indicating his desire to get the breadfruit down and roast it. In this construction, optative root precedes sequential root, i.e. in *waro tariak* {wat-o + tat-iaak} in (4.21), where the suffix *o* {-o} marks 'singular.subject.optative' and the suffix *iaak* {-iaak} marks 'delayed sequential' that is translated as 'then'.

- (4.21) Speaker 1:
- |             |                              |                      |            |
|-------------|------------------------------|----------------------|------------|
| <i>inyo</i> | <b><i>waro</i></b>           | <b><i>tariak</i></b> | <i>ta,</i> |
| ino         | <b>wat-o</b>                 | tat-iaak             | ta         |
| breadfruit  | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-SG.SBJ:OPT | roast:SG.SBJ-then    | SPEC       |
- bok-o.*  
bok=o \  
good=PAUS  
'It would be good to get the breadfruit down and roast it.' (*lit.* 'It would be good one hit breadfruit down roast it.')
- Speaker 2:
- |               |              |                                 |
|---------------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>yuk-o,</i> | <i>todik</i> | <i>waruid-o.</i>                |
| juk=o         | todik        | wat-uid=o                       |
| say=PAUS      | quick        | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-1p:INCEP=PAUS |
- 'Yes, let's get it down quickly.'
- [Recalling my conversation with two young Wano speakers as we were walking by the Orari river in Fawi. It was about 14.00 o'clock and we were hungry.]

#### 4.2.2 Partially inflected irrealis delayed sequential

The structure of verbs taking this form was discussed in §s4.1.3-5, and outlined in (4.11). In fact, the **partially inflected irrealis delayed sequential** form is the essential one since it establishes the basic verb roots and four conjugation classes, as well as serving as the main lexical entry, i.e. citation form. It may function as an abstract word (lexeme) for some concrete words (cf. Booij 2012: 3). Thus, for example, *WARIAK* 'one hits him and then' is a lexeme for *wat-* 'one hits him', *wariak*,

'one hits him and then', *watnuk* 'having hit him', *wakacak* 'I hit him', *wakendak* 'you.sg hit him', *wakirak* 'he hit him', *wakerak* 'we hit him', *wakepak* 'you.pl hit him', *wakarak* 'they hit him', etc. This is outlined in:

(4.22) **Citation forms as a lexeme**

| <u>Lexeme</u>           | <u>Word forms (Concrete words)</u> |                      |                         |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>WARIAK</b>           | i.                                 | <i>wat-</i>          | 'one hits him'          |
| 'one hits him and then' | ii.                                | <b><i>wariak</i></b> | 'one hits him and then' |
|                         | iii.                               | <i>watnuk</i>        | 'having hit him'        |
|                         | iv.                                | <i>wakacak</i>       | 'I hit him'             |
|                         | v.                                 | <i>wakendak</i>      | 'you.sg hit him'        |
|                         | vi.                                | <i>wakirak</i>       | 'he hit him'            |
|                         | vii.                               | <i>wakerak</i>       | 'we hit him'            |
|                         | viii.                              | <i>wakepak</i>       | 'you.pl hit him'        |
|                         |                                    | <i>etc.</i>          |                         |

Moreover, the **delayed sequential**, glossed 'then', is marked by the suffix *iak* {-iak} on *-t*, *-n*, *-d* and *-vocalic* verbs, and *ak* {-ak} on the sub-*t* verbs in the following structure (cf. (4.8)):

(4.23) **Partially inflected irrealis delayed sequential**

|                        |                                                                                   |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT- | -DELAYED SEQUENTIAL                                                               |
|                        | <i>iak</i> {-iak} for <i>-t</i> , <i>-d</i> , <i>-n</i> and <i>-vocalic</i> verbs |
|                        | <i>ak</i> {-ak} for sub- <i>t</i> verbs                                           |

Semantically, the delayed sequential verb form expresses an action that may or may not take place. From a pragmatic point of view, it is used to express the wishes of a speaker (a hypothetical or desirable event),<sup>35</sup> as illustrated in:

- (4.24)    *an    mboid    apu                    nome-o,            wom*  
           *an    mpoid    apu                    nome=o \        wom*  
           *I      potato<sup>36</sup>    desire to ingest    therefore=PAUS    pig*
- wariak                                    bok-o.*  
           *wat-iaik                                   bok=o \*  
           *3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-then            good=PAUS*  
           .....  
           'Since I am hungry, it would be good to kill a pig.'

Here, the speaker simply expresses his desire to have some meat, at the same time, expecting a sympathetic response from his audience. He does not necessarily have any intention of going hunting.

Regarding its structure, the **partially inflected irrealis delayed sequential** verbs may occur either independently, as in (4.25a), or often preceding a fully inflected verb, as in (4.25b).

- (4.25)    a.    *an    wom    wariak-o.*  
               *an    wom    wat-iaik=o \*  
               *I      pig    3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
               .....  
               'I wish to kill a pig.'
- b.    *an    wom    wariak                                    tetik-o.*  
               *an    wom    wat-iaik                                    t-ett-ik=o \*  
               *I      pig    3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-then            intend-1s-PROG=PAUS*  
               .....  
               'I will kill a pig.' or 'I intend to kill a pig.'

<sup>35</sup> Other terms for the delayed sequential verb are 'optative' (Bybee 1985, Payne 1997: 245-246), 'adhortative' (van der Stap 1966).

<sup>36</sup> The gloss 'potato' here is 'sweet potato' which is the staple of the Wano people. The English word 'potato' in Wano today is [*kendang*], a loanword from Indonesian [*kentang*]. Since there is no reference in my corpus to contrast *mboid* with [*kendang*], the word *mboid* will be simply translated as 'potato' throughout this grammar.

The delayed sequential verb may also follow another partially inflected verb. In (4.26), the suffix *ak* {-ak} marks 'delayed sequential' in the verb *norak-o* {not-ak=o}, which is glossed 'then'.

- (4.26) *an wom waruca norak-o.*  
 an wom wat-u-tja not-**ak**=o \  
 I pig 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-SG/PL-PURP go:SG.SBJ-**then**=PAUS  
 'I wish to go in order to kill a pig.'

### 4.2.3 Partially inflected irrealis immediate sequential

Like the DELAYED SEQUENTIAL (D.SEQ) form, discussed in §4.2.2, the IMMEDIATE SEQUENTIAL (I.SEQ) form is marked by the suffix {-nuk}~{-nok} on *-t*, sub-*t*, *-n*, *-d* and *-vocalic* verbs in the following structure:

- (4.27) **Partially inflected irrealis immediate sequential**  
 (OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT- -IMMEDIATE SEQUENTIAL  
*nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} for *-t*, sub-*t*, *-d*, *-n* and *-vocalic* verbs

Examples can be seen in various narratorial events, as illustrated in (4.28). In suffix *nuk* {-nuk} in the verb *pininuk* {pinin-nuk} marks 'immediate sequential' and is translated as 'next'.

- (4.28) *Tiagai pininuk ta, nok Acodi ne, ekenaq*  
*tiakai pinin-nuk ta | nok atjodi ne | it-k-e-naq*  
 PN arrive-**next** SPEC next PN S.REF do-REAL-SG/PL.SBJ-as.such  
*wouguarak-o.*  
*w-ou-k-uat-ak=o \*  
*come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then-PAUS*  
 'Having arrived in Tiagai, they approached Acodi'  
 [Text 35: 2.4; Burung 2013a: 227-7, 236]

## 4.2.4 Partially inflected irrealis purposive non-past

The structure of the **partially inflected** verb with the IRREALIS mood PURPOSIVE verbs is:

### (4.29) Partially inflected irrealis purposive non-past

(OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT - -NUMBER/SUBJECT -PURPOSIVE  
*ca* {-tja} for -t, sub-t, -d, -n, -vocalic  
 verbs

The subject suffixes of the IRREALIS PURPOSIVE type are irregular for the singular depending on the conjugational classes. In contrast, suffix {-u} marks plural for all types of conjugations, see (4.30). There are some verbs, however, where singular and plural are neutralised, in that both are marked by {-u}. Examples are the verbs *wat* {wat-} '3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ' (4.31) and *kod* {kod-} 'get:SG.SBJ' (4.32).

### (4.30) Subject suffixes of partially inflected irrealis purposive non-past

| CLASS    | SINGULAR    | PLURAL |
|----------|-------------|--------|
| -t       | -i -a -o -u | -u     |
| sub-t    | -a -o       | -∅     |
| -d       | -i -o -u    | -u     |
| -n       | -i -e -a -o | -∅     |
| -vocalic | -i          | -∅     |

Examples in (4.31)-(4.34) show the different forms of subject suffixes.

### (4.31) Partially inflected irrealis purposive non-past of -t verbs

ROOT        *met* {met-} \rise:SG.SBJ-\ 'one rises'  
 SINGULAR   *merica*  
               met-**i**-tja  
               rise:SG.SBJ-SG.SBJ-PURP  
               'in order that **one** rise'



|          |                                                                                                                     |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PLURAL   | <i>meruca</i><br>met- <b>u</b> -tja<br>rise:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>some</b> rise'         |
| ROOT     | <i>mit</i> {mit-} \cut.down:SG.SBJ-\ 'one cuts down'                                                                |
| SINGULAR | <i>miraca</i><br>mit- <b>a</b> -tja<br>cut.down:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> cut.down'  |
| PLURAL   | <i>miruca</i><br>mit- <b>u</b> -tja<br>cut.down:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>some</b> cut down' |
| ROOT     | <i>kodat</i> {kodat-} \take.SG.SBJ-\ 'one takes'                                                                    |
| SINGULAR | <i>kodaroca</i><br>kodat- <b>o</b> -tja<br>take:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> take'      |
| PLURAL   | <i>kodaruca</i><br>kodat- <b>u</b> -tja<br>take:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>some</b> take'     |
| ROOT     | <i>wat</i> {wat-} \3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-\ 'one hits him and then'                                                      |
| SINGULAR | <i>waruca</i>                                                                                                       |
| /PLURAL  | wat- <b>u</b> -tja<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ- <b>SG/PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one/some</b> hit him'          |

(4.32) **Partially inflected irrealis purposive non-past of -d verbs**

|          |                                                                                                                   |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ROOT     | <i>med</i> {med-} \lift.up:SG.SBJ-\ 'one lifts up'                                                                |
| SINGULAR | <i>medica</i><br>med- <b>i</b> -tja<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> lift.up'  |
| PLURAL   | <i>meduca</i><br>med- <b>u</b> -tja<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>some</b> lift.up' |
| ROOT     | <i>pod</i> {pod-} \lie:SG.SBJ-\ 'one lies'                                                                        |
| SINGULAR | <i>podoca</i><br>pod- <b>o</b> -tja<br>lie:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> lie'          |
| PLURAL   | <i>poduca</i><br>pod- <b>u</b> -tja<br>lie:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>some</b> lie'         |

|          |                                                                                                                   |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ROOT     | <i>yod</i> {jod-} \fill in:SG.SBJ\ 'one fills in'                                                                 |
| SINGULAR | <i>yodoca</i><br>jod- <b>o</b> -tja<br>fill.in:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> fill.in'  |
| PLURAL   | <i>yoduca</i><br>jod- <b>u</b> -tja<br>fill.in:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>some</b> fill.in' |
| ROOT     | <i>kot</i> {kod-} \get:SG.SBJ-\ 'one gets'                                                                        |
| SINGULAR | <i>koduca</i>                                                                                                     |
| /PLURAL  | kod- <b>u</b> -tja<br>get:SG.SBJ- <b>SG/PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one/some</b> get'                   |

(4.33) **Partially inflected irrealis purposive of -n verbs**

|          |                                                                                                                    |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ROOT     | <i>mbon</i> {mbon-} \cut:SG.SBJ-\ 'one cuts'                                                                       |
| SINGULAR | <i>mbonica</i><br>mpon- <b>i</b> -tja<br>cut:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> cut'         |
| PLURAL   | <i>mbonuca</i><br>mpon- <b>u</b> -tja<br>cut:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>some</b> cut'        |
| ROOT     | <i>konen</i> {konen-} \listen:SG.SBJ-\ 'one listens'                                                               |
| SINGULAR | <i>koneca</i><br>kon- <b>e</b> -tja<br>listen:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> listen'     |
| PLURAL   | <i>konuca</i><br>kon- <b>u</b> -tja<br>listen:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>some</b> listen'    |
| ROOT     | <i>wan</i> {wan-} \take:SG.SBJ-\ 'one takes'                                                                       |
| SINGULAR | <i>wanica</i><br>wan- <b>i</b> -tja<br>take:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> take'         |
| PLURAL   | <i>wanuca</i><br>wan- <b>u</b> -tja<br>take:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>some</b> take'        |
| ROOT     | <i>ban</i> {ban-} \put down:SG.SBJ-\ 'one puts down'                                                               |
| SINGULAR | <i>banoca</i><br>ban- <b>o</b> -tja<br>put.down:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> put down' |

PLURAL      *banuca*  
                  ban-**u**-tja  
                  put.down:SG.SBJ-**PL.SBJ**-PURP  
                  'in order that **some** put down'

(4.34)      **Partially inflected irrealis purposive of sub *t*-verbs**

|          |                                                                                                             |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ROOT     | <i>kot</i> {kot-} \3s.OBJ:see.SG.SBJ\ 'one sees him'                                                        |
| SINGULAR | <i>kaca</i><br>ko- <b>a</b> -tja<br>see:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> see'       |
| PLURAL   | <i>kuca</i><br>ko- <b>u</b> -tja<br>see:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that some see him'         |
| -----    |                                                                                                             |
| ROOT     | <i>not</i> {not-} \go:SG.SBJ-\ 'one goes'                                                                   |
| SINGULAR | <i>noroca</i><br>not- <b>o</b> -tja<br>go:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> goes'    |
| PLURAL   | <i>noruca</i><br>not- <b>u</b> -tja<br>go:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>some</b> go'     |
| -----    |                                                                                                             |
| ROOT     | <i>wot</i> {wot-} \come:SG.SBJ-\ 'one comes'                                                                |
| SINGULAR | <i>woroca</i><br>wot- <b>o</b> -tja<br>come:SG.SBJ- <b>SG.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>one</b> comes' |
| PLURAL   | <i>woruca</i><br>wot- <b>u</b> -tja<br>come:SG.SBJ- <b>PL.SBJ</b> -PURP<br>'in order that <b>some</b> come' |

This form is used to express the purpose of an event. It is always followed by a **partially inflected delayed sequential** verb that determines the semantics of the utterance it is in. In other words, the **partially inflected delayed sequential** verbs that follow express the action/event motivated by the purpose. Consider the examples below.

- (4.35) a. **an** wom waruca norak-o.  
**an** wom wat-u-tja not-ak=o \
- 
- I** pig 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-SG/PL.SBJ-PURP go:SG.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'In order to kill a pig, I wish to go.' or 'I wish to go in order to kill a pig.'
- b. **nit** wom waruca nuerik-o.  
**nit** wom wat-u-tja n-uet-ik=o \
- 
- we** pig 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-SG/PL.SBJ-PURP go-1p-PROG=PAUS  
 'In order to kill a pig, we are going.' or 'We are going in order to kill a pig.'
- c. **nit** wom waruca tuerik-o.  
**nit** wom wat-u-tja t-uet-ik=o \
- 
- we** pig 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-SG/PL.SBJ-PURP intend-1p-PROG=PAUS  
 'In order to kill a pig, we will (do it or do something)' or 'We intend to (do it or do something) in order to kill a pig.'

The utterance in (4.35a) is a hypothetical or desiderative expression. The second expression in (4.35b) indicates the progressive aspect. It is a durative mood - like the present progressive tense in English. The last utterance in (4.35c) is ambiguous. It could mean that 'we will indeed do something in order to kill a pig', or 'we will indeed do it (i.e. the action of killing in whatever way) with an emphatic sense; the speaker and his party will indeed go or do whatever necessary in order to kill a pig.'

### 4.3 PARTIALLY INFLECTED REALIS VERBS

In §4.1.5, I showed the pair of sequential forms (Table 4.1) on which I have based my analysis of the basic verb roots. There are a few more. Two of the **partially inflected forms** belong to the REALIS mood: (i) simple non-past and (ii) habitual non-past.

The partially inflected verbs with the REALIS MOOD are also composed of four sub-categories. I will examine the **simple non-past** verb forms in §4.3.1, the **habitual non-past** in §4.3.2, the **purposive proximate-past** in §4.3.3 and the **purposive remote-past** in § 5.3.4.

### 4.3.1 Partially inflected realis simple non-past

In this form, only the NUMBER (singular/plural) of the third person subject is marked, following the realis {-k}, with {-e}, {-o} for 'singular' and {-u} for 'plural'. The verb is commonly used to describe a simple event. The structure of NON-PAST SIMPLE form is given in:

(4.36) **Partially inflected realis simple non-past**

|                        |               |                                                            |
|------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| (OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT- | -REALIS       | -NUMBER/SUBJECT                                            |
|                        | <i>k</i> {-k} | <i>e/o</i> {-e/-o} for SG.SBJ,<br><i>u</i> {-u} for PL.SBJ |

Examples are in (4.36). Note the root of the sub-*t* verbs is changed and the verb lacks the realis {-k}.

(4.37) **Partially inflected realis simple non-past of -t, -d, -n and sub-t verbs**

| CLASS | SINGULAR                                                                                  | PLURAL                                                                                    |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -t    | <i>wako</i><br>wat-k- <b>o</b><br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>SG.SBJ</b><br>'one hits him' | <i>waku</i><br>wat-k- <b>u</b><br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>PL.SBJ</b><br>'some hit him' |
| -d    | <i>meko</i><br>med-k- <b>o</b><br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>SG.SBJ</b><br>'one lifts up'    | <i>meku</i><br>med-k- <b>u</b><br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>PL.SBJ</b><br>'some lift up'    |

|       |                                                                                            |                                                                                            |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -n    | <i>banggo</i><br>ban-k- <b>o</b><br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>SG.SBJ</b><br>'one puts down' | <i>banggu</i><br>ban-k- <b>u</b><br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>PL.SBJ</b><br>'some put down' |
| sub-t | <i>ne</i><br>n- <b>e</b><br>go- <b>SG.SBJ</b><br>'one goes'                                | <i>nu</i><br>n- <b>u</b><br>go- <b>PL.SBJ</b><br>'some go'                                 |

In this form, the first and the second persons are not attested. Instead, their inclusion in the verb will form a fully inflected realis progressive non-past, discussed in §4.5.1, example (4.59).

### 4.3.2 Partially inflected realis habitual non-past

In this form, the verb root takes HABITUAL aspect suffix *wa* {-wa} following the realis *k* {-k} 'REAL', and has an ANONYMOUS SUBJECT {ablaut-u} for 'PL.SBJ' and {ablaut-vocalic} for 'SG.SBJ', yielding the structure:

#### (4.37) Partially inflected realis habitual non-past

|                             |               |                 |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT-      | -REALIS       | -HABITUAL       |
| ablaut {u} for PL.SBJ       | <i>k</i> {-k} | <i>wa</i> {-wa} |
| ablaut {vocalic} for SG.SBJ |               |                 |

It is used to express an affirmation that a certain type of event occurs as a habit, which can be translated as 'always' or 'used to'. Whatever the original vowel of the verb root, when the subject is plural, it is replaced by the morpheme *u* {-u}. It follows that *wukwa* must be translated 'some always hit him' from the verb root *wut* {**wut-**} \3s.OBJ:hit:PL.SBJ-\ + *k* {-k} \REAL\ + *wa* {-wa} \HAB\ . This contrasts with *wakwa* 'one always hits him' from the root *wat* {**wat-**} \3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-\ + *k* {-k}

\REAL\ + *wa* {-*wa*} \HAB\ . A paradigm of the **partially inflected realis** forms with HABITUAL aspect follows.

(4.38) **Partially inflected realis habitual non-Past of -*t*, -*d*, -*n* and sub-*t* verbs**

| CLASS        | SINGULAR                                            | PLURAL                                              |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| <i>-t</i>    | <i>wakwa</i>                                        | <i>wukwa</i>                                        |
|              | wat-k-wa                                            | wut-k-wa                                            |
|              | 3s.OBJ.hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-HAB<br>'one always hits him' | 3s.OBJ.hit:PL.SBJ-REAL-HAB<br>'some always hit him' |
| <i>-d</i>    | <i>mekwa</i>                                        | <i>mukwa</i>                                        |
|              | med-k-wa                                            | mud-k-wa                                            |
|              | lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-HAB<br>'one always lifts.up'    | lift.up:PL.SBJ-REAL-HAB<br>'some always lift.up'    |
| <i>-n</i>    | <i>banggwa</i>                                      | <i>bunggwa</i>                                      |
|              | ban-k-wa                                            | bun-k-wa                                            |
|              | put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-HAB<br>'one always puts.down'  | put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-HAB<br>'some always put.down'  |
| <i>sub-t</i> | <i>nokwa</i>                                        | <i>nukwa</i>                                        |
|              | not-k-wa                                            | nut-k-wa                                            |
|              | go:SG.SBJ-REAL-HAB<br>'one always goes'             | go:SG.SBJ-REAL-HAB<br>'some always go'              |

There are two additional forms of the realis verbs that take the **partially inflected** shape. These are the past tense verbs with the suffix *ca* {-*tja*} 'purposive' mood.

### 4.3.3 Partially inflected realis purposive proximate-past

The structure of partially inflected realis purposive proximate-past verbs is:

(4.39) **Partially inflected realis purposive proximate-past**

| (OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT- | -REALIS                | -NUMBER/SUBJECT                                                            | -PURPOSIVE                |
|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
|                        | <i>k</i> {- <i>k</i> } | <i>a</i> {- <i>a</i> } for 'SG.SBJ'<br><i>u</i> {- <i>u</i> } for 'PL.SBJ' | <i>ca</i> {- <i>tja</i> } |

The subject suffixes on this type of verb are straightforward: *a* {-a} for singular and *u* {-u} for plural. Agreement is found with respect to TAM and SUBJECT/NUMBER with both verbs in (4.40a-b) – bold and underlined.

- (4.40) a. **an** wom *wakaca*  
**an** wom wat-k-**a**-tja  
**I** pig 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-**SG.SBJ**-PURP  
*nirak-o.*  
 n-**it**-ak=o \  
 go-**1s.SBJ**-then=PAUS  
 'In order to kill a pig, I went.' or 'I went in order to kill a pig.'
- b. **nit** wom *wakuca*  
**nit** wom wat-k-**u**-tja  
**we** pig 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-**PL.SBJ**-PURP  
*nerak-o.*  
 n-**et**-ak=o \  
 go-**1p.SBJ**-then=PAUS  
 'In order to kill a pig, we went.' or 'We went in order to kill a pig.'

#### 4.3.4 Partially inflected realis purposive remote-past

The structure of **partially inflected realis purposive remote-past** verbs is similar to the PROXIMATE-PAST form shown in (§4.3.3) with the addition of the remote suffix after the root:

- (4.41) **Partially inflected realis purposive remote-past**
- |                    |                      |               |                                                      |                  |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------|------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| (OBJECT):ROOT:SBJ- | -REMOTE              | -REAL         | -NUM/SBJ                                             | -PURPOSIVE       |
|                    | <i>i/ou</i> {-i/-ou} | <i>k</i> {-k} | <i>a</i> {-a} for SG.SBJ<br><i>u</i> {-u} for PL.SBJ | <i>ca</i> {-tja} |

The remote-past is marked by *i/u* {-i}/{-ou}. Agreement is also found with respect to TAM and SUBJECT/NUMBER between both verbs in (4.42a-b).



- (4.42) a. *at* wom *warigaca*  
*at* wom wat-i-k-*a*-tja  
*he* pig 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-**SG.SBJ**-PURP
- nouguarak*  
n-ou-k-*uat*-ak  
go-REM-REAL-**3s.SBJ**-then  
'In order to kill a pig, he went long ago.' or 'He went long ago in order to kill a pig.'
- b. *nit* wom *wariguca*  
*nit* wom wat-i-k-*u*-tja  
*we* pig 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-**PL.SBJ**-PURP
- nouguerak*  
n-ou-k-*uet*-ak  
go-REM-REAL-**1p.SBJ**-then  
'In order to kill a pig, we went long ago.' or 'We went long ago in order to kill a pig.'

## 4.4 FULLY INFLECTED IRREALIS VERBS

There is only one **fully inflected verb** paradigm with the IRREALIS MOOD: the INCEPTIVE NON-PAST – see Table 4.3. As we will see in §6.5, the inceptive non-past is commonly used to express imperatives. In this section, I will focus on the basic morphological forms of the fully inflected irrealis inceptive non-past verb.

### 4.4.1 Fully inflected irrealis inceptive non-past

The basic structure of **fully inflected irrealis inceptive non-past** verbs is:

- (4.43) **Fully inflected irrealis inceptive non-past**  
(OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT- -NUMBER/SUBJECT:INCEPTIVE  
NUMBER/PERSON determines SUBJECT:INCEPTIVE forms

This type of verb requires another set of subject suffixes as outlined in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Subject suffixes of fully inflected irrealis inceptive non-past

| PERSON | SINGULAR                                                                  | PLURAL                                                    |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | <i>id</i><br>-id<br>1s.SBJ:INCEP<br>'I am about to'                       | <i>uid</i><br>-uid<br>1p.SBJ:INCEP<br>'we are about to'   |
| 2      | <i>u</i><br>-u<br>2s.SBJ:INCEP<br>'you.sg are about to'                   | <i>eb</i><br>-eb<br>2p.SBJ:INCEP<br>'you.pl are about to' |
| 3      | <i>ok ~ uk</i><br>-ok~ -uk<br>3s/p.SBJ:INCEP<br>'he is/they are about to' |                                                           |

The suffix *ok* {-ok} '3s/p.SBJ:INCEP' is in free variation with *uk* {-uk}. Verbs in this category are used only to refer to events that are about to happen, expressing an inherent 'inceptive' aspect; they can thus be translated into English by 'being about to VERB' or 'being on the point of VERB'.

- (4.44) **an** wom *warid-o*.  
**an** wom wat-**id** =o \  
**I** pig 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-**1s.SBJ:INCEP**=PAUS  
 'I am about to kill (a) pig.' or 'I am on the point of killing (a) pig.'

Since the portmanteau subject-aspect affixes – which have an initial vowel – are directly attached to the verb root, the root-final consonants exhibit the same behaviour as evident in the partially inflected irrealis sequential forms given in Table 4.1: /t/ becomes [ɾ]; /d/ remains [d], and the alveolar nasal remains unchanged, cf.

§2.2.1.2. The sub-*t* verbs taking the inceptive mood, have the same kind of root construction as all -*t* verbs. Paradigms follow.

(4.45) **Fully inflected irrealis inceptive non-past of -*t* verbs**

| PERSON | SINGULAR                                                                                    | PLURAL                                                                                    |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | <i>warid</i><br>wat-id<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-1s.SBJ:INCEP<br>'I am about to hit him'         | <i>waruid</i><br>wat-uid<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-1p.SBJ:INCEP<br>'we are about to hit him'   |
| 2      | <i>waru</i><br>wat-u<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-2s.SBJ:INCEP<br>'you.sg are about to hit him'     | <i>wareb</i><br>wat-eb<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-2p.SBJ:INCEP<br>'you.pl are about to hit him' |
| 3      | <i>warok</i><br>wat-ok<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-3s/p.SBJ:INCEP<br>'he/they is/about to hit him' |                                                                                           |

(4.46) **Fully inflected irrealis inceptive non-past of -*d* verbs**

| PERSON | SINGULAR                                                                                 | PLURAL                                                                                 |
|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | <i>medid</i><br>med-id<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-1s.SBJ:INCEP<br>'I am about to lift up'         | <i>meduid</i><br>med-uid<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-1p.SBJ:INCEP<br>'we are about to lift up'   |
| 2      | <i>medu</i><br>med-u<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-2s.SBJ:INCEP<br>'you.sg are about to lift up'     | <i>medeb</i><br>med-eb<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-2p.SBJ:INCEP<br>'you.pl are about to lift up' |
| 3      | <i>medok</i><br>med-ok<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-3s/p.SBJ:INCEP<br>'he/they is/about to lift up' |                                                                                        |

(4.47) **Fully inflected irrealis inceptive non-past of the -*n* verbs**

| PERSON | SINGULAR                                                                               | PLURAL                                                                                   |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | <i>banid</i><br>ban-id<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-1s.SBJ:INCEP<br>'I am about to put down'     | <i>banuid</i><br>ban-uid<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-1p.SBJ:INCEP<br>'we are about to put down'   |
| 2      | <i>banu</i><br>ban-u<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-2s.SBJ:INCEP<br>'you.sg are about to put down' | <i>baneb</i><br>ban-eb<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-2p.SBJ:INCEP<br>'you.pl are about to put down' |



In general, the morphophonological pattern of this type of verb form is:

(4.49) **Fully inflected realis verbs**

(OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT- (-REALIS) (-REMOTE) -REALIS -NUMBER/SUBJECT -TAM

The REALIS mood allows a basic tense distinction: NON-PAST PROGRESSIVE, PROXIMATE-PAST and REMOTE-PAST, which are signalled by separate sets of subject suffixes, which I will discuss in terms of their TAM-PERSON/NUMBER relation. Their structures are given in:

- (4.50)
- a. Fully inflected realis progressive non-past, and
  - b. Fully inflected irrealis proximate-past  
(OBJ):ROOT:SBJ- REAL NUM/SBJ TAM
  - c. Fully inflected realis remote-past for 1st and 2nd persons  
(OBJ):ROOT:SBJ- REM REAL NUM/SBJ TAM
  - d. Fully inflected realis remote-past for 3rd persons  
(OBJ):ROOT:SBJ- REAL REM REAL NUM/SBJ TAM

Subject suffixes of **proximate-** and **remote-past** of the **fully inflected realis delayed sequential** are mostly identical. Both tenses are marked either by sequential **ak** {-ak} \D.SEQ\ 'then' or progressive **ik** {-ik} \PROG\ 'progressive' aspect. There is no single morpheme marking proximate-past except for the subject suffixes, while morphemes marking remote-past vary in agreement with NUMBER and conjugation class of verbs, as outlined in:

(4.51) **Morphological markers for remote-past**

- i for: -t, -d, -n and -vocalic verbs regardless of PERSON/NUMBER agreement  
SINGULAR of sub-t verbs  
FIRST/SECOND PERSON of transitive verbs
- e for: THIRD SINGULAR of transitive verbs
- ou for: THIRD PLURAL of transitive verbs

Examples follow.

(4.52) **Fully inflected realis progressive/delayed sequential proximate**

|    | SUBJECT                           | OBJECT        | VERB                                       |
|----|-----------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>at</i>                         | <i>ngoica</i> | <i>wakirik</i>                             |
|    | at                                | nkoitja       | wat-k- <b>it-ik</b>                        |
|    | he                                | wild.pig      | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>3s.SBJ-PROG</b> |
|    | 'He was killing a wild pig'       |               |                                            |
| b. | <i>it</i>                         | <i>ngoica</i> | <i>wakarik</i>                             |
|    | it                                | nkoitja       | wat-k- <b>at-ik</b>                        |
|    | they                              | wild.pig      | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>3p.SBJ-PROG</b> |
|    | 'They were killing a wild pig'    |               |                                            |
| c. | <i>at</i>                         | <i>ngoica</i> | <i>wakirak</i>                             |
|    | at                                | nkoitja       | wat-k-it- <b>ak</b>                        |
|    | he                                | wild.pig      | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ- <b>then</b> |
|    | 'He killed a wild pig and then'   |               |                                            |
| d. | <i>it</i>                         | <i>ngoica</i> | <i>wakarak</i>                             |
|    | it                                | nkoitja       | wat-k-at-ak                                |
|    | they                              | wild.pig      | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ-then         |
|    | 'They killed a wild pig and then' |               |                                            |

Note that the remote marker in (4.53) is **e** {-e} for SINGULAR and **ou** {-ou} for PLURAL since this is a transitive verb.

(4.53) **Fully inflected realis progressive/delayed sequential remote**

|    | SUBJECT                                          | OBJECT        | VERB                                                |
|----|--------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>at</i>                                        | <i>ngoica</i> | <i>wakegirik</i>                                    |
|    | at                                               | nkoitja       | wat-k- <b>e-g-it-ik</b>                             |
|    | he                                               | wild.pig      | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG</b> |
|    | 'He was killing a wild pig <b>long ago</b> '     |               |                                                     |
| b. | <i>it</i>                                        | <i>ngoica</i> | <i>wakouguarik</i>                                  |
|    | it                                               | nkoitja       | wat-k- <b>ou-g-uat-ik</b>                           |
|    | they                                             | wild.pig      | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG</b> |
|    | 'They were killing a wild pig long ago'          |               |                                                     |
| c. | <i>at</i>                                        | <i>ngoica</i> | <i>wakegirak</i>                                    |
|    | at                                               | nkoitja       | wat-k-e-g-it- <b>ak</b>                             |
|    | he                                               | wild.pig      | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ- <b>then</b> |
|    | 'He killed a wild.pig long ago <b>and then</b> ' |               |                                                     |

- d. *it ngoica wakouguarak*  
*it nkoitja wat-k-ou-g-uat-ak*  
*they wild.pig 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then*  
 'They killed a wild pig long ago and then'

(4.54) outlines sets of subject suffixes of the PROXIMATE and REMOTE-PAST with their phonetic manifestation in (4.55).

(4.54) **Subject suffixes of the past verbs with delayed.sequential and progressive**

| PROXIMATE SINGULAR |      | REMOTE SINGULAR |      | PLURAL |      |
|--------------------|------|-----------------|------|--------|------|
| -ak                | -ik  | -ak             | -ik  | -ak    | -ik  |
| D.SEQ              | PROG | D.SEQ           | PROG | D.SEQ  | PROG |
| 1                  | -atj | -itj            | -itj | -et    | -uet |
| 1 Sub- <i>t</i>    | -it  | -itj            |      | -et    |      |
| 2                  |      | -ent            |      | -ep    | -up  |
| 3                  |      | -it             |      | -at    |      |
| 3 Sub- <i>t</i>    |      | -at             |      |        |      |

(4.55) **Subject suffixes of the past verbs with delayed.sequential and progressive**

| PROXIMATE SINGULAR |      | REMOTE SINGULAR |      | PLURAL |      |
|--------------------|------|-----------------|------|--------|------|
| -ak                | -ik  | -ak             | -ik  | -ak    | -ik  |
| D.SEQ              | PROG | D.SEQ           | PROG | D.SEQ  | PROG |
| 1                  | -ac  | -ic             | -ic  | -er    | -uer |
| 1 Sub- <i>t</i>    | -ir  | -ic             |      | -er    |      |
| 2                  |      | -end            |      | -ep    | -up  |
| 3                  |      | -ir             |      | -ar    |      |
| 3 Sub- <i>t</i>    |      | -ar             |      |        |      |

(4.54) and (4.55) show that: (i) all subject suffixes are identical for the plural forms taking both sequential **ak** {-ak} \D.SEQ\ 'then' and progressive **ik** {-ik} \PROG\ 'progressive' aspects, (ii) all subject suffixes of second and third persons of all verbs and of sub-*t* verbs first person are identical for both tenses and aspects, (iii) the third person of sub-*t* is lacking in the remote-singular, and is identical in the proximate-singular and plural, (iv) the first person proximate-singular taking sequential aspect is different from the first person remote-singular, and (v) the first person remote-

singular taking both aspects is identical to the first person proximate taking progressive aspect.

I will now observe forms of their subject suffixes one by one.

#### 4.5.1 Fully inflected realis progressive non-past

There is only one **fully inflected realis progressive non-past** verb paradigm. (4.56) displays its set of subject suffixes with their phonetic manifestation in (4.57), based on the structure in (4.50a).

##### (4.56) Subject suffixes of fully inflected realis progressive non-past

|                 | (OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT- | -REALIS | -NUMBER   | -SUBJECT | -TAM |
|-----------------|------------------------|---------|-----------|----------|------|
| 1s              |                        | -k      | -o        | -tt      | -ik  |
| 2s              | all other verbs        | -k      | -o        | -nt      | -ik  |
| 3s              |                        | -k      | -o        | -∅       | -∅   |
| Sub- <i>t</i> s | sub- <i>t</i> verbs    | -∅      | -e        | -∅       | -∅   |
| 1p              |                        | -k      | <b>-u</b> | -t       | -ik  |
| 2p              | all other verbs        | -k      | <b>-u</b> | -p       | -ik  |
| 3p              |                        | -k      | -u        | -∅       | -∅   |
| Sub- <i>t</i> p | sub- <i>t</i> verbs    | -∅      | -u        | -∅       | -∅   |

##### (4.57)

|                 | (OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT- | -REALIS | -NUMBER   | -SUBJECT | -TAM |
|-----------------|------------------------|---------|-----------|----------|------|
| 1s              |                        | -k      | -o        | -t       | -ik  |
| 2s              | all other verbs        | -k      | -o        | -nd      | -ik  |
| 3s              |                        | -k      | -o        |          |      |
| Sub- <i>t</i> s | sub- <i>t</i> verbs    |         | -e        |          |      |
| 1p              |                        | -k      | <b>-u</b> | -r       | -ik  |
| 2p              | all other verbs        | -k      | <b>-u</b> | -p       | -ik  |
| 3p              |                        | -k      | -u        |          |      |
| Sub- <i>t</i> p | sub- <i>t</i> verbs    |         | -u        |          |      |

Morphophonological features of the non-past verbs are: (i) the verb requires the progressive aspect marking **ik** {-ik} for the first- and second-subject respectively, (ii)



the third-subject for both numbers takes a zero morpheme {- $\emptyset$ } to mark the progressive aspect, making it identical to the non-past simple verb discussed in §4.5.1, and (iii) there is a way to express third person (non)-past with the progressive sense, but it is rarely attested. The third plural will have the subject marker *uat* {-uat}, while the third singular appears in compounding forms taking the verb *kirik* 'he is seeing him' (4.58). These forms are not commonly found, and thus, await further study.

|        |    |                                        |                             |
|--------|----|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (4.58) | a. | SINGULAR                               | PLURAL                      |
|        |    | <i>nonggogirik</i>                     | <i>nungguarik</i>           |
|        |    | non-k-o-k-it-ik                        | non-k-uat-ik                |
|        |    | eat:SG.SBJ-REAL-SG.SBJ-see-3s.SBJ-PROG | eat:SG.SBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG |
|        |    | 'he is eating'                         | 'they are eating'           |

Consider examples for the three main consonantal classes, and the sub-class of *-t* verbs in (4.59)-(4.62). In (4.61), only the forms for 'third person singular direct object' are given.

(4.59) **Fully inflected realis progressive non-past of *-t* verbs**

|          |                                    |
|----------|------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 1s/1p.SBJ                 |
| SINGULAR | <i>wakotik</i>                     |
|          | wat-k-ott-ik                       |
|          | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-PROG |
|          | 'I am hitting him'                 |
| PLURAL   | <i>wakuerik</i>                    |
|          | wat- <b>uet</b> -ik                |
|          | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG |
|          | 'we are hitting him'               |
| -----    |                                    |
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 2s/2p.SBJ                 |
| SINGULAR | <i>wakondik</i>                    |
|          | wat-k-ont-ik                       |
|          | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-PROG |
|          | 'you.sg are hitting him'           |

|          |                                                                                                        |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PLURAL   | <i>wakupik</i><br>wat- <b>up</b> -ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG<br>'you.pl are hitting him' |
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                     |
| SINGULAR | <i>wako</i><br>wat-k-o-ø<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG<br>'he is hitting him'                  |
| PLURAL   | <i>waku</i><br>wat-k- <b>u</b> -ø<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG<br>'they are hitting him'      |

For the example of the *-d* verbs, the verb *mekotik* 'I am lifting up' is given in:

(4.60) **Fully inflected realis progressive non-past of *-d* verbs**

|          |                                                                                               |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 1s/1p. SBJ                                                                                    |
| SINGULAR | <i>mekotik</i><br>med-k-ott-ik<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-PROG<br>'I am lifting up'        |
| PLURAL   | <i>mekuerik</i><br>med-k-uet-ik<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG<br>'we are lifting up'     |
| PERSON   | 2s/2p.SBJ                                                                                     |
| SINGULAR | <i>mekondik</i><br>med-k-ont-ik<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-PROG<br>'you.sg are lifting up' |
| PLURAL   | <i>mekupik</i><br>med-k-up-ik<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-2p.SBJ-PROG<br>'you.pl are lifting up'   |
| PERSON   | 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                     |
| SINGULAR | <i>meko</i><br>med-k-o-ø<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG<br>'he is lifting up'             |
| PLURAL   | <i>meku</i><br>med-k-u-ø<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG<br>'they are lifting up'          |

With regards to *-n* verbs, the /n/ becomes velar [ŋ] and the /k/ is voiced [g], resulting in *banggotik* 'I am putting down' which is morphophonologically the result of {n+k > [ŋg]} as shown in (4.61), cf. §2.2.2).

(4.61) **Fully inflected realis progressive non-past** of *-n* verbs

|          |                                                                                                    |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 1s/1p.SBJ                                                                                          |
| SINGULAR | <i>banggotik</i><br>ban-k-ott-ik<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-PROG<br>'I am putting down'        |
| PLURAL   | <i>bangguerik</i><br>ban-k-uet-ik<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG<br>'we are putting down'     |
| PERSON   | 2s/2p.SBJ                                                                                          |
| SINGULAR | <i>banggondik</i><br>ban-k-ont-ik<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-PROG<br>'you.sg are putting down' |
| PLURAL   | <i>banggupik</i><br>ban-k-up-ik<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-2p.SBJ-PROG<br>'you.pl are putting down'   |
| PERSON   | 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                          |
| SINGULAR | <i>banggo</i><br>ban-k-o-ø<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG<br>'he is putting down'             |
| PLURAL   | <i>banggu</i><br>ban-k-u-ø<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG<br>'they are putting down'          |

In the sub-class *-t* verbs (4.62), the 'REAL' mood marker {k-} is not present. The singular marker is {-e} instead of {-o}. These are unlike the subject suffixes in the non-past of the other verbs. Finally, the morpheme {n-} 'go' in (4.62) (see also

(4.71)) does not take its full root form {not-} 'go', which is a typical feature of the sub-class *-t* verbs.

(4.62) **Fully inflected realis progressive non-past** of sub-*t* verbs

| PERSON | SINGULAR                   | PLURAL                        |
|--------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1      | <i>netik</i>               | <i>nuerik</i>                 |
|        | n-ett-ik                   | n-uet-ik                      |
|        | go-1s.SBJ-PROG             | go-1p.SBJ-PROG                |
|        | 'I am going'               | 'we are going'                |
| 2      | <i>nendik</i>              | <i>nupik</i>                  |
|        | n-ent-ik                   | n-up-ik                       |
|        | go-2s.SBJ-PROG             | go-2p.SBJ-PROG                |
|        | 'you.sg are going'         | 'you.pl are going'            |
| 3      | <i>ne</i>                  | <i>nu</i>                     |
|        | n-e-∅                      | n-u-∅                         |
|        | go-3s.SBJ-PROG             | go-3p.SBJ-PROG                |
|        | 'he is going' or 'he goes' | 'they are going' or 'they go' |

More examples for the paradigm in (4.62) include, *wetik* 'I am coming', *wendik* 'you.sg are coming', *we* 'he is coming', *wuerik* 'we are coming', *wupik* 'you.pl are coming' and *wu* 'they are coming', and *tetik* 'I am intending', *tendik* 'you.sg are intending', *te* 'he is intending', *tuerik* 'we are intending', *tupik* 'you.pl are intending' and *tu* 'they are intending'.

#### 4.5.2 Fully inflected realis progressive proximate-past

The difference between **progressive non-past** and **past** lies in the marking for third person on all verbs except for the sub-*t* verbs. In the non-past, it is **o** {-o} for 'SG' and **u** {-u} for 'PL', while there is zero marking for 'SBJ' and 'PROG'. In the past, it is **i** {-i} for 'SG' and **a** {-a} for 'PL'. In addition, in the progressive past, the third persons take the progressive marker **ik** {-ik} for 'PROG'.

(4.63) **Subject suffixes of fully inflected realis progressive proximate-past**

|                 | (OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT- | -REALIS | -NUMBER | -SUBJECT | -TAM       |
|-----------------|------------------------|---------|---------|----------|------------|
| 1s              |                        | -k      | -i      | -tj      | -ik        |
| 2s              | all other verbs        | -k      | -e      | -nt      | -ik        |
| 3s              |                        | -k      | -i      | -t       | <b>-ik</b> |
| Sub- <i>t</i> s | sub- <i>t</i> verbs    | -∅      | -e      | -∅       | -∅         |
| 1p              |                        | -k      | -ue     | -t       | -ik        |
| 2p              | all other verbs        | -k      | -ue     | -p       | -ik        |
| 3p              |                        | -k      | -a      | -t       | <b>-ik</b> |
| Sub- <i>t</i> p | sub- <i>t</i> verbs    | -∅      | -u      | -∅       | -∅         |

(4.64) (OBJECT):ROOT:SUBJECT- -REALIS -NUMBER -SUBJECT -TAM

|                 |                     |    |            |           |     |
|-----------------|---------------------|----|------------|-----------|-----|
| 1s              |                     | -k | -i         | -c        | -ik |
| 2s              | all other verbs     | -k | -e         | -nd       | -ik |
| 3s              |                     | -k | -i         | -r        | -ik |
| Sub- <i>t</i> s | sub- <i>t</i> verbs |    | -e         |           |     |
| 1p              |                     | -k | <b>-ue</b> | -r        | -ik |
| 2p              | all other verbs     | -k | <b>-ue</b> | -p        | -ik |
| 3p              |                     | -k | <b>-a</b>  | <b>-r</b> | -ik |
| Sub- <i>t</i> p | sub- <i>t</i> verbs |    | -u         |           |     |

Examples follow.

(4.65) **Fully inflected realis progressive proximate-past of -t verbs**

|          |                                                                                                         |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 1s/1p.SBJ                                                                                      |
| SINGULAR | <i>wakicik</i><br>wat-k-itj-ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-PROG<br>'I was hitting him'             |
| PLURAL   | <i>wakuerik</i><br>wat- <b>uet</b> -ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG<br>'we were hitting him'   |
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 2s/2p.SBJ                                                                                      |
| SINGULAR | <i>wakendik</i><br>wat-k-ent-ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-PROG<br>'you.sg were hitting him'      |
| PLURAL   | <i>wakupik</i><br>wat- <b>up</b> -ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG<br>'you.pl were hitting him' |

|          |                                                                                                         |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                      |
| SINGULAR | <i>wakirik</i><br>wat-k- <b>it</b> -ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG<br>'he was hitting him'    |
| PLURAL   | <i>wakarik</i><br>wat-k- <b>at</b> -ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REA;-3p.SBJ-PROG<br>'they were hitting him' |

### 4.5.3 Fully inflected realis progressive remote-past

In this paradigm, the progressive marker remains **-ik** but the whole pattern is changed. While the proximate-past verbs are marked by the presence of **-k** 'REALIS', the remote-past has various markers depending on the person/number, outlined in (4.51). See the example in:

(4.66) **Fully inflected realis progressive remote-past** of *-t* verbs

|          |                                                                                                                                       |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 1s/1p.SBJ                                                                                                                    |
| SINGULAR | <i>warigicik</i><br>wat- <b>i</b> -k-itj-ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ- <b>REM</b> -REAL-1s.SBJ-PROG<br>'I was hitting him long ago'        |
| PLURAL   | <i>warigerik</i><br>wat-i-k-it-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG<br>'we were hitting him long ago'                         |
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 2s/2p.SBJ                                                                                                                    |
| SINGULAR | <i>warigendik</i><br>wat- <b>i</b> -k-ent-ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ- <b>REM</b> -REAL-2s.SBJ-PROG<br>'you.sg were hitting him long ago' |
| PLURAL   | <i>warigupik</i><br>wat- <b>i</b> -k-up-ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ- <b>REM</b> -REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG<br>'you.pl were hitting him long ago'   |

|          |                                                                                                                                              |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                                                           |
| SINGULAR | <i>wakegirik</i><br>wat-k- <b>e</b> -k-it-ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>REM</b> -REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG<br>'he was hitting him long ago'        |
| PLURAL   | <i>wakouguarik</i><br>wat-k- <b>ou</b> -g-uat-ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL- <b>REM</b> -REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG<br>'they were hitting him long ago' |

#### 4.5.4 Fully inflected realis delayed sequential forms

As mentioned earlier, the **fully inflected realis delayed sequential** verb forms are divided into PROXIMATE- and REMOTE-PAST forms. I will observe the difference between the two in this section.

##### 4.5.4.1 Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past

The proximate-past is used for today's past, yesterday, and about a week into the past (cf. §4.1). Note some morphophonological conditions: a *-t* verb like *wakacak* 'I hit him and then' has the following structure:

- (4.67) *wakacak*  
 wat-k-atj-ak  
 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then  
 'I hit him, and then'

In (4.67), the phonology shows that the phoneme /t/ coalesces with the following /k/ of the realis mood *k* {-k}, resulting in an intervocalic [k]. The /tj/ sequence when followed by /a/ intervocalically, is phonetically realised as [ç]. The paradigms for the proximate-past of the four verb classes are given in (4.68)-(4.70).

(4.68) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past** of *-t* verbs

|          |                                                                                                     |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 1s/1p.SBJ                                                                                  |
| SINGULAR | <i>wakacak</i><br>wat-k-atj-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I hit him, and then'       |
| PLURAL   | <i>wakerak</i><br>wat-k-et-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit him, and then'       |
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 2s/2p.SBJ                                                                                  |
| SINGULAR | <i>wakendak</i><br>wat-k-ent-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg hit him, and then' |
| PLURAL   | <i>wakepak</i><br>wat-k-ep-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl hit him, and then'   |
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                  |
| SINGULAR | <i>wakirak</i><br>wat-k-it-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit him, and then'       |
| PLURAL   | <i>wakarak</i><br>wat-k-at-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit him, and then'     |

The same phonological condition in the *-t* verbs, whereby /t/+/k/ results in [k] intervocally, involves /d/ in the *-d* verbs as well, shown in (4.69), and /n/+/k/ is [ʎg] in (4.70).

(4.69) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past** of *-d* verbs

|          |                                                                                              |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 1s/1p.SBJ                                                                                    |
| SINGULAR | <i>mekacak</i><br>med-k-atj-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I lifted up, and then' |



|          |                                                                                                    |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PLURAL   | <i>mekerak</i><br>med-k-et-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we lifted up, and then'       |
| PERSON   | 2s/2p.SBJ                                                                                          |
| SINGULAR | <i>mekendak</i><br>med-k-ent-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg lifted up, and then' |
| PLURAL   | <i>mekepak</i><br>med-k-ep-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl lifted up, and then'   |
| PERSON   | 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                          |
| SINGULAR | <i>mekirak</i><br>med-k-it-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he lifted up, and then'       |
| PLURAL   | <i>mekarak</i><br>met-k-at-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they lifted up, and then'     |

(4.70) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past** of *-n* verbs

|          |                                                                                                      |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 1s/1p.SBJ                                                                                            |
| SINGULAR | <i>banggacak</i><br>ban-k-atj-ak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I put down, and then'       |
| PLURAL   | <i>banggerak</i><br>ban-k-et-ak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we put down, and then'       |
| PERSON   | 2s/2p.SBJ                                                                                            |
| SINGULAR | <i>banggendak</i><br>ban-k-ent-ak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg put down, and then' |
| PLURAL   | <i>banggepak</i><br>ban-k-ep-ak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl put down, and then'   |
| PERSON   | 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                            |
| SINGULAR | <i>banggirak</i><br>ban-k-it-ak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he put down, and then'       |

|        |                                  |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| PLURAL | <i>banggarak</i>                 |
|        | ban-k-at-ak                      |
|        | put.down:SG.SBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ-then |
|        | 'they put down, and then'        |

In the sub-class *-t* verbs, the subject suffix for first person singular is {-it}. With a third person subject, neutralisation in number takes place. Both numbers are marked by {-at}. Thus, *narak* can be glossed as 'he went' or 'they went'. These are exceptions to the set of subject suffixes in the proximate-past, and will be marked by s/p 'singular/plural' in the interlinear glosses.

(4.71) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past of sub-*t* verbs**

|          |                          |
|----------|--------------------------|
| PERSON   | 1s/1p.SBJ                |
| SINGULAR | <i>nirak</i>             |
|          | n-it-ak                  |
|          | go-1s.SBJ-then           |
|          | 'I went, and then'       |
| PLURAL   | <i>nerak</i>             |
|          | n-et-ak                  |
|          | go-1p.SBJ-then           |
|          | 'we went, and then'      |
| PERSON   | 2s/2p.SBJ                |
| SINGULAR | <i>nendak</i>            |
|          | n-ent-ak                 |
|          | go-2s.SBJ-then           |
|          | 'you.sg went, and then'  |
| PLURAL   | <i>nepak</i>             |
|          | n-ep-ak                  |
|          | go-2p.SBJ-then           |
|          | 'you.pl went, and then'  |
| PERSON   | 3s/3p.SBJ                |
| SINGULAR | <i>narak</i>             |
| /PLURAL  | n-at-ak                  |
|          | go-3s/p.SBJ-then         |
|          | 'he/they went, and then' |

#### 4.5.4.2 Fully inflected realis delayed sequential remote-past

The remote-past is used for events from about a week and longer before the moment of utterance. It is marked by a suffix *i* {-i} with the exception for the sub-*t* verbs and the third person subject of the -*t* verbs: *i* {-i} for singular and *ou* {-ou} for plural subjects. The vowel indicating remote-past places the realis morpheme *k* {-k} (i.e. voiceless velar plosive) in an intervocalic position, resulting in allophonic realisation as [ɣ] (i.e. voiced velar fricative). A morphophonological constraint affects the -*t* verb class. The third person forms, both singular and plural, appear to have two instances of /k/. Two observations can be made to explain such evidence.

First, there may be a verb root merging process that constructs *wakegirak* 'he hit him long ago and then' as follows:

- (4.72) *wakegirak*  
wat-k-**e**-k-**it**-ak  
3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-**REM**-REAL-**3s.SBJ**-then  
'**he** hit him long ago, and then'

The same process is true for the plural form, *wakouguarak* 'they hit him long ago and then', which is from:

- (4.73) *wakouguarak*  
wat-k-**ou**-k-**uat**-ak  
3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-**REM**-REAL-**3p.SBJ**-then  
'**they** hit him long ago, and then'

In *wakouguarak* (4.74), the intervocalic [ɣ] of the /k/ is labialized, i.e., [ɣ<sup>w</sup>]) due to the preceding vowel harmony *ou* {-ou} of the *i* {-i} 'REM'.

Second, there may be a verb compounding of the verb *wat* {wat-} '3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ' {V<sub>1</sub>} and *kot* {kot-} 'see him' {V<sub>2</sub>}, in which {V<sub>1</sub>} indicates the main meaning of the serial verb construction, {V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>}<sub>SVC</sub>, and takes the non-past conjugation form, while {V<sub>2</sub>} marks PERSON/NUMBER and TAM, taking the past form.

- (4.74)
- |    |                                             |  |                               |
|----|---------------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
|    | {V <sub>1</sub> }                           |  | {V <sub>2</sub> }             |
| a. | <i>wake</i>                                 |  | <i>kirak</i>                  |
|    | wat-k-e                                     |  | k-it-ak                       |
|    | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-SG.SBJ               |  | 3s.OBJ:see:SG.SBJ-1s.SBJ-then |
|    | 'one hit him'                               |  | 'I saw him, and then'         |
| b. | <i>wakegirak</i>                            |  |                               |
|    | wat-k-e-k-it-ak                             |  |                               |
|    | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then |  |                               |
|    | 'he hit him long ago, and then'             |  |                               |

The paradigms of the REMOTE-PAST verbs are given in (4.75)-(4.78).

(4.75) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential remote-past of -t verbs**

|          |                                        |
|----------|----------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 1s/1p.SBJ                     |
| SINGULAR | <i>warigicak</i>                       |
|          | wat-i-k-itj-ak                         |
|          | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-1s.SBJ-then |
|          | 'I hit him long ago, and then'         |
| PLURAL   | <i>warigerak</i>                       |
|          | wat-i-k-et-ak                          |
|          | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then |
|          | 'we hit him long ago, and then'        |
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 2s/2p.SBJ                     |
| SINGULAR | <i>warigendak</i>                      |
|          | wat-i-k-ent-ak                         |
|          | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |
|          | 'you.sg hit him long ago, and then'    |
| PLURAL   | <i>warigepak</i>                       |
|          | wat-i-k-ep-ak                          |
|          | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then |
|          | 'you.pl hit him long ago, and then'    |

|          |                                                                                                                            |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 3s.OBJ – 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                                         |
| SINGULAR | <i>wakegirak</i><br>wat-k-e-k-it-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-REM-see-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit him long ago, and then'       |
| PLURAL   | <i>wakouguarak</i><br>wat-k-ou-g-uat-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ REAL-REM-see-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit him long ago, and then' |

(4.76) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential remote-past** of *-d* verbs

|          |                                                                                                                     |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 1s/1p.SBJ                                                                                                           |
| SINGULAR | <i>medigicak</i><br>med-i-k-itj-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I lifted.up long ago, and then'       |
| PLURAL   | <i>medigerak</i><br>med-i-k-et-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we lifted.up long ago, and then'       |
| <hr/>    |                                                                                                                     |
| PERSON   | 2s/2p.SBJ                                                                                                           |
| SINGULAR | <i>medigendak</i><br>med-i-k-ent-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg lifted.up long ago, and then' |
| PLURAL   | <i>medigepak</i><br>med-i-k-ep-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl lifted.up long ago, and then'   |
| <hr/>    |                                                                                                                     |
| PERSON   | 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                                           |
| SINGULAR | <i>medigirak</i><br>med-i-k-it-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he lifted.up long ago, and then'       |
| PLURAL   | <i>medigarak</i><br>med-i-k-at-ak<br>lift.up:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they lifted.up long ago, and then'     |

(4.77) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential remote-past** of *-n* verbs

|          |                                                                                                               |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 1s/1p.SBJ                                                                                                     |
| SINGULAR | <i>banigicak</i><br>ban-i-k-itj-ak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I put.down long ago, and then' |

|          |                                                                                                                     |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PLURAL   | <i>banigerak</i><br>ban-i-k-et-ak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we put.down long ago, and then'       |
| PERSON   | 2s/2p.SBJ                                                                                                           |
| SINGULAR | <i>banigendak</i><br>ban-i-k-ent-ak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg put.down long ago, and then' |
| PLURAL   | <i>banigepak</i><br>ban-i-k-ep-ak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl put.down long ago, and then'   |
| PERSON   | 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                                           |
| SINGULAR | <i>banigirak</i><br>ban-i-k-it-ak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he put.down long ago, and then'       |
| PLURAL   | <i>banigarak</i><br>ban-i-k-at-ak<br>put.down:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they put.down long ago, and then'     |

The exception in (4.78) involves the third singular subject sub-class *-t* verbs; *negirak* in which the remote-past is marked by *e* {-e} instead. The first and the second singular take the whole verb root with a vowel change from /o/ to /a/, giving *nat* {nat-} 'go'. Furthermore, the realis morpheme *k* {k} is labialized because of the preceding plural subject of the remote-past morpheme: *ou* {-ou}.

(4.78) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential remote-past** of sub-*t* verbs

|          |                                                                                              |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 1s/1p.SBJ                                                                                    |
| SINGULAR | <i>narigirak</i><br>nat-i-k-it-ak<br>go-REM-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I went long ago, and then'  |
| PLURAL   | <i>nouguerak</i><br>n-ou-k-uet-ak<br>go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we went long ago, and then' |

|          |                                                                                                    |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON   | 2s/2p.SBJ                                                                                          |
| SINGULAR | <i>narigendak</i><br>nat-i-k-ent-ak<br>go-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg went long ago, and then' |
| PLURAL   | <i>nouguepak</i><br>n-ou-k-uep-ak<br>go-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl went long ago, and then'   |
| <hr/>    |                                                                                                    |
| PERSON   | 3s/3p.SBJ                                                                                          |
| SINGULAR | <i>negirak</i><br>n-e-k-it-ak<br>go-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he went long ago, and then'           |
| PLURAL   | <i>nouguarak</i><br>n-ou-k-uat-ak<br>go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they went long ago, and then'     |

## 4.6 VOCALIC-VERBS

Recalling Table 4.1, there is one more conjugation class, verbs with the root ending in vowel (*vocalic* verbs) to be discussed. This class consists of only a few verbs. Table 4.4 shows that the *vocalic* verbs are only attested in **partially inflected verb** forms: root, sequential, habitual and purposive. In the sequential form, the phonology constrains the alveolar nasal to the palatal [ɲ] following the high vowel. Where the [i] comes from, is as yet unexplained.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Probably this is a result of, for example, {*de-* 'cry' *it-* 'do'}. On the other hand, this assumption will result in {*de itnuk*} for the immediate sequential form, for which there must be the elision of /t/, which is very unlikely.

Table 4.4: {-vocalic} verbs conjugational class

|    |                             |         |                |              |
|----|-----------------------------|---------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. | <b>ROOT</b>                 |         |                |              |
| a. | <i>de</i>                   | {de-}   | \cry:SG.SBJ\   | 'one cries'  |
| b. | <i>do</i>                   | {do-}   | \stay:SG.SBJ\  | 'one stays'  |
| c. | <i>nabo</i>                 | {nabo-} | \throw:SG.SBJ\ | 'one throws' |
| d. | <i>u</i>                    | {u-}    | \sleep:SG.SBJ\ | 'one sleeps' |
| 2. | <b>DELAYED SEQUENTIAL</b>   |         |                |              |
| a. | <i>deiak</i>                |         |                |              |
|    | de-iak                      |         |                |              |
|    | cry:SG.SBJ-then             |         |                |              |
|    | 'one cries and then'        |         |                |              |
| b. | <i>doiak</i>                |         |                |              |
|    | do-iak                      |         |                |              |
|    | stay:SG.SBJ-then            |         |                |              |
|    | 'one stays and then'        |         |                |              |
| c. | <i>naboiak</i>              |         |                |              |
|    | nabo-iak                    |         |                |              |
|    | throw:SG.SBJ-then           |         |                |              |
|    | 'one throws and then'       |         |                |              |
| d. | <i>uiak</i>                 |         |                |              |
|    | u-iak                       |         |                |              |
|    | sleep:SG.SBJ-then           |         |                |              |
|    | 'one sleeps and then'       |         |                |              |
| 3. | <b>IMMEDIATE SEQUENTIAL</b> |         |                |              |
| a. | <i>deinyuk</i>              |         |                |              |
|    | de-inuk                     |         |                |              |
|    | cry:SG.SBJ-next             |         |                |              |
|    | 'one having cried'          |         |                |              |
| b. | <i>doinyuk</i>              |         |                |              |
|    | do-inuk                     |         |                |              |
|    | stay:SG.SBJ-next            |         |                |              |
|    | 'one having stayed'         |         |                |              |
| c. | <i>naboinyuk</i>            |         |                |              |
|    | nabo-inuk                   |         |                |              |
|    | throw:SG.SBJ-next           |         |                |              |
|    | 'one having thrown'         |         |                |              |
| d. | <i>uinyuk</i>               |         |                |              |
|    | u-inuk                      |         |                |              |
|    | sleep:SG.SBJ-next           |         |                |              |
|    | 'one having slept'          |         |                |              |
| 4. | <b>HABITUAL</b>             |         |                |              |
| a. | <i>degwa</i>                |         |                |              |
|    | de-k-wa                     |         |                |              |
|    | cry:SG.SBJ-REAL-HAB         |         |                |              |
|    | 'one always cries'          |         |                |              |



- b. *dogwa*  
do-k-wa  
stay:SG.SBJ-REAL-HAB  
'one always stays'
  - c. *nabogwa*  
nabo-k-wa  
throw:SG.SBJ-REAL-HAB  
'one always throws'
  - d. *ugwa*  
u-k-wa  
sleep:SG.SBJ-REAL-HAB  
'one always sleeps'
5. **PURPOSIVE**
- a. *deica*  
de-i-tja  
cry:SG.SBJ-s-PURP  
'in order that one cry'
  - b. *doica*  
do-i-tja  
stay:SG.SBJ-s-PURP  
'in order that one stay'
  - c. *naboica*  
nabo-i-tja  
throw:SG.SBJ-s-PURP  
'in order that one throw'
  - d. *uyuca*  
u-ju-tja  
sleep:SG.SBJ-s-PURP  
'in order that one sleep'

Whenever the *vocalic* verbs are used to express past events, they normally require another verb in a serial verb construction. Usually they accompany the verbs *yot-* 'one tells' and *it-* 'one does/says'.

## 4.7 TRANSITIVE AND DITRANSITIVE VERBS

Thus far, I have set out the various classes of Wano verbs with their inflections in terms of SUBJECT/NUMBER and TAM marking. In addition to this, there are just five verbs that allow for morphophonological marking of the object (briefly mentioned in §4.1.6). They are:

- (4.79)
- |    |               |   |         |   |                          |
|----|---------------|---|---------|---|--------------------------|
| a. | <i>wariak</i> | { | wat-iak | } | 'one hits him and then'  |
| b. | <i>koriak</i> | { | kot-iak | } | 'one sees him and then'  |
| c. | <i>woriak</i> | { | wot-iak | } | 'one gives him and then' |
| d. | <i>yorik</i>  | { | jot-iak | } | 'one tells him and then' |
| e. | <i>iriak</i>  | { | it-iak  | } | 'one does him and then'  |

These verbs in (4.79) are different in object marking. The verbs **wariak** 'one hits him and then' (4.79a) and **koriak** 'one sees him and then' (4.79b) mark the object on the verb root (4.80a). The verbs **woriak** 'one gives and then' (4.79c) and **yorik** 'one tells him and then' (4.79d) have the object marker immediately suffixed to the root (4.80b). The verb **iriak** 'one does him and then' (4.79e) has a prefix object marker (4.80c). These are exemplified in:

- (4.80)
- |    |                                                                                                                           |                         |               |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>kokacak</i><br><b>kot</b> -k-it-ak<br><b>2s.OBJ:hit</b> -REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I hit you.sg and then'                   | {ROOT: <b>OBJ</b> -SBJ} | [see (4.83a)] |
| b. | <i>wotnegendak</i><br>wot- <b>n</b> -e-k-ent-ak<br>give- <b>1s.OBJ</b> -REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg did give me and then' | {ROOT- <b>OBJ</b> -SBJ} | [see (4.95c)] |
| e. | <i>kegirak</i><br><b>k</b> -e-k-it-ak<br><b>2s.OBJ</b> -do/say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he did/say to you.sg and then'        | { <b>OBJ</b> -ROOT-SBJ} | [see (4.91a)] |

It is, therefore, not unreasonable to treat them separately in the following sections. I will consider *wariak* 'one hits him and then' and *koriak* 'one sees him and then' as transitive verbs and investigate their morphophonological patterns in §4.7.1. The verbs in (4.79c-d), on the other hand, are those verbs used to express ditransitivity, and I will outline their patterns in §4.7.2. Since *iriak* 'one does him and then' compounds with both *woriak* 'one gives and then' and *yoriak* 'one tells him and then' to express ditransitive verbs, it will be included in §4.7.2.

#### 4.7.1 2-place predicates

The object prefixes for *wariak* 'one hits him and then' is outlined in:

|        |               |                       |               |                    |               |
|--------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| (4.81) | <b>OBJECT</b> | <b>PROXIMATE PAST</b> |               | <b>REMOTE PAST</b> |               |
|        |               | <u>SINGULAR</u>       | <u>PLURAL</u> | <u>SINGULAR</u>    | <u>PLURAL</u> |
|        | 1             | {not-}                | {ninot-}      | {not-}             | {ninot-}      |
|        | 2             | {kot-}                | {kinot-}      | {kot-}             | {kinot-}      |
|        | 3             | {wat-}                | {inot-}       | {wat-}             | {inot-}       |
|        | 1             | <i>not</i>            | <i>ninyot</i> | <i>not</i>         | <i>ninyot</i> |
|        | 2             | <i>kot</i>            | <i>kinyot</i> | <i>kot</i>         | <i>kinyot</i> |
|        | 3             | <b><i>wat</i></b>     | <i>inyot</i>  | <b><i>wat</i></b>  | <i>inyot</i>  |

The object prefixes for *kot-* 'one sees him' are outlined in:

|        |               |                       |               |                    |               |
|--------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| (4.82) | <b>OBJECT</b> | <b>PROXIMATE PAST</b> |               | <b>REMOTE PAST</b> |               |
|        |               | <u>SINGULAR</u>       | <u>PLURAL</u> | <u>SINGULAR</u>    | <u>PLURAL</u> |
|        | 1             | {ne-}                 | {nine-}       | {neat-}            | {nitjat-}     |
|        | 2             | {ke-}                 | {kine-}       | {keat-}            | {kitjat-}     |
|        | 3             | {k-}                  | {ine-}        | {kat-}             | {itjat-}      |
|        | 1             | <i>ne</i>             | <i>ninye</i>  | <i>neat</i>        | <i>nicat</i>  |
|        | 2             | <i>ke</i>             | <i>kinye</i>  | <i>keat</i>        | <i>kicat</i>  |
|        | 3             | <b><i>k</i></b>       | <i>inye</i>   | <b><i>kat</i></b>  | <i>icat</i>   |

Examples of the above two verbs follow (4.83-4.86):

(4.83) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past**

| PERSON        |    | <i>wat</i> { <i>wat</i> -} 'one hits him'                                                       |
|---------------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -----         |    |                                                                                                 |
| 3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ | a. | <i>wakacak</i><br>wat-k-atj-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I hit him and then'    |
| 3s.OBJ-1p.SBJ | b. | <i>wakerak</i><br>wat-k-et-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit him and then'    |
| 3p.OBJ-1s.SBJ | c. | <i>inyokacak</i><br>inot-k-atj-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I hit them and then'       |
| 3p.OBJ-1p.SBJ | d. | <i>inyokerak</i><br>inot-k-et-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit them and then'       |
| -----         |    |                                                                                                 |
| 2s.OBJ-1s.SBJ | e. | <i>kokacak</i><br>kot-k-atj-ak<br>2s.OBJ:hit-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I hit you.sg and then'        |
| 2s.OBJ-1p.SBJ | f. | <i>kokerak</i><br>kot-k-et-ak<br>2s.OBJ:hit-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit you.sg and then'        |
| 2p.OBJ-1s.SBJ | g. | <i>kinyokacak</i><br>kinot-k-atj-ak<br>2p.OBJ:hit-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I hit you.pl and then'   |
| 2p.OBJ-1p.SBJ | i. | <i>kinyokerak</i><br>kinot-k-et-ak<br>2p.OBJ:hit-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit you.pl and then'   |
| -----         |    |                                                                                                 |
| 1s.OBJ-2s.SBJ | j. | <i>nokendak</i><br>not-k-ent-ak<br>1s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg hit me and then'      |
| 1s.OBJ-2p.SBJ | k. | <i>nokepak</i><br>not-k-ep-ak<br>1s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl hit me and then'        |
| 1p.OBJ-2s.SBJ | l. | <i>ninyokendak</i><br>ninot-k-ent-ak<br>1p.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg hit us and then' |

|               |    |                                                                                                    |
|---------------|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1p.OBJ-2p.SBJ | m. | <i>ninyokepak</i><br>ninot-k-ep-ak<br>1p.OBJ:hit-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl hit us and then'      |
| -----         |    |                                                                                                    |
| 3s.OBJ-2s.SBJ | n. | <i>wakendak</i><br>wat-k-ent-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg hit him and then' |
| 3s.OBJ-2p.SBJ | o. | <i>wakepak</i><br>wat-k-ep-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl hit him and then'   |
| 3p.OBJ-2s.SBJ | p. | <i>inyokendak</i><br>inot-k-ent-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg hit them and then'    |
| 3s.OBJ-2p.SBJ | q. | <i>inyokepak</i><br>inot-k-ep-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl hit them and then'      |
| -----         |    |                                                                                                    |
| 1s.OBJ-3s.SBJ | r. | <i>nokirak</i><br>not-k-it-ak<br>1s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit me and then'               |
| 1s.OBJ-3p.SBJ | s. | <i>nokarak</i><br>not-k-at-ak<br>1s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit me and then'             |
| 1p.OBJ-3s.SBJ | t. | <i>ninyokirak</i><br>ninot-k-it-ak<br>1p.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit us and then'          |
| 1p.OBJ-3p.SBJ | u. | <i>ninyokarak</i><br>ninot-k-at-ak<br>1p.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit us and then'        |
| -----         |    |                                                                                                    |
| 2s.OBJ-3s.SBJ | v. | <i>kokirak</i><br>kot-k-it-ak<br>2s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit you.sg and then'           |
| 2s.OBJ-3p.SBJ | w. | <i>kokarak</i><br>kot-k-at-ak<br>2s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit you.sg and then'         |
| 2p.OBJ-3s.SBJ | x. | <i>kinyokirak</i><br>kinot-k-it-ak<br>2p.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit you.pl and then'      |

|               |     |                                                                                                 |
|---------------|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2p.OBJ-3p.SBJ | y.  | <i>kinyokarak</i><br>kinot-k-at-ak<br>2p.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit you.pl and then' |
| 3s.OBJ-3s.SBJ | z.  | <i>wakirak</i><br>wat-k-it-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit him and then'           |
| 3s.OBJ-3p.SBJ | aa. | <i>wakarak</i><br>wat-k-at-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit him and then'         |
| 3p.OBJ-3s.SBJ | ab. | <i>inyokirak</i><br>inot-k-it-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit them and then'       |
| 3p.OBJ-3p.SBJ | ac. | <i>inyokarak</i><br>inot-k-at-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit them and then'     |

(4.84) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential remote-past**

|               |    |                                                                                                               |
|---------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERSON        |    | <i>wat</i> {wat-} 'one hits him'                                                                              |
| 3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ | a. | <i>warigicak</i><br>wat-i-k-atj-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I hit him long ago and then'     |
| 3s.OBJ-1p.SBJ | b. | <i>warigerak</i><br>wat-i-k-et-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit him long ago and then' |
| 3p.OBJ-1s.SBJ | c. | <i>inyorigicak</i><br>inot-k-itj-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I hit them long ago and then'          |
| 3p.OBJ-1p.SBJ | d. | <i>inyorigerak</i><br>inot-i-k-et-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit them long ago and then'    |
| 2s.OBJ-1s.SBJ | e. | <i>korigicak</i><br>kot-i-k-itj-ak<br>2s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I hit you.sg long ago and then'     |
| 2s.OBJ-1p.SBJ | f. | <i>korigerak</i><br>kot-i-k-et-ak<br>2s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit you.sg long ago and then'     |

|               |    |                                                                                                                     |
|---------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2p.OBJ-1s.SBJ | g. | <i>kinyorigicak</i><br>kinot-i-k-itj-ak<br>2p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I hit you.pl long ago and then'      |
| 2p.OBJ-1p.SBJ | h. | <i>kinyorigerak</i><br>kinot-i-k-et-ak<br>2p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit you.pl long ago and then'      |
| 1s.OBJ-2s.SBJ | i. | <i>norigendak</i><br>not-i-k-ent-ak<br>1s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg hit me long ago and then'         |
| 1s.OBJ-2p.SBJ | j. | <i>norigepak</i><br>not-i-k-ep-ak<br>1s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl hit me long ago and then'           |
| 1p.OBJ-2s.SBJ | k. | <i>ninyorigendak</i><br>ninot-i-k-ent-ak<br>1p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg hit us long ago and then'    |
| 1p.OBJ-2p.SBJ | l. | <i>ninyorigepak</i><br>ninot-i-k-ep-ak<br>1p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl hit us long ago and then'      |
| 3s.OBJ-2s.SBJ | m. | <i>warigendak</i><br>wat-i-k-ent-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg hit him long ago and then' |
| 3p.OBJ-2s.SBJ | n. | <i>inyorigendak</i><br>in-ot-i-k-ent-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg hit them long ago and then'   |
| 3s.OBJ-2p.SBJ | o. | <i>warigepak</i><br>wat-i-k-ent-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'You.pl hit him long ago and then'  |
| 3s.OBJ-2p.SBJ | p. | <i>inyorigepak</i><br>inot-i-k-ent-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl hit them long ago and then'     |
| 1s.OBJ-3s.SBJ | q. | <i>norigirak</i><br>not-i-k-it-ak<br>1s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit me long ago and then'               |
| 1s.OBJ-3p.SBJ | r. | <i>norigarak</i><br>not-i-k-at-ak<br>1s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit me long ago and then'             |

|               |     |                                                                                                                  |
|---------------|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1p.OBJ-3s.SBJ | s.  | <i>ninyorigirak</i><br>ninot-i-k-it-ak<br>1s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit us long ago and then'       |
| 1p.OBJ-3p.SBJ | t.  | <i>ninyorigarak</i><br>ninot-i-k-at-ak<br>1p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit us long ago and then'     |
| 2s.OBJ-3s.SBJ | u.  | <i>korigirak</i><br>kot-i-k-it-ak<br>2s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit you.sg long ago and then'        |
| 2s.OBJ-3p.SBJ | v.  | <i>korigarak</i><br>kot-i-k-at-ak<br>2s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit you.sg long ago and then'      |
| 2p.OBJ-3s.SBJ | w.  | <i>kinyorigirak</i><br>kinot-i-k-it-ak<br>2p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit you.pl long ago and then'   |
| 2p.OBJ-3p.SBJ | x.  | <i>kinyorigarak</i><br>kinot-i-k-at-ak<br>2s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit you.pl long ago and then' |
| 3s.OBJ-3s.SBJ | y.  | <i>warigirak</i><br>wat-i-k-it-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit him long ago and then'           |
| 3s.OBJ-3p.SBJ | z.  | <i>warigarak</i><br>wat-i-k-at-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit him long ago and then'         |
| 3p.OBJ-3s.SBJ | aa. | <i>inyorigirak</i><br>inot-i-k-it-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit him long ago and then'        |
| 3p.OBJ-3p.SBJ | ab. | <i>inyorigarak</i><br>inot-i-k-at-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'he hit him long ago and then'        |

(4.85) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past**

PERSON *kot* {kot-} 'one sees him'

|               |    |                                                                           |
|---------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ | a. | <i>kirak</i><br>k-it-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I saw him and then' |
|---------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|



|               |    |                                                                                                |
|---------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3s.OBJ-1p.SBJ | b. | <i>kerak</i><br>k-et-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we saw him and then'                     |
| 3p.OBJ-1s.SBJ | c. | <i>inyegacak</i><br>ine-k-atj-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I saw them and then'       |
| 3p.OBJ-1p.SBJ | d. | <i>inyegerak</i><br>ine-k-et-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit them and then'       |
| -----         |    |                                                                                                |
| 2s.OBJ-1s.SBJ | e. | <i>kegacak</i><br>ke-k-atj-ak<br>2s.OBJ:see-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I saw you.sg and then'        |
| 2s.OBJ-1p.SBJ | f. | <i>kegerak</i><br>ke-k-et-ak<br>2s.OBJ:see-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit you.sg and then'        |
| 2p.OBJ-1s.SBJ | g. | <i>kinyegacak</i><br>kinot-k-atj-ak<br>2p.OBJ:see-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I saw you.pl and then'  |
| 2p.OBJ-1p.SBJ | h. | <i>kinyegerak</i><br>kine-k-et-ak<br>2p.OBJ:see-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we hit you.pl and then'   |
| -----         |    |                                                                                                |
| 1s.OBJ-2s.SBJ | i. | <i>negendak</i><br>ne-k-ent-ak<br>1s.OBJ:see-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg saw me and then'      |
| 1s.OBJ-2p.SBJ | j. | <i>negepak</i><br>ne-k-ep-ak<br>1s.OBJ:see-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl saw me and then'        |
| 1p.OBJ-2s.SBJ | k. | <i>ninyegendak</i><br>nine-k-ent-ak<br>1p.OBJ:see-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg saw us and then' |
| 1p.OBJ-2p.SBJ | l. | <i>ninyegepak</i><br>nine-k-ep-ak<br>1p.OBJ:see-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl saw us and then'   |
| -----         |    |                                                                                                |
| 3s.OBJ-2s.SBJ | m. | <i>kendak</i><br>k-ent-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg saw him and then'               |

|                        |    |                                                                                                  |
|------------------------|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3s.OBJ-2p.SBJ          | n. | <i>kepak</i><br>k-ep-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl saw him and then'                   |
| 3p.OBJ-2s.SBJ          | o. | <i>kinyekendak</i><br>kine-k-ent-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg saw them and then' |
| 3p.OBJ-2p.SBJ          | p. | <i>kinyegepak</i><br>ine-k-ent-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl saw them and then'   |
| -----<br>1s.OBJ-3s.SBJ | q. | <i>negirak</i><br>ne-k-at-ak<br>1s.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he saw me and then'              |
| 1s.OBJ-3p.SBJ          | r. | <i>negarak</i><br>ne-k-at-ak<br>1s.OBJ:see-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they saw me and then'            |
| 1p.OBJ-3s.SBJ          | s. | <i>ninyegirak</i><br>nine-k-it-ak<br>1p.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he saw us and then'         |
| 1p.OBJ-3p.SBJ          | t. | <i>ninyegarak</i><br>nine-k-at-ak<br>1p.OBJ:see-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they saw us and then'       |
| -----<br>2s.OBJ-3s.SBJ | u. | <i>kegirak</i><br>ke-k-it-ak<br>2s.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'they saw you.sg and then'        |
| 2s.OBJ-3p.SBJ          | v. | <i>kegarak</i><br>ke-k-at-ak<br>2s.OBJ:see-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they saw you.sg and then'        |
| 2p.OBJ-3s.SBJ          | w. | <i>kinyegirak</i><br>kine-k-it-ak<br>2p.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he saw you.pl and then'     |
| 2p.OBJ-3p.SBJ          | x. | <i>kinyegarak</i><br>kine-k-at-ak<br>2p.OBJ:see-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they saw you.pl and then'   |
| -----<br>3s.OBJ-3s.SBJ | y. | <i>kigirak</i><br>ki-k-it-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he saw him and then'             |

|               |     |                                                                                            |
|---------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3s.OBJ-3p.SBJ | z.  | <i>karak</i><br>k-at-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-3s.SBJ-then<br>'hey saw him and then'                |
| 3p.OBJ-3s.SBJ | aa. | <i>inyegirak</i><br>ine-k-at-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he saw them and then'   |
| 3p.OBJ-3p.SBJ | ab. | <i>inyegarak</i><br>ine-k-at-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they saw them and then' |

(4.86) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential remote-past**

| PERSON        |    | <i>kot</i> {kot-} 'one sees him'                                                                               |
|---------------|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ | a. | <i>karigicak</i><br>kat-i-k-itj-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'I saw him long ago and then'         |
| 3s.OBJ-1p.SBJ | b. | <i>kariguerak</i><br>kat-i-k-uet-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we saw him long ago and then'       |
| 3p.OBJ-1s.SBJ | c. | <i>icarigicak</i><br>itjat-i-k-itj-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I saw them long ago and then'     |
| 3p.OBJ-1p.SBJ | d. | <i>icariguerak</i><br>itat-i-k-uet-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we saw them long ago and then'        |
| 2s.OBJ-1s.SBJ | e. | <i>kearigicak</i><br>keat-i-k-itj-ak<br>2s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I saw you.sg long ago and then'    |
| 2s.OBJ-1p.SBJ | f. | <i>keariguerak</i><br>ke:at-i-k-uet-ak<br>2s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we saw you.sg long ago and then' |
| 2p.OBJ-1s.SBJ | g. | <i>kicarigicak</i><br>kitjat-i-k-itj-ak<br>2p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I saw you.pl long ago and then' |
| 2p.OBJ-1p.SBJ | h. | <i>kicariguerak</i><br>kitjat-i-k-uet-ak<br>2p.OBJ:see-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we saw you.pl long ago and then'   |

|               |    |                                                                                                                    |
|---------------|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1s.OBJ-2s.SBJ | i. | <i>nearigendak</i><br>neat-i-k-ent-ak<br>1s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg saw me long ago and then'      |
| 1s.OBJ-2p.SBJ | j. | <i>nearigepak</i><br>neat-i-k-ep-ak<br>1s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl saw me long ago and then'        |
| 1p.OBJ-2s.SBJ | k. | <i>nicarigendak</i><br>nitjat-i-k-ent-ak<br>1p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg saw us long ago and then'   |
| 1p.OBJ-2p.SBJ | l. | <i>nicarigepak</i><br>nitjat-i-k-ep-ak<br>1p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl saw us long ago and then'     |
| -----         |    |                                                                                                                    |
| 3s.OBJ-2s.SBJ | m. | <i>karigendak</i><br>kat-i-k-ent-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg saw him long ago and then'       |
| 3s.OBJ-2p.SBJ | n. | <i>karigepak</i><br>kat-i-k-ep-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl saw him long ago and then'         |
| 3p.OBJ-2s.SBJ | o. | <i>kicarigendak</i><br>kitjat-i-k-ent-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'You.sg saw them long ago and then' |
| 3p.OBJ-2p.SBJ | p. | <i>kicarigepak</i><br>kitjat-i-k-ep-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl saw them long ago and then'   |
| -----         |    |                                                                                                                    |
| 1s.OBJ-3s.SBJ | q. | <i>narigirak</i><br>nat-i-k-it-ak<br>1s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he saw me long ago and then'              |
| 1s.OBJ-3p.SBJ | r. | <i>narigarak</i><br>nat-i-k-at-ak<br>1s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they saw me long ago and then'            |
| 1p.OBJ-3s.SBJ | s. | <i>nicarigirak</i><br>nicat-i-k-it-ak<br>1p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he saw us long ago and then'          |
| 1p.OBJ-3p.SBJ | t. | <i>nicarigarak</i><br>nicat-i-k-at-ak<br>1p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3s/p.SBJ-then<br>'they saw us long ago and then'      |

|                        |     |                                                                                                                 |
|------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2s.OBJ-3s.SBJ          | u.  | <i>karigirak</i><br>kat-i-k-at-ak<br>2s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he saw you.sg long ago and then'       |
| 2s.OBJ-3p.SBJ          | v.  | <i>karigarak</i><br>kat-i-k-at-ak<br>2s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they saw you.sg long ago and then'     |
| 2p.OBJ-3s.SBJ          | w.  | <i>kicarigirak</i><br>kicat-i-k-it-ak<br>2p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he saw you.pl long ago and then'   |
| 2p.OBJ-3p.SBJ          | x.  | <i>kicarigarak</i><br>kicat-i-k-at-ak<br>2p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they saw you.pl long ago and then' |
| -----<br>3s.OBJ-3s.SBJ | y.  | <i>arigirak</i><br>at-i-k-it-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he saw him long ago and then'            |
| 3s.OBJ-3p.SBJ          | z.  | <i>arigarak</i><br>at-i-k-at-ak<br>3s.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they saw him long ago and then'          |
| 3p.OBJ-3s.SBJ          | aa. | <i>icarigirak</i><br>icat-i-k-it-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he saw them long ago and then'       |
| 3p.OBJ-3p.SBJ          | ba. | <i>icarigarak</i><br>icat-i-k-at-ak<br>3p.OBJ:see-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they saw them long ago and then'     |

#### 4.7.2 3-place predicates

The object suffixes for *woriak* 'one gives and then', *yorik* 'one tells him and then' and *iriak* 'one does him and then' are outlined in:

|        |    |                                          |                   |        |
|--------|----|------------------------------------------|-------------------|--------|
| (4.87) | a. | <b>Morphophonological representation</b> |                   |        |
|        |    | PERSON                                   | SINGULAR          | PLURAL |
|        |    | 1                                        | {n-}/{-n}         |        |
|        |    | 2                                        | {k-}/{-k}         |        |
|        |    | 3                                        | {∅-}/{-k}         |        |
|        |    | 1s.SBJ-3                                 | {PORT ROOT-}/{-k} | {-k}   |

b. **Phonetic manifestation / Graphemic forms**

| PERSON   | SINGULAR      | PLURAL      |
|----------|---------------|-------------|
| 1        |               | <i>n-/n</i> |
| 2        |               | <i>k-/k</i> |
| 3        |               | <i>-k</i>   |
| 1s.SBJ-3 | <i>wot-/k</i> | <i>-k</i>   |

I now outline the patterns of *woriak* 'one gives and then' and *iriak* 'one does him and then'. There are three morphological patterns attested, outlined in:

(4.88) **Three morphological patterns of the 3-place predicates**

- |    |                       |             |
|----|-----------------------|-------------|
| a. | {OBJ-do/say-SBJ}      | cf. (4.89a) |
| b. | {give-OBJ-SBJ}        | cf. (4.89b) |
| c. | {give-OBJ-do/say-SBJ} | cf. (4.89c) |

I will begin with the third person as subject and object in (4.90).

(4.89) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past** of *it-* 'one does' and *wot-* 'one gives' of third person subject and object

|                       |    |                                          |
|-----------------------|----|------------------------------------------|
| 3s.SBJ-3s.OBJ         | a. | <i>igirak</i>                            |
| {OBJ-do/say-SBJ}      | {  | <i>ø-i-k-it-ak</i>                       |
|                       |    | 3s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then           |
|                       |    | 'he did him and then'                    |
| {give-OBJ-SBJ}        | {  | b. <i>wogirak</i>                        |
|                       |    | <i>wo-ø-k-it-ak</i>                      |
|                       |    | give-3s.OBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then             |
| {give-OBJ-do/say-SBJ} | {  | 'he gave him and then'                   |
|                       |    | c. <i>wogegirak</i>                      |
|                       |    | <i>wo-ø-k-e-k-it-ak</i>                  |
| 3p.SBJ-3s.OBJ         | {  | give-3s.OBJ-REAL-do/say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then |
|                       |    | 'he did give him and then'               |
|                       |    | d. <i>egarak</i>                         |
|                       |    | <i>ø-e-k-at-ak</i>                       |
|                       |    | 3s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-3p.SBJ-then           |
|                       |    | 'they did him and then'                  |
|                       | e. | <i>wogarak</i>                           |
|                       |    | <i>wo-ø-k-at-ak</i>                      |
|                       |    | give-3s.OBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ-then             |
|                       |    | 'they gave him and then'                 |

|               |    |                                                                                                                  |
|---------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3s.SBJ-3p.OBJ | f. | <i>wogegarak</i><br>wo-ø-k-e-k-at-ak<br>give-3s.OBJ-REAL-do/say-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they did give him and then' |
|               | g. | <i>icirak</i><br>itj-it-ak<br>3p.OBJ:do/say-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he did them and then'                                |
|               | h. | <i>wocirak</i><br>wo-tj-it-ak<br>give-3p.OBJ-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he gave them and then'                              |
| 3p.SBJ-3p.OBJ | i. | <i>wogicirak</i><br>wo-k-itj-it-ak<br>give-REAL-3p.OBJ:do/say-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he did give them and then'         |
|               | j. | <i>icarak</i><br>itj-at-ak<br>3p.OBJ:do/say-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they did them and then'                              |
|               | k. | <i>wocarak</i><br>wo-tj-at-ak<br>give-3p.OBJ-3p.SBJ-then<br>'he gave them and then'                              |
|               | l. | <i>wogicirak</i><br>wo-k-itj-it-ak<br>give-REAL-3p.OBJ:do-3p.SBJ-then<br>'he did give them and then'             |

The following paradigm in (4.90) shows the third person as subject and the first person as object, where the pattern {give-OBJ-SBJ}, (4.88b), is not found.

(4.90) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past** of *it-* 'one does' and *wot-* 'one gives' of third person subject and first person object

|                       |    |                                                                                                          |
|-----------------------|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3s.SBJ-1s.OBJ         | a. | <i>nigirak</i><br>n-i-k-it-ak<br>1s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he did me and then'                  |
| {OBJ-do/say-SBJ}      | b. | N/A                                                                                                      |
| {give-OBJ-SBJ}        | c. | <i>wotnigirak</i><br>wot-n-i-k-it-ak<br>give-1s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he did give me and then' |
| {give-OBJ-do/say-SBJ} |    |                                                                                                          |

|               |                                                                                                               |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3p.SBJ-1s.OBJ | d. <i>negarak</i><br>n-e-k-at-ak<br>1s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they did me and then'                  |
|               | e. N/A                                                                                                        |
|               | f. <i>wotnegarak</i><br>wot-n-e-k-at-ak<br>give-1s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they did give me and then' |
| 3s.SBJ-1p.OBJ | g. <i>nicirak</i><br>nitj- it-ak<br>1p.OBJ:do/say-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he did me and then'                         |
|               | h. N/A                                                                                                        |
|               | i. <i>wotnicirak</i><br>wot-nitj-it-ak<br>give-1p.OBJ:do-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he did give us and then'             |
| 3p.SBJ-1p.OBJ | j. <i>nicarak</i><br>nitj-at-ak<br>1p.OBJ:do/say-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they did us and then'                        |
|               | k. N/A                                                                                                        |
|               | l. <i>wotnicarak</i><br>wot-nitj-at-ak<br>give-1p.OBJ:do/say-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they did give us and then'       |

Like (4.90), the structure {give-OBJ-SBJ} in (4.88b), is not found in the following paradigm, (4.91), that shows the third person subject and the second person object.

(4.91) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past** of *it*- 'one does' and *wot*- 'one gives' of third person subject and second person object

|                       |                                                                                                                |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3s.SBJ-2s.OBJ         | a. <i>kegirak</i><br>k-e-k-it-ak<br>2s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he did you.sg and then'                 |
| {OBJ-do/say-SBJ}      |                                                                                                                |
| {give-OBJ-SBJ}        | b. N/A                                                                                                         |
|                       | c. <i>wokigirak</i><br>wot-k-i-k-it-ak<br>give-2s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he did give you.sg and then' |
| {give-OBJ-do/say-SBJ} |                                                                                                                |



|               |                                                                                                                  |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3p.SBJ-2s.OBJ | d. <i>kegarak</i><br>k-e-k-at-ak<br>2s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they did you.sg and then'                 |
|               | e. N/A                                                                                                           |
|               | f. <i>wokegarak</i><br>wot-k-e-k-at-ak<br>give-2s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they did give you.sg and then' |
| 3s.SBJ-2p.OBJ | g. <i>kicirak</i><br>kitj-it-ak<br>2p.OBJ:do/say-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he did you.pl and then'                         |
|               | h. N/A                                                                                                           |
|               | i. <i>wokicirak</i><br>wot-kitj-it-ak<br>give-2p.OBJ:do/say-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he did give you.pl and then'         |
| 3p.SBJ-2p.OBJ | j. <i>kicarak</i><br>kitj-at-ak<br>2p.OBJ:do/say-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they did you.pl and then'                       |
|               | k. N/A                                                                                                           |
|               | l. <i>wokicarak</i><br>wot-kitj-at-ak<br>give-2p.OBJ:do/say-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they did give you.pl and then'       |

The paradigm of the first person subject and third person object follows. All structures are possible.

(4.92) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past** of *it*- 'one does' and *wot*- 'one gives' of first person subject and third person object

|                  |                                                                                             |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1s.SBJ-3s.OBJ    | a. <i>egacak</i><br>ø-e-k-atj-ak<br>3s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I did him and then'  |
| {OBJ-do/say-SBJ} |                                                                                             |
|                  | b. <i>wogacak</i><br>wo-ø-k-atj-ak<br>give-3s.OBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I gave him and then' |
| {give-OBJ-SBJ}   |                                                                                             |

|                       |               |    |                                                                                                                |
|-----------------------|---------------|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| {give-OBJ-do/say-SBJ} | 1p.SBJ-3s.OBJ | c. | <i>wogegacak</i><br>wo-ø-k-e-k-atj-ak<br>give-3s.OBJ-REAL-do/say-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I did give him and then' |
|                       |               | d. | <i>egerak</i><br>ø-e-k-et-ak<br>3s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'I did him and then'                         |
|                       |               | e. | <i>wogerak</i><br>wo-ø-k-et-ak<br>give-3s.OBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'I gave him and then'                        |
| 1s.SBJ-3p.OBJ         |               | f. | <i>wogegerak</i><br>wo-ø-k-e-k-et-ak<br>give-3s.OBJ-REAL-do/say-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'I did give him and then'  |
|                       |               | g. | <i>icacak</i><br>itj-atj-ak<br>3p.OBJ:do/say-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I did them and then'                              |
|                       |               | h. | <i>wocacak</i><br>wo-tj-atj-ak<br>give-3s.OBJ-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I gave them and then'                            |
| 3p.SBJ-3p.OBJ         |               | i. | <i>wogicacak</i><br>wo-kitj-atj-ak<br>give-3p.OBJ:do/say-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I did give them and then'             |
|                       |               | j. | <i>icerak</i><br>itj-et-ak<br>3p.OBJ:do/say-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we did them and then'                              |
|                       |               | k. | <i>woicerak</i><br>wot-itj-et-ak<br>give-3p.OBJ:do/say-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we gave them and then'                  |
|                       |               | l. | <i>wogicerak</i><br>wo-kitj-et-ak<br>give-3p.OBJ:REAL:do/say-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we did give them and then'        |

The paradigm of the first person subject and second person object follows. The {give-OBJ-SBJ} structure, (4.88b), is not attested.

(4.93) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past** of *it*- 'one does' and *wot*- 'one gives' of first person subject and second person object

|                       |                                                                           |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1s.SBJ-2s.OBJ         | a. <i>kegacak</i><br>k-e-k-atj-ak                                         |
| {OBJ-do/say-SBJ}      | 2s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I did you.sg and then'                 |
| {give-OBJ-SBJ}        | b. N/A                                                                    |
|                       | c. <i>wokegacak</i><br>wot-k-e-k-atj-ak                                   |
| {give-OBJ-do/say-SBJ} | give-2s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I did give you.sg and then'       |
| 1p.SBJ-2s.OBJ         | d. <i>kegerak</i><br>k-e-k-at-ak                                          |
|                       | 2s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we did you.sg and then'                |
|                       | e. N/A                                                                    |
|                       | f. <i>wokegerak</i><br>wot-k-e-k-at-ak                                    |
|                       | give-2s.OBJ-REAL-do/say-REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we did give you.sg and then' |
| 1s.SBJ-2p.OBJ         | g. <i>kicacak</i><br>kitj-atj-ak                                          |
|                       | 2p.OBJ:do/say:REAL-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I did you.pl and then'                 |
|                       | h. N/A                                                                    |
|                       | i. <i>wogicacak</i><br>wo-k-itj-atj-ak                                    |
|                       | give-REAL-2p.OBJ:do/say-1s.SBJ-then<br>'I did give you.pl and then'       |
| 3p.SBJ-2p.OBJ         | j. <i>kicerak</i><br>kitj-et-ak                                           |
|                       | 2p.OBJ:do/say:REAL-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we did you.pl and then'                |
|                       | k. N/A                                                                    |
|                       | l. <i>wokicerak</i><br>wot-k-itj-et-ak                                    |
|                       | give-REAL-2p.OBJ:do/say-1p.SBJ-then<br>'we did give you.pl and then'      |

The paradigm of the second person subject and the third person object follows.

(4.94) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past** of *it-* 'one does' and *wot-* 'one gives' of second person subject and third person object

|                       |    |                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2s.SBJ-3s.OBJ         | a. | <i>egendak</i><br>ø-e-k-ent-ak<br>3s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg did him and then'                         |
| {OBJ-do/say-SBJ}      | b. | <i>wogendak</i><br>wot-ø-k-ent-ak<br>give-3s.OBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg gave him and then'                       |
| {give-OBJ-SBJ}        | c. | <i>wogegendak</i><br>wot-ø-k-e-k-ent-ak<br>give-3s.OBJ-REAL-do/say-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg did give him and then' |
| {give-OBJ-do/say-SBJ} | d. | <i>egepak</i><br>ø-it-k-ep-ak<br>3s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl did him and then'                          |
| 2p.SBJ-3s.OBJ         | e. | <i>wogepak</i><br>wot-ø-k-ep-ak<br>give-3s.OBJ-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl gave him and then'                         |
|                       | f. | <i>wogegepak</i><br>wo-ø-k-e-k-ep-ak<br>give-3s.OBJ-REAL-do/say-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl did give him and then'    |
| 2s.SBJ-3p.OBJ         | g. | <i>icendak</i><br>itj-ent-ak<br>3p.OBJ:REAL:do/say-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg did them and then'                          |
|                       | h. | <i>wocendak</i><br>wo-tj-ent-ak<br>give-3p.OBJ:REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg gave them and then'                        |
|                       | i. | <i>wogicendak</i><br>wo-k-itj-ent-ak<br>give-REAL-3p.OBJ:do/say-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg did give them and then'        |
| 2p.SBJ-3p.OBJ         | j. | <i>icepak</i><br>itj-ep-ak<br>3p.OBJ:do:REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl did them and then'                                |
|                       | k. | <i>woicepak</i><br>wot-itj-ep-ak<br>give-3p.OBJ:do/say:REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl gave them and then'                |

- l. *wogicepak*  
 wo-k-itj-ep-ak  
 give-3p.OBJ:REAL:do/say-2p.SBJ-then  
 'you.pl did give them and then'

The following paradigm in (4.95), shows the second person as subject and the first person as object. In this paradigm, the pattern {give-OBJ-SJB}, given in (4.88b), is not found.

(4.95) **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past** of *it-* 'one does' and *wot-* 'one gives' of second person subject and first person object

|                       |    |                                                                                                              |
|-----------------------|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2s.SBJ-1s.OBJ         | a. | <i>negendak</i><br>n-e-k-ent-ak<br>1s.OBJ-do-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg did me and then'                    |
| {OBJ-do/say-SBJ}      |    |                                                                                                              |
| {give-OBJ-SBJ}        | b. | N/A                                                                                                          |
|                       | c. | <i>wotnegendak</i><br>wot-n-e-k-ent-ak<br>give-1s.OBJ-do-REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg did give me and then'   |
| {give-OBJ-do/say-SBJ} |    |                                                                                                              |
| 2p.SBJ-1s.OBJ         | d. | <i>negepak</i><br>n-e-k-ep-ak<br>1s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl did me and then'                  |
|                       | e. | N/A                                                                                                          |
|                       | f. | <i>wotnegepak</i><br>wot-n-e-k-ep-ak<br>give-1s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg did give me and then' |
| 2s.SBJ-1p.OBJ         | g. | <i>nicendak</i><br>nitj-ent-ak<br>1p.OBJ:REAL:do/say-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg did us and then'                 |
|                       | h. | N/A                                                                                                          |
|                       | i. | <i>wotnicendak</i><br>wot-nitj-ent-ak<br>give-1p.OBJ:REAL-2s.SBJ-then<br>'you.sg gave us and then'           |
| 2p.SBJ-1p.OBJ         | j. | <i>nicepak</i><br>nitj-ep-ak<br>1p.OBJ:REAL:do/say-2p.SBJ-then<br>'you.pl did them and then'                 |
|                       | k. | N/A                                                                                                          |

1. *wotnicepak*  
 wot-nitj-ep-ak  
 give-1p.OBJ:REAL:do/say-2p.SBJ-then  
 'you.pl did give us and then'

Since the verb *yorlak* 'one tells him and then' share identical patterns as those of *woriak* 'one gives and then', its paradigms are not listed here.

## 4.8 REDUPLICATION

The reduplication of verbs is only found in the *sub-t* verb, of the **partially inflected irrealis delayed sequential** form with no clear semantic distinction. It possibly indicates a continuing event, or even some sense of iterative, such as 'they were coming in waves'. The root is reduplicated without the initial consonant.

| (4.96) | <u>Stem of Sub-t verb form</u>                                             | <u>Reduplicative form</u>                                                               |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a.     | <i>torak</i><br>tot-ak<br>intend:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one intends and then ...' | <i>tororak</i><br>tot~ot-ak<br>intend:SG.SBJ~RED-then<br>'one keeps intending and then' |
| b.     | <i>korak</i><br>kot-ak<br>see:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one sees and then ...'       | <i>kororak</i><br>kot~ot-ak<br>see:SG.SBJ~RED-then<br>'one keeps seeing and then'       |
| c.     | <i>norak</i><br>not-ak<br>go:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one goes and then ...'        | <i>nororak</i><br>not~ot-ak<br>go:SG.SBJ~RED-then<br>'one keeps going and then'         |
| d.     | <i>worak</i><br>wot-ak<br>come:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one comes and then ...'     | <i>wororak</i><br>wot~ot-ak<br>come:SG.SBJ~RED-then<br>'one keeps coming and then'      |

Examples of the above forms are given in:

- (4.97)    *yedome*    *mende*    ***wororak-o***.  
           *jedome*    *mente*    *wot~ot-ak=o \*  
           PN            SRC    *come:SG.SBJ~RED-then*  
           'Those from Yedome, kept on coming (in succession).'

The reduplicative form of *worak* 'one comes and then' in (4.97) denotes successive senses, while the serialization form that involves the verb *doiak* 'one stays and then' in (4.98) lacks such senses.

- (4.98)    *yedome*    *mende*    ***wu***                    ***dokniq***                    *ta*.  
           *jedome*    *mente*    *w-u*                    *do-k-niq*                    *ta |*  
           PN            SRC    *come-PL.SBJ*    *stay:SG.SBJ-REAL-as such*    SPEC  
           'Those from Yedome, kept coming.' or 'Those from Yedome were coming.'

Some types of verbal reduplication, are also found, even though they are few in number. These are: (i) reduplication in the stem, as given in (4.99a), (ii) reduplication in the suffix, as in (4.99b-c).

- (4.99)    a.    ***pirek~parek***  
                   *pit-ik~pit-ik*  
                   *wrap.around-PROG~wrap.around-PROG*  
                   'wrapping around.' [Text 35: 2.22; Burung 2013: 233, 242]  
           b.    ***nuk~nak***  
                   *n-uk~n-ak*  
                   *go-next~go-then*  
                   'go slowly!' or 'go in slow motion.'  
           c.    ***engga nuk~nak***  
                   *enka    n-uk~n-ak*  
                   *leaf    go-next~go-then*  
                   'the leaf is slowly moving!'

## 4.9 REFLEXIVE

Transitive verbs may be marked as REFLEXIVE by the suffix **-od**, following the pattern – cf. §5.2 for discussion on person deixis.

(4.100) ROOT- -REFLEXIVE (SEQUENTIAL)

Examples in (4.101) and (4.102) illustrate the use of **-od** 'REFL' in the ROOT, STEM, DELAYED and IMMEDIATE SEQUENTIAL forms.

|         |                         |                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                           |
|---------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (4.101) |                         | <b>SINGULAR</b>                                                                                                     | <b>PLURAL</b>                                                                                                             |
|         | ROOT                    | <i>wat</i><br>wat-<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-<br>'one hits him'                                                          | <i>inyot</i><br>inot-<br>3p.OBJ:hit:PL.SBJ-<br>'some hit them'                                                            |
|         | STEM                    | <i>warod</i><br>wat- <b>od</b><br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ- <b>REFL</b><br>'one hits oneself'                              | <i>inyorod</i><br>inot- <b>od</b><br>3p.OBJ:hit:PL.SBJ- <b>REFL</b><br>'some hit themselves'                              |
|         | DELAYED<br>SEQUENTIAL   | <i>warodiak</i><br>wat- <b>od-ia</b> <b>k</b><br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ- <b>REFL-then</b><br>'one hits oneself and then' | <i>inyorodiak</i><br>inot- <b>od-ia</b> <b>k</b><br>3p.OBJ:hit:PL.SBJ- <b>REFL-then</b><br>'some hit themselves and then' |
|         | IMMEDIATE<br>SEQUENTIAL | <i>warodnuk</i><br>wat- <b>od-nuk</b><br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ- <b>REFL-next</b><br>'one having hit oneself'            | <i>inyorodnuk</i><br>inot- <b>od-nuk</b><br>3p.OBJ:hit:PL.SBJ- <b>REFL-next</b><br>'some having hit themselves'           |

It is noted in Anderson and Keenan (1985: 266) that only some of the reflexive forms are distinct from ordinary anaphoric pronouns in many languages. Wano makes a clear morphological distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive verb forms. The reflexive morpheme precedes the subject suffix. On the one hand, while *\*nokacak* in (4.102b) is ill-formed, *wakirak* in (4.102.7a), always involves two separate referents



that carry two different grammatical functions, i.e. A & O where  $A \neq O$ . Here, A is indicated by the subject suffix *it* {it} '3s.SBJ', and O is by the portmanteau root *wat* {wat-} '3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ'. On the other hand, *wakodirak* and *nokodacak*, in (4.102a' and b'), involve one referent with two different grammatical roles, i.e. A & O where  $A = O$ .

- (4.102) AFFIRMATIVE
- a. *wakirak*  
 wat-k-it-ak  
 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then  
 'he hit him and then'
- b. *\*nokacak*  
 n-o-k-atj-ak  
 1s.OBJ-hit-REAL-1s.SBJ-then  
 \*I hit me and then'
- REFLEXIVE
- a'. *wakodirak*  
 wat-k-**od**-it-ak  
 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-**REFL**-3s.SBJ-then  
 'he hit **himself** and then'
- b'. *nokodacak*  
 no-k-**od**-atj-ak  
 1s.OBJ-hit-REAL-**REFL**-1s.SBJ-then  
 'I hit **myself** and then'

The use of *-od* 'REFL' is also attested in the **partially inflected irrealis purposive non-past** (4.103a), **fully inflected irrealis inceptive non-past** (4.103b) and **partially inflected realis habitual non-past** (4.103c).

- (4.103) a. **Partially inflected irrealis purposive non-past** with *-od* 'reflexive'
- SINGULAR *warodoca*  
 wat-**od-tja**  
 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-**REFL-PURP**  
 'in order that one hit oneself'

|    |                                                                          |                                                                                                                  |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    | PLURAL                                                                   | <i>inyorodoca</i><br>inot-od-tja<br>3p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REFL-PURP<br>'in order that some hit themselves'           |
| b. | <b>Fully inflected irrealis inceptive non-past</b> with -od 'reflexive'  |                                                                                                                  |
|    | SINGULAR                                                                 | <i>warodok</i><br>wat- <b>od-ok</b><br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REFL-INCEP<br>'one is about to hit oneself'             |
|    | PLURAL                                                                   | <i>inyorodok</i><br>inot-od-ok<br>3p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REFL-INCEP<br>'some are about to hit themselves'             |
| c. | <b>Partially inflected realis habitual non-past</b> with -od 'reflexive' |                                                                                                                  |
|    | SINGULAR                                                                 | <i>warodogwa</i><br>wat- <b>od-o-k-wa</b><br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REFL-SG.SBJ-REAL-HAB<br>'one always hits oneself' |
|    | PLURAL                                                                   | <i>inyorodugwa</i><br>inot-od-u-k-wa<br>3p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REFL-PL.SBJ-REAL-HAB<br>'some always hit themselves'   |

Even though the realis habitual agrees with the irrealis order above, they are similar but not identical. The reflexive in the realis habitual is immediately attached to the verb root, while the realis {k} comes in between the number/subject suffixes and the habitual {-wa} as shown in (4.103c).

Furthermore, the structure in (4.100), exemplified in (4.102) and (4.103) does not hold for the **fully inflected realis** verbs. Examples in (4.104) demonstrate that the reflexive **-od** is found immediately preceding the subject markers, thus following the realis {k}.

- (4.104) a. **Fully inflected realis progressive non-past** with *-od* 'reflexive'
- |          |                                                                                                                |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| SINGULAR | <i>wakodo</i><br>wat-k- <b>od</b> -o<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-REFL-SG.SBJ<br>'one is hitting oneself'         |
| PLURAL   | <i>inyokodu</i><br>inot-k- <b>od</b> -u<br>3p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-REFL-PL.SBJ<br>'some are hitting themselves' |
- 
- b. **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential proximate-past** with *-od* 'reflexive'
- |          |                                                                                                                               |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| SINGULAR | <i>wakodarak</i><br>wat-k- <b>od</b> -at-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-REFL-3s/p.SBJ-then<br>'one hit oneself and then'        |
| PLURAL   | <i>inyokodarak</i><br>inot-k- <b>od</b> -at-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-REFL-3s/p.SBJ-then<br>'some hit themselves and then' |
- 
- c. **Fully inflected realis progressive proximate-past** with *-od* 'reflexive'
- |          |                                                                                                                               |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| SINGULAR | <i>wakodarik</i><br>wat-k- <b>od</b> -at-ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-REFL-3s/p.SBJ-PROG<br>'he was hitting oneself'          |
| PLURAL   | <i>inyokodarik</i><br>inot-k- <b>od</b> -at-ik<br>3p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-REFL-3s/p.SBJ-PROG<br>'they were hitting themselves' |
- 
- d. **Fully inflected realis delayed sequential remote-past** with *-od* 'reflexive'
- |          |                                                                                                                                              |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| SINGULAR | <i>warigodirak</i><br>wat-i-k- <b>od</b> -it-ak<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-REFL-3s.SBJ-then<br>'he hit himself long ago and then'         |
| PLURAL   | <i>inyorigodarak</i><br>inot-i-k- <b>od</b> -at-ak<br>3p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-REFL-3p.SBJ-then<br>'they hit themselves long ago and then' |
- 
- e. **Fully inflected realis progressive remote-past** with *-od* 'reflexive'
- |          |                                                                                                                                              |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| SINGULAR | <i>warigodirik</i><br>wat-i-k- <b>od</b> -it-ik<br>3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-REFL-3s.SBJ-PROG<br>'he was hitting himself long ago'          |
| PLURAL   | <i>inyorigodarik</i><br>inot-i-k- <b>od</b> -at-ik<br>3p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REM-REAL-REFL-3p.SBJ-PROG<br>'they were hitting themselves long ago' |

Finally, the reflexive order in (4.104) is also found in the past verbs with the purposive suffix {-tja}, as shown in:

(4.105) a. **Partially inflected realis proximate-past** with *-od* 'reflexive'

|          |                                                                                                                 |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| SINGULAR | <i>wakodoca</i><br>wat-k-od-o-tja<br>3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-REFL-SG.SBJ-PURP<br>'in order that one hit oneself'        |
| PLURAL   | <i>inyokoduca</i><br>inot-k-od-u-tja<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REAL-REFL-PL.SBJ-PURP<br>'in order that some hit themselves' |

b. **Partially inflected realis remote-past** with *-od* 'reflexive'

|          |                                                                                                                                  |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| SINGULAR | <i>warigodoca</i><br>wat-i-k-od-o-tja<br>3s.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-REFL-SG.SBJ-PURP<br>'in order that one hit oneself long ago'        |
| PLURAL   | <i>inyorigoduca</i><br>inot-i-k-od-u-tja<br>3p.OBJ:hit-REM-REAL-REFL-PL.SBJ-PURP<br>'in order that some hit themselves long ago' |

## 4.10 QUESTIONS

Both YES-NO (YN.Q) and WH-questions (WH.Q) are attested in Wano. While the latter is syntactically coded, Wano has clitic {=a} 'YN.Q' to form an interrogative clause. We may find the clitic in either a **fully inflected** verb (4.106a-b), or a **partially inflected verb** form (4.106c).

- (4.106) a. *nenggendak-a*  
 nen-k-ent-ak=**a**  
 consume:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then=**YN.Q**  
 'did you.sg eat?'
- b. *nendik-a*  
 n-ent-ik=**a**  
 go-2s.SBJ-PROG=**YN.Q**  
 'are you.sg going?'
- c. *wone-a*  
 won-e=**a**  
 exist-SG.SBJ=**YN.Q**  
 'does one exist?' or 'is one there?'

In a negative question, the clitic {=a} '=YN.Q' is attached to the negator *dik* 'NEG' and the subject suffix is eliminated. Example (4.107a) is grammatically unacceptable but (4.107b) is acceptable. The pronoun *kat* 'you.sg' is not necessarily obligatory. The inclusion of either *kat* 'you.sg' or *kit* 'you.pl' depends on the number of addressee(s) in time of questioning. In the case of both speaker and addressee(s) are talking about someone else, then the third person at '3s'/it '3p' is used.

- (4.107) a.\* 

|               |               |                                        |             |                 |
|---------------|---------------|----------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>kat</i>    | <i>mboid</i>  | <i>nenggendak</i>                      | <i>ta</i>   | <i>dik-a</i>    |
| <i>kat</i>    | <i>mpoid</i>  | <i>nen-k-ent-ak</i>                    | <i>ta</i>   | <i>dik=a</i>    |
| <i>you.sg</i> | <i>potato</i> | <i>consume:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then</i> | <i>SPEC</i> | <i>NEG=YN.Q</i> |
- b. 

|               |               |                                 |             |                 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>kat</i>    | <i>mboid</i>  | <i>nenggak</i>                  | <i>ta</i>   | <i>dik-a</i>    |
| <i>kat</i>    | <i>mpoid</i>  | <i>nen-k-ak</i>                 | <i>ta</i>   | <i>dik=a</i>    |
| <i>you.sg</i> | <i>potato</i> | <i>consume:SG.SBJ-REAL-then</i> | <i>SPEC</i> | <i>NEG=YN.Q</i> |

 'Did you.sg not eat (some food)?' or 'Didn't you.sg eat (some food)?'

The answer to the question in (4.107b) may be 'yes' or 'no' with the following interpretation: (i) *yuk* 'yes' means no, i.e. *yuk-o*, *an mboid nenggak ta dik-o* 'yes, I didn't eat (some food)', and (ii) *dik* 'no' means yes, i.e. *dik-o*, *an mboid nenggacak-o* 'no, I ate (some food)', as illustrated in (4.107). This is similar to Austronesian

languages like Melayu-Papua, Melayu-Ambon and Melayu-Manado. Polarity agrees with questions.

- (4.108) a. *yuk-o,*            *an*                    *mboid*    *nenggak*  
               *juk=o |*            *an*                    *mboid*    *nen-k-ak*  
               *say-PAUS |*    *I*                    *potato*    *consume:SG.SBJ-REAL-then*
- ta,*                    *dik-o.*  
               *ta|*                    *dik=o \*  
               *SPEC*                *NEG-PAUS*  
               *'yes, I didn't eat (some food)'*
- b. *dik-o,*            *an*                    *mboid*    *nenggacak-o.*  
               *dik=o |*            *an*                    *mboid*    *nen-k-atj-ak=o \*  
               *NEG-PAUS*    *I*                    *potato*    *consume:SG.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then*  
               *'no, I ate (some food)'*

The clitic {=a} '=YN.Q' may be combined with a WH-question word to form a content question, as shown in:

- (4.109) a. *nano*    *nenggendak-a*  
               *nano*    *nen-k-ent-ak=a*  
               *what*    *consume:SG.SBJ--REAL-2s.SBJ-then=YN.Q*  
               *'What did you.sg eat?'*
- b. *ngga*    *nendik-a*  
               *nka*    *n-ent-ik=a*  
               *where*    *go-2s.SBJ-PROG=YN.Q*  
               *'Where are you.sg going?'*

Detailed discussion on the use of WH-question words is found in chapter 6.

#### 4.11 SUMMARY

There are five things necessary to a general knowledge of the verbal system in Wano, namely citation forms, tense-aspect-mood, root-stem relations, sequential relations and person affixes, which I defined in §4.1. Only then can we establish the four conjugational classes and a sub-class of Wano verbs, which are *-t*, *-d*, *-n*, *-vocalic*, and *sub-t* verbs. In other words, by considering the conjugational forms in terms of their categorical distribution, we can obtain a basic understanding of the verbal system in Wano. In §4.2 through §4.10, I then established the morphophonological patterns of Wano verbs according to the four conjugational forms defined in §4.1, which were generally divided into those belong to the **partially** and **fully** inflected verb types.

This chapter has provided a basic level of information on Wano verbal morphology, and thus serves as a starting point for an understanding of the following chapters, in particular the ones dealing with clause structures and clause combination, i.e. chapters 8-11.





## 5.1 BACKGROUND

**Deictics** are linguistic forms that indicate person, spatial location and temporal reference (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 259-308). This chapter deals with Wano deictics that encode person information, in §5.2, and spatial domain, in §5.3. The latter marks **proximal** (i.e. near-to-*Sp*), **medial** (medial-to-*Sp*), and **distal** (far-from-*Sp*), as outlined in Table 5.1 – excluding elevative deixis which will be outlined in Table 5.3 in §5.3.3. Deictic words related to time are included in §4.1.2 and §6.4.1 as temporal adverbs.

Table 5.1

**Wano deixis**

|               | <u>Proximal</u>                           | <u>Medial</u>                                  | <u>Distal</u>                                            |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| ROOT          | {n(d)V(t)}                                | {n(d)V(t)}                                     | {mVni/na/no}<br>V = harmonic vowel                       |
| DEMONSTRATIVE | <i>ni, ndi, ndit</i><br>this<br>'this'    | <i>ne, nde, ndet</i><br>this.far<br>'this far' | <i>muni</i><br>that<br>'that'                            |
| LOCATION      | <i>na, nda</i><br>here<br>'here'          | <i>ne, nde, ndet</i><br>there<br>'there'       | <i>mona, monda</i><br>there.far<br>'yonder'/'over there' |
| MANNER        | <i>no, ndo</i><br>this.way<br>'like this' |                                                | <i>mono</i><br>that.way<br>'like that'                   |
| ELEVATION     | see Table 5.3 in §5.3.3                   |                                                |                                                          |

## 5.2 PERSON DEIXIS

Taking Anderson and Keenan's (1985: 259) definition, "... person deictics are expressions which make essential reference to the speaker (*Sp*) or the addressee (*Adr*) of utterance; ...", I will show that Wano marks the sex distinction of possessors of certain kin terms as deictics. Even though, in Wano, person deixis does not express information concerning the sex of its referent, there is a clear distinction encoding the sex of referents for the kin term 'child/children' (§3.4.2). The narrator in (5.1) is a male person and, therefore, when mentioning his child, in NP<sub>2</sub> uses the inalienable noun *nabut* {n-abut} \1s-child.om\ 'my child of male', and for his brother's child, in NP<sub>3</sub>, uses the inalienable noun *abut* {ø-abut} \3s-child.om\ 'his child of male' (in bold).

(5.1)

|                                                                                                                                                              |                        |                     |              |               |                     |  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------|--|
|                                                                                                                                                              |                        | NP <sub>1</sub>     |              |               | NP <sub>2</sub>     |  |
| <i>pinica</i>                                                                                                                                                | <i>nirak,</i>          | <i>an</i>           | <i>nagwe</i> | <i>me,</i>    | <i>nabut</i>        |  |
| pin-i-tja                                                                                                                                                    | n-it-ak                | an                  | n-akwe       | me            | <b>n-abut</b>       |  |
| arrive-3s.SBJ-PURP                                                                                                                                           | go-1s.SBJ-then         | I                   | 1s-wife      | and           | 1s- <b>child.om</b> |  |
| NP <sub>3</sub>                                                                                                                                              |                        |                     |              |               |                     |  |
| <i>me,</i>                                                                                                                                                   | <i>nawot</i>           | <i>abut</i>         | <i>ambui</i> | <i>me,</i>    |                     |  |
| me                                                                                                                                                           | n-awot                 | <b>ø-abut</b>       | ampui        | me            |                     |  |
| and                                                                                                                                                          | 1s-younger sibling.oss | 3s- <b>child.om</b> | one          | and           |                     |  |
| <i>wunu</i>                                                                                                                                                  | <i>nerak,</i>          | <i>"yok</i>         | <i>ta,</i>   | <i>turumo</i> | <i>nauid-o!"</i>    |  |
| wun-u                                                                                                                                                        | n-et-ak                | jok                 | ta           | tutumo        | na-uid=o \          |  |
| exist-1p.SBJ                                                                                                                                                 | go-1p.SBJ-then         | now                 | SPEC         | PN            | go-INCEP=PAUS       |  |
| 'In order to reach (Lukibesi), I said to my wife and child, and <b>one child of my younger brother</b> , (together) we travelled, 'Now let us go to Turumo!' |                        |                     |              |               |                     |  |
| [Text 67:3.4; Burung 2013a: 255, 265]                                                                                                                        |                        |                     |              |               |                     |  |

In addition to this, we also know that *nawot* 'my younger sibling of same sex' is a male person, (hence the free translation in (5.1): 'younger brother'), by two clues: firstly, the narrator is a male person, who himself used the term *nabut* {n-abut} \1s-

(5.2) a. *nawot* *abut* *ambui* *me,*  
n-**awot** ø-**abut** ambui me |  
1s-younger sibling.oss 3s-child.om one and  
'and one **child of my younger brother**' (*lit.* 'and one child of my younger  
sibling of same sex')

[From (5.1)]

b. *niri* *ayak* *ambui* *me,*  
n-**iri** ø-**ajak** ambui me |  
1s-sibling.ods 3s-child.of one and  
'and one **child of my sister**' (*lit.* 'and one child of my sibling of different  
sex')

[cf. example (3.39)]

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- (5.3)
- |            |          |          |                |              |            |
|------------|----------|----------|----------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>at,</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>K</i> | <i>acui,</i>   | <i>anduk</i> | <i>ta,</i> |
| at         | <b>m</b> | <b>k</b> | <b>ø-atjui</b> | ø-antuk      | ta         |
| he         | PN       | PN       | 3s-children.OF | 3s-back      | SPEC       |
- 
- |              |            |           |
|--------------|------------|-----------|
| <i>indiq</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>W.</i> |
| ø-intiq      | ta         | w         |
| 3s-name      | SPEC       | PN        |
- 'He, the first one of **MK's children**, his name was W'
- [Text 37: 1.4; Burung 2013a: 220, 228]

Furthermore, as pointed out in §3.4.2, when speaking of a child of both the *Sp* and the *Adr*, the two terms are combined to indicate that the child belongs to both *Sp* and *Adr*. Thus, *ninyayak-ninyabut* {nin-ajak-nin-abut} \1p-child.OF-1p-child.OM\ 'our child' (*lit.* 'our child of female our child of male') is used when the male *Sp* is speaking to the female *Adr*, i.e. his wife, as in (5.4a). Conversely, when the female *Sp* is addressing the male *Adr*, i.e. her husband, the compounded term is reversed: *ninyabut-ninyayak* {nin-abut-nin-ajak} \1p-child.OM-1p-child.OF\ 'our child' (*lit.* 'our child of male our child of female'), as shown in (5.4b).

- (5.4)
- a.
- |            |            |            |                          |
|------------|------------|------------|--------------------------|
| <i>ndi</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>nit</i> | <i>ninyayak-ninyabut</i> |
| nti        | ta         | nit        | nin-ajak-nin-abut        |
| this       | SPEC       | we         | 1p-child.OF-1p-child.OM  |
- 'this is our child' (*lit.* 'this specific our child of female our child of male')
- b.
- |            |            |            |                          |
|------------|------------|------------|--------------------------|
| <i>ndi</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>nit</i> | <i>ninyabut-ninyayak</i> |
| nti        | ta         | nit        | nin-abut-nin-ajak        |
| this       | SPEC       | we         | 1p-child.OM-1p-child.OF  |
- 'this is our child' (*lit.* 'this specific our child of male our child of female')

Moreover, the term *ninyaburi* {nin-abut-i} \1p-child.OM-PL\ 'our children of male' is used when the male *Sp* is addressing his brother(s)/kin-related male sibling(s), or is used in a general sense, e.g. in a communal meeting (5.5a). Likewise, *ninyacui* {nin-atjui} \1p-children.OF\ 'our children of female' is applied only in a general sense or

when the female *Sp* is addressing her sister(s)/kin-related female sibling(s), as shown in (5.5b).

- (5.5)      a.      *ninyaburi*  
                    nín-abut-i  
                    1p-child.OM-PL  
                    'our children of male'  
            b.      *ninyacui*  
                    nín-atjui.oF  
                    1p-children.oF  
                    'our children of female'

### 5.3 SPATIAL DEIXIS

As I pointed out in §5.1, spatial deixis includes demonstrative and elevative deixis, and involves the proximal-medial-distal distinction. I will discuss demonstrative deixis in §5.3.1, and elevative deixis in §5.3.2.

#### 5.3.1 Demonstratives

In chapter 3 §3.7.4, demonstratives were outlined in Table 3.5, repeated here in Table 5.2. The basic demonstratives are *ndi* 'this', *nde* 'this far' and *muni* 'that', virtually always, but not necessarily, accompanied by a pointing gesture.

Table 5.2

**Demonstratives in Wano** – from Table 3.5.

|                | <u>Proximal</u>                        | <u>Medial</u>                                  | <u>Distal</u>                      |
|----------------|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ROOT           | {n(d)V(t)}                             | {n(d)V(t)}                                     | {mVni/na/no}<br>V = harmonic vowel |
| DEMONSTRATIVES | <i>ni, ndi, ndit</i><br>this<br>'this' | <i>ne, nde, ndet</i><br>this.far<br>'this far' | <i>muni</i><br>that<br>'that'      |

These demonstratives can be used predicatively as shown in:

- (5.6) a. **ndi** ap  
**ndi** ap  
**this** man  
 'this is (a) man'
- b. *nit mbowid inyowe beq ta, mui*  
 nit mpowid in-owe beq ta | mui  
 we PN 1p-older.sibling.oSS little SPEC PN
- inyowe-o, yotnicarak. muni at,*  
 in-owe=o | jot-n-i-tj-at-ak | **muni** at |  
 1p-older.sibling.oSS say-1s-do-PL-3s.SBJ=PAUS **that** 3s
- wunuerik-o.*  
 wun-uet-ik=o \  
 exist-1p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 '(only) a few of us from Mbowid, those from Mui told us so. So that we  
 lived' (lit. 'we, Mbowid's older siblings were little, Mui's older siblings  
 told us. That's it, we were existing.')
- [Text 37: 1.27; Burung 2013a: 226, 234]

They can also function as attributives in NPs, thus modifying nouns or pronouns.

They can also be the only elements of an NP as given in (5.7) and (5.8).

- (5.7) a. **muni** ne, kamu bano enak-o.  
**muni** ne | k-amu ban-o enak=o \  
**that** S.REF 2s.home put down:3s.SBJ=PAUS go.2s.SBJ=PAUS  
 'that (specific) one, you.sg keep in your.sg house' or 'as for that, you.sg  
 keep in your.sg house'

- b. *ndi* *ne,* *nambit* *tariak* *ta,* *bok-a*  
*nti* *ne |* *n-ampit* *tat-iak* *ta |* *bok=a*  
*this* *S.REF* *1s-sake* *roast:3s.SBJ-then* *SPEC* *good=YN.Q*  
 'this (specific) one, could you roast for me, please!' or 'as for this, could you roast for me, please!'

- (5.8) *ap* *nde* *tu* *we,* *muni* *ta,*  
*ap* *nte* *tu* *w-e|* *muni* *ta|*  
*man* *this far* *way* *come-3s.SBJ* *that* *SPEC*
- an* *nombane-o.*  
*an* *n-ompane=o \*  
*I* *1s-friend=PAUS*  
 '(the) man (who) is coming, (is) my friend.' (*lit.* 'that specific man, he comes/is coming **this far** way, is my friend.')
- [Yance Weya, p.c. April 2016 – cf. §8.3.1]

These demonstratives may be followed by particle *ta* 'SPEC' or *=o* 'PAUS'. In (5.9), we notice that demonstratives can also function attributively in NPs – cf. *muni ta* in the first clause and *ndi* in the second one.

- (5.9) *yok* *yugo* *tetik.* *muni* *ta* *ndi*  
*jok* *j-u-k-o* *t-et-ik* *muni* *ta|* *ndi,*  
*now* *say-REAL=PAUS* *intend-1s.SBJ-PROG* *that* *SPEC* *this*
- NP  
*T* *muni* *wone*  
*an* *nova* *ta,* *T* *muni* *won-e*  
*an* *n-ova* *ta |* *PN* *that* *exist-1s.SBJ*  
*I* *1s-father* *SPEC*
- 'What I truly want to tell now is that, this, my father's name was, **that T**, he was then ...'
- [Text 37: 1.2; Burung 2013a: 220, 228]

Finally, in addition to demonstratives (§5.3.1), there is a particle that seems to function as deixis even though its grammatical status is still dubious at the time of writing the present study. The deictic word *aret* could be an inflection of *at* {at} 'he' plus *et* {-et} '?'. At present, the meaning of the suffix *et* {-et} is not certain, since it is restricted in its distribution, i.e., it is only suffixed to third person pronouns and

seems to mark an actor or agent. Therefore, to describe *aret*, I will first consider the status of third person pronouns in Wano.

The pronoun *at* 'he' in Wano supports Foley's (1986: 65-74) view of the third person pronouns; *at* '3s' does not necessarily refer to the third person singular, but rather to participant(s) in a given-event or context, i.e., in natural speech as it is normally featured in oral texts or narratives; see *muni at* in (5.6b). Thus, expressions with the composition of *\*anet* {an-et} \an-? \ 'I-?' or *\*karet* {kat-et} \kat-? \ 'you.sg-?' are not found in Wano, whilst *aret* {at-et} \he-? \ 'he-?' is in common use. Together they form the anaphoric deictic *aret*, and therefore, will be glossed as ANA. Hence, in the interlinear presentation of *aret*, as in *Nggweri aret* is 'PN ANA', which can be translated with 'Nggweri it is' or 'Nggweri the one', as appearing in:

|        |               |           |            |                |             |              |
|--------|---------------|-----------|------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|
| (5.10) | <i>dagaid</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>nggweri</i> | <i>aret</i> | <i>puduk</i> |
|        | dakaid        | ne        | ta         | nkwati         | aret        | puduk        |
|        | PN            | S.REF     | SPEC       | PN             | ANA         | assemble     |

*okouguarak-o.*

it-k-ou-k-at-ak=o\

do-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS

'Dagai it was (then), they (went and) assembled in Nggweri.' or 'From Dagai,

they went on and assembled in Nggweri.'

[Text 35: 2.6; Burung 2013a: 228, 237]

Proceeding in the same way, as (5.10), *kit aret* 'you.pl ANA' is: 'you.pl are the ones' is shown in:



- (5.11)
- |           |           |            |             |           |           |             |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>wa</i> | <i>wa</i> | <i>kat</i> | <i>ta,</i>  | <i>ni</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>ne,</i>  |
| <i>wa</i> | <i>wa</i> | <i>kat</i> | <i>ta  </i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>ne  </i> |
| INTERJ    | INTERJ    | you        | SPEC        | as such   | as such   | S.REF       |
- 
- |                     |  |            |               |                    |
|---------------------|--|------------|---------------|--------------------|
| <i>ekendak,</i>     |  | <i>dik</i> | <i>nome,</i>  | <i>adoumaq</i>     |
| <i>it-k-ent-ak</i>  |  | <i>dik</i> | <i>nome  </i> | <i>a-d-ou-maq</i>  |
| do-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |  | no         | therefore     | ATTR-steep-down-at |
- 
- |                   |            |           |                        |                  |
|-------------------|------------|-----------|------------------------|------------------|
| <i>wonendik,</i>  | <i>kat</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>kawot</i>           | <i>kimbirak</i>  |
| <i>won-ent-ik</i> | <i>kat</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>k-awot</i>          | <i>k-impirak</i> |
| exist-2s.SBJ-PROG | you.sg     | S.REF     | 2s-younger sibling.oss | 2s-together      |
- 
- |                   |               |            |                    |                      |
|-------------------|---------------|------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| <i>wonendik</i>   | <i>nome,</i>  | <i>kit</i> | <b><i>aret</i></b> | <i>nenggepak.</i>    |
| <i>won-ent-ik</i> | <i>nome  </i> | <i>kit</i> | <b><i>aret</i></b> | <i>nen-k-ep-ak \</i> |
| exist-2s.SBJ-PROG | therefore     | you.pl     | <b>ANA</b>         | eat-REAL-2p.SBJ-then |
- "Great! You are the ones who did it, no one else there, you stayed below there, you and your brother were here. You just ate (it) together." [Note: The narrator describes the thinking of EW' grandfather]
- [Text 35: 2.41; Burung 2013a: 238-9, 247-8]

Regarding its structure within NPs, *aret* occurs following an NP, where the phrase can be (i) an NP (5.12), (ii) a proper noun as in (5.10) above, (iii) a pronoun as in (5.11), or (iv) a numeral as in (5.13). It may also follow a clause, as in:

- (5.12)
- |                     |           |             |           |             |
|---------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>ekenok,</i>      | <i>it</i> | <i>wano</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>ta,</i>  |
| <i>it-k-e-nok  </i> | <i>it</i> | <i>wano</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>ta  </i> |
| do-REAL-SG.SBJ-next | they      | PN          | G.REF     | SPEC        |
- 
- |              |           |                    |                        |                       |
|--------------|-----------|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>avoda</i> | <i>tu</i> | <b><i>aret</i></b> | <i>unggu</i>           | <i>uku</i>            |
| <i>avoda</i> | <i>tu</i> | <b><i>aret</i></b> | <i>un-k-u</i>          | <i>it-k-u</i>         |
| PN           | way       | <b>ANA</b>         | go through-REAL-1p.SBJ | do:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ |
- 
- |                  |             |     |
|------------------|-------------|-----|
| <i>warak</i>     | <i>ta,</i>  | ... |
| <i>w-at-ak</i>   | <i>ta  </i> | ... |
| come-3p.SBJ-then | SPEC        |     |
- 'Meanwhile, they, the Wanos went through Avoda.'
- [Text 35: 2.20; Burung 2013a: 233, 241]

(5.13)

|                   |             |                     |            |              |             |                 |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Cl                |             |                     |            |              |             |                 |
| <i>it</i>         | <i>kode</i> | <i>mbugu</i>        | <i>eiq</i> | <i>ta,</i>   | <b>aret</b> | <i>nonggik</i>  |
| it                | kode        | mpu-k-u             | eiq        | ta           | <b>aret</b> | non-k-ik        |
| they              | run         | scatter-REAL-1p.SBJ | up         | SPEC         | <b>ANA</b>  | CROSS-REAL-PROG |
|                   |             |                     |            |              |             |                 |
| <i>wougwa</i>     |             | <i>wougwa</i>       |            | <i>kundi</i> | <i>awi</i>  | <i>enok,</i>    |
| w-ou-k-wa         |             | w-ou-k-wa           |            | kundi        | ø-awi       | enok            |
| come-REM-REAL-HAB |             | come-REM-REAL-HAB   |            | PN           | 3s-home     | next            |
|                   |             |                     |            |              |             |                 |
| <i>wougwa</i>     |             | <i>wougwa</i>       |            | <i>ambui</i> | <i>aret</i> | <i>ngga,</i>    |
| w-ou-k-wa         |             | w-ou-k-wa           |            | ambui        | <b>aret</b> | nka             |
| come-REM-REAL-HAB |             | come-REM-REAL-HAB   |            | one          | <b>ANA</b>  | where           |
|                   |             |                     |            |              |             |                 |
| <i>tekorak</i>    | <i>umu</i>  | <i>pininuk</i>      | <i>ta,</i> | ...          |             |                 |
| tekotak           | u-mu        | pinin-nuk           | ta         | ...          |             |                 |
| PN                | sleep-LOC   | arrive-next         | SPEC       | ...          |             |                 |

'They ran, scattered upward, that was, (they) kept on coming to the Kundi village. Then kept on coming until each of them arrived (and) stayed in Tekorak.'

[Text 35: 2.88; Burung 2013a: 252-3, 262]

Another form of *aret* 'ANA' is *ari*, which can be found in a few places in the texts, as shown in:

(5.14)

|                                        |             |                        |            |           |
|----------------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|------------|-----------|
| <i>tu</i>                              | <i>koro</i> | <i>ekena,</i>          | <b>ari</b> | <i>nu</i> |
| tu                                     | kot-o       | it-k-na                | <b>ari</b> | nu        |
| way                                    | seek-3s.SBJ | do:SG.SBJ-REAL-as such | <b>ANA</b> | go-1p.SBJ |
|                                        |             |                        |            |           |
| <i>dokniq</i>                          |             | <i>ta,</i>             | ...        |           |
| do-k-niq                               |             | ta                     | ...        |           |
| stay-REAL-as such                      |             | SPEC                   | ...        |           |
| 'they kept looking for their way, ...' |             |                        |            |           |

[Text 35: 2.14; Burung 2013a: 231, 239-40]

### 5.3.2 Elevative deixis

There are four spatial dimensions in Wano, which are grammatically coded in elevative deixis: steepness-non-steepness, proximity-distality, adverbial-attributive expressions, and vertical plane. A two-term system of *ei* 'up' and *ou* 'down' serves as

the basic forms for the elevative deixis. Both deictic forms are found either with or without final glottal stop with no semantic difference.

- (5.15)    *ei*     ~    *eiq*     'up'  
              *ou*     ~    *ouq*     'down'

Let me begin with Table 5.3. Note that inflection for medial is proximal plus distal.

Table 5.3

**Wano elevative deixis**

|                   | <u>Basic</u>     | <u>Proximal</u>    | <u>Medial</u>          | <u>Distal</u>      |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| <b>'up'</b>       | <b><i>ei</i></b> | <i>ei-nya</i>      | <i>ei-nya-dum</i>      | <i>ei-dum</i>      |
| 'steep.up'        | <i>d-ei</i>      | <i>d-ei-nya</i>    | <i>d-ei-nya-dum</i>    | <i>d-ei-dum</i>    |
| 'ATTR.steep.up'   | <i>a-d-ei</i>    | <i>a-d-ei-nya</i>  | <i>a-d-ei-nya-dum</i>  | <i>a-d-ei-dum</i>  |
| 'ADV.steep.up'    | <i>n-d-ei</i>    | <i>n-d-ei-nya</i>  | <i>n-d-ei-nya-dum</i>  | <i>n-d-ei-dum</i>  |
| <b>'down'</b>     | <b><i>ou</i></b> | <i>ou-ngga</i>     | <i>ou-ngga-dum</i>     | <i>ou-dum</i>      |
| 'steep.down'      | <i>d-ou</i>      | <i>d-ou-ngga</i>   | <i>d-ou-ngga-dum</i>   | <i>d-ou-dum</i>    |
| 'ATTR.steep.down' | <i>a-d-ou</i>    | <i>a-d-ou-ngga</i> | <i>a-d-ou-ngga-dum</i> | <i>a-d-ou- dum</i> |
| 'ADV.steep.down'  | <i>n-d-ou</i>    | <i>n-d-ou-ngga</i> | <i>n-d-ou-ngga-dum</i> | <i>n-d-ou-dum</i>  |

NOTE: ATTR = Attributive, ADV = Adverbial

These deictic particles may be prefixed to a verb as illustrated in (5.18). Verbal elements are underlined.

- (5.16)    a.    *dougotik*  
                  d-**ou**-k-ot-ik  
                  steep-**down**-REAL-1s.SBJ-PROG  
                  'I am falling **down** steep' (*lit.* 'I am downing steep')  
               b.    *deinyagondik*  
                  d-**ei**-na-k-ont-ik  
                  steep-**up**-PROX-REAL-2s.SBJ-PROG  
                  'You.sg are climbing **up** steep near to speaker' (*lit.* 'you.sg are **up** steep near to speaker')

These deictic particles may also carry a locative marker *me/mu* {-me/-mu} 'LOC' as shown in:

(5.17) *ndoumunggadum*  
 nd-**ou**-mu-nka-dum  
 ADV-steep-**down**-LOC-PROX-DIST  
 'Steeply down medial to speaker' (*lit.* 'steeply **down** at medial to speaker')

Deixis that express the motion of 'up and down' are also found, in the order of {ou-ei} 'down-up', as listed in:

- (5.18) a. *ouguei*  
**ou-k-ei**  
**down-REAL-up**  
 'up and down'  
 [Text 2: 5-6; Text 35: 2.40; Burung 2013a: 238, 247]
- b. *dougueidum*  
 d-**ou-k-ei**-dum  
 steep-**down**-REAL-**up**-DIST  
 'up steep and down steep far from speaker'  
 [Text 35: 2.45; Burung 2013a: 240, 249]
- c. *adougueingga*  
 a-d-**ou-k-ei**-nka  
 ATTR-steep-**down**-REAL-**up**-PROX  
 '(it) was up steep and down steep near to speaker'  
 [Text 35: 2.88-9; Burung 2013a: 252-3, 262-3]

Further, these deictic particles can be used adverbially and attributively, as shown in (5.19) and (5.20) respectively. A topographic background: the example in (5.19) is taken from recorded text 35. It was recorded in Biricare. It is about how the Wanos' ancestors travelled down from Tiagai, also Kiagai, that is  $\pm 1,500$  *alt* (NGK, see §1.4), spreading down to Biricare ( $\pm 650$  *alt*, Stuber in §1.4) and its surroundings. The narrator uses the phrase *ou Acodi* 'down (to) Acodi', since it is lower than Tiagai, which is  $\pm 650$  *alt* (Stuber, in §1.4). Akbiri, Tukmid and Yinggeo are mountains.

- (5.19) *ando ta, ou acodi nok mbonggu, ando ta,*  
*anto ta | ou atjodi nok mpon-k-u anto ta |*  
*other SPEC down PN next cut-REAL-1p.SBJ other SPEC*
- we inyom o ma akbiri ndome ari*  
*w-e ø-inom o ma akbiti nto-me ati*  
*come-3s.SBJ 3s-with place forbid PN cave-LOC that*
- unggugu, ando ta, tukmid*  
*un-k-u-k-u \ anto ta | tukmid*  
*go.through-REAL\_do:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ other SPEC PN*
- injenok, yinggeo nok, nu tu*  
*inje-nok | jinkeo nok | n-u tu*  
*climb.up-then PN next go-1p.SBJ way*
- mbugu eiq nouguarak-o.*  
*mpu-k-u eiq n-ou-k-at-ak=o \*  
*scatter-REAL-1p.SBJ up go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
 'As for others, they **went down** (Lit. 'cut down) to Acodi, yet others came and  
 went through (the) sacred Akbiri, (the) cave, yet others climbed up Tukmid, then  
 Yinggeo, then **went up** scattering away, they went.'  
 [Text 35: 2.12; Burung 2013a: 230, 239]

The example in (5.20) is taken from text 39, which was recorded in Biricare (Stuber, ± 650 *alt*, §1.4). The narrator was a woman, talking about her life journey. She was from Puduk (NGK, ± 900 *alt*, §1.4), so it made sense that she used the phrase *eiq ne* 'up there' to refer to her birth place (Puduk), while sitting in Biricare.

- (5.20) *an ta, kwa manggu muni nome,*  
*an ta | kwa manku muni nome |*  
*I SPEC woman firstborn that therefore*
- wunumu ta, eiq ne, ...*  
*wun-u-mu ta | eiq ne | ...*  
*exist-1p.SBJ-LOC SPEC up there ...*  
 'Since I was the firstborn girl, as we were living **up there** ...'  
 [Text 39: 4.44; Burung 2013a: 275, 285-6]

With reference to the speaker, deixis marks a steepness-non-steepness distinction as well as proximity-distality, as we will now discuss.

### 5.3.2.1 Steepness-non-steepness distinction

Marking of steepness is indicated by the prefix **d** {d-} on the basic forms, as outlined in Table 5.2, repeated here in Table 5.3a.

Table 5.3a – of Table 5.3

**Wano elevative deixis: Steepness-non-steepness distinction**

|               | <u>Basic</u>     | <u>Steepness</u>  | <u>Non-steepness</u> |
|---------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| <b>'up'</b>   | <b><i>ei</i></b> | <i>dei</i>        | <i>ei</i>            |
|               |                  | <b>d-ei</b>       | <i>ei</i>            |
|               |                  | <b>steep-up</b>   | <i>up</i>            |
|               |                  | 'up steep'        |                      |
| <b>'down'</b> | <b><i>ou</i></b> | <i>dou</i>        | <i>ou</i>            |
|               |                  | <b>d-ou</b>       | <i>ou</i>            |
|               |                  | <b>steep-down</b> | <i>down</i>          |
|               |                  | 'down steep'      |                      |

The degree of steepness depends on the speaker's perception of his/her surroundings. For an illustration, if Acodi, a Wano village, in (5.19) were situated on a steep location, based on the speaker's intuitive topographic knowledge of the Wano surrounding area, then we would expect *dou* 'down steep'. A similar assumption is true for Tukmid, another village; in order to describe a situation in which the people walked through Yinggeo along a steep ravine, then *dei* 'up steep' would be expected. The first and the second clauses in (5.19) would then be as given in:

|                                                                                                                                                                                                         |              |             |                          |                  |            |                            |                        |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------------|------------------|------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| (5.21)                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <i>ando</i>  | <i>ta,</i>  | <b><i>dou</i></b>        | <i>acodi</i>     | ...        | ...                        | ...                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <i>anto</i>  | <i>ta  </i> | <b><i>d-ou</i></b>       | <i>atjodi</i>    | ...        | ...                        | ...                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <i>other</i> | <i>SPEC</i> | <b><i>steep-down</i></b> | <i>PN</i>        | ...        | ...                        | ...                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                         | ...          | ...         | <i>nok,</i>              | <i>nu</i>        | <i>tu</i>  | <i>mbugu</i>               | <b><i>deiq</i></b>     |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                         | ...          | ...         | <i>nok  </i>             | <i>n-u</i>       | <i>tu</i>  | <i>mpu-k-u</i>             | <b><i>d-eiq</i></b>    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                         | ...          | ...         | <i>SPEC</i>              | <i>go-1p.SBJ</i> | <i>way</i> | <i>scatter-REAL-1p.SBJ</i> | <b><i>steep-up</i></b> |
| <p><i>nouguarak-o.</i><br/> n-ou-k-at-ak=o \<br/> go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS<br/> '..., they went down <b>steep</b> to Acodi, ... then went up <b>steep</b> scattering away, ...<br/> they went.'</p> |              |             |                          |                  |            |                            |                        |
| [Artificial version of example (5.19)]                                                                                                                                                                  |              |             |                          |                  |            |                            |                        |

### 5.3.2.2 Proximity-Distality distinction

Consider Table 5.3b and Figure 5.1.

Table 5.3b – of Table 5.3

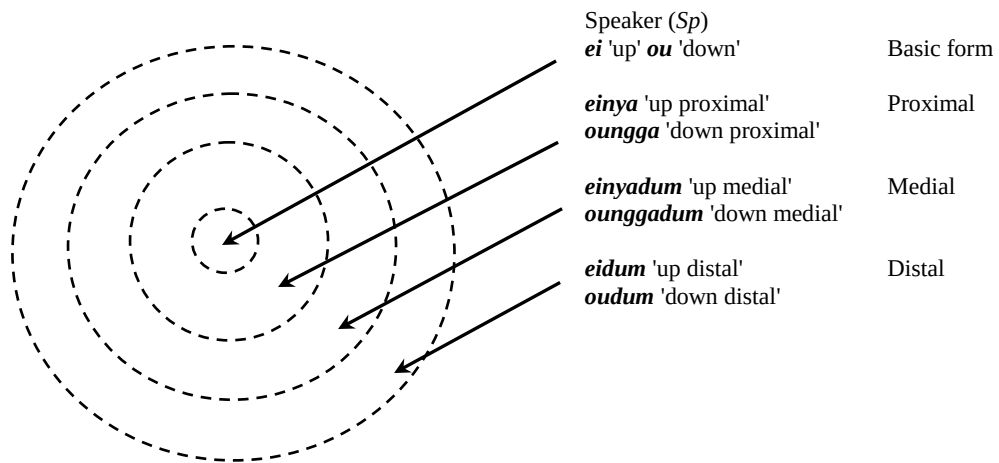
#### Wano elevative deixis: Proximity-distality distinction

|               | <u>Basic</u>     | <u>Proximal</u>        | <u>Medial</u>        | <u>Distal</u>        |
|---------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| <b>'up'</b>   | <b><i>ei</i></b> | <i>einya</i>           | <i>ei-nya-dum</i>    | <i>ei-dum</i>        |
|               | <i>ei</i>        | <i>ei-na</i>           | <i>ei-na-dum</i>     | <i>ei-dum</i>        |
|               | <i>up</i>        | <i>up-PROX</i>         | <i>up-PROX-DIST</i>  | <i>up-DIST</i>       |
|               | <i>'up'</i>      | <i>'up proximal'</i>   | <i>'up medial'</i>   | <i>'up distal'</i>   |
| <b>'down'</b> | <b><i>ou</i></b> | <i>oungga</i>          | <i>ounggadum</i>     | <i>oudum</i>         |
|               | <i>ou</i>        | <i>ou-nka</i>          | <i>ou-nka-dum</i>    | <i>ou-dum</i>        |
|               | <i>down</i>      | <i>down-PROX</i>       | <i>ou-PROX-DIST</i>  | <i>ou-DIST</i>       |
|               | <i>'down'</i>    | <i>'down proximal'</i> | <i>'down medial'</i> | <i>'down distal'</i> |

The elevative proximity-distality distinction with reference to the speaker's relation to the referent at three different distances is also found. When the referent is **near-to-Sp**, i.e. **proximal**, the basic form is suffixed by *nya/ngga* {-na/-nka} 'PROX'. When it is **far-from-Sp**, i.e. **distal**, the suffix *dum/dom* {-dum/-dom} 'DIST' is applied. Finally, when it is somewhere between near-to-Sp and far-from-Sp, i.e. **medial**, both

*nya/ngga* {-na/-nka} 'PROX' and *dum/dom* {-dum/-dom} 'DIST' are suffixed to the root *ei* 'up' and *ou* 'down'. When the distinction is not a prior concern in the speaker's mind, then the basic forms *ei* 'up' and *ou* 'down' are used, as in (5.19-20) – cf. also Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1  
Wano proximity-distality distinction of elevative deixis



Examples to illustrate the proximity-distality distinction are not easily found in texts. Take (5.21) again as an instance, supposing Acodi were, at the time the elicitation took place, **near-to-*Sp***, we will have *oungga* {ou-**nka**} \down-**PROX**\ 'down proximal' as shown in (5.22a). Here, Acodi is located somewhere proximately far from *Sp* at lower level than where *Sp* is. When it is somewhere between **near-and-far**, then *ounggadum* {ou-**nka-dum**} \down-**PROX-DIST**\ 'down medial', given in (5.22b). Here, *Sp* is referring to Acodi while having in mind that it is neither close to him nor far from him down there. If it is **far-from-*Sp*** then *oudum* {ou-**dum**} \down-**DIST**\ 'down distal' (5.22c). Here, Acodi is somewhere down there far-from-*Sp*.



- (5.22) a. *oungga*  
ou-**nka**  
down-**PROX**  
'down proximal' i.e. 'down near to speaker'
- b. *ounggadum*  
ou-**nka-dum**  
down-**PROX-DIST**  
'down medial' i.e. 'down medial to speaker'
- c. *oudum*  
ou-**dum**  
down-**DIST**  
'down distal' i.e. 'down far from speaker'

Consider the examples in (5.23). When the referent is 'far-from-*Sp*', we would expect the deixis *dounggadum* {d-ou-nka-dum} \steep-down-**PROX-DIST**\ 'down steep medial' and *deiqnyadum* {d-eiq-na-dum} \steep-up-**PROX-DIST**\ 'up steep medial' in (5.23a) to be respectively changed to *doudum* {d-ou-**dum**} \steep-down-**DIST**\ 'steep down distal' and *deiqdum* {d-eiq-**dum**} \steep-up-**DIST**\ 'up steep distal' as illustrated in (5.23b).

- (5.23) a. 

|              |             |                                    |                 |     |     |
|--------------|-------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|-----|-----|
| <i>ando</i>  | <i>ta,</i>  | <b><i>dounggadum</i></b>           | <i>acodi,</i>   | ... | ... |
| <i>anto</i>  | <i>ta  </i> | <b>d-ou-nka-dum</b>                | <i>atjodi  </i> | ... | ... |
| <i>other</i> | <i>SPEC</i> | <u><b>steep-down-PROX-DIST</b></u> | <i>PN</i>       | ... | ... |
- ...
- ...    ...    *nok,*    *nu*    *tu*    *mbugu*  
...    ...    *nok |*    *n-u*    *tu*    *mpu-k-u*  
...    ...    *then*    *go-1p.SBJ*    *way*    *scatter-REAL- 1p.SBJ*
- deiqnyadum***                      *nouguarak-o.*  
**d-eiq-na-dum**                      *n-ou-k-at-ak=o \*  
**steep-up-PROX-DIST**              *go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
'..., they went **down medial** to Acodi, ... then went **up steep medial**,  
scattering away, they went.'
- [further artificial version of (5.19, 21)]

|    |                                                                                                                        |                                     |                                      |                 |     |     |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-----|-----|
| b. | <i>ando</i>                                                                                                            | <i>ta,</i>                          | <b><i>doudum</i></b>                 | <i>acodi,</i>   | ... | ... |
|    | <i>anto</i>                                                                                                            | <i>ta  </i>                         | <b><i>d-ou-dum</i></b>               | <i>atjodi  </i> | ... | ... |
|    | <i>other</i>                                                                                                           | <i>SPEC</i>                         | <u><b><i>steep-down-DIST</i></b></u> | <i>PN</i>       | ... | ... |
|    | <b><i>deiqdum</i></b>                                                                                                  | <i>nouguarak-o.</i>                 |                                      |                 |     |     |
|    | <b><i>d-eiq-dum</i></b>                                                                                                | <i>n-ou-k-at-ak=o \</i>             |                                      |                 |     |     |
|    | <u><b><i>steep-up-DIST</i></b></u>                                                                                     | <i>go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS</i> |                                      |                 |     |     |
|    | '..., they went <b>down steep distal</b> to Acodi, ... then went <b>up steep distal</b> , scattering away, they went.' |                                     |                                      |                 |     |     |
|    | [further artificial version of (5.19, 21)]                                                                             |                                     |                                      |                 |     |     |

### 5.3.2.3 Attributive and adverbial functions

Syntactic function is also morphologically marked. When the basic forms *ei* {ei} 'up' and *ou* {ou} 'down' are marked for degree of 'steepness' with the prefix *d* {d-} 'steep', and used attributively, the attributive function of the deixis requires *a* {a-} 'ATTR' before the steepness prefix, as illustrated in:

|        |                                                                                                                       |           |                             |                 |            |              |             |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| (5.24) | <i>wano</i>                                                                                                           | <i>ap</i> | <i>adei</i>                 | <i>ambui</i>    | <i>ta,</i> | <i>ome</i>   | <i>idik</i> |
|        | wano                                                                                                                  | ap        | <b>a-d-ei</b>               | ampui           | ta         | ø-o-me       | i-dik       |
|        | PN                                                                                                                    | man       | <u><b>ATTR-steep-up</b></u> | one             | SPEC       | 3s-place-LOC | 3S-NEG      |
|        | <i>dogwe</i>                                                                                                          |           | <i>tu</i>                   | <i>yenggwa</i>  |            | <i>bok.</i>  |             |
|        | do-k-we                                                                                                               |           | tu                          | jen-k-wa        |            | bok          |             |
|        | stay-REAL-HAB                                                                                                         |           | way                         | wander-REAL-HAB |            | good         |             |
|        | 'Not far up, there was one Wano man. He lived in a place alone (i.e., with his family), and wandered that path well.' |           |                             |                 |            |              |             |
|        | [Text 35: 2.77; Burung 2013a: 249, 259]                                                                               |           |                             |                 |            |              |             |

Likewise, the adverbial function requires *n* {n-} 'ADV' before the steepness prefix, as in:

- (5.25) *nit ne eve it inyoku*  
*nit ne eve it ino-k-u*  
 we S.REF also they 3p.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ
- dokniq ta, ap mbere ambui adouq*  
*do-k-niq ta | ap mpete | ampui a-d-ouq*  
 stay-REAL-as such SPEC man two one ATTR-steep-down
- wat-o, ndoumunga, ambui wim*  
*wat=o | n-d-ou-mu-nka | ampui wim*  
 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL=PAUS ADV-steep-down-LOC-PROX one arrow
- kuni wegirak, muni ap kode muni*  
*kuni we-k-it-ak | muni ap kode muni*  
 war come-REAL-3s.SBJ-then that man old that
- okouguarak-o.*  
*o-k-ou-k-uat-ak=o*  
 do-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'As for us, we also killed them, two men. One we killed down steep (there),  
 steeply downward. One was arrowed down (in the) fight. That was, the old man,  
 who they killed.'

[Text 35: 2.92; Burung 2013a: 254, 263-4]

#### 5.3.2.4 Vertical plane

Deixis that refers to elevative locations encodes locations on a vertical plane. Those take the same structures and functions as the elevative deixis discussed above. They distinguish 'low-high' with reference to trees or mountains: *wenom* 'up low' and *wunom* 'up high'. In Table 5.4, adverbial use is marked by the palatalization of /n/ [ɲ]; *wenom* {**wenom**} 'low' becomes /ny/ [ɲ] *wenyom* {**wɛɲom**} 'in a low location'.

Table 5.4  
**Vertical plane deixis in Wano**

|                  | <u>ATTRIBUTIVE</u>            | <u>ADVERBIAL</u>               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| up.low.vertical  | <i>wenom</i> { <b>wenom</b> } | <i>wenyom</i> { <b>wɛɲom</b> } |
| up.high.vertical | <i>wunom</i> { <b>wunom</b> } | <i>wunyom</i> { <b>wuɲom</b> } |

Examples (5.26) and (5.27) illustrate their functional use in discourse.

- (5.26)
- |           |           |            |           |                               |  |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>it</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>ap</i> | <i>waku</i>                   |  |
| it        | ne        | ta         | ap        | wat-k-u                       |  |
| 3p        | S.REF     | SPEC       | man       | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-1p.SBJ |  |
- 
- |                |  |             |  |                |            |
|----------------|--|-------------|--|----------------|------------|
| <i>narik,</i>  |  | <i>wu</i>   |  | <i>narik,</i>  | <i>ta,</i> |
| n-at-ik        |  | w-u         |  | n-at-ik        | ta         |
| go-3s.SBJ-PROG |  | come-3p.SBJ |  | go-3s.SBJ-PROG | SPEC       |
- 
- |           |                         |              |            |                |            |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>tu</i> | <i>wenom</i>            | <i>enok,</i> | <i>ndi</i> | <i>narik,</i>  | <i>ta,</i> |
| tu        | wenom                   | enok         | nti        | n-at-ik        | ta         |
| way       | <u>ATTR.up.low.VERT</u> | next         | this       | go-3s.SBJ-PROG | SPEC       |
- 
- |              |           |              |             |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>ndei</i>  | <i>ne</i> | <i>koyon</i> | <i>awi.</i> |
| n-d-ei       | ne        | koyon        | ø-awi       |
| ADV-steep-up | S.REF     | PN           | 3s-home     |
- 'As for them, they went on killing people, having come this path up.low.vertical, they went up.steep to the Koyon village.'
- [Text 35: 2.75. Burung 2013a: 249, 258]

- (5.27)
- |           |           |                |              |                             |           |
|-----------|-----------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <i>at</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>urukuma</i> | <i>baneq</i> | <i>wunyum</i>               | <i>ki</i> |
| at        | ne        | utukuma        | baneq        | wu <sup>n</sup> nom         | ki        |
| 3s        | S.REF     | aircraft       | INST         | <u>ADV.up.high.vertical</u> | very..... |
- 
- narak-o*  
n-at-ak=o \  
go-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
'she went very high-up.vertical with the aircraft.'

Note that phrase *wunyum ki* 'very high-up.vertical' is the adverbial phrase.

## 5.4 SUMMARY

The discussion in this chapter has been on Wano deixis. §5.2 dealt with person deixis, where I showed that Wano marks sex distinction of possessors when we consider kin terms like *abut* {ø-abut} \3s-child.OM\ 'his child of male' and *ayak* {ø-

ajak} \3s-child.oF\ 'her child of female', where the mutual personal relation between *Sp* and *Adr* is established. Wano also makes a clear morphological distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive verb forms through the presence and absence of the suffix *od* {-od} \REFL\ 'reflexive' before the subject suffixes on the transitive verbs.

§5.3, in turn, discussed demonstrative and elevative deixis. The former includes *ndi* 'this', *nde* 'this.far' and *muni* 'that' as three basic forms. The elevative deixis includes four spatial dimensions: steepness-non-steepness, proximity-distality, adverbial-attributive expressions, and vertical plane, where the two-term system *ei* 'up' and *ou* 'down' serves as the basic forms for the elevative deixis.



## 6.1 BACKGROUND

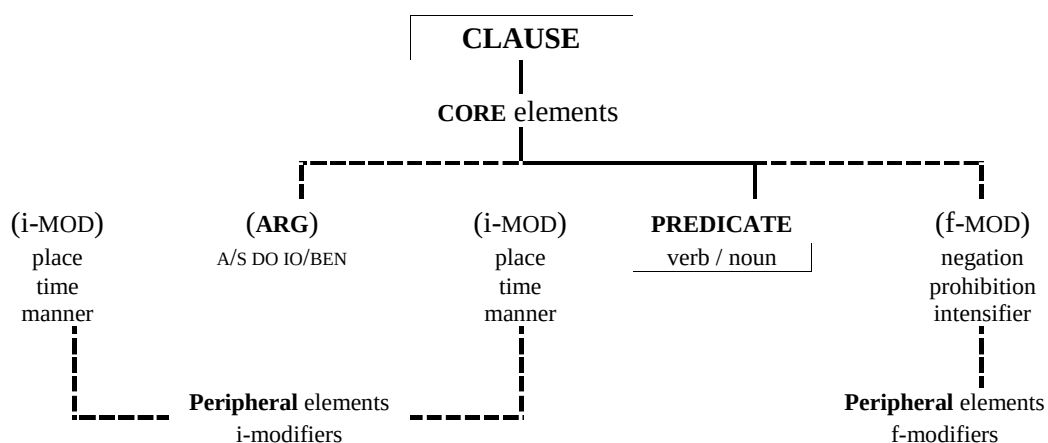
This chapter introduces Wano clauses, including their elements and structures: §6.1 outlines clause properties and their realisation in a clause, §6.2 transitivity, §6.3 negation, §6.4 modifiers, §6.5 the imperative, §6.6 questions, and §6.7 interjections.

I begin with Figure 6.1, which represents the schematic profile of a clause in Wano. The broken lines indicate non-compulsory elements.

*Figure 6.1*

**Typology of Wano clause – reflecting basic constituent order**

---



Wano clause structure is as follows:

Firstly, in a Wano clause, the **core** elements are **arguments** (ARG) and a **predicate** (PRED), whilst the **peripheral** elements (non-compulsory) are **initial-modifiers** (i-MOD) and **final-modifiers** (f-MOD).

Secondly, the arguments are elements that function as: (i) A, i.e. the **subject** of 2- and 3-place predicates; (ii) S, the subject of 1-place predicates; (iii) DO, the **direct object**; (iv) IO, the **indirect object**; and/or (v) BEN, the **beneficiary** that is found only in 3-place predicates. They are not restricted in their constituent order. Since **pro-drop** is in everyday use, arguments are non-obligatory elements. This allows clauses consisting only of a single verb (cf. Foley 1986: 168-75). In various examples in this chapter, we will see that pro-drop of arguments in Wano is contextually governed.

Thirdly, the predicate is a **nucleus** of the clause or clause head that comprises either a verb or noun, which is in Wano, an **inalienable noun** (IPN). The verb, in turn, may be a single **verb** (V, as discussed in chapter 4) or a **serial verb construction** (SVC, discussed in chapter 9). Inalienable nouns (cf. chapter 3) are restricted to **experiential events** (EE), which are expressed by **cognitive** and **physiological** inalienable nouns (discussed in chapter 7).

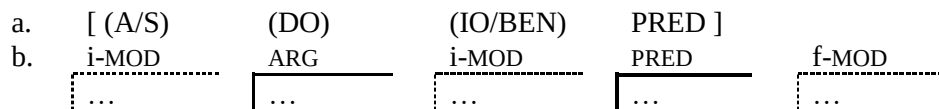
Fourthly, the peripheral elements are adverb adjuncts that function as clausal **modifiers** (MOD). They are mostly found before the predicate (here termed initial-modifiers, i.e. i-MOD), while a few are attested clause-finally (final-modifiers, i.e. f-MOD). The initial-modifiers may precede or follow an argument. They express **time**



(e.g. *kovu* 'tomorrow'), **place** (e.g. *Oxford baneq* 'in Oxford'), **direction**, (e.g. *London V* 'to/from London'), **manner** (e.g. *erok~erok V* 'V slowly') and **instrument** (e.g. *ye baneq* 'with an axe'). The final-modifiers (f-MOD) express **negation** (e.g. *V dik* 'not V'), **prohibition** (*V ma* 'do not V') and **intensifier** (e.g. *ki* 'very').

Finally, as a Papuan language, Wano lacks a copula and definite and indefinite articles. The basic clause structure in Wano is as shown in (6.1a). In this study, I will present the structure as given in (6.1b).

(6.1) Basic clause structure in Wano



Note that the thin lines indicate pro-drop elements, the thick lines represent compulsory elements, and broken lines indicate non-compulsory elements.

## 6.2 TRANSITIVITY

Regarding transitivity, all types of clauses are possible, i.e. 1-place predicates (i.e. intransitive, exemplified in §6.2.1), 2-place predicates (transitive, in §6.2.2) and 3-place predicates (ditransitive, in §6.2.3). These can be both verbal and non-verbal clauses.

### 6.2.1 1-place predicates

The examples for the 1-place predicate clause are in (6.2). In (6.2a), we have a verb as a nucleus, while in (6.2b), we have an inalienable noun.

#### (6.2) 1-place predicate clause constituent order

|    |           |                            |                                                                                    |
|----|-----------|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | S         | PRED                       | Basic form - cf. (6.1)                                                             |
|    | <u>at</u> | <u>ne</u>                  |                                                                                    |
|    | at        | n-e                        |                                                                                    |
|    | he        | go-3s.SBJ                  |                                                                                    |
|    |           | 'He goes' or 'He is going' |                                                                                    |
| b. | S         | PRED                       |                                                                                    |
|    | <u>an</u> | <u>nanop</u>               | <u>anduk</u>                                                                       |
|    | an        | n-anop                     | ø-anduk                                                                            |
|    | I         | 1s-head                    | 3s-pain                                                                            |
|    |           |                            | 'I have a headache' or 'My head is in pain' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I have my head's pain') |

Since Wano allows pro-drop in daily interaction, the examples in (6.2) normally appear as in:

#### (6.3) 1-place predicate clause constituent order

|    |          |                            |                                                                                    |
|----|----------|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | S        | PRED                       | Basic form - cf. (6.1)                                                             |
|    | <u>Ø</u> | <u>ne</u>                  |                                                                                    |
|    |          | n-e                        |                                                                                    |
|    |          | go-3s.SBJ                  |                                                                                    |
|    |          | 'He goes' or 'He is going' |                                                                                    |
| b. | S        | PRED                       |                                                                                    |
|    | <u>Ø</u> | <u>nanop</u>               | <u>anduk</u>                                                                       |
|    |          | n-anop                     | ø-anduk                                                                            |
|    |          | 1s-head                    | 3s-pain                                                                            |
|    |          |                            | 'I have a headache' or 'My head is in pain' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I have my head's pain') |

Finally, a paradigm of *ne* 'he goes/is going', a single verb of a predicate that may form a clause, as was discussed in §4.3.1 and §4.5.2, cf. example (4.63), briefly given in:

|       |                                                                             |                                                                           |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (6.4) | <u>SINGULAR</u>                                                             | <u>PLURAL</u>                                                             |
| a.    | <i>ne</i><br>n-e<br>go-3s.SBJ<br>'He goes' or 'He is going'                 | <i>nu</i><br>n-u<br>go-3p.SBJ<br>'They go' or 'They are going'            |
| b.    | <i>netik</i><br>n-ett-ik<br>go-1s.SBJ<br>'I go' or 'I am going'             | <i>nuerik</i><br>n-uet-ik<br>go-1p.SBJ<br>'We go' or 'We are going'       |
| c.    | <i>nendik</i><br>n-ent-ik<br>go-2s.SBJ<br>'You.sg go' or 'You.sg are going' | <i>nupik</i><br>n-up-ik<br>go-2p.SBJ<br>'You.pl go' or 'You.pl are going' |

### 6.2.2 2-place predicates

The examples in (6.5) illustrate simple transitive clauses of Wano, with their pro-drop forms in (6.6).

|       |    |                                                     |            |                                    |                                    |
|-------|----|-----------------------------------------------------|------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (6.5) | a. | <u>A</u>                                            | <u>O</u>   | <u>PRED</u>                        |                                    |
|       |    | <i>kat</i>                                          | <i>at</i>  | <i>wakendak.</i>                   |                                    |
|       |    | kat                                                 | at         | wat-k-ent-ak                       |                                    |
|       |    | you.sg                                              | he         | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |                                    |
|       |    | 'You.sg hit him and then'                           |            |                                    |                                    |
|       | b. | <u>A</u>                                            | <u>O</u>   | <u>INS</u>                         | <u>PRED</u>                        |
|       |    | <i>kat</i>                                          | <i>at</i>  | <i>kede baneq</i>                  | <i>wakendak.</i>                   |
|       |    | kat                                                 | at         | kede baneq                         | wat-k-ent-ak                       |
|       |    | you.sg                                              | he         | rattan INST                        | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |
|       |    | 'You.sg hit him with rattan and then'               |            |                                    |                                    |
|       | c. | <u>A</u>                                            | <u>O</u>   | <u>TIME</u>                        | <u>PRED</u>                        |
|       |    | <i>nica</i>                                         | <i>kom</i> | <i>kuperak</i>                     | <i>takirak-o.</i>                  |
|       |    | n-itja                                              | kom        | kuperak                            | tat-k-it-ak=o \                    |
|       |    | 1s-mother                                           | yam        | morning                            | roast-REAL-3s.SBJ-PAUS             |
|       |    | 'My mother roasted some yams this morning and then' |            |                                    |                                    |

The English free translation in (6.6c), as we may note, is different from (6.5c) in its translation since there is no clear indication who the subject is and what the object is.

- (6.6)
- a.
- |   |   |                                    |
|---|---|------------------------------------|
| A | O | PRED                               |
| Ø | Ø | wakendak.                          |
|   |   | wat-k-ent-ak                       |
|   |   | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |
- 'You.sg hit him and then'
- b.
- |   |   |            |                                    |
|---|---|------------|------------------------------------|
| A | O | INS        | PRED                               |
| Ø | Ø | kede baneq | wakendak.                          |
|   |   | kede baneq | wat-k-ent-ak                       |
|   |   | rattan INS | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |
- 'You.sg hit him with rattan and then'
- c.
- |   |   |         |                        |
|---|---|---------|------------------------|
| A | O | TIME    | PRED                   |
| Ø | Ø | kuperak | takirak-o.             |
|   |   | kuperak | tat-k-it-ak=o \        |
|   |   | morning | roast-REAL-3s.SBJ-PAUS |
- 'Someone roasted (something) this morning and then'

Like the 1-place predicate clause, we also may find inalienable nouns as predicate in 2-place predicate, given in:

- (6.7)
- a.
- |      |        |         |
|------|--------|---------|
| A    | O      | PRED    |
| PRON | PRON   | IPN     |
| an   | kat    | kabua   |
| an   | kat    | k-abua  |
| I    | you.sg | 2s-love |
- 'I love you.sg' (*lit.* 'I have your.sg love', see also (7.3) §7.2.1)
- b.
- |      |      |              |
|------|------|--------------|
| A    | O    | PRED         |
| PRON | PRON | IPN          |
| at   | nit  | ninyenuk     |
| at   | nit  | nin-enuk     |
| he   | we   | 1p-knowledge |
- 'He knows us' or 'He has knowledge about us' (*lit.* 'he has our knowledge')

In (6.7a), cross-reference of the N-predicate is with the OBJECT argument, not with the SUBJECT argument, to render the translation as it is ('I love you.sg'). In (6.8), the situation is reversed, thus we get 'You.sg love me'.

- (6.8)
- |      |        |         |
|------|--------|---------|
| O    | A      | PRED    |
| PRON | PRON   | IPN     |
| an   | kat    | nabua   |
| an   | kat    | n-abua  |
| I    | you.sg | 1s-love |
- 'You.sg love me' (*lit.* 'You.sg have my love').

Considering examples in (6.7) and (6.8), the question is how the subject and object can be identified? The argument that has morphosyntactic agreement with the predicate will always be the object, while the argument that has no agreement with the predicate will always be the subject. In (6.7a), we have agreement between the argument *kat* {kat} 'you.sg' and the predicate *kabua* {k-abua} '2s-love', thus, giving us the translation: 'I love you.sg'. In (6.8), on the other hand, we have agreement between the argument *an* {an} 'I' and the predicate *nabua* {n-abua} '1s-love', so the translation: 'you.sg love me'. As was stated above, cross-reference takes place not between the SUBJECT argument with the N-predicate, but between the OBJECT argument with the N-predicate. This will be discussed in chapter 7.

### 6.2.3 3-place predicates

There are three verbs in Wano that need to be mentioned in considering 3-place predicates, which are provided below in (6.9).

|       |                                                                 |                                                                                                       |                                                                                        |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (6.9) | <u>ROOT</u>                                                     | <u>D.SEQ</u>                                                                                          | <u>I.SEQ</u>                                                                           |
| a.    | <i>wot-</i><br>wot-<br>3s.SBJ:give:SG.SBJ-<br>'one gives him'   | <i>woriak</i><br>wot-iak<br>3s.SBJ:give:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one gives him and then'                       | <i>wotnuk</i><br>wot-nuk<br>3s.SBJ:give:SG.SBJ-next<br>'one having given him'          |
| b.    | <i>it-</i><br>it-<br>do/say:SG.SBJ-<br>'one does'<br>'one says' | <i>iriak</i><br>it-iak<br>do/say:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one does him and then'<br>'one says to him and then' | <i>itnuk</i><br>it-nuk<br>do/say:SG.SBJ-next<br>'one having done'<br>'one having said' |
| c.    | <i>yot-</i><br>jot-<br>3s.SBJ:tell:SG.SBJ-<br>'one tells him'   | <i>yoriak</i><br>jot-iak<br>3s.SBJ:tell:SG.SBJ-then<br>'one tells him and then'                       | <i>yotnuk</i><br>jot-nuk<br>3s.SBJ:tell:SG.SBJ-next<br>'one having told him'           |

We will briefly discuss the last two verbs since they play a significant role in the 3-place predicate clause construction.

### 6.2.3.1 The verb *wot* {*wot*-} 'one gives him'

The English 'give' is *woriak* in Wano, translated as 'one gives him and then'. It is the citation form of the root *wot*- 'one gives him'. The full paradigm of *woriak* was presented in §4.7. Here, we will see its distribution in a simple clause, given in (6.10) with its shortened forms in (6.11).

(6.10)

| A                                                        | DO          | IO        | PRED                         |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|------------------------------|
| <i>an</i>                                                | <i>neye</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>wogacak</i>               |
| an                                                       | ne-je       | at        | wot- $\emptyset$ -k-atj-ak   |
| I                                                        | 1s-axe      | he        | give-3s.OBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then |
| 'I gave him my axe' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I my axe I gave him') |             |           |                              |

The shortened form in (6.11a) is the preferred utterance, while (6.11b) will raise questions like those as in (6.11c) or (6.11d).

(6.11)

|    |                                                                     |                        |                              |                              |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. | A                                                                   | DO                     | IO                           | PRED                         |
|    | $\overline{\emptyset}$                                              | $\overline{neye}$      | $\overline{\emptyset}$       | $\overline{wogacak}$         |
|    |                                                                     | ne-je                  |                              | wot- $\emptyset$ -k-atj-ak   |
|    |                                                                     | 1s-axe                 |                              | give-3s.OBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then |
|    | 'I gave him my axe' ( <i>lit.</i> 'My axe I gave him')              |                        |                              |                              |
| b. | A                                                                   | DO                     | IO                           | PRED                         |
|    | $\overline{\emptyset}$                                              | $\overline{\emptyset}$ | $\overline{\emptyset}$       | $\overline{wogacak}$         |
|    |                                                                     |                        |                              | wot- $\emptyset$ -k-atj-ak   |
|    |                                                                     |                        |                              | give-3s.OBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then |
|    | 'I gave him'                                                        |                        |                              |                              |
| c. | Q.PART                                                              |                        |                              |                              |
|    | <i>nano-a</i>                                                       |                        |                              |                              |
|    | nano=a                                                              |                        |                              |                              |
|    | what=Q                                                              |                        |                              |                              |
|    | 'What?'                                                             |                        |                              |                              |
| d. | Q.PART                                                              |                        | PRED                         |                              |
|    | <i>nano</i>                                                         |                        | <i>wogendak</i>              |                              |
|    | nano                                                                |                        | wot- $\emptyset$ -k-ent-ak   |                              |
|    | what                                                                |                        | give-3s.OBJ-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |                              |
|    | 'What did you.sg give him?' ( <i>lit.</i> 'What, you.sg gave him?') |                        |                              |                              |

The interrogative expression in (6.11c) could be the short version of (6.12a) with its reply as given in (6.10), repeated here in (6.12b), with its shortened form in (6.13).

- (6.12) a. *kat keye muni nano ekendak?*  
 kat ke-je muni nano it-k-ent-ak |  
 you.sg 2s-axe that what do/say-REAL-2s.SBJ-then  
 'What did you.sg do with your.sg axe?' or 'What did you.sg do with that  
 axe of yours.sg?'
- b. *dik-o, an neye at wogacak*  
 dik=o | an ne-je at wot-ø-k-atj-ak  
 no=PAUS I 1s-axe he give-3s.OBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then  
 'Look! I gave him my axe' (*lit.* 'No, I gave him my axe')

As pro-drop is always clear by context, the examples in (6.12) may appear as:

- (6.13) a. Ø Ø muni nano ekendak?  
 muni nano it-k-ent-ak |  
 that what do/say-REAL-2s.SBJ-then  
 'What did you.sg do with that (i.e. your.sg axe)?'
- b. *dik-o, Ø Ø Ø wogacak*  
 dik=o | wot-ø-k-atj-ak  
 no=PAUS give-3s.OBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then  
 'Look! I gave him (i.e. my axe)' (*lit.* 'No, I gave him (i.e. my axe)')

### 6.2.3.2 The verb *it* {*it*-} 'one does/says'

The citation form of the verb root *it*- 'one does/says' is *iriak* 'one does/says and then'.

It is also used to express the meaning 'gives' in 3-place predicates, as in 'I give you.sg my axe' (*lit.* 'I do/say you.sg my axe'). In this case, it will be glossed as 'do/give'.

- (6.14)
- | A                                                                               | DO                 | IO                | PRED                                     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------|
| <u><i>an</i></u>                                                                | <u><i>neye</i></u> | <u><i>kat</i></u> | <u><i>kegacak</i></u>                    |
| an                                                                              | ne-je              | kat               | k-e-k-atj-ak                             |
| I                                                                               | 1s-axe             | you.sg            | 2s.OBJ- <b>do/give</b> -REAL-1s.SBJ-then |
| 'I gave you.sg my axe' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I my stone.axe you.sg you.sg I did/gave') |                    |                   |                                          |

In terms of clause structure, all arguments are found before a predicate. The arguments are not restricted in their distribution; the position of the arguments is flexible, as illustrated in (6.15) in comparison to (6.14). The exception is where

direct object (DO) is present, as it, as we can see in (6.16c-d), is not found clause-initially in the structure of 3-place predicates.

- (6.15) a. 

|                                                         |    |        |                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------|----|--------|---------------------------------|
| IO                                                      | A  | DO     | PRED                            |
| kat                                                     | an | neye   | kegacak                         |
| kat                                                     | an | ne-je  | k-e-k-atj-ak                    |
| you.sg                                                  | I  | 1s-axe | 2s.OBJ-do/give-REAL-1s.SBJ-then |
| 'I gave you.sg my axe'                                  |    |        |                                 |
| (lit. 'you.sg I my stone-axe you.sg you.sg I did/gave') |    |        |                                 |
- b. 

|                                                         |        |        |                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|---------------------------------|
| A                                                       | IO     | DO     | PRED                            |
| an                                                      | kat    | neye   | kegacak                         |
| an                                                      | kat    | ne-je  | k-e-k-atj-ak                    |
| I                                                       | you.sg | 1s-axe | 2s.OBJ-do/give-REAL-1s.SBJ-then |
| 'I gave you.sg my axe'                                  |        |        |                                 |
| (lit. 'I you.sg my stone-axe you.sg you.sg I did/gave') |        |        |                                 |

The following orders, however, are not permitted.

- (6.16) a.\* 

|        |    |                                 |        |
|--------|----|---------------------------------|--------|
| DO     | A  | PRED                            | IO     |
| neye   | an | kegacak                         | kat    |
| ne-je  | an | k-e-k-atj-ak                    | kat    |
| 1s-axe | I  | 2s.OBJ-do/give-REAL-1s.SBJ-then | you.sg |
| '?     |    |                                 |        |
- b.\* 

|        |        |                                 |    |
|--------|--------|---------------------------------|----|
| DO     | IO     | PRED                            | A  |
| neye   | kat    | kegacak                         | an |
| ne-je  | kat    | k-e-k-atj-ak                    | an |
| 1s-axe | you.sg | 2s.OBJ-do/give-REAL-1s.SBJ-then | I  |
| '?     |        |                                 |    |
- c.\* 

|        |    |        |                                 |
|--------|----|--------|---------------------------------|
| DO     | A  | IO     | PRED                            |
| neye   | an | kat    | kegacak                         |
| ne-je  | an | kat    | k-e-k-atj-ak                    |
| 1s-axe | I  | you.sg | 2s.OBJ-do/give-REAL-1s.SBJ-then |
| '?     |    |        |                                 |
- d.\* 

|        |        |    |                                 |
|--------|--------|----|---------------------------------|
| DO     | IO     | A  | PRED                            |
| neye   | kat    | an | kegacak                         |
| ne-je  | kat    | an | k-e-k-atj-ak                    |
| 1s-axe | you.sg | I  | 2s.OBJ-do/give-REAL-1s.SBJ-then |
| '?     |        |    |                                 |

The single word SVC root *iriak* 'one does/says and then' and *woriak* 'one gives him and then' may be used when the clause conveys a more specific meaning, e.g., the



hortative-persuasive sense (6.17). This in turn, may be interpreted as 'I give you X, you take it', even though there is no use of the verb *waniak* 'one takes and then' at all.

|        |                                                                                                                                                                             |             |            |                                             |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------------|---------------------------------------------|
| (6.17) | A                                                                                                                                                                           | DO          | IO         | PRED                                        |
|        | <u>an</u>                                                                                                                                                                   | <u>neye</u> | <u>kat</u> | <u>wokegacak</u>                            |
|        | an                                                                                                                                                                          | ne-je       | kat        | wot_k-e-k-atj-ak                            |
|        | I                                                                                                                                                                           | 1s-axe      | you.sg     | give:3s.OBJ_2s.OBJ-do/give-REAL-1s.SBJ-then |
|        | 'I gave you.sg my axe (and) you took it' or 'I gave you.sg my axe, so please take it' or 'I gave my axe to you.sg' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I my stone.axe you.sg you.sg I did/gave') |             |            |                                             |

When we compare examples in (6.14) and (6.17), we see that the predicate has a single verb in (6.14), i.e. *kegacak*, of the root *it-* 'one does/says' that was interpreted as 'one gives', and a compound verb in (6.17), i.e. *wokegacak*, of the roots *wot-* 'one gives him' + *it-* 'one does/says'. Both verbs are repeated in (6.18). We then have two distinct expressions for 'I give you DO' (6.18a) and 'I give DO to you' (6.18b).

|        |    |                                                             |                         |
|--------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (6.18) | a. | <i>kegacak</i>                                              |                         |
|        |    | k- <b>e</b> -k-atj-ak                                       |                         |
|        |    | 2s.OBJ- <b>do/say</b> -REAL-1s.SBJ-then                     |                         |
|        |    | 'I did/said/gave you.sg and then'                           | Literal translation     |
|        |    | 'I did you.sg and then' or 'I gave you.sg and then'         | Free translation        |
|        |    | 'I gave you (st) and then'                                  | Possible interpretation |
|        |    | {OBJ-ROOT-REAL-SBJ-SEQ}                                     | Word structure          |
|        | b. | <i>wokegacak</i>                                            |                         |
|        |    | <b>wot_k-e</b> -k-atj-ak                                    |                         |
|        |    | <b>give</b> :3s.OBJ_2s.OBJ- <b>do/say</b> -REAL-1s.SBJ-then |                         |
|        |    | 'one gives him, I did you.sg and then'                      | Literal translation     |
|        |    | 'I did give you.sg and then'                                | Free translation        |
|        |    | 'I gave (st) to you.sg and then'                            | Possible interpretation |
|        |    | {ROOT:OBJ-OBJ-ROOT-REAL-SBJ-SEQ}                            | Word structure          |

Like (6.18), a compound root of *iriak* 'one does him and then' and *yoriak* 'one tells him and then' has the same structure as shown in:

- (6.19) a. 

| A                              | DO        | PRED                           |
|--------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| <i>kat</i>                     | <i>an</i> | <i>negendak</i>                |
| kat                            | an        | n-e-k-ent-ak                   |
| you.sg                         | I         | 1s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |
| 'You.sg told me (st) and then' |           |                                |

 [cf. 6.18a]
- b. 

| A                                                    | IO | DO        | PRED                                       |
|------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------|--------------------------------------------|
| <i>kat</i>                                           | Ø  | <i>an</i> | <i>yotnegendak</i>                         |
| kat                                                  |    | an        | jot_n-e-k-ent-ak                           |
| you.sg                                               |    | I         | 3s.OBJ:tell_1s.OBJ-do/say-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |
| 'You.sg told (st) to me' or 'You.sg said (st) to me' |    |           |                                            |

 [cf. 6.19b]

The verbs in (6.18a) and (6.19a) have a single verb-root, while the ones in (6.18b) and (6.19b) have a root-serialisation structure which will be discussed in chapter 8.

### 6.3 NEGATION

Even though negation is not affixally expressed, it does affect the structure of verbs. The presence of the negator *dik* 'NEG' in a clause causes the deletion of the subject marking. The strategy is double-negation. Comparing examples in (6.20), we note that the subject-marker {-atj} '1s.SBJ' is present in (6.20a) but is dropped in (6.20b). The negator *dik* 'NEG' is always found clause-finally.

- (6.20) a. 

| A                            | O                         | PRED                     |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>an</i>                    | <i>mboid</i> <i>engga</i> | <i>nenggacak.</i>        |
| an                           | mboid enka                | nen-k- <b>atj</b> -ak \  |
| I                            | potato leaf               | consume-REAL-1s.SBJ-then |
| 'I ate some greens and then' |                           |                          |
- b. 

| A                                           | O                         | PRED              | f-MOD       |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>an</i>                                   | <i>mboid</i> <i>engga</i> | <i>nenggak</i>    | <i>dik.</i> |
| an                                          | mboid enka                | nen-k-ak          | dik         |
| I                                           | potato leaf               | consume-REAL-then | NEG         |
| 'I <b>did not</b> eat some greens and then' |                           |                   |             |

Here, in (6.20b), the A pro-drop is not allowed due to the deletion of the subject marker on the verb due to negation, i.e. *nenggacak* {nen-k-**atj**-ak} \consume-REAL-1s.SBJ-then\ in (6.20a) becomes *nenggak* {nen-k-ak} \consume-REAL-then\ in (6.20b).

## 6.4 MODIFIERS

In this section, I discuss adverbials related to **time** (§6.4.1), **manner** (§6.4.2), **place** (§6.4.3), and **direction** (§6.4.4). Based on the demonstratives *ndi* 'this' and *muni* 'that' discussed in §3.7.4 and §3.8, the manner and place adverbs are formed. Table 6.1 presents adverbial demonstratives, and we will observe their distribution and function in this section.

Table 6.1.

### Adverbial demonstratives

|             | <u>MANNER</u> | <u>PLACE</u> |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| Near.to.Sp  | <i>ndo</i>    | <i>nda</i>   |
|             | <i>nto</i>    | <i>nta</i>   |
|             | like this     | here         |
| Far.from.Sp | <i>mono</i>   | <i>mona</i>  |
|             | <i>mono</i>   | <i>mona</i>  |
|             | like that     | there        |

### 6.4.1 Time

Adverbs expressing time in Wano are *yok* 'now' or 'today', *kovu* 'tomorrow', *kivit* 'yesterday', *kivit baneq* 'the day before yesterday' and *kovu baneq* 'the day after tomorrow'. These time adverbs are clausal modifiers, found preverbally in Wano. Modifiers expressing different times of day include *kuperak* 'morning', *dingge* 'noon',

*kevem* 'afternoon' and *kupmu* 'evening' or 'night'. They are degree modifiers (cf. Van Valin 2001: 7), as in *kovu kuperak* 'tomorrow morning'; where we can further find *kovu kuperak ki* 'early tomorrow morning'. The further use and distribution of time adverbs is illustrated in (6.21). Adverb words are in bold – see also §4.1.2 regarding these temporal adverbs.

- (6.21) a. 

|    |           |
|----|-----------|
| S  | PRED      |
| at | ne        |
| at | n-e       |
| he | go-3s.SBJ |

 'He goes' or 'He is going' Basic form - cf. (6.1a)
- b. 

|            |    |           |
|------------|----|-----------|
| TIME       | S  | PRED      |
| <b>yok</b> | at | ne        |
| jok        | at | n-e       |
| now        | he | go-3s.SBJ |

 'He goes now' or 'He is going now' cf. (6.2a)
- c. 

|    |                            |                          |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| S  | TIME                       | PRED                     |
| at | <b>kovu</b> <b>kuperak</b> | ne <i>te-o.</i>          |
| at | kovu kuperak               | n-e t-e=o                |
| he | tomorrow morning           | go-3s.SBJ intend-3s=PAUS |

 'He will go tomorrow morning'
- d. 

|              |            |    |                |
|--------------|------------|----|----------------|
| TIME         | DIR/LOC    | S  | PRED           |
| <b>kevem</b> | inumu      | at | narak          |
| kevem        | inu-mu     | at | n-at-ak        |
| afternoon    | jungle-LOC | he | go-3s.SBJ-then |

 'He went into the jungle this afternoon'

## 6.4.2 Manner

The adverb **ndo** 'like this' and **mono** 'like that' are used to refer to manner. They may occur clause-initially (6.22a) or preceding the verb (6.22b) but never clause-finally.

- (6.22) a. 

|        |             |           |
|--------|-------------|-----------|
| O      | MAN         | PRED      |
| mboid  | <b>mono</b> | icat-o.   |
| mpoid  | mono        | itjat=o   |
| potato | like that   | cook=PAUS |

 'He cooked the greens **like that!**' (*lit.* 'The greens, cooking **like that!**')

|    |                                       |                           |                |
|----|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| b. | MAN                                   | O                         | PRED           |
|    | <b>mono,</b>                          | <i>mboid</i> <i>engga</i> | <i>icat-o.</i> |
|    | mono                                  | mpoid enka                | itjat=o        |
|    | like that                             | potato leaf               | cook=PAUS      |
|    | 'Like that, (is) cooking the greens!' |                           |                |

The manner adverbs *ndo* 'like this' and *mono* 'like that' are often found in instructions how to do things, as they may also occur with imperative verb forms. Note that the verb *icat* 'cook' in (6.22) bears the clitic =o 'PAUS', since the clause is merely a statement of confirmation. The verbs in (6.23), however, are imperative.

- (6.23) a. *kede* ***ndo*** *mareb.*  
*kede* *nto* *mat-eb* |  
*rattan* *like this* *make-2p.IMP*  
 'Make (knit) the string **like this** (to you.pl)!'
- b. *mboid* *engga* ***mono*** *icaru.*  
*mpoid* *enka* *mono* *itja-u* |  
*potato* *leaf* *like that* *cook-2s.IMP*  
 'Cook some greens **like that** (to you.sg)!'

Finally, manner adverbs are expressed by means of adjectives, inalienable nouns or deictic words. Consider the adjective *erok* 'slow' in the narration in (6.24), *inyangginuk* 'their happiness' and *ndoumu* 'steeply down' in (6.25) and *ndouguca* 'in order to (go) steeply down' in (6.26).

- (6.24) *wunumu*                      *ta,*                      ***erok***                      *inyingge*                      *ekaca*  
 won-u-mu                      ta |                      etok                      in-inke                      it-k-a-tja  
 exist-3p.SBJ-LOC                      SPEC                      slow                      3p-eye                      do:SG.SBJ-REAL-3sp.SBJ-PURP
- wak,*                      *inyingge*                      *ekaca*                                              *wak,*                      *tu*  
 w-ak |                      in-inke                      it-k-a-tja                                              w-ak |                      tu  
 come-then                      3p-eye                      do:SG.SBJ-REAL-3sp.SBJ-PURP                      come-then                      way
- dugo*                                              *tu-o,*                                              *it*                      *adombi*                      *ta,*  
 d-u-k-o                                              t-u=o |                                              it                      adompi                      ta |  
 steep-down-REAL-3s.SBJ                      intend-3p.SBJ=PAUS                      they                      PN                      SPEC
- ee-o.*  
 ee=o ||  
 STUT=PAUS  
 'As they were, **slowly** they came in order to see, that way down, (and/that) there were the Adombis.'

[Text 35: 2.44; Burung 2013a: 239-40, 248-9]

- (6.25) ***inyangginuk***                      *worak,*                                              *wougwa*                                              *wougwa,*  
 in-ankinuk                      wot-ak |                                              wo-k-u-wa                                              wo-k-u-wa |  
 3p-happiness                      come-then                                              come-REAL-3p.SBJ-HAB                                              come-REAL-3p.SBJ-HAB

***ndoumu***                                              *ngga*                      *nggabok*                      *worak,*  
**n-t-ou-mu**                                              nka                      nkabok                      wot-ak |  
 ADV-steep-down-LOC                      where                      PN                      come-then

*ap*                      *anop*                      *taku*                                              *dokniq*  
 ap                      ø-anop                      tat-k-u                                              do-k-niq  
 man                      3s-head                      roast-REAL-3p.SBJ                      stay-REAL-as such

*wunumu,*  
 won-u-mu |  
 exist-3p.SBJ-LOC

'**Happily**, they came **steeply down** to Nggabok, (the) place where they were roasting a man's head.' or 'Happily they came steeply down to Nggabok, (the) place where people used to roast man's head.'

[Text 35: 2.84; Burung 2013a: 241, 250]

- (6.26) *wouguerak*                                              *ki-o,*                                              *turumo*  
 wo-ou-k-uet-ak                                              ki=o |                                              tutumo  
 come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then                      very=PAUS                      PN

***ndouguca***                                              *wouguerak*  
**n-t-ou-k-u-tja**                                              wo-ou-k-uet-ak  
 ADV-steep-down- REAL-1p.SBJ-PURP                      come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then

*wunumu*                      *ta,*                      *eee*  
 won-u-mu                      ta |                      eee  
 exist-3p.SBJ-LOC                      SPEC                      STUT

'We really came, we came **steeply down** to live in Turumo, ... eee'

[Text 39: 4.55; Burung 2013a: 277-8, 288-9]

### 6.4.3 Place

The locative adverbs, **nda** 'here' and **mona** 'there' may co-occur with the locative suffix **me** {-me} 'LOC'. The presence of the suffix **me** {-me} 'LOC' has a deictic function regarding the location of a place mentioned. The clause in (6.27a) has no suffix **me** {-me} 'LOC', while those clauses in (6.27b and c) have the deictic function.

- (6.27) a. *icak nda wone*  
           itjak nda won-e  
           PN here exist-3s.SBJ  
           'Isaac is here'
- b. *at ova-ica moname wunu-o.*  
      at ø-ova-itja mone-me won-u=o \  
      he 3s-father-mother there-LOC exist-3p.SBJ=PAUS  
      'His parents are over there' (*lit.* 'His parents are **in** over there.')
- c. *icak ndame kom icat ne te-o.*  
      itjak nda-me kom itjat n-e t-e=o \  
      PN here-LOC yam cook go-3s.SBJ intend-3s.SBJ=PAUS  
      'Isaac will cook (the/some) yam here.' (*lit.* 'Isaac will cook (the/some) yam **in** here.')

The function of **me** {-me} 'locative' in (6.27b-c) and (6.28a) is also to specify the location of the place. It is known to the speaker. In (6.27a) and (6.28b), however, the exact location is uncertain.

- (6.28) a. *an nova moname wone-o.*  
           an n-ova mona-me won-e=o \  
           I 1s-father there-LOC exist-3s.SBJ=PAUS  
           'My father is over there (I know where he is, i.e. **in** there)'
- b. *an nova mona wone-o.*  
      an n-ova mona won-e=o \  
      I 1s-father there exist-3s.SBJ=PAUS  
      'My father is (somewhere) over there (where he is located is uncertain)'
- [Fieldnote: April 2016 with Yance Weya, p.c.]

#### 6.4.4 Direction

We can say that *baneq* 'instrument' may also function to indicate direction adverbs, as in *mbowid baneq* 'to Mbowid' beside its other functions such as a marker of time adverbs, as in *[mei] baneq* 'in May', shown in (6.29).

|        |              |              |           |               |              |              |
|--------|--------------|--------------|-----------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| (6.29) | <u>TIME</u>  |              | <u>S</u>  | <u>DIR</u>    |              | <u>PRED</u>  |
|        | <i>[mei]</i> | <i>baneq</i> | <i>an</i> | <i>mbowid</i> | <i>baneq</i> | <i>worak</i> |
|        | mei          | baneq        | an        | mpowid        | baneq        | wot-ak       |
|        | PN           | INS          | I         | PN            | INS          | come-then    |

*tetik-o.*  
t-ett-ik=o \  
intend-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
'I will go back **to Mbowid in May**'

[Ref. Wano 004]

The example in (6.30) demonstrates various use of *baneq* 'instrument', taken from my conversation with an elder from Mbomban, who came to visit me in Fawi, as the day of my departure was approaching – given in (6.30a-c). Note how he put three clauses together when talking about coming events. In (6.30a) we have the peripheral element, i.e. TIME ADVERB, clause-initially as a temporal adverb (i.e., *[ari kamit]* 'Thursday' are Indonesian loans: 'day Thursday'). In (6.30b) the addition of two peripheral elements preceding PREDICATE are 'instrument' (i.e., *uru baneq* 'the airplane') and 'direction' (i.e., Sentani, the airport in Jayapura). In (6.30c) a new peripheral element, indicating 'location' or 'manner', i.e. *nggwen baneq* 'the land' renders 'on foot', was added before the 'direction' (Mbomban) that precedes the PREDICATE. As the elder said:



- (6.30) a. TIME                      S                      DIR                      PRED  
                  [ari kamit]      nit                      fawi                      wororak,  
                  [hari Kamis]      nit                      fawi                      wot~ot-ak |  
                  day thursday we                      PN                      come~RED-then  
                  'On Thursday, we go back to Fawi, and then.' (*lit.* '... we come ...')
- b. TIME                      S                      INS                      DIR                      PRED  
                  [ari yumat]      kat                      **uru**                      **baneq**                      sentani                      norak,  
                  [hari jumat]      kat                      utu                      baneq                      sentani                      not-ak |  
                  day friday you.sg spirit                      INS                      PN                      go-then  
                  'On Friday, you go to Sentani **by airplane**, and then.'
- c. S                      LOC/MAN                      DIR                      PRED  
                  an                      **nggwen**                      **baneq**                      mbomban                      norak.  
                  an                      nkwen                      baneq                      mpompan                      not-ak \  
                  I                      land                      INS                      PN                      go-then  
                  'I go to Mbomban **on foot**, and then.'
- [Fieldnote, Fawi, 21/11/2006]

## 6.5 IMPERATIVES

As was mentioned in chapter 4 §4.4, the fully inflected irrealis inceptive non-past verbs may function, as in fact they do within common usage, to encode imperative expressions. The following structures are attested: (i) a ROOT plus the /back vowel/ suffix 'IMP' to a singular addressee, and a ROOT plus the (an)eb {- (an)eb} 'IMP' suffix to plural addressees; or (ii) any ROOTS with no imperative suffix, to a singular addressee, and the same structure as in (i) to plural addressees. This is outlined in (6.31), with examples in (6.32-41).

- (6.31)      SINGULAR                                              PLURAL  
                  {ROOT-([back vowels])}                                              {ROOT-(an)eb}

Three varieties of imperative in Wano attested are: the imperative of (i) *command* or *request*, discussed in §6.5.1, (ii) *hortative* or *invitation*, in §6.5.2, (iii) *prohibition*, *denial* or *refusal* in §6.5.3.

### 6.5.1 Command or request

The use of this type of imperative is commonly found. In the following examples, the person(s) addressed is/are not mentioned.

- (6.32) a. Ø      *yugum*      **yaroru.**  
                   *jukum*      *jat~ot-u |*  
                   stone      pick.up~RED-2s.SBJ.IMP  
                   'Pick up (some) stones (to you.sg)!'
- a'. Ø      *yugum*      **yaroreb.**  
                   *jukum*      *jat~ot-eb |*  
                   stone      pick.up~RED-2p.SBJ.IMP  
                   'Pick up (some) stones (to you.pl)!'
- b. Ø      *mayuk*      **kodu.**  
                   *majuk*      *kod-u |*  
                   salt      get-2s.SBJ.IMP  
                   'Get (some) salt (to you.sg)!'
- b'. Ø      *mayuk*      **kodaneb.**  
                   *majuk*      *kod-aneb |*  
                   salt      get-2p.SBJ.IMP  
                   'Get (some) salt (to you.pl)!'
- c. Ø      *avodo*      **iru.**  
                   Ø-abodo      *it-u |*  
                   3s-skin      do-2s.SBJ.IMP  
                   'Skin it (to you.sg)! or 'Do its skin (to you.sg)!'
- c'. Ø      *avodo*      **ireb.**  
                   Ø-abodo      *it-eb |*  
                   3s-skin      do-2p.SBJ.IMP  
                   'Skin it (to you.pl)! or 'Do its skin (to you.pl)!'

The expression could be a request (a vocative expression) than a command when the addressee is mentioned, followed by a clitic *o* {=o} 'pausal'.

- (6.33) a. *nova,*      *tu*      *baru-o.*  
                   n-ova |      tu      bat-u=o \  
                   1s-father      door      open-2s.SBJ.IMP=PAUS  
                   'Please open the door, my father!'
- b. *nova,*      *tu*      *naru*      *ma-o.*  
                   n-ova |      tu      nat-u      ma=o \  
                   1s-father      door      close-2s.SBJ.IMP      forbid=PAUS  
                   'Please don't close the door, my father!'

## 6.5.2 Hortative or invitation

We use **amok** 'come, you.sg!' (6.34a) and **woraneb** 'come, you.pl!' (6.34b) for the invitation imperative.

- (6.34) a. **amok-o**  
 amok=o |  
 come:2s.SBJ.IMP=PAUS  
 'Come (to you.sg)!'  
 b. **woraneb-o**,  
 wot-aneb=o |  
 come-2p.SBJ.IMP=PAUS  
 'Come (to you.pl)!'

We may also use the verb *not-* 'one goes' with the inceptive aspect (6.35). Here, the participants being invited are not specified as to number. It could be either second person singular or plural. The clause is also ambiguous. It is a statement when the utterance has falling intonation, but an imperative when the utterance has flat intonation (cf. (2.43) in §2.8).

- (6.35) *nit i ndariak, nauid-o.*  
 nit i ntat-iak | na-uidj=o |  
 we water dip-then go-1p.SBJ.INCEP:IMP=PAUS  
 [1] 'We are about to go swimming' or 'We are about to take a bath'  
 [2] 'Let's go swimming!' or 'Let's take a bath!'

The meaning is made specific when the verb *nauid* 'we are about to go' is replaced by either *amok* 'come, you.sg!' or *woraneb* 'come, you.pl!', as demonstrated in:

- (6.36) a. **amok-o**, *nit i ndariak-o*  
 amok=o | nit i ntat-iak=o  
 come:2s.SBJ.IMP=PAUS we water dip-then=PAUS  
 'Let's go swimming (to singular addressee)! or 'Let's take a bath (to you.sg)!'

- b. **woraneb-o,** *nit* *i* *ndariak-o*  
 wot-aneb=o | *nit* *i* *ntat-iaak=o*  
 come-2p.SBJ.IMP=PAUS *we* *water* *dip-then=PAUS*  
 'Let's go swimming (to plural addressees)!' or 'Let's take a bath (to you.pl)!'

Common uses of imperative of command or request are illustrated here.

- (6.37) a. **Imperative of command**
- |           |               |          |               |                     |
|-----------|---------------|----------|---------------|---------------------|
| <i>an</i> | <i>nambit</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>widica</i> | <b><i>enak.</i></b> |
| an        | n-ambit       | i        | widi-tja      | enak                |
| I         | 1s-for        | water    | fetch-PURP    | go:2s.SBJ.IMP       |
- 'Go (and) fetch some water for me (to you.sg)!'
- b. **Imperative of request**
- |           |               |          |               |                       |
|-----------|---------------|----------|---------------|-----------------------|
| <i>an</i> | <i>nambit</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>widica</i> | <b><i>enak-o.</i></b> |
| an        | n-ambit       | i        | widi-tja      | enak=o \              |
| I         | 1s-for        | water    | fetch-PURP    | go:2s.SBJ.IMP=PAUS    |
- 'Please go (and) fetch (some) water for me (to you.sg)!'

A statement referring to (6.37) as a response could be as in:

- (6.38)    *yuk*,    *kat*        *kambit*    *i*        *widica*        *netik-o*.  
           *juk* |    *kat*        *k-ambit*    *i*        *widi-tja*        *n-ett-ik=o \*  
           *yes*    *you.sg*    *2s-for*    *water*    *fetch-PURP*    *go-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS*  
           'Yes, I am going to fetch (some) water for you.sg!'

Finally, a father and son's conversation that involves imperative of command or request with an inalienably marked noun is reproduced below – cf. chapter 3 §3.5.

- (6.39) a. Son  
*nova-o*, *an* *nakwim-o*, ...  
 n-ova=o | *an* n-akwim=o ...  
 1s-father=PAUS I 1s-wait=PAUS  
 'Please wait for me, my father!'
- b. Father  
*torodik-o*, *kat* *kakwim-o* ...  
 totodik=o | *kat* k-akwim=o ...  
 quick=PAUS you.sg 2s-wait=PAUS  
 'I am waiting, hurry up!'

### 6.5.3 Prohibition, denial or refusal

We use the interjection **ma** 'forbid' (§6.7.5) to indicate the prohibition imperative, as illustrated in (6.40), a common and simple prohibitive expression.

- (6.40) a. *kinyone* **ma-o**.  
 kin-one ma=o  
 2p-voice forbid=PAUS  
 'Don't be noisy (to you.pl)! or 'Be quiet (to you.pl)!'

 b. *kinyone* **ma** *yupik-o*.  
 kin-one ma j-up-ik=o \  
 2p-voice forbid say-2p-PROG=PAUS  
 'Please, be quiet (to you.pl)! (lit. 'Don't say your voice, you.pl!')

Both the imperative of prohibition and the imperative of command are commonly used.

- (6.41) a. *kone* *ma-o*, *kamu* *enak-o*.  
 k-one ma=o | k-amu enak=o  
 2s-voice forbid=PAUS 2s-home go-IMP:SG.SBJ=PAUS  
 'Don't be noisy (to you.sg), go home (to you.sg)!'  
 'Be quiet (to you.sg), go home (to singular addressee)!'

 b. *kinyone* *ma-o*, *kinyamu* *naneb-o*.  
 kin-one ma=o | kin-amu n-aneb=o  
 2p-voice forbid=PAUS 2p-home go-IMP:PL.SBJ=PAUS  
 'Don't be noisy (to you.pl), go home (to you.pl)!'  
 'Be quiet (to you.pl), go home (to you.pl)!'

## 6.6 QUESTIONS

In §4.10, we have seen that YES/NO-questions are morphologically marked by clitic {=a} while content questions are syntactically coded. The following types of WH-questions are attested in Wano: **nano** 'what' (§6.6.1), **ngga** 'where' (§6.6.2), **ngge** 'where/which' (§6.6.3), **mande** 'how many/much' (§6.6.4), and **mandom** 'when'

(§6.6.5). These question-words are clause-final in a nominal construction but precede the verb in a verbal construction. Furthermore, we may find the use of specifier *ta* 'SPEC' for the 'who' question (§6.6.6), *wae* 'INTERJ' (§6.6.7) and *mbawe* 'INTERJ' (§6.6.8). Examples given below are either from various recorded oral texts, or from my personal field notes – indicated by [Fieldnote: place, date].

### 6.6.1 Nano 'what'

The question-word *nano* 'what' is used to ask questions like 'what is that', 'what is your name', and so on. It occurs clause-finally in a nominal construction (6.42-3) but clause-initially in a verbal construction (6.44-5).

- (6.42) a. *muni nano*  
           *muni nano*  
           *that what*  
           'What is that?'  
       b. *kat kindiq nano*  
           *kat k-indiq nano*  
           *you 2s-name what*  
           'What is your.sg name?'

The presence of the clitic =*a* 'Q' on the question-word signifies an emphatic request for information.

- (6.43) a. *muni nano-a*  
           *muni nano=a*  
           *that what=Q*  
           'What is that?' or could be 'What really is that?'  
       b. *kat kindiq nano-a*  
           *kat k-indiq nano=a*  
           *you 2s-name what=Q*  
           'What is your.sg name?' or could be 'What really is your.sg name?'

Like (6.43), the examples in (6.44) show that the presence of the clitic =*a* 'Q' on the verb makes the question emphatic. Thus, we may interpret (6.44b) as an emphatic question: 'What are you really saying?' and (6.44a) as simply a question: 'What are you saying?'

- (6.44) a. *nano yendik*  
           *nano je-end-ik*  
           *what say-2s.SBJ-PROG*  
           'What are you.sg saying?'  
       b. *nano yendik-a*  
           *nano je-end-ik=a*  
           *what say-2s.SBJ-PROG=Q*  
           'What are you.sg **really** saying?'

Additional examples of *nano* 'what' occurring with verbs are given in (6.45). Observe the use of *nano* 'what' with *muni* 'that' (6.45f) and when *nano* is replaced by *ta* 'specifier' (6.45d).

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(6.45) a. <i>nano okondik</i><br/>                 <i>nano it-k-ont-ik</i><br/>                 <i>what do-2s.SBJ-PROG</i><br/>                 'What are you.sg doing?'<br/>             c. <i>nano embekondik</i><br/>                 <i>nano empet-k-ont-ik</i><br/>                 <i>what think-REAL-2s.SBJ-PROG</i><br/>                 'What are you.sg thinking?'<br/>             e. <i>nano nduk-o</i><br/>                 <i>nano n-d-uk=o</i><br/>                 <i>what go-steep-down-PAUS</i><br/>                 'What fell down?'</p> | <p>b. <i>nano negendik</i><br/>          <i>nano n-e-k-ent-ik</i><br/>          <i>what 1s-do-REAL-2s.SBJ-PROG</i><br/>          'What are you.sg giving me?'<br/>         d. <i>ta nduk-o</i><br/>             <i>ta n-d-uk=o</i><br/>             SPEC go-steep-down-PAUS<br/>             'Who fell down?'<br/>         f. <i>muni nano nduk-o</i><br/>             <i>that nano n-d-uk=o</i><br/>             <i>that what go-steep-down-PAUS</i><br/>             'What's that fell down?'</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

## 6.6.2 Ngga 'where'

The question-word *ngga* 'where' is a deictic expression as opposed to *ngge* 'which/where' in §6.6.3. It is used to ask either a directional (6.46a) or a locational (6.46b) question about an event. For the latter, the locative *-me* is involved.

- (6.46) a. *ngga* *nendik*  
           *nka* *n-ent-ik*  
           where go-2p.SBJ-PROG  
           'Where are you.sg going?'  
       b. *nggame* *wendik*  
           *nka-me* *w-ent-ik*  
           where-LOC come-2s.SBJ-PROG  
           'Where are you.sg coming from'  
           [The answer expected: *Biricare baneq wetik* that is 'I was coming from  
           Biricare' (the location where my journey started)]

As we will see below, three fossilized forms of *ngga* 'where' are found: ***ngganduk*** 'how', ***nggayo*** 'why' and ***nggayonduk*** 'why.so'.

Etymologically, the question-word *ngga* 'where' when compounded with other material forms question-words asking for a reason, cause or purpose. The following examples illustrate their usage. (6.47a) is a simple question about direction. (6.47b) concerns the reason. This is where we have a complex question-word of [*ngga* 'where' + *yot-* 'say' > ***nggayo*** 'where-say'] that is interpreted as 'why'. The combination of [*ngga-* 'where' + *n-d-uk* 'ADV-steep-down' > ***ngganduk***] can be translated as 'how' or 'in what manner', as shown by (6.47c). This is to say that *ngganduk* is used adverbially. Considering these question-words as fossilized forms, we will gloss them without their morphological breaks – cf. (6.47c) and (6.48a-b).

- (6.47) a. *at ngga narak-o.*  
           *at nka n-at-ak=o \*  
           he where go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
           'Where did he go?'  
       b. *at mbomban ne nggayo narak-o.*  
           *at mbomban ne nkajo n-at-ak=o \*  
           he PN S.REF why go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
           'Why did he go to Mbomban?'



- c.     *at*    *mbomban*   *ne*        ***ngganduk***    *narak-o.*  
          *at*    *mpompan*   *ne*        *nkanduk*    *n-at-ak=o \*  
          *he*    *PN*            *S.REF*   *how*        *go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
          'How did he go to Mbomban?'

The examples in (6.47) do not encode directionality, particularly not their elevative deixis. Suppose the conversation took place in Dagai, a village lower than Mbomban, *eiq* 'up' may be added to the utterance (6.48a). On the other hand, *ouq* 'down' will be added if the conversation was in Yei, a village found higher than Mbomban, as in (6.48b).

- (6.48) a.     *at*    *mbomban*   *ne*        ***eiq***    ***ngganduk***   *narak-o.*  
          *at*    *mpompan*   *ne*        *eiq*    *nkanduk*    *n-at-ak=o \*  
          *he*    *PN*            *S.REF*   *up*        *how*        *go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
          'How did he go **up** to Mbomban?'
- b.     *at*    *mbomban*   *ne*        ***ouq***    ***ngganduk***   *narak-o.*  
          *at*    *mpompan*   *ne*        *ouq*    *nkanduk*    *n-at-ak=o \*  
          *he*    *PN*            *S.REF*   *down*   *how*        *go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
          'How did he go **down** to Mbomban?'
- [Fieldnote: April 2016 with Yance Weya, p.c.]

Note that we may have the question-words clause-initially.

- (6.49) a.     ***ngga***            *at*    *narak-o.*  
          *nka*                *at*    *n-at-ak=o \*  
          *where*            *he*    *go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
          'Where did he go?'
- b.     ***nggayo***        *at*    *mbomban*   *ne*        *narak-o.*  
          *nkajo*            *at*    *mpompan*   *ne*        *n-at-ak=o \*  
          *why*                *he*    *PN*            *S.REF*   *go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
          '**Why** did he go to Mbomban?'
- c.     ***ngganduk***        *at*    *mbomban*   *ne*        *narak-o.*  
          *nkanduk*            *at*    *mpompan*   *ne*        *n-at-ak=o \*  
          *how*                *he*    *PN*            *S.REF*   *go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
          '**How** did he go to Mbomban?'

In response to the questions in (6.49), we may have, for example, (6.50). The pronoun-subject is optional (pro-drop).

- (6.50) a. *at mbomban narak-o.*  
 at mbomban n-at-ak=o \  
 he PN go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'He went to Mbomban.'
- b. *at ova kode ne bekaca*  
 at ø-ova kode ne bet-k-a-tja  
 he 3s-father old S.REF meet-REAL-3s.SBJ-PURP  
  
*narak-o.*  
 n-at-ak=o \  
 go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'He went in order to visit his aged father.' or 'He went to see his aged father.'
- c. *at nggebak baneq, narak-o.*  
 at nkebak baneq | n-at-ak=o \  
 he canoe INS go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'He went by canoe.'

Finally, another fossilized form with the question-word *ngga* 'where' is the combination of [*ngga* 'where' + *yot-* 'say' + *nduk* 'steeply.down' > ***nggayonduk*** 'why.so']. Here, the speaker wants to know the opinion or idea of the addressee concerning an event. In (6.51), we see that both positions are allowed; whether *nggayonduk* 'why.so' precedes the subject (6.51a) or follows it (6.51b), with no resulting difference in meaning.

- (6.51) a. *at mbomban ne nggayonduk narak-o.*  
 at mpompan ne nkajonduk n-at-ak=o \  
 he PN S.REF why.so go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'What do you think about why he went to Mbomban?'  
 or 'What do you think of his going to Mbomban?'
- b. ***nggayonduk,*** *at mbomban ne*  
*nka-jo-n-d-uk* *at mpompan ne*  
*where-say-ADV-steep-down |* *he PN S.REF*  
  
*narak-o.*  
 n-at-ak=o \  
 go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'What do you think about why he went to Mbomban?'  
 or 'What do you think of his going to Mbomban?'

### 6.6.3 Ngge 'which'

The question-word **ngge** 'which' or 'where' is a non-deictic form as opposed to *ngga* 'where' which is discussed in §6.8.2. In contrast to *ngga* 'where', which is an event related question-word, we use **ngge** 'which' or 'where' when we want to (i) ask about the origin of a person or his original home (6.52), (ii) ask an alternative question, like: 'which one is ...' (6.53), or (iii) request permission for having or doing something (6.54-6).

- (6.52) a. *kat kova ngge*  
           *kat k-ova nke*  
           you.sg 2s-father where  
           'Where is your.sg father from?'  
       b. *kat kawi ngge*  
           *kat k-awi nke*  
           you.sg 2s-home where  
           'Where is your.sg home?' or 'Where is your.sg homeland?'  
       c. *ngge-me wendik*  
           *nke-me w-ent-ik*  
           where-LOC come-2s.SBJ-PROG  
           'Where are you.sg coming from?' or 'Where do you come from?'  
           [The answer expected: *an Biricare mende* that is 'I am from Biricare' thus  
           place of origin']

The question-word *ngge* 'where' is also used for asking to specify a referent that one needs to choose. It then normally occurs with the specifier *ta* 'SPEC'. Thus, something like 'which one is ...' as illustrated in (6.53).

- (6.53) a. **ngge** *ta, nambit-o.*  
           *nke ta | n-ampit=o \*  
           where SPEC 1s-sake=PAUS  
           '**Which one** is for me?'  
       b. **ngge** *ta, bok-o.*  
           *nke ta | bok=o \*  
           where SPEC good=PAUS  
           '**Which one** is good?' or 'Which one is correct?'

The question-word *ngge* may function to express a 'request to have or do something'. Thus, when *ngge* occurs clause-finally, it can be translated as 'may I ...' or 'could I ...' as shown in (6.54).

- (6.54) a. *an deid ngge-o.*  
           an deid nke=o \  
           I banana where=PAUS  
           'May I have some bananas?'
- b. *kedeid nak ngge-o.*  
      ke-deid n-ak nke=o \  
      2s-banana consume- THEN where=PAUS  
      'May I have your banana?' (lit. 'May I eat your banana?')

We may formulate a polite request by adding the adjective *bok* 'good' after *ngge* 'where' as in (6.55a) and, as usual, the clitic =a 'Q' is to emphasize the request as in (6.55b).

- (6.55) a. *an deid ngge bok-o.*  
           an deid nke bok=o \  
           I banana where good=PAUS  
           'May I have some bananas, please?'
- b. *an nggom ngge bok-a.*  
      an kom nke bok=a  
      I yam where good=Q  
      'May I have some yams, please (emphatic)?'

Finally, we also use *ngge* 'where' to request permission for doing something. In the example (6.56), the question word *ngge* 'where' can be interpreted as 'give way'.

- (6.56) *ngge, an wetik.*  
          nke | an w-ett-ik |  
          where I come-1s.SBJ-PROG  
          'Give way, I am coming through!'

Expression (6.56) is more a command than a request, unless we have the clitic o {=o} 'pausal'.

- (6.57)    *ngge-o,*                    *an*                    *wetik-o.*  
              nke=o \                    an                    w-ett-ik=o \  
              where=PAUS            I                    come-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
              'Please, let me come through!'

Like the imperative of command in (6.57), we may use the interjection *yoqdingget* 'watch out' (see §6.7.10), as illustrated in (6.58).

- (6.58)    a.    *yoqdingget,*                    *an*                    *wetik.*  
                  joqdinket |                    an                    w-ett-ik |  
                  watch out                    I                    come-1s.SBJ-PROG  
                  'Watch out, I am coming through!'  
              b.    *yoqdingget,*                    *urukuma*                    *we.*  
                  joqdinket |                    urukuma                    w-e |  
                  watch out                    aircraft                    come-3s.SBJ  
                  'Watch out, (the) aeroplane is coming.'

#### 6.6.4 Mande 'how much'

The question-word ***mande*** is used for quantitative interrogation. It can be translated as 'how much' or 'how many'. Hereafter, we will only use 'how much' in the grammatical glossing to represent both translations. The occurrence of the clitic =***a*** 'Q' on the question-word is frequently found in conversation when the answer is strongly required, as illustrated in (6.59b).

- (6.59)    a.    *kat*                    *kaburi*                    ***mande***  
                  kat                    k-abut-i                    mante  
                  you.sg                    2s-child.OM-PL                    how.much  
                  'How many children do you.sg have? (to male.parent)'  
              b.    *kat*                    *kaburi*                    ***mande-a***  
                  kat                    k-abut-i                    mante=***a***  
                  you.sg                    2s-child.OM-PL                    how.much=***Q***  
                  'How many children do you.sg have? (to male.parent.answer.required)'  
              c.    *kat*                    *kawu*                    ***mande***  
                  kat                    ka-wu                    mante  
                  you.sg                    2s-cowrie.shell                    how.much  
                  'How much money do you.sg have?'

Expressions like *wu mande* 'how much money' (*lit.* 'cowrie.shell how.much') are used in trading when the buyer asks for the price. A demonstrative *muni* 'that' or *ndi* 'this' is normally used in this context.

- (6.60) a. ***ndi*** *ta,* *wu* ***mande-a***  
           nti *ta |* *wu* *mante=a*  
           this SPEC cowrie.shell how.much=Q  
           '**How much** is this?' (*lit.* 'As for this, how much is it?')
- b. *kom* ***ndi*** *ta,* *awu* ***mande-a***  
      kom nti *ta |* *a-wu* *mante=a*  
      yam this SPEC 3s-cowrie.shell how.much=Q  
      '**How much** is this yam?' (*lit.* 'As for this yam, how much is it?')

Finally, like other question-words, *mande* 'how.much' may occur in the position of the constituents that are being questioned, as shown in (6.61a), NP fronting, with its response in (6.61b).

- (6.61) a. 

|    |                               |                     |
|----|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| NP | <i>ap</i> <b><i>mande</i></b> | <i>wunu</i>         |
|    | <i>ap</i> <i>mante</i>        | <i>won-u</i>        |
|    | <i>man</i> <i>how.much</i>    | <i>exist-3p.SBJ</i> |

  
           '**How many** people are there?'
- b. *(ap)* *nenggit* *pemenok* *apik* (*wunu-o*).  
      *(ap)* *n-enkit* *pemenok* *apik* (*won-u=o*) \  
      *(man)* *1s-hand* *CLASS* *all* (*exist-3p.SBJ*)  
       'There are five men!'

A natural answer does not include the subject and verb, thus: *nenggit pemenok apik* 'five' is a sufficient answer to the question.

### 6.6.5 Mandom 'when'

The question-word ***mandom*** 'when' is used for asking about the time of an event and occurs immediately before the verb; it cannot be positioned clause-initially. An instance of preverbal focus.

- (6.62)     *at*     *e*     ***mandom***     *mikirak,*     *ndu*  
              *at*     *e*     *mantom*     *mit-k-it-ak |*     *n-t-u*  
              *he*     *tree*     *when*     *cut.down-REAL-3s.SBJ-then*     *ADV-steep-down*
- narak-o.*  
*n-at-ak=o \*  
*go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
 'When did he cut.down the tree?' (*lit.* 'When did he cut.down the tree, and it went down?')

### 6.6.6 Ta 'SPEC'

The specifier ***ta*** 'SPEC' is used for (i) question-words like 'who' and for (ii) answering or specifying 'it is X', and for (iii) indicating focus. It is realised in six allomorphs depending on the preceding sound it is attached to (§2.9; §3.7.8; Burung 2004: 52-5, 2007b: 47-50). In (6.63) we see that it is realised as ***ta*** following a voiceless alveolar, ***da*** after a voiced alveolar, ***pa*** after a voiceless bilabial, ***ba*** after a voiced bilabial, ***ka***, after a velar plosive, and ***ra*** after a vowel.

- |        |    |                  |                    |    |                  |                    |
|--------|----|------------------|--------------------|----|------------------|--------------------|
| (6.63) | a. | <i>kat</i>       | <b><i>/t/a</i></b> | d. | <i>wom</i>       | <b><i>/b/a</i></b> |
|        |    | <i>kat</i>       | <i>ta</i>          |    | <i>wom</i>       | <i>ta</i>          |
|        |    | <i>you.sg</i>    | SPEC               |    | <i>pig</i>       | SPEC               |
|        |    | 'It is you.sg!'  |                    |    | 'It is the pig!' |                    |
|        | b. | <i>an</i>        | <b><i>/d/a</i></b> | e. | <i>yuk</i>       | <b><i>/k/a</i></b> |
|        |    | <i>an</i>        | <i>ta</i>          |    | <i>juk</i>       | <i>ta</i>          |
|        |    | <i>I</i>         | SPEC               |    | <i>yes</i>       | SPEC               |
|        |    | 'It is me!'      |                    |    | 'It is true!'    |                    |
|        | c. | <i>ap</i>        | <b><i>/p/a</i></b> | f. | <i>ndi</i>       | <b><i>/r/a</i></b> |
|        |    | <i>ap</i>        | <i>ta</i>          |    | <i>nti</i>       | <i>ta</i>          |
|        |    | <i>man</i>       | SPEC               |    | <i>this</i>      | SPEC               |
|        |    | 'It is the man!' |                    |    | 'It is this!'    |                    |

The examples below demonstrate common uses of *ta* 'SPEC' as a question-word meaning 'who, whom, whose'. It is also used to request confirmation as in (6.64e). The specifier *ta* is found clause-initially when functioning as a question-word, as in *ta nano* (6.64a), *ta ayum* (6.64b, and *ta ne* (6.64d). Otherwise, it follows the head

when functioning as a modifier – cf. *ndi ta* in (6.64c and e) and *at ta* in (6.64d). Note that in (6.64c-d) we have *ta* 'SPEC' taking both roles; as modifier and as question-word.

- (6.64)
- |    |                                                                                   |             |            |                 |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------------|-----------------|
| a. | <b>ta</b>                                                                         | <i>nano</i> |            |                 |
|    | ta                                                                                | nano        |            |                 |
|    | SPEC                                                                              | what        |            |                 |
|    | 'Who is it?'                                                                      |             |            |                 |
| b. | <b>ta</b>                                                                         | <i>ayum</i> |            |                 |
|    | ta                                                                                | a-jum       |            |                 |
|    | SPEC                                                                              | 3s-net.bag  |            |                 |
|    | 'Whose net.bag is it?'                                                            |             |            |                 |
| c. | <i>ndi</i>                                                                        | <b>ta,</b>  | <b>ta</b>  | <i>adian</i>    |
|    | nti                                                                               | ta          | ta         | a-dian          |
|    | this                                                                              | SPEC        | SPEC       | 3s-blood        |
|    | 'Whose blood is this?' (lit. 'As for this, whose blood, is it?')                  |             |            |                 |
| d. | <i>at</i>                                                                         | <b>ta,</b>  | <b>ta</b>  | <i>ne</i>       |
|    | at                                                                                | ta          | ta         | ne              |
|    | he                                                                                | SPEC        | SPEC       | S.REF           |
|    | 'Who is he?' (lit. 'As for him, who is it?')                                      |             |            |                 |
| e. | <i>ndi</i>                                                                        | <b>ta,</b>  | <i>kat</i> | <i>kabut-a?</i> |
|    | nti                                                                               | ta          | kat        | k-abut=a        |
|    | this                                                                              | SPEC        | you        | 2s-child.OM=Q   |
|    | 'Is this your.sg child (to male possessor)?' (lit. 'As for this, your.sg child?') |             |            |                 |

Likewise, we may find *ta* 'SPEC' occurring independently in conversation as illustrated in (6.65).

- (6.65) Speaker 1:
- |           |            |              |              |                                    |
|-----------|------------|--------------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>an</i> | <b>ta,</b> | <i>kivit</i> | <i>ndawi</i> | <i>wakarak</i>                     |
| an        | ta         | kivit        | ntawi        | wat-k-at-ak                        |
| I         | SPEC       | yesterday    | song         | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ-then |
- konenggacak-o.*  
 konen-k-atj-ak=o \  
 listen-REAL-1s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'Yesterday I heard them singing (some) songs.'
- Speaker 2:
- ta**  
 ta  
 SPEC  
 'Who?'



|                                   |            |            |                            |            |              |
|-----------------------------------|------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>akomi</i>                      | <i>me,</i> | <i>kwa</i> | <i>nonggobeq</i>           | <i>me,</i> | <i>ne-o.</i> |
| ap-kom-i                          | me         | kwa        | non-k-o-beq                | me         | ne=o \       |
| man-yam-PL                        | and        | woman      | consume-REAL-3s.SBJ-little | and        | S.REF=PAUS   |
| 'It was the women and the girls.' |            |            |                            |            |              |

The interrogative constituent containing the specifier *ta* seems always to be in clause-initial position, whether *ta* 'SPEC' occurs on its own as in (6.65) and various examples in (6.66), or whether it is attached to a verb, as in (6.66a).

- Compare examples (6.67) below. In (6.67a), it is the time adverb which is in focus, while in (6.67b), where *ta* 'SPEC' is absent, the question concerns the whole event. In this context, *ta* 'SPEC' functions as focus marker (cf. §3.7.8).

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We may use *ta* 'SPEC' with the question-word *ngge* 'where' to request comparison for abstract participants (e.g., idea, thought or event) being compared, otherwise the demonstrative *ndi/muni* 'this/that' for concrete participants.

- (6.68) a. Abstract participants  
           **ngge**    **ta**            *bok/maduk*  
           nke     ta            bok/maduk  
           where SPEC        good/bad  
           'Which one is good/bad?' or 'Which one is correct/incorrect?'  
       b. Concrete participants  
           **ndi**     **ta**            *bok/maduk*  
           nti     ta            bok/maduk  
           this     SPEC        good/bad  
           'Which one is good/bad?' or 'Which one is correct/incorrect?'

Considering the examples in (6.64-6) above, we may suggest that the particle *ta* is a homophonous form of (i) a question marker, and (ii) a specifier. However, its occurrence with the question marker, clitic *-a* {=a} 'Q', as shown in (6.67), and with the question-word *ngge* 'where' in (6.68a) proves this to be an incorrect hypothesis.

Finally, in (6.69), the basic clause in (6.2a), *at ne* 'he goes/is going', can be a reply to questions like *Ara at ta ara* {at=a at ta at=a} 'Is it he or he?' in the following discourse, given in bold.

- (6.69) *it        imbirak,    ta        ne        nak-o        ne-o,*  
           it        impitak |    ta        ne        n-ak=o        n-e=o |  
           they    together    SPEC    there    go-then= PAUS    go-3s. SBJ= PAUS
- at-a        at        ta,        at-a?***  
           at=a        at        ta|        at=a  
           he=Q        he        SPEC    he= Q  
           'Between them, who is going? Is it he (or) is it he?'  
           (lit. 'They together, who is going? Is he he, is he?')
- [Yance Weya, p.c. April 2016]

(6.70)    *nit*            *imbirak,*    *ta*        *ne*        *nak-o*                    *ne-o,*  
              nit            impitak |    ta        ne        n-ak=o                n-e=o |  
              we            together    SPEC    there    go-then= PAUS        go-3s. SBJ= PAUS

***kat-a***            ***at***            ***ta,***            ***an-a?***  
              kat=a            at            ta|            an=a  
              you.sg=Q        he            SPEC    I= Q  
              'Between us, who is going? Is it you.sg (or) is it me?'  
              (*lit.* 'We together, who are going, is you.sg he is I he?')

Another way of expressing questions is by using the interjection **wae** 'INTERJ' that can only occur on its own. It is mostly attested in casual conversation and is used when we request repetition of an unclear statement or question, and can be translated as 'What?', 'What did you say?', 'Please say it again?', 'Pardon me?' and the like. The following examples illustrate the use of **wae** 'INTERJ'. Firstly, a conversation between a father and his son in the early morning as the son was asking if he could have the yam that his father has just roasted (6.71) – recalling a conversation noted in Biricare when we were gathering for breakfast at my language consultant's house.

- [Fieldnote: Biricare, 1995]

Secondly, in (6.72), about someone who had just passed away from malaria when he was visiting Itadipa, a village belonging to a neighbour tribe, the Moni. The conversation took place in Yedome when I visited the place in 1993 between the wife of my language consultant and her cousin. The cousin told her about the death of her father.

- (6.72) Speaker 1:  
*nare ne ta, ngga wone dokniq ta,*  
 n-ate ne ta | nka won-e do-k-niq ta |  
 1s-uncle S.REF SPEC where exist-3s.SBJ stay-REAL-as.such SPEC  
 'As for my uncle, where is he living?'
- Speaker 2:  
*kat kare ne, at ta, itadipa woneme ta,*  
 kat k-ate ne | at ta | itadipa won-e-me ta |  
 you 2s-uncle S.REF he SPEC PN exist-3s.SBJ-LOC SPEC
- [malaria] wakirak, kanggirak-o.*  
 malaria wat-k-it-ak | kan-k-it-ak=o \  
 malaria 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then die-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=SPEC  
 'As for your.sg uncle, he is/was in Itadipa and died of malaria.'  
 (lit. 'As for your uncle, he was in Itadipa and malaria hit him, he died.')
- Speaker 1:  
*wae, nare abua-o, kanggirak-o.*  
 wae | n-ate ø-abua=o kan-k-it-ak=o \  
 INTERJ 1s-uncle 3s-love=SPEC die-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=SPEC  
 'What? My poor uncle, he died.'
- [Fieldnote: Yedome 1993]

### 6.6.8 Mbawe 'INTERJ'

We use the interjection **mbawe** 'INTERJ' to ask a question expressing our concern about the welfare of the addressee. This word can be translated as 'how are you' and is used in the second person. In the examples in (6.73), the village head expresses his excitement at seeing his old friends coming up from Turumo, a neighbour village belonging to the Turu tribe. The event took place in Biricare.

- (6.73) a. *nombane mbawe.*  
           n-ompane mpawe \  
           1s-friend INTERJ  
           '**How are you**, my friend?'
- b. *kit apik mbawe.*  
      kit apik mpawe \  
      you.pl all INTERJ  
      'How are you.pl all?'

We also use *mbawe* 'INTERJ' to open a conversation. Here, *mbawe* may be translated as 'friend' or 'mate'.

- (6.74) *mbawe, kat nggayo tendik-o.*  
      mpawe | kat nkajo te-ent-ik=o  
      INTERJ you.sg why intend-2s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
      'What are you.sg going to do, **mate**?'

## 6.7 INTERJECTIONS

Most interjections in Wano are uninflected words, expressing emotional states or reactions, such as astonishment, excitement, horror, a feeling of hopelessness or helplessness, gratitude, welcoming, greeting, leave-taking, sadness or happiness. As in Yimas (Foley 1991: 117) or Hua (Haiman 1980: 272-273), they typically form an utterance by themselves and constitute a separate intonation group (cf. Foley, *Ibid*). There are at least 12 interjectional expressions found in Wano. §6.7.1 is about *aijaa*, §6.7.2 *ayee*, §6.7.3 *buq*, §6.7.4 *endiq*, §6.7.5 *mek*, §6.7.6 *waa*, §6.7.7 *mudu*, §6.7.8 *wouq*, §6.7.9 *yotdingget*, §6.7.10 *yuk*, and §6.7.11 *ekanok*. Examples given below are either from various recorded oral texts, or from my personal fieldnotes.



- (6.76)    *waa*        *waa*        *waa,*        ***ayee***        *nayak*        *kabua-o.*  
              *waa*        *waa*        *waa |*        *ajee*        *n-ajak*        *k-abua=o \*  
              INTERJ   INTERJ   INTERJ   INTERJ   1s-child.oF   2s-love=PAUS  
              'Welcome home my beloved son!' or 'Welcome home my dear son, bless you!'

### 6.7.3 Buq

The interjection ***buq*** or ***bu*** 'INTERJ' is used to express a feeling of unwillingness to doing something. Thus, it can be translated as 'one is not willing to ...' or 'one doesn't want to ...' or 'one doesn't feel like ...' and the like.

- (6.77)    a.    *nggore-o,*        *an*        *i*        *ndariak*        ***buq-o.***  
              *nkote=o |*        *an*        *i*        *ntat-iak*        *buq=o \*  
              cold=PAUS    I        water    dip-then        INTERJ=PAUS  
              'It's cold; I **don't feel like** taking a bath.'
- b.    ***buq-o,***        *an*        *nanop*        *anduk-o,*  
              *buq=o |*        *an*        *n-anop*        *ø-antuk=o |*  
              INTERJ=PAUS   I        1s-head        3s-pain=PAUS
- yavuk*                                *iriak*                *mek*  
              *javuk*                                *it-iak*                *mek*  
              harvested.field                do-then                INTERJ  
              'I **don't want to**, my head is painful, (and) I can not do any work.'
- [Fieldnote: Biricare 1994]

### 6.7.4 Endiq

The interjection ***endiq*** 'INTERJ' is used to express indifference or some situations which are considered not necessary, less important or unimportant and can be appropriately translated with phrases like 'leave it!', 'forget it!', 'don't bother!', 'let it be!', 'I don't care!' and the like. (6.78) illustrates the use of ***endiq*** 'INTERJ' in a situation where someone is in trouble and needs help. Speaker 1 then asks the others to go with him to help the man, but he is refused by Speaker 2.

- (6.78) Speaker 1:  
 at bekaneb-o, abua, woraneb,  
 he bek-aneb=o | ø-abua | wot-aneb |  
 he meet-HORT.PL=PAUS 3s-love come-HORT.PL=PAUS

nit at yunggwa iruid-o.  
 nit at junkwa it-uid=o \  
 we he help do-1p.SBJ.INCEP=PAUS  
 'Look! ... poor him, let us help him!'

Speaker 2:  
 buq-o, **endiq-o**  
 buq=o | endiq=o \  
 INTERJ INTERJ  
 'I don't feel like doing it (helping him) ... **leave him!**'

[Fieldnote: Fawi 1995]

### 6.7.5 Mek

The interjection **mek** 'INTERJ' is used to express the speaker's attitude towards some situation that cannot be helped. It denotes the feeling of hopelessness or helplessness, and it can be translated as 'impossible', illustrated in (6.80a). It is also used to express an intensification of an event, for which its equivalent translation could be 'unbearable', as in (6.79b).

- (6.79) a. at wariak ta, **mek.**  
 at wat-iak ta | mek \  
 he 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-then SPEC INTERJ  
 'It is **impossible** to kill him!' or could be 'He is untouchable!'
- b. nak anduk nokirak  
 n-ak ø-antuk not-k-it-ak  
 1s-tooth 3s-pain 1s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-then
- mek** ki-o.  
 mek ki=o \  
 INTERJ very=PAUS  
 'My tooth-ache is **unbearably** painful.'  
 (lit. 'The pain of my tooth-ache hit me **unbearably**.')

Such an expression is parallel to the use of the adjective **maduk** 'bad', with similar meaning (6.80).





okay!' When expressing gratitude, we say *waa*, and get the reply *waa* for 'you're welcome!' As a prelude to an argument, we use *waa* also as shown in (6.82-3).

- (6.82) *waa waa kat ta, ni na ne, ekendak*  
*waa waa kat ta | ni na ne | e-k-ent-ak*  
 INTERJ INTERJ you.sg SPEC this here there do-REAL-2s.SBJ-then
- dik, nome, adomaq wonendik, kat no,*  
*dik | nome | a-d-ou-maq won-ent-ik | kat no |*  
 NEG therefore ATTR-steep-down-? exist-2s.SBJ-PROG you.sg G.REF
- kawot kimbirak wonendik wone,*  
*k-awot k-impirak won-ent-ik won-e |*  
 2s-younger.sibling.oss 2s-together exist-2s.SBJ-PROG exist-3s.SBJ
- kit aret nenggepak.*  
*kit atet nen-k-ep-ak ||*  
 you.pl he consume-REAL-2p.SBJ-PAUS  
 'Great! Great! So, you are the ones who did it, because no one else there, you stay below there, you and your brother where there, you just ate (it) together!' (Narrator describes the thinking of EW's grandfather)  
 [Text 35: 2.41; Burung 2013a: 238-9, 247-8]
- (6.83) *wim ta, imbirak nik ta, waa waa teik*  
*wim ta | ø-impitak nik ta | waa waa teik*  
 arrow SPEC 3s-together pull SPEC INTERJ INTERJ up
- yogarak, at owe no, teik no,*  
*jot-k-at-ak | at ø-owe no | teik no |*  
 say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then he 2s-younger.sibling.oss as for up G.REF
- teik yogarak ta, koma no, aret*  
*teik jot-k-at-ak ta | koma no | atet*  
 up say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then SPEC 2s-armpit as for he
- wakirak-o.*  
*wat-k-it-ak=o \*  
 3s.OBJ:hit:3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'They pulled the arrows together, upwards (and) cried out “*waa waa waa*”. The older brother aimed up (and let it go) just under his armpit, he hit/killed him.'  
 [Text 35: 2.57; Burung 2013a: 244, 253]

Finally, expressing a venerated tradition of gratitude, especially to an older person, we combine the interjection *waa*, IPN body-parts and the verb *not-* 'consume' to say

'From the bottom of my heart, I thank you!' as illustrated in (6.84), while clicking each other's fingers, the Wano's traditional way of shaking hands.

- (6.84) a. *nova*      **waa**,      *kaye*      *nak-o*.  
              n-ova      waa |      k-aye      n-ak=o \  
              1s-father      INTERJ      2s-penis      consume-then=PAUS  
              'From the bottom of my heart, I thank you.sg my father!'
- b. *nica*      **waa**,      *kayak*      *nak-o*.  
              n-itja      waa |      k-ajak      n-ak=o \  
              1s-mother      INTERJ      2s-breast      consume-then=PAUS  
              'From the bottom of my heart, I thank you.sg my mother!'
- [Fieldnote: Biricare, p.c. BM 1994]

### 6.7.7 Mudu

The interjection **wii** and **mudu** are used to express a meaning of surprise and/or dislike. They can be translated as 'wow', 'gosh!', 'help!', 'goodness!', 'my god!', 'my goodness!', or 'goodness me!' as found in the following narration (6.85).

- (6.85) **mudu**    *kwa*      *yedok*    *ambui*    *ndi*,    *ugodokniq*  
              mudu    *kwa*      *jedok*    *ampui*    *nti* |    *u-k-o-do-k-niq*  
              INTERJ    woman    big      one      this    sleep-REAL-3s.SBJ-stay-REAL-as such
- wone*  
              won-e |  
              exist-3s.SBJ  
              'Gosh! There is a big woman sleeping!' or 'Goodness me! This one big woman keeps sleeping!'
- [Text 2: 5.14; Burung 2013a: 283-4, 295]

### 6.7.8 Wouq

In a tribal or clan dispute, the interjection **wouq** 'INTERJ' is in a battle cry (*wuk-duk* 'battle.cry') people will cry out *wouq wouq wouq*, ... (6.86a). The attackers thus signal they are attacking (*pinwaku* 'war.attack') by crying out *wouq wouq wouq*. Likewise, hunters or travellers coming home from their trip can also cry out *wouq wouq wouq* as a sign for their coming into town. Here, *wuk-duk* 'battle.cry' is normally cried out

in a chorus with someone being the leader, expressing excitement that, after all, the long exhausting journey will soon come to an end! This interjection is also used to announce the arrival of an aircraft (6.86b), in the following form:

- (6.86) a. *wouq* *wouq* *wouq* *wouq* *pinwaku* *we*,  
*wouq* *wouq* *wouq* *wouq* *pinwaku* *w-e* |  
 INTERJ INTERJ INTERJ INTERJ *enemy.attack* *come-3s.SBJ*  
 '[**Sounds of battle.cry!**], .... the enemy is coming, ...'  
 [Fieldnote: On an event of a tribal war, Iratoi 1992]
- b. *uru* *we*, *uru* *we*, *uruguma* *we*,  
*utu* *w-e* | *utu* *w-e* | *utukuma* *w-e* |  
*spirit* *come-3s.SBJ* *spirit* *come-3s.SBJ* *aircraft* *come-3s.SBJ*
- wouq* *wouq* *wouq* *wouq*  
*wouq* *wouq* *wouq* *wouq*  
 INTERJ INTERJ INTERJ INTERJ  
 'The aeroplane is coming, the aeroplane is coming .... [**Sounds of battle.cry!**]'
- [Fieldnote: Events when a plane is landing]

### 6.7.9 Yotdingget

The interjection **yotdingget** 'INTERJ' is used to express a command to be alert in case of danger. Therefore, it is translatable as 'be careful!', 'watch out!', 'be on your guard!' and the like.

- (6.87)     *yotdingget!*      *uru*        *ne*                  *te-o.*  
jotdinket ||        *utu*        n-e                  te=o \  
INTERJ            spirit      go-3s.SBJ        intend=PAUS  
**'Watch out! The plane is going!**
- [Fieldnote: Events when a place is going]

### 6.7.10 Yuk

The interjection **yuk** 'INTERJ' is used to express approval of something that has been said. It can be translated as 'yes, it is!', 'yes, it was so!', 'yes, it is true', 'I agree!' and the like.

- (6.88) Speaker 1:  
*kanggirak-a,* *yendik.*  
 kan-k-it-ak=a je-ent-ik |  
 die-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=YN.Q say-2s.SBJ-PROG  
 'Are you saying "he died"?'  
Speaker 2:  
*yuk kanggirak-o.*  
 yuk kan-k-it-ak=o \  
 INTERJ die-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'Yes, he died!'  
 [Fieldnote: Iratoi 1992, my conversation with someone about the death of my first language teacher, EM]

### 6.7.11 Ekanok

We use *ekanok* 'you.sg are about to do!' and *ekaneb* 'you.pl are about to do!' to express refusal imperative, that is to express something like: 'never mind!', 'don't worry!', 'whatever!', 'I don't mind!', 'I don't care!', 'I can't be bothered!' and the like.

- (6.89) *ekanok-o,* *an nadik nabire norak-o,*  
 it-k-anok=o | an na-dik nabire not-ak=o \  
 do-REAL-2s.SBJ=PAUS I 1s-NEG PN go-then=PAUS  
  
*kat nda doiak ta, bok.*  
 kat nta do-iak ta | bok |  
 you.sg here stay-then SPEC good  
 'Never mind! It's good you.sg stay here, and I'll go to Nabire alone.'  
 [Fieldnote: Iratoi 1992, my conversation with a young man who wanted to go to Nabire]

## 6.8 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have discussed simple clauses found in Wano narratives and daily interaction within the community. In §6.1, I described clause elements and their structures. A clause may include core elements, which are arguments and predicate, rigidly distributed {arguments predicate}. Peripheral elements, i.e. adverb place, time

and manner, are mostly clause-initial, while negation, prohibition and intensifier are clause-final.

In §6.2, I described clause forms. Wano has 1-place predicates, 2-place predicates and 3-place predicates. The last mentioned is limited to the verbs *wot* {wot-} 'one gives him' (§4.7.2; §6.2.3.1), *it* {it-} 'one does/says' (§4.7.2; §6.2.3.2) and *yot* {yot-} 'one tells him' (§4.7.2; §5.7.2 in chapter five). In terms of its clause structures, Wano is a verb-final language that allows pro-drop on subject and object pronouns. The predicate nucleus may be either verbs or inalienable nouns, a notion that I will discuss in chapter 7 §7.2.

In §6.3, I described clause negation where we noted that the subject suffix is dropped when a clause is negated. The other clause elements discussed were modifiers (§6.4), imperatives (§6.5), questions (§6.6) and interjections (§6.7).

§6.6 showed that question-words are clause-final in a nominal construction, but precede the verb in a verbal construction. Three fossilized question words are *ngganduk* 'how', *nggayo* 'why' and *nggayonduk* 'why so'. Finally, twelve interjection particles were discussed in §6.7.

### 7.1 BACKGROUND

This chapter is about clausal expressions with no verbs involved as clause head grammatically. It is organized as follows: §7.1 outlines the typology of non-verbal predication in Wano, §7.2 discusses the notion of experiential events, §7.3 describes nominal predicates, §7.4 describes adjectival predicates, §7.5 describes deictic predicates, and §7.6 is the summary of the chapter.

Figure 6.1 in §6.1 showed that core elements of Wano clauses include arguments and the predicate, where the predicate comprises either verbs or inalienable nouns as the nucleus of the clause. This was outlined in (6.2), repeated here in:

(7.1) **Basic clause structure in Wano**

- |    |           |           |           |           |           |
|----|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| a. | [ (A/S)   | (DO)      | (IO/BEN)  | PRED ]    |           |
| b. | i-MOD     | ARG       | i-MOD     | PRED      | f-MOD     |
|    | ┌───┴───┐ | ┌───┴───┐ | ┌───┴───┐ | ┌───┴───┐ | ┌───┴───┐ |
|    | ...       | ...       | ...       | ...       | ...       |

In Wano narratives and daily interaction we find clauses with no verb as nucleus. These are clauses either (i) with no overtly expressed verb or (ii) with a noun as the head of the clause. Parameters in (7.1) show that, within common usage, pro-drop is preferred, and the predicate is the only element required to form a clause in Wano. The structures and their elements are outlined in:

(7.2) **Distribution of nominal clausal properties in Wano**

---

a. **1-place predicates**

| ARG     | PREDICATE                                     |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------|
| NP/PRON | N [Physiological inalienable nouns (+ V/SVC)] |

b. **2-place predicates**

| ARG     | ARG     | PREDICATE                                 |
|---------|---------|-------------------------------------------|
| NP/PRON | NP/PRON | N [Cognitive inalienable nouns (+ V/SVC)] |

The four types of non-verbal predication in Wano are (i) *experiential event predicates*, which are discussed in §7.2; (ii) *nominal predicates*, discussed in §7.3; (iii) *adjectival predicates*, discussed in §7.4; and (iv) *deictic predicates*, discussed in §7.5.

## 7.2 EXPERIENTIAL EVENTS

Figure 3.1, repeated here as Figure 7.1, summarizes the typology of possessive nouns in Wano, in which nouns are divided into **alienable** and **inalienable** nouns.

Figure 7.1 (Figure 3.1 in chapter 3)  
**Typology of possessive nouns in Wano**

---

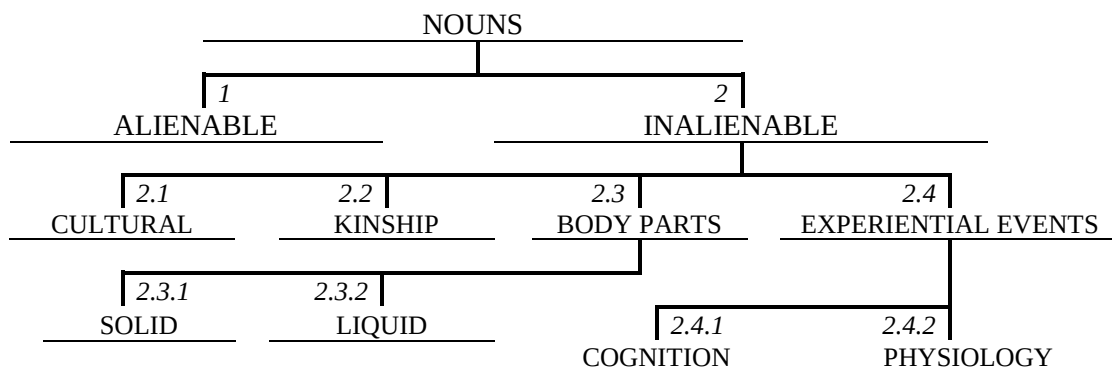




Figure 7.1 shows that Experiential Events in Wano are grammatically marked as Inalienably Possessed Nouns (abbreviated IPN), which are further divided into those terms that express **cognitive** and **physiological** state of affairs. As was noted in §3.3.2, hereinafter, I will refer to inalienably possessed nouns as **inalienable nouns** while retaining its abbreviation.

The term **Experiential Events** refers to grammatical notions that express certain cognitive and physiological states of affairs. Words that relate to cognitive spheres are those which refer to 'mind', 'knowledge', 'thought', 'love', 'ignorance' and 'remembrance', while those related to physical feelings of 'happiness', 'sadness', 'pain' 'heaviness', 'weariness', 'laziness', and the like are physiological words (cf. Burung 2002, 2003, 2004, 2007a).

The **cognitive** and **physiological** words are distinguished in terms of their syntactic distribution and function (cf. §7.2.4.1). As I will show in assorted examples below, hereafter, (i) physiological words follow and modify cognitive words, e.g. *nenokweid angginuk* 'I am happy' (*lit.* 'my-mind its-happiness'). The reversed structure, i.e. *\*angginuk nenokweid*, is not possible. (ii) In the predication, the nucleus for 1-place predicates is a physiological word, and for 2-place predicates is a cognitive word. In other words, only cognitive inalienable nouns may be the head of a 2-place predicate, and only physiological inalienable nouns may be the head of a 1-place predicate. The inalienable *angginuk* 'his-happiness', for instance, cannot be categorised as a cognitive word because it cannot be the head of a 2-place predicate. On the other

hand, the inalienable *enuk* 'his-knowledge' is not a physiological word since it cannot be the head of a 1-place predicate.

§7.2.1 provides the basic structure of Experiential Events. §7.2.2 discusses the Experiential Event construction with the verb *te-/tu-* 'intend'. §7.2.3 provides us with various uses of Experiential Events, including interrogative expressions (§7.2.3.1), functions of reduplication of Experiential Events (§7.2.3.2), and the use and function of various particles in experiential clauses (§7.2.3.3). §7.2.4 describes the use of Experiential Events in figurative expressions. This includes the combination of cognitive and physiological inalienable nouns (§7.2.4.1), the combination of an inalienable noun and an adjective (§7.2.4.2), and certain uses of *apu* { $\emptyset$ -apu} '3s-ingestion' (§7.2.4.3).

### **7.2.1 Basic structure**

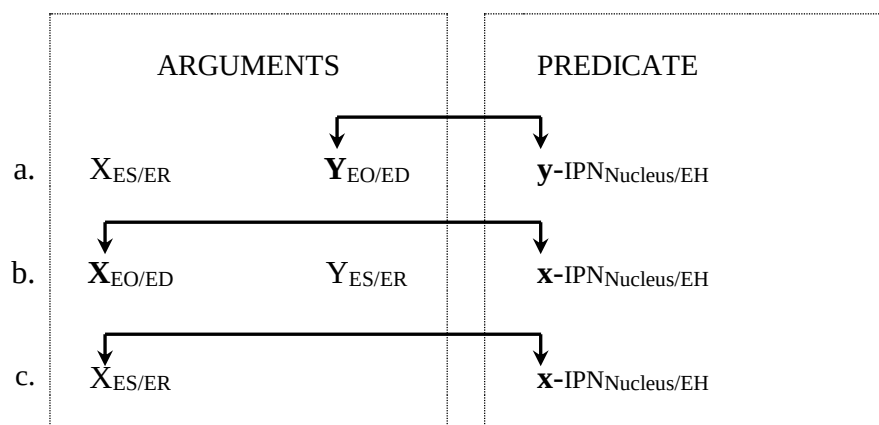
I will refer to the overall notion of Experiential Events as *Experiential Events* (abbreviated EE), the structure of Experiential Events under discussion as *Experiential Event Constructions* (EEC), the grammatical Subject of both transitive and intransitive clauses in the EEC as *Experiential Subject* (ES), the Object in the EEC as *Experiential Object* (EO), and the Nucleus of the EEC as *Experiential Head* (EH). In turn of their semantic/thematic roles, the Experiential Subject is the *Experiencer* (ER), the Experiential Object is the *Experienced* (ED) and the *Experiential Head* is the *Experiential Inalienable Noun* (E.IPN).

Figure 7.2 outlines the structure of EEC in Wano. Figure 7.2a-b represent 2-place predicates. Figure 7.2c represents 1-place predicates. The X and Y represent clause arguments that are Experiential Subject/Experiencer (ES/ER) and Experiential Object/Experienced (EO/ED) respectively. The prefixes x- and y- represent personal bound pronouns that are related to their clause arguments, i.e. X and Y. The word order of the arguments is not important. Thus, both structures, which are {X Y y-IPN} in Figure 7.2a and {X Y x-IPN} in Figure 7.2b are possible. In 2-place predicates, agreement takes place between EO/ED and the E/IPN nucleus, but there is no agreement between ES/ER and the E/IPN nucleus. Only in 1-place predicates is there agreement between ES/ER and the E/IPN. In Figure 7.2a, Y is the EO/ED argument, but in Figure 7.2b, X is the EO/ED argument (see example (7.3)). These structures are also attested with pro-drop of the arguments, as shown in (7.4).

Figure 7.2

**Basic clause structure of Experiential Events in Wano**

---



This is a fixed and basic structure. Lexical exponents allowed to fill the argument slots (i.e.  $X_{ES/ER}$  and  $Y_{EO/ED}$ ) are noun phrases (NP), nouns (N), free pronouns

(PRON, as in (7.3)), and inalienable nouns (IPN), which are terms for kinship relations and body parts. The only exponents allowed to act as the nucleus/head (HEAD) are experiential inalienable nouns (E.IPN): physiological IPN for 1-place predicates, and cognitive IPN for 2-place predicates.

Table 7.1 displays the morphological paradigm of EO/ED with respect to the basic EEC, where the cognitive IPN are, for examples: *enokweid* '3s-mind', *enuk* '3s-knowledge', *abua* '3s-love', and *engguq* '3s-ignorance'. The physiological IPN are *angginuk* '3s-happiness', *anggun* '3s-weariness', *anggin* '3s-heaviness', *emit* '3s-laziness', *anduk* '3s-pain' and *apu* '3s-ingestion'.

Table 7.1

**Paradigm of the Nucleus/Experiential.IPN with respect to the basic EEC of the cognitive and physiological Inalienable nouns**

| SINGULAR     |              |            | PLURAL          |                 |                |
|--------------|--------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1            | 2            | 3          | 1               | 2               | 3              |
| <i>n-IPN</i> | <i>k-IPN</i> | <i>IPN</i> | <i>niny-IPN</i> | <i>kiny-IPN</i> | <i>iny-IPN</i> |
| {n-IPN}      | {k-IPN}      | {ø-IPN}    | {nin-IPN}       | {kin-IPN}       | {in-IPN}       |
| 1s-IPN       | 2s-IPN       | 3s-IPN     | 1p-IPN          | 2p-IPN          | 3p-IPN         |

Based on Figure 7.2 and Table 7.1 we have the 2-place predicate examples of experiential events in (7.3) – cf. example in (6.7) in §6.2.2.

(7.3) **2-place predicates**

[cf. (7.1b), (7.2b) and Figure 7.2]

|    | <u>ES/ER</u>                                                                                                                              | <u>EO/ED</u>      | <u>PRED</u>         |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| a. | <i>an</i>                                                                                                                                 | <b><i>kat</i></b> | <b><i>kabua</i></b> |
|    | an                                                                                                                                        | <b>kat</b>        | <b>k-abua</b>       |
|    | I                                                                                                                                         | <b>you.sg</b>     | <b>2s-love</b>      |
|    | 'I love you.sg' or 'I feel for you.sg' or 'I have compassion for you.sg' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I have your.sg love' or 'I possess your.sg love') |                   |                     |

|    | <u>EO/ED</u>                                                                                                     | <u>ES/ER</u>  | <u>PRED</u>           |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| b. | <b><i>an</i></b>                                                                                                 | <i>kat</i>    | <b><i>nabua</i></b>   |
|    | <b><i>an</i></b>                                                                                                 | <i>kat</i>    | <b><i>n-abua</i></b>  |
|    | <b><i>I</i></b>                                                                                                  | <i>you.sg</i> | <b><i>1s-love</i></b> |
|    | 'You.sg love me' or 'You.sg feel for me' or 'You.sg have compassion for me' ( <i>lit.</i> 'You.sg have my love') |               |                       |

In (7.3a), *kat* 'you.sg' functions as the experiential object/experienced (EO/ED) and agrees with the nucleus/E.IPN *kabua* 'your.sg love', indicated by the second-person singular prefix {k-} '2s'. The experiential subject/experiencer (ES/ER), is *an* 'I' – cf. Figure 7.2a. In (7.3b), the EO/ED is *an* 'I' in agreement with the nucleus/E.IPN, indicated by the first-person singular prefix {n-} '1s', and the ES/ER is *kat* 'you.sg' – cf. Figure 7.2b.

The basic form in (7.3) may pro-drop arguments, which slightly alters the meanings.

(7.4) **2-place predicates** – pro-drop forms

|    | <u>ES/ER</u>                                                             | <u>EO/ED</u> | <u>PRED</u>  | [cf. (7.3a)] |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>an</i>                                                                | Ø            | <i>kabua</i> |              |
|    | an                                                                       |              | k-abua       |              |
|    | I                                                                        |              | 2s-love      |              |
|    | 'I love you.sg' or 'I feel for you.sg' or 'I have compassion for you.sg' |              |              |              |
| b. | Ø                                                                        | <i>kat</i>   | <i>kabua</i> |              |
|    |                                                                          | kat          | k-abua       |              |
|    |                                                                          | you.sg       | 2s-love      |              |
|    | '.... have pity on you.sg' or '.... feel sorry for you.sg'               |              |              |              |
| c. | Ø                                                                        | Ø            | <i>kabua</i> |              |
|    |                                                                          |              | k-abua       |              |
|    |                                                                          |              | 2s-love      |              |
|    | 'Poor you.sg!'                                                           |              |              |              |

The expression in (7.4a) indicates that the speaker, as the experiential subject (experiencer), is in focus (i.e. *an* 'I' as ES/ER is not dropped), while in (7.4b) it is the experiential object (experienced), that is in focus in the expression (i.e. *kat* 'you.sg' as EO/ED is not dropped). Moreover, the experiencer in (7.4b) is not restricted to the

first-person singular as in (7.4a). The expression in (7.4c) is a minimal reduction of both (7.4a) and (7.4b) in which the focus can either be the experienced, as in (7.5b) or the experiencer (7.5c). Like (7.4b), it is unclear as to who the experiencer is in (7.4c), but it is clear who the experienced is – as we consider the head-agreement displayed in Figure 7.2.

Among the Wano community, we may encounter a daily conversation like the one given in (7.5). In (7.5a), Speaker 1 tells his brother Speaker 2 that 'he has a headache and wishes to take some medicine'. In replying, Speaker 2 expresses 'his feeling of sorrow' to his brother for the fact that 'there is no medicine'. He begins the clause with *k-abua* '2s-feeling for' for 'Poor you.sg!' (7.5b). Agreeing with Speaker 2's remark, Speaker 1 replies *n-abua* '1s-feeling for' for 'Poor me!' (7.5c).

- (7.5) a. Speaker 1:  
*an nanop anduk-o [obat] norak-o.*  
 an n-anop ø-antuk=o | obat no-tak=o \  
 I 1s-head 3s-pain=PAUS medicine consume-then=PAUS  
 'I have a headache; I wish to take some medicine'  
 (lit. 'I have my head its pain, ..' or 'I have my head's pain, ..' or 'My head its pain, ..')
- b. Speaker 2:  
***kabua** [obat] ta dik-o*  
***k-abua** | obat ta dik=o \*  
 2s-love medicine SPEC NEG=PAUS  
 'Poor you.sg! There is no medicine.'
- c. Speaker 1:  
***nabua-o***  
***n-abua=o** \*  
 1s-love=PAUS  
 'Poor me!'

[Fieldnote: Fawi, 1995]

Such expressions of showing and attracting sympathy in (7.5b) and (7.5c) are in common use among the Wano community.

- (7.6)
- |           |              |            |                             |              |                |
|-----------|--------------|------------|-----------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>yu</i> | <i>narik</i> | <i>ka,</i> | <b><i>kinyabua-o,</i></b>   | <i>itnuk</i> | <i>nggebak</i> |
| j-u       | n-at-ik      | ta         | <b><i>kin-abua=o   </i></b> | it-nuk       | nkebak         |
| say-PL    | go-3p-PROG   | SPEC       | 2p-love=PAUS                | do-I.SEQ     | canoe          |
- 
- |           |                 |                |                 |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>no</i> | <i>wonok</i>    | <i>nikik</i>   | <i>worak-o.</i> |
| no        | wo-nok          | nit-k-ik       | wot-ak=o \      |
| this.way  | carry-3sp.INCEP | pull-REAL-PROG | come-then=PAUS  |
- 'As they were saying, "Poor you.pl!" having done/said so, they carried the canoe towards us.'
- [Text 67: 3.17; Burung 2013a: 258, 268]

Some more examples of 2-place predicates follow.

- (7.7)     **2-place predicates** – with pro-drop forms
- |    | <u>ES/ER</u>                                                    | <u>EO/ED</u> | <u>PRED</u>    |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| a. | <i>an</i>                                                       | <i>kat</i>   | <i>kengguq</i> |
|    | an                                                              | kat          | k-engguq       |
|    | I                                                               | you.sg       | 2s-ignorance   |
|    | 'I don't know you.sg' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I have your.sg-ignorance') |              |                |
| b. | <i>an</i>                                                       | Ø            | <i>kengguq</i> |
|    | an                                                              |              | k-engguq       |
|    | I                                                               |              | 2s-ignorance   |
|    | 'I don't know you.sg' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I have your.sg-ignorance') |              |                |
| c. | <i>kat</i>                                                      | <i>an</i>    | <i>nenuk</i>   |
|    | kat                                                             | an           | n-enuk         |
|    | you.sg                                                          | I            | 1s-knowledge   |
|    | 'You.sg know me' ( <i>lit.</i> 'You.sg have my-knowledge')      |              |                |
| d. | <i>kat</i>                                                      | Ø            | <i>nenuk</i>   |
|    | kat                                                             |              | n-enuk         |
|    | you.sg                                                          |              | 1s-knowledge   |
|    | 'You.sg know me' ( <i>lit.</i> 'You.sg have my-knowledge')      |              |                |

The examples given in (7.3-7) show the cognitive IPN. However, the physiological IPN is found with a significantly different structure. The clause structure of the physiological IPN in (7.8), i.e. *an nanop anduk* 'My head is in pain', is unlike that of the cognitive IPN in (7.3), i.e. *an kat kabua* 'I love you.sg'. In this instance, the physiological IPN represents a 1-place predicate, i.e. [NP PRED] – cf. (7.1a) and (7.2a), while the cognitive IPN represents a 2-place predicate, i.e. [NP NP PRED] – cf. (7.1b) and (7.2b).

In (7.8), there is agreement between (i) the NP elements: *an* 'I' and *nanop* 'my-head', and (ii) the experiential subject/experiencer: *an nanop* 'my head' and experiential predicate: *anduk* 'its-pain'.

(7.8) **1-place predicates** – with pro-drop forms [cf. (7.1a) and (7.2a)]

|    | ES/ER                                                                                                           |              | PRED            |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>an</i>                                                                                                       | <i>nanop</i> | <i>anduk.</i>   |
|    | an                                                                                                              | n-anop       | Ø-antuk         |
|    | I                                                                                                               | 1s-head      | 3s-pain         |
|    | 'I have a headache' or 'My head is painful' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I have my head its pain' or 'I have my head's pain') |              |                 |
| b. | Ø                                                                                                               | <i>nanop</i> | <i>anduk-o.</i> |
|    |                                                                                                                 | n-anop       | Ø-antuk=o \     |
|    |                                                                                                                 | 1s-head      | 3s-pain=PAUS    |
|    | 'I have a headache' or 'My head is painful' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'My head's pain' or 'My head its pain')             |              |                 |
| c. | Ø                                                                                                               | Ø            | <i>anduk-o.</i> |
|    |                                                                                                                 |              | Ø-antuk=o \     |
|    |                                                                                                                 |              | 3s-pain=PAUS    |
|    | 'It is painful' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'Its pain')                                                                     |              |                 |

When the type of sickness is specified, the construction with *anduk* '3s-pain' is not possible, as shown in (7.9a). In this case, the Wano transitive verb *wat-* 'one hits him' is used, (7.9b). Note: the Malay/Indonesian loanwords are given in square brackets.

|       |    |                                                                                                                                         |                    |                                  |
|-------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| (7.9) | a. | <i>*an</i>                                                                                                                              | [ <i>malaria</i> ] | <i>anduk.</i>                    |
|       |    | an                                                                                                                                      | malaria            | Ø-anduk                          |
|       |    | I                                                                                                                                       | malaria            | 3s-pain                          |
|       | b. | <i>an</i>                                                                                                                               | [ <i>malaria</i> ] | <i>nokirak.</i>                  |
|       |    | an                                                                                                                                      | malaria            | no-k-it-ak                       |
|       |    | I                                                                                                                                       | malaria            | hit.1s.OBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS |
|       |    | 'I suffer from malaria' or 'I am suffering from malaria' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'Malaria hits/strikes me' or 'Malaria is hitting/striking me') |                    |                                  |

Nevertheless, we may have both clauses in a cause-reason clause as in (7.10), where both (7.10a) and (7.10b) are possible.



- (7.10) a. *an nanop anduk-o,*  
*an n-anop ø-anduk=o |*  
*I 1s-head 3s-pain=PAUS*
- [malaria] nokirak-o.*  
*malaria no-k-it-ak=o \*  
*malaria hit.1s.OBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
 'I have a headache, (for) I am suffering from malaria' or 'I have a headache (because) malaria hit me'
- b. *[malaria] nokirak nome*  
*malaria no-k-it-ak nome*  
*malaria hit.1s.OBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then because*
- an nanop anduk-o.*  
*an n-anop ø-anduk=o \*  
*I 1s-head 3s-pain= PAUS*  
 'Because malaria hit me, I have a headache' or 'Because of suffering from malaria, I have a headache'

Note that the cause-reason conjunction, *nome* 'because', has been added to (7.10b), but is dropped in (7.10a). The pronoun *an* 'I' is optional for both sentences, in fact, it is very common to pro-drop it in a normal conversation. The insertion of *an* 'I' signifies that the concern is focused on the person who is in pain. On the other hand, the deletion of *an* 'I' signifies that the concern is focused on the person's body part that is in pain.

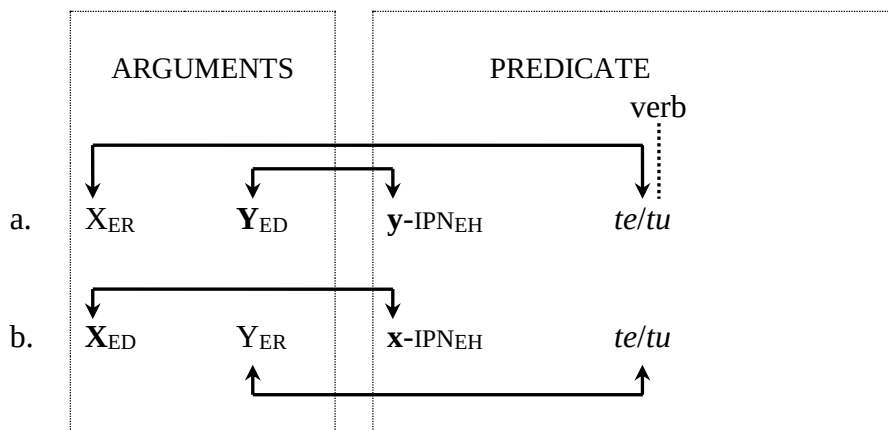
On this basis, I claim that in terms of the experiential event clauses, only cognitive inalienable nouns may be the head of a 2-place predicate, and only physiological inalienable nouns may be the head of a 1-place predicate – cf. the distribution of nominal clausal properties in Wano, outlined in (7.2).

## 7.2.2 Basic Structure plus Verbs

Wano allows the extension of the EEC basic structure by the addition of a verb, in this instance, *te/tu* {t-e/t-u} 'he intends/they intend' clause finally, to express tense-aspect-mood of the basic form. Consider Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3

### Extended clause structure of Experiential Events in Wano – 2-place predicates



In Figure 7.3, the verb marks the person/number and tense-aspect-mood. Cross-referencing takes place between experiential subject/experiencer (ES/ER) and the verb, and experiential object/experienced (EO/ED) and the experiential inalienable nouns (E.IPN). The word order of arguments is not significant, but the function of arguments is important in determining their grammatical relation to either E.IPN or V. In Figure 7.3a, it is X that functions as ES/ER and Y as EO/ED. On the other hand, in Figure 7.3b, it is Y that functions as ES/ER and X as EO/ED. The parameters that govern this are given in:

(7.11) **Parameter 1:**

- a. Agreement between experiencer (ER) and verbs (V) is required.
- b. Agreement between experienced (ED) and inalienable nouns is required.
- c. Word order of arguments is not significant, but the function of arguments that determine their agreement either with E.IPN or with V.

The examples for parameter 1 in (7.11) are given in (7.12). Here we note that in (7.12a), *an* 'I' is ES/ER and is therefore in agreement with the verb *tetik* {te-**tt**-ik} 'intend-1s.SBJ-PROG', and *kat* 'you.sg' is EO/ED and so is in agreement with the experiential inalienable *kabua* {**k**-abua} 'your.sg-love'. In (7.12b), however, *an* 'I' is EO/ED, thus in agreement with the experiential inalienable *nabua* {n-abut} 'my-love', while *kat* '2s' is ES/ER, and so in agreement with the verb.

(7.12) **2-place predicates**

|    |                                                                                 |            |                            |               |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| a. | ES/ER                                                                           | EO/ED      | PRED                       | [Figure 7.3a] |
|    | <i>an</i>                                                                       | <i>kat</i> | <i>kabua tetik</i>         |               |
|    | an                                                                              | kat        | k-abua te-tt-ik            |               |
|    | I                                                                               | you.sg     | 2s-love intend-1s.SBJ-PROG |               |
|    | 'I will love you.sg' or 'I want to love you.sg' 'I will have pity on you.sg'    |            |                            |               |
| b. | EO/ED                                                                           | ES/ER      | PRED                       | [Figure 7.3b] |
|    | <i>an</i>                                                                       | <i>kat</i> | <i>nabua tendik</i>        |               |
|    | an                                                                              | kat        | n-abua te-nt-ik            |               |
|    | I                                                                               | you.sg     | 1s-love intend-2s.SBJ-PROG |               |
|    | 'You.sg will love me' or 'You.sg want to love me' 'You.sg will have pity on me' |            |                            |               |

The pro-drop forms of (7.12) are commonly found, shown in (7.13), the verb must appear and agree with the experiential subject/experiencer (ES/ER) even when the ES/ER is dropped.

(7.13) **2-place predicates** – pro-drop forms

|    | ES/ER                                                                                                   | EO/ED      | PRED         |                    |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>an</i>                                                                                               | Ø          | <i>kabua</i> | <i>tetik</i>       |
|    | an                                                                                                      |            | k-abua       | te-t-ik            |
|    | I                                                                                                       |            | 2s-love      | intend-1s.SBJ-PROG |
|    | 'I will love you.sg' (emphasis on the experiencer, clausal stress on <i>an</i> )                        |            |              |                    |
| b. | Ø                                                                                                       | <i>kat</i> | <i>kabua</i> | <i>tetik</i>       |
|    |                                                                                                         | kat        | k-abua       | te-t-ik            |
|    |                                                                                                         | you.sg     | 2s-love      | intend-1s.SBJ-PROG |
|    | 'I will love you.sg' (emphasis on the experienced, clausal stress on <i>kat</i> )                       |            |              |                    |
| c. | Ø                                                                                                       | Ø          | <i>kabua</i> | <i>tetik</i>       |
|    |                                                                                                         |            | k-abua       | te-t-ik            |
|    |                                                                                                         |            | 2s-love      | intend-1s.SBJ-PROG |
|    | 'I will love you.sg' (simply a statement, no significant emphasis on either experiencer or experienced) |            |              |                    |

Figure 7.3 and the parameter 1 in (7.11) show that only the experiential subject/experiencer can agree with the verb, and only the experiential object/experienced can agree with the inalienable noun. This tells us that the experiential subject/experiencer (ES/ER) cannot agree with the inalienable nouns, and the experiential object/experienced (EO/ED) cannot agree with the verbs. Cross-reference between the experiential object/experienced and the verb is not possible when the E.IPN bears a prefix cross-referencing the experienced argument. Likewise, cross-reference between the experiential subject/experiencer and the E.IPN is not possible. The constraints governing this are that (i) agreement between experiential subject/experiencer argument (ES/ER) and inalienable nouns (E.IPN) is not permitted, and (ii) agreement between experiential object/experienced argument (EO/ED) and verbs (V) is not permitted.

Thus far, we have seen examples of 2-place predicate experiential event clauses.

Figure 7.4 shows the extended clause structure of EEC in 1-place predicates.

Figure 7.4

**Extended clause structure of Experiential Events in Wano – 1-place predicates**

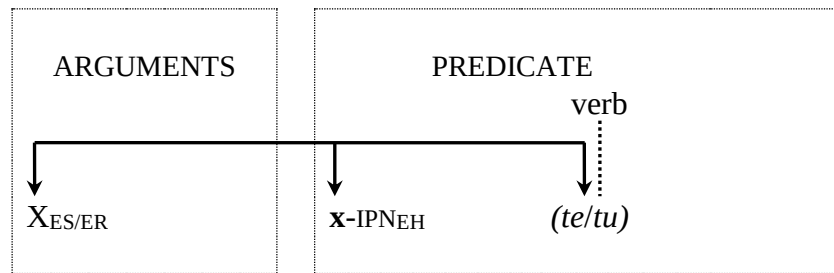


Figure 7.4 also shows that all elements of the clause, i.e. ES/ER, E/IPN and V, agree with each other – cf. the examples in (7.14c, d and e).

(7.14a) shows the basic structure previously discussed in §7.2.1, with its pro-drop forms in (7.14a'). (7.14b) is the basic structure plus verb, with its pro-drop form in (7.14b'). In this structure, the experiential subject/experiencer *an* 'I' agrees with both the inalienable noun *nangginuk* {n-ankinuk} 'my-happiness' and the verb *tetik* {te-tt-ik} 'I am intending'. The same is true for (7.14c-c').

(7.14) **1-place predicates** – with pro-drop

|     | ES/ER                                                                                                                          | PRED                                                                                                      |                                                                        |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a.  | $\overline{an}$<br>an<br>I<br>'I am happy.' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I have my-happiness')                                               | $\overline{nangginuk}$<br>n-ankinuk<br>1s-happiness                                                       |                                                                        |
| a'. | $\overline{\emptyset}$                                                                                                         | $\overline{nangginuk}$<br>n-ankinuk<br>1s-happiness<br>'I am happy.' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I have my-happiness') |                                                                        |
| b.  | $\overline{an}$<br><b>an</b><br><b>I</b><br>'I am intending to be happy.' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I am having my mind's its-happiness') | $\overline{nangginuk}$<br><b>n-ankinuk</b><br><b>1s-happiness</b>                                         | $\overline{tetik.}$<br>te- <b>tt</b> -ik<br>intend- <b>1s.SBJ-PROG</b> |

- b'.     $\emptyset$             *nangginuk*      *tetik.*  
                       **n**-ankinuk      te-**tt**-ik  
                           **1s**-happiness    intend-**1s.SBJ**-PROG  
           'I am intending to be happy.' (*lit.*: 'My mind is having its-happiness')
- c.    *kat*            *kangginuk*      *tendik.*  
                       **kat**            **k**-ankinuk      te-**nt**-ik  
                       **you.sg**      **2s**-happiness    intend-**2s.SBJ**-PROG  
           'You.sg are intending to be happy.' (*lit.*: 'Your.sg mind is having its-happiness')
- c'.     $\emptyset$             *kangginuk*      *tendik.*  
                       **k**-ankinuk      te-**nt**-ik  
                           **2s**-happiness    intend-**2s.SBJ**-PROG  
           'You.sg are intending to be happy.' (*lit.*: 'Your.sg mind is having its-happiness')

In summary, the *basic structure* of EEC was given in §7.2.1, the *basic structure plus verbs* was presented in §7.2.2. A further structure of EEC is the *basic structure plus serial verb constructions* (SVC). In this case, the verbal element shown in Figure 7.3 is an SVC, which further expresses information about the tense-aspect-mood of the clause. The examples in (7.15) show the basic structure plus SVC experiential event clause found in Wano.

(7.15)    **Basic structure plus Serial Verb Constructions** (see chapter 9 §9.3)

a.    **1-place predicates**

| ES/ER                                                                                                         | PRED                                          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| <i>nenokweid</i>                                                                                              | <i>anduk    te            dokniq</i>          |
| n-enokweid                                                                                                    | $\emptyset$ -antuk    te            do-k-niq  |
| 1s-mind                                                                                                       | 3s-pain    intend-3s.SBJ    stay-REAL-as.such |
| 'I have a broken heart.' or 'My heart will remain in pain.' ( <i>lit.</i> 'My mind intends to stay in pain.') |                                               |

b.    **2-place predicates**

| ES/ER                                                                                                                      | EO/ED      | PRED                                          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| <i>an</i>                                                                                                                  | <i>kat</i> | <i>kabua    te            dokniq</i>          |
| an                                                                                                                         | kat        | k-abua    te            do-k-niq              |
| I                                                                                                                          | you.sg     | 2s-love    intend-3s.SBJ    stay-REAL-as.such |
| 'I will remain loving you.sg.' or 'I intend to stay in love with you.sg' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I intend to stay in your.sg love') |            |                                               |

I will discuss the basic structure plus SVC in chapter 9 §9.3.

### 7.2.3 Various grammatical uses of EEC

I now describe interrogative expressions with EEC in §7.2.3.1, the functions of reduplication in §7.2.3.2, and various particles in §7.2.3.3.

#### 7.2.3.1 Interrogative expressions

In chapter 4 §4.10, I discussed the question particle *a* {=a} 'Q', used to code polar or YES-NO questions, which is suffixed to the final word of a clause as shown in:

(7.16) **1-place predicates**

|     | ES/ER                                                                                                 |  | PRED                  |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| a.  | <u>kat      kanop</u>                                                                                 |  | <u>anduk-<i>a</i></u> |
|     | kat      k-anop                                                                                       |  | ø-antuk=a             |
|     | you.sg   2s-head                                                                                      |  | 3s-pain=Q             |
|     | 'Have you.sg a headache?' or 'Is your.sg head painful?' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'Your.sg head, has it pain?') |  |                       |
| a'. | <u>Ø      kanop</u>                                                                                   |  | <u>anduk-<i>a</i></u> |
|     | Ø      k-anop                                                                                         |  | ø-antuk=a             |
|     | 2s-head                                                                                               |  | 3s-pain=Q             |
|     | 'Have you.sg a headache' or 'Is your.sg head painful' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'Your.sg head, has it pain?')   |  |                       |

In chapter 6 §6.6, the WH-question construction was described. In clauses with EEC, they are found preceding the head IPN (E.IPN) and may co-occur with the question particle =a 'Q'. The pro-drop form is also attested, as illustrated in:

(7.17)

|    | SE/ER                                                                                    |  | Q                   |  | PRED                  |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|---------------------|--|-----------------------|
| a. | <u>Ø      kanop</u>                                                                      |  | <u><i>ngga</i></u>  |  | <u>anduk</u>          |
|    | Ø      k-anop                                                                            |  | <b>nka</b>          |  | ø-antuk               |
|    | 2s-head                                                                                  |  | where               |  | 3s-pain               |
|    | 'Which part of your.sg head is in pain?' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'Your.sg head its pain where?') |  |                     |  |                       |
| b. | <u>Ø      kanop</u>                                                                      |  | <u><i>mande</i></u> |  | <u>anduk-<i>a</i></u> |
|    | Ø      k-anop                                                                            |  | <b>mante</b>        |  | ø-antuk=a             |
|    | 2s-head                                                                                  |  | much                |  | 3s-pain=Q             |
|    | 'How painful is your.sg headache?' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'Your.sg head its much pain?')        |  |                     |  |                       |

- c. Ø    *kanop*    ***mandom***    *anduk-a*  
          k-anop    ***mantom***    ø-antuk=a  
          2s-head    when    3s-pain=Q  
          'Since when have you.sg suffered from headache?' (*lit.*: 'Your.sg head its pain when?')
- d. Ø    *kanop*    ***wae***    *anduk-a*  
          k-anop    ***wae***    ø-antuk=a  
          2s-head    why    3s-pain=Q  
          'Why have you.sg a headache?' (*lit.*: 'Your.sg head its pain why?')

### 7.2.3.2 Functions of reduplication

The reduplication of verbs, discussed in §4.8, has the grammatical function of indicating a continuing event, or even some sense of iterative, such as 'they were coming in waves'. When E.IPN are reduplicated, three meanings are possible. These are: (i) to express a continuing event, discussed in §7.2.3.2.1; (ii) to establish reciprocal events, in §7.2.3.2.2; and (iii) to denote imperative, hortative and/or emphatic expressions, in §7.2.3.2.3.

#### 7.2.3.2.1 Iterative state of affairs

The reduplication of physiological words, such as *anduk* '3s-pain', *angginuk* '3s-happiness', etc. is used to indicate an ongoing state of affairs as illustrated in (7.18) and (7.19).

| ES/ER  |                        | PRED                       |                |             |                   |
|--------|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| (7.18) | <i>an</i> <i>nanop</i> | <b><i>anduk~panduk</i></b> | <i>nome</i>    | <i>ta,</i>  | <i>nenokweid</i>  |
|        | <i>an</i> n-anop       | ø-anduk~panduk             | <i>nome</i>    | <i>ta</i>   | <i>n-enokweid</i> |
|        | <i>I</i> 1s-head       | 3s-pain-REDUP              | <i>because</i> | <i>SPEC</i> | <i>1s-mind</i>    |

*bok*    *mek-o.*

*bok*    *mek=o \*

*good*    *impossible=PAUS*

'Since I keep having a headache, I cannot think well.' (*lit.* 'Since I (have) my head's pain-pain, my mind (is) impossible (to be) good.')



|        |                                                                                                                                     |                                         |      |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------|
| (7.19) |                                                                                                                                     | ES/ER                                   | PRED |
| a.     | <u><i>an</i>    <i>nenokweid</i></u>                                                                                                | <u><b><i>angginuk~pangginuk</i></b></u> |      |
|        | an    n-enokweid                                                                                                                    | ø-ankinuk~pankinuk                      |      |
|        | I    1s-mind                                                                                                                        | 3s-happiness~REDUP                      |      |
|        | 'I keep being happy' or 'I am constantly full of joy' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I (have) my mind's happiness-happiness')                       |                                         |      |
| b.     | <i>an</i> <i>nenokweid</i>                                                                                                          | <b><i>anggun~panggun</i></b>            |      |
|        | an    n-enokweid                                                                                                                    | ø-ankun~pankun                          |      |
|        | I    1s-mind                                                                                                                        | 3s-weariness~REDUP                      |      |
|        | 'I keep being weary/anxious' or 'I am constantly full of weariness/anxiety' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I (have) my mind's weariness-weariness') |                                         |      |

As in (7.17), pro-drop is a common feature, i.e. in the second clause, we have the phrase *enokweid anduk-panduk* 'his mind keeps being in pain', instead of *at enokweid anduk-panduk*. This is also true for examples in (7.19) and the following examples in (7.20).

#### 7.2.3.2.2 Reciprocal state of affairs

The reduplication of cognitive words expresses a reciprocal state of affairs. Examples in (7.20) indicate cross-referencing between an inalienable word (as clause head) and arguments, which are experiential subject/experiencer (ES/ER) and experiential object/experienced (EO/ED). In (7.20a), we have third-person singular and second-person singular prefixes. This tells us that the clause is about a speaker (*Sp*) addressing an addressee (*Ad*) regarding an event that involves the *Ad* and somebody undergoing a thinking-event. In sum, it is about ES/ER second-person singular and EO/ED third-person singular undergoing a thinking-event. (7.20b) is about ES/ER second-person plural and EO/ED third-person plural undergoing a thinking-event. Both clauses in (7.20) have a single interpretation in English, i.e. 'You think of each other'.

|        |  |                                                                                                                                                                          |           |                                 |
|--------|--|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| (7.20) |  | ES/ER                                                                                                                                                                    | EO/ED     | PRED                            |
| a.     |  | <u>kat</u>                                                                                                                                                               | <u>at</u> | <u>enokweid~kenokweid</u>       |
|        |  | kat                                                                                                                                                                      | at        | ø-enokweid~k-REDUP              |
|        |  | you.sg                                                                                                                                                                   | he        | 3s-mind~2s-mind                 |
|        |  | 'You.sg think of each other' (between you.sg and he/she)' ( <i>lit.</i> 'You.sg/he/she think/s of you.sg/he/she' or 'You.sg have his/her mind, he/she has your.sg mind') |           |                                 |
| b.     |  | <u>kit</u>                                                                                                                                                               | <u>it</u> | <u>inyenokweid~kinyenokweid</u> |
|        |  | kit                                                                                                                                                                      | it        | in-enokweid~kin-REDUP           |
|        |  | you.pl                                                                                                                                                                   | they      | 3p-mind~2p-mind                 |
|        |  | 'You.pl think of each other' (between you.pl and they)' ( <i>lit.</i> 'You.pl/they think of you.pl/they' or 'You.pl have their mind, they have your.pl mind')            |           |                                 |

(7.21a) is about ES/ER second-person singular and EO/ED first-person singular undergoing a thinking-event. (7.21b), is about ES/ER second-person plural and EO/ED first-person plural undergoing a thinking-event. Both clauses in (7.20) have a single interpretation in English, i.e. 'We think of each other'.

|        |  |                                                                                                                                                 |            |                                  |
|--------|--|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------------------|
| (7.21) |  | ES/ER                                                                                                                                           | EO/ED      | PRED                             |
| a.     |  | <u>kat</u>                                                                                                                                      | <u>an</u>  | <u>nenokweid~kenokweid</u>       |
|        |  | kat                                                                                                                                             | an         | n-enokweid~k-REDUP               |
|        |  | you.pl                                                                                                                                          | I          | 1s-mind~2s-mind                  |
|        |  | 'We think of each other' (between you.sg and I)' ( <i>lit.</i> 'You.sg/I think of you.sg/I' or 'You.sg have my mind, I have your.sg mind')      |            |                                  |
| b.     |  | <u>kit</u>                                                                                                                                      | <u>nit</u> | <u>ninyenokweid~kinyenokweid</u> |
|        |  | kit                                                                                                                                             | nit        | nin-enokweid~kin-REDUP           |
|        |  | you.pl                                                                                                                                          | we         | 1p-mind~2p-mind                  |
|        |  | 'We think of each other' (between you.pl and we)' ( <i>lit.</i> 'You.pl/we think of you.pl/we' or 'You.pl have our mind, we have your.pl mind') |            |                                  |

(7.22a) is about ES/ER first-person singular and EO/ED third-person singular undergoing a thinking-event. (7.22b) is about ES/ER first-person plural and EO/ED third-person plural undergoing a thinking-event. Both clauses in (7.22) have a single interpretation in English, i.e. 'We think of each other', just like the ones in:

|        |  |                                                                                                                                   |           |                                 |
|--------|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| (7.22) |  | ES/ER                                                                                                                             | EO/ED     | PRED                            |
| a.     |  | <u>an</u>                                                                                                                         | <u>at</u> | <u>enokweid~nenokweid</u>       |
|        |  | an                                                                                                                                | at        | Ø-enokweid~n-REDUP              |
|        |  | I                                                                                                                                 | he        | 3s-mind~1s-mind                 |
|        |  | 'We think of each other' (between he/she and I)' (lit. 'he/she/I think of he/she/I' or 'he/she has my mind, I have his/her mind') |           |                                 |
| b.     |  | <u>nit</u>                                                                                                                        | <u>it</u> | <u>inyenokweid~ninyenokweid</u> |
|        |  | nit                                                                                                                               | it        | in-enokweid~nin-REDUP           |
|        |  | we                                                                                                                                | they      | 3p-mind~1p-mind                 |
|        |  | 'We think of each other' (between they and we)' (lit. 'They/we think of each other' or 'They have our mind, we have their mind')  |           |                                 |

(7.23a) is about ES/ER and EO/ED third-person singular undergoing a thinking-event. (7.23b), is about ES/ER and EO/ED third-person plural undergoing a thinking-event. Both clauses in (7.23) have a single interpretation in English, i.e. 'They think of each other'.

|        |  |                                                                                                                                                 |           |                                |
|--------|--|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| (7.23) |  | ES/ER                                                                                                                                           | EO/ED     | PRED                           |
| a.     |  | <u>at</u>                                                                                                                                       | <u>at</u> | <u>enokweid~enokweid</u>       |
|        |  | at                                                                                                                                              | at        | Ø-enokweid~Ø-REDUP             |
|        |  | he                                                                                                                                              | he        | 3s-mind~3s-mind                |
|        |  | 'They think of each other' (between he/she and he/she)' (lit. 'He/she thinks of him/her' or 'he/she has his/her mind, he/she has his/her mind') |           |                                |
| b.     |  | <u>it</u>                                                                                                                                       | <u>it</u> | <u>inyenokweid~inyenokweid</u> |
|        |  | it                                                                                                                                              | it        | in-enokweid~in-REDUP           |
|        |  | they                                                                                                                                            | they      | 3p-mind~3p-mind                |
|        |  | 'They think of each other' (between they and they)' (lit. 'They/they think of they/they' or 'They have their mind, they have their mind')       |           |                                |

#### 7.2.3.2.3 Imperative, hortative, emphatic state of affairs

There is no clear distinction between the hortative, imperative and emphatic state of affairs. However, following Barnabas Mirib (p.c., Biricare 1994/5), the examples in (7.24) are imperative and/or might be emphatic, while those in (7.25) are hortative. In this sense, the imperative is a command and communicates that the addressee must do something. The imperative can be emphatic, i.e. a forceful command to do

something. The hortative is an invitation, a suggestion or advice to do something. The particle *op* {*op*} 'must' is used to signal the imperative and hortative expressions.

(7.24) **Imperative**

|    | ES/ER                                                         | EO/ED      | PRED                                 |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>kat</i>                                                    | <i>at</i>  | <b><i>op</i></b> <i>abua</i>         |
|    | kat                                                           | at         | <b><i>op</i></b> ø-abua              |
|    | you.sg                                                        | he         | <b><i>must</i></b> 3s-love           |
|    | 'You.sg must love her' (to second singular)                   |            |                                      |
| b. | <i>an</i>                                                     | <i>kat</i> | <b><i>op</i></b> <i>kabua~nabua</i>  |
|    | an                                                            | kat        | <b><i>op</i></b> k-abua~n-abua       |
|    | I                                                             | you.sg     | <b><i>must</i></b> 2s-love~1s- REDUP |
|    | 'We must love each other' (between first and second singular) |            |                                      |

(7.25) **Hortative**

|    | ES/ER                                                                      | EO/ED      | PRED                                      |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------------|
| a. | Ø                                                                          | <i>nit</i> | <b><i>op</i></b> <i>abua</i>              |
|    |                                                                            | nit        | <b><i>op</i></b> ø-abua                   |
|    |                                                                            | we         | <b><i>must</i></b> 3s-love                |
|    | 'Let us love her.' (between singular/plural participants for third-person) |            |                                           |
| b. | Ø                                                                          | <i>nit</i> | <b><i>op</i></b> <i>kabua~nabua</i>       |
|    |                                                                            | nit        | <b><i>op</i></b> k-abua~n-abua            |
|    |                                                                            | we         | <b><i>must</i></b> 2s-love~1s-REDUP       |
|    | 'Let us love each other.' (between singular participants; of you.sg and I) |            |                                           |
| c. | Ø                                                                          | <i>nit</i> | <b><i>op</i></b> <i>kinyabua~ninyabua</i> |
|    |                                                                            | nit        | <b><i>op</i></b> kin-abua~nin-abua        |
|    |                                                                            | we         | <b><i>must</i></b> 2p-love~1p-REDUP       |
|    | 'Let us love each other.' (between plural participants; of you.pl and we)  |            |                                           |

Considering the examples in (7.24) and (7.25) above, and in (7.26) below, and in addition to what was discussed in §7.2.3.2.1, we can see that Wano clearly identifies participants. In (7.26a), *an* 'I' is the ES/ER and *at* 'she' is the EO/ED. The role is switched in (7.26b). This is coded by their grammatical relation between EO/ED argument and E.IPN predicate, i.e. {ø-} '3s' and {n-} '1s' – cf. Figure 7.2a-b. The first-person plural, *nit* 'we', refers to two singular participants in (7.26c), but refers to two plural participants in (7.26d).

|        |    |                                               |            |                         |
|--------|----|-----------------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| (7.26) | a. | ES/ER                                         | EO/ED      | PRED                    |
|        |    | <u>an</u>                                     | <u>at</u>  | <u>abua</u>             |
|        |    | an                                            | at         | ø-abua                  |
|        |    | I                                             | she        | 3s-love                 |
|        |    | 'I love her.'                                 |            |                         |
|        | b. | EO/ED                                         | ES/ER      | PRED                    |
|        |    | <u>an</u>                                     | <u>at</u>  | <u>nabua</u>            |
|        |    | an                                            | at         | n-abua                  |
|        |    | I                                             | she        | 1s-love                 |
|        |    | 'She loves me.'                               |            |                         |
|        | c. | ES/ER                                         | EO/ED      | PRED                    |
|        |    | <u>Ø</u>                                      | <u>nit</u> | <u>abua~nabua</u>       |
|        |    |                                               | nit        | ø-abua~n-abua           |
|        |    |                                               | we         | 3s-love~1s-abua         |
|        |    | 'We love each other.' (singular participants) |            |                         |
|        | d. | ES/ER                                         | EO/ED      | PRED                    |
|        |    | <u>Ø</u>                                      | <u>nit</u> | <u>inyabua~ninyabua</u> |
|        |    |                                               | nit        | in-abua~nin-abua        |
|        |    |                                               | we         | 3p-love~1p-love         |
|        |    | 'We love each other.' (plural participants)   |            |                         |

### 7.2.3.3 Various particles

Particles that are found following the experiential clause head (E.IPN) are: *dik* {dik} 'NEGATIVE', *ma* {ma} 'PROHIBITIVE', *mek* {mek} 'impossible', *bok* {bok} 'good', *maduk* {maduk} 'bad', *biri* {biri} 'clean', *kik* {kik} 'dirty', and *buq* {buq} 'INTERJ'. Particles that are found preceding the E.IPN are the WH-question words described in §7.3.1 and *op* {op} 'must' as described in §7.3.2.3. Particles that are found following the above particles are *ki* {ki} 'INTENSIFIER' and *ta* {ta} 'SPECIFIER'. When the clause takes either the verb *te/tu* {t-e/t-u} 'he intends/they intend' or the SVC with *do* {do-} 'one stays', such verbs are found clause finally. Some examples follow.

#### (7.27) 2-place predicates

|    |                                              |           |                 |
|----|----------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| a. | ES/ER                                        | EO/ED     | PRED            |
|    | <u>an</u>                                    | <u>at</u> | <u>enokweid</u> |
|    | an                                           | at        | ø-enokweid      |
|    | I                                            | he        | 3s-mind         |
|    | 'I think of him/her' or 'I remember him/her' |           |                 |

|    |                                                                        |                  |                           |                      |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
|    | ES/ER                                                                  | EO/ED            | PRED                      |                      |
| b. | <u><i>an</i></u>                                                       | <u><i>at</i></u> | <u><i>op enokweid</i></u> |                      |
|    | an                                                                     | at               | op                        | ø-enokweid           |
|    | I                                                                      | he               | must                      | 3s-mind              |
|    | 'I must think of him/her' or 'I must remember him/her'                 |                  |                           |                      |
|    | ES/ER                                                                  | EO/ED            | PRED                      | f-MOD                |
| c. | <u><i>an</i></u>                                                       | <u><i>at</i></u> | <u><i>enokweid</i></u>    | <u><i>dik</i></u>    |
|    | an                                                                     | at               | ø-enokweid                | dik                  |
|    | I                                                                      | he               | 3s-mind                   | NEG                  |
|    | 'I don't think of him/her' or 'I don't remember him/her'               |                  |                           |                      |
|    | ES/ER                                                                  | EO/ED            | PRED                      | f-MOD                |
| d. | <u><i>an</i></u>                                                       | <u><i>at</i></u> | <u><i>enokweid</i></u>    | <u><i>mek ki</i></u> |
|    | an                                                                     | at               | ø-enokweid                | mek ki               |
|    | I                                                                      | he               | 3s-mind                   | impossible INT       |
|    | 'I really can't think of him/her' or 'I really can't remember him/her' |                  |                           |                      |

## 7.2.4 Figurative expressions

Figurative expressions are constructed by a combination of (i) two IPNs, i.e. cognitive and physiological inalienable nouns (§7.2.4.1); (ii) an IPN word and an adjectival particle (§7.2.4.2); or (iii) certain uses of *apu* '3s-ingestion' (§7.2.4.3). As usual, the structure is [argument-predicate].

### 7.2.4.1 Combination of cognitive IPN and physiological IPN

The figurative use of the cognitive *enokweid* '3s-mind' is attested in combination with physiological IPNs such as *angginuk* '3s-happiness', *anggin* '3s-heaviness', *anggun* '3s-weariness' and *anduk* '3s-pain', shown in (7.28c-d) in full and pro-drop forms.

#### (7.28) 1-place predicates

|    |                                                           |                        |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
|    | ES/ER                                                     | PRED                   |
| a. | <u><i>an nenokweid</i></u>                                | <u><i>angginuk</i></u> |
|    | an n-enokweid                                             | ø-ankinuk              |
|    | I 1s-mind                                                 | 3s-happiness           |
|    | 'I am happy' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'My mind has its-happiness') |                        |
| b. | <u><i>an nenokweid</i></u>                                | <u><i>anggin</i></u>   |
|    | an n-enokweid                                             | ø-ankin                |
|    | I 1s-mind                                                 | 3s-heaviness           |
|    | 'I am sad' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'My mind has its-heaviness')   |                        |

- c.    Ø        **nenokweid**    **anggun**  
           n-enokweid    ø-ankun  
           1s-mind        3s-weariness  
           'I am worried/anxious' (*lit.*: 'My mind has its-weariness')
- d.    Ø        **nenokweid**    **anduk**  
           n-enokweid    ø-antuk  
           1s-mind        3s-pain  
           'I am hurt' or 'My heart is broken' (*lit.*: 'My mind has its-pain')

#### 7.2.4.2 Combination of IPN and an adjective

Figurative expressions are also found in a combination of *enokweid* '3s-mind' with adjectives, such as *bok* 'good', *mek* 'impossible', and *dik* 'NEGATIVE'.

#### (7.29) 1-place predicates

|    | ES/ER                                                               | PRED              |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a. | <u>at        <b>enokweid</b></u>                                    | <u><b>bok</b></u> |
|    | at        ø-enokweid                                                | bok               |
|    | he        3s-mind                                                   | good              |
|    | 'He is in a good mood/spirit' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'His mind (is) good') |                   |
| b. | <u>at        <b>enokweid</b></u>                                    | <u><b>dik</b></u> |
|    | at        ø-enokweid                                                | dik               |
|    | he        3s-mind                                                   | NEG               |
|    | 'He is out of his mind' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'He has no mind')           |                   |
| c. | Ø <b>nenokweid</b>                                                  | <b>bok</b>        |
|    | n-enokweid                                                          | bok               |
|    | 1s-mind                                                             | good              |
|    | 'I am in a good mood/spirit' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'My mind (is) good')   |                   |
| d. | Ø <b>nenokweid</b>                                                  | <b>dik</b>        |
|    | n-enokweid                                                          | dik               |
|    | 1s-mind                                                             | NEG               |
|    | 'I am out of my mind' ( <i>lit.</i> : 'I have no mind')             |                   |

#### 7.2.4.3 Certain use of *apu* {ø-*apu*} '3s-ingestion'

The physiological inalienable *apu* '3s-ingestion' must take an object to specify its meaning.

|        |                               |             |                                   |                          |
|--------|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (7.30) |                               | EO/ED       | PRED                              | MEANING                  |
| a.     |                               | $\emptyset$ | <b><i>apu</i></b><br>3s-ingestion | 'his ingestion'          |
| b.     | <b><i>mboid</i></b><br>potato |             | <b><i>apu</i></b><br>3s-ingestion | 'his hunger'             |
| c.     | <b><i>i</i></b><br>water      |             | <b><i>apu</i></b><br>3s-ingestion | 'his thirst'             |
| d.     | <b><i>tavo</i></b><br>tobacco |             | <b><i>apu</i></b><br>3s-ingestion | 'his desire for tobacco' |

Note that the examples in (7.30) are shortened forms of those in:

|        |                                     |             |                                                      |                                                       |                       |
|--------|-------------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (7.31) |                                     | ES/ER       | EO/ED                                                | PRED                                                  | MEANING               |
| a.     |                                     | $\emptyset$ | $\emptyset$                                          | <b><i>apu</i></b><br>$\emptyset$ -apu<br>3s-ingestion | 'his ingestion'       |
| b.     | <i>at</i><br><i>at</i><br><i>he</i> |             | <b><i>mboid</i></b><br><i>mboid</i><br><i>potato</i> | <b><i>apu</i></b><br>$\emptyset$ -apu<br>3s-ingestion | 'he is hungry'        |
| c.     | <i>at</i><br><i>at</i><br><i>he</i> |             | <b><i>i</i></b><br><i>i</i><br><i>water</i>          | <b><i>apu</i></b><br>$\emptyset$ -apu<br>3s-ingestion | 'he is thirsty'       |
| d.     | <i>at</i><br><i>at</i><br><i>he</i> |             | <b><i>tavo</i></b><br><i>tavo</i><br><i>tobacco</i>  | <b><i>apu</i></b><br>$\emptyset$ -apu<br>3s-ingestion | 'he desires to smoke' |

There is no evidence of a single word in Wano for 'hungry' or 'thirsty'. Further, the word *apu* '3s-ingestion' is grammatically coded as an inalienably possessed noun of the physiological type of experiential events. In the simple clauses like those of (7.29) and (7.30) it takes the role of head of the clause. In comparison, *apu* '3s-ingestion' is used very much like *angginuk* '3s-happiness' and *anduk* '3s-pain'. The examples in (7.32) are the figurative use of *apu* '3s-ingestion'.

|        |  |                                     |                                                 |                                                       |                                                                           |
|--------|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (7.32) |  | ES/ER                               | EO/ED                                           | PRED                                                  | f-MOD                                                                     |
| a.     |  | <i>at</i><br><i>at</i><br><i>he</i> | <i>abut</i><br>$\emptyset$ -abut<br>3s-child.OM | <b><i>apu</i></b><br>$\emptyset$ -apu<br>3s-ingestion | <b><i>mek</i></b> <i>ki.</i><br><i>mek</i> <i>ki</i>  <br>impossible very |
|        |  | 'He deeply longs for his child'     |                                                 |                                                       |                                                                           |



- b.     *at*                 *agwe*                 *apu*  
           at                 ø-akwe                 ø-apu  
           he                 3s-wife                 3s-ingestion  
           'He desires for his wife'

In narratives, some narrators may leave out the object because the context is considered clear to his/her audience. Consider the example in (7.33) where we have the word *arivan* '3s-meal' and therefore *apu* '3s-ingestion' is translated as 'hunger'.

- (7.33)     ◀wa▶     *yoko*                         *negirik,*                         *arivan*  
               wa             jot-k-o                 n-e-k-it-ik |                         ø-ativan  
               INTERJ     say-REAL-3s.SBJ     go-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG     3s-meal
- icago*                         *kenok,*                         ◀an     ombak             ta,  
               itja-k-o                         k-e-nok |                         an     ompok             ta |  
               cook-REAL-3s.SBJ     see-3s.SBJ-I.SEQ     I     jungle             SPEC
- ugacak-o,                         nggweri     mek-o,                         apu  
               u-k-atj-ak=ø |                         nkweti     mek=ø |                         ø-apu  
               sleep-REAL-1s.SBJ=PAUS     PN     impossible=PAUS     3s-ingestion
- mek-o,                         yi     wi     ndi     wi,     tu     aduk  
               mek=ø |                         ji     wi     nti     wi |     tu     aduk  
               impossible=PAUS     here     place     this     place     way     long
- ekenak-o,                         wirak                         nome.▶  
               it-k-e-nak=ø |                         w-it-ak                         nome |  
               do-REAL-3s.SBJ-D.SEQ=PAUS     come-1s.SBJ-D.SEQ     therefore
- yegarak-o.  
               je-k-at-ak=ø \  
               say-REAL-3s.SBJ-D.SEQ=PAUS  
               "Greetings!" she was saying. Having seen him cooking some **meal**, she said: "I  
               slept in the jungle, it was impossible in Nggweri, there was **hunger** everywhere,  
               I went a long way, so I came," she said.' [Text 2: 5.11; Burung 2013a: 283, 294]

### 7.3 NOMINAL PREDICATES

In §7.1, I proposed that non-verbal clauses found in Wano are those clauses either (i) with no overtly expressed verb as the nucleus, or (ii) with a noun as the head of the clause. In §7.2, I described clauses headed by nouns, using the example of experiential events. In this section and in §7.4, I will discuss clauses with no overtly expressed verb as the head of the clause. In these clauses, the semantic relation between the subject and the predicate is indicated either by (i) zero-marking, (ii) demonstratives (*muni* 'that'; *ndi* 'this'), or (iii) specifier (*ta* 'SPEC'). Consider the following noun phrases in:

- (7.34)
- |    |                       |              |              |             |
|----|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| a. | <i>wavut</i>          | <i>muni</i>  |              |             |
|    | snake                 | that         |              |             |
|    | 'that snake.'         |              |              |             |
| b. | <i>wavut</i>          | <i>yedok</i> |              |             |
|    | snake                 | big          |              |             |
|    | '(a) big snake.'      |              |              |             |
| c. | <i>wavut</i>          | <i>yedok</i> | <i>ambui</i> |             |
|    | snake                 | big          | one          |             |
|    | 'one big snake.'      |              |              |             |
| d. | <i>wavut</i>          | <i>yedok</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <i>muni</i> |
|    | snake                 | big          | one          | that        |
|    | 'that one big snake.' |              |              |             |

The noun phrases in (7.34) form a *nominal predicate* when, in this instance, demonstratives (*ndi* 'this', *muni* 'that') are added preceding the phrase, as shown in the examples hereinafter.

- (7.35)
- a. DEM                      PRED  
       *muni*                | N  
                               | *wavut*  
                               snake  
       'that (is a) snake.'
- b. DEM                      PRED                      f-MOD  
       *muni*                | N                      | *yedok*  
       that                    snake                    large  
       'that (is a) big snake.'
- c. S                                      PRED  
       *wavut*    *muni*                | *at*    *ene*  
       snake    that                    he    3s-possession  
       'that snake (is) his' (*lit.* 'that snake (is) his possession')
- d. S                                      PRED  
       *wavut*    *muni*                | *at*    *ambit*  
       snake    that                    he    3s-sake  
       'that snake (is) for him'
- e. S                                      PRED  
       *wavut*    *muni*                | *moname*  
       snake    that                    yonder-LOC  
       'that snake (is) over there'

The examples in (7.35) represent 1-place predicate clauses and they are translated with the copula 'be' in English. The examples in (7.35a-b) show predicate-object noun phrases, a typical reply to questions like *muni nano* 'what is that?' (*lit.* 'that what'). As such, they are found with zero subject. Further, (7.35) exemplifies the subject-predicate semantic relation, such as identity in (7.35a-b), possession in (7.35c), benefaction in (7.35d) and location in (7.35e) – cf. Hengeveld (1992: 74-5) and Dixon (2010: 159-184). To negate the above clauses, the negator *dik* 'NEG' is added clause finally.

- (7.36) a. 

|                                   |              |            |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|------------|
| DEM                               | N            | f-MOD      |
| <i>muni</i>                       | <i>wavut</i> | <i>dik</i> |
| that                              | snake        | NEG        |
| 'that (is) <b>not</b> (a) snake.' |              |            |
- b. 

|                                       |              |                         |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| DEM                                   | N            | f-MOD                   |
| <i>muni</i>                           | <i>wavut</i> | <i>yedok</i> <i>dik</i> |
| that                                  | snake        | large NEG               |
| 'that (is) <b>not</b> (a) big snake.' |              |                         |
- c. 

|                                                                                     |                  |            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------|
| S                                                                                   | PRED             | f-MOD      |
| N DEM                                                                               | PRON IPN         | <i>dik</i> |
| <i>wavut muni</i>                                                                   | <i>at ene</i>    | NEG        |
| snake that                                                                          | he 3s-possession |            |
| 'that snake (is) <b>not</b> his' (lit. 'that snake (is) <b>not</b> his possession') |                  |            |
- d. 

|                                      |                 |            |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| S                                    | PRED            | f-MOD      |
| N DEM                                | PRON IPN        | <i>dik</i> |
| <i>wavut muni</i>                    | <i>at ambit</i> | NEG        |
| snake that                           | he 3s-sake      |            |
| 'that snake (is) <b>not</b> for him' |                 |            |
- e. 

|                                         |               |            |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------|------------|
| S                                       | PRED          | f-MOD      |
| N DEM                                   | DEM           | <i>dik</i> |
| <i>wavut muni</i>                       | <i>moname</i> | NEG        |
| snake that                              | yonder-LOC    |            |
| 'that snake (is) <b>not</b> over there' |               |            |

Finally, in narratives, we also find the use of the particle *ta* 'specifier' to indicate an identity relation between subject and its predicate, as shown in:

(7.37) **1-place predicates**

- a. 

|                        |                |
|------------------------|----------------|
| S                      | PRED           |
| <i>an ta,</i>          | <i>manggu.</i> |
| an ta                  | manku.         |
| I SPEC                 | firstborn      |
| 'I (am the) firstborn' |                |
- [Text 39: 4.41; Burung 2013a: 274, 285]
- b. 

|                   |    |
|-------------------|----|
| <i>indi ta,</i>   | Y  |
| ø-indi ta         | Y  |
| 3s-name SPEC      | PN |
| 'His name (is) Y' |    |
- [Text 39: 4.42; Burung 2013a: 274, 285]

|    |                                                         |           |            |             |            |             |            |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|
| c. | S                                                       |           |            |             |            |             |            |
|    | <i>nova</i>                                             | <i>at</i> | <i>ica</i> | <i>adom</i> | <i>kwa</i> | <i>indi</i> | <i>ta,</i> |
|    | n-ova                                                   | at        | ø-itja     | ø-adom      | kwa        | ø-indi      | ta         |
|    | 1s-father                                               | he        | 3s-mother  | 3s-root     | woman      | 3s-name     | SPEC       |
|    | PRED                                                    |           |            |             |            |             |            |
|    | K                                                       |           |            |             |            |             |            |
|    | K                                                       |           |            |             |            |             |            |
|    | PN                                                      |           |            |             |            |             |            |
|    | 'My father's first wife's name (is) K'                  |           |            |             |            |             |            |
|    | (lit. 'My father, his mother, first woman, her name K') |           |            |             |            |             |            |
|    | [Text 39: 4.10; Burung 2013a: 266, 276]                 |           |            |             |            |             |            |

## 7.4 ADJECTIVAL PREDICATES

Like nominal predicates, the semantic relation between the subject and adjectival predicate is indicated either by (i) zero-marking, (ii) demonstratives (*muni* 'that'; *ndi* 'this'), or (iii) specifier (*ta* 'SPEC'). (7.38) illustrates the use of zero-marking.

|        |    |                                                                                               |                 |              |
|--------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| (7.38) | S  |                                                                                               | PRED            |              |
|        | a. | <i>at</i>                                                                                     | <i>bok</i>      |              |
|        |    | he                                                                                            | good            |              |
|        |    | 'He (is) good' (lit. 'he good')                                                               |                 |              |
|        | b. | <i>wavut</i>                                                                                  | <i>yedok</i>    |              |
|        |    | snake                                                                                         | big             |              |
|        |    | '(The) snake (is) big' (lit. 'snake big')                                                     |                 |              |
|        | c. | <i>wavut</i>                                                                                  | <i>muni</i>     | <i>yedok</i> |
|        |    | snake                                                                                         | that            | big          |
|        |    | 'That snake (is) big' (lit. 'snake that big')                                                 |                 |              |
|        | d. | <i>an</i>                                                                                     | <i>nenggit</i>  | <i>kik</i>   |
|        |    | an                                                                                            | n-enkit         | kik          |
|        |    | I                                                                                             | 1-finger        | dirty        |
|        |    | 'My finger/hand (is) dirty' or 'My fingers/hands (are) dirty' (lit. 'I my-finger/hand dirty') |                 |              |
|        | e. | <i>ap</i>                                                                                     | <i>enokweid</i> | <i>bok</i>   |
|        |    | ap                                                                                            | ø-enokweid      | bok          |
|        |    | ap                                                                                            | 3s-mind         | good         |
|        |    | '(The) man's mind (is) good' (lit. 'Man his-mind good')                                       |                 |              |

The examples in (7.39) are about the use of demonstratives in the above clauses.

|        |                                                                                                         |              |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| (7.39) | S                                                                                                       | PRED         |
| a.     | <u>at</u> <i>muni</i>                                                                                   | <u>bok</u>   |
|        | he      that                                                                                            | good         |
|        | 'He <u>is</u> good' (lit. 'he that good')                                                               |              |
| b.     | <i>wavut</i> <i>muni</i>                                                                                | <i>yedok</i> |
|        | snake      that                                                                                         | big          |
|        | '(The) snake <u>is</u> big' (lit. 'snake that big')                                                     |              |
| c.     | <i>an</i> <i>nenggit</i> <i>ndi</i>                                                                     | <i>kik</i>   |
|        | an      n-nenkit      ndi                                                                               | kik          |
|        | I      1-finger      this                                                                               | dirty        |
|        | 'My finger/hand <u>is</u> dirty' or 'My fingers/hands <u>are</u> dirty' (lit. 'I my-finger this dirty') |              |
| d.     | <i>ap</i> <i>enokweid</i> <i>muni</i>                                                                   | <i>bok</i>   |
|        | ap      ø-enokweid      muni                                                                            | bok          |
|        | ap      3s-mind      that                                                                               | good         |
|        | '(The) man's mind <u>is</u> good' (lit. 'Man his-mind that good')                                       |              |

Like the nominal predicates, to negate the clause the negator *dik* 'NEG' appears clause finally.

|        |                                                                        |                              |
|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (7.40) | S                                                                      | PRED                         |
|        | <u>ap</u> <i>enokweid</i> <i>muni</i>                                  | <u>bok</u> <b><i>dik</i></b> |
|        | ap      ø-enokweid      muni                                           | bok      dik                 |
|        | ap      3s-mind      that                                              | good      NEG                |
|        | '(The) man's mind (is) <b>not</b> good' (lit. 'Man his-mind not good') |                              |

## 7.5 DEICTIC PREDICATES

Deictic words are not common but can be used to express a non-verbal clause. In the second clause of (7.41), the deictic word *ndu* 'steeply down' is translated 'sank steeply', while the subject is not mentioned since it has been introduced in the first clause, i.e. the noun phrase *an niye me yedowi me* 'my axe and my knife'. Note that the first clause has zero-marking subject-predicate relation.

(7.41) **1-place predicates**

| S         |             |            |                 |            | PRED          |
|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------------|------------|---------------|
| <u>an</u> | <u>niye</u> | <u>me,</u> | <u>neyedowi</u> | <u>me,</u> | <u>dik-o.</u> |
| an        | n-iye       | me         | ne-yedowi       | me         | dik=o \       |
| I         | 1s-axe      | and        | 1s-knife        | and        | NEG           |

| S        |          | PRED           |              |
|----------|----------|----------------|--------------|
| <u>Ø</u> | <u>i</u> | <u>ndu</u>     | <u>ki-o.</u> |
|          | i        | n-d-u          | ki=o \       |
|          | water    | ADV-steep-down | very= PAUS   |

'My axe and my knife (were) not there. (They) sank steeply into the water.'

[Text 67: 3.24; Burung 2013a: 260, 270]

## 7.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have presented the typology of non-verbal predication in Wano. There are four types of non-verbal predication, which are (i) *experiential event predicates*, discussed in §7.2; (ii) *nominal predicates*, in §7.3; (iii) *adjectival predicates*, in §7.4; and (iv) *deictic predicates*, in §7.5.

In §7.1, I defined non-verbal predication as those clauses either (i) with no overtly expressed verb, or (ii) with noun as the head of the clause, i.e. the predicate.

In §7.2, I claimed that experiential event predicates or simply *experiential events* are grammatically coded as inalienable nouns and are sub-divided into those terms that express cognitive and physiological states of affairs. The experiential events include *inalienable nouns* as the head that takes a verb to encode tense-aspect-mood. The basic structure of experiential events, discussed in §7.2.1, are *1-place predicates* (intransitive clauses) and *2-place predicates* (transitive clauses). In the latter, only those cognitive words may take the role as predicates. A further distinction between

cognitive and physiological words is that, when compounding, the cognitive words will always be the phrasal head, and that in 2-place predicates the word order of arguments is not important and that pro-drop is allowed, and commonly attested.

For all types of non-verbal predication, 2-place predicates were found only in the experiential event predicates. The semantic relation between the subject and the predicate was indicated by means of either (i) zero-marking, (ii) demonstratives (*muni* 'that' and *ndi* 'this'), or (iii) specifier (*ta* 'SPEC').



### **8.1 BACKGROUND**

In §1.8, I briefly defined coordination, subordination, serial verb constructions, clause linking and bridging linkage. This chapter is about the forms and functions of coordination and subordination in Wano. Let me begin with their definitions.

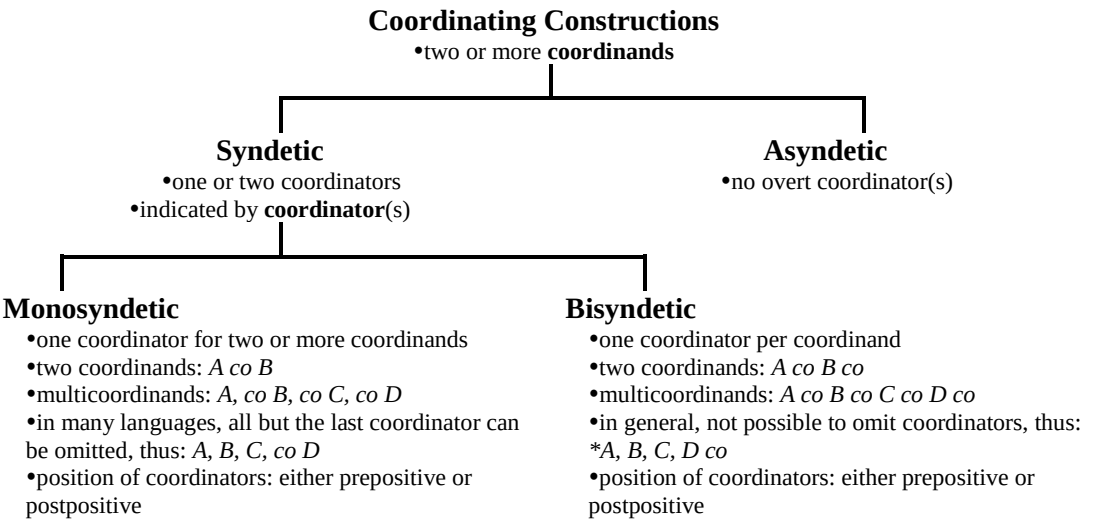
As was defined in §1.8, **coordination** is a way of combining at least two grammatically independent elements of similar status, and **subordination** is a way of combining at least two grammatical elements, of which one is dependent on the other. As Foley (1986: 198-205) claimed that (i) subordinate clauses are attested in all Papuan languages, and that (ii) these subordinate clauses function "to background given information, ...", I will here describe coordination in §8.2, and subordination in §8.3.

### **8.2 COORDINATION**

Based on Haspelmath's (2004a, 2004b: 3-39, 2007: 1-51) study, in a **coordination** construction, there are two or more **coordinands** i.e., coordinated elements. There are **syndetic** and **asyndetic** coordinations. A syndetic coordination construction is

when we have one or more **coordinators**, which are coordinating devices (abbreviated: *co*). An asyndetic coordination construction is when there is no coordinator in juxtaposed coordinands: *A B*. The syndetic coordination is further divided into **monosyndetic**, i.e. when there is one coordinator in the construction, *A co B* for example, and **bisyndetic**, i.e. when there are two coordinators in the construction, *A co B co*. Furthermore, it is possible to omit coordinators in the monosyndetic type *A B C co D*, but is impossible in the bisyndetic type *\*A B C D co*. Finally, a coordinator may precede the coordinand, in which case it is termed **prepositive**, i.e. *A, co B* or follow the coordinand, in which case it is termed **postpositive**, i.e. *A co, B* either in the form of an affix or a clitic. This is outlined in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1:  
Haspelmath's typology of Coordinating Constructions (2004a, b and 2007)

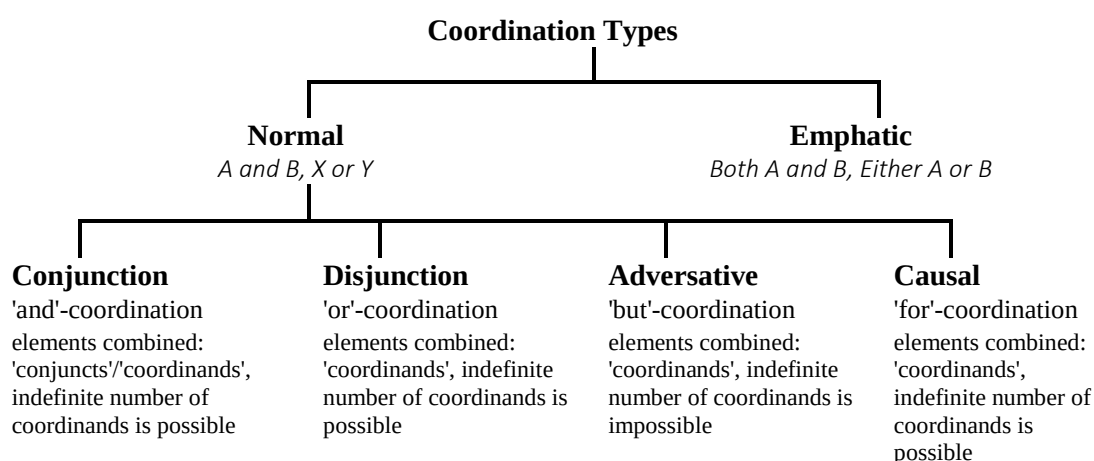


Further, Haspelmath's (2004a, b, 2007) semantic types of coordination are: **conjunction** (conjunctive) coordination, i.e. 'and'-coordination, **disjunction** (disjunctive), i.e. 'or'-coordination, **adversative**, i.e. 'but'-coordination, and **causal**,

i.e. 'for'-coordination. The combined elements in a coordination are generally called **coordinands**. They are also called **conjuncts** when found in the conjunction coordination. Except for the adversative, all types of coordination may have an indefinite number of coordinands. Haspelmath (2007: 15) then suggests **emphatic** coordination, i.e. '*both A and B*' (conjunction) and '*either X or Y*' (disjunction) as distinguished from **normal** coordination, i.e. '*A and B*' and '*X or Y*'. This is outlined in Table 8.2, to give the logical possibilities of binary coordination.

Table 8.2:

**Haspelmath's Semantic Types of Coordination** (2004a, b, 2007)



See Haspelmath (2007: 6) for possible logical binary coordinations. In this section, we will see that Wano employs both asyndetic and syndetic coordinations. Wano has bisyndetic postpositive coordination (i.e. *A co B co*). Wano allows both partial omission and full omission of coordinators in both coordinands (i.e. *A B co* and *A B*) and multicoordinands (i.e. *A B C D co* and *A B C D*). Coordinators in Wano are: the linking particles *me* {me} 'and', *mo* {mo} 'or', *kwe* {kwe} 'but', *nome* {nome} 'because'; and the inalienable nouns *inyom* {ø-inom} '3s-with' and *ambek* {ø-ambek} '3s-without'. (8.1) outlines Wano coordinators with their binary status.

(8.1) **Wano coordinators with their function and binary status**

Coordination particles

- |                                 |                                                                                               |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. <b>me</b> {me} 'and'         | conjunction, bisyndetic postpositive: <i>A co B co</i> ,<br>full omission allowed: <i>A B</i> |
| b. <b>mo</b> {mo} 'or'          | disjunction, bisyndetic postpositive: <i>A co B co</i>                                        |
| c. <b>kwe</b> {kwe} 'but'       | adversative/antithetical, monosyndetic<br>postpositive, on first coordinand: <i>A co, B</i>   |
| d. <b>nome</b> {nome} 'because' | causal/cause-reason, monosyndetic postpositive,<br>on first coordinand: <i>A co, B</i>        |

Inalienable nouns as coordinators

- |                                        |                                                                                                    |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| e. <b>inyom</b> {ø-inom} '3s-with'     | comitative, bisyndetic postpositive: <i>A co B co</i> ,<br>omission allowed: <i>A B co</i>         |
| f. <b>ambek</b> {ø-ampek} '3s-without' | abessive/privative, bisyndetic postpositive: <i>A co B co</i> ,<br>omission allowed: <i>A B co</i> |

Based on the above discussion, outlined in Table 8.2 and (8.1), I will discuss **coordination particles** in §8.2.1 and **inalienable nouns as coordinators** in §8.2.2.

## 8.2.1 Coordination particles

Coordination particles in Wano are (i) conjunction **me** 'and'-coordination, described in §8.2.1.1; (ii) disjunction **mo** 'or'-coordination, in §8.2.1.2; (iii) antithetical **kwe** 'but'-coordination, in §8.2.1.3; and (iv) cause-reason **nome** 'because'-coordination, in §8.2.1.4.

### 8.2.1.1 Conjunction **me** 'and'-coordination

This is a bisyndetic postpositive coordination strategy that allows the complete omission of coordinators. A full structure, i.e. *A co B co*, is given in (8.2) and a full omission form in (8.3).

|       |      |                                                                                                                           |               |                   |                  |                                        |
|-------|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------------------------|
| (8.2) |      | <u>A</u>                                                                                                                  | <u>co</u>     | <u>B</u>          | <u>co</u>        |                                        |
|       | ..., | <i>an</i>                                                                                                                 | <i>niye</i>   | <b><i>me,</i></b> | <i>neyedowi</i>  | <b><i>me,</i></b> <i>dik-o,</i>        |
|       | ..., | <i>an</i>                                                                                                                 | <i>ni-je</i>  | <i>me  </i>       | <i>ne-jedowi</i> | <i>me  </i> <i>dik=o  </i>             |
|       | ..., | <i>I</i>                                                                                                                  | <i>1s-axe</i> | <i>and</i>        | <i>1s-knife</i>  | <i>and</i> <i>no= PAUS</i>             |
|       |      | <u>A</u>                                                                                                                  | <u>B</u>      |                   |                  |                                        |
|       |      | <i>nayum</i>                                                                                                              | <i>negin</i>  | <i>dik-o,</i>     | <i>i</i>         | <i>ndu</i> <i>ki-o.</i>                |
|       |      | <i>na-jum</i>                                                                                                             | <i>n-ekin</i> | <i>dik=o  </i>    | <i>i</i>         | <i>n-d-u</i> <i>ki=o \</i>             |
|       |      | <i>1s-netbag</i>                                                                                                          | <i>1s-bow</i> | <i>no=PAUS</i>    | <i>water</i>     | <i>ADV-steep-down</i> <i>very=PAUS</i> |
|       |      | '... my axe <b>and</b> knife were not there, my netbag ( <b>and</b> ) my bow were not there, (gone) down into the water.' |               |                   |                  |                                        |
|       |      | [Text 67: 3.24; Burung 2013a: 260, 270]                                                                                   |               |                   |                  |                                        |

In (8.2), the NPs in the first clause are overtly linked by *me* 'and', while those in the second clause are covertly linked. Hence, full omission, in addition to the *A B co* structure, is possible in Wano. This type of full omission is often followed by the adverb *apik* 'all', as noted in the following narration in (8.3).

|       |                                                                                                                         |                   |                               |                   |                  |                |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|
| (8.3) | <u>A</u>                                                                                                                | <u>co</u>         | <u>B</u>                      | <u>co</u>         | <u>A</u>         | <u>B</u>       |
|       | <i>naburi</i>                                                                                                           | <b><i>me,</i></b> | <i>nawori</i>                 | <b><i>me,</i></b> | <i>inyayum</i>   | <i>inyegin</i> |
|       | <i>n-abut-i</i>                                                                                                         | <i>me  </i>       | <i>n-awot-i</i>               | <i>me  </i>       | <i>ina-jum</i>   | <i>in-ekin</i> |
|       | <i>1s-child.om</i>                                                                                                      | <i>and</i>        | <i>1s-younger sibling.oss</i> | <i>and</i>        | <i>3p-netbag</i> | <i>3p-bow</i>  |
|       | <i>Adv</i>                                                                                                              |                   |                               |                   |                  |                |
|       | <b><i>apik,</i></b>                                                                                                     | <i>i</i>          | <i>ndu</i>                    | <i>ki-o.</i>      |                  |                |
|       | <i>apik  </i>                                                                                                           | <i>i</i>          | <i>n-d-u</i>                  | <i>ki=o \</i>     |                  |                |
|       | <i>all</i>                                                                                                              | <i>water</i>      | <i>ADV-steep-down</i>         | <i>very=PAUS</i>  |                  |                |
|       | 'My children <b>and</b> my younger siblings, <b>all</b> their netbags ( <b>and</b> ) bows, (gone) down into the water.' |                   |                               |                   |                  |                |
|       | [Text 67: 3.25; Burung 2013a: 260, 270]                                                                                 |                   |                               |                   |                  |                |

Coordinated VPs are also found. In the following example, the coordinate structure is expressed in the form of direct speech (underlined).

(8.4)

|                 |             |                    |            |                      |            |  |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|--|
| ...             | ...         | <i>watnuk</i> ,    |            |                      |            |  |
| ...             | ...         | <i>wat-nuk </i>    |            |                      |            |  |
| ...             | ...         | 3s.OBJ:hit-I.SEQ   |            |                      |            |  |
|                 |             | <i>A</i>           | <i>co</i>  | <i>B</i>             | <i>co</i>  |  |
| <i>ta</i>       | <i>ngga</i> | <u><i>taku</i></u> | <i>me,</i> | <u><i>nunggu</i></u> | <i>me,</i> |  |
| <i>ta</i>       | <i>nka</i>  | <i>tat-k-u</i>     | <i>me </i> | <i>nun-k-u</i>       | <i>me </i> |  |
| SPEC            | where       | roast-REAL-3p. SBJ | and        | consume--REAL-3p.SBJ | and        |  |
| <i>embetnuk</i> | <i>ta,</i>  | ...                |            |                      |            |  |
| ø-empet-nuk     | <i>ta </i>  | ...                |            |                      |            |  |
| 3s-think-I.SEQ  | SPEC        | ...                |            |                      |            |  |

'... having killed him, "Where did they roast **and** eat him?" having thought so ...'

[Text 35: 2.83; Burung 2013a: 251, 260]

### 8.2.1.2 Disjunction *mo* 'or'-coordination

Like the conjunction *me* 'and'-coordination, the disjunction *mo* 'or'-coordination is a bisyndetic postpositive coordination strategy, i.e. *A mo B mo*, as shown in (8.5a). Omission is not allowed here, and thus neither *\*A B mo* (8.5b) nor *\*A B* (8.5c) are acceptable.

(8.5)

|    |                                                                                      |            |                 |            |           |                    |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------|--------------------|
|    | <i>A</i>                                                                             | <i>co</i>  | <i>B</i>        | <i>co</i>  |           |                    |
| a. | <i>yok</i>                                                                           | <i>mo,</i> | <i>kovu</i>     | <i>mo,</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>ne-a?</i>       |
|    | <i>jok</i>                                                                           | <i>mo </i> | <i>kovu</i>     | <i>mo </i> | <i>at</i> | <i>n-e=a</i>       |
|    | <i>now</i>                                                                           | <i>or</i>  | <i>tomorrow</i> | <i>or</i>  | <i>he</i> | <i>go-3s.SBJ=Q</i> |
|    | 'Is it now <b>or</b> tomorrow he is going?' or 'Is he going now <b>or</b> tomorrow?' |            |                 |            |           |                    |
|    | <i>*A</i>                                                                            |            | <i>B</i>        | <i>co</i>  |           |                    |
| b. | <i>yok</i>                                                                           |            | <i>kovu</i>     | <i>mo,</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>ne-a?</i>       |
|    | <i>jok</i>                                                                           |            | <i>kovu</i>     | <i>mo </i> | <i>at</i> | <i>n-e=a</i>       |
|    | <i>now</i>                                                                           |            | <i>tomorrow</i> | <i>or</i>  | <i>he</i> | <i>go-3s.SBJ=Q</i> |
|    | <i>*A</i>                                                                            |            | <i>B</i>        |            |           |                    |
| c. | <i>yok</i>                                                                           |            | <i>kovu</i>     |            | <i>at</i> | <i>ne-a?</i>       |
|    | <i>jok</i>                                                                           |            | <i>kovu</i>     |            | <i>at</i> | <i>n-e=a</i>       |
|    | <i>now</i>                                                                           |            | <i>tomorrow</i> |            | <i>he</i> | <i>go-3s.SBJ=Q</i> |

[Yance Weya, p.c. April 2016]

There are three basic uses with different meanings depending on the verbal agreement the verb takes. This is demonstrated as follows. In (8.6a) the verb marks the third person subject thus giving an open answer to the question 'who is going?' In

(8.6b-c), however, it is either the first or second person subject that agrees with the verb, so giving a suggested question 'is it me going?' (8.6b) or 'is it you.sg going?' (8.6c).

- (8.6)
- a. 

| <i>A</i>  | <i>co</i>  | <i>B</i>   | <i>co</i>  |           | <i>verb-3s</i> |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>an</i> | <b>mo,</b> | <i>kat</i> | <b>mo,</b> | <i>ta</i> | <i>ne-a</i>    |
| an        | mo         | kat        | mo         | ta        | n- <b>e</b> =a |
| I         | or         | you.sg     | or         | SPEC      | go-3s.SBJ=Q    |

  
 'Is it me **or** you.sg, who is going?' or 'Is it me **or** is it you.sg going?' or  
 '(Either) you.sg **or** me, who is going?' – (expecting an open answer)
- b. 

| <i>A</i>  | <i>co</i>  | <i>B</i>   | <i>co</i>  |           | <i>verb-1s/A</i>    |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|---------------------|
| <i>an</i> | <b>mo,</b> | <i>kat</i> | <b>mo,</b> | <i>ta</i> | <i>netik-a</i>      |
| an        | mo         | kat        | mo         | ta        | n- <b>ett</b> -ik=a |
| I         | or         | you.sg     | or         | SPEC      | go-1s.SBJ-PROG=Q    |

  
 'Is it you.sg or should **I** go?' or 'Is it you.sg or should it be **me** going?' or  
 '(Either) you.sg or me, is it **me** going?' – (expecting 'yes' for 'me')
- c. 

| <i>A</i>  | <i>co</i>  | <i>B</i>   | <i>co</i>  |           | <i>verb-2s/B</i>    |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|---------------------|
| <i>an</i> | <b>mo,</b> | <i>kat</i> | <b>mo,</b> | <i>ta</i> | <i>nendik-a</i>     |
| an        | mo         | kat        | mo         | ta        | n- <b>ent</b> -ik=a |
| I         | or         | you.sg     | or         | SPEC      | go-2s.SBJ-PROG=Q    |

  
 'Is it me or should **you.sg** go?' or 'Is it me or should it be **you.sg** going?'  
 or '(Either) you.sg or me, is it **you.sg** going?' – (expecting 'yes' for  
 'you.sg')

[Yance Weya, p.c. April 2016]

### 8.2.1.3 Antithetical *kwe* 'but'-coordination

The antithetical *kwe* 'but'-coordination is also found at the sentence level and will be discussed in chapter 10 §10.2.3 as a concessive linking strategy. Examples are given in (8.7-8) for illustration.

- (8.7)
- |           |                        |  |             |            |             |             |                |          |
|-----------|------------------------|--|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|----------|
| <i>A</i>  |                        |  |             |            |             |             | <i>co</i>      | <i>B</i> |
| <i>at</i> | <i>awori</i>           |  | <i>ando</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>kena</i> | <i>kwe,</i> | <i>inyindi</i> |          |
| at        | ø-awot-i               |  | anto        | ta         | kena        | kwe         | in-inti        |          |
| he        | 3s-younger sibling oSS |  | other       | SPEC       | three       | But         | 3p-name        |          |
- 
- an ndi nengguq nome, yetik mek-o.*  
*an nti n-enkuq nome| j-ett-ik mek=o\*  
 I this 1s-ignorance because say-1s-PROG impossible  
 'He had three younger brothers, **but** since I don't know their names, I can't tell (you)'
- [Text 39: 4.4; Burung 2013a: 265, 275]
- (8.8)
- |          |                  |              |              |                |  |             |
|----------|------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|--|-------------|
| <i>A</i> |                  |              |              |                |  | <i>co</i>   |
| ...      | <i>ninyovavi</i> | <i>yedok</i> | <i>kambi</i> | <i>narak</i>   |  | <i>kwe,</i> |
| ...      | nin-ova-vi       | jedok        | kan-mpi      | n-at-ak        |  | kwe         |
| ...      | 1p-father-PL     | large        | die-curse    | go-3p.SBJ-then |  | but         |
- 
- B*
- |            |                                         |  |                |                |
|------------|-----------------------------------------|--|----------------|----------------|
| <i>nit</i> | <i>nonggodunggwi</i>                    |  | <i>ninyeve</i> | <i>nenggit</i> |
| nit        | non-k-o-dun-k-wi                        |  | nin-eve        | n-enkit        |
| we         | consume-REAL-3sp.SBJ-steep-down-REAL-PL |  | 1p-body        | 1s-hand        |
- 
- |                |            |            |                  |                 |              |
|----------------|------------|------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>pemenok</i> | <i>beq</i> | <i>no,</i> | <i>ninyaburi</i> | <i>inyinyom</i> | <i>wunu</i>  |
| pemenok        | beq        | no         | nin-abut-i       | in-inom         | wun-u        |
| CLF            | little     | that       | 1p-chil o.M-PL   | 3p-with         | exist-3p.SBJ |
- 
- werik-o.*  
 w-et-ik=o \  
 come-1p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 '... **even though** many of our fathers went on dying due to a curse, a few of we children, a group of five, we survived with our children.'
- [Text 37: 1.24; Burung 2013a: 225, 233]

An appositional phrase (*ApP*) of the first coordinand may be the subject of the second coordinand, as illustrated in (8.9).



(8.9)

|                                                                                                                                    |                         |               |              |                         |                                 |               |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>nova</i>                                                                                                                        | <i>endat</i>            | <i>banuk</i>  | <i>ta,</i>   | <i>A-MC<sub>1</sub></i> |                                 |               |
| n-ova                                                                                                                              | endat                   | ba-nuk        | ta           | awot                    |                                 | <i>ambui,</i> |
| 1s-father                                                                                                                          | occur                   | set-I.SEQ     | SPEC         | 3s-younger sibling o.SS |                                 | ampui         |
|                                                                                                                                    |                         |               |              |                         |                                 | one           |
| <i>ApP</i>                                                                                                                         |                         |               |              |                         |                                 |               |
| <i>ap</i>                                                                                                                          | <i>vi</i>               | <i>ambui,</i> | <i>inyom</i> | <i>endat</i>            | <i>ekegirak</i>                 |               |
| ap                                                                                                                                 | vi                      | ambui         | Ø-inom       | endat                   | it-k-e-k-it-ak                  |               |
| man                                                                                                                                | mute                    | one           | 3s-with      | occur                   | do-REAL-3s.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then |               |
| <i>co</i>                                                                                                                          | <i>B-MC<sub>2</sub></i> |               |              |                         |                                 |               |
| <i>kwe,</i>                                                                                                                        | <i>ap</i>               | <i>vi</i>     | <i>muni,</i> | <i>kanggo</i>           |                                 | <i>ki.</i>    |
| kwe                                                                                                                                | ap                      | vi            | muni         | kan-k-o                 |                                 | ki            |
| but                                                                                                                                | man                     | mute          | that         | die-REAL-3s.SBJ         |                                 | very          |
| 'After my father was born, one of his younger brother, <i>the mute one</i> , was also born, <b>but</b> <i>that mute one</i> died.' |                         |               |              |                         |                                 |               |

[Text 39: 4.11; Burung 2013a: 266, 276-7]

There are three clauses in (8.9). The first clause: *nova endat banuk ta* 'after my father was born', is a subordinate clause (i.e. adverbial). The following two main clauses, i.e. *MC<sub>1</sub>* and *MC<sub>2</sub>* are coordinands linked by the antithetical *kwe* 'but', thus: *A kwe B*. In *A-MC<sub>1</sub>*, the appositional phrase (*ApP*) *ap vi ambui* '(a/the) mute one', modifying the NP *awot ambui* 'one of his younger siblings'. The *ApP* is then the subject of *B-MC<sub>2</sub>*, i.e. *ap vi muni, kanggo ki* 'that mute one died'.

It is also found in the antithetical *kwe* 'but'-coordination structure that the distinction between coordination and subordination is unclear, as is exemplified in (8.10). There we have a subordinate-like clause that takes on a role of coordination. A phenomenon of '... mismatches between syntactic structure (SS) and the level of conceptual structure (CS).' in Culicover and Jackendoff's (1997: 195-6) terms – thus triggers '..., an interpretation in which the left conjunct functions semantically as if it were a subordinate clause.' As was pointed out earlier in this section above, this is an example of concessive linking strategies that I will discuss in §10.2.3.

- (8.10)
- | Cl <sub>1</sub> | Cl <sub>2</sub> |              |                 |           |               |             |          |           |  |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|----------|-----------|--|
| <i>mono</i>     | <i>kwe</i> ,    | <i>ambui</i> | <i>dingge</i> , | <i>it</i> | <i>duvele</i> | <i>ne</i> , | <i>E</i> | <i>at</i> |  |
| mono            | kwe             | ampui        | dinke           | it        | duvele        | ne          | E        | at        |  |
| like that       | but             | one          | noon            | they      | PN            | There       | PN       | he        |  |
- 
- |                |                |                |                |          |            |              |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------|------------|--------------|
| <i>ombo</i>    | <i>anggwom</i> | <i>widaduk</i> | <i>yugum</i> , | <i>o</i> | <i>yak</i> | <i>yedok</i> |
| ø-ompo         | a-wom          | widaduk        | jukum          | o        | jak        | jedok        |
| 3s-grandfather | 3s-pig         | PN             | stone          | place    | then       | large        |
- 
- |               |               |     |
|---------------|---------------|-----|
| <i>dogwe</i>  | <i>nome</i> , | ... |
| do-k-we       | mome          | ... |
| stay-REAL-HAB | therefore     | ... |
- 'That was so, **but**, one day, as for them the Duveles ... the pig, Widaduk Yugum, of E's grandfather, now then because of its large size ...'
- NOTE: Widaduk Yugum is the pig's name. [Text 35: 2.29; Burung 2013a: 235, 245]

#### 8.2.1.4 Cause-reason *nome* 'because'-coordination

The cause-reason *nome* 'therefore'-coordination operates at the sentence level and will be discussed in §10.2.4. An example follows.

- (8.11)
- |          |           |           |             |                             |
|----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>T</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>agwe</i> | <i>wakarak</i> ,            |
| T        | no        | at        | ø-akwe      | wat-k-at-ak                 |
| PN       | that      | he        | 3s-wife     | 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ-then |
- 
- |                       |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>A</i>              | <i>co</i>     |
| <i>kanggirak</i>      | <i>nome</i> , |
| kan-k-it-ak           | nome          |
| die-REAL-3s.SBJ-D.SEQ | therefore     |
- 
- |            |                   |
|------------|-------------------|
| <i>B</i>   |                   |
| <i>dik</i> | <i>worak</i>      |
| dik        | wotak             |
| NEG        | come-D.SEQ        |
|            | <i>wone-o.</i>    |
|            | won-e=o \         |
|            | exist-3s.SBJ=PAUS |
- 'As for T, they killed his wife (and) **because** she died, she wasn't there.'
- [Text 37: 1.11-12; Burung 2013a: 222, 230]

Like the antithetical *kwe* 'but'-coordination (§8.2.1.3), the cause-reason *nome* 'because' is attested in the structure where SS-CS mismatch takes place. An example is given in (8.12), where the compounding of the deictic *mono* 'like that' and *nome* 'because' can be translated: 'therefore', 'for that reason' and/or 'because of that'.

|        |                                                                                                                                          |                      |               |                      |                  |             |               |
|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|
| (8.12) | <i>A</i>                                                                                                                                 | <i>co</i>            | <i>B</i>      |                      |                  |             |               |
|        | <i>mono</i>                                                                                                                              | <b><i>nome</i></b> , | <i>nit</i> ,  | <i>duvele</i>        | <i>inyom</i>     | <i>wano</i> | <i>inyom</i>  |
|        | mono                                                                                                                                     | nome                 | nit           | duvede               | ø-inom           | wano        | ø-inom        |
|        | like that                                                                                                                                | therefore            | we            | PN                   | 3s-with          | PN          | 3s-with       |
|        | <i>muni</i>                                                                                                                              | <i>ta</i> ,          | <i>at</i>     | <i>owe</i>           |                  |             | <i>abut</i> , |
|        | muni                                                                                                                                     | ta                   | at            | ø-owe                |                  |             | ø-abut        |
|        | that                                                                                                                                     | SPEC                 | he            | 3s-older sibling     | oss              |             | 3s-child oM   |
|        |                                                                                                                                          |                      |               |                      | <i>co</i>        | <i>B</i>    |               |
|        | <i>awot</i>                                                                                                                              |                      | <i>abut</i> , | <b><i>nome</i></b> , |                  | <i>muk</i>  |               |
|        | ø-awot                                                                                                                                   |                      | ø-abut        | nome                 |                  | muk         |               |
|        | 3s-younger sibling                                                                                                                       |                      | 3s-child oM   | because              |                  | long ago    |               |
|        | <i>o</i>                                                                                                                                 | <i>muk</i>           | <i>moname</i> | <i>ne</i> ,          | <i>dambunyik</i> |             |               |
|        | o                                                                                                                                        | muk                  | mona-me       | ne                   | dampunik         |             |               |
|        | place                                                                                                                                    | long ago             | yonder-LOC    | this.far             | along side       |             |               |
|        | <i>mono</i>                                                                                                                              | <i>dogwe-o</i> .     |               |                      |                  |             |               |
|        | mono                                                                                                                                     | do-k-we=o \          |               |                      |                  |             |               |
|        | like that                                                                                                                                | stay-REAL-HAB=PAUS   |               |                      |                  |             |               |
|        | 'For that <b>reason</b> , we, the Duveles with the Wanos are, our offsprings have been living together (in this) place for a long time.' |                      |               |                      |                  |             |               |
|        | [Text 35: 2.24; Burung 2013a: 234, 243]                                                                                                  |                      |               |                      |                  |             |               |

## 8.2.2 Inalienable nouns as coordinators

In §3.5.2, I discussed inalienably marked words. In this section, I will describe inalienable nouns that function as coordinators, comprising the comitative *inyom* {ø-inom} '3s-with', in §8.2.2.1 and its antonym, the abessive *ambek* {ø-ampek} '3s-without' in §8.2.2.2.

### 8.2.2.1 Comitative *inyom* '3s-with'-coordination

The basic structure of the comitative *inyom* '3s-with' is *A co B co*, as is found in the example (8.12) above, is partly replicated in (8.13).

|        |                                                                  |             |             |               |                |                |
|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| (8.13) |                                                                  |             | <u>A</u>    | <u>co</u>     | <u>B</u>       | <u>co</u>      |
|        | ...                                                              | ...         | <i>nit,</i> | <i>duvele</i> | <i>inyom</i>   | <i>wano</i>    |
|        | ...                                                              | ...         | <i>nit </i> | <i>duvede</i> | <i>ø-inom</i>  | <i>wano</i>    |
|        | ...                                                              | ...         | <i>we</i>   | <i>PN</i>     | <i>3s-with</i> | <i>PN</i>      |
|        |                                                                  |             |             |               |                | <i>3s-with</i> |
|        | <i>muni</i>                                                      | <i>ta,</i>  | ...         |               |                |                |
|        | <i>muni</i>                                                      | <i>ta </i>  | ...         |               |                |                |
|        | <i>that</i>                                                      | <i>SPEC</i> | ...         |               |                |                |
|        | 'For that reason, we, the Duveles <b>with</b> the Wanos are ...' |             |             |               |                |                |
|        | [Text 35: 2.24; Burung 2013a: 234, 243]                          |             |             |               |                |                |

Either omission on the first coordinand or full omission are possible in the coordinating construction with *inyom* '3s-with', as shown in (8.14).

|        |                                                                            |                |               |                |                              |  |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|------------------------------|--|
| (8.14) |                                                                            | <u>A</u>       | <u>(co)</u>   | <u>B</u>       | <u>(co)</u>                  |  |
| a.     | <i>an</i>                                                                  | <i>ninyom,</i> | <i>kat</i>    | <i>kinyom,</i> | <i>werak-o.</i>              |  |
|        | <i>an</i>                                                                  | <i>n-inom </i> | <i>kat</i>    | <i>k-inom </i> | <i>we-<b>et</b>-ak=o \</i>   |  |
|        | <i>I</i>                                                                   | <i>1s-with</i> | <i>you.sg</i> | <i>2s-with</i> | <i>come-1s.SBJ-then=PAUS</i> |  |
|        | 'I came with you.sg.' ( <i>lit.</i> 'I <b>with</b> you.sg came.')          |                |               |                |                              |  |
| b.     | <i>an</i>                                                                  | <i>ninyom,</i> | <i>kat</i>    | <i>kinyom,</i> | <i>wendak-o.</i>             |  |
|        | <i>an</i>                                                                  | <i>n-inom </i> | <i>kat</i>    | <i>k-inom </i> | <i>we-<b>ent</b>-ak=o \</i>  |  |
|        | <i>I</i>                                                                   | <i>1s-with</i> | <i>you.sg</i> | <i>2s-with</i> | <i>come-2s.SBJ-then=PAUS</i> |  |
|        | 'You.sg came <b>with</b> me.' ( <i>lit.</i> 'You.sg <b>with</b> me came.') |                |               |                |                              |  |

In (8.14a), the verb agrees with the first coordinand, while in (8.14b) the verb agrees with the second one. In Stassen's (2000: 6) terms, in (8.14a) the second coordinand is backgrounded, while in (8.14b) the first one is backgrounded. The comitative *inyom* '3s-with' is in common with English: '*John left with Mary*' and '*Mary left with John*' (Stassen, *ibid.*).

#### 8.2.2.2 Abessive *ambek* '3s-without'-coordination

The antonym of *inyom* '3s-with' is *ambek* '3s-without'. Excepting the fact that the omission of the coordinator on the second coordinand is not possible, the structure

and use of the abessive coordination is the same as the comitative one discussed in §8.2.2.1.

- (8.15)
- |    |                                                                          |                |        |                |                        |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------|----------------|------------------------|
|    | (A)                                                                      | (co)           | (B)    | B-co           | verb-A                 |
| a. | an                                                                       | <b>nambek,</b> | kat    | <b>kambek,</b> | werak-o.               |
|    | an                                                                       | n-ampek        | kat    | k-ampek        | we- <b>et</b> -ak=o \  |
|    | I                                                                        | 1s-without     | you.sg | 2s-without     | come-1s.SBJ-then=PAUS  |
|    | 'I came <b>without</b> you.sg.' (lit. 'I <b>without</b> you came.')      |                |        |                |                        |
|    | (A)                                                                      | (co)           | (B)    | A-co           | verb-B                 |
| b. | kat                                                                      | <b>kambek,</b> | an     | <b>nambek,</b> | wendak-o.              |
|    | kat                                                                      | k-ambek        | an     | n-ambek        | we- <b>ent</b> -ak=o \ |
|    | you.sg                                                                   | 2s-without     | I      | 1s-without     | come-2s.SBJ-then=PAUS  |
|    | 'You.sg came <b>without</b> me.' (lit. 'You.sg <b>without</b> me came.') |                |        |                |                        |

### 8.2.3 Asyndetic coordination

Asyndetic coordination is also found in Wano, as shown in (8.16).

- (8.16)
- |                                                                                                                                      |            |                                |                  |          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|------------------|----------|
| wouguarak,                                                                                                                           |            | nggweri                        | wunumu           | ta,      |
| wo-u-k-uat-ak                                                                                                                        |            | nkwati                         | wun-u-mu         | ta       |
| come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-D.SEQ                                                                                                           |            | PN                             | exist-3p.SBJ-LOC | LOC      |
|                                                                                                                                      |            | <u>A</u>                       | <u>B</u>         | <u>C</u> |
| yi                                                                                                                                   | ap         | ndi                            | ap,              | ndani,   |
| ji                                                                                                                                   | ap         | nti                            | ap               | ndani    |
| this                                                                                                                                 | man        | this                           | man              | PN       |
|                                                                                                                                      |            |                                |                  | PN       |
|                                                                                                                                      |            |                                |                  | PN       |
|                                                                                                                                      |            |                                |                  | PN       |
| no,                                                                                                                                  | inyombodid | wouguarak-o.                   |                  |          |
| no                                                                                                                                   | in-ombodid | wo-u-k-uat-ak=o                |                  |          |
| that                                                                                                                                 | 3p-back    | come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS |                  |          |
| 'So, they came (and) lived in Nggweri, people everywhere. As for the Danis, the Dems, the Damals, (and) the Monis, they came later.' |            |                                |                  |          |
- [Text 35: 2.9; Burung 2013a: 229, 238]

## 8.3 SUBORDINATION

Foley (1986: 201) points out that “Subordinate clauses in Papuan languages always function to background given information, and correspond to two different

constructions, in more familiar languages, adverbial clauses and relative clauses.”

(1986: 201). As I will show in this section, Foley's observation also applies to Wano.

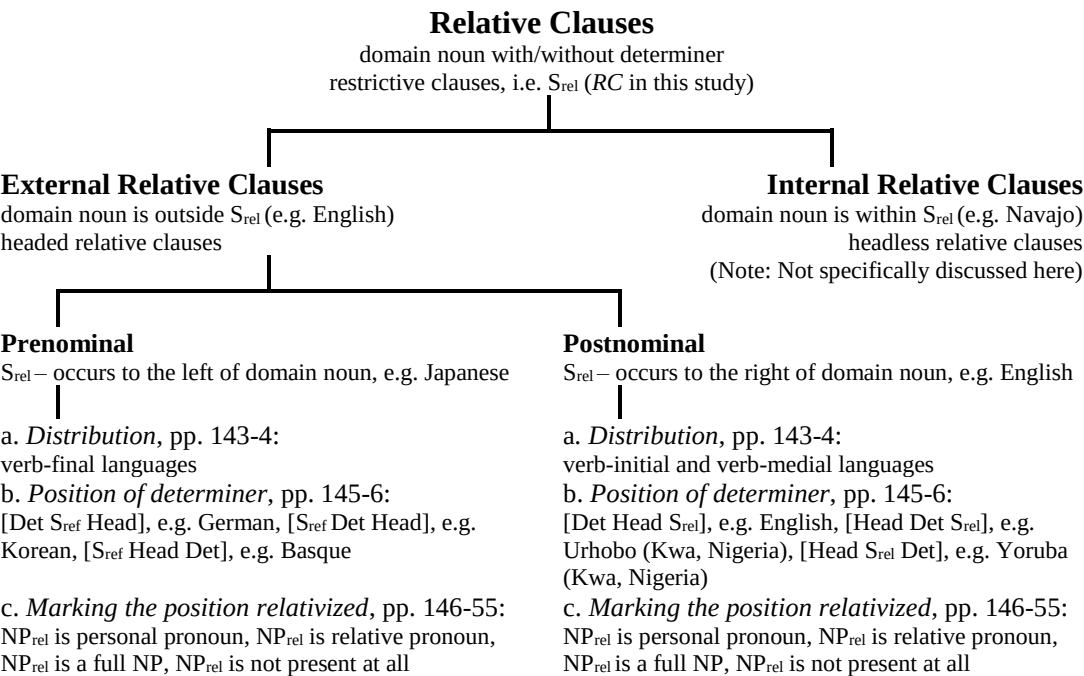
§8.3.1 discusses relative clauses, §8.3.2 adverbial clauses, and §8.3.3 direct speech.

Indirect speech is not attested in Wano.

8.3.1 Relative clauses

Let me begin with Keenan's (1985) universal typology of relative clauses (RC), outlined in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3:  
Keenan's (1985: 141-70) Universal classification of Relative Clauses



Based on Table 8.3, I will demonstrate that, despite being a verb-final language,

Wano is a postnominal RC language that lacks determiner and relativizer elements.

Instead, Wano applies deictic words and/or particles to play the role of determiner.

The structure is therefore [Head S<sub>rel</sub> Dem], cf. Yoruba (Kwa, Nigeria) in Table 8.3, while [Head Dem S<sub>rel</sub>] is also possible, cf. Urhobo (Kwa, Nigeria). This is illustrated in the following examples – in the free translations, *RCs* are italicized. In (8.17a), we have a simple clause, while (8.17b), we find an *RC*: *nde tu we* '(who) is coming there way' has been inserted.

- (8.17) a. *ap muni ta, an nombane-o.*  
 ap muni ta | an n-ompane=o \  
 man that SPEC I 1s-friend=PAUS  
 'That man is my friend.' (lit. 'That specific man (is) my friend')
- b. *RC*  

|           |            |           |             |             |            |
|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>ap</i> | <i>nde</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>we,</i>  | <i>muni</i> | <i>ta,</i> |
| ap        | nte        | tu        | w-e         | muni        | ta         |
| man       | there      | way       | come-3s.SBJ | that        | SPEC       |

  
*an nombane-o.*  
 an n-ompane=o \  
 I 1s-friend=PAUS  
 '(The) man (who) is coming, (is) my friend.'  
 '(lit. 'That specific man, *he comes/is coming there way*, is my friend.')
- [Yance Weya, p.c. April 2016 – cf. §5.3.2 in chapter 5]

In (8.17b), the phrase *muni ta* 'that specific' is a part of the main clause (*MC*) in *ap muni ta an nombane* 'that specific man (is) my friend' – cf. (8.17a). The *RC* here postnominal, providing background information about the head NP, i.e. *ap* 'man' with the information given is *nde tu we* '(who) is coming there' in (8.17b). There are no relativizer elements present.

Keenan and Comrie (1977), in their notion of noun phrase accessibility hierarchy, claim that the subject noun phrase is the most accessible in the hierarchy, i.e. SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP (cf. Dalrymple 2001: 8-10). I will show how this works in Wano by considering possible equivalent English relative clauses in the

following examples. Unless otherwise stated, the Wano examples below are in collaboration with Yance Weya (p.c. WhatsApp) and Isak Weya (p.c.). Resumptive pronoun (abbreviated: RP) is found throughout these examples.

The Wano clauses in (18b-c) reflect the English relative clauses in (8.18a-a'). They represent 1-argument verbs (1-place predicates). To relativize these affirmative clauses, the demonstrative *muni* {muni} 'that' is relocated to the position after the verbs, as in (8.18b'-c'). Since Wano lacks definite-indefinite articles like English the/a, *muni* 'that' is translated as 'that' or 'the' accordingly.

- (8.18) a. The man [*who* ... *left*], ... | S, 1-ARG  
a'. The man [*whose father* ... *left*], ... | S, 1-ARG, possessive
- b. 

|             |                                           |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------|
| S           | PRED                                      |
| N    DEM    | V                                         |
| ap    muni  | narak                                     |
| ap    muni  | n-at-ak                                   |
| man    that | go-3s.SBJ-then                            |
|             | 'the man left.' (lit. 'that man he left') |
- b'. 

|                       |      |       |                                                                              |
|-----------------------|------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| RC                    |      |       |                                                                              |
| S                     | PRED |       |                                                                              |
| N    V                | DEM  |       |                                                                              |
| ap    narak           |      | muni, | ...                                                                          |
| ap    n-at-ak         |      | muni  | ...                                                                          |
| man    go-3s.SBJ-then |      | that  | ...                                                                          |
|                       |      |       | 'the man [ <i>who left</i> ], ...' (lit. 'that [ <i>he left man</i> ], ...') |
- c. 

|                                 |                                                                |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| S                               | PRED                                                           |
| ap    at    ova    muni         | narak                                                          |
| ap    at    ø-father    muni    | n-at-ak                                                        |
| man    he    his-father    that | go-3s.SBJ-then                                                 |
|                                 | 'that man's father left.' (lit. 'that man he his-father left') |
- c'. 

|     |    |           |                                                                                               |
|-----|----|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| RC  |    |           |                                                                                               |
| N   | RP | V         | DEM                                                                                           |
| ap  | at | ova       | narak    muni,                                                                                |
| ap  | at | ø-ova     | n-at-ak    that                                                                               |
| man | he | 3s-father | go-3s.SBJ-then    that                                                                        |
|     |    |           | 'the man [ <i>whose father left</i> ], ...' (lit. 'that [ <i>his-father left man</i> ], ...') |



To illustrate 2-argument verbs, the examples in (8.19b-c) reflect those affirmative sentences of the English relative clauses in (8.19a-a'), while (8.19b'-c') are their *RC* versions.

- (8.19) a. The man [*who ... saw me*], ... A, 2-ARG  
 a'. The man [*who I saw ...*], ... O, 2-ARG
- S RP DO V
- b. *ap muni, at an negarak.*  
*ap muni at an ne-k-at-ak\*  
 man that he I 1s.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then  
 'the man saw me.' (*lit.* 'that man, he saw me.')
- RC*
- b'. A 

|    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| RP | O | V |
|----|---|---|

  
*ap at an negarak muni, ...*  
*ap at an ne-k-at-ak muni |...*  
 man he I 1s.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then that, ...  
 'the man, [*who saw me*], ...' or (*lit.* 'that man [*he saw me*], ...')
- DO RP S V
- c. *ap muni, at an kirak.*  
*ap muni at an k-it-ak\*  
 man that he I 3s.OBJ:see-REAL-1s.SBJ-then  
 'I saw the man.' (*lit.* 'that man, I saw him.')
- RC*
- c'. DO 

|    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| RP | A | V |
|----|---|---|

  
*ap at an kirak muni, ...*  
*ap at an k-it-ak muni |...*  
 man he I 3s.OBJ:see-REAL-1s.SBJ-then that, ...  
 'the man, [*who I saw*], ...' (*lit.* 'that man [*I saw him*], ...')

Note that while being a verb-final language, the word order of the other arguments does not cause a change in meaning, i.e. the subject/object-argument is morphologically determined by the verbs. Consequently, pro-drop is commonly preferable in social interaction. (8.20) illustrates a switch of those arguments found in (8.19), while their pro-drop version is given in (8.21).

(8.20)

Switched argument position of (8.19)

- S DO RP V
- b. *ap muni, an at negarak.*  
ap muni an at ne-k-at-ak\  
man that I he 1s.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then  
'the man saw me.' (lit. 'that man, he saw me.')
- RC*
- A O RP V
- b'. *ap an at negarak muni, ...*  
ap an at ne-k-at-ak muni |...  
man I he 1s.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then that, ...  
'the man, [who saw me], ...' or (lit. 'that [he saw me] man, ...')
- DO A RP V
- c. *ap muni, an at kirak.*  
ap muni an at k-it-ak\  
man that I he 3s.OBJ:see-REAL-1s.SBJ-then  
'I saw the man.' (lit. 'that man, I saw him.')
- RC*
- DO A RP V
- c'. *ap an at kirak muni, ...*  
ap an at k-it-ak muni |...  
man I he 3s.OBJ:see-REAL-1s.SBJ-the that, ...  
'the man, [who I saw], ...' (lit. 'that [I saw him] man, ...')

(8.21)

Pro-drop version of (8.20) and (8.19)

- S DO RP V
- b. *ap muni, Ø Ø negarak.*  
ap muni ne-k-at-ak\  
man that 1s.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then  
'the man saw me.' (lit. 'that man, he saw me.')
- RC*
- A O RP V
- b'. *ap Ø Ø negarak muni, ...*  
ap ne-k-at-ak muni |...  
man 1s.OBJ:see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then that, ...  
'the man, [who saw me], ...' or (lit. 'that [he saw me] man, ...')
- DO A RP V
- c. *ap muni, Ø Ø kirak.*  
ap muni k-it-ak\  
man that 3s.OBJ:see-REAL-1s.SBJ-then  
'I saw the man.' (lit. 'that man, I saw him.')
- RC*
- DO A RP V
- c'. *ap Ø Ø kirak muni, ...*  
ap k-it-ak muni |...  
man 3s.OBJ:see-REAL-1s.SBJ-the that, ...  
'the man, [who I saw], ...' (lit. 'that [I saw him] man, ...')

Non-verbal clauses of 2-place predicates are possible in *RC* structures, as shown in (8.22) with their pro-drop version in (8.23) – see §7.2.1 to recall the notion of experiential events.

- (8.22) a. The man [*who ... loves me*], ... A, 2-ARG non-verbal clause  
 a'. The man [*who I love ...*], ... O, 2-ARG non-verbal clause
- b. S RP/ES EO PRED  
*ap muni, at an nabua.*  
 ap muni at an n-abua\  
 man that he I 1s-love  
 'the man loves me.' (*lit.* 'that man, he has my-love.')
- b'.  $\overbrace{\text{RC}}$   
 S  $\overbrace{\text{RP/ES EO PRED}}$   
*ap at an nabua muni, ...*  
 ap at an n-abua mun |...  
 man he I 1s-love that, ...  
 'the man [*who loves me*], ... (*lit.* 'that [*he has my-love*] man, ...')
- c. O RP/ES EO PRED  
*ap muni, at an abua.*  
 ap muni at an ø-abua\  
 man that he I 3s-love  
 'the man I love.' (*lit.* 'that man, I have his-love.')
- c'.  $\overbrace{\text{RC}}$   
 O  $\overbrace{\text{RP/ES EO PRED}}$   
*ap at an abua muni, ...*  
 ap at an ø-abua muni |...  
 man he I 3s-love that, ...  
 'the man [*who I love*], ... (*lit.* 'that [*I have his-love*] man, ...')

The inalienable noun (predicate head) undergoes prefixal change to express subject-object function in the clause. In (8.22b-b'), it is the suffix *n* {n-} '1s' prefixed to the root, i.e. *nabua* {n-abua} 'my-love' that qualifies *an* 'I' as the experiential-object (EO), while *at* 'he' is the experiential-subject (ES). In (8.22c-c'), the strategy is reversed by assigning a zero morpheme to the root, i.e. *abua* {ø-abua} 'his-love'.

- (8.23) Pro-drop version of (8.21-2) A/O, 2-ARG non-verbal clause
- S RP/ES EO PRED
- b. *ap muni, Ø Ø nabua.*  
*ap muni n-abua\*  
*man that 1s-love*  
 'the man loves me.' (lit. 'that man, he has my-love.')
- RC*
- S RP/ES EO PRED
- b'. *ap Ø Ø nabua muni, ...*  
*ap n-abua muni | ...*  
*man 1s-love that, ...*  
 'the man [who loves me], ... (lit. 'that [he has my-love] man, ...')
- O RP/ES EO PRED
- ap muni, Ø Ø abua.*  
*ap muni ø-abua\*  
*man that 3s-love*  
 'the man I love.' (lit. 'that man, I have his-love.')
- RC*
- c'. O RP/ES EO PRED
- ap Ø Ø abua muni, ...*  
*ap ø-abua muni | ...*  
*man 3s-love that, ...*  
 'the man [who I love], ... (lit. 'that [I have his-love] man, ...')

In the 3-place predicates, we have the following.

- (8.24) a. The man [*who ... gave the banana to me*], ... S 3-ARG
- a'. The man [*who I gave the banana to ...*], ... O 3-ARG
- A RP DO IO V
- b. *ap muni, at edeid an nigirak.*  
*ap muni at e-deid an n-i-k-it-ak\*  
*man that he 3s-banana I 1s.OBJ-do-REAL-3s.SBJ-then*  
 'the man gave me his banana.' (lit. 'that man, he gave me his banana.')
- RC*
- A RP DO IO V
- b'. *ap at edeid an nigirak muni, ...*  
*ap at e-deid an n-i-k-it-ak muni | ...*  
*man he 3s-banana I 1s.OBJ-do-REAL-3s.SBJ-then that, ...*  
 'the man, [who gave his banana to me], ...'  
 (lit. 'that [his banana he gave me] man, ...')
- IO S DO RP V
- c. *ap muni, an nedei at egacak.*  
*ap muni an ne-deid at ø-e-k-atj-ak\*  
*man that I 1s-banana he 3s.OBJ-do-REAL-1s.SBJ-then*  
 'I gave the man my banana.' (lit. 'that man, I gave him my banana.')

|     |                                               |           |              |           |                            |                  |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------------------|------------------|
|     |                                               | RC        |              |           |                            |                  |
|     | IO                                            | S         | DO           | RP        | V                          |                  |
| c'. | <i>ap</i>                                     | <i>an</i> | <i>nedei</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>egacak</i>              | <i>muni, ...</i> |
|     | ap                                            | an        | ne-deid      | at        | ø-e-k-atj-ak               | muni  ...        |
|     | man                                           | I         | 1s-banana    | he        | 3s.OBJ-do-REAL-1s.SBJ-then | that, ...        |
|     | 'the man, [who I gave my banana to], ...'     |           |              |           |                            |                  |
|     | (lit. 'that [I gave him my banana] man, ...') |           |              |           |                            |                  |

Finally, adposition with comitative and instrument are also possible in Wano. In (8.25b-b'), the comitative marks second person singular, i.e. {k-} '2s', indicating that the singular participant involved with another participant undergoes an event. The verb then marks second person plural, i.e. {-ep} '2p', indicating that it is now a plural subject undergoing the event.

- (8.25) a. The man [with whom ... you went to the jungle], ... S adposition, comitative  
a'. The stick [with which ... you hit the dog], ... O adposition, instrument
- b. 

|  |                                                        |             |                 |                |                |
|--|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
|  | S                                                      | COM         | LOC             | V              |                |
|  | <i>ap</i>                                              | <i>muni</i> | <i>kimbirak</i> | <i>pavukmu</i> | <i>nepak.</i>  |
|  | ap                                                     | muni        | k-impitak       | pavuk-mu       | n-ep-ak\       |
|  | man                                                    | that        | 2s-together     | bush-LOC       | go-2p.SBJ-then |
|  | 'together with that man you.pl went to (the) bush.'    |             |                 |                |                |
|  | (lit. 'that man you.sg together in bush you.pl went.') |             |                 |                |                |
- b'. 

|  |                                                                   |                 |                |                |                  |  |
|--|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|--|
|  | S                                                                 | RC              |                | LOC            | V                |  |
|  | <i>ap</i>                                                         | <i>kimbirak</i> | <i>pavukmu</i> | <i>nepak</i>   | <i>muni, ...</i> |  |
|  | ap                                                                | k-impitak       | pavuk-mu       | n-ep-ak        | muni  ...        |  |
|  | man                                                               | 2s-together     | bush-LOC       | go-2p.SBJ-then | that, ...        |  |
|  | 'the man [with whom you.pl went to (the) bush], ...'              |                 |                |                |                  |  |
|  | (lit. 'that [with you.sg together in bush you.pl went], man ...') |                 |                |                |                  |  |
- c. 

|  |                                      |              |             |            |               |
|--|--------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|---------------|
|  | INST                                 | A            | DO          | V          |               |
|  | <i>e</i>                             | <i>baneq</i> | <i>muni</i> | <i>kat</i> | <i>nggewo</i> |
|  | e                                    | baneq        | muni        | kat        | nkewo         |
|  | stick                                | INST         | that        | you.sg     | dog           |
|  | 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then          |              |             |            |               |
|  | 'you.sg hit the dog with the stick.' |              |             |            |               |
- c'. 

|  |                                                   |              |            |               |                             |                  |
|--|---------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------|---------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
|  | INST                                              | RC           |            |               | V                           |                  |
|  | <i>e</i>                                          | <i>baneq</i> | <i>kat</i> | <i>nggewo</i> | <i>wakendak</i>             | <i>muni, ...</i> |
|  | e                                                 | baneq        | kat        | nkewo         | wat-k-ent-ak\               | muni  ...        |
|  | stick                                             | INST         | you.sg     | dog           | 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2s.SBJ-then | muni, ...        |
|  | 'that stick [with which you.sg hit the dog], ...' |              |            |               |                             |                  |
|  | (lit. 'that stick [you.sg hit dog] with, ...')    |              |            |               |                             |                  |

To sum up, the syntactic distribution of demonstrative *muni* {muni} 'that' plays a role in relativizing a clause. While verbs remain clause-final, the word order of arguments is not significant semantically, since verb agreement determines the subject/object-hood of the arguments. Except for the direct object (DO) of the 3-PREDICATE verbs, pro-drop is commonly preferable in any social interaction. Lastly, Wano is a postnominal relative clause language (cf. Comrie 1993).

### 8.3.2 Adverbial clauses

For the study of adverbial clauses (*AdvC*), I refer to Thompson and Longacre (1985: 177) and Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007: 243). In general, *AdvCs* are marked by means of subordinating morphemes, special verb forms and word order. In Wano, *AdvCs* are marked in two ways. The first is by means of special verb forms cooccurring with the specifier *ta* {ta} 'SPEC'. These verbs include but are not limited to: *do* {do-} 'one stays', *it* {it-} 'one does/says', *kot* {kot-} 'one sees', *won* {won-} 'one exists' and *ba* {ba-} 'one sets', taking either the particle *niq/naq* {-niq/-naq} 'as such' or the immediate sequential *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'then'. The second is by means of antithetical *kwe* {kwe} 'but'-coordinator and cause-reason *nome* {nome} 'because'-coordinator in the clause. In both ways, *AdvCs* are found preceding the main clause (*MC*). Examples follow – in the free translation, *AdvCs* are italicized and are written in square brackets.

- (8.26) *AdvC*  
*an turumo dokniq ta,*  
*an turumo do-k-niq ta|*  
 I PN stay-REAL-as such SPEC  
*MC*  
*an no, nggebak inggi nirak.*  
*an no| nkebak in-k-i n-it-ak*  
 I that canoe up-REAL-3s.SBJ go-1s.SBJ-then  
 '[(When) I lived in Turumo], I went up (river) in a canoe.'  
 [Text 67: 3.2; Burung 2013a: 255, 264]

The *AdvC* in (8.26) is sentence initial. The verb *dokniq* 'stay as such' is a partially inflected verb. The whole clause is followed by the specifier *ta* {ta} 'SPEC'.

- (8.27) *AdvC*  
*nit ne, ninyengge eke mbake kiduk*  
*nit ne| nin-enke it-k-e mpa-k-e kiduk*  
 we there 1p-eye do-REAL-3s.SBJ wiggle-REAL-3s.SBJ smoke  
*MC*  
*ekenok ta, kum yu-o.*  
*it-k-nok ta| kum j-u=o \*  
 do/say-REAL-next SPEC call say-3s.SBJ=PAUS  
 'As for us, [having seen the wiggling smoke], we call out.' or 'As for us, [seeing the wiggling smoke] we call out.'  
 [Text 67: 3.15; Burung 2013a: 258, 267-8]

The same structure is shown in the example (8.27) with the verb *ekenok* 'he did/said next'. Note that the verb has the immediate sequential *nok* {nok-} 'next' and is followed by the specifier *ta* {ta} 'SPEC'.

- (8.28) *AdvC* *MC*  
*kanggo kenok ta, o yunggu*  
*kan-k-o k-e-nok ta | o jun-k-u*  
 die-REAL-3s.SBJ see-3s.SBJ-next SPEC place move-REAL-3p.SBJ  
  
*wodegoduk wouguarak.*  
*wodegoduk w-ou-k-at-ak \*  
 PN come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-D.SEQ  
 '[After he died], they returned to Wodegoduk.'  
 [Text 39: 4.20; Burung 2013a: 268, 279]

Also, the same structure is found with the verb *kot* {*kot*-} 'one sees' as evidenced in (8.29). In the following example, we have a SVC of *won* {*won*-} 'one exists' and *not* {*not*-} 'one goes', i.e. *wunu nouguerik ta* 'while we were living'. We also have a *RC*, i.e. *it ap akome apik ne* 'they (are) all men and women' in the *MC* – in the free translation, the *RC* is in curly brackets.

- (8.29)
- |                                                                                  |                                                                         |                                                         |                                                |                                         |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <p><i>AdvC</i><br/> <b>wunu</b><br/> wun-u<br/> exist-3p.SBJ<br/> <i>ApP</i></p> | <p><i>nouguerik</i><br/> n-ou-k-uet-ik<br/> go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG</p> | <p><i>MC</i><br/> <b>ta,</b><br/> ta  <br/> SPEC PN</p> | <p><i>wodegoduk</i><br/> wodegoduk<br/> PN</p> | <p><i>mende</i><br/> mente<br/> SRC</p> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
- |           |           |              |             |            |           |               |
|-----------|-----------|--------------|-------------|------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>it</i> | <i>ap</i> | <i>akomi</i> | <i>apik</i> | <i>ne,</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>banuk,</i> |
| it        | ap        | akomi        | apik        | ne         | tu        | ba-nuk        |
| they      | man       | women        | all         | there      | way       | set-next      |
- iratoi wu-o.*  
iratoi w-u=o\  
PN come-3p.SBJ-PAUS  
'While we were living], (people) from Wodegoduk, {they (are) all men and women}, made (their) way to come to Iratoi.'
- [Text 39: 4.39; Burung 2013a: 273-4, 284]

### 8.3.3 Direct speech

Direct speech is used for the purposes of reporting someone's *speech*, see (8.30) to (8.33), and *thought* as illustrated in (8.34) and (8.45). Consider the direct speech in the following narrative text (8.30). As the narrator puts it, there was a woman who had just arrived in a little hamlet from her long and exhausting journey. There she meets someone who was cooking some food. Before proposing to share food and a place for rest, she lists each event which she had experienced during the trip. Note that the enclitic =o 'PAUS' occurs in each listed event in the direct speech passage, which are *ugacak-o* 'I slept', *mek-o* 'impossible', and *ekenak-o* 'he did'. Further, we



note that in reporting her speech, the narrator begins with the interjection *wa* 'greeting', which could also be placed immediately after the clause *arivan icak-o kenok* 'having seen her cooking a meal'. The direct speech (henceforth: *DS*) is underlined and put between the ◀....▶ symbols.

- (8.30) *DS*<sub>1</sub>  
 ▶ wa ▶ **yoko** *negirik,* *arivan*  
 wa jot-k-o n-e-k-it-ik | ø-ativan  
 INTERJ say-REAL-3s.SBJ go-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG 3s-meal  
*DS*<sub>2</sub>  
*icago* *kenok,* ▶ an ombak ta,  
 itja-k-o k-e-nok | an ompak ta |  
 cook-REAL-3s.SBJ see-3s.SBJ-next I jungle SPEC  
uqacak-o, nggweri mek-o, apu  
 u-k-atj-ak=0 | nkwati mek=0 | apu  
 sleep-REAL-1s.SBJ=PAUS PN impossible=PAUS desire to consume  
mek-o, yi wi ndi wi tu aduk  
 mek=0 | ji wi nti wi | tu aduk  
 impossible=PAUS here place this place way long  
ekenak-o, wirak nome.▶  
 it-k-e-nak=0 | w-it-ak nome |  
 do/say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS come-1s.SBJ-then therefore  
**yegarak-o.**  
 je-k-at-ak=0 \  
 say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 "Greetings!" she was saying. Having seen him cooking a meal, she said: "I  
 slept in the jungle, it was impossible in Nggweri, there was hunger everywhere,  
 I went a long way, so I came," she said.'

[Text 2: 5.11; Burung 2013a: 283, 294]

Reporting someone's speech is typically marked by either the verb *yot* {jot-} 'one says', see (8.30) above, or serial verb construction (SVC) of {it-} 'one does/says' and {do-} 'one stays', as demonstrated in (8.31) – printed in bold. Note that the final verb of the direct speech passage in (8.30) has 'first person singular', i.e. *wirak* 'I come and then', while the final verb of the speech report has a/the 'third person singular'

marker, i.e. *yegarak-o* 'she said'. The verb *yegarak-o* is uttered by the reporter, i.e. the narrator, while the verb *wirak* 'I come and then' is uttered by one of the main actors of the story's plot, i.e. the woman who was travelling from Ngweri. The verb is a part of the *DS* itself.

- (8.31)
- |                          |                            |                   |                   |                  |                   |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>irukmu,</i>           | <i>awot</i>                | <i>ne,</i>        |                   |                  |                   |
| it-uk-mu                 | ∅-awot                     | ne                |                   |                  |                   |
| do:say-3sp.SBJ.INCEP-LOC | 3s-younger sibling.oss     | there             |                   |                  |                   |
|                          |                            | <i>DS</i>         |                   |                  |                   |
| <b><i>iruk</i></b>       | <b><i>dokniq</i></b>       | <b><i>ta,</i></b> | <b><i>an</i></b>  | <b><i>ta</i></b> | <b><i>bok</i></b> |
| it-uk                    | do-k-niq                   | ta                | an                | ta               | bok               |
| do:say-3sp.SBJ:INCEP     | stay-REAL-as such          | SPEC              | I                 | SPEC             | good              |
| <br><i>nonggotik,</i>    | <br><i>ndi</i>             | <br><i>ta,▶</i>   | <br><i>eee-o.</i> |                  |                   |
| non-k-ott-ik             | nti                        | ta                | eee=o \           |                  |                   |
| consume-REAL-1s.SBJ-PROG | this                       | SPEC              | STUTTER=PAUS      |                  |                   |
| <br><i>yak</i>           | <br><i>nonggo.</i>         |                   |                   |                  |                   |
| <i>jak</i>               | <i>non-k-o \</i>           |                   |                   |                  |                   |
| <i>then</i>              | <i>consume-REAL-3s.SBJ</i> |                   |                   |                  |                   |
- 'He said so, as for the younger brother, he said: "Look, it tastes good to me," then he ate it.'

[Text 35: 2.52; Burung 2013a: 242, 252]

The active *it* {it-} 'one does/says' is also found preceding the stative *do* {do-} 'one stays', see (8.31), forming an SVC and functioning as a conjunction, particularly in reporting direct speech. Here, the SVC of the verbs *it* {it-} 'one does/says' and *do* {do-} 'one stays' gives a completely new meaning, i.e. 'one tells'.

- (8.32)
- |    |                                                                                                                                                                                    |             |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| NP | $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \textit{iruk} & \textit{dokniq} \\ \textbf{it-uk} & \textit{do-k-niq} \\ \textit{do:say-3s.SBJ-next} & \textit{stay-REAL-as such} \end{array} \right\}$ | (ta 'SPEC') |
|    |                                                                                                                                                                                    |             |
|    |                                                                                                                                                                                    |             |

Further examples are given in (8.33) and (8.34). The main verb complex is in bold face.



- (8.35)
- |              |              |                    |             |                       |                |               |                     |
|--------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------|
| <i>poiya</i> | <i>kena</i>  | <i>itnuk</i>       | <i>ta,</i>  | <i>DS<sub>1</sub></i> | <i>◀dik-o,</i> | <i>turumo</i> | <i>norak-o. ▶</i>   |
| <i>poiya</i> | <i>kena</i>  | <i>it-nuk</i>      | <i>ta  </i> |                       | <i>dik=o \</i> | <i>turumo</i> | <i>not-ak=o \</i>   |
| <i>sun</i>   | <i>three</i> | <i>do:say-next</i> | <i>SPEC</i> |                       | <i>no=PAUS</i> | <i>PN</i>     | <i>go-then=PAUS</i> |
- DS<sub>2</sub>*
- |                    |            |             |               |                     |                  |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|---------------|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>itnuk,</i>      | <i>◀an</i> | <i>no</i>   | <i>turumo</i> | <i>nengguq</i>      | <i>nome,</i>     |
| <i>it-nuk  </i>    | <i>an</i>  | <i>no</i>   | <i>turumo</i> | <i>n-enkuq</i>      | <i>nome  </i>    |
| <i>do:say-next</i> | <i>I</i>   | <i>that</i> | <i>PN</i>     | <i>1s-ignorance</i> | <i>therefore</i> |
- 
- |               |                  |               |                      |
|---------------|------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| <i>nggayo</i> | <i>nome, ▶</i>   | <i>kamit</i>  | <i>embetnuk,</i>     |
| <i>nkajo</i>  | <i>nome  </i>    | <i>kamit</i>  | <i>ø-empet-nuk  </i> |
| <i>why</i>    | <i>therefore</i> | <i>wonder</i> | <i>3s-think-next</i> |
- worigerak-o.*  
*wot-i-k-et-ak=o \*  
*come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
 'After three months, "Look, we shall go to Turumo." having thought so, "As for me, because I don't know Turumo, so why ...?" I was wondering'  
 [Text 39: 4.54; Burung 2013a: 277, 288]

Note in (8.35) above, the narrator refers to herself as the Agent of *DS<sub>2</sub>*, which is marked in the inalienably possessed noun, *embetnuk* {ø-empet-nuk} 'he after thought' (not *nembetnuk* {n-empet-nuk} 'I after thought' – while the whole event of 'she is/was thinking' is directly referred to the narrator herself, which is marked in the verb agreement *kamit worigerak-o* 'I was wondering'.

- (8.36)
- |             |                       |                       |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>NP</i>   | <i>Cl<sub>1</sub></i> | <i>Cl<sub>2</sub></i> |
| <i>ndi</i>  | <i>ta,</i>            | <i>wom</i>            |
| <i>nti</i>  | <i>ta  </i>           | <i>ta</i>             |
| <i>this</i> | <i>SPEC</i>           | <i>no</i>             |
- |               |                             |            |             |              |
|---------------|-----------------------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>nggane</i> | <i>waku-a,</i>              | <i>wom</i> | <i>ta</i>   | <i>dik,</i>  |
| <i>nkane</i>  | <i>wat-k-u=a</i>            | <i>wom</i> | <i>ta</i>   | <i>dik  </i> |
| <i>where</i>  | <i>3s.OBJ-REAL-3p.SBJ=Q</i> | <i>pig</i> | <i>SPEC</i> | <i>no</i>    |
- Cl<sub>3</sub>*
- |                              |              |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>wonegwa</i>               | <i>bok,</i>  |
| <i>won-e-k-wa</i>            | <i>bok  </i> |
| <i>exist-3s.SBJ-REAL-HAB</i> | <i>good</i>  |
- Cl<sub>4</sub>*
- |              |              |                      |             |             |
|--------------|--------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>ambui</i> | <i>yedok</i> | <i>dogwe</i>         | <i>ndi</i>  | <i>ta,</i>  |
| <i>ampui</i> | <i>jedok</i> | <i>do-k-we</i>       | <i>nti</i>  | <i>ta  </i> |
| <i>one</i>   | <i>large</i> | <i>stay-REAL-HAB</i> | <i>this</i> | <i>SPEC</i> |
- 'For this, "Where did they kill it, the pig was not here, it was not here as usual, (the) big one stayed here?"' (he thought).  
 [Text 35: 2.36; Burung 2013a: 237, 246]

Based on the above discussion, I conclude that while an indirect speech construction is not attested in Wano, **direct speech** is divided into two types. Direct speech as **reported-speech** is marked by either the phrase *iruk dokniq* 'he did/said', which may be followed by the specifier *ta* 'SPEC' before the *DS*, or by the verb *yot* {jot-} 'one tells' at the end of the speech after the *DS*, and direct speech as a **reported-thought** is either marked by the inalienable noun *embet* {ø-empet} 'his-thought' or by no mark at all. Both reported speech and reported-thought are common in Papuan languages with clause chaining systems.

## 8.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have discussed grammatical features based on oral texts with Coordination and Subordination as my focus. I have attempted to describe them in terms of their morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties, as they are found in various Wano narratives.

In §8.1 I defined the above two classifications and provided some guidelines to distinguish them. Coordination is a way of combining at least two grammatical independent elements of similar status. Subordination is a way of combining at least two grammatical elements, of which one is dependent on the other.

Coordination was discussed in §8.2 by adapting studies by Haspelmath (2004a, b, 2007). Haspelmath's semantic types of coordination are attested in Wano. In terms of

binary coordination, Wano has the bisyndetic postpositive coordination strategy, i.e. *A co B co*. Both partial omission and full omission in both two coordinands, i.e. *A B co* and *A B*, and multicoordinands, *A B C D co* and *A B C D*, are possible in Wano. Coordinator elements in Wano include four coordination particles and two inalienable nouns. They are: the conjunction *me* {me} 'and', disjunction *mo* {mo} 'or', antithetical *kwe* {kwe} 'but', cause-reason *nome* {nome} 'because', comitative *inyom* {ø-inom} '3s-with' and abessive or privative *ambek* {ø-ampek} '3s-without'. Asyndetic coordination is also found in Wano.

Subordination was discussed in §8.3. Three types of subordinate clauses were included: relative clauses, adverbial clauses and direct speech. Adapting Keenan's (1985) typological studies on relative clauses, I proposed that Wano has postnominal RCs. There is no relativizer element. Syntactic distribution of demonstrative *muni* {muni} 'that' plays a role in relativizing a clause. While verbs remain clause-final, the word order of arguments is not significant semantically, since verb agreement determines the subject/object-hood of the arguments. Apparently, pro-drop is commonly preferable in any social interaction. My analysis of the adverbial clauses (*AdvC*) is based on the typological studies of Thompson and Longacre (1985) and Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007) on this notion.

With reference to direct speech (*DS*), I proposed two types of *DS*s: (i) reported-speech, and (ii) reported-thought. The first mentioned is marked by either the phrase *iruk dokniq* 'he did/said' that is optionally followed by the specifier *ta* {ta} 'SPEC' before the *DS* or is marked by the verb *yot* {jot-} 'one says' after the *DS*. Reported-

thought, on the other hand, is marked by either the inalienable *embet* {ø-empet} 'his thought' or by no mark at all. Both reported-speech and reported-thought are widely found in Papuan languages with clause chaining system, particularly in oral narratives. I found no indirect speech in Wano.





### **9.1 BACKGROUND**

In chapter 1, I distinguished the notion of Serial Verb Constructions (SVC) from Clause Linking (CL) and Bridging Linkage (BL). This chapter discusses the forms and functions of SVCs in Wano. The chapter consists of two main headings: §9.2 deals with root-serialisation and verb-serialisation, and §9.3 with experiential event SVCs. I begin by defining SVCs in this section.

A **Serial Verb Construction** (SVC) is a sequence of verbs that forms a single predicate and constitutes a single event through shared grammatical-semantic-pragmatic information. This is a universal definition of SVCs, while their parameters and criteria are language specific. In defining and discussing SVCs attested in Wano, I follow Aikhenvald (2006a, 2015: 149), who proposed formal and semantic criteria which are outlined in Bisang (2009), given in (9.1), and Foley's (1986 and 2000) analysis of verbal semantics in Papuan languages, as well as, Dixon (2010a, b and 2012).

- (9.1) **The formal and semantic criteria of an SVC** (Aikhenvald 2006a: 4-21, cf. Bisang 2009: 794)
- a. single predicate
  - b. one event
  - c. monoclausality
  - d. intonational properties
  - e. shared grammatical categories
  - f. shared arguments

In this chapter, it will become clear that all criteria given in (9.1) are met. Furthermore, considering the four parameters of SVCs set out by Aikhenvald (2006a: 3-4) given in (9.2), it will also be clear that SVCs in Wano are not limited in terms of contiguity and wordhood, but are instead restricted in their composition and the marking on grammatical categories, which is concordant – see (9.2d). Wano has asymmetrical SVCs (cf. Aikhenvald 2006a: 21-37).

- (9.2) **Grammatical and semantic parameters of SVC** (Aikhenvald 2006a: 3-4, cf. Bisang 2009: 795)
- a. COMPOSITION: **Symmetrical** SVCs (i.e. all verbs are from the unrestricted class), vs. **Asymmetrical** SVCs (i.e. inclusion of a verb from the restricted class).
  - b. CONTIGUITY of verbal components of SVCs: **Contiguous** (i.e. disallow other constituents to be present between verbs) vs. **Non-Contiguous** (i.e. allow other constituents to be present between verbs).
  - c. WORDHOOD of SVCs: **One-word** SVCs (also known as 'compounding' or 'root serialisation') and **Multi-word** SVCs.
  - d. MARKING on grammatical categories: may be **single** (i.e. marked only on one verb) or **concordant** marking (i.e. marked on every verb).

For example, in terms of contiguity (9.2b) Wano allows non-contiguous SVCs as illustrated in (9.3) where the insertion of a noun between the verbs in Cl<sub>2</sub> takes place.

- (9.3)
- |                        |                        |                |  |
|------------------------|------------------------|----------------|--|
| Cl <sub>1</sub>        |                        |                |  |
| SVC                    |                        |                |  |
| V <sub>1</sub>         |                        | V <sub>2</sub> |  |
| <i>kanggo</i>          | <i>kenok</i>           | <i>ta,</i>     |  |
| <b>kan-k-o</b>         | <b>ke-nok</b>          | ta             |  |
| <b>die-REAL-3s.SBJ</b> | <b>see.3s.SBJ-next</b> | SPEC           |  |
- 
- |                 |                         |                  |                                  |
|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|
| Cl <sub>2</sub> |                         |                  |                                  |
| SVC             |                         |                  |                                  |
|                 | V <sub>1</sub>          |                  | V <sub>2</sub>                   |
| <i>o</i>        | <i>yunggu</i>           | <i>wodegoduk</i> | <i>wouguarak.</i>                |
| <i>o</i>        | <b>jun-k-u</b>          | <i>wodegoduk</i> | <b>w-ou-k-uat-ak  </b>           |
| place           | <b>move-REAL-3p.SBJ</b> | PN               | <b>come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then</b> |
- 'After he died, they returned to Wodegoduk.'
- [Text 39: 4.20; Burung 2013a: 268, 279]

In (9.3), interruption occurs in Cl<sub>2</sub>, where a noun (i.e. *wodegoduk* 'PN') interferes between V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub>, thus rendering: {V<sub>1</sub> N V<sub>2</sub>}<sub>SVC</sub>. The question is how we justify that this is an SVC and not verbs of two separate clauses, or clause chaining. Wano has the following strategies to indicate when a sequence of verbs, {V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>}, is not an SVC.

- (9.4)
- a. In a {V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>} sequence, it is not an SVC when V<sub>1</sub>
    1. is followed by the specifier {ta} 'SPEC',
    2. has the pausal {=o} 'PAUS',
    3. has the particle {niq}/{naq} 'as such',
    4. has the TAM suffixes: {-(i)ak} 'then'/{-nuk/-nok} 'next'/{-ik} 'PROG'/{-id} 'INCEP', and the like,
    5. is followed by a pause, or
    6. is followed by a falling intonation
  - b. In a {V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>} sequence, it is an SVC when the parameters in (9.1) are met, and there is morphological agreement between the verbs with respect to PERSON.

The {V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>} sequence in (9.5) below, for instance, is not an SVC since V<sub>1</sub> has the pausal clitic {=o} 'PAUS'. This is a clause chain and thus we are dealing with clause linking.

|       |                                                                                                                    |           |             |                                    |                 |                |            |             |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------|-------------|
| (9.5) | <i>yak</i>                                                                                                         | <i>ta</i> | <i>ni,</i>  | <i>kwa</i>                         | <i>agwe,</i>    | <i>anggup</i>  | <i>kwa</i> | <i>no,</i>  |
|       | <i>jak</i>                                                                                                         | <i>ta</i> | <i>ni  </i> | <i>kwa</i>                         | <i>ø-akwe  </i> | <i>ø-ankup</i> | <i>kwa</i> | <i>no  </i> |
|       | then                                                                                                               | SPEC      | this        | woman                              | 3s-wife         | 3s-tip         | woman      | that        |
|       | Cl <sub>1</sub>                                                                                                    |           |             | Cl <sub>2</sub>                    |                 |                |            |             |
|       | V <sub>1</sub>                                                                                                     |           |             | V <sub>2</sub>                     |                 |                |            |             |
|       | wat-o                                                                                                              |           |             | bagouguarak-o.                     |                 |                |            |             |
|       | wat=o                                                                                                              |           |             | ba-k-ou-k-at-ak=o \                |                 |                |            |             |
|       | 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ=PAUS                                                                                             |           |             | set-see-REM-REAL-3sp.SBJ-then=PAUS |                 |                |            |             |
|       | 'As such then, (the) woman, (who is) his wife, (who is the) second wife, they killed her <b>and</b> put her down.' |           |             |                                    |                 |                |            |             |
|       | [Text 39: 4.16; Burung 2013a: 267, 277-8]                                                                          |           |             |                                    |                 |                |            |             |

As was stated in the beginning of this section, an SVC is a sequence of verbs that forms a single predicate and constitutes a single event through shared grammatical-semantic-pragmatic information. Issues that arise when dealing with SVCs in Wano are those related to the grammatical and semantic-pragmatic properties of each verb involved in an SVC. Grammatically, close attention is required to the internal structures of verbs and their distribution in an SVC. Which verbs can fill in the non-final slot and which ones are permitted in the final slot in a {V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>} or {V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub>} form? What is the morphological shape of each verb when it occurs in a such a slot? In terms of their relations, what are their grammatical contributions based on their distribution in an SVC? Questions addressing their semantic roles in accordance with their distribution are also crucial; which verbs may function as **focal verbs** (i.e. verbs that carry the basic meaning of an event, i.e. lexical meaning), and which as **supporting verbs** (i.e. verbs that provide other information to the basic meaning, i.e. supporting meaning and/or grammaticalisation).<sup>38</sup> In terms of meaning, which verbs

<sup>38</sup> **Focal** and **supporting** verbs have been referred to in various discussions on clause chaining and switch-reference mechanisms (cf. Mattisoff 1973, Longacre 1985, Nichols 1986, Déchaine 1993, Stirling 1993, Fleck 2003, among others). In this respect, Oswalt (1983) was the first who used "focal" verb (Overall 2011). Aikhenvald (2003, 2006) used the terms major and minor verbs when discussing serial verb constructions (see Durie 1997 for 'minor'). Dixon and Aikhenvald (2009) used focal clause and supporting clause in their research on semantics of clause-linking (cf. Dixon (2012). I use the terms focal and supporting verbs in the same sense of Aikhenvald's (ibid.) major and minor verbs.

are bleached, and which are not? What types of verbs can form an SVC? What types of verbs are they permitted to occur with? Are they restricted in their grammatical distribution, or not?

In chapter 4, I showed that Wano verbs may be distinguished based on their morphological forms. Thus, **fully inflected verbs** are those that mark person and tense-aspect-mood (TAM). On the other hand, **partially inflected verbs** are those that indicate the number of the subject but lack full reference to PERSON and TAM. When two juxtaposed verbs express one event, the preceding one, while not bearing full PERSON and TAM markings, carries the meaning of the event – as the focal verb, while the following verb functions as the supporting verb. Thus, in a sequence of {V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>} as a predicate unit, V<sub>2</sub> modifies V<sub>1</sub> to express a single event (by providing the PERSON and TAM information to the lexical meaning of V<sub>1</sub>), thus forming a single clause. Let me now discuss two types of SVCs in Wano.

## 9.2 ROOT-SERIALISATION AND VERB-SERIALISATION

Wano allows both **one-word** SVCs, also known as compounding or root-serialisation (cf. Aikhenvald 2006b: 7), and **multi-word** SVCs (cf. Foley 1986: 113-28, 1991: 320-3). Consequently, clauses in Wano are commonly expressed by means of SVCs in accordance with the structures in:

- (9.6)    One-word SVCs
- a.    (S/A) (O)    **V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>**
  - b.    (S/A) (O)    **V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>-V<sub>3</sub>**
- Multi-word SVCs
- c.    (S/A) (O)    **V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>**
  - d.    (S/A) (O)    **V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub>**

The basic difference between a one-word SVC and a multi-word SVC is that the former is **verb(-root) serialisation**, i.e. a series of bound verbal roots, or V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>, and the latter is **verb serialisation**, i.e. a series of verbs, or V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub> – cf. Table 9:1c and Table 9:2c. The first elements of one-word SVCs are bound roots, while the first elements of multi-word SVCs are partially inflected verbs. For their structures in (9.6a-b), I present one-word SVCs by V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>, instead of R<sub>1</sub>-R<sub>2</sub> (R for 'root'), for simplicity's sake. Nevertheless, their structural representation is different from that of multi-word SVCs. The one-word SVCs' structures are presented with the morpheme break hyphenation, i.e. {V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>}<sub>SVC</sub>, while those of the multi-word SVCs are presented with a single space, i.e. {V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>}<sub>SVC</sub>. All preceding verbs, i.e. V<sub>1</sub> in (9.6) and V<sub>2</sub> in (9.6b, d) are called **non-final** verbs, and all verbs occurring at the end of an SVC, i.e. V<sub>2</sub> in (9.6a, c) and V<sub>3</sub> in (9.6b, d) are **final** verbs. In terms of their forms, non-final verbs are **partially inflected** verbs, and final verbs are **fully inflected** verbs, with the exception that final verbs of multi-word SVCs may be partially inflected verbs. By their functional relation, the non-final verbs are **focal** verbs, and the final verbs **supporting** verbs. Even though supporting verbs are restricted to certain verbs, they are not auxiliary verbs (cf. Aikhenvald 2006a). The typology of Wano SVCs is given in Table 9.1, for one-word SVCs, and in Table 9.2 for multi-word SVCs.

Table 9.1:

**Morphosyntactic generalisation of Wano One-word SVC**

|    |                                         |                  |                                                                                                                                                             |
|----|-----------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | One-word SVC<br>(or Root serialisation) | V <sub>1</sub> - | V <sub>2</sub> -                                                                                                                                            |
|    |                                         | V <sub>1</sub> - | V <sub>2</sub> -<br>V <sub>3</sub> -                                                                                                                        |
| b. | Distribution                            | Non-final        | Final                                                                                                                                                       |
| c. | Form                                    | Root(-Suffixes)  | Root-Suffixes                                                                                                                                               |
| d. | Function                                | Focal            | Supporting                                                                                                                                                  |
| e. | Verbs allowed/found                     | Any              | <i>not</i> {not-} 'go', <i>wot</i> {wot-} 'give', <i>it</i> {it-} 'do/say', <i>kot</i> {kot-} 'see', <i>ba</i> {ba-} 'set',<br><i>ban</i> {ban-} 'put down' |

The basic morphological pattern for the one-word SVC follows in (9.7). Details of Wano verbal morphology were discussed in chapter 4.

**(9.7) Morphological pattern of the one-word SVC (root serialisation)**

{ROOT (-SUFFIXES)-ROOT-SUFFIXES}

Regarding the morphological pattern in (9.7), as was established in chapter 4, ROOTS are bound (portmanteau) roots (see §4.1.3, §4.1.6 and §4.3.2 for detailed discussion). They are mostly mono-syllabic morphemes, whilst disyllabic roots are possible. Examples are given in (9.8-9) for the pattern of {ROOT-ROOT-SUFFIXES}. In (9.8), there are two juxtaposed roots, i.e. *kin* {kin-} 'be visible' as the {V<sub>1</sub>-} and *ba* {ba-} 'set', the V<sub>2</sub>-.

- (9.8) *kinbago*  
kin-ba-k-o  
be visible-set-REAL-3s.SBJ  
 'He appeared' or 'He became visible'

[Text 67: 3.36; Burung 2013a: 263, 273]

In (9.9), there are three juxtaposed roots, i.e. *pan* {pan-} 'hang', *wat* {wat-} 'hit him', and *not* {not-} 'go' that undergoes a morphophonological change to *n* {n-} 'go'. Note that *wat* {wat-} 'hit him' is a portmanteau verb-root.

- (9.9) *panwatnaca*  
pan-wat-n-a-tja  
hang-3s.OBJ:hit-go-3p.SBJ-PURP  
 'In order that they are hanging him (to death).'
- [Text 35: 2.62; Burung 2013a: 245, 255]

The only supporting verb found in the one-word SVCs for the pattern {ROOT-SUFFIXES-ROOT-SUFFIXES} is the verb *it* {it-} 'do/say', shown in:

- (9.10) *bagouguarak*  
ba-k-o-u-k-uat-ak  
set-REAL-3s.SBJ-do/say.REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
 'He/They settled long ago, and then ...'
- [Text 39: 4.16; Burung 2013a: 267, 279]

Turning now to the multi-word SVC, Table 9.2 follows.

Table 9.2:  
**Morphosyntactic generalisation of Wano Multi-word SVC**

|    |                     |                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|----|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | Multi-word SVC      | V <sub>1</sub>      | V <sub>2</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|    |                     | V <sub>1</sub>      | V <sub>3</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| b. | Distribution        | Non-final           | Final                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| c. | Form                | Partially inflected | Partially and Fully inflected                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| d. | Function            | Focal               | Supporting                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| e. | Verbs allowed/found | Any                 | <i>not</i> {not-} 'go', <i>wot</i> {wot-} 'come', <i>tot</i> {tot-} 'intend', <i>wan</i> {wan-} 'take', <i>it</i> {it-} 'do/say', <i>kot</i> {kot-} 'see', <i>won</i> {won-} 'exist', <i>ba</i> {ba-} 'set', <i>do</i> {do-} 'stay', <i>ban</i> {ban-} 'put down' |

There are ten supporting verbs found in the multi-word SVC. They are divided into two categories in terms of their forms, and at least four semantic types, listed in (9.11) – note that *not* {not-} 'go', *it* {it-} 'do/say', *kot* {kot-} 'see', *ba* {ba-} 'set', and *ban* {ban-} 'put down' are also attested in a one-word SVC (Table 9.1).



- (9.11) a. Fully inflected verbs
- |            |        |          |
|------------|--------|----------|
| <i>not</i> | {not-} | 'go'     |
| <i>wot</i> | {wot-} | 'come'   |
| <i>tot</i> | {tot-} | 'intend' |
| <i>wan</i> | {wan-} | 'take'   |
- b. Partially and Fully inflected
- |            |        |            |
|------------|--------|------------|
| <i>it</i>  | {it-}  | 'do'       |
| <i>kot</i> | {kot-} | 'see'      |
| <i>won</i> | {won-} | 'exist'    |
| <i>ba</i>  | {ba-}  | 'set'      |
| <i>do</i>  | {do-}  | 'stay'     |
| <i>ban</i> | {ban-} | 'put down' |

In §5.1 I established five morphological classes of verbs in Wano: the *-t*, sub-*t*, *-d*, *-n*, and *-vocalic* verbs. Regarding the supporting verbs of a multi-word SVC, the *-d* verb is not found. Examples that represent (9.11) are given in:

- (9.12) a. *yenggu* *narak*  
jen-k-u **n**-at-ak  
wander-REAL-PL.SBJ **go**-3sp.SBJ-then  
'They were wandering.'  
[Text 35: 2.39; Burung 2013a: 238, 247]
- b. *koro* *ekenok*  
kot-o **it**-k-e-nok  
seek-3s.SBJ **do/say**-REAL-SGPL.SBJ-next  
'He, having carefully sought, ...'  
[Text 35: 2.14; Burung 2013a: 231, 239]
- c. *mbunggu* *ukuguarak*  
mpun-k-u **it**-k-u-k-at-ak  
scatter-REAL-PL.SBJ **do/say**-REAL-PL.SBJ-see-1p.SBJ-then  
'We did spreading.'  
[Text 39: 4.40; Burung 2013a: 274, 285]

A multi-word SVC may also contain a one-word SVC, either as focal verb (9.13a) or supporting verb (9.13b).

- (9.13) a.  $V_{1-Focal}$   $V_{2-Supporting}$   
*weinggo* *nirik*  
**w-ei-n-k-o** **n**-it-ik  
**come-up-go**-REAL-3s.SBJ **go**-1s.SBJ-PROG  
'I am pulling up.'  
[Text 67: 3.12; Burung 2013a: 257, 267]

- |    |                                                                                             |                                                                                                                            |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| b. | $V_{1\text{-Focal}}$<br><i>yonggo</i><br>jō-n-k-o<br>say-go-REAL-3s.SBJ<br>'He called out.' | $V_{2\text{-Supporting}}$<br><i>bagegirak</i><br><b>ba-k-e-k-it-ak</b><br><b>set</b> -REAL-3s.SBJ- <b>see</b> -3s.SBJ-then |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

[Text 39: 4.34; Burung 2013a: 272, 283]

Apart from the formal and semantic criteria proposed by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006), outlined in Bisang (2009), and listed in (9.1) of §9.1, Wano also uses morphological means to indicate an SVC, as outlined in:

(9.14) a. **One-word SVCs**

1. The sequence of both  $V_1$ - $V_2$  and  $V_1$ - $V_2$ - $V_3$  share one prominent stress (i.e. final stress).
2. The final verb of both  $V_1$ - $V_2$  and  $V_1$ - $V_2$ - $V_3$  is a supporting verb.
3. The non-final verbs of both  $V_1$ - $V_2$  and  $V_1$ - $V_2$ - $V_3$  are focal verbs.

b. **Multi-word SVCs**

4. Multi-word SVCs if both non-final and final verbs have equally prominent word stress.
5. Non-final verbs are partially inflected.
6. The final verb can be partially or fully inflected.

Note that (9.14b.5-6) entails that if the non-final verb is fully inflected, it is an instance of clause chaining, which I will discuss in chapter 10. In a multi-word SVC, the non-final verb would be a partially inflected verb, while PERSON and TAM of the subject/object will be marked on the final verb. The final verb is semantically bleached. When an SVC consists of more than two verbs, the last verb is commonly fully inflected. It is also possible to find instances where all verbs involved in an SVC are partially inflected. With regards to the one-word SVCs outlined in (9.14a), consider the examples in (9.15). In (9.15a), the bound-root *wan* {wan-} that means 'one.takes' is a non-final verb. In (9.15b), *banuk* 'one having put down' is the root *ban* {ban-} 'put down' inflected with a tense-aspect-mood suffix *nuk* {-nuk} 'next'. When

the two are put together as a single word in (9.15c), the meaning is 'one having presented' that is derived from 'having taken and put down'. The one-word SVC *wanbanuk* has one prominent word stress on the last syllable: /wan.ban.'nuk/ (cf. (9.14a.1)).

- (9.15)    a.    *wan*  
                   wan-  
                   take:SG.SBJ  
                   'One takes'  
               b.    *banuk*  
                   ban-nuk  
                   put.down:SG.SBJ-next  
                   'One having put down'  
               c.    *wanbanuk*  
                   **wan-ban-nuk**  
                   **take:SG.SBJ-put.down:SG.SBJ-next**  
                   'One having presented' (*lit.*: 'One having taken and put down')

An example of a multi-word SVC is given in (9.16). Here, in (9.16a), a bound-root of the sub-*t* class, *endat* {endat-} that means 'one occurs', 'one appears' or 'one happens', is the non-final verb in this construction. In (9.16b), another sub-*t* class verb, *not* {not-} 'one goes' in a fully inflected form *negirak* 'he went and then', is the final verb. When the two are juxtaposed, as shown in (9.16c), the word has a different meaning, which is 'He was born and then'.

- (9.16)    a.    *endat*  
                   endat-  
                   occur:SG.SBJ  
                   'One occurs'  
               b.    *negirak*  
                   ne-k-it-ak  
                   go:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then  
                   'He went and then'  
               c.    *endat*                    *negirak*  
                   entat-                    ne-k-it-ak  
                   **occur:SG.SBJ-    go:SG.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then**  
                   'He was born and then'

In both examples: *endat negirak* 'He was born and then' (9.16c) and *wanbanuk* 'one having presented' (9.15c), the meaning of the whole structure is not immediately obvious from its parts. Furthermore, since the first instance, *endat negirak*, has two equally prominent stresses (/e.'ndat.ne.gi.'rak/, cf. (9.14b.4)), whilst the latter has only one prominent stress (/wan.ban.'nuk/, cf. (9.14a.1)) and word stress in Wano is always final, it is not unreasonable to regard *wanbanuk* (9.15c) as an example of a one-word SVC, and *endat negirak* as a multi-word SVC. I propose, therefore, that when the non-final verb is a multi-syllabic root, we have a multi-word SVC, as in the case of *endat* {entat-} 'one occurs' in (9.16a). Conversely, when the non-final verb is a mono-syllabic root, it is a one-word SVC, as the case of *wan* {wan-} 'one takes' in (9.15a).

One question remains. If *wanbanuk* 'one having presented' is regarded as a one-word SVC, why then should *we kenok* 'having come' in *pinica we kenok ta* 'as he was about to arrive', see (9.23), be treated as a multi-word and not as a one-word SVC, *wegenok*? The verb *we* 'he comes/is coming' is different from *wan* 'one takes' and *endat* 'one occurs'. It is not a bound root but a partially inflected verb, {w-e} 'come-3s.SBJ'. For this, we may have the following morphophonological rules:

- (9.17)
- a. If  $V_1$  is a mono-syllabic root, link it to  $V_2$ , thus:  $\{V_1-V_2\}$
  - b. If  $V_1$  is a multi-syllabic root, do not link it to  $V_2$ , thus:  $\{V_1 V_2\}$
  - c. If  $V_1$  is an inflected root (a stem), do not link it to  $V_2$ , thus:  $\{V_1 V_2\}$

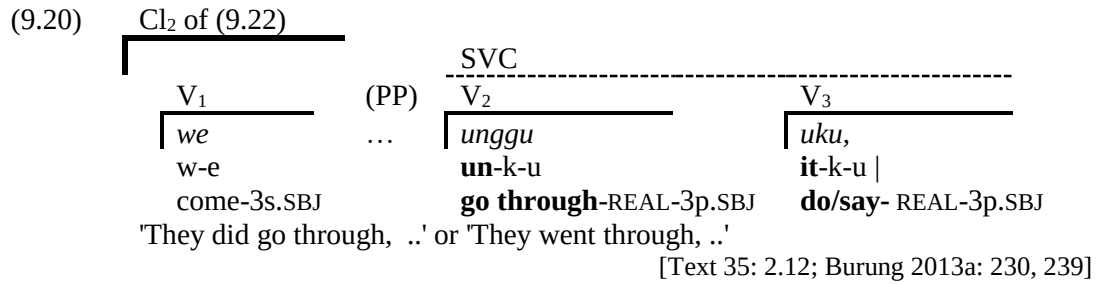
As mentioned in §9.1, Wano allows non-contiguity for multi-word SVCs (cf. (9.3)), and deictic words may also interfere without disqualifying a verb sequence from being an SVC. Consider examples in (9.18) with *mona* 'over there':

- (9.18)
- |                                                                            |           |            |                     |                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>it</i>                                                                  | <i>no</i> | <i>ne,</i> | <i>ninyanggebak</i> | <i>i</i>         |
| it                                                                         | no        | ne         | nina-nkebak         | i                |
| they                                                                       | that      | there      | 1p-canoe            | water            |
| SVC                                                                        |           |            |                     |                  |
| V <sub>1</sub>                                                             |           |            | V <sub>2</sub>      |                  |
| wanbagu                                                                    |           |            | mona                | wunumu           |
| wan-ba-k-u                                                                 |           |            | mona                | wun-u-mu         |
| take-set-REAL-3p.SBJ                                                       |           |            | over there          | exist-3p.SBJ-LOC |
|                                                                            |           |            |                     | SPEC             |
| 'As for them, they were scooping out the water from our canoe over there.' |           |            |                     |                  |
| [Text 67: 3.18; Burung 2013a: 258-9, 268]                                  |           |            |                     |                  |

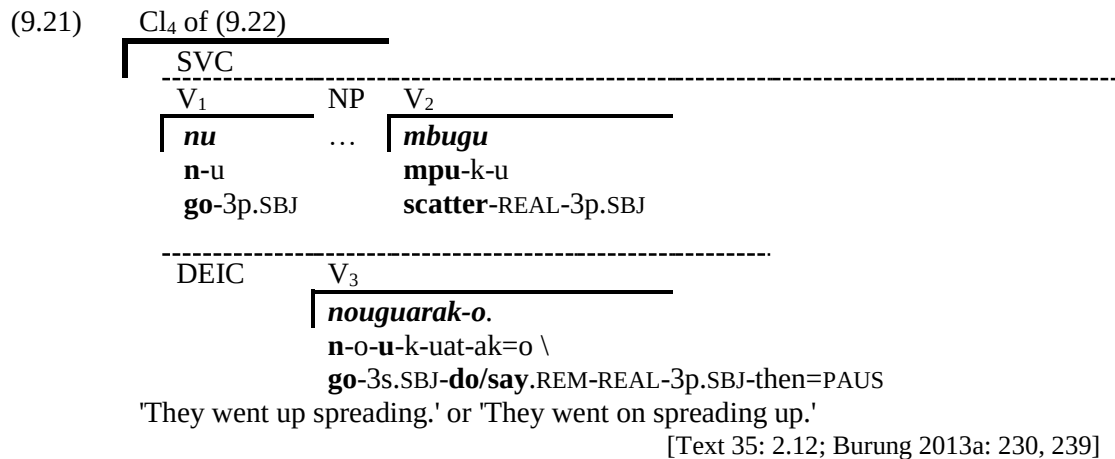
and (9.19) with an adpositional phrase Cl<sub>2</sub> and deixis *eiq* 'up' in Cl<sub>4</sub>.

- (9.19)
- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |            |                     |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| Cl <sub>1</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                               |            |                     |                 |                | V               |                               |               |              |
| <i>ando</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <i>ta,</i> | <i>ouq</i>          | <i>acodi</i>    | <i>nok</i>     | mbonggu,        |                               |               |              |
| anto                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | ta         | ouq                 | atjodi          | nok            | mpon-k-u        |                               |               |              |
| other                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | SPEC       | down                | PN              | next           | cut-REAL-3p.SBJ |                               |               |              |
| Cl <sub>2</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                               |            |                     |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |            | V <sub>1</sub>      |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
| <i>ando</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <i>ta,</i> | we                  |                 | <i>inyom</i>   | <i>o</i>        | <i>ma</i>                     | <i>akbiri</i> | <i>ndome</i> |
| anto                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | ta         | w-e                 |                 | ø-inom         | o               | ma                            | akbiti        | nto-me       |
| other                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | SPEC       | come-3s.SBJ         |                 | 3s-with        | place           | forbid                        | PN            | cave-LOC     |
| SVC                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |            |                     |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
| V <sub>2</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                                |            | V <sub>3</sub>      |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
| unggu                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |            | uku,                |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
| un-k-u                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |            | it-k-u              |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
| go through-REAL-3p.SBJ                                                                                                                                                                                                        |            | do/say-REAL-3p.SBJ  |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
| Cl <sub>3</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                               |            |                     |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |            | V                   |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
| <i>ando</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <i>ta,</i> | <i>tukmid</i>       | <i>injenok,</i> | <i>yinggeo</i> | <i>nok,</i>     |                               |               |              |
| anto                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | ta         | tukmid              | inje-nok        | jinkeo         | nok             |                               |               |              |
| other                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | SPEC       | PN                  | climb.up-next   | PN             | next            |                               |               |              |
| Cl <sub>4</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                               |            |                     |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
| SVC                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |            |                     |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
| V <sub>1</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                                |            | V <sub>2</sub>      |                 | V <sub>3</sub> |                 |                               |               |              |
| nu                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |            | mbugu               |                 | eiq            |                 | nouguarak-o.                  |               |              |
| n-u                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |            | mpu-k-u             |                 | eiq            |                 | n-o-u-k-uat-ak=o \            |               |              |
| go-3p.SBJ                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |            | scatter-REAL-3p.SBJ |                 | up             |                 | go-3s.SBJ-do.REM-REAL-3p.SBJ- |               |              |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |            |                     |                 |                |                 | then=PAUS                     |               |              |
| 'Some went down through Acodi, some also came ( <i>lit.</i> 'he comes with') through the sacred Akbiri cave, some having climbed up to Tukmid, then Yinggeo, they went up spreading.' (or '...., they went on spreading up.') |            |                     |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |
| [Text 35: 2.12; Burung 2013a: 230, 239]                                                                                                                                                                                       |            |                     |                 |                |                 |                               |               |              |

(9.19) is a good example of clause linking, where four clause chains are linked to build up an episode in which two SVCs are also found, i.e. Cl<sub>2</sub> and Cl<sub>4</sub>:



of {V<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub>}<sub>SVC</sub> sequence in Cl<sub>2</sub>, and



of {V<sub>1</sub> (NP) V<sub>2</sub> (deixis) V<sub>3</sub>}<sub>SVC</sub> in Cl<sub>4</sub>, the final clause. All Vs in Cl<sub>2</sub> (9.23) share the same argument which qualifies the two verbs (*unggu* 'they went through' and *uku* 'they did') to form an SVC (Aikhenvald's criterion in (9.1f) above). The same is true of the three verbs in Cl<sub>4</sub>, where we have: *nu* 'they go', *mbugu* 'they scatter' and *nouguarago* 'they went long ago' in (9.21).

We can further note that all Vs in Cl<sub>4</sub> share one argument – a typical SVC. While Cl<sub>2</sub> and Cl<sub>3</sub> are covertly linked, Cl<sub>3</sub> and Cl<sub>4</sub> are linked by the immediate sequential {-ok} 'next' on the verb *indjenok* 'having climbed' and is repeated at the end of Cl<sub>3</sub>. Finally, except for the final verb, i.e. *nouguarak-o* 'they went long ago and then', all verbs bear no pausal clitic =o 'PAUS' – a typical strategy to end an episode before entering a new episode. One thing we need to bear in mind is that in each episode we can expect clause chains to be linked to build the episode, in which SVCs can be found.

The interference in the verb sequences in (9.3), (9.19) and (9.21) has no semantic consequences. The alternate order in (9.22) where the verbs are adjacent does not change the meaning.

- (9.22) of example (9.3)
- a. ...., o wodegoduk yunggu  
 ....| o wodegoduk **jun**-k-u  
 place PN **move**-REAL-3p.SBJ
- wouguarak.*  
**w**-ou-k-at-ak \  
**come**-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
 '...., they returned to Wodegoduk.'
- of example (9.21)
- b. ...., tu eiq mbugu  
 ....| tu eiq mpu-k-u  
 way up scatter-REAL-3p.SBJ
- nouguarak-o.*  
**n**-ou-k-at-ak=o \  
**go**-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 '.... they went up spreading.'

Finally, an SVC may be expanded to several verbs, at least three, as in Cl<sub>1</sub> in:

(9.23)

Cl<sub>1</sub>

SVC

V<sub>1</sub>

pinica

pin-i-tja

arrive-3s.SBJ-PURP

V<sub>2</sub>

we

w-e

come.3s.SBJ

V<sub>3</sub>

kenok

ke-nok

see.3s.SBJ-next

ta,

ta |

SPEC

Cl<sub>2</sub>

V<sub>1</sub>

korok

kot-ok

3s.OBJ:see-next

V<sub>2</sub>

ekenaq,

it-k-e-naq |

do/say-REAL-PL.SBJ-as such

Cl<sub>3</sub>

V<sub>1</sub>

nikik

nit-k-ik

pull-REAL-PROG

V<sub>2</sub>

wumu

wu-mu

come.3p.SBJ-LOC

ta,

an

niye

me,

ta |

an

ni-ye

me |

SPEC

I

1s-axe

and

neyedowi

me,

nayum

me,

negin

me,

dik-o.

ne-jedowi

me |

na-jum

me |

n-egin

me |

dik=o \

1s-knife

and

1s-net.bag

and

1s-bow

and

no=PAUS

i

ndu

ki-o.

i

n-t-u

ki=o \

water

ADV-steep-down

very=PAUS

'As he was about to arrive, we were looking for it, while they were pulling (the canoe) up, (but) my axe, knife, netbag and bow were not there. They sank deeply into the water.'

'As he was about to arrive, we were looking for it, while they were pulling (the canoe) up, (but) my axe, knife, netbag and bow were not there. They sank deeply into the water.'

[Text 67: 3.24; Burung 2013a: 260, 270]

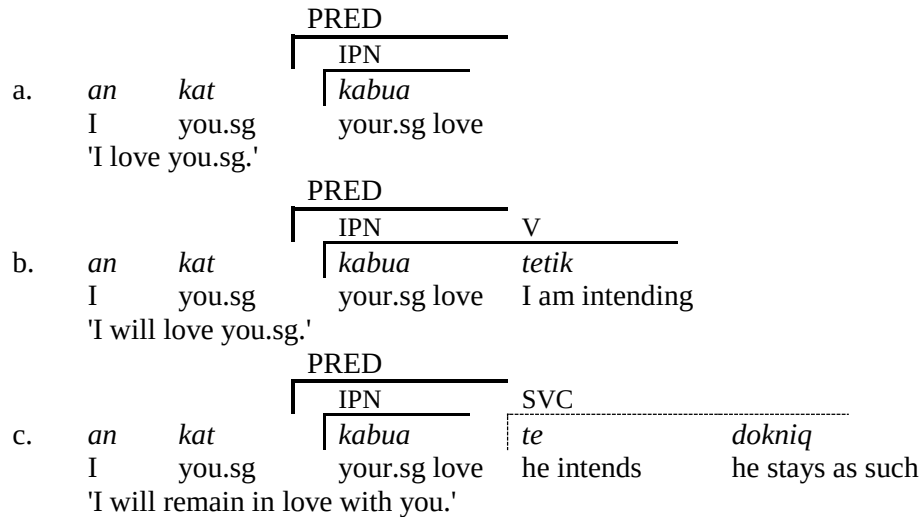
### 9.3 EXPERIENTIAL EVENT SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

In §3.4.4, I briefly introduced Experiential Events (EE). In chapter 7, I described non-verbal clauses, and presented the notion of EE in §7.2. I briefly introduced experiential predication. Two forms were then put forward: (i) the basic structure of EE, where the predicate includes only an inalienable noun, cf. (9.24a), discussed in §7.2.1, and (ii) the basic structure plus verb as the predicate elements, cf. (9.24b), discussed in §7.2.2. The example in (9.24c) shows a clause that consists of EE and



SVC as its predicate elements. This is the form that I call **Experiential Event Serial Verb Constructions**, abbreviated EE-SVC, which is our topic of discussion in this section.

(9.24) cf. example (7.3) in chapter 7 §7.2.1



In comparison, (9.24a) has a single predicate element, i.e. an inalienable noun *kabua* 'your.sg love'. There are two elements in (9.24b), i.e. the inalienable noun *kabua* 'your.sg love' plus the verb *tetik* 'I am intending'. In (9.24c), there are three predicate elements, i.e. those elements in (9.24b) plus the verb *dokniq* 'he stays as such'. The verbs *te* 'he intends' and *dokniq* 'he stays as such' form an SVC, while *kabua* 'your.sg love' is an inalienable noun. It is apparent, then, that Wano allows a clause of a basic structure plus serial verb constructions, like *te/tu* {t-e/t-u} 'he intends/they intend' and *do* {do-} 'one stays' in the extended structure to further express tense-aspect-mood. I repeat (9.24c) in (9.25a), including its various forms with pro-drop of arguments in (9.25b-d).

(9.25)

| CL   |                                                                                                                               |              |               |                   |  |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|--|
| ARGs |                                                                                                                               | PRED         |               |                   |  |
|      |                                                                                                                               | IPN          | SVC           |                   |  |
| a.   | <i>at</i> <i>kat</i>                                                                                                          | <i>kabua</i> | <i>te</i>     | <i>dokniq</i>     |  |
|      | at      kat                                                                                                                   | k-abua       | te            | do-k-niq          |  |
|      | he      you.sg                                                                                                                | 2s-love      | intend-3s.SBJ | stay-REAL-as.such |  |
|      | 'He will remain loving you.sg' or 'He will remain in love with you.sg'                                                        |              |               |                   |  |
| b.   | <i>at</i> Ø                                                                                                                   | <i>kabua</i> | <i>te</i>     | <i>dokniq</i>     |  |
|      | at                                                                                                                            | k-abua       | t-e           | do-k-niq          |  |
|      | he                                                                                                                            | 2s-love      | intend-3s.SBJ | stay-REAL-as.such |  |
|      | 'He will remain in love with you.sg' (emphasis on the experiencer, clausal stress on <i>at</i> )                              |              |               |                   |  |
| c.   | Ø <i>kat</i>                                                                                                                  | <i>kabua</i> | <i>te</i>     | <i>dokniq</i>     |  |
|      | kat                                                                                                                           | k-abua       | t-e           | do-k-niq          |  |
|      | you.sg                                                                                                                        | 2s-love      | intend-3s.SBJ | stay-REAL-as.such |  |
|      | 'He will remain in love with you.sg' (emphasis on the experienced, clausal stress on <i>kat</i> )                             |              |               |                   |  |
| d.   | Ø      Ø                                                                                                                      | <i>kabua</i> | <i>te</i>     | <i>dokniq</i>     |  |
|      |                                                                                                                               | k-abua       | t-e           | do-k-niq          |  |
|      |                                                                                                                               | 2s-love      | intend-3s.SBJ | stay-REAL-as.such |  |
|      | '... keep on feeling (sorry) for you.sg' (simply a statement, no significantly emphasis on either experiencer or experienced) |              |               |                   |  |

The example in (9.26) is taken from Text 38 where the narrator was talking about how he felt and would remain in sorrow for his late father who fell into a waterfall and disappeared.

(9.26)

|                                                          |             |           |             |               |                   |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>an</i>                                                | <i>nova</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>abua</i> | <i>te</i>     | <i>dokniq</i>     |
| an                                                       | n-ova       | no        | Ø-abua      | t-e           | do-k-niq          |
| I                                                        | 1s-father   | this.way  | 3s-love     | intend-3s.SBJ | stay-REAL-as.such |
| 'It was for my father, I will remain in sorrow for him.' |             |           |             |               |                   |

[Text 38: 16]

Finally, the serial verbs of *ne/nu* {n-e/n-u} 'he goes/they go' and *te/tu* {t-e/t-u} 'he intends/they intend' is also possible to express tense-aspect-mood.

- (9.27) a. *at kat kabua ne te-o.*  
 at kat k-abua n-e t-e=o \  
 he you.sg 2s-love go-3s.SBJ intend-3s.SBJ=PAUS  
 'He will keep loving you.sg' or 'He will go on being in love with you.sg'
- b. *an at abua ne tetik-o.*  
 an at ø-abua n-e te-tt-ik=o  
 I he 3s-love go-3s.SBJ intend-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 'I will keep loving him/her' or 'I will go on being in love with him/her'

The combination of *enokweid anduk-panduk* with serial verb constructions is commonly found, i.e. the combination of {physiological-IPN + SVC}<sup>39</sup> The example in (9.28) refers to someone who seems to have given up on life since the death of his wife; as I was told by one of my language consultants.

- (9.28) *at agwe no abua, kanggirak-o, mono*  
 at ø-akwe no ø-abua| kan-k-it-ak=o|| mono  
 he 3s-wife this.way 3s-love die-REAL-3s-then=PAUS that way
- nome, enokweid anduk~panduk ne te-o.*  
 nome| ø-enokweid ø-anduk~panduk n-e te=o \  
 because 3s-mind 3s-pain~REDUP go-3s.SBJ intend. 3s.SBJ =PAUS  
 'It was his wife, poor her, she died, because of that he will go on being deeply in pain'
- [BM, p.c., Biricare 1995/6]

The predicate of the last clause in (9.28) consists of the physiological inalienable *anduk-panduk* 'his-pain-pain' and the SVC *ne te-o* 'he intends to go'. The SVC then provides TAM information regarding the physiological inalienable noun.

<sup>39</sup> Reduplication of inalienable nouns was discussed in chapter 7 §7.2.3.2.

## 9.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have discussed Serial Verb Constructions found in Wano through the analysis of oral texts in the language, in the process of which their morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties were investigated. In so doing, I adapted Aikhenvald's (2006a and 2015) formal and semantic criteria. In addition, Foley's (1986 and 2000) analysis is a representative discussion of the notion, particularly about Papuan languages.

In §9.1, I pointed out that SVCs in Wano are asymmetrical. The final-verbs are grammaticalised, thus providing information regarding person/number and tense-aspect-mood to the non-final verbs' lexical meaning. As far as contiguity is concerned, SVCs in Wano are not limited in terms of contiguity but are restricted in their composition and the marking on grammatical categories, which is concordant.

Regarding the wordhood of an SVC, Wano has one-word serialisation (also known as root-serialisation) and multi-word serialisation, i.e. verb-serialisation. Concerning the latter, SVCs in Wano are concordant marking (see §9.2). The basic difference between a one-word SVC and a multi-word SVC is that the former is (verb-)root serialisation, i.e. series of bound verbal roots, or  $V_1-V_2$ , while the latter is verb serialisation, i.e. series of verbs, or  $V_1 V_2$  – cf. Table 9.1c and Table 9.2c. The first elements of one-word SVCs are bound roots, while the first one of multi-word SVCs are partially inflected verbs. Thus,  $V_1$  of  $\{V_1-V_2\}$  is  $\{V-\}$ , while  $V_1$  of  $\{V_1 V_2\}$  is  $\{V\}_{\text{partially inflected}}$ .

Finally, in §9.3, I presented clauses that include IPN and SVCs as their predicate elements, thus constituting a  $\{\{\text{IPN}\}_{\text{HEAD}} \{\text{SVC}\}_{\text{MOD}}\}_{\text{PRED}}$  clause structure.



**10.1 BACKGROUND**

This chapter describes Wano clause linking. It is organized as follows: §10.1 gives a background, §10.2 describes linking strategies, and §10.3 provides a summary.

**Clause Linking** (CL) is about "... ways of combining clauses other than through relative clause and complement clause constructions." (Dixon 2009: 1-55, 2012; Aikhenvald 2015: 58, 245-57, 2006b: 178-203; cf. Longacre 1985, 2007, Haiman and Thompson 1988, Lehman 1988, Givón 1995, van Enk and de Vries 1997, and Payne 1997). Foley (1986: §6.3) provides a representative view of its typological features in Papuan languages. I will discuss Wano clause linking with reference to Foley (1986) and Dixon's (2009) semantic types of clause linking – cf. Aikhenvald (2015: 262).

**10.2 LINKING STRATEGIES**

This section is about how clause linking is established in Wano. Table 10.1 outlines Wano's coding strategies in accordance with Dixon's (2009) semantic types of clause linking (STCL).

Table 10.1:  
Wano Coding Strategies in terms of Dixon's STCL

| STCL                   | Wano Coding Strategies and their references, by means of:                                                                                                 |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Temporal succession    | Verbal conjunction: {it-} 'do/say' §10.2.6.3                                                                                                              |
| Temporal-Relative time | Sequential {-nuk/-nok} 'next' §10.2.1, Deictic conjunction §10.2.6.2, Verbal conjunction: {won-} 'one.exists' §10.2.6.3.1                                 |
| Temporal-Conditional   | Conditional: Sequential {-nuk/-nok} 'next' §10.2.1                                                                                                        |
| Consequence-Cause      | Cause-reason {nome} 'because', 'so that', 'therefore' §10.2.4, Sequential {-nuk/-nok} 'next' §10.2.1, Deictic conjunction §10.2.6.2                       |
| Consequence-Result     | Cause-reason {nome} 'because', 'so that', 'therefore' §10.2.4, Deictic conjunction §10.2.6.2                                                              |
| Consequence-Purpose    | Purposive {-tja} 'PURP' §10.2.6.4                                                                                                                         |
| Addition-Contrast      | Antithetical {kwe} 'but' §10.2.3, Deictic conjunction §10.2.6.2                                                                                           |
| Manner-Real            | Deictic conjunction §10.2.6.2, Verbal conjunction: {won-} 'one.exists' §10.2.6.3.1, {it-} 'do/say' §10.2.6.3.3, and Sequential {-nuk/-nok} 'next' §10.2.1 |

I will discuss these CL strategies in Wano one by one. §10.2.1 is about the immediate sequential *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'next', §10.2.2 the delayed sequential *(i)ak* {-(i)ak} 'then', §10.2.3 the concessive, §10.2.4 cause-reason, §10.2.5 conditionals, and §10.2.6 conjoining elements. Each CL strategy under discussion will also be related back to Dixon's STCL in the following manner: (Dixon's *consequence-cause*) will act as an abbreviation for "Dixon's (2009: 2) consequence-cause semantic type of clause linking", and so forth.

### 10.2.1 Immediate Sequential {-nuk/-nok}

The **immediate sequential** is when the first event in a clause terminates and is immediately followed by a second event. This is expressed with the suffix *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'next' in Wano (cf. 4 §4.1.6). Two clauses are combined in the structure given in (10.1). The first clause (Cl<sub>1</sub>) serves as a preceding event to the next one



(Cl<sub>2</sub>). This is a way of expressing something like 'having E<sub>1</sub>, ...E<sub>2</sub>' or 'after E<sub>1</sub>, ...E<sub>2</sub>' (Dixon's *temporal-relative-time*).

(10.1) Cl<sub>1</sub> + Cl<sub>2</sub>  
 {having/after E<sub>1</sub>} ➡ {E<sub>2</sub>}

In (10.2-3), Cl<sub>1</sub> is composed of the sequence {V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub>}, an SVC. Both verbs are partially inflected where V<sub>2</sub> has the immediate sequential *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'then' (underlined) indicating that a successive event (Dixon's *temporal-relative-time*) is expected to take place soon after the previous event.

(10.2) *nggweri munime,*  
*nkwati muni-me |*  
 PN that-LOC  
 CL<sub>1</sub>

|                          |                    |                              |
|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
|                          | SVC                | -Conj                        |
| <i>yavuk</i>             | <i>uku</i>         | <i>banuk,</i>                |
| javuk                    | it-k-u             | ba- <u>nuk</u>               |
| planted.field            | do/say-REAL-3p.SBJ | put.down:SG.SBJ- <u>next</u> |
| CL <sub>2</sub>          |                    |                              |
| <i>nouguarik</i>         | <i>ta, ...</i>     |                              |
| n-ou-k-at-ik             | ta   ...           |                              |
| go-REM-REAL-3sp.SBJ-PROG | SPEC               |                              |

'There in Nggweri, having/after planted the field, they went on travelling.'

[Text 2: 5.2; Burung 2013a: 281, 292]

(10.3) CL<sub>1</sub>

|                 |                  |                           |
|-----------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| SVC             |                  |                           |
| V <sub>1</sub>  | V <sub>2</sub>   |                           |
| <i>kanggo</i>   | <i>kenok</i>     | <i>ta,</i>                |
| kan-k-o         | k-e-nok          | ta                        |
| die-REAL-3s.SBJ | see-3s.SBJ-next  | SPEC                      |
| CL <sub>2</sub> |                  |                           |
| SVC             |                  |                           |
| V <sub>1</sub>  | V <sub>2</sub>   |                           |
| <i>o</i>        | <i>yunggu</i>    | <i>wodegoduk</i>          |
| o               | jun-k-u          | wodegoduk                 |
| place           | move-REAL-3p.SBJ | PN                        |
|                 |                  | <i>wouguarak.</i>         |
|                 |                  | w-ou-k-uat-ak             |
|                 |                  | come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then |

'After he died, they returned to Wodegoduk.'

[also (9.3), Text 39: 4.20; Burung 2013a: 268, 279]

The verb bearing the immediate sequential *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'next' may be preceded by either nominal elements, expressing successive events (Dixon's *temporal-relative-time*), as in (10.4), or deictic words, expressing manner-real (Dixon's *manner-real*), as in (10.5).

- (10.4)
- |                                       |                 |                                |                 |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Cl <sub>1</sub>                       |                 |                                | Cl <sub>2</sub> |
|                                       | N               | -Conj                          |                 |
| ...                                   | <i>mbinitmu</i> | <i>kenok</i>                   | <i>ta</i> , ... |
|                                       | mpinit-mu       | k-e- <b><u>nok</u></b>         | ta   ...        |
|                                       | sand-LOC        | see-3s.SBJ- <b><u>next</u></b> | SPEC            |
| '... <b>having</b> seen the sand ...' |                 |                                |                 |
- [Text 67: 3.8; Burung 2013a: 256, 266]

- (10.5)
- |                            |             |                                |                 |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Cl <sub>1</sub>            |             |                                | Cl <sub>2</sub> |
|                            | Deixis      | -Conj                          |                 |
| ...                        | <i>mono</i> | <i>kenok</i>                   | ...             |
|                            | mono        | k-e- <b><u>nok</u></b>         |                 |
|                            | like that   | see-3s.SBJ- <b><u>next</u></b> |                 |
| '... <b>in fact</b> , ...' |             |                                |                 |
- [Text 37: 1.11-12; Burung 2013a: 222, 230]

### 10.2.2 Delayed sequential {-*(i)ak*}

The **delayed sequential** is when the first event terminates and is followed by a duration of time without any relevant event before the second event takes place. This is expressed by the suffix **(i)ak** {-*(i)ak*} 'then' in Wano (cf. §4.1.4). Only when the delayed sequential *(i)ak* {-*(i)ak*} 'then' is used in clause chaining may each clause have its own PERSON and TAM marking. In (10.6), for example, three clauses are linked to express a cause-reason relation (Dixon's *cause*). The delayed sequential *(i)ak* {-*(i)ak*} 'then' is found in all clauses (underlined), suggesting something like 'E<sub>1</sub> then, E<sub>2</sub> then, E<sub>3</sub> then, ...'. The example in (10.6) also illustrates the use of the conjunction **nome** (cf. §10.2.4), which can be translated 'because', 'so then' or 'therefore' (Dixon's *cause*), in the {Cl<sub>1</sub> *nome* Cl<sub>2</sub>} structure.

(10.6)

|                                                                                                |              |           |                 |                                     |                       |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Cl <sub>1</sub>                                                                                |              |           |                 |                                     |                       |
| <u>T</u>                                                                                       | <i>no,</i>   | <i>at</i> | <i>agwe</i>     | <i>wakarak,</i>                     |                       |
| T                                                                                              | no           | at        | ø-akwe          | wat-k-at- <b>ak</b>                 |                       |
| PN                                                                                             | that         | he        | 3s-wife         | 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ- <u>then</u> |                       |
| Cl <sub>2</sub>                                                                                | Conj         |           | Cl <sub>3</sub> |                                     |                       |
| <u>kanggirak,</u>                                                                              | <i>nome,</i> |           | <u>dik</u>      | <i>worak</i>                        | <i>wone-o.</i>        |
| kan-k-it- <b>ak</b>                                                                            | <b>nome</b>  |           | dik             | wot- <b>ak</b>                      | won-e=o \             |
| die-REAL-3s.SBJ- <u>then</u>                                                                   | therefore    |           | no              | come- <u>then</u>                   | one.exist-3s.SBJ=PAUS |
| 'As for T, they killed his wife ( <b>and</b> ) she died, <b>therefore</b> , she wasn't there.' |              |           |                 |                                     |                       |
| [Text 37: 1.11; Burung 2013a: 222, 230]                                                        |              |           |                 |                                     |                       |

### 10.2.3 Concessive

The example in (10.7) shows the use of the antithetical *kwe* 'but' (Dixon's *contrast*) to express the concessive relation between two clauses. The antithetical *kwe* 'but' can also be translated 'although', 'even though', 'though', 'despite', or 'albeit'.

(10.7)

|     |                                                           |                                    |             |                 |             |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
|     | <u>Cl<sub>1</sub></u>                                     |                                    |             |                 | Conj        |
| ... | <i>endat</i>                                              | <i>ekegirak</i>                    |             |                 | <i>kwe,</i> |
|     | entat                                                     | it-k-e-k-it-ak                     |             |                 | <b>kwe</b>  |
|     | occur                                                     | do-REAL-3s.SBJ do-REAL-3s.SBJ-then |             |                 | but         |
|     | <u>Cl<sub>2</sub></u>                                     |                                    |             |                 |             |
|     | <i>ap</i>                                                 | <i>vi</i>                          | <i>muni</i> | <i>kanggo</i>   | <i>ki.</i>  |
|     | ap                                                        | vi                                 | muni        | kan-k-o         | ki          |
|     | man                                                       | mute                               | that        | die-REAL-3s.SBJ | very        |
|     | '... he was born <b>but</b> that mute boy died.'          |                                    |             |                 |             |
|     | or '... <b>although</b> he was born, that mute boy died.' |                                    |             |                 |             |

[Text 39: 4.11; Burung 2013a: 266, 276-7]

In many instances, such a concessive expression is covertly observed.

### 10.2.4 Cause-reason

The conjunction *nome* 'therefore' or 'because' (Dixon's *cause*) is commonly used to indicate cause-reason relation as can be seen in (10.6) above.

## 10.2.5 Conditionals

In his paper, "Conditionals Are Topics", Haiman (1978: 564) asserts that '[c]onditionals, like topics, are givens which constitute the frame of reference with respect to which the main clause is either true (if a proposition), or felicitous (if not).'

In Wano, if-clauses (Dixon's *conditional*) are semantically signalled by the immediate sequential *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'next', yielding the conditional apodosis in the final position, and the if-clause (protases) in the initial position, illustrated in (10.8).

- (10.8)
- |                            |              |               |                         |                                  |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Cl <sub>1</sub> - protases |              |               |                         | Conj                             |
| <i>kat</i>                 | <i>an</i>    | <i>wu</i>     | <i>donumun</i>          | <i>kenok,</i>                    |
| <i>kat</i>                 | <i>an</i>    | <i>wu</i>     | <i>don-umun</i>         | <i>k-e-nok  </i>                 |
| <i>you.sg</i>              | <i>I</i>     | <i>shell</i>  | <i>barter-SG.hither</i> | <i>see-3s.SBJ-next</i>           |
| Cl <sub>2</sub> - apodosis |              |               |                         |                                  |
| <i>an</i>                  | <i>ne,</i>   | <i>kat</i>    | <i>kom</i>              | <i>kirigi-o.</i>                 |
| <i>an</i>                  | <i>ne  </i>  | <i>kat</i>    | <i>kom</i>              | <i>k-it-iki=o \</i>              |
| <i>I</i>                   | <i>there</i> | <i>you.sg</i> | <i>yam</i>              | <i>2s.OBJ-do-SG.thither=PAUS</i> |
- 'If you paid me (some) money, I would give you (some) yam.'  
*(lit. 'After seeing you barter shell to me, I do you yam.')*
- [Burung 2013a: 186]

The proposition in (10.8), however, is irrealis (with null marking) on *donumun* 'singular barter.hither' compared to the sentence with realis marking on *donggendak* 'you.sg bartered' that is given in (10.9). Nevertheless, the presence or absence of an irrealis or realis marker will not guarantee that (10.8) is an example of pseudo-conditional clauses, and (10.9) is of regular conditional clauses. The best hypothesis I can propose is that the ones bearing realis mood are most likely regular conditional clauses.

|        |                                                                     |            |            |                         |                          |                    |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| (10.9) | Cl <sub>1</sub> - protases                                          |            |            |                         |                          | Conj               |
|        | <i>kat</i>                                                          | <i>an</i>  | <i>wu</i>  | <i>donggendak</i>       |                          | <i>nome,</i>       |
|        | <i>kat</i>                                                          | <i>an</i>  | <i>wu</i>  | <i>don-k-ent-ak</i>     |                          | <b>nome</b>        |
|        | you.sg                                                              | I          | shell      | barter-REAL-2s.SBJ-then |                          | therefore          |
|        | Cl <sub>2</sub> - apodosis                                          |            |            |                         |                          |                    |
|        | <i>an</i>                                                           | <i>ne,</i> | <i>kat</i> | <i>kom</i>              | <i>kirigi</i>            | <i>tetik-o.</i>    |
|        | <i>an</i>                                                           | <i>ne</i>  | <i>kat</i> | <i>kom</i>              | <i>k-it-iki</i>          | <i>t-ett-ik=o</i>  |
|        | I                                                                   | there      | you.sg     | yam                     | 2s.OBJ-do/say-SG.thither | intend-1s.SBJ-PROG |
|        | 'Since you've paid me (some) money, I will give you (some) yam.'    |            |            |                         |                          |                    |
|        | (lit. 'Since you've bartered shell to me, I intend to do you yam.') |            |            |                         |                          |                    |
|        | [Burung 2013a: 186]                                                 |            |            |                         |                          |                    |

## 10.2.6 Conjoining elements

Conjoining elements in narrative discourse can be categorized in terms of coordinating conjunction (§10.2.6.1), deictic conjunction (§10.2.6.2), verbal conjunction (§10.2.6.3), and purposive conjunction (§10.2.6.4).

### 10.2.6.1 Coordinating conjunction

The only clear conjunction that links episodes are the antithetical *kwe* 'but' (10.10a, Dixon's *contrast*) and the cause-reason *nome* 'therefore' or 'because' (10.11, Dixon's *cause*) attested in Wano narrative discourse. These are free in their distribution. They may link events within an episode (10.10a) as well as being part of the head-linker constituent that links episodes, as shown in (10.11b).

|         |    |      |                                        |             |              |                |              |             |
|---------|----|------|----------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|
| (10.10) | a. | ..., | <i>ap</i>                              | <i>vi</i>   | <i>ambui</i> | <i>inyom</i>   | <i>endat</i> |             |
|         |    | ..., | <i>ap</i>                              | <i>vi</i>   | <i>ampui</i> | <i>ø-inom</i>  | <i>entat</i> |             |
|         |    | ..., | <i>man</i>                             | <i>mute</i> | <i>one</i>   | <i>3s-with</i> | <i>occur</i> |             |
|         |    |      |                                        |             |              |                |              | Conj        |
|         |    |      | <i>ekegirak</i>                        |             |              |                |              | <i>kwe,</i> |
|         |    |      | <i>it-k-e-k-it-ak</i>                  |             |              |                |              | <b>kwe</b>  |
|         |    |      | <i>do-REAL-3s.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then</i> |             |              |                |              | but         |
|         |    |      |                                        |             |              | <i>ap</i>      | <i>vi</i>    | <i>muni</i> |
|         |    |      |                                        |             |              | <i>ap</i>      | <i>vi</i>    | <i>muni</i> |
|         |    |      |                                        |             |              | <i>man</i>     | <i>mute</i>  | <i>that</i> |

*kanggo*                      *ki.*  
*kan-k-o*                      *ki \*  
 die-REAL-3s.SBJ      very  
 'one mute boy also was born **but**, that mute boy died.'

[Text 39: 4.11; Burung 2013a: 266, 276-7]

Conj  
 b.    *mono*      *wunuerik*                      *kwe,*      ...  
       *mono*      *wun-uet-ik*                      **kwe** |      ...  
       like that    some.exist-1p.SBJ-PROG      but      ...  
       'Thus, we lived **but**, ...'

[Text 37: 1.19; Burung 2013a: 223-4, 232]

### 10.2.6.2 Deictic conjunction

Beside their basic function as demonstratives, *ndi* 'this' and *muni* 'that' also play a role as conjoining elements – thus functioning as anaphoric references (i.e., referring to 'given information' and signalling that 'new information' is to be provided). Basically, they are translated as 'so, ...', 'in this case, ...' or 'given that, ...' (Dixon's *result*). In the following example (10.11), *ndi* 'this' is freely translated 'so', *muni* 'that' is 'given that' and 'namely' (Dixon's *result*).

- (10.11) 

|             |                |              |               |                   |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>ndi,</i> | <i>kevewok</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <i>baneq,</i> | <i>endarak.</i>   |
| <b>nti</b>  | <i>kevewok</i> | <i>ampui</i> | <i>baneq</i>  | <i>entat-ak</i>   |
| this        | penis gourd    | one          | INST          | occur:SG.SBJ-then |

|             |            |                |              |               |            |               |            |
|-------------|------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>muni</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>kevewok</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <i>baneq,</i> | <i>nit</i> | <i>mbowid</i> | <i>ne,</i> |
| <b>muni</b> | <i>ta</i>  | <i>kevewok</i> | <i>ampui</i> | <i>baneq</i>  | <i>nit</i> | <i>mpowid</i> | <i>ne</i>  |
| that        | SPEC       | penis gourd    | one          | INST          | we         | PN            | there      |

|                   |             |            |               |          |                  |
|-------------------|-------------|------------|---------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>endarak.</i>   | <i>muni</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>ambui,</i> | <i>A</i> | <i>wone,</i>     |
| <i>entat-ak</i>   | <b>muni</b> | <i>ta</i>  | <i>ampui</i>  | <i>A</i> | <i>won-e</i>     |
| occur:SG.SBJ-then | that        | SPEC       | one           | PN       | one.exist-3s.SBJ |

|          |                  |           |             |                     |
|----------|------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|
| <i>Y</i> | <i>wone,</i>     | <i>EW</i> | <i>muni</i> | <i>ninyambunu.</i>  |
| <i>Y</i> | <i>won-e</i>     | <i>EW</i> | <i>muni</i> | <i>nin-ampunu \</i> |
| PN       | one.exist-3s.SBJ | PN        | that        | 1p-relation         |

'So, one generation was born, **given that**, one generation, we from Mbowid were born, **namely**, one is A, there is Y, (and) our relation EW.'

[Text 37: 1.14; Burung 2013a: 222, 230-1]

It is important to note that the deictic conjunction is also found as a connector between the head-linker constituent and the main clause, as discussed in chapter 11 §11.2.2. Here, *ndi* 'this' may be translated 'so' or 'in this case' (Dixon's *temporal-succession/real*) that functions to emphasize the given information, which is discussed in Reesink (1987: 212-213) as 'given topic with focus', where the narrator feels a need to recap already given information to assure himself of the attention of his audience.

- (10.12) *mono kenok, [ ndi, yok at eve mono, ...*  
*mono k-e-nok | nti | jok at ø-eve mono |*  
*like that see-3s.SBJ-next this now he 3s-body like that*  
*'In fact, in this case, now his family is like that ...'*  
 [Text 37: 1.12; Burung 2013a: 222, 230]

The manner deictic *mono* 'like that' (Dixon's *real*) functions as an anaphoric substitute of the given-topic when it co-occurs with another connector like *kwe* {*kwe-*} 'but' (Dixon's *contrast*) or *nome* {*nome*} 'therefore' (Dixon's *cause*) in (10.13a-b), and a verb in (10.13c-e). It also occurs with the pronoun *at* {*at*} 'he' to function as a closure marker in a discourse, in (10.13f). Their structures and translation are given in (10.13) – in conjunction with Dixon's STCL (cf. Table 10.1).

(10.13)

|    |                                                                     |                                                                |                                                                                                             |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | <div> <div>mono</div> <div>{mono}</div> <div>like that</div> </div> | <i>kwe</i> {kwe} 'but'                                         | 'like that but', 'although', or 'even though' (Dixon's <i>contrast</i> )                                    |
| b. |                                                                     | <i>nome</i> {nome}<br>'therefore'                              | 'because of that', 'for that reason', 'therefore', or 'like that because' (Dixon's <i>result/cause</i> )    |
| c. |                                                                     | <i>kenok</i> {ke- <u>nok</u> }<br>'he, <u>having</u> seen'     | 'in fact', 'as a matter of fact', or<br>'and so' (Dixon's <i>relative-time/result</i> )                     |
| d. |                                                                     | <i>egenok</i> {it-ke- <u>nok</u> }<br>'he, <u>having</u> done' | 'as one did so'<br>'as it happened that way' (Dixon's <i>relative-time/real</i> )                           |
| e. |                                                                     | <i>wone/wunu</i> {won-e/wun-u}<br>'he exists/they exist'       | 'as it was', 'as he was'<br>'as they were', 'and so' or 'in reality' (Dixon's <i>relative-time/result</i> ) |
| f. |                                                                     | <i>at</i> {at} 'he'                                            | 'like that', 'that's it' or 'that's all' (Dixon's <i>real</i> )                                             |

Examples in (10.14-7) illustrate the use of *mono* 'like that'.

(10.14) Example for (10.13a):

|                |             |                |                |               |               |            |              |           |
|----------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|------------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>mono</i>    | <i>kwe,</i> | <i>ambui</i>   | <i>dingge,</i> | <i>it</i>     | <i>duvele</i> | <i>ne,</i> | <i>E</i>     | <i>at</i> |
| <b>mono</b>    | <b>kwe</b>  | ampui          | dinke          | it            | dule          | ne         | E            | at        |
| like that      | but         | one            | noon           | they          | PN            | there      | PN           | he        |
| <i>ombo</i>    |             | <i>anggwom</i> | <i>widaduk</i> | <i>yugum,</i> | <i>o</i>      | <i>yak</i> | <i>yedok</i> |           |
| ø-ompo         |             | a-wom          | widaduk        | jukum         | o             | jak        | jedok        |           |
| 3s-grandfather |             | 3s-pig         | PN             | stone         | place         | then       | large        |           |
| <i>dogwe</i>   |             | <i>nome,</i>   |                | ...           |               |            |              |           |
| do-k-we        |             | mome           |                | ...           |               |            |              |           |
| stay-REAL-HAB  |             | therefore      |                | ...           |               |            |              |           |

'**That was so, but**, one day, as for them the Duveles ... the pig, Widaduk Yugum, of E's grandfather, now then because of its large size ...'

NOTE: Widaduk Yugum is the pig's name. [Text 35: 2.29; Burung 2013a: 235, 245]

(10.15) Example for (10.13c):

|             |                 |             |            |           |            |              |     |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|-----------|------------|--------------|-----|
| <i>mono</i> | <i>kenok,</i>   | <i>ndi,</i> | <i>yok</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>eve</i> | <i>mono,</i> | ... |
| <b>mono</b> | k-e-nok         | nti         | jok        | at        | ø-eve      | mono         |     |
| like that   | see-3s.SBJ-next | this        | now        | he        | 3s-body    | like that    |     |

'**In fact**, in this case, now his family is like that ...'

[Text 37: 1.12; Burung 2013a: 222, 230]



(10.16) Example for (10.13e):

|             |                       |            |                |           |
|-------------|-----------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>mono</i> | <i>wunumu</i>         | <i>ta,</i> | <i>nombo</i>   | <i>no</i> |
| <b>mono</b> | <b>wun-u-mu</b>       | ta         | n-ompo         | no        |
| like that   | some.exist-3p.SBJ-LOC | SPEC       | 1s-grandfather | that      |

*kanggo*                      *ki-o.*  
kan-k-o                      ki=o \  
die-REAL-3s.SBJ          very=PAUS  
'**As they lived** thus, my grandfather died, really.'

[Text 39: 4.13; Burung 2013a: 267, 277]

(10.17) Example for (10.13f):

|             |             |                 |                          |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| <i>mono</i> | <i>at,</i>  | <i>bagu</i>     | <i>nouguerik,</i>        |
| <b>mono</b> | <b>at  </b> | ba-k-u          | n-ou-k-uet-ik            |
| like that   | he          | set-REAL-3p.SBJ | go-REM- REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG |

*wunu,*                      *nouguerak.*  
wun-u |                      n-ou-k-uet-ak \  
some.exist-3p.SBJ      go-REM- REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
'**It was like that**, we were settling, thus so we went on living (there).'

[Text 9: 9; Burung 2013a: 191]

The occurrence of the deictic *mono* 'like that' with the pronoun *at* 'he', at the end of the entire narrative marks the end of the story. For this, the pronoun *at* 'he' is not required to be present.

|         |               |            |            |           |                |              |
|---------|---------------|------------|------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|
| (10.18) | <i>nome,</i>  | <i>yok</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>an</i> | <i>nacui</i>   | <i>kena,</i> |
|         | <b>nome  </b> | jok        | ta         | an        | n-atjui        | kena         |
|         | therefore     | now        | SPEC       | I         | 1s-children.of | three        |

|            |               |           |            |             |
|------------|---------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| <i>kwa</i> | <i>manggu</i> | <i>B1</i> | <i>B2.</i> | <i>mono</i> |
| kwa        | manku         | B2        | B2 \<br>PN | <b>mono</b> |
| woman      | first born    | PN        | PN         | like that   |

'**Thus so**, now I have three children. The first born was a girl, (then) B, and B.  
**That's it/all!**'

[Text 39: 4.65-66; Burung 2013a: 280, 291]

The extended combination of the structures in (10.13) is possible.

|         |    |                                 |                        |              |     |
|---------|----|---------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|-----|
| (10.19) | a. | <i>mono</i>                     | <i>wunuerik</i>        | <i>kwe,</i>  | ... |
|         |    | <b>mono</b>                     | <b>wun-uet-ik</b>      | <b>kwe  </b> |     |
|         |    | like that                       | some.exist-1p.SBJ-PROG | but          |     |
|         |    | 'Thus, we were living but, ...' |                        |              |     |

[Text 37: 1.19; Burung 2013a: 223, 232]

- b. 

|                                         |                                                             |                                            |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <i>mono</i><br><b>mono</b><br>like that | <i>ekendak</i><br><b>it-k-ent-ak</b><br>do-REAL-2p.SBJ-then | <i>nome,</i><br><b>nome</b>  <br>therefore |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|

*nenggacak-o.*

nen-k-atj-ak=o \

eat-REAL-1s.SBJ-then=PAUS

'Because you asked (me) so, I ate (her).'

[Text 2: 5.26; Burung 2013a: 286, 298]

### 10.2.6.3 Verbal conjunction

Verbs functioning as conjoining elements include the existential *won* {won-} 'one.exists', discussed in §10.2.6.3.1, and the active *it* {it-} 'do/say' in §10.2.6.3.2, where they take an anaphoric role.

#### 10.2.6.3.1 The existential {won-} 'one exists'

The verb *won* {won-} 'one exists' is found in the following structures:

- (10.20) a.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VP} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{Deixis} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{won \{won-\} 'one exists'} \end{array} \right\}$  e.g. (10.21)  
 b. e.g. (10.22)  
 c. e.g. (10.23)

Examples are given in (10.21-23). Even though in (10.21) the subject marker of the transitive *nenggak* 'ate and then' is elided preceding the negator *dik* 'no' (cf. chapter 6, §6.3), we know that the subject is the 'third person plural' since the verb *wunu* {wun-u} 'some.exist-3p.SBJ' marks the 'third person plural subject' and such is based on the context of the previously given information.

- (10.21) Example for (10.20a)
- |                 |                      |              |                       |  |                         |
|-----------------|----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|--|-------------------------|
| Cl <sub>1</sub> |                      |              | Conj                  |  | Cl <sub>2</sub>         |
| <i>ap</i>       | <i>nenggak</i>       | <i>dik,</i>  | <i>wunumu,</i>        |  | <i>ap</i> <i>adom</i>   |
| <i>ap</i>       | <i>nen-k-ak</i>      | <i>dik  </i> | <b>wun-u-mu</b>       |  | <i>ap</i> <i>ø-adom</i> |
| <i>man</i>      | <i>eat-REAL-then</i> | NEG          | some.exist-3p.SBJ-LOC |  | <i>man</i> 3s-root      |
- kin*    *okoguarak-o.*  
*kin*    *it-k-o-k-at-ak=o \*  
visible    do-REAL-REM|see-3sp.SBJ-then=PAUS  
'(They) did not eat people, **as it was**, (what) the first people did long time ago.'  
[Text 2: 5.28; Burung 2013a: 287, 299]
- (10.22) Example for (10.20b)
- |                 |              |             |                          |              |                                |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| Cl <sub>1</sub> |              |             | Conj                     |              | Cl <sub>2</sub>                |
| ...             | <i>kwa</i>   | <i>muni</i> | <i>wone</i>              | <i>ne</i>    | <i>negirak, ...</i>            |
|                 | <i>kwa</i>   | <i>muni</i> | <b>won-e</b>             | <i>ne  </i>  | <i>n-e-k-it-ak   ...</i>       |
|                 | <i>woman</i> | <i>that</i> | <i>one.exists-3s.SBJ</i> | <i>there</i> | <i>go-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then</i> |
- '... that woman, **given that** (that woman) ... she went ...'  
[Text 2: 5.10; Burung 2013a: 282, 294]

The presence of the locative *mu* {-mu} 'LOC' signifies continuing-topic, i.e. that the given topic remains as it is. The specifier *ta* 'SPEC' in (10.23) functions to specify the recapitulated information by means of back-reference (or given-topic) information, to signal switch-topic, i.e. the new information is expected.

- (10.23) Example for (10.20c)
- |                 |                  |                              |             |                 |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Cl <sub>1</sub> |                  | Conj                         |             | Cl <sub>2</sub> |
| ...             | <i>mona</i>      | <i>wunumu</i>                | <i>ta,</i>  | ...             |
|                 | <i>mona</i>      | <b>wun-u-mu</b>              | <i>ta  </i> |                 |
|                 | <i>there.far</i> | <i>some.exist-3p.SBJ-LOC</i> | SPEC        |                 |
- 'as they were remaining over there' or 'as they were existing over there'  
[Text 67: 3.18; Burung 2013a: 258-9, 268]

#### 10.2.6.3.2 The active {it-} 'one does'

When functioning as a conjunction (Dixon's *temporal-succession* and *relative-time*), the active *it* {it-} 'one does' is found in the following structure:

(10.24) (V)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ekenok} \\ \textbf{it-k-e-nok} \\ \textit{do-REAL-3s.SBJ-next} \end{array} \right\} \text{ (} \textit{ta} \text{ 'SPEC')}$

In this structure, *it* {it-} 'one does' links two events by affirming that an action has been completed (in  $E_1$ ) and one is now ready to enter the next event (Dixon's *temporal succession*), thus rendering 'having done so, ...  $E_2$ ' or 'after doing, ...  $E_2$ ' expression, see the example in:

(10.25) Conj  
 ekenok,  
**it-k-e-nok** |  
 do-REAL-3s-SBJ- next

New-event  
*nggweri*      *ndu*      *nouguarak-o*.  
 nkwetɪ      n-d-u      n-ou-k-uat-ak=o \  
 PN      ADV-steep-down      go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 '... **having done** so, they went down to Nggweri.'

[Text 35: 2.19-20 – cf. (10.9); Burung 2013a: 232-3, 241]

Furthermore, this form in (10.25) is also found in Wano discourse narratives where {it-} 'one does' functions in the tail-head linkage as both tail-linker and head-linker. In (10.26) we have an SVC that is formed by two partially inflected verbs, the final being *it* {it-} 'one does'. The meaning of the SVC is then based on the non-final verb; thus, we have: 'having picked up' or 'after taken, ... E2'.

(10.26) Cl<sub>1</sub> Conj Cl<sub>2</sub>  
 ... *wanggo* *ekenok* *ta,* ...  
 wan-k-o **it-k-e-nok** ta |  
 take-REAL-3p.SBJ do-REAL-3s-SBJ-next SPEC  
 'having picked up, ...' or 'after taken, ...'  
 [Text 67: 3.5; Burung 2013a: 256, 265]

#### 10.2.6.4 Purposive conjunction

In narratives, we find SVCs with purposive verbs as a means of clause chaining in the structure given in (10.27).

|         |                 |                               |                   |                |   |                  |   |                 |
|---------|-----------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|---|------------------|---|-----------------|
| (10.27) | Cl <sub>1</sub> | Conj                          |                   |                |   |                  |   | Cl <sub>2</sub> |
|         | ...             | V <sub>1</sub> {-tja} 'PURP'  | (V <sub>2</sub> ) | V <sub>3</sub> | { | -nuk/-nok 'next' | } | {ta} 'SPEC' ... |
|         |                 | 'in order to V <sub>1</sub> ' |                   |                |   | -me/-mu 'LOC'    |   |                 |

The conjunction is an SVC that consists of the following components: V<sub>1</sub> bears the purposive suffix *ca* {-tja} 'PURP', V<sub>2</sub> is optional, and V<sub>3</sub> takes either the sequential *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'next' or the locative *mu/me* {-mu/-me} 'LOC' suffixes. In this structure, V<sub>1</sub> alone is not found. The specifier *ta* {ta} 'SPEC' is not obligatory. It basically specifies and/or emphasizes the given event in Cl<sub>1</sub>. Examples follow.

|         |                                               |                    |                |                 |             |                 |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (10.28) | Example for <i>nuk/nok</i> {-nuk/-nok} 'next' |                    |                |                 |             |                 |
|         | Cl <sub>1</sub>                               | Conj               |                |                 |             | Cl <sub>2</sub> |
|         |                                               | V <sub>1</sub>     | V <sub>2</sub> | V <sub>3</sub>  |             |                 |
|         | ...                                           | <i>pinica</i>      | <i>we</i>      | <i>kenok</i>    | <i>ta,</i>  | ...             |
|         | ...                                           | <i>pin-i-tja</i>   | <i>we</i>      | <i>k-e-nok</i>  | <i>ta  </i> | ...             |
|         |                                               | arrive-3s.SBJ-PURP | come.3s.SBJ    | see-3s.SBJ-next | SPEC        |                 |
|         | 'He, in order to arrive, ...'                 |                    |                |                 |             |                 |

[Text 67: 3.24; Burung 2013a: 260, 270]

|         |                                                     |                     |                |             |  |                 |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------|--|-----------------|
| (10.29) | Example for <i>me/mu</i> {-me/-mu} 'LOC'            |                     |                |             |  |                 |
|         | Cl <sub>1</sub>                                     | Conj                |                |             |  | Cl <sub>2</sub> |
|         |                                                     | V <sub>1</sub>      | V <sub>2</sub> |             |  | ...             |
|         | ...                                                 | <i>kom irica</i>    | <i>neme</i>    | <i>ta,</i>  |  |                 |
|         |                                                     | <i>kom it-i-tja</i> | <i>n-e-me</i>  | <i>ta  </i> |  |                 |
|         |                                                     | yam do-3s.SBJ-PURP  | go-3s.SBJ-LOC  | SPEC        |  |                 |
|         | '..., given that he in order to cook some yam, ...' |                     |                |             |  |                 |

[Text 2: 5.13; Burung 2013a: 283, 295]

### 10.3 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have described clause linking as it is found in Wano by reference to both Foley's (1986) description of Papuan languages, and Dixon's (2009) semantic types of clause linking. In §10.2, based on my corpus and field notes, I have proposed six linking strategies. Firstly, the use of two sequential suffixes, i.e. (i) the immediate sequential *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'next', and (ii) *(i)ak* {-(i)ak} 'then' were described in §10.2.1 and §10.2.2. The semantic function of both suffixes recorded was, firstly, marking successive-event (Dixon's temporal-relative-time) for *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'next', and connecting events for *(i)ak* {-(i)ak} 'then', expressing cause-reason (Dixon's cause) where it occurs with the cause-reason particle *kwe* {kwe} 'but'. The other strategies to link clauses in Wano I discussed were: (iii) the antithetical particle, i.e. *kwe* {kwe} 'but' (Dixon's *contrast*), which was described in §9.2.3; (iv) the cause-reason particle, i.e. *nome* 'because' in §10.2.4; (v) conditionals in §10.2.5, and finally, (vi) the conjoining elements in §10.2.6, which are further subdivided into (vi.a) the coordinating conjunction in §10.2.6.1; (vi.b) the deictic conjunction in §10.2.6.2; (vi.c) the verbal conjunction in §10.2.6.3; and (vi.d) the purposive conjunction in §10.2.6.4.

Regarding conditional clauses, as discussed in §10.2.5, it was not easy to decide whether the clauses that lack irrealis mood, as in (10.8), were pseudo-conditionals, or whether those with realis mood, as in (10.9), were regular conditional clauses. The best hypothesis I could propose is that the ones bearing realis mood are mostly likely regular conditional clauses.

Finally, concerning the demonstratives *ndi* 'this' and *muni* 'that', described in §10.2.6.2, at this stage I have not been able to gather enough evidence to decide whether they should be treated as clause linkers or bridging linkers. They have, therefore, been included in the discussion of the present chapter, as well as the following one in §11.2.2.





**11.1 BACKGROUND**

**Bridging linkage** consists of a number of connecting strategies applied in Wano discourse – cf. Foley's (1986, 2000; see also 1991, 1997) analysis of Papuan languages. Even though there are no satisfactory answers regarding the inclusion of bridging linkage in this grammar, the best hypotheses I could suggest are firstly, that in daily interactions among the Wano speakers, bridging linkage is in common use. Unlike Greek's tail-head linkage, which is a stylistic device (cf. Runge 2010), bridging linkage in Wano is a compulsory element of its speakers' social cognitive interaction. Secondly, Wano is heavily pro-drop because of its being an agglutinative-fusional language that performs root/verb-serialisation in a clause linking pattern – cf. §1.8 for the typology of Wano.

Likewise, in §1.8, I distinguished serial verb constructions (SVC), clause linking (CL) and bridging linkage (BL). Since the first two were discussed in chapters 9 and 10, let me now discuss the last mentioned, i.e. **bridging strategies**, in §11.2.

## 11.2 BRIDGING STRATEGIES

To maintain a coherent relation between one episode and other episodes, Wano applies bridging linkage strategies. The term is introduced by Aikhenvald (2015: 275-8, 284-5) for **tail-head linkage** (THL). I will, however, use the term here to cover any connecting devices attested in Wano narrative discourse since THL is not the only linking strategy between episodes. §11.2.1 discusses tail-head linkage, and §11.2.2 **non-tail-head linkage**.

### 11.2.1 Tail-head linkage

In Guillaume (2011: 111) we read: "... THL is described as a way of connecting sentences or clause chains in which the last clause of the paragraph or a chain, i.e. the 'tail-clause', is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next sentence or chain, i.e. the 'head-clause'." Two clauses or sentences are combined in terms of THL when the first clause of an episode (head-linker) functions as a back-reference, bridging to the previously given information in the previous episode, and the new information is to be asserted in the second clause (cf. Thompson and Longacre 1985: 171-234, Foley 1986: 200-201, and Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007: 237-300).

Various syntactic devices are found to perform THL in the position of the clause margin, i.e. sentence initial, or left-dislocated constituents in Dik's terms (1981). Some forms investigated in the previous chapter were concessive (§10.2.3), cause-reason (§10.2.4), and conjoining elements (§10.2.6). These perform a type of THL.

They mostly have the function of recapitulating an episode by providing a linkage between the tail of the previous episode and the head of the next one in narrative genres. The structural relation between SVCs, CLs and THLs in Wano is outlined in:

|        |                                   |                             |                             |                                   |                         |
|--------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (11.1) | Episode 1                         |                             |                             |                                   |                         |
| a.     | E <sub>0</sub> -Opening           | E <sub>1</sub> <sub>1</sub> | E <sub>1</sub> <sub>2</sub> | E <sub>1</sub> <sub>3</sub> -Tail |                         |
|        | Episode 2                         |                             |                             |                                   |                         |
| b.     | E <sub>2</sub> <sub>0</sub> -Head | E <sub>2</sub> <sub>1</sub> | E <sub>2</sub> <sub>2</sub> | E <sub>2</sub> <sub>3</sub> -Tail |                         |
|        | Episode 3                         |                             |                             |                                   |                         |
| c.     | E <sub>3</sub> <sub>0</sub> -Head | E <sub>3</sub> <sub>1</sub> | E <sub>3</sub> <sub>2</sub> | E <sub>3</sub> <sub>3</sub>       | E <sub>0</sub> -Closure |

In (11.1) we have three episodes composing a narrative discourse. Each episode consists of a series of events, i.e., E<sub>1</sub><sub>1</sub> E<sub>1</sub><sub>2</sub> E<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub> (11.1a), E<sub>2</sub><sub>1</sub>, E<sub>2</sub><sub>2</sub>, E<sub>2</sub><sub>3</sub> (11.1b) and E<sub>3</sub><sub>1</sub>, E<sub>3</sub><sub>2</sub>, E<sub>3</sub><sub>3</sub> (11.1c). E<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-Tail and E<sub>2</sub><sub>3</sub>-Tail are tail-linkers in episodes 1 and 2. E<sub>2</sub><sub>0</sub>-Head (11.1b) and E<sub>3</sub><sub>0</sub>-Head (11.1c) are head-linkers. E<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-Tail and E<sub>2</sub><sub>0</sub>-Head connect Episode 1 and 2. E<sub>2</sub><sub>3</sub>-Tail and E<sub>3</sub><sub>0</sub>-Head connect Episode 2 and 3. The connection is by recapitulating E<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-Tail and E<sub>2</sub><sub>3</sub>-Tail in E<sub>2</sub><sub>0</sub>-Head and E<sub>3</sub><sub>0</sub>-Head respectively. Finally, E<sub>0</sub>-Opening slot at the beginning of Episode 1 (11.1a) is a prelude to an episode, and the E<sub>0</sub>-Closure slot at the end of Episode 3 (11.1c) is a closure. The tail-linker and head-linker are bridging devices functioning as connectors between episodes to maintain the coherence of the narrative discourse. For an illustration, a literal translation of a Wano narrative is given in (11.2) – from Text 37 line 1.11-12 (Burung 2013a: 222, 230). The tail-linker elements are indicated by writing them between the ◀--> symbols, and the head-linker elements by placing them between the >--> symbols.

- (11.2) [Episode 1]  
 E<sub>0</sub>-Opening E<sub>1</sub> E<sub>1</sub>  
 a. As for T his wife they killed her she died therefore,  
 E<sub>13</sub>-**Tail**-linker  
 <she wasn't there>  
 [Episode 2]  
 E<sub>0</sub>-**Head**-linker E<sub>2</sub>  
 b. >Because of that,> this ... now, his family was like that  
 E<sub>2</sub> E<sub>0</sub>-Closure  
 he remains with no child That is all.

In (11.2), the linking between the episodes is not by recapitulating E<sub>13</sub>, the tail, but referring to the whole message of the preceding episode by means of the cause-reason type of linking (Dixon's *cause/reason*). This is expressed in the E<sub>0</sub>-Head slot of the following episode. The narrative is then closed by expressions like 'that is all' in the E<sub>0</sub>-Closure slot. (11.3) provides the Wano text of (11.2).

- (11.3) [Episode 1]  
 E<sub>0</sub>-Opening E<sub>1</sub>  
 T no at agwe wakerak,  
 T no at ø-akwe wat-k-et-ak |  
 PN that he 3s-wife 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
 E<sub>1</sub>  
 kanggirak nome,  
 kan-k-it-ak nome |  
 die-REAL-3s.SBJ-then therefore  
 E<sub>13</sub>-**Tail**-linker  
 <dik worak wone-o.>  
 dik wotak won-e=o \  
 NEG come-then exist-3s.SBJ=PAUS  
 'As for T, they killed his wife (and) because she died, she wasn't there.'  
 [Episode 2]  
 E<sub>0</sub>-**Head**-linker E<sub>2</sub>  
 >mono kenok,> ndi, yok at eve mono,  
 mono ke-nok | nti | jok at ø-eve mono |  
 like that see.3s.SBJ-next this now he 3s-body like that  
 E<sub>2</sub> E<sub>0</sub>-Closure  
 dik worak we wone-o. mono at  
 dik wotak w-e won-e=o \  
 NEG come-then come-3s.SBJ exist-3s.SBJ=PAUS like that he  
 'In fact, in this case, now his family is like that, he has no child. That's all.'  
 [Text 37: 1.11-12; Burung 2013a: 222, 230; cf. (2.46)]

We see in (11.3) that the tail-linker is composed by *dik worak woneo* 'she wasn't there'. The final verb of E1<sub>3</sub>, *woneo* 'one exists', bears the pausal clitic *o* {=o} 'PAUS'. The clitic functions to end a sentence. The presence of the clitic *o* {=o} is a notable mark of a way of recognising a tail-linker. This is audibly accompanied by a falling intonation. We can note, furthermore, that the head-linker is formed by the inflection *kenok* 'he sees' of the perceptive *kot* {kot-} 'one sees'. The verb takes the immediate sequential *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'next', following the deictic *mono* {mono} 'like that' (the E<sub>0</sub>-Head-linker). Then there is a sudden pause, and then another deictic {ndi} 'this' follows to bridge the head-linker and the information. The immediate sequential *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'next' is one of the head-linker markers. Table 11.1 outlines the general features of tail-linker and head-linker based on their presence in a hundred Wano oral texts.

Table 11.1:

**General features of tail-linker and head-linker in Wano oral texts**

|               | <b>Tail-linker</b>                                                                                                                     | <b>Head-linker</b>                                                                                            |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Constructions | V or SVC                                                                                                                               | V or SVC                                                                                                      |
| Forms         | fully inflected (general)                                                                                                              | partially inflected (general)                                                                                 |
| Suffixes      | {-(i)ak} 'then', {-ik} 'PROG'                                                                                                          | {-nuk/-nok} 'next', {-ik} 'PROG', {-me/-mu} 'LOC'                                                             |
| Clitics       | {=o} 'PAUS'                                                                                                                            | N/A                                                                                                           |
| Particles     | N/A                                                                                                                                    | {ta} 'SPEC'                                                                                                   |
| Structures    | preceded by either one or several of any of the following:<br>verb, deixis, conjunction, name, noun phrase, direct speech and a clause | preceded by either one or several of any of the following:<br>deixis, conjunction, noun phrase, direct speech |
| Intonation    | flat intonation, followed by either sudden stop or lapse of time (marked by  ) – cf. §2.8                                              | falling intonation with long lapse of time (marked by \) – cf. §2.8                                           |

Let me now give some examples. In (11.4), the tail-linker is fully repeated in the head-linker slot. The head-linker is followed by the cause-reason *nome* {nome} 'therefore' (Dixon's *cause*), uttered with flat intonation with lapse of time, thus creating a THL expressing the cause-reason relation.

- (11.4) a. *yi ap ndi ap, muni, dumbok*  
*ji ap nti ap | muni | dumpok*  
*this man this man that each*  
Tail-linker  
**◀apik tumbut okouguarak. ▶**  
*apik tumput it-k-ou-k-at-ak \*  
*all divide:3sp.SBJ do-REAL-REM-REAL-3sp.SBJ-then*  
 '(There were) people everywhere, each of them were divided (into groups).'
- Head-linker
- b. **▶apik tumbut okouguarak nome, ▶**  
*apik tumput it-k-ou-k-at-ak \ nome |*  
*all divide:3sp.SBJ do-REAL-REM-REAL-3sp.SBJ-then therefore,*
- awi no, kwa ambui no, tumburo.*  
*ø-awi no | kwa ampui no | tumput-o \*  
*3s-house that woman one that divide=PAUS*  
 'Since they all shared/divided, (everyone) had a share of one place (and) one woman.'

[Text 2: 5.3-4; Burung 2013a: 281, 292]

In the same structure, *kwe* {kwe} 'but' may replace *nome* {nome} 'therefore' in the head-linker when a concessive relation (Dixon's *contrast*) is expressed. This can be seen in various examples in previous sections such as §8.5.4-§8.5.7.

In the following example, (11.5), the whole tail-linker is recapitulated in the head-linker. Here, the fully inflected final verb in the tail-linker, i.e. *wegirak-o* 'he came' is reduced in the head-linker, *we* {w-e} 'he comes/is coming' thus becomes partially inflected and precedes the inflection of the verb *not* {not-} 'one goes', i.e. *negirik* 'he was going' (that is a final verb), which is then followed by the particle *ta* {ta}

'SPEC', indicating that it is a head-linker. Another indication that it is a head-linker is that we find the locative *me/mu* {-me/-mu} 'LOC' in the existential verb *wone* 'he exists' in the head-linker device. Note also that *wegirak-o* 'he came' takes the clitic *o* {=o} 'PAUS' (11.5a), which marks it out as a tail-linker.

- (11.5)
- a. Tail-linker
- |             |              |                    |                |
|-------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------|
| <b>◀eiq</b> | <b>wone</b>  | <b>pinica,</b>     | <b>oukueiq</b> |
| eiq         | won-e        | pin-i-tja          | ouq-k-eiq      |
| up          | exist-3s.SBJ | arrive-3s.SBJ-PURP | down-REAL-up   |
- wegirak-o.▶**  
 we-k-it-ak=o \  
 come-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'In order to arrive and stay, she came climbing up and down.'
- b. Head-linker
- |                  |                    |                |             |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------|-------------|
| <b>▶woneme</b>   | <b>pinica,</b>     | <b>oukueiq</b> | <b>we</b>   |
| won-e-me         | pin-i-tja          | ouq-k-eiq      | w-e         |
| exist-3s.SBJ-LOC | arrive-3s.SBJ-PURP | down-REAL-up   | come-3s.SBJ |
- |                          |              |             |                 |
|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <b>negirik</b>           | <b>ta, ▶</b> | <b>tavu</b> | <b>enokweid</b> |
| ne-k-it-ik               | ta           | tavu        | enokweid        |
| go-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS | SPEC         | PN          | PN              |
- |                |                 |            |
|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| <b>uku</b>     | <b>kirik</b>    | <b>ta,</b> |
| it-k-u         | k-it-ik         | ta         |
| do-REAL-3s.SBJ | see-3p.SBJ-PROG | SPEC       |
- 'In order to arrive and stay, she went on climbing up and down, and they were sleeping in Tavu Enokweid.'
- [Text 2: 5.6-7; Burung 2013a: 281-2, 293]

It is possible to have a linking device whereby the final verb is a partially inflected verb in the head-linker. In such cases, we need either the immediate sequential *nuk/nok* {-nuk/-nok} 'next' or the locative *me/mu* {-me/-mu}. In the latter case, the specifier *ta* {ta} 'SPEC' may be present. The example in (11.6) is given in comparison to (11.5). Here again, almost the whole tail-linker is recapitulated in the head-linker.

(11.6)

|    |            |              |                           |                   |                  |                    |
|----|------------|--------------|---------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>kwa</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <u><b>Tail-linker</b></u> | <b>◀wodegoduk</b> | <b>woneme,</b>   | <b>pinica</b>      |
|    | <i>kwa</i> | <i>ampui</i> |                           | wodegoduk         | won-e-me         | pin-i-tja          |
|    | woman      | one          | PN                        |                   | exist-3s.SBJ-LOC | arrive-3s.SBJ-PURP |

**wegirak-o. ▶**

w-e-k-it-ak=o \

come-3s.SBJ-REAL-3sp.SBJ-then=PAUS

'(There was) one woman living in Wodegoduk, in order to arrive, she came.'

[Text 2: 9; Burung 2013a: 282, 294]

|    |                           |                   |                  |                    |              |
|----|---------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| b. | <u><b>Head-linker</b></u> | <b>▶wodegoduk</b> | <b>woneme,</b>   | <b>pinica</b>      | <b>we▶</b>   |
|    |                           | wodegoduk         | won-e-me         | pin-i-tja          | w-e          |
|    |                           | PN                | exist-3s.SBJ-LOC | arrive-3s.SBJ-PURP | come--3s.SBJ |

*kwa muni, wone ne negirak.*  
*kwa muni | won-e | n-e n-e-k-it-ak |*  
 woman that exist-3s.SBJ go-3s.SBJ go-3s.SBJ-REAL-3sp.SBJ-then  
 DS

**◀nova wa▶ yokegirak.**  
 n-ova wa jot-k-e-k-it-ak  
 1s-father greetings say-3s.SBJ-REAL-3sp.SBJ-next  
 'She was in Wodegoduk, in order to arrive, that woman, she said:  
 'Greetings, my father!'

[Text 2: 5.10; Burung 2013a: 282-3, 294]

In the example (11.7), we have the delayed sequential *(i)ak* {-(i)ak} 'then' with the clitic *o* {=o} 'PAUS' in the tail-linker, i.e. *nouguar-ak=o*, and in (11.8) the locative *mu/me* {-mu/-me} 'LOC' followed by the specifier *ta* {ta} 'SPEC' in the head-linker, i.e. *wunu-mu ta* – underlined in the examples.



- (11.7) *kumamu iba oko dokniq*  
 kumamu iba it-k-o do-k-niq  
 PN foraging do-REAL-3s.SBJ stay-REAL-as such
- woneme ta, no ne watnuk*  
 won-e-me ta | no ne wat-nuk  
 exist-3s.SBJ-LOC SPEC that this.far 3s.SBJ:hit-next
- awot imbirak watnuk*  
 ø-awot ø-impitak wat-nuk  
 3s-younger sibling o.ss 3s-together 3s.SBJ:hit-next
- wiku nouguarik ta,*  
 wi-k-u n-ou-k-uat-ik ta |  
 pull out-REAL-3p.SBJ go-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG SPEC  
Tail-linker
- ndoukmu <nggweri andukmu*  
 n-d-ouq-k-mu nkwati ø-antuk-mu  
 ADV-steep-down-REAL-LOC PN 3s-back-LOC
- adouma nunggu dokniq*  
 a-d-ou-ma nun-k-u do-k-niq  
 ATTR-steep-down-LOC consume-REAL-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such
- wunu nouguarak-o. >**  
 wun-u n-ou-k-uat-ak=ø \  
 exist-3p.SBJ go-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'The fact that it was foraging in Kumamu, (where they) shot it, together with his  
 younger brother having killed it, they pulled (it) steeply down, (and) went down  
 beyond Nggweri, where they were staying and eating (it).'
- [Text 35: 2.32; Burung 2013a: 236, 245]

- (11.8) Head-linker  
**>nggweri andukmu nunggu dokniq**  
 nkwati ø-antuk-mu nun-k-u do-k-niq  
 PN 3s-back-LOC consume-REAL-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such
- wunumu ta, > ap kode E**  
 wun-u-mu ta| ap kode E  
 exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC man old PN
- ombo wegirak.*  
 ø-ompo we-k-it-ak  
 3s-grandfather come-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
 'As they were eating (it) before Nggweri, the old man, E's grandfather, came.'
- [Text 35: 2.33; Burung 2013a: 237, 245-6]

We have an example where the verbs in both tail-linker and head-linker are fully inflected verbs. Still, our common rule applies. The delayed sequential *(i)ak* {-(i)ak} 'then' is in the tail-linker (11.9), and *ik* {-ik} 'PROG' is in the head-linker (11.10).

- (11.9) **Tail-linker**  
 o      *indi*      **◀ugodo muni nome nouguerak. ▶**  
 o      ø-inti      ugodo      muni      nome      n-ou-k-uet-ak  
 place      3s-name      PN      that      therefore      go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then  
 'Because of that, we went to a place called Udogo.'  
 [Text 39: 4.31; Burung 2013a: 271, 282]

- (11.10) **Head-linker**  
**▶udogo muni nouguerik muni nome▶**  
 ugodo      muni      n-ou-k-uet-ik      muni      nome  
 PN      that      go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG      that      therefore  
  
*poiya mbere kago wunu nouguerak*  
*poiya mpete kago wun-u n-ou-k-uet-ak*  
*sun two about exist-3p.SBJ go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then*  
  
*nunggu ni icadipa wouguerak*  
*nun-k-u ni itjadipa w-ou-k-uet-ak*  
*move-REAL-3p.SBJ this PN come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then*  
 'So we went to live in Udogo for about two years, (then) we moved back to Itadipa.'  
 [Text 39: 4.32; Burung 2013a: 271-2, 282]

Examples in which both tail-linker and head-linker consist of partially inflected verbs are also found, normally when a passage of direct speech is embedded. Direct speech is underlined. The direct speech in (11.11) and (11.12) is merely a thought that is expressed in the form of direct speech, marked by DST (direct speech in thought).

- (11.11) **Tail-linker**  
*at ova no ne, ▶iru dokniq▶*  
*at ø-ova no ne | it-u do-k-niq*  
*he 3s-father that there do-3sp.SBJ stay-REAL-as such*  
 DS  
*at ◀wu kivi ambui nayummu yodiak-o,*  
*at wu kivi ampui na-jum-mu jod-iak=o \*  
*he shell very one 1s-netbag-LOC fill in-then=PAUS*

|                  |             |            |                   |
|------------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|
| <u>nagevewok</u> | <u>arip</u> | <u>nat</u> | <u>niriak-o</u> ▶ |
| na-kevewok       | ø-atip      | nat        | nit-iak=o \       |
| 1s-penis gourd   | 3s-lips     | close      | pull-then=PAUS    |

'As for his father's saying: "Really, you fill up my netbag with shells and top up my penis gourd."

NOTE: The direct speech is a figurative expression for "Really, you must pay me back in full." [Text 5: 17; Burung 2013a: 198, 296]

- (11.12) **Head-linker** DST
- |               |                 |               |                 |               |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| ▶ <u>iruk</u> | <u>kenok</u>    | <u>ta</u> , ▶ | ◀ <u>nggayo</u> | <u>irid</u> ▶ |
| it-uk         | ke-nok          | ta            | nkajo           | it-id         |
| do-next       | see.3s.SBJ-next | SPEC          | how             | do-1s.INCEP   |
- 
- |                 |             |           |             |                 |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|
| <u>embetnuk</u> | <u>ta</u> , | <u>at</u> | <u>nome</u> | <u>ta</u> , ... |
| empet-nuk       | ta          | at        | nome        | ta              |
| think-next      | SPEC        | he        | therefore   | SPEC            |
- 'Having said that, "How could I do that?" having thought so, because of that, ...'
- [Text 5: 18; Burung 2013a: 199, 296]

The recapitulation of direct speech in full is also found as a THL strategy.

- (11.13) kombi    ambui    takouguarak,    no    ta,
- komp    ampui    tat-k-ou-k-uat-ak |    no    ta |
- sago    one    roast-see-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then    that    SPEC
- DS
- |             |           |            |           |                |              |
|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|
| ◀ <u>an</u> | <u>ta</u> | <u>ede</u> | <u>ki</u> | <u>etniq</u> ▶ | <u>eee-o</u> |
| an          | ta        | ede        | ki        | et-niq         | eee=o        |
| I           | SPEC      | bitter     | very      | taste-as such  | STUT=PAUS    |

**Tail-linker** |DS

|                 |              |                 |             |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| ◀◀ <u>mek-o</u> | <u>norak</u> | <u>mek-o</u> ▶▶ | <u>yu</u> . |
| mek=o           | not-ak       | mek=o           | j-u         |
| impossible=PAUS | consume-then | impossible=PAUS | say-3p.SBJ  |

"They roasted one sago, that way " It tastes bitter to me, ..." eeee "(You) can't eat it!" they said.

[Text 35: 2.53; Burung 2013a: 242-3, 252]

- (11.14) **Head-linker** |DS
- |                 |              |                 |             |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| ▶◀ <u>mek-o</u> | <u>norak</u> | <u>mek-o</u> ▶▶ | <u>yu</u> , |
| mek=o           | not-ak       | mek=o           | j-u \       |
| impossible=PAUS | consume-then | impossible=PAUS | say-3p.SBJ  |
- 
- |           |                   |                  |            |
|-----------|-------------------|------------------|------------|
| <u>tu</u> | <u>dokniq</u>     | <u>wunumu</u> ,  | <u>eee</u> |
| tu        | do-k-niq          | wun-u-mu         | eee        |
| way       | stay-REAL-as such | exist-3p.SBJ-LOC | STUTTER    |
- "(You) can't eat it!" they said, ... eeee

[Text 35: 2.54; Burung 2013a: 242-3, 252]

To conclude our discussion, I will now turn to the following oral text that features THL as a way of providing coherent and cohesive relationships within the text as the narrator goes through his story. The narrative is given in (11.20) and is taken from Text 7 lines 26-31. The narrator is TW, a male, who was about 55 years old, and died in 1996. He spoke neither Indonesian nor Melayu-Papua (Papuan Malay).

**Introduction.** The story is about a journey the narrator and his father made. Together with some other men and children, they travelled from their village, Padik-padinggungwa, to Tivinggi to visit his father's younger sister. On their way, before reaching a hamlet called Kadedo, they were terribly hungry, and had to eat a partly rotten pandanus fruit. One man then went ahead to Kadedo for help and supplies, then some others with children followed him. However, since these people were gathering some food on their way to Kadedo, they all (i.e., the narrator and others) entered the village at the same time. Once in Kadedo, they stayed at a house of a man called E. It seems that E, who was one of the men traveling (cf. line 27), had a house in Kadedo and was probably from there (cf. line 30). The central issue of the episode is 'entering a hamlet called Kadedo'. A brief account follows.

**A brief account of each event.** Preceding line 26 was the part of the narrative describing how the group cooked and ate the rotten pandanus fruit out of hunger. Line 26 shows that, during the trip, the group split into two. Some men went ahead while the party which included the narrator was left behind. While they were sick and vomiting, the other group was on its way to Kadedo. One man (of this party) then went ahead to Kadedo for supplies and, probably, help. In line 27, the narrator

lists each participant of the front group, including some little children as well. In line 28, the narrator says that they were very hungry while the other group was ahead approaching Kadedo, and therefore some of them were gathering sweet potatoes. Some of the group that went ahead did the same thing. In line 29, we hear about the two parties merging as they were entering Kadedo. There in the hamlet, the narrator and the others stayed with E (line 30). The episode is closed in line 31 that also indicates that a new event is expected.

**Textual structure.** We see that the SVC in:

(11.15) [Text 7: Lines 26, 27 and 28]

|                                          |                         |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>◀ungguica</b>                         | <b>nouguarak▶</b>       |
| un-k-ui-tja                              | n-ou-k-at-ak            |
| enter-REAL-3p.SBJ-PURP                   | go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then |
| 'In order that they enter long ago, ...' |                         |

[Text 7: 26-31; Burung 2013a: 200-1]

is used regularly in lines 26 to 28 as the tail-linker. The sequence in the head-linker has its final verb changed accordingly and takes the specifier *ta* {ta} 'SPEC' (in line 27 through line 31), as anaphoric marker. It functions as back-reference. In line 27, the head-linker takes a partially inflected form with the locative *mu* {-mu} 'LOC'. The presence of *mu* {-mu} 'LOC' in line 27 suggests that the event expressed in line 26 is still occurring. In line 28, the SVC of the tail-linker (line 27) is fully recapitulated in the head-linker with the interference of the deictic *no* {no} 'that'. Here, the narrator points out that the purpose of the journey is to reach Kadedo. The emphasis is, therefore, on entering or reaching the hamlet.

The sequential event (Dixon's *purpose*) undertaken by the two parties is given in line 29:

- (11.16) [Text 7: Line 29]  
**◀ungguica**                      **wu**                      **narik**                      **ta, ... ▶**  
 un-k-ui-tja                      w-u                      n-at-ik                      ta | ...  
 enter-REAL-3p.SBJ-PURP                      come-3p.SBJ                      go-3p.SBJ-PROG                      SPEC  
 'In order that they were entering long ago, ...'  
 [Text 7: 26-31; Burung 2013a: 200-1]

This is the second scenario. Further on, before entering the last scenario, the narrator recalls the whole setting. For this purpose, the verb:

- (11.17) [Text 7: Line 30]  
**▶wunumu**                      **ta▶**  
 wun-u-mu                      ta | ...  
 exist-3p.SBJ-LOC                      SPEC  
 'As they were, ...'  
 [Text 7: 26-31; Burung 2013a: 200-1]

is applied. The episode is then closed by saying:

- (11.18) [Text 7: Line 30]  
**◀E**                      **inyom**                      **wunu**                      **narigicak. ▶**  
 E                      ø-inom                      wun-u                      nat-i-k-itj-ak.  
 PN                      3s-with                      exist-3p.SBJ-LOC                      go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then  
 'With (the) others, I stayed at E's, ...'  
 [Text 7: 26-31; Burung 2013a: 200-1]

What follows is the insertion of new information, introduced by line 31 and reproduced in (11.19), as we read:

(11.19) [Text 7: Line 31]

►**yi**        **no**        **ta, ...** ►  
ji        no        ta |  
this        that        SPEC  
'Given that ...'

[Text 7: 26-31; Burung 2013a: 200-1]

In the following representation, THL components are in bold typeface. (11.20) gives the whole episodes from Text 7 lines 26-31.

(11.20) [Text 7: Line 26]

**Head-linker**

►**ede**    **tu**    **dokniq,** ►        *ma*        *uku*  
ede    tu    do-k-niq |        ma        it-k-u  
bitter    way    stay-REAL-as such        vomit        do-REAL-3p.SBJ

*wunu*        *narigerak*        *ta,*        *ap*        *ambui*  
wun-u        nat-i-k-et-ak        ta |        ap        ampui  
exist-3p.SBJ    go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then        SPEC        man        one

**Tail-linker**

*inyanduk*    *kadedo*    **◀ungguica**        **nouguarak.** ►  
in-antuk    kadedo    un-k-ui-tja        n-ou-k-at-ak  
3p-back    PN        enter-REAL-3p.SBJ-PURP        go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
'For it was bitter, they threw up, a man went before us to Kadedo, (while) they were travelling ...'

[Text 7: 26; Burung 2013a: 200]

[Text 7: Line 27]

**Head-linker**

►**ungguica**        **numu**        **ta,** ►    *ap*        *E*        *no*        *me,*  
un-k-ui-tja        n-u-mu        ta |    ap        E        no        me |  
enter-REAL-3p.SBJ-PURP    go-3p.SBJ-LOC    SPEC    man        E        that        and

*W*    *at*    *ova*        *W*    *me,*    *beq~beqdi*        *dum*  
*W*    *at*    *ø-ova,*    *W*    *me |*    *beq~beqdi*        *dum*  
PN    he    3s-father    PN    and    little~RED        downm

**Tail-linker**

**◀ungguica**        **nouguarak.** ►  
un-k-ui-tja        n-ou-k-at-ak \  
enter-REAL-3p.SBJ-PURP    go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then  
'(While) they were travelling, a man (called) E and his father W, (and) the little ones, they were travelling ...'

[Text 7: 27; Burung 2013a: 201]

[Text 7: Line 28]

**Head-linker**

|                        |             |                         |                   |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>►ungguica</b>       | <b>no</b>   | <b>nouguarak</b>        | <b>ta, ►</b>      |
| un-k-ui-tja            | no          | n-ou-k-at-ak            | ta                |
| enter-REAL-3p.SBJ-PURP | that        | go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then | SPEC              |
| <br>                   |             |                         |                   |
| <i>yi</i>              | <i>ta,</i>  | <i>nit</i>              | <i>ta,</i>        |
| <i>ji</i>              | <i>ta  </i> | <i>nit</i>              | <i>ta  </i>       |
| this                   | SPEC        | we                      | SPEC              |
|                        |             | <i>mboid</i>            | <i>apu</i>        |
|                        |             | mpoid                   | apu               |
|                        |             | potato                  | desire to consume |
|                        |             |                         | mek               |
|                        |             |                         | mek               |
|                        |             |                         | impossible        |
| <br>                   |             |                         |                   |
| <i>ki,</i>             | <i>yoq</i>  | <i>nouguarik</i>        | <i>ta,</i>        |
| <i>ki  </i>            | <i>joq</i>  | n-ou-k-at-ak            | <i>ta  </i>       |
| very                   | pick        | go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG | SPEC              |
|                        |             |                         | other             |
|                        |             |                         | potato            |

**Tail-linker**

|               |           |              |                        |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|------------------------|
| <i>yoqnuk</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>baneq</i> | <b>◀ungguica</b>       |
| joqnuk        | tu        | baneq        | un-k-ui-tja            |
| pick-next     | way       | INST         | enter-REAL-3p.SBJ-PURP |

**nouguarak. ►**

n-ou-k-at-ak \  
go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
'(While) they went on travelling, as it was, we were terribly hungry, some picked up sweet potatoes on the way, as they were travelling.'

[Text 7: 28; Burung 2013a: 201]

[Text 7: Line 29]

**Head-linker**

|                        |             |                 |              |
|------------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <b>►ungguica</b>       | <b>wu</b>   | <b>narik</b>    | <b>ta, ►</b> |
| un-k-ui-tja            | w-u         | n-at-ik         | ta           |
| enter-REAL-3p.SBJ-PURP | come-3p.SBJ | go-3sp.SBJ-PROG | SPEC         |

**Tail-linker**

|                                                                                              |               |               |                        |                |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|----------------|
| <i>o</i>                                                                                     | <i>kadedo</i> | <i>muni,</i>  | <b>◀ungguica</b>       | <b>nerik►</b>  |
| <i>o</i>                                                                                     | <i>kadedo</i> | <i>muni  </i> | un-k-ui-tja            | n-et-ik        |
| place                                                                                        | PN            | that          | enter-REAL-3p.SBJ-PURP | go-1p.SBJ-PROG |
| 'As they went on travelling, (and) were entering ... we were entering the Kadedo hamlet ...' |               |               |                        |                |

[Text 7: 29; Burung 2013a: 201]

[Text 7: Line 30]

**Head-linker**

|                  |              |           |          |           |                  |
|------------------|--------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------------|
| <b>►wunumu</b>   | <b>ta, ►</b> | <i>ap</i> | <i>E</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>woneme,</i>   |
| wun-u-mu         | ta           | ap        | E        | no        | won-e-me         |
| exist-3p.SBJ-LOC | SPEC         | man       | PN       | that      | exist-3s.SBJ-LOC |

**Tail-linker**

|                                                                        |               |              |                         |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| <i>E</i>                                                               | <i>inyom</i>  | <b>◀wunu</b> | <b>narigicak. ►</b>     |
| <i>E</i>                                                               | <i>ø-inom</i> | wun-u        | nat-i-k-itj-ak \        |
| PN                                                                     | 3s-with       | exist-3p.SBJ | go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then |
| 'Thus, we were there, the man called E was there, with him we stayed.' |               |              |                         |

[Text 7: 30; Burung 2013a: 201]



[Text 7: Line 31]

**Head-linker**

|                    |           |                   |
|--------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| ➤ <b>yi</b>        | <b>no</b> | <b>ta, ....</b> ➤ |
| ji                 | no        | ta                |
| this               | that      | SPEC              |
| 'Given that, ....' |           |                   |

[Text 7: 31; Burung 2013a: 201]

## 11.2.2 Non-Tail-Head linkage

Apart from the tail-head linkage discussed in §11.2.1, there is another strategy to maintain the coherence of a discourse. I will call this strategy **non-tail-head linkage** (NTHL) in this study. In this strategy, a **non-tail-head linker** (NTH-linker) links previous episodes to the next by means of a thematic chain. There are five ways to do so: using (i) a deictic word, (ii) a combination of deictic words, (iii) a combination of a deictic word and a conjunction, (iv) a combination of a deictic word and a verbal conjunction, or (v) a verbal conjunction. Here, the specifier *ta* {ta} 'SPEC' is optional. These forms of NTH-linker and their meanings are outlined in:

| (11.21) | Forms of NTH-linker            | Meanings                                                                                                                   |
|---------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a.      | deixis                         | back-reference, thematic chain                                                                                             |
| b.      | deixis + deixis                | specific deictic information                                                                                               |
| c.      | deixis + conjunction           | {kwe} 'but': concessive (Dixon's <i>contrast</i> ),<br>{nome} 'therefore': cause-reason (Dixon's <i>cause/result</i> )     |
| d.      | deixis + verbal<br>conjunction | {it-} 'do': restate/reaffirm/enforce, {kot-}<br>'see': factual/realis, {wone} 'exist': on<br>going/progressive/existential |
| e.      | verbal conjunction             | as above (11.21c) with no deictic information                                                                              |

The following example shows the use of a deictic word, i.e. {ni} 'as such' in (11.22b).

- (11.22) a. [Episode 1] - see (11.21a)
- |             |           |            |            |             |             |
|-------------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>nova</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>ica</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>adom</i> | <i>kwa,</i> |
| n-ova       | at        | ø-itja     | ta         | ø-adom      | kwa         |
| 1s-father   | he        | 3s-mother  | SPEC       | 3s-root     | woman       |
- 
- |            |              |                                  |  |              |
|------------|--------------|----------------------------------|--|--------------|
| <i>kwa</i> | <i>mbere</i> | <i>wanggegirak</i>               |  | <i>nome,</i> |
| kwa        | mpete        | wan-k-e-k-it-ak                  |  | nome         |
| woman      | two          | take-REAL-3s.SBJ-see-3s.SBJ-then |  | therefore    |
- 
- |             |            |            |             |               |            |
|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>adom</i> | <i>kwa</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>acui</i> | <i>yedogo</i> | <i>eee</i> |
| ø-adom      | kwa        | ta         | ø-atjui     | jedoko        | eee        |
| 3s-root     | woman      | SPEC       | 3s-children | large         | STUTTER    |
- 
- |              |            |             |           |            |
|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>ambui</i> | <i>beq</i> | <i>nova</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>ica</i> |
| ampui        | beq        | n-ova       | at        | ø-itja     |
| one          | little     | 1s          | he        | 3s-mother  |
- 'My father's wife, the first one, since he married two, the first one has many children. A young one, my father's (another) wife.'
- [Text 39: 4.7; Burung 2013a: 265-6, 276]
- b. [Episode 2]
- NTH-linker
- ⟨*ni*⟩      *anggup*      *kwa*      *muni*      *ta,*
- ni**      ø-ankup      kwa      muni      ta |
- as such      3s-tip      woman      that      SPEC
- 
- |             |               |
|-------------|---------------|
| <i>acui</i> | <i>yedogo</i> |
| ø-atjui     | jedoko        |
| 3s-children | large         |

We have a single deictic word in (11.22b) as NTH-linker to connect episode 1 (11.22) and 2 (11.21). The following are examples of the composition of deictic + deictic words (11.23-4).

- (11.23) a. [Episode 1] – see (11.21a-b)
- NTH-linker
- ⟨*ndi*,⟩      *kevewok*      *ambui*      *baneq*      *endarak,*      *muni*
- nti** |      kevewok      ampui      baneq      endat-ak      muni
- this      penis gourd      one      INST      occur-then      that
- 
- |            |                |              |               |            |               |           |
|------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|-----------|
| <i>ta,</i> | <i>kevewok</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <i>baneq,</i> | <i>nit</i> | <i>mbowid</i> | <i>ne</i> |
| ta         | kevewok        | ampui        | baneq         | nit        | mpowid        | ne        |
| SPEC       | penis gourd    | one          | INST          | we         | PN            | there     |
- 
- |                 |             |            |              |          |              |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|--------------|----------|--------------|
| <i>endarak,</i> | <i>muni</i> | <i>ta,</i> | <i>ambui</i> | <i>A</i> | <i>wone</i>  |
| endat-ak        | muni        | ta         | ampui        | A        | won-e        |
| occur-then      | that        | SPEC       | one          | PN       | exist-3s.SBJ |

|    |              |    |      |             |
|----|--------------|----|------|-------------|
| Y  | wone         | EW | muni | ninyambunun |
| Y  | won-e        | EW | muni | nin-ampunun |
| PN | exist-3s.SBJ | PN | that | 1p-relation |

'For this, the one generation was born, namely: we from Mbowid are: E, J and our relative EW.'

[Text 37: 1.14; Burung 2013a: 222, 230-1]

- b. [Episode 2] – see (11.21b)

NTH-linker

|       |       |    |              |    |              |
|-------|-------|----|--------------|----|--------------|
| ◀muni | ne,▶  | Yu | wone         | E  | wone         |
| muni  | ne    | Yu | won-e        | E  | won-e        |
| that  | there | PN | exist-3s.SBJ | PN | exist-3s.SBJ |

|    |              |     |              |                   |
|----|--------------|-----|--------------|-------------------|
| Ya | wone         | nit | wone         | wunuerik          |
| Ya | won-e        | nit | won-e        | wun-uet-ik        |
| PN | exist-3s.SBJ | we  | exist-3s.SBJ | exist-3p.SBJ-PROG |

'As such, there is Yu, E, Ya. Thus so we are living.'

[Text 37: 1.15; Burung 2013a: 223, 231]

- (11.24) a. [Episode 1]

|                 |              |                                    |      |                 |
|-----------------|--------------|------------------------------------|------|-----------------|
| eee             |              | puk                                | puk, |                 |
| eee             |              | puk                                | puk  |                 |
| STUT            |              | wait                               | wait |                 |
| Cl <sub>1</sub> |              |                                    |      |                 |
| ap              | kode         | no                                 | ta,  | moname          |
| ap              | kode         | no                                 | ta   | mona-me         |
| man             | old          | that                               | SPEC | over there-LOC  |
|                 |              |                                    |      |                 |
| kweidjo         |              | bagu                               |      | narik           |
| kweid-o         |              | ba-k-u                             |      | n-at-ik         |
| sit.down-3s.SBJ |              | set-REAL-3p.SBJ                    |      | go-3sp.SBJ-PROG |
| Cl <sub>2</sub> |              |                                    |      | SPEC            |
| anop            | owok         | no                                 |      |                 |
| ø-anop          | ø-owok       | no                                 |      |                 |
| 3s-head         | 3s-bone      | that                               |      |                 |
|                 |              |                                    |      |                 |
| torodik         | ngguro       | takouguarak.                       |      |                 |
| totodik         | nkut-o       | tat-k-ou-k-uat-ak \                |      |                 |
| quick           | crack-3s.SBJ | roast-REAL-REM do-REAL-3p.SBJ-then |      |                 |

ambit-o.

ø-ambit=o \

3s-sake=PAUS

'Eee wait, wait! They sat down the old man over there, (then) quickly cracked the skull and roasted it. (It is) for him.'

[Text 35: 2.86; Burung 2013a: 252, 261]

- b. [Episode 2] – (11.21b)

NTH-linker

|      |      |                     |                   |
|------|------|---------------------|-------------------|
| ◀yi  | no,▶ | nonggo              | dokniq            |
| ji   | no   | non-k-o             | do-k-niq          |
| this | that | consume-REAL-3s.SBJ | stay-REAL-as such |

|                   |                    |                 |                 |                        |             |           |
|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|-------------|-----------|
|                   |                    |                 | Cl <sub>1</sub> |                        |             |           |
| <i>woneme</i>     | <i>ta,</i>         | <i>it</i>       | <i>no</i>       | <i>pinggu</i>          |             |           |
| won-e-me          | ta                 | it              | no              | pin-k-u                |             |           |
| exist-3s.SBJ-LOC  | SPEC               | they            | that            | arrive-REAL-3p.SBJ     |             |           |
|                   |                    | Cl <sub>2</sub> |                 |                        |             |           |
| <i>dokniq,</i>    | <i>ap</i>          | <i>kode</i>     | <i>yi</i>       | <i>no,</i>             | <i>wano</i> | <i>no</i> |
| do-k-niq          | ap                 | kode            | ji              | no                     | wano        | no        |
| stay-REAL-as such | man                | old             | this            | that                   | PN          | that      |
| <br><i>wu</i>     | <br><i>dokniq,</i> |                 |                 | <br><i>waku</i>        |             |           |
| w-u               | do-k-niq           |                 |                 | wat-k-u                |             |           |
| come-3p.SBJ       | stay-REAL-as such  |                 |                 | 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ |             |           |

*nouguarik-o*  
n-ou-k-at-ik=o \  
go-REM-REAL|do-3p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
'As for this, he kept on eating. As for them, they came in, (and) for this old man, the Wanos they came in (and) killed him.'  
[Text 35: 2.87; Burung 2013a: 252, 262]

Finally, examples of the combination of deictic and verbal conjunction follow.

- (11.25) a. [Episode 1] – (11.21d-e)  
NTH-linker  
**◀mono kenok, ▶** *ndi,* *yok,* *at* *eve* *mono,*  
**mono k-e-nok** nti | jok | at ø-eve mono  
that.way see-3sp.SBJ-next this now he 3s-body that.way
- abut* *dik* *worak.* *we* *wone-o.*  
abut dik wot-ak | w-e won-e=o \  
ø-child.OM no come-then come-3s.SBJ exist-3s.SBJ=PAUS  
'For that reason, in this regard, now so his family, he has no child left.'  
[Text 37: 1.12; Burung 2013a: 222, 230]
- b. [Episode 2]  
NTH-linker  
**◀wonetik nome▶** *nit* *endarak* *mono,*  
won-et-ik nome nit endat-ak mono |  
exist-1s.SBJ-PROG therefore we occur-then that.way
- wunuerik-o.*  
wun-uet-ik=o \  
exist-1p.SBJ-PROG  
'As I was there, that's how we were born, so we are living.'  
[Text 37: 1.13; Burung 2013a: 222, 230]

### **11.3 SUMMARY**

In this chapter, I have discussed bridging linkage. In so doing, I have used the term as a collective term covering both tail-head linkage and non-tail-head linkage, and thus rather differently from its original meaning as it was first introduced by Aikhenvald (2015: 275). Why should bridging linkage be included in this grammar and not merely viewed as a part of language use? In §11.1, I argued that bridging linkage in Wano is not a stylistic device, as we would think of it with respect to Greek (Runge 2010) but is rather an obligatory element of the speech of any native speakers of Wano in their social cognitive interactions. Furthermore, Wano is heavily pro-drop because of its being an agglutinative-fusional language that performs root/verb-serialisation in a clause linking pattern.

I have also demonstrated that bridging strategies in Wano can involve tail-head linkage (§11.2.1), as well as non-tail-head linkage (§11.2.2). Both serve as connecting devices, used to maintain a coherent relation between one episode and the other episodes. The difference between the two lies in the fact that the former makes use of tail-head linkage, while the latter relies on non-tail-head linkage.



In this thesis, I have offered a descriptive analysis of the grammatical features of Wano, a Trans-New Guinea language closely related to Dani, Walak and Nggem, spoken by approximately 7,000 speakers and found in the mountainous inland of West Papua in Indonesia.

In §1.8, I provided a typological profile of Wano, largely supporting Foley's (1986, 2000) observations on Papuan languages, which were then described in the main chapters of this thesis (chapters 2 throughout 11). In this chapter, I will briefly reiterate my main findings.

### 12.1 FINDINGS

***Segmental properties.*** Wano exhibits simple phonemic properties, which are rich in allophonic variations, consonantal assimilation and vocalic diphthongs. In chapter 2, it was established that Wano has eleven consonantal phonemes: / b, p, d, t, k, q, m, n, β, w, j/ with (i) twenty-two allophones, (ii) four types of coalescent assimilation of phonemic consonants, which are: (ii.a) /nasal+stop/, (ii.b) /alveolar+j/, (ii.c) /stop+w/

and (ii.d) /nasal+stop+w/, resulting in nine phonetic modified consonants, including: (i) three prenasalised stops, i.e. [ᵐb, ᵐd, ᵐg], (ii) two affricates, i.e. [tʃ, ɕ], (iii) three labialised stops, i.e. [pʷ, ɣʷ, kʷ], and (iv) a prenasalised-labialised velar stop, i.e. [ᵐgʷ]. Wano has only one fricative phoneme, which is /β/, instead of /s/ as we would have expected. The vocalic phonemes are: /i, e, a, o, u/, with seven diphthongs: [i̯a, ɛ̯i, u̯i, ɔ̯u, ɔ̯i, a̯i, a̯u].

**Loosing and gaining.** Regarding phonological change due to language contact (§2.13), Wano may lose implosive sounds (pending further research), while new phonemes, /b, d, g, h, l, s/, are merging into Wano phonological inventories. Full nativization, however, remains questionable.

**Syllable structure.** Wano has four basic syllable patterns, divided into (i) two open syllables, V and CV, e.g. *i* 'water', *tu* 'path'; and (ii) two closed syllables, VC and CVC, e.g. *it* 'they', *kom* 'yam'. All consonantal phonemes are found in the onset position, and, except for the approximants /w, j/, they are also found in the coda position. All vocalic phonemes are nuclei.

**Suprasegmental features.** Wano has its final stress in multisyllable words. Penultimate stress is found when monosyllabic enclitics are added. Stress is non-phonemic but plays a role in syllable breaks. Wano intonation is characterized by: falling, flat and rising intonation. Falling intonation to mark: utterance-final, hortative as opposed to imperative, question with no obligatory answer, and intention



to greet someone. Flat intonation at the end of an utterance to mark clause chaining. Rising intonation to mark question with compulsory answer, as well as to emphasize a question. Wano intonation is best explained along side pitch countours.

**A polysynthetic language.** Wano is a polysynthetic language that displays an agglutinative-fusional morphology. In chapter 3, I indicated the distinction between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns (§3.2-§3.5). On the one hand, noun morphology is essentially simple. The root of an alienable noun may have only a locative suffix, while the root of inalienable nouns has bound prefixes for possessors and may have a suffix marking plurality. On the other hand, the sex-distinction of the possessor between the kin terms *abut* {ø-abut} \3s-child oM\ 'his child of male' and *ayak* {ø-ajak} \3s-child oF\ 'her child of female' allows room for semantic-pragmatic complexity in the interpretation of their various uses. As was discussed in §3.4.2, *ninyabut* {nin-abut} \1p-child oM\ 'our child of male' is strictly applicable only for male possessors (i.e. father/husband, including male siblings and/or kin related male persons), and *ninyayak* {nin-ajak} \1p-child oF\ 'our child of female' is limited only to female possessors (i.e. mother/wife, including female siblings and/or kin related female persons), as opposed to the compounding *ninyabut-ninyayak* {nin-abut\_nin-ajak} \1p-child oM\_1p-child oF\ 'our child of male and our child of female', which is used for both husband/father and wife/mother. Although all three forms (*ninyabut*, *ninyayak* and *ninyabut-ninyayak*) may be freely translated as 'our child', their semantic-pragmatic applications are, nevertheless, different. Unlike noun morphology, verbal morphology is complex, as discussed below.

***The phonology-morphology interface.*** The interface of phonology and morphology provides a significant contribution to the shaping of conjugational verbs. This was presented in chapter 4. In §4.1, I defined five verb classes based on their conjugational forms: *-t*, *sub-t*, *-d*, *-n* and *-vocalic* verbs – cf. Table 4.1 in §4.1.5. Such classes are found through an understanding of the (i) phonology-morphology interface; (ii) distinction between verb root, stem, citation form, and sequential form; and (iii) tense-aspect-mood relation. As was discussed in §4.1.2, (ii.a) tense consists of non-past, proximate-past and remote-past; (ii.b) aspect consists of sequential, habitual, progressive and inceptive; (ii.c) mood consists of realis, irrealis, optative, purposive, imperative, hortative and prohibitive. In §4.2 through §4.5, Wano verbs were then described in terms of (i) partially inflected verbs and (ii) fully inflected verbs. Each verb was further divided into two categories, i.e. (i.a) partially inflected irrealis (§4.2), (i.b) partially inflected realis (§4.3), (ii.a) fully inflected irrealis (§4.4), and (ii.b) fully inflected realis (§4.5). Apart from the fully inflected irrealis verbs, all verbs have four sub-conjugational forms related to tense-aspect-mood, of which the realis-irrealis mood relation plays a key role in understanding Wano verbal expressions – cf. Table 4.2 in §4.1.5.

***Tense-aspect-mood relation.*** Wano verbs can be best viewed in terms of *realis-irrealis* relation. The morphology found in oral narratives with various genres showed evidence that, for a Wano speaker the past is realis and non-past is irrealis (cf. §4.1.2 as was briefly discussed). An event that happened a long time ago (as one can remember), or last week, or yesterday, or today, or even just before the time of

utterance is **realis**, i.e. *real-events*, and is marked with the realis morpheme *k* {*k*} 'REAL' in the verbs, while an event that is desired, hoped for, wished for, or anticipated to happen some time or any time after the time of utterance is **irrealis**, i.e. *unreal-events*, and is marked with the zero morpheme { $\emptyset$ } 'IRREAL' in the verbs. Consider *wakendak* and *wariak*, for instance, in:

- (12.1) a. *wakendak*  
 wat-**k**-ent-ak  
 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-**REAL**-2s.SBJ-then  
 'you.sg hit him and then'  
 b. *wariak*  
 wat- $\emptyset$ -iak  
 3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-**IRREAL**-then  
 'one wishes to hit him'

In (12.1a), the event has taken place and so the verb is marked with *k* {*k*} 'REAL', while in (12.1b) the event has not yet taken place and so the verb is marked with zero morpheme { $\emptyset$ } 'IRREAL'. Moreover, on the one hand, the verb *wakendak* in (12.1a) may be modified by a time adverb *kivit* 'yesterday', as shown in (12.2a), but may not be modified by *kovu* 'tomorrow' (12.2b). On the other hand, the verb *wariak* in (12.1b) may not be modified by *kivit* 'yesterday' (12.3a) but may be modified by *kovu* 'tomorrow' (12.3b).

- (12.2) a. *kivit*            *wakendak*  
*kivit*            wat-**k**-ent-ak  
 yesterday      3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-**REAL**-2s.SBJ-then  
 'you.sg hit him yesterday and then'  
 b. \**kovu*           *wakendak*  
 kovu            wat-**k**-ent-ak  
 tomorrow      3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-**REAL**-2s.SBJ-then

- (12.3) a. \*kivit            wariak  
           kivit            wat-~~Ø~~-iak  
           yesterday      3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-**IRREAL**-then  
       b. kovu            wariak  
           kovu            wat-~~Ø~~-iak  
           tomorrow      3s.OBJ:hit:SG.SBJ-**IRREAL**-then  
           'one wishes to hit him tomorrow and then'

This is to say that *realis-irrealis* relation is essential in defining the Wano verbal system (cf. Foley 2000: 381).

**Non-verbal clauses.** Wano has non-verbal clauses including transitive non-verbal predication. In chapter 7, I discussed four types of non-verbal predication in Wano: (i) experiential event predicates (§7.2); (ii) nominal predicates (§7.3); (iii) adjectival predicates (§7.4); and (iv) deictic predicates (§7.5). Experiential events are grammatically coded as inalienable nouns, and those terms that express (i.a) cognitive events, and (i.b) physiological events. Regarding the clause structures, (i) only cognitive inalienable nouns may be the head of a 2-place predicate (§7.2), and (ii) only physiological inalienable nouns may be the head of a 1-place predicate (§7.3). Finally, cognitive inalienable nouns are also found as a predicate either with a verb or a serial verb construction (§9.3).

**Pro-drop and clause structures.** As discussed in §3.7, §6.2, §7.2, §8.3, §9.3, Wano is a verb-final language that permits pronominal pro-drop and has no rigid word order for arguments. Consequently, a clause may consist only of (i) a single verb, or (ii) a single noun, i.e. an inalienable noun, or (iii) a serial verb construction, or (iv) a

combination of an inalienable noun and a verb, and or (v) a combination of an inalienable noun with a serial verb construction.

## 12.2 QUESTIONS

(1) **Referential markers.** In §3.7.6, I referred to two particles that are still unclear in terms of their distribution and function, which I called *no* 'general referent' and *ne* 'specific referent'. Their grammatical status, at present, remains unsolved and awaiting further investigation.



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## Appendix 1

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### ORAL TEXTS

Appendix 1 includes five stories, which are (i) *An novawi wiganak wone*, is given in §1.1; (ii) *Adombi me Wano me it inyumbowi okouguarak wone*, in §1.2; (iii) *An ikirak wone*, in §1.3; and (iv) *Novawi wiganak wone*, in §1.4.

#### 1.1 AN NOVAVI WIGANAK WONE

Text 37 | Barnabat Medenggwa-Mirib | Biricare | 1994

Text 37 is about the genesis of the Wano people. The title *an novavi wiganak wone* roughly means 'the story about my ancestors coming out'. It was recorded in Biricare in January 1994, was narrated by Barnabat Medenggwa-Mirib (Bat), who was about 45 years old, born and grew up in Mbowid, a deserted hamlet today. The text reflects the narrator's memories of his childhood at the time his father's generation got into contact with a Christian missionary for the first time.

(1.1) *yok ta, ndi, an endarak baneq, an novavi ne wiganak ta,*  
jok ta | nti | an endat-ak baneq | an n-ova-vi ne wikan-ak ta \  
now SPEC this I occur-then INST I 1s-father-PL S.REF come.out-then SPEC

*ndo dogwe, yak yugo tetik-o.*  
nto do-k-we | jak ju-k-o te-tt-ik=o \  
this way stay-REAL-HAB then say-REAL-SG.SBJ intend-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
'Now, this, regarding my birth, that my fathers came out, their staying in caves, I will tell that later.' or 'Now, about my birth. About (how) my fathers came out, and the life in caves, I will tell later.'

(1.2) *yok yuk-o tetik-o, muni ta, ndi an nova*  
*jok ju-k=o te-tt-ik=o \ muni ta | nti an n-ova*  
 now say-REAL-SG.SBJ intend-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS that SPEC this I 1s-father

*indi ta, tegori muni wone narak-o.*  
*Ø-inti ta | tegori muni won-e n-at-ak=o \*  
 3s-name SPEC PN that exist-3s.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ.then=PAUS  
 'What I truly want to tell now is that, this, my father's name was, that Tegori, he was there then ...'

(1.3) *ap kode tegori muni dokniq ta, at no agwe*  
*ap kode tekoti muni do-k-niq ta || at no Ø-akwe*  
 man old PN that stay-REAL-as such SPEC he G.REF 3s-wife

*mboname kedo ambui wanbanuk dokniq*  
*mponame kedo ampui wan-ban-nuk do-k-niq*  
 PN PN one take-put down-next stay-REAL-as such  
 'As for the old man Tegori, he took Mbonawe Kedo as his wife.' (or 'As for the old man Tegori, he was married to Mbonawe Kedo.')

(1.4) *at, mbonawe kedo acui, anduk ta, indi ta wedok.*  
*at| mponawe kedo Ø-atjui|| Ø-anduk ta| Ø-indi ta wedok\|*  
 he PN PN 3s-children oF 3s-before SPEC 3s-name SPEC PN  
 'She, Mbonawe Kedo her children, the first one, his name was Wedok.'

(1.5) *ni, ombodid muni, ombodid ta Wuqu muni, ambui endarak.*  
*ni| Ø-ompodid muni| Ø-ompodid ta wuqu muni| ampui entat-ak\|*  
 as such 3s-back that 3s-back SPEC PN that one occur-then  
 'The one later, that after him (i.e. Wedok), that Wu'u, later she gave birth to one man.'

(1.6) *ap muni, inyeve mbere mbere wunu nerak-o.*  
*ap muni| in-eve mpete mpete wun-u n-et-ak=o\*  
 man that 3p-body two two exist-PL.SBJ go-1p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 '(From) those people, we were four families who lived.'

(1.7) *wunu nerak kwe, it yi no dokniq ta*  
*wun-u n-et-ak kwe|| it ji no do-k-niq ta|*  
 exist-3p.SBJ go-1s.SBJ-then but they this G.REF stay-REAL-as such SPEC

*kugwi ne ta, ap ambui ndi no, abut dik worak,*  
*kukwi ne ta| ap ampui nti no| Ø-abut dik wot-ak|*  
 PN S.REF SPEC man one this G.REF 3s-child oM no come-then

*kanggo, manggu yi be no, abut ta, ap ambui be*  
*kan-k-o|| manku ji be no| Ø-abut ta| ap ampui be*  
 die-REAL-3s.SBJ first born this small G.REF 3s-child oM SPEC man one small

*endat-o bagirak-o.*

entat-o ba-k-it-ak=o\

occur-SA set-REAL-3sA-then=PAUS

'As we were but, there were others, there was Kugwi, this one man, he had no child. It had died, the first born was still little, that child, he was born (*lit.* occurred).'

(1.8) *mono nome, at muni eve abut no dik worak,*  
mono nome| at muni ø-eve ø-abut no dik wot-ak|  
like that therefore he that 3s-body 3s-child oM G.REF no come-then

*aburi dik-o, kambinik nu nu, tu dokniq*  
ø-abut-i dik=o|| ka-mpin-ik n-u n-u tu do-k-niq  
3s-child oM-PL no=PAUS die-curse-PROG go-3p.SBJ go-3p.SBJ way stay-REAL-as such

*wunu-o.*

wun-u=o\

exist-3p.SBJ=PAUS

'So then, he had no family of his own, no children, they kept on dying, that's the way they were.'

(1.9) *nit endarak, ap ta mono.*  
nit entat-ak| ap ta mono\  
we occur-then man SPEC like that

'We were born, the people were like that.' or 'That was how our ancestors existed.'

(1.10) *mono nome, amea bane, be ambui endarak,*  
mono nome| ø-amea bane| be ampui entat-ak  
like that therefore 3s-youngest child INST small one occur-then

*txx wone-o.*

txx won-e=o\

PN exist-3s.SBJ=PAUS

'So then, the youngest one was born (*lit.* occurred), it was Txx.'

(1.11) *txx no, at agwe wakararak, kanggirak*  
txx no| at ø-akwe wat-k-at-ak|| kan-k-it-ak  
PN G.REF he 3s-wife 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ-then die-REAL-3s.SBJ-then

*nome, dik worak wone-o.*  
nome| dik wot-ak won-e=o\  
therefore no come-then exist-SA=PAUS

'As for Txx, his wife they killed, (and) she died therefore, she did not live (*lit.* she was not there).'

(1.12) *mono kenok, ndi, yok at eve mono, abut dik*  
mono k-e-nok| nti|| jok at ø-eve mono| ø-abut dik  
like that see-3s.SBJ-next this now 3s 3s-body like that 3s-child oM no

*worak*      *we*              *wone-o.*  
*wot-ak*      *w-e*              *won-e=o\*  
 come-then   come-3s.SBJ exist-3s.SBJ=PAUS  
 'For that reason, in this case, now his family is thus, he has no child left (*lit.* come and stayed).'

(1.13) *wonetik*              *nome, nit*    *endarak*    *mono, wunuerik-o.*  
          *won-et-ik*              *nome|| nit*    *entat-ak*    *mono| wun-uet-ik=o\*  
          exist-1s.SBJ-PROG   therefore we   occur-then   like that   exist-1p.SBJ=PAUS  
 'As I exist/am, we were born so we live.'

(1.14) *ndi, kevewok*    *ambui*    *baneq*    *endarak,*    *muni ta, kevewok*  
          *nti|| kevewok*    *ampui*    *baneq*    *entat-ak|| muni ta| kevewok*  
          this   penis gourd   one   INST   occur-then   that   who   penis gourd

*ambui*    *baneq, nit*    *mbowid*    *ne, endarak,*    *muni ta, ambui andariat*  
*ampui*    *baneq| nit*    *mpowid*    *ne| entat-ak|| muni ta| ampui antatiat*  
*one*      *INST*      *we*      *PN*      *G.REF* occur-then   that   SPEC   one      *PN*

*wone,*      *yxx*    *wone,*    *exx*    *wxx*    *muni, ninyambunun,<sup>1</sup>*  
*won-e|*      *jxx*    *won-e*    *exx*    *wxx*    *muni| n-in-ampunu||*  
*exist-3s.SBJ* *PN*    *exist-SA* *PN*    *PN*    *that*    *1s-PL-relation*  
 'In this case, the one generation was born, namely: the one generation, we (from) Mbowid, was born, namely: Axx, Jxx and Exx Wxx our relation (i.e. we are related).'

(1.15) *muni ne, yxx*    *wone, exx*    *wone, yxx*    *wone, nit*    *wone*  
          *muni ne|| jxx*    *won-e*    *exx*    *won-e| jxx*    *won-e| nit*    *won-e*  
          that   S.REF *PN*    *exist-SA* *PN*    *exist-SA* *PN*    *exist-SA* *we*    *exist-3A*

*wunuerik.*  
*wun-uet-ik\*  
*exist-1pA-PROG*  
 'As such, there was Jxx, Exx, Jxx, thus we were there.'

(1.16) *ninyawi*    *wuinje, ninyanggwen*    *wuinje ta, mono nome.*  
          *nin-awi*    *wuintje| nina-nkwen*    *wuintje ta| mono nome\*  
          1p-house   origin   1p-earth      origin   SPEC   like that   therefore  
 'Our original home, our original land, was like that.'

(1.17) *ap*    *yedok bane', ando kainyik*    *Nggweri wunu-o.*  
          *ap*    *jedok bane| anto kainik*    *nkwati*    *wun-u=o\*  
          man   large   INST   other part      PN      exist-3p.SBJ=PAUS  
 'Many people, in the other part of Nggweri, they lived.'

<sup>1</sup> The word *ninyambunu* was glossed '[keluarga]' or '[famili]' meaning 'not a family member but someone living there and working together', which is translatable with 'relation'.

(1.18) *nggweri wunu muni ta, kaca wone, abut kwa*  
 nkwati wun-u-mu ni ta| katja won-e| ø-abut kwa  
 PN exist-3p.SBJ-LOC that SPEC PN exist-3s.SBJ 3s-child OM woman

*ambui, ap ambui, ap ambui wone, ap ambui wone, ap*  
 ampui| ap ampui| ap ampui won-e| ap ampui won-e| ap  
 one man one man one exist-3s.SBJ man one exist-3s.SBJ man

*ambui wone, ap ambui wone, ap ambui wone, mono*  
 ampui won-e| ap ampui won-e| ap ampui won-e| mono  
 one exist-3s.SBJ man one exist-SA man one exist-SA like that

*wunuerik-o.*

*wun-uet-ik=o\*

*exist-1p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS*

'While they were in Nggeri, Cutts was there, with one daughter and five sons, thus we lived (lit. we were).'

(1.19) *mono wunuerik kwe, nit no bok-o, avud*  
 mono wun-uet-ik kwe| nit no bok=o| ø-avud  
 like that exist-1p.SBJ-PROG but we G.REF good=PAUS 3s-abdomen

*enok Yecut one wanbanuk, ninyawi ambui enok,*  
 enok jecut ø-one wan-ban-nuk| nin-awi ampui enok|  
 next PN 3s-voice take-put down-next 1p-house one next

*ninyokweid ambui enok, mono wunuerik ta dik-o.*  
 nin-okweid ampui enok| mono wun-uet-ik ta dik=o\  
 1p-mind one next like that exist-1p.SBJ-PROG SPEC no-PAUS

'Thus, we were living but, our life was good, having accepted Jesus' words, we lived in one home then, we were of one mind then, we were not living the way we used to (any more).'

(1.20) *at ta, nit ninyeve nenggit pemenok no wirik,*  
 at ta| nit nin-eve n-enkit pe-me-nok no w-it-ik|  
 he SPEC we 1p-body 1s-hand part-at-next G.REF come-3s.SBJ-PROG

*ninyawi adomme yunggu, nit ninyamu wunuerik-o.*  
 nin-awi ø-adom-me jun-k-u| nit n-in-amu wun-uet-ik=o\  
 1p-house 3s-root-LOC move-REAL-3p.SBJ we 1p-home exist-1p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS

'It is, only five of us in the family, came, we returned to our original home land, to our homes where we are living now.'

(1.21) *wunuerik nome, nit nenggit pemenok no,*  
 wun-uet-ik nome| nit n-enkit pe-me-nok no|  
 exist-1p.SBJ-PROG therefore we 1s-hand part-at-next G.REF

*ninyicavi ninyovavi inyindi ambit ta, ambui indi*  
 nin-itja-vi nin-ova-vi ø-in-inti ø-ampit ta| ampui ø-inti  
 1p-mother-PL 1p-father-PL 3p -name 3s-sake SPEC one 3s-name

*kugwigwe*,<sup>2</sup> *ambui indi aricawudigwe, ambui indi inyoriakwe,*  
*kugwigwe| ampui ø-inti aricawudigwe| ampui ø-inti inyoriakwe|*  
 PN one 3s-name PM one 3s-name PN  
*ambui indi mbadiakwe, mono.*  
*ampui ø-inti mbadiakwe| mono\*  
 one 3s-name PN like that  
 'So, we are, there are five of us, the names of our parents are, one is Kugwigwe, one is Aricawudigwe, one is Inyoriakwe, one is Mbadiakwe, that's it.'<sup>3</sup>

(1.22) *nit muni, it mona endat nicarak, be ndi*  
*nit muni| it mona entat nitjat-ak| be nti*  
 we that they there occur 1p.OBJ:see-then small this

*wunuerik-o.*  
*wun-uet-ik=o\*  
 exist-1p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 'So, we are, there they gave birth to us, a few of us are living here.'

(1.23) *yok ka op, kambi narak-o.*  
*jok ta op| kan-mpi n-at-ak=o\*  
 now SPEC finished die-curse go-3s/p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'Now finished (i.e. no more), they continually dying due to a curse (i.e. magic).'

(1.24) *ninyaburi yedok-o, kanggarak, ninyirivi yedok,*  
*nin-abut-i jedok=o| kan-k-at-ak|| nin-iti-vi jedok|*  
 1p -child OM-PL large=PAUS die-REAL-3p.SBJ-then 1p-sibling ODS large

*kanggarak, ninyovavi yedok-o, kambi narak kwe,*  
*kan-k-at-ak|| nin-ova-vi jedok=o| kan-mpi n-at-ak kwe||*  
 die-REAL-3pA-then 1p-father-PL large=PAUS die-curse go-3s/p.SBJ-then but

*nit nonggodungwi*<sup>4</sup> *ninyeve nenggit pemenok*  
*nit non-k-o-d-un-k-vi nin-eve n-enkit pe-me-nok*  
 we consume-REAL-3s.SBJ-steep-down-REAL-PL 1p -body 1s-hand part-at-next

*be no, nenggit pemenok apik ambui muni, ninyaburi inyom*  
*be no| n-enkit pe-me-nok apik ampui muni| nin-abut-i ø-inom*  
 small G.REF 1s-hand part-at-next all one that 1p-child OM 3s-with

*wunuerik-o.*  
*wun-uet-ik=o\*  
 exist-1p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 'Many of our children died, many of our younger sisters died, many of our fathers went on dying due to a curse but, we little children were five in the family, there are six of us, with our children we are living.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the suffix *-kwe* see discussion on proper nouns in §3.2.4.

<sup>3</sup> This possibly means, Barnabat', the narrator, own father is not mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> Figurative expression for 'little one', cf. *nonggobe* in line (4.42).

<sup>5</sup> The narrator counts himself as well, making it six members of the family.



(1.25) *ninyawi adomme mbowid ta, ndi, ninyombavi ando*  
 nin-awi ø-adom-me mpowid ta| nti| nin-ompa-vi anto  
 1p-house 3s-root-LOC PN SPEC this 1p-friend-PL other  
*inyaburi worak-o.*  
 in-abut-i wot-ak=o\  
 3p-child oM come-then=PAUS  
 'Our original land is indeed Mbowid, as for our other friends, their children came.'

(1.26) *it inyaburi yedok-o worak muni ta, ando*  
 it in-abut-i jedok=o wot-ak muni ta|| anto  
 they 3p-child oM large=PAUS come-then that SPEC other

*nggweri wunu, ando Yei wunu tuarik-o.*  
 nkwati wun-u| anto jei wun-u t-uat-ik=o\  
 PN exist-3p.SBJ other PN exist-3p.SBJ intend-3p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 'Many of their children came, some live in Nggweri, others live in Yei.'

(1.27) *nit mbowid inyowe beq ta, mui inyowe-o,*  
 nit mpowid in-owe beq ta| mui in-owe=o|  
 we PN 3p-sibling OSS small SPEC PN 3p-older sibling OSS=PAUS

*yot nicarak muni at, wunuerik-o.*  
 jot nitjat-at muni at| wun-uet-ik=o\  
 say 1p.OBJ:see-then that he exist-1p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 '(Only) a few of us who lived in Mbowid, those who lived in Mui told us so.'

(1.28) *nit ninyeve ap, ninyadevi ta mono at,*  
 nit nin-eve ap| nin-ade-vi ta mono at|  
 we 1p-body man 1p-ancestor-PL SPEC like that he

*wunuerik-o.*  
 wun-uet-ik=o\  
 exist-1p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 'Our family, our great grandparents, like that, used to live like that.'

(1.29) *ninyeve, nenggit pemenok apik ambui wunuerik-o.*  
 nin-eve| n-enkit pe-me-nok apik ampui wun-uet-ik=o\  
 1p-body 1s-hand part-at-next all one exist-1p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 'In our family, there were six of us.'

(1.30) *wunuerik, ndi, nonggodungwi muni ta,*  
 wun-uet-ik| nti| non-k-o-d-un-k-vi muni ta|  
 exist-1p.SBJ-PROG this consume-REAL-3s.SBJ-steep-down-REAL-PL that SPEC

*we mbere kena kago, wunu-o.*  
 w-e mpete kena kako| wun-u=o\  
 come-3s.SBJ two three about exist-3p.SBJ=PAUS  
 'And so, we were, as for the little ones, about two or three remained.'

(1.31) *yak an wone muni yetik-o.*  
 jak an wone muni j-et-ik=o\  
 then I story that say-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 'Later I will tell (about) my life.'

(1.32) *muni at.*  
 muni at\  
 that he  
 'That's it.'

## 1.2 ADOMBI ME WANO ME IT INYUMBOWI OKOUGUARAK WONE

Text 35 | Barnabat Medenggwa | Biricare | 1994

This story was recorded in Biricare, February 1994, as text 35. The narrator was Barnabat Medenggwa – cf. §1.1. Regarding the title, *Adombi*, in Wano, refers to the *Duveles*, an ethnic group found in Dagai, Nggeri and surroundings. The title can be translated 'the story about the ancestors of the Duveles and the Wanos'. In this respect, the narrator asserted that the ancestors of the Wanos and the Duveles originally came from the same root.

(2.1) *nit ninyumbowi muk muni ne, it, ninyumbovi ne,*  
 nit nin-umbo-vi muk muni ne| it| nin-umbo-vi ne|  
 we 1p-ancestor-PL long ago that S.REF they 1p-ancestor-PL S.REF

*okouguarak wone ambui, yuk-o tetik-o.*  
 it-k-ou-k-uat-ak wone ambui| yuk-o t-ett-ik=o\  
 do-REAL-REM\_REAL-2sp.SBJ-then about one say-REAL-3s.SBJ intend-1s.SBJ=PAUS  
 'As for our ancestors long ago, i will tell a story about what they, our ancestors, did (i.e. how they lived. *lit.* '(what) they did)').

(2.2) *ninyumbovi wu dokniq,<sup>6</sup> at owe*  
 nin-umbo-vi w-u do-k-niq| at ø-owe  
 1p-ancestor-PL come-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such he 3s-older sibling OSS

<sup>6</sup> See section 3.1.14.2 for discussion on NPs or Clauses ending with the verb *do-k-niq* 'stay-REAL-as such'.



(2.6) *dagaid ne ta, nggweri aret puduk*  
*dakaid ne ta| nkwati at-et puduk*  
 PN S.REF who PN he/she-ACT assemble

*okouguarak-o.*

it-k-ou-k-at-ak=o\

do-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS

'Dagai it was (then), they (went and) assembled in Nggweri.' or 'From Dagai, they went on and assembled in Nggweri.'

(2.7) *nggweri aret, puduk oko nouguarik, nggweri*  
*nkwati at-et| puduk it-k-o n-ou-k-at-ik| nkwati*  
 PN he-ACT assembly do-REAL-3s.SBJ go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG PN

*no yi ap ndi ap, inyumbovi no it inyanduk*  
*no ji ap nti ap| in-umpo-vi no it in-anduk*  
 G.REF this man this man 3p-ancestor-PL G.REF they 3p-backside

*duvede<sup>9</sup> inyumbovi muni inyum.*

duvede in-umpo-vi muni ø-inom\

PN 3p-ancestor-PL that 3s-with

'It was Nggweri, that they were settling in. There in Nggweri, people were everywhere. Their ancestors, were with Duvele's ancestors before.'

(2.8) *duvede inyumbo muni me wano inyumbo no me, at<sup>10</sup>*  
*duvede in-umpo muni me wano in-umpo no me| at*  
 PN 3p-ancestor that and PN 3p-ancestor G.REF and he

*owe awot no ta, inyanduk*  
*ø-owe ø-awot no ta| in-anduk*  
 3s-older sibling OSS 3s-younger sibling OSS G.REF SPEC 3p-backside

*wouguarak-o*

w-ou-k-at-ak=o\

come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS

'Those Duvele ancestors and the Wano ancestors, they were brothers (when) they first came.'

(2.9) *wouguarak nggweri wunumu ta, yi ap ndi*  
*w-ou-k-at-ak nkwati wun-u-mu ta| ji ap nti*  
 come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then PN exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC this man this

*ap, ndani, ndaуда, damad, dedome no, inyombodid<sup>11</sup>*  
*ap| ntani| ntaуда| damad| dedome no| ø-in-ombodid*  
 man PN PN PN PN G.REF 3s-PL-back

<sup>9</sup> Also pronounced prenasalized: *Nduvede*.

<sup>10</sup> The third person singular, *at* '3s', here functions as an anaphoric reference, and is therefore translated 'they'.

<sup>11</sup> Also pronounced *inyumbodid*.

'As they in fact came (and) then lived in Nggweri, there were people everywhere, then later came the Danis, the Daudas,<sup>12</sup> the Damals and the Monis.'

|                           |                                |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (2.10) <i>wouguarak</i>   | <i>ta, nggweri mban puduk,</i> |
| w-ou-k-at-ak              | ta  nkweti mpan puduk          |
| come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then | SPEC PN only assembly          |

|                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>ukougwa</i>              | <i>ukougwa,</i>             |
| it-k-u-k-wa                 | it-k-u-k-wa                 |
| do-REAL-3p.SBJ:REM-REAL-HAB | do-REAL-3p.SBJ:REM-REAL-HAB |

|                             |                             |           |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <i>ukougwa</i>              | <i>ukougwa,</i>             | <i>op</i> |
| it-k-u-k-wa                 | it-k-u-k-wa                 | op        |
| do-REAL-3p.SBJ:REM-REAL-HAB | do-REAL-3p.SBJ:REM-REAL-HAB | finished  |

|                 |                         |            |                |           |
|-----------------|-------------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>bagu</i>     | <i>nouguarak</i>        | <i>ta,</i> | <i>nggweri</i> | <i>no</i> |
| ba-k-u          | n-ou-k-at-ak            | ta         | nkwteti        | no        |
| set-REAL-3p.SBJ | go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then | SPEC       | PN             | G.REF     |

|                   |            |
|-------------------|------------|
| <i>dokniq</i>     | <i>ta.</i> |
| do-k-niq          | ta\        |
| stay-REAL-as such | SPEC       |

'As they came and were gathering at Nggweri only, then they settled (there), they ended up staying at Nggweri.'

(2.11) "yok ka o kot-o ekauid-o!"  
jok ta o kot=o it-k-uidj=o|  
now SPEC place 3s.OBJ:see=PAUS do-REAL-1p.SBJ.INCEP=PAUS

|                                                      |                         |            |
|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| <i>yu</i>                                            | <i>nouguarik</i>        | <i>ta.</i> |
| j-u                                                  | n-ou-k-at-ik            | ta\        |
| say-3p.SBJ                                           | go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG | SPEC       |
| '''Now, let us look for a place!' they were saying.' |                         |            |

(2.12) *ando ta ou acodi nok mbonggu, ando ta we*  
*anto ta ou atjodi nok mpon-k-u| anto ta w-e*  
 other SPEC down PN next cut-REAL-3p.SBJ other SPEC come-3s.SBJ

|              |          |           |               |              |            |                        |
|--------------|----------|-----------|---------------|--------------|------------|------------------------|
| <i>inyom</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>akbiri</i> | <i>ndome</i> | <i>ari</i> | <i>unggu</i>           |
| Ø-inom       | o        | ma        | akbiri        | nto-me       | at-i       | un-k-u                 |
| 3s-with      | place    | sacred    | PN            | cave-at      | he-PL      | go through-REAL-3p.SBJ |

|                |             |           |               |                 |                |             |           |           |
|----------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>uku,</i>    | <i>ando</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>tukmid</i> | <i>injenok,</i> | <i>yinggeo</i> | <i>nok,</i> | <i>nu</i> | <i>tu</i> |
| u-k-u          | anto        | ta        | tukmid        | intje-nok       | jinkeo         | nok         | n-u       | tu        |
| do-REAL-3p.SBJ | other       | SPEC      | PN            | climb up-next   | PN             | next        | go-3p.SBJ | way       |

<sup>12</sup> Another name for Dem.

*mbugu*                      *eiq*    *nouguarak-o*.  
 mpu-k-u                      *eiq*    n-ou-k-at-ak=o\  
 scatter-REAL-3p.SBJ up go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'Some went down to Acodi, some came and they went through the sacred Akbiri cave, some having climbed up Tukmid, went through Yinggeo, they each went up.'

(2.13) *ando ta, ndi ne ta, mbonggwa kiduk yanduk enok*  
 anto ta| nti ne ta|| mpon-k-wa kiduk jantuk enok  
 other SPEC this S.REF SPEC cut-REAL-HAB PN bridge next

*ndi ne, nambinik omarib unggu, bouram<sup>13</sup> omarib*  
 nti ne| nampinik ø-omatib un-k-u| boutam ø-omatib  
 this S.REF PN 3s-bottom climb up-3p.SBJ PN 3s-bottom

*enok nu, ando ta, yeova tu nu, ando ta i yedok*  
 enok n-u| anto ta| jeova tu n-u| anto ta i jedok  
 next go-3p.SBJ other SPEC PN way go-3p.SBJ other who water large

*umu<sup>14</sup> enok unggu.*  
 u-mu enok un-k-u//  
 source-LOC next climb up-pA  
 'As for (the) others, they crossed the Kiduk bridge, climbed up the foot of Nambirik, then Bouram. Some walked through Yeova, some went on to the headwaters of the big river.'

(2.14) *tu kot-o ekena ari nu*  
 tu kot=o it-k-e-na at-i n-u  
 way 3s.OBJ:see=PAUS do-REAL-3s.SBJ-as such he-ACT go-3p.SBJ

*dokniq ta, it wano no ta, ggovonak yeimu op*  
 do-k-niq ta| it wano no ta| nkovon-ak jei-mu op  
 stay-REAL-as such SPEC they PN G.REF SPEC towards-then PN-LOC finished

*puduk iruca, inggu nouguarik ta, apu*  
 puduk it-u-tja| in-k-u n-ou-k-at-ik ta|| apu  
 assemble do-3p.SBJ-PURP climb-REAL-3p.SBJ go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG SPEC hungry

*maduk no baneq mbugu it nu dokniq*  
 maduk no baneq mpu-k-u it n-u do-k-niq  
 bad G.REF INST scatter-REAL-3p.SBJ they go-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such

*nome,*  
*nome||*  
 therefore  
 '(They) kept looking for their way, as for the Wanos, they already (went) towards Yei, climbing up in order to gather (up there), because they were terribly hungry, they kept scattering. This is what they were doing.'

<sup>13</sup> *Kiduk* and *Yeova* are names of places. *Nambirik* and *Bouram* are names of mountains.

<sup>14</sup> Source of the river, Indonesian: *hilir* (or [*kepala air*]) and *mudik* (or [*mulut air*]) for 'mouth of the river.'

(2.15) *duvede no ta kwevi wouguarak, it wano*  
*duvede no ta kwevi w-ou-g-at-ak| it wano*  
 PN G.REF SPEC later come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then they PN

*no inyanduk wu dokniq, deid no yi no*  
*no in-anduk w-u do-k-niq| deid no ji no*  
 G.REF 3p -back come-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such banana G.REF this G.REF

*miro nariri wariri, ugouguarak,*  
*mit-o nat-iti wat-iti<sup>15</sup> it-k-u-ou-k-at-ak//*  
 fell-3s.SBJ consume-REDUP 3s.OBJ.hit~REDUP do-REAL-3p.SBJ-REM-REAL-3sp.SBJ-then  
 'As for the Duveles, they came later. They, the Wanos, came first. They cut down bananas,  
 ate abundantly (and) lay down (i.e. slept/stayed).'

(2.16) *avodo oko mban ndi bagarak, eve ambui*  
*ø-avodo it-k-o mpan nti ba-k-at-ak| ø-eve ampui*  
 3s-skin do-REAL-3s.SBJ only this set-REAL-3sp.SBJ-then 3s-body one

*bagak ta dik.*  
*ba-k-ak ta dik//*  
 set-REAL-then SPEC no  
 'They only left skins (in a heap), they didn't leave one fruit.'

(2.17) *deid no inyadik<sup>16</sup> nenggarak kenok, it*  
*deid no in-adik nen-k-at-ak k-e-nok| it*  
 banana G.REF 3p-no consume-REAL-3sp.SBJ-then see-3s.SBJ-next they

*duvede we uyirik ugarak.*  
*duvede w-e uj-it-ik u-k-at-ak//*  
 PN come-3s.SBJ lie down-3s.SBJ-PROG lie down-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
 'Having eaten the bananas alone then, they the Duveles came (and) laid down (i.e. slept and  
 slept/stayed).'

(2.18) *"Endak ndak norak kwe, at owe*  
*entak entak not-ak kwe| at ø-owe*  
 same same consume-then but he 3s-older sibling OSS

*awot aret kwe, it no aiyavaija, it*  
*ø-awot at-et kwe| it no aija-vaija it*  
 younger sibling OSS he-ACT but they G.REF awesome~REDUP they

<sup>15</sup> An expression for something like 'take pleasure', cf. Indonesian: *makan-makan* or *bersenang-senang*.

<sup>16</sup> See the footnote for *i-dik* in line 18.

*itidik*<sup>17</sup> *nenuk* *nuarik* *ka!" embetnuk.*  
*i-dik* *ne-nuk* *n-uat-ik* *ta| embet-nuk||*  
 3s-no consume-next go-1p.SBJ-PROG SPEC think-next  
 "'(We) should be eating together but ..., (we are) brothers but, they unbelievably ate alone and went (away)," having thought so ....'

(2.19) *embetnuk, ugu* *narik, it duvede no*  
*embet-nuk| u-k-u* *n-at-ik| it duvede no*  
 think-next lie down-REAL-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ they PN G.REF

*inyanini ne, inyagevewok nabagu, mbuk*<sup>18</sup> *nabagu,*  
*in-anini ne| ina-kevewok na-ba-k-u| mpuk na-ba-k-u|*  
 3p-anger S.REF 3p-penis gourd go-set-REAL-3p.SBJ skirt go-set-REAL-3p.SBJ

*inyakwi podenggu, ekenok nggweri ndu*  
*in-akwi poden-k-u| it-k-e-nok nkwati n-t-u*  
 3p-nose pierce-REAL-3p.SBJ do-REAL-1p.SBJ-next PN ADV-steep-down

*kouguarak-o.*  
*k-ou-k-at-ak=o\\*  
 'Having thought this way, they were staying. As for the Duveles, they were angry, they put on their penis gourds and skirts, pierced their noses, (and) went down to Nggweri.'

(2.20) *ekenok, it wano no ta tu avoda tu*  
*it-k-e-nok| it wano no ta tu avoda tu*  
 do-REAL-3s.SBJ-next they PN G.REF SPEC way PN way

*aret ungu ugu warak ta.*  
*at-et un-k-u it-k-u w-at-ak ta//*  
 he-ACT go through-REAL-3p.SBJ do-REAL-3p.SBJ come-3sp.SBJ-then SPEC  
 'Meanwhile, they, the Wanos went through Avoda.'

(2.21) *it duvede no ta, inyovanikmu pinggu*  
*it duvede no ta| in-ovanik-mu pin-k-u*  
 they PN G.REF SPEC 3p-remnant-LOC arrive-REAL-3p.SBJ

*narik.*  
*n-at-i\\*  
 go-3sp.SBJ-PROG  
 'As for the Duveles, they arrived at (i.e. found) the remnant (of the Wanos).'

(2.22) *pinggu narik, inyagevewok denggenok*  
*pin-k-u n-at-ik| in-kevewok den-k-e-nok*  
 arrive-REAL-3p.SBJ go-3sA/pA-PROG 3p-penis gourd pull out-REAL-3s.SBJ-next

<sup>17</sup> *i-dik* ~ *a-dik* '3s-no' renders 'he (is) alone'. Informants claim that *i-dik* is the *Oru* (Old Wano), cf. *an na/i-dik* 'I (am) alone' < *na/i-* '1s' + *dik* 'no', but *an mban* '(it's) only me'. Logically, one would expect *it inya-dik/inyi-dik*. In speech community, however, *it a/i-dik* may occur, possibly the narrator is speaking about 'they' as 'one community'.

<sup>18</sup> This is a traditional skirt made of grass or a k.o. reed called *mbuk*.



*mbo*,<sup>19</sup> *inyakwi* *ervot* *eiq* *inggik* *ukwik* *podeiq*  
 mpo| in-akwi etvot eiq in-k-ik ut-k-ik po-d-eiq  
 let 3p-nose stick up upwards-REAL-PROG sideways-REAL-PROG slice-steep-up

*wu*, *eridi*<sup>20</sup> *no* *petbagu*, *inyaye* *kin* *mbon*  
 w-u| etidi no pet-ba-k-u| in-aje kin mpon  
 come-3p.SBJ loin cloth G.REF put on-set-REAL-3p.SBJ 3s-PL-penis visible cut

*baneq mbo* *o* *bagu*, *akomi* *no* *inyambuk* *nggoro* *mbo*  
 baneq mpo o ba-k-u|| akomi no ina-mbuk nkot-o mpo  
 inst let place set-REAL-3p.SBJ women G.REF 3p-skirt take off-3s.SBJ let

*eridi* *pirek* *parek* *uku* *ndu*, *ekenok*,  
 etidi pitek patek it-k-u n-t-u| it-k-enok|  
 loin cloth wrap around do-REAL-3p.SBJ ADV-steep-down do-REAL-1p.SBJ-next

*ndu* *nouguarak* *ta*, ...  
 n-d-u n-ou-k-at-ak ta||

ADV-steep-down go-REM-REAL-3pA-then who

'They arrived, they took off their gourds (and) threw (them) away, pierced their noses with sticks upwards sideways, put on their loin-cloths, let their penises visibly hang. As for the women, they took off their skirts (and) wrapped their loin-cloths (Implying: put on their loin-cloths).

(2.23) *it* *no* *ta*, *nggweri* *baneqando* *ta* *puk-o*, *ando* *ta* *dagaid*  
 it no ta| nkwti baneq anto ta puk=o| anto ta dakaid  
 they G.REF SPEC PN INST other SP EC wait=PAUS others SPEC PN

*adoma*, *op* *pukuca*  
 a-d-o-ma| op put-k-u-tja  
 ATTR-steep-down-at finished wait-REAL-3p.SBJ-PURP

*wikouguarak-o*.

wi-k-ou-k-at-ak=o\\

occupy-REAL-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS

'As for them (i.e. the Duveles), some stayed in the Nggweri (area), others (were) at Dagai down there, already there in order to wait (for them).'

(2.24) *mono* *nome*, *nit*, *duvede* *inyom* *wano* *inyom* *muni* *ta*, *at*  
 mono nome|| nit| duvede ø-inom wano ø-inom muni ta| at  
 like that therefore we PN 3s-with PN 3s-with that SPEC he

*owe* *abut*, *awot* *abut* *nome*,  
 ø-owe ø-abut| ø-awot ø-abut nome|  
 3s-older sibling OSS 3s-child OM 3s-younger sibling OSS 3s-child OM therefore

*muk*, *o* *muk* *moname* *ne*, *dambunyik* *mono* *dogwe-o*.

<sup>19</sup> In the sense of 'throwing away'. Also pronounced with final glottal: [ʰbɔʔ].

<sup>20</sup> Indonesian: '[cawat]', Papuan Malay: '[cidako]' or '[sidako]'.

muk| o muk mona-me ne| dampunik mono do-k-we=o\\  
 long ago place long ago there-LOC S.REF along side like that stay-REAL-HAB=PAUS  
 'That is why, we, Duveles and Wanos, their offspring, have been living together there for a long time.'

(2.25) *duvede wano muni, nit wano ambui ne te-o.*  
 duvede wano muni| nit wano ampui ne t-e=o\\  
 PN PN that we PN one S.REF intend-3s.SBJ=PAUS  
 'As for the Duveles and the Wanos, we were one.'

(2.26) *ninyumbo at owe abut*  
 nin-umbo at ø-owe ø-abut  
 1p-ancestor he 3s-older sibling OSS 3s-child OM

*awot abut-o.*  
 ø-awot ø-abut=o\\  
 3s-younger sibling OSS 3s-child OM=PAUS  
 '(We are) the children of our ancestor's older brother and younger brother (i.e. Our ancestors' offspring were brothers.)'

(2.27) *mono nome, it duvede ne nit ninyokwa bok.*  
 mono nome| it duvede ne nit nin-ot-k-wa bok//  
 like that therefore they PN S.REF we 1s.OBJ-hit-REAL-HAB good  
 'Because of that, as for the Duveles, is it good they kill us? (i.e. sarcastic expression of "They don't kill us.")'

(2.28) *nit it inyokwa bok.*  
 nit it in-ot-k-wa bok//  
 we they 3s.OBJ-hit-REAL-HAB good  
 'Is it good we kill them? (i.e. We don't kill them).'

(2.29) *mono kwe, ambui dingge, it duvede ne, Exx at ombo*  
 mone kwe| ampui dinke, it duvede ne| Exx at ø-ompo  
 like that but one day they PN S.REF PN he 3s-grandfather

*anggwom, widaduk yugum,<sup>21</sup> o yak yedok dogwe nome,*  
 a-wom| widaduk jukum| o jak jedok do-kwe nome\  
 3s-pig PN mountain place then large stay-REAL-HAB therefore,

'That was so, but one day, they (i.e.,) the Duveles ... [Narrator changes the Theme] ... Enos' grandfather had a pig Widaduk Yugum, (was called this) because of its large size ...'

(2.30) *dogwe nome ta, it duvede no eve,*  
 do-k-we nome ta| it duvede no ø-eve|  
 stay-REAL-HAB therefore SPEC they PN G.REF 3s-body

<sup>21</sup> Because of the size of the pig, it was metaphorically called *Widaduk Yugum*, after the name of the mountain. The subordinate clause ... *o yak yedok dogwe nome*, ... justifies this.

at ombo                      agede    kunik<sup>22</sup>    nome,    indi    ta    Pougwari.  
 at ø-ompo                  a-kede    kunik    nome|    ø-inti    ta    poukwati||  
 he 3s-grandfather 3s-rattan bond    therefore 3s-name who PN  
 'As this was the case, as for the Duveles, since his grandfather (i.e., Exx' grandfather) had a  
 close friendship with a man called Pougwari.'

(2.31) ap    muni   ne    ta,    negirik                                      ta,    nombane  
          ap    muni   ne    ta|    n-e-k-it-ik                                      ta|    n-ombane  
          man   that   S.REF SPEC go-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG SPEC 1s-friend  
 anggrom    no    ta,    embekak                                      dik,    iba<sup>23</sup>    o-k-o  
 a-wom       no    ta|    empet-k-ak                                      dik|    iba    it-k-o  
 3s-pig        G.REF SPEC think-REAL-then    no    foraging do-REAL-SA

dokniq                      widaduk    nome,    ndu                                      kegirak,  
 do-k-niq                  widaduk    nome|    n-t-u                                      ke-k-it-ak||  
 stay-REAL-as such PN                      therefore ADV-steep-down    see-REAL-3s.SBJ-then

kumamu    iba    oko                      dokni'                      woneme, ...  
 kumamu    iba    it-k-o                      do-k-ni'                      won-e-me\  
 PN                      foraging do-REAL-SA    stay-REAL-as such exist-3s.SBJ-LOC  
 'As for that man (i.e. Pougwari), as he was going, since he did not think that his friend's pig  
 Widaduk foraged there, it must have gone down to Kumamu and was foraging there.'

(2.32) kumamu    iba    oko                      dokniq                      woneme                      ta,    no  
          kumamu    iba    it-k-o                      do-k-niq                      won-e-me                      ta|    no  
          PN                      foraging do-REAL-3s.SBJ stay-REAL-as such exist-3s.SBJ-LOC SPEC G.REF

ne    watnuk,                      awot                                      imbirak                      watnuk  
 ne    wat-nuk|                      ø-awot                                      ø-impit-ak                      wat-nuk  
 S.REF 3s.OBJ:hit-next 3s-younger sibling OSS    3s-together-then    3s.OBJ:hit-next

wiku                                      nouguarik                                      ta,    ndoukmu  
 wit-k-u                                      n-ou-k-at-ik                                      ta|    n-t-ou'-k-mu  
 pull out-REAL-3p.SBJ go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG SPEC ADV-steep-down-REAL-LOC

nggweri    andukmu                      adouma<sup>24</sup>                      nunggu                                      dokniq,  
 nkwati    ø-antuk-mu                      a-dou-ma                      nun-k-u                                      do-k-niq|  
 PN                      3s-back-LOC ATTR-steep-at consume-REAL-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such

wunu                      nouguarak-o.  
 wun-u                      n-ou-k-at-ak=o\\  
 exist-3p.SBJ go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS

<sup>22</sup> The word *kunik* refers to 'close friend', Indonesian: [*karib*], as in [*sahabat karib*] 'close friend'. Possibly from *kun-* 'bind' + *-ik* 'progressive'. The term refers to 'a friendship bond'. The expression *agede kunik* then means 'a strong friendship bond', cf. [*tali persahabatan/persaudaraan*] in Indonesian.

<sup>23</sup> Also pronounced with postglottalisation.

<sup>24</sup> It was discussed in §4.2.5.1 that the locative suffix is *-me* with its allomorph *-mu*. Very rarely, we find *-ma* that is better viewed as a variation of *-me*.

'Thinking it was foraging in Kumamu, he Pougwari, together with his younger brother, having killed it, they pulled (it) steeply down, (behind) Nggweri<sup>25</sup> (where) they were staying and eating.'

(2.33) *nggweri andukmu nunggu dokni wunumu*  
 nkwetì ø-antuk-mu nun-k-u do-k-ni' wun-u-mu  
 PN 3s-back-LOC go-REAL-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such exist-3p.SBJ-LOC

*ta, ap kode, Exx ombo no, wegirak.*  
 ta| ap kode| Exx ø-ompo no| we-k-it-ak//  
 SPEC man old PN 3s-grandfather G.REF come-REAL-3s.SBJ-then  
 'As they were eating (it) behind Nggweri (i.e. at the branch of the Nggweri river), the old man, Enos' grandfather came.'

(2.34) *wegirik ndome yi no, ekegirak*  
 we-k-it-ik nto-me ji no| it-k-e-k-it-ak  
 come-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG cave-LOC this G.REF do-REAL-3s.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then

*anggwom no ta, unyuk winggo nggugo<sup>26</sup>*  
 a-wom no ta| u-nuk win-k-o unku-k-o  
 3s-pig G.REF SPEC lie down-next come out-REAL-3s.SBJ go through-REAL-3s.SBJ

*no ta, oko dogwe no dik.*  
 no ta| it-k-o do-k-we no dik\  
 G.REF SPEC do-REAL-3s.SBJ stay-REAL-HAB G.REF no  
 'He came and looked into this cave (thinking) his pig would sleep, go out, come back and stay there but no! (i.e. it was not there).'

(2.35) *dik, koro ekegirak kwe, op dik*  
 dik| kot-o it-k-e-k-it-ak kwe| op dik  
 no 3s.OBJ:see-3s.SBJ do-REAL-SA-REAL-3sA-then but finished no

*dik-o.*  
 dik=o\\  
 no=PAUS  
 'No (i.e. Look!), he looked for it but (found) absolutely nothing.'

(2.36) *ndi ta, "nggane wakua-a, wom ta dik,*  
 nti ta| nkane wat-k-u=a| wom ta dik|  
 this SPEC where 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ=POL pig SPEC no

*wonegwa bok,<sup>27</sup> ambui yedok dogwe ndi ta?"*  
 won-e-k-wa bok| ampui jedok do-k-we nti ta.\\  
 exist-3s.SBJ-REAL-HAB good one big stay-REAL-HAB this who  
 'To this, he pondered, "Where did they kill (it)? The pig was not there, it should be here as usual, the big one who stayed here?"'

<sup>25</sup> The narrator refers to a brook, of the *Nggweri* river.

<sup>26</sup> Translatable as '(coming/going) in and out'.

<sup>27</sup> See footnote for *bok* on line 27.

(2.37) *embeko narik koro, acok mbonyiq<sup>28</sup>*  
 embet-k-o n-at-ik kot-o| ø-atjok mpon-niq  
 think-REAL-3s.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-PROG 3s.OBJ:see-3s.SBJ 3s-foot cut-as such

*ndugirak.*

n-t-u-k-it-ak\\

ADV-steep-down-REAL-3sA-then

'(Thus) he thought and was going and he saw, footprints going down.' or '(Thus) he was thinking while searching, (and) saw footprints going down.'

(2.38) *ndugi mbe-g-i adeikngga,*  
 n-t-u-k-i mpe-k-i a-d-ei'-k-nka|  
 ADV-steep-down-3s.SBJ this way-REAL-3s.SBJ ATTR-steep-up-near

*ndoukmu ndok kadinik, yi wunikirak.<sup>29</sup>*

n-t-ou'-k-mu ntok kadin-ik| ji wun-it-k-it-ak//

ADV-steep-down-REAL-LOC arrow break-PROG this spread-do-REAL-3s.SBJ-then

'He went down [this way really (with motion of the speaker)], down here below, the broken arrows were everywhere.'

(2.39) *adombi inyacok yi yenggu narak.*  
 adompi in-atjok ji jen-k-u n-at-ak//  
 PN 3p-foot this wander-REAL-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-then  
 'As for the Adombies' footprints, they were wandering around (i.e. all over the place).'

(2.40) *inditnuk inditnuk eke ki omaq, kiq-o,*  
 intit-nuk intit-nuk it-k-e ki ou-maq| kiq=o|  
 follow-next follow-next do-REAL-3s.SBJ very down-at very=PAUS

*ougu eiq yi waku narak.*  
 ou-k-u eiq ji wat-k-u n-at-ak//  
 down-REAL-3p.SBJ up this 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-then  
 'He kept following (the footprints) closely, really, they killed it (as it went) up and down there.'

(2.41) *"wa wa kat ta ni na ne ekendak*  
 wa wa kat ta ni na ne it-k-ent-ak  
 INTERJ INTERJ you.sg SPEC as such as such S.REF do-REAL-2s.SBJ-then

*dik nome, adomaq wonendik, kat no*  
 dik nome| a-d-ou-maq won-ent-ik| kat no  
 no therefore ATTR-steep-down-at exist-2s.SBJ-PROG you.sg G.REF

*kawot kimbirak wonendik nome, kit aret*  
 k-awot k-impit-ak won-ent-ik nome| kit at-et  
 2s-younger sibling OSS 2s-together-then exist-2s.SBJ-PROG therefore you.pl he-ACT

<sup>28</sup> From *mbon-* 'cut' + *ni ~ ni'* 'as such'.

<sup>29</sup> The inflection *mbe-ki* < *mbet-* '?' + *ki* 'very' where the meaning for *mbet-* is not certain, but informants claim 'this way', which is to me questionable, pending further research.

*nenggepak!"*

nen-k-ep-ak\\

consume-REAL-2p.SBJ-then

"Great! You are the ones who did it, no one(else) there, you stayed below there, you and your brother were here. You just ate (it) together." [Narrator describes the thinking of Exx' grandfather]

(2.42) *pinugo*                      *tendik*                      *embetnuk*    *ta,*    *at no*                      *ta*<sup>30</sup>  
pinu-k-o                      t-ent-ik                      empet-nuk    ta|    at no                      ta  
arrive-REAL-s.SBJ    intend-2s.SBJ-PROG    think-next    SPEC    he G.REF                      SPEC

*awot*                                      *imbirak,*                      *awot*                                      *imbirak*<sup>31</sup>  
ø-awot                                      ø-impit-ak|                      ø-awot                                      ø-impit-ak  
3s-younger sibling OSS    3s-together-then    3s-younger sibling OSS    3s-together-then

*pinggarak-o.*

pin-k-at-ak=o\\

arrive-REAL-3pA-then=PAUS

'You arrived (and) thought, he was the one who, together with his younger brother, arrived ....'

(2.43) *"inyorugu-o,*                                      *ma-o,*                                      *ninyanggwom*    *yedok*                      *widaduk*  
inot-u-k-u=o|                                      ma=o||                                      nina-wom                      jedok                      widaduk  
3s.OBJ:hit\_do-REAL-PL.SBJ=PAUS    sacred=PAUS    1p-pig                      large                      PN

*yugum*    *nenggarak*                                      *nome,*    *it*                      *ta*                      *aja*                      *ta*                      *dik-o!"*  
jukum    nen-k-at-ak                                      nome|    it                      ta                      adja                      ta                      dik=o\\  
PN                      consume-REAL-3p.SBJ-then    therefore they    SPEC    awesome SPEC    no=PAUS

*yu*                      *narik*                                      *ta.*  
j-u                      n-at-ik                                      ta\\  
say-3p.SBJ    go-3sp.SBJ-PROG    SPEC

"Should we not kill them? Because they have eaten our big pig Widaduk Yugum, they are nothing," they were saying.'

(2.44) *wunumu*                      *ta,*    *erok*                      *inyingge*    *ekaca*                                      *wak,*  
wunu-u-mu                      ta|    etok                      in-inke    it-k-a-tja                                      w-ak|  
exist-3p.SBJ-LOC    SPEC    slowly    3p-eye    do-REAL-3s.SBJ-PURP    come-then

*inyingge*                      *ekaca*                      *wak,*                      *tu*                      *duk-o,*  
ø-in-inke                      it-k-a-tja                      w-ak|                      tu                      d-u-k-o|  
do-REAL-3s.SBJ-PURP    come-then    come-then    way    steep-down-REAL-3s.SBJ

*tu-o,*                                      *it*                      *adombi*    *ta*                      *eee-o.*  
t-u=o||                                      it                      adompi    ta                      eee=o\\  
intend-3p.SBJ=PAUS    they    PN                      SPEC    STUT=PAUS

<sup>30</sup> The phrase *at no ta* refers to Enos' grandfather.

<sup>31</sup> There is no semantic significance in the repetition of *awot imbirak*.

'As they were, slowly they came in order to see, that way down, (and/that) there were the Adombi.'

(2.45) *mono tu dokniq wunumu ta 'mbawi-o,*<sup>32</sup>  
 mono tu do-k-niq wun-u-mu ta mpawi=o|  
 like that way stay-REAL-as such exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC INTERJ=PAUS

*widaduk ta, kiduk dougu eidom ta!"*  
 widaduk ta| kiduk d-ou-k-u ei-dom ta||  
 PN SPEC smoke steep-down-REAL-3p.SBJ up-far SPEC  
 'As it was, they were staying (then) .... "Great! There was Widaduk's smoke far over there ..."  
 [The narrator is describing the thoughts of Enos' grandfather and his younger brother']

(2.46) *ap mbereno wougua bekouguarak*  
 ap mpete no w-ou-k-ua be-k-ou-k-at-ak  
 man two G.REF come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ visit-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then

*enok, o mboinggaca numu, adombi ambui inyamu*  
 enok| o mpoin-k-a-tja n-u-mu| adompi ampui nin-amu  
 next place look around-REAL-3s.SBJ-PURP go-3p.SBJ-LOC PN one 1p-home

*pinggumu, ambui inyorugu-o.*  
 pin-k-u-mu| ampui inot-u-k-u=o\\  
 arrive-REAL-3p.SBJ-LOC one 3p.OBJ:hit-do-3p.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ=PAUS  
 'The two men came and looked around our land, one Adombi arrived at our land, (and) we killed him.'

(2.47) *"kiq-o avi,<sup>33</sup> oungeaq kiduk, ma-o, it no*  
 kiq=o avi| ou-nkaq kiduk| ma=o| it no  
 very=PAUS INTERJ down-near smoke sacred=PAUS they G.REF

*yok warak-o, inyorugu-o!"*  
 jak w-at-ak-o|| inot-u-k-u=o\\  
 now come-3p.SBJ 3p.OBJ:hit-do-REAL-3p.SBJ=PAUS say-3p.SBJ

*narik ta, at owe no, wim nike,*  
 n-at-ik ta|| at ø-owe no| wim nit-k-e|  
 go-3p.SBJ-PROG SPEC he 3s-older sibling OSS G.REF arrow pull-REAL-3s.SBJ

*awot no, wim nike wu narik,*  
 ø-awot no| wim nit-k-e w-u n-at-ik||  
 3s-younger sibling OSS G.REF arrow pull-REAL-3s.SBJ come-3p.SBJ go-3p.SBJ-PROG

*inyingge ekenok.*  
 in-inke it-k-e-enok\\  
 3p-eye do-REAL-1p.SBJ-next

<sup>32</sup> A dialectal variant for *wa-vi=o* 'greeting-PL=PAUS'.

<sup>33</sup> The expression is not certain.

"Hey (Lit. truly), the smoke was down there. Hold on! (*lit. don't!*), they come now, let's kill them," as they were saying, the older brother, (he) pulled the arrow, the younger brother (he) pulled the arrow while they were coming, keeping their eyes (on them) then ...'

(2.48) *inyengge uku*                      *narik,*              *inyingge e-k*              *ta*  
           in-inke    it-k-u                      nat-ik|              in-inke    it-k              ta  
           3p-eye    do-REAL-3p.SBJ    go-3sp.SBJ    3p-eye    do-REAL    SPEC

*embek*              *ta,*              *"eee*              *nit*              *ninyombane op*              *kombi*              *makicu*<sup>34</sup>  
           ø-empék              ta|              eee              nit              nin-ombane op              kombi              mat-k-itj-u  
           3s-think              SPEC    STUT              we              1p-friend              finished              sago              make-REAL-?-?

*dogwe,"*              *yi*              *no*              *ar-et, ...*  
           do-k-we|              ji              no              at-et//  
           stay-REAL-HAB this              G.REF              he-ACT

'As they kept watching them ... "Eee, (these are) only our friends who fed us with sago."  
 That's it.'

(2.49) *nit*              *ninyombovi*              *nome,*              *nit ninyinyom*              *ninyagede*              *kunik nome,*  
           nit              nin-ompo-vi              nome|              nit nin-inom              nina-kede              kunik nome|  
           we              1p-ancestor-PL              therefore we 1p-with              1p-rattan              bond              therefore

*an op*              *nambek*              *nagede*              *awot*                                      *muni ta,*              *an nambek*  
           an op              n-ampek              na-kede              ø-awot                                      muni ta              an n-ampek  
           I finished              1s-without              1s-ratan              3s-younger sibling OSS              that              SPEC              I              1s-without

*ne*              *warigi-o.*  
           ne              wat-iki=o\\

S.REF              3su.hit-1s.SBJ.ADHOR=paus

'Since we (share) ancestors, since we have a strong bond, that I have a strong bond with my younger brother, let me kill him.'<sup>35</sup>

(2.50) *at owe*                                      *muni ta,*              *"kat*              *kambek*              *kagede, at*  
           at ø-owe                                      muni ta|              kat              k-ampek              ka-kede| at  
           he 3s-older sibling OSS              that              SPEC              you.sg              2s-without              2s-rattan he

*owe*                                      *ne,*              *waru-o!"*                                      *yu*                                      *narik*  
           ø-owe                                      ne|              wat-u=o||                                      j-u                                      n-ar-ik  
           3s-older sibling OSS              S.REF              3s.OBJ:hit-2s.SBJ.IMP=PAUS              say-3p.SBJ              go-3sp.SBJ-PROG

*ta,*              *wim no*              *imbirak*              *endak-ndak nikak*                                      *warak*                                      *ta, ...*  
           ta||              wim no              ø-impitak              entak~ntak              ni-k-ak                                      w-at-ak                                      ta||  
           SPEC              arrow G.REF              3s-together              same~RED              pull-REAL-then              3s.OBJ:hit-3p.SBJ-then SPEC  
           '(And) that older brother said, "(Since) you are a close relative, his older brother you kill him!" As they were saying this, at the same time, they pulled the arrows together and shot them.'

<sup>34</sup> *makicu* 'feed' possibly from *mat-* 'make' + *kic-* '2p:OBJ:see' + *-u* 'PL'.

<sup>35</sup> Since I am the only one who has the right to kill.



An intervention took place here. The narrator was going to tell about a separate (but related) event in (2.51) - (2.55). A message to the older brother that 'something terrible is happening', as his meat and sago were bitter.<sup>36</sup> In line (2.56), the narrator refers to EW (of his generation), one of the offspring of the people involved in the story. Then in lines (2.57) - (2.70) he continued with the event mentioned in lines (2.51) - (2.55). The merging of the two events occurs in line (2.60).

(2.51) *it waniq narak, kwam dunggu wanggarak,*  
*it waniq n-at-ak| kwam dun-k-u wan-k-at-ak|*  
*they take go-3sp.SBJ-then turtle catch-REAL-3p.SBJ take-REAL-3p.SBJ-then*

*taku pedaku tumu ta, at owe*  
*tat-k-u pedat-k-u tu-mu ta| at ø-owe*  
*roast-REAL-3p.SBJ cut open-REAL-3p.SBJ way-LOC SPEC he 3s-older sibling OSS*

*no ne ta, "an ta kwan nonggo-me ta ede*  
*no n-e ta| an ta kwam non-k-o-me ta ede*  
*G.REF go-3s.SBJ SPEC I SPEC turtle consume-REAL-3s.SBJ-LOC SPEC bitter*

*etniq," yegetik-o, "nggayo ne etniq?"*  
*et-niq| j-e-k-et-ik=o| nkajo n-e et-niq*  
*taste-as such say-3s.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS why go-3s.SBJ taste-as such*

*ye-o.*

*j-e=o\\*

*say-3s.SBJ=PAUS*

'They a turtle, roasted and cut (it) open. As for the older brother, he was saying, "I ate (the) turtle (but it) tastes bitter, why?" he said.'

(2.52) *irukmu, awot ne iruk dokniq*  
*it-uk-mu| ø-awot ne it-uk do-k-niq*  
*do-3sp.SBJ.INCEP-LOC 3s-younger sibling OSS SPEC do-next stay-REAL-as such*

*ta, "an ta bok<sup>37</sup> nonggotik ndi ta," eee-o, yak*  
*ta| an ta bok non-k-ot-ik nti ta| eee=o| jak*  
*SPEC I who good consume-REAL-1s.SBJ-PROG this who STUT=PAUS then*

<sup>36</sup> Culturally, this is a bad sign, cf. [*firasat buruk*] in Indonesian, known as 'superstition'.

<sup>37</sup> See endnote for *bok* on line (2.27).

*nonggo.*

non-k-o\\

consume-REAL-3s.SBJ

'As he said so, the younger brother (said), "It tastes good to me," then he ate.'

(2.53) *kombi ambui dunggu takouguarak no*  
kompi ampui dun-k-u tat-k-ou-k-at-ak no  
sago one catch-REAL-3p.SBJ roast-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then G.REF

*ta, "an ta ede ki, etniq," eee-o "mek-o,*  
*ta| an ta ede ki| et-niq| eee=o mek=o|*  
who I who bitter very taste-as such STUT=PAUS impossible=PAUS

*norak mek-o!" yu.*  
not-ak mek=o| j-u\\  
consume-then impossible=PAUS say-3p.SBJ

There was only one sago, they roasted (and) "It tastes very bitter to me,"<sup>38</sup> eee "Impossible to eat!" they said.'

(2.54) *"mek-o, norak mek-o!" yu, tu*  
*mek=o| not-ak mek=o j-u\\ tu*  
impossible=PAUS consume-then impossible=PAUS say-3p.SBJ way

*dokniq wunumu, eee tu dum no kwe, at*  
*do-k-niq wun-u-mu| eee tu d-um no kwe| at*  
stay-REAL-as such exist-3p.SBJ-LOC STUT way steep-down G.REF but he

*icenok ta, it no adombi wone inyenuk nome, it no,*  
*itj-enok ta|| it no adompi wone in-enuk nome| it no|*  
3pU.see-next SPEC they G.REF PN story 3p-knowledge therefore they who

*koneninuk nome,*  
koleni-nuk nome\\  
listen-then therefore

"Impossible, impossible to eat!" they said. As so they were, eee way down there but, having seen them, since they know the Adombies' language, since they heard (i.e. understand) their language, ...'

(2.55) *it inyone yu no, "kat ta at owe*  
*it in-one j-u no| kat ta at ø-owe*  
they 3p-voice say-3p.SBJ G.REF you.sg SPEC he 3s-older sibling o.ss

*muni warumun-o!" yogarak.*  
*muni wat-u-mun=o| jot-k-at-ak\\*  
that 3s.OBJ:hit-3p.SBJ-ADHOR=PAUS say-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
'Since they understand their language, (what) they said, "You must kill the older brother!" they told him.'

<sup>38</sup> *Lit.* "As for me, it was very bitter, its taste."

(2.56) *Exx Wxx at idik, at ova awot no,*  
*Exx Wxx at i-dik| at ø-ova ø-awot no|*  
 PN PN he 3s-no he 3s-father 3s-young sibling OSS G.REF

*at ombane aret wim baneq wakouguarak.*  
*at ø-ompane at-et wim baneq wat-k-o\_u-ku-at-ak//*  
 he 3s-friend he-ACT arrow INST 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ\_do-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
 '(As for) Enos Weya, he was alone. As for his father's younger brother, his friend killed him with the arrow.'<sup>39</sup>

(2.57) *wim ta imbirak nik ta, "wa-wa teik!" yogarak,*  
*wim ta ø-impitak n-ik ta| wa-wa teik j-o-k-at-ak|*  
 arrow SPEC 3s-together go-PROG SPEC INTERJ up say-3s.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then

*at owe no reik yogarak ta, koma no*  
*at ø-owe no teik j-o-k-at-ak ta| koma no*  
 he 3s-older sibling OSS G.REF up say-3s.OBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then SPEC armpit G.REF

*aret wakirak-o.*  
*at-et wat-k-it-ak=o\*  
 he-ACT 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3sA-then=PAUS  
 'They pulled the arrow together, (pointing) up (and) cried out "Wa-wa!". The older brother pointed up (and let it go), just under (his) arm he hit him.'

(2.58) *at owe no idik ne, at owe ombane.*  
*at ø-owe no i-dik ne| at ø-owe ø-ompane|*  
 he 3s-older sibling OSS G.REF 3s-no S.REF he 3s-older sibling OSS 3s-friend  
 'As for the older brother, his own friend (shot him).'

(2.59) *awot ne teik yokirak ta, wim ta*  
*ø-awot ne teik jot-k-it-ak ta| wim ta*  
 3s-younger sibling OSS S.REF up say-REAL-3s.SBJ-then SPEC arrow SPEC

*enap indid no ne, pemenok ne mboinyinuk, pemenok*  
*ø-enap indid no ne| pe-me-nok ne mpoini-nuk| pe-me-nok*  
 3s-mouth go through G.REF go-3s.SBJ part-at-next S.REF cut-next part-at-next

*inyom mboinyinuk itnuk mondei nu*  
*ø-inom mpoini-nuk it-nuk mo-n-d-ei<sup>40</sup> n-u||*  
 3s-with cut-next do-next that-ADV-steep-up go-3p.SBJ  
 'As for the younger brother, he shot, and the arrow went through his mouth, from one side cutting through the other side.'

(2.60) *kwam nunggu dokniq woneme, enggawok<sup>41</sup>*  
*kwam nun-k-u do-k-niq won-e-me| ø-enka\_ø-owok*  
 turtle consume-REAL-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such exist-3s.SBJ-LOC 3s-rib-3s-bone

<sup>39</sup> 'his friend' refers to 'the Adombi, the older brother'.

<sup>40</sup> The prefix *mon-* presumably from the deictic *muni* 'that'.

<sup>41</sup> See description on compound nouns in §3.2.11.

*ndok kadinik kimbinik aret wegirak-o.*  
 ntok kadin-ik kimbin-ik at-et we-k-it-ak=o\  
 arrow break-PROG break-PROG he-ACT come-REAL-3sA-then=PAUS  
 'While they were eating the turtle, .... he came with his ribs full of broken (pieces) of arrow.'

(2.61) *adombi ombane no ta, ne ki ne ki ne ki*  
 adompi ø-ompane no ta| n-e ki n-e ki n-e ki  
 PN 3s-friend G.REF SPEC go-3s.SBJ very go-3s.SBJ very go-SA very

*ne ki, kimbu<sup>42</sup> ambui, yeget ta, ni-mu mona no, e*  
 n-e ki| kimpu ampui| jeket ta| ni-mu mona no| e  
 go-3s.SBJ very PN one fence SPEC as such-LOC there G.REF tree

*moicak<sup>43</sup> ne dokniq kadi no mbugu*  
 moitjak n-e do-k-niq kadi no mpu-k-u  
 fell go-3s.SBJ stay-REAL-as such break G.REF scatter-REAL-3p.SBJ

*bagegirak.*  
 ba-k-e-k-it-ak||  
 set-REAL-3s.SBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then  
 'That Adombi's friend went on and on (until he reached), one kimbu tree, near the fence (over) there, he ran with the broken arrows (in him), leaned on the tree (kimbu).'

(2.62) *bagegirak yi no baneq, we, kimbu*  
 ba-k-e-k-it-ak ji no baneq| w-e|| kimpu  
 set-REAL-3s.SBJ-see-3s.SBJ-then this G.REF INST come-3s.SBJ PN

*engga baneq adei' panwatnaca*  
 ø-enka baneq a-d-ei' pan\_wat-n-a-tja  
 3s-leaf INST ATT-steep-up hang\_3s.OBJ:hit\_go-3s.SBJ-PURP

*negirak-o.*  
 ne-k-it-ak=o\<sup>44</sup>  
 go-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'Leaning there, ... he lay down hanging on the branches of the Kimbu leaf (i.e. branches).'

(2.63) *awot no ta, kode op winggo*  
 ø-awot no ta| kode op win-k-o  
 3s-younger sibling OSS G.REF SPEC run finished come out-REAL-3s.SBJ

*ki-o.*  
 ki=o\  
 very=PAUS  
 'As for the younger brother, he had already run out.'

<sup>42</sup> The name of a tree/plant.

<sup>43</sup> Applied only to a falling down tree because of the wind or rotten root.

<sup>44</sup> Possible analysis of this form is *n-e-k-it-ak* 'go-s.SBJ:do-REAL-3s.SBJ-then' if the form is considered a derived form of *n-e* 'go-3s.SBJ' + *it-k-it-ak* 'do-REAL-3sA-then'.

(2.64) *enap*                      *yakenak*                                      *worak,*                      *dian*                      *winggo*  
            $\emptyset$ -enap                      jat-k-e-n-ak                                      wot-ak|                      dian                      win-k-o  
           3s-mouth                      plant-REAL-3s.SBJ-go-then                      come-then                      blood                      come out-REAL-3s.SBJ

*kenok*                      *ta*                      *ambui*                      *yi*                      *no*                      *warak*                                      *bokme.*<sup>45</sup>  
 k-e-nok                      ta                      ampui                      ji                      no                      w-at-ak                                      bok-me||  
 see-3s.SBJ-next SPEC one                      this                      G.REF 3s.OBJ:hit-3sp.SBJ-then                      good-LOC  
 'His mouth was cut off (and) the blood came out, then this one, they shot well (i.e. hit the target.)'

(2.65) *warak*                                      *yi*                      *no,*                      "*ngga?*"                      *embetnuk,*                      *amunditnuk*  
           w-at-ak                                      ji                      no|                      nka                      empet-nuk|                      amundit-nuk  
           3s.OBJ:hit-3sp.SBJ-then                      this                      G.REF where                      think-next                      follow-next

*ekena*                                      *na*                      *embet*                      *ta,*                      *kanggirak*                                      *woneme.*  
 it-k-e-na                                      na                      empet                      ta||                      kan-k-it-ak                                      won-e-me||  
 do-REAL-SA-as such                      as such                      think                      SPEC die-REAL-3s.SBJ-then                      exist-3s.SBJ-LOC  
 'They shot this one, "Where (did he go)?" having thought (i.e. "Let us follow him!"), they thought but (there) he was dying.'

(2.66) "*nano anop*                      *baneq nokupik-o?*"<sup>46</sup>                                      *warak,*  
           nano  $\emptyset$ -anop                      baneq not-k-up-ik=o||                                      w-at-ak|  
           what 3s-head INST 1s.OBJ:hit-REAL-2p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS                      3s.OBJ:hit-3p.SBJ-then

*yi*                      *no,*                      *kimbu*                      *engga*                      *baneq negirak*                                      *dokniq*                                      *ta.*  
 ji                      no|                      kimpu                       $\emptyset$ -enka                      baneq ne-k-it-ak                                      do-k-niq                                      ta||  
 this                      G.REF PN                      3s-leaf                      INST go-REAL-3s.SBJ-then                      stay-REAL-as such                      SPEC  
 "'For what reason are you.pl killing me?" they shot this one (and) he died on the Kimbu leaf (i.e. branches).'

(2.67) "*dik-o,*                      *widaduk yugum*                      *anop*                      *baneq*                      *koke-o!*"  
           dik=o|                      widaduk jukum                       $\emptyset$ -anop                      baneq                      kot-k-e=o|  
           no=PAUS PN                      PN                      3s-head INST                      2s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3s.SBJ=PAUS

"*eei-o!*"                      *itnuk*                      *adombi*                      *no*                      *kanggegirak-o.*  
 eei=o                      it-nuk                      adompi                      no                      kan-k-e-k-it-ak=o\  
 STUT=PAUS do-next PN                      G.REF die-REAL\_do-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 "'No (i.e. Look!), because of Widaduk Yugum, I killed you!" having sighed, the Adombi died.'

In line (2.68), the narrator argues that they killed only one Adombi, as described above. He also might have expressed his regret that because of just one mistake (one

<sup>45</sup> (i) *yakenak* < *yat-* 'plant' + /k/ 'REAL' + *n-* 'go' + *-ak* 'then' that refers to 'cut off and (then) go ...'. (ii) See footnote for *bok* on line 27.

<sup>46</sup> The phrase *nano anop bane* in this instance expresses something like 'For God's sake!' or 'For what reason!' which implies a plea of 'Please swear, why ...!' Traditionally, to swear/proof that one is not guilty, he/she would lift-up his/her dog and say, *nggewo anop bane* .... 'By the head of the dog (i.e. I swear that) ...'.

killing) the relationship was broken. Further, in lines (2.69)-(2.70), he says that the Adombies also killed one (more) of the Wanos, the pregnant woman. In line (2.71), the narrator points out that 'in fact we were being killed all the time by the Adombies.' Then he stresses (in line (2.70)) that the pregnant woman was killed in Nggweri.

(2.68) *nit ninyumbavi ambui kwe, nit ne adombi*  
*nit nin-umba-vi ampui kwe| nit ne adompi*  
*we 1p-ancestor-PL one but we S.REF PN*

*inyokirak ta, ambui muni-o.*  
*inot-k-it-ak ta| ampui muni=o\*  
 3p.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ-then SPEC one that=PAUS  
 'We are of one ancestor but, we killed the Adombies. That was one.'

(2.69) *it ne ta, ambuinit worak waku narik.*  
*it ne ta| ampuinit wot-ak wat-k-u n-at-ik||*  
*they S.REF SPEC one we come-then 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-PROG*  
 'As for them, it was one of us (i.e. one of ours) that they killed.'

(2.70) *nit worak, kwa avuda muni ambui, waku*  
*nit wot-ak| kwa ø-avuda muni ampui| wat-k-u*  
*we come-then woman 3s-pregnancy that one 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ*

*narik, avuda worak muni aret,*  
*n-at-ik| ø-avuda wot-ak muni at-et|*  
*go-3sp.SBJ-PROG 3s-pregnancy come-then that he-ACT*

*wodenggouguarak*<sup>47</sup> *nenggarak, muni at.*  
*woden-k-ou-ku-at-ak nen-k-at-ak| muni at||*  
*roast-REAL-3s.SBJ\_do-REAL-3p.SBJ-then consume-REAL-3p.SBJ-then that he*  
 'We came, they killed one pregnant woman. That one pregnant woman, they roasted and ate (her). That's it.'

Intervention took place. The narrator talked now about the original people living in Koyon who killed a Wano. In lines (2.73-81), the narrator gave the background of a place called *Abanop Takouguame* in the area called *Nggabok-worak*. There was a village called *Koyon*, of which those who lived there killed and ate people. These

people were feared by the Wanos, and they were the original people in that area.

These are the Duvele people, according to the narrator.

(2.71) *it ne ninyoku dokniq ta.*  
 it ne n-in-ot-k-u do-k-niq ta||  
 they S.REF 1s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such SPEC  
 'As for them, they kept killing us.'

(2.72) *ndi ambui ta, inyawi nggweri adeik ka, dokniq*  
 nti ampui ta| ø-in-awi nkwati a-d-eik ta| do-k-niq|  
 this one who 3s-PL-house PN ATTR-steep-up SPEC stay-REAL-as such

*tu yarori, wewowi, yenggen adik ngga wu narik.*  
 tu jatoti| wewowi| jenken a-dik nka w-u n-at-ik||  
 way PN PN fence<sup>48</sup> 3s-no where come-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-PROG  
 'This was the one, in their village Nggweri, down here, where he walked alone in the upper valley Yarori Wewowi, they came.'

(2.73) *ap inyeve ta ndomunggaq, koyon awi worak*  
 ap in-eve ta n-d-o-mu-nkaq| kojon ø-awi wot-ak  
 man 3p-body SPEC ADV-steep-down-LOC-PROX PN 3s-house come-then

*ndomunggaq wunumu ta.*  
 n-d-o-mu-nkaq wun-u-mu ta||  
 ADV-steep-down-LOC-PROX exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC  
 'The original people lived in the Koyon village steeply down.'<sup>49</sup>

(2.74) *koyon awi ndomunggaq wunumu*  
 kojon ø-awi n-d-o-mu-nkaq wun-u-mu  
 PN 3s-house ADV-steep-down-LOC-PROX exist-3p.SBJ-LOC

*wu narik.*  
 w-u n-at-ik||  
 come-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-PROG  
 'They came and lived in the Koyon village down here.'

(2.75) *it ne ta, ap waku narik, wu*  
 it ne ta| ap wat-k-u n-at-ik| w-u  
 they S.REF SPEC man 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-PROG come-3p.SBJ

*wu narik ta, tu wenom enok, ndi narik*  
 w-u n-at-ik ta| t u wenom enok| nti n-at-ik  
 come-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-PROG SPEC way up low.ATTR next this go-3sp.SBJ-PROG

<sup>47</sup> *wodeniak* is 'roasting on the stake' while *tariak* is 'roasting on/under the ground'

<sup>48</sup> Refers also to an 'upper valley' or a 'passage' between two mountains for example.

<sup>49</sup> It is not clear which slopes that the Koyon village is located.

*ta, ndene Koyon awi.*  
 ta| n-d-e-ne kojón ø-awi||  
 SPEC ADV-steep-up-as such PN 3s-house  
 'As for them,<sup>50</sup> they went on killing people, having come this path low-up, they went up here to the Koyon village.'

(2.76) *koyon awi muni nome, ap wunumu ta.*  
 kojón ø-awi muni nome| ap wun-u-mu ta||  
 PN 3s-house that therefore man exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC  
 'Now, at that Koyon village, there were people.'

(2.77) *wano ap adei ambui ta, ome idik dogwe*  
 wano ap a-d-ei ampui ta| ø-ome i-dik do-k-we  
 PN man ATTR-steep-up one SPEC 3s-house 3s-no stay-REAL-HAB

*tu yenggwa bok.<sup>51</sup>*  
 tu jen-k-wa bok||  
 way wander-REAL-HAB good  
 'Not far up, there was one Wano man. He lived in a place alone (i.e. with his family), and wandered that path well.'

(2.78) *aburi ta winggarak nome, koyon no*  
 ø-abut-i ta win-k-at-ak nome| kojón no  
 3s-child oM-PL SPEC come out-REAL-3p.SBJ-then therefore PN G.REF

*wu dokniq ta, ap kode no watbagu*  
 w-u do-k-niq ta| ap kode no wat\_ba-k-u  
 come-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such SPEC man old G.REF 3s.OBJ:hit\_set-REAL-3p.SBJ

*narik, waninuk nu narik ta.*  
 n-at-ik| wani-nuk n-u n-at-ik ta||  
 go-3sp.SBJ-PROG take-next go-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-PROG SPEC  
 'When his children came out, as the Koyons<sup>52</sup> came, (and) they killed that old man (and) took him, (and) went off.'

(2.79) *o indi ap anop tariak ta, yugutmu*  
 o ø-inti ap ø-anop tat-iak ta| jukut-mu  
 place 3s-name man 3s-head roast-then who mountain-LOC

*adoumu nggaq.*  
 a-d-ou-mu nkaq||  
 ATTR-steep-down-LOC where  
 'There was a place called Abanop Tariakka<sup>53</sup> in a steep mountain up here.'

<sup>50</sup> Those who made their settlement in the Koyon village.

<sup>51</sup> See endnote for *bok* on line (2.27).

<sup>52</sup> These are the Duvels/Adombies who lived in the Koyon village.



(2.80) *yugut ambui indi no, ap anop takougwame*  
 jukut ampui ø-inti no| ap ø-anop tat-k-o-u-k-wa-me  
 mountain one 3s-name G.REF man 3s-head roast-REAL-SA-REAL-HAB-LOC

*nome, indi ta, muni ap anop tariak ta.*  
 nome| ø-indi ta| muni ap ø-anop tat-iak ta||  
 therefore 3s-name SPEC that man 3s-head roast-then SPEC  
 'As for that one mountain's name, Abanop Takougwa-me (i.e. Place of people roast man's head), so its name because people roasted men's head (there).'

(2.81) *muni nome, taku dokniq wunumu ta.*  
 muni nome| tat-k-u do-k-niq wun-u-mu ta|  
 that therefore roast-REAL-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC  
 'Because of that, they in fact remained roasting (something, i.e. a man's head), (and) they were (i.e. '... they were truly roasting').'

Having introduced *Abanop Takougwame*, which is *Nggabok-worak* and *Koyon*, the narrator recalled his main story in lines (2.82-83) – marked by the demonstrative *ndi* 'this'.

(2.82) *wano no, puduk okougwa*  
 wano no| puduk it-k-o-k-u-wa  
 PN G.REF assemble do-REAL-3s.SBJ\_do-REAL-3p.SBJ-HAB

*bekougwa inyova no dik-o.*  
 bet-k-o-k-u-wa in-ova no dik=o\  
 meet-REAL-3s.SBJ\_do-REAL-3p.SBJ-HAB 3p-father G.REF no=PAUS  
 'As for the Wanos, they assembled (and) discovered that their father (i.e. the old man) was not there.'

(2.83) *ndi, ndok kadinik mban ndi, adombi inyacok nggininik*  
 nti| ntok kadin-ik mpan nti| adompi n-atjok nkinin-ik|  
 this arrow break-PROG only this PN 3p-foot mess up-PROG

*watnuk, ta ngga taku me, nunggu me,*  
 wat-nuk| ta nka tat-k-u me| nun-k-u me|  
 3sU.hit-next SPEC where roast-REAL-3p.SBJ and consume-REAL-3p.SBJ and

*embetnuk ta.*  
 empet-nuk ta||  
 think-next SPEC

<sup>53</sup> The form *ap ø-anop tar-iak=ka* 'man his-head roast-then=SPEC' refers to a place where the captured enemies were burnt and eaten – The real name of the place was *Nggabokworak*, cf. a dwelling place of the Yali people (Yali Angguruk) called *Apahapsili* < *ap* 'man' *ø-ahap* 'his-skin' *sili* 'place' renders 'The place of man's skin' with similar connotation.

'This/Now (i.e. Referring back to), these broken arrows, Adombies' foot(prints) were everywhere. "Having killed him, where did they roast and eat (him)?" they thought.'

(2.84) *inyangginuk worak, wougua wougua,*  
in-ankinuk wot-ak| w-ou-k-ua w-o-k-ua|  
3p-happy come-then come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ

*ndomungga nggabok worak, ap anop taku*  
n-to-mu-nka nkabok wot-ak| ap ø-anop tat-k-u  
ADV-steep-down-LOC-PROX PN come-then man 3s-head roast-REAL-3p.SBJ

*dokniq wunumu.*  
do-k-niq wun-u-mu||  
stay-REAL-as such exist-3p.SBJ-LOC

'Happily, they came to Nggabok-worak, (where) they were roasting men's head.'

(2.85) *icenok ta puk-o, "inyoriak-o," yu*  
itj-enok ta puk=o| inot-iak=o| j-u  
3p.OBJ:see-next SPEC wait=PAUS 3p.OBJ:consume-then=PAUS say-3p.SBJ

*nouguarik, ap kode ambui ta, yeidnuk*<sup>54</sup>  
n-ou-k-at-ik|| ap kode ampui ta| jeit-nuk  
go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG man old one who carry-next

*wouguarak nome, tu enuk worak-o.*  
w-ou-k-at-ak nome| tu ø-enuk wot-ak=o\  
come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then therefore way 3s-knowledge come-then=PAUS  
'As (they) saw them (and) waited, "Eat them!" they said. They came carrying an old man, since he knew the way.'

(2.86) *eee puk puk, ap kode no ta, moname kweid-o*  
eee puk puk| ap kode no ta| mona-me kweid=o  
STUT wait wait man old G.REF SPEC there-LOC sit down=PAUS

*bagu narik ka, anovok*<sup>55</sup> *no, torodik nggut-o*  
ba-k-u n-at-ik ta|| ø-anowok no| totodik nkut=o  
set-REAL-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-PROG SPEC 3s-skull G.REF quick crack=PAUS

*takouguarak ambit-o.*  
tat-k-ou-k-at-ak ø-ampit=o\  
roast-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then 3s-sake=PAUS  
'Eeee, wait, wait! They put down the old man there, (then) quickly cracked the skull and roasted (it) for him.'

<sup>54</sup> *yeid-nuk* 'carry-next'. The morphology is not clear as to how the old man was carried. Traditionally, a witchdoctor was carried to a special ceremony. It is not clear either as to why he was carried: (i) because of his status as a witchdoctor, or (ii) of his age. The phrase *tu enuk* 'he knows the way' may suggest (i).

<sup>55</sup> Of the inflection: *ø-anop* '3s-head' + *ø-owok* '3s-bone' renders 'his skull'. Phonologically, we have evidence of /p/ + /o/ → [β].

(2.87) *yi no nonggo dokniq woneme ta, it*  
*ji no non-k-o do-k-niq won-e-me ta| it*  
 this G.REF consume-REAL-3s.SBJ stay-REAL-as such exist-SA-at SPEC they

*no pinggu dokniq, ap kode yi no, wano no,*  
*no pin-k-u do-k-niq| ap kode ji no| wano no||*  
 G.REF arrive-REAL-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such man oldq this SPEC PN G.REF

*wu dokniq waku*  
*w-u do-k-niq wat-k-u*  
 come-3p.SBJ stay-REAL-as such 3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ

*nouguarik-o.*

*n-ou-it-k-at-ik=o\*

*go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS*

'As for this (occasion), he stayed (and) ate (it), (then) they arrived (i.e. came). As for this old man, the Wanos, came and they killed him.'

(2.88) *it kode mbugu eiq ta, aret nonggik*  
*it kode mpu-k-u eiq ta| at-et non-k-ik*  
 they run scatter-REAL-3p.SBJ up SPEC he-ACT cross-REAL-PROG

*wougua wougua, kundi awi enok,*  
*w-ou-k-ua w-ou-k-ua| kunti ø-awi enok|*  
 come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ PN 3s-house next

*wougua, ambui aret ngga, tekarak<sup>56</sup> umu,*  
*w-ou-k-ua | ampui at-et nka| tetkotak u-mu|*  
 come-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ one he-ACT where PN source-LOC

*pininuk ta, amiova nouguarik ta,*  
*pininuk ta| amiowa n-ou-k-at-ik ta|*  
 arrive-3s.SBJ-next SPEC PN go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG SPEC

*adougu eingga.*

*a-d-o-it-k-u ei-nka||*

*ATT-steep-down-do-REAL-3p.SBJ up-PROX*

'(Then) they ran, scattered up(ward)/up there, kept on running until the Kundi village. Then kept on running until each of them arrived at the source of Tekorak. From there, they went to Amiova down there.'

(2.89) *eee adiyi inyarit adoumunga,*  
*eee adiji in-arit a-d-ou-mu-nka|*  
 STUT PN 3p-spring ATTR-steep-down-LOC-PROX

*o ndi ta, yeget adougu eingga, ndi ta,*  
*o nti ta| jeket a-d-o-it-k-u ei-nka| nti ta||*  
 place this SPEC fence ATT-steep-down-do-REAL-3p.SBJ up-PROX this SPEC

<sup>56</sup> The name of a river.



ambui wim kuni<sup>59</sup> wegirak, muni, ap gode muni,  
 ampui wim kuni we-k-it-ak|| muni||ap kode muni|  
 one arrow war come-REAL-1s.SBJ-then that man old that

warik okouguarak-o.  
 w-at-ik it-k-ou-k-at-ak=o\  
 3sU-hit-3p.SBJ-PROG do-REAL-REM\_do-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'As for us, we also killed them, two men. One we killed down-steep (there), steeply downward. One in the war. Giving that, that old man, that (one) they killed him.'

(2.93) dik, adombi ne okouguarak wone ta,  
 dik| adompi ne it-k-o-it-k-u-at-ak won-e ta||  
 no PN S.REF do-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then exist-3s.SBJ SPEC  
 'No (i.e. Look!) This is the story about what the Adombies did long ago.'

(2.94) muni aret yi-o.  
 muni at-et ji=o\  
 that he-ACT this=PAUS  
 'that's it, (I) refer to, ...'

### 1.3 AN IKIRAK WONE

Text 67 | Yakobus Weya | Biricare | 1994

This story was recorded in Biricare in 1994. The story is about an accident that the narrator and his family experienced on their way to Turumo by canoe. In the accident, they lost all their belongings.

(3.1) yok ta, an ne ikirak wonedom ambui  
 jok ta| an ne it-k-it-ak wonedom ampui  
 now SPEC I S.REF do-REAL-1s.SBJ-then story one

iyid-o.  
 ij-id=o\  
 say-1s.SBJ:INCEP=PAUS  
 'Now I am going to tell one story about what I did.'

(3.2) an turumo dokniq ta, an no nggebak inumu  
 an turumo do-k-niq ta| an no nkebak inu-mu  
 I PN stay-REAL-as such SPEC I G.REF canoe inside-LOC

<sup>59</sup> Also pronounced postglottalised.

*inggi*                      *nirak.*  
in-k-i                      n-it-ak||  
climb up-REAL-3s.SBJ go-1s.SBJ-then  
'(When) I lived in Turumo, I went up (river) in a canoe.'

(3.3) *nirik*                      *ta,*      *dukibeci muni pinica*                      *nirak-o.*  
n-it-ik                      ta|      du'kibetji muni pin-i-tja                      n-it-ak=o\  
go-1s.SBJ-PROG SPEC PN                      that arrive-SG.SBJ-PURP go-1s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
'As I was travelling, in order to reach Lukibesi, I went.'

(3.4) *pinica*                      *nirak,*                      *an nagwe*      *me,*      *nabut*                      *me,*  
pin-i-tja                      n-it-ak||                      an n-akwe      me|      n-abut                      me|  
arrive-SG.SBJ-PURP go-1s.SBJ-then I 1s-wife      and 1s-child oM      and

*nawot*                      *abut*                      *ambui*      *me,*      *wunu*                      *nerak,*  
n-awot                      ø-abut                      ampui      me|      wun-u                      n-et-ak||  
1s-younger sibling oSS 3s-child oM one      and exist-3p.SBJ go-1p.SBJ-then  
"yok *ta,*      *ninyamu turumo*<sup>60</sup> *nauid-o!*"  
jok ta|      nin-amu turumo na-uid=o||  
now SPEC 1p-home PN                      go-1p.SBJ:INCEP=PAUS  
'In order to reach (Lukibesi), I said to my wife and child, and one of my younger brother's  
children, (together) we travelled, 'Now let us go to Turumo our home!'

(3.5) *yak*      *an no,*      *negin*      *wanggo,*                      *niye*      *wanggo*  
jak      an no||      n-ekin      wan-k-o|                      ni-je      wan-k-o  
then I G.REF 1s-bow      take-REAL-3s.SBJ 1s-axe      take-REAL-3s.SBJ

*ekenok*                      *ta,*      *nggebak inumu*                      *inggu*  
it-k-e-nok                      ta|      nkebak      inu-mu                      in-k-u  
do-REAL-1p.SBJ.PAST-next SPEC canoe      inside-LOC      climb up-REAL-3p.SBJ

*nirik*                      *ta.*  
n-it-ik                      ta||  
go-1p.SBJ-PROG SPEC  
'Then I took my bow and axe, having done so, we jumped into (the) canoe (Lit. climbed up  
the canoe) and went.'

(3.6) *an no*      *ta,*      *nggebak avudimu*                      *kweikaid-o,*  
an no      ta|      nkebak      ø-avudi-mu                      kweid-k-aid=o||  
I G.REF SPEC canoe      3s-abdomen-LOC      sit down-REAL-1s.SBJ:INCEP=PAUS

<sup>60</sup> Turumo is the settlement of the Turu people, known also as Edopi ~ Elopi people. For the Wanos, the Turus are the people who dwell in Turumo, Yerei, Iratoi, Kordesi and Fawi (inc. some hamlets surrounding it). Whilst the dwellers of Fawi are known as Iau people by outsiders. When the Gospel entered the area (1970s), the Wano people from (i) Mbowid, Biricare, Lukibeci moved down to Turumo, (ii) from Puduk, Kembemu, Wodeguduk to Iratoi and made their settlement in Mburumu Ome, and some to Hitadipa and Beoga (of the Moni people), (iii) from Mbomban, Yedome, Acodi and some from Kiagai to Nggweri and Dagai (of the Duvele people) and Fawi (of the Iau people), and (iv) from Kiagai, Weiga, Keramu, Mbidik, Mburu, Mocami to Lumo.

*nabut ambui ta, nggebak anopme kweid ki-o.*  
 n-abut ampui ta| nkebak ø-anop-me kweid ki=o\  
 1s-child OM one SPEC canoe 3s-head-LOC sit down very=PAUS  
 'As for me, I sat at the belly of the canoe, my child sat at the very front of the canoe.'

(3.7) *mono egenok ta, dogwe werak-o.*  
 mono it-k-e-nok ta| do-k-we w-et-ak=o\  
 like that do-REAL-3s.SBJ-next SPEC stay-REAL-HAB come-1pA-then=PAUS  
 'As (we) did so (i.e. after that) we went down.'

(3.8) *mbinitmu kenok ta, niku, bokme kenok ta*  
 mpinit-mu k-e-nok ta| nit-k-u|| bok-me k-e-nok ta  
 sand-at see-3s.SBJ-next SPEC pull-REAL-3p.SBJ good-LOC see-SA-next SPEC

*wu ekenaq nikik, bok*  
 w-u it-k-e-naq nit-k-ik| bok  
 come-SG.SBJ do-REAL-1s.SBJ-as such downward-REAL-PROG good

*wumu ta muni ngga ne ta, mbinit ona<sup>61</sup> ta,*  
 wu-mu ta muni nka ne ta| mpinit o-na' ta||  
 good-LOC SPEC that where S.REF SPEC sand place-as such SPEC

*wakoniq ta bok*  
 wat-k-o-niq ta bok  
 3su.hit-REAL-3s.SBJ-as such SPEC SPEC good

*pede numu, i ndu oko kwe-o.*  
 pede n-u-mu| i n-d-u it-k-o kwe=o\  
 assume go-3p.SBJ-at water ADV-steep-down do-REAL-3s.SBJ but=PAUS  
 'Having seen the sand, we pulled (the canoe), seeing it was a good (place) we came down,  
 towards the good place assuming it would be good, going down it touched and hit the sand  
 and/but we capsized into the water.'

(3.9) *nggebak ta niritnuk, ndu kwe na-o.*  
 nkebak ta nit-it-nuk| n-d-u kwe na=o\  
 canoe SPEC pull-do-next ADV-steep-down but go=PAUS  
 'The water then carried down/away the canoe.'

(3.10) *nit ninyeve no ra, nggumi watnuk wingge-o.<sup>63</sup>*  
 nit nin-eve no ta| n kumi wat-nuk win-k-e=o\  
 we 1p-body G.REF who swim 3su.hit-next come out-REAL-SA=PAUS  
 'We ourselves, we swam and came out.'

<sup>61</sup> That is 'we hit on the sand'.

<sup>62</sup> This is a difficult Wano phrase for the interpretation.

<sup>63</sup> The direction is 'upward' as 'coming out of the earth', which is different from *windit* 'come out' in the general sense, as in line (3.11).

(3.11) *winditnuk mbinitmu mona dokniq ta, kwa an*  
*wintit-nuk mpinit-mu mona do-k-niq ta| kwa an*  
 come out-next sand-LOC there stay-REAL-as such SPEC woman I

*niri ndi no ta, i ne ndonggoniak teme ta,*  
*n-iti nti no ta| i ne ntonkon-iak t-e-me ta|*  
 1s-sibling oDS this G.REF SPEC water S.REF drown-then intend-3s.SBJ-LOC SPEC

*piganggaid.*

*pikan-k-aid||*

*grab-REAL-1s.SBJ.INCEP*

'(After) we had come up and stayed on the sand there, as my sister was about to drown, I grabbed her.'

(3.12) *pigenuk winggo nirik ta, nit ari de*  
*pi-k-nuk win-k-o n-it-ik ta| nit at-i de*  
*grab-3s.SBJ-next pull up-REAL-3s.SBJ go-1s.SBJ-PROG SPEC we he-PL cry*

*wuk-duk yuniq wunumu ta.*  
*wuk~duk j-u-niq wun-u-mu ta||*  
*battle cry~REDUP say-3p.SBJ-as such exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC*  
 'Having grabbed (and) brought her out (of the water), (while) we remained crying and screaming.'

(3.13) *Yxx agwe imbirak no ta, mondeiqnyam<sup>64</sup> dokniq*  
*jxx ø-akwe ø-impitak no ta| mon-d-eiq-nam do-k-niq*  
*PN 3s-wife 3s-together G.REF SPEC that-steep-up-PROX stay-REAL-as such*

*kwe, nit ndi no tu ta, ninyegarak ta bok-o.*  
*kwe| nit nti no tu ta| nin-e-k-at-ak ta bok=o\*  
*but we this G.REF way SPEC 1p-do-REAL-3p.SBJ-then SPEC good=PAUS*  
 'John and his wife were staying up there, and we here, it was good that they saw us the way we were.'

(3.14) *it no ta, denggak idik wunu narak-o.*  
*it no ta| den-k-ak i-dik wun-u n-at-ak=o\*  
*they G.REF SPEC calm-REAL-then 3s-no exist-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
 'As for them, they remained motionless, they were stunned.'

(3.15) *nit no kiduk ekenok ta, nit ne ninyengge*  
*nit no kiduk it-k-e-nok ta| nit ne nin-enke*  
*we G.REF smoke do-REAL-1p.SBJ-next SPEC we S.REF 1p-eye*  
*eke mbake kiduk ekenok ta, kum*  
*it-k-e mpa-k-e kiduk it-k-e-nok ta|| kum*  
*do-REAL-3s.SBJ wiggle-REAL-3s.SBJ smoke do-REAL-1p.SBJ-next SPEC call*

<sup>64</sup> See footnote for line (2.59) of the text 2.



yu-o.

j-u=o\

say-3p.SBJ=PAUS

'When we saw the smoke, when we looked up (thus) and saw the smoke, we called out.'

- (3.16) "dik-o,<sup>65</sup> nit ta nggebak ende nenuk tuerik-o!"  
dik=o| nit ta nkebak ente n-e-nuk t-uet-ik=o\  
no=PAUS we SPEC canoe like this go-3s.SBJ-next intend-1p.SBJ-PROG-PAUS  
"'No (i.e. Look!) we are going down (with) the canoe.'" or "'Look! We are perishing.'"

- (3.17) yu narik ta, "kinyabua-o!" itnuk nggebak no  
j-u n-at-ik ta| kin-abua=o|| it-nuk kebak no  
say-3p.SBJ go-3p.SBJ-PROG SPEC 2p-love=PAUS do-next canoe G.REF

wonok, niki warak-o.  
wo-nok| nit-k-ik w-at-ak=o\  
carry-3sp.SBJ:INCEP pull-REAL-PROG 3s.OBJ:hit-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
'As they were saying, "Poor you!". Having done/said so, they carried the canoe to us.'

- (3.18) it no ne, ninyanggebak i wanbagu mona  
it no ne| nina-nkebak i wan-ba-k-u mona  
they G.REF S.REF 1p-canoe water come out-set-REAL-3p.SBJ there

wunumu ta.  
wun-u-mu ta||  
exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC

'As for them, they scooped out the water from our canoe.'

An interruption took place in lines (3.19) - (3.20). Possibly a short story the narrator was told by Yxx (see (3.13)), or it might be an event that has happened during the time the narrator and his company were being helped. Specifically, when Yxx and his wife carried the canoe and scooped the water out of it (cf. lines (3.17) - (3.18)). It can be suggested that the narrator tried to kill the piglet, therefore, he did not want to leave the event out of his story.

- (3.19) wom ayak be ambui ta, i eee neq baneq nggumi,  
wom ø-ajak be ampui ta| i eee niq baneq nkum-i|  
pig 3s-child of small one SPEC water STUT as such INST out-?

<sup>65</sup> The negator *dik=o* here functions as an opening of an utterance. In a daily conversation, when occurring utterance initially, *dik* usually expresses 'look!' or 'I tell you what ...' as in line (3.16) and (3.21). When occurring utterance finally following non-verbal predication, *dik* expresses 'just' or 'only', in something like 'it's only me!' as in line (3.26).

watnuk            negirak.  
 wat-nuk        ne-k-it-ak||  
 3s.OBJ:hit-next go-REAL-1s.SBJ-then  
 'Having hit a little piglet (over a) river, I went.'

(3.20) *ni            egenok,            nit    ne    ta    mona wanica*  
           *ni            it-k-e-nok|            nit    ne    ta    mona wan-i-tja*  
           as such   do-REAL-3s.SBJ-next   we   S.REF SPEC   there   take-3s.SBJ-PURP

*nerak-o.*  
 n-et-ak=o\  
 go-1p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'As it went, as for us we went so that he got (it) there.'

(3.21) *wonok            nuerik            mbaren   banuk   ta,   Yxx   ne   ta,*  
           *wo-nok            n-uet-ik            mpaten   ba-nuk   ta|   jxx   ne   ta|*  
           carry-3sp.SBJ:INCEP   go-1p.SBJ-PROG   tie        set-next   SPEC   PN   S.REF SPEC

*"dik-o,    turu   ta   nderudum            narak-o*  
*dik=o|    tutu   ta   n-detu-dum            n-at-ak=o*  
 no=PAUS PN    SPEC   ADV-away near-far        go-2s.SBJ-then=PAUS

*nome,    woranuk-o!"*  
*nome|    wot-anuk=o\  
 therefore come-next=PAUS*  
 'When we had carried (the canoe) and tied it, as for John (he said), "I tell you what, ... the Turu (man who) went far away is coming!"

(3.22) *iruk        kenok            ta,    inyagwim    wunu        ne-o.*  
           *it-uk        k-e-nok            ta|    in-akwim    wun-u        n-e=o\  
           do-next   see-3s.SBJ-next SPEC   3p-wait    exist-3p.SBJ go-3s.SBJ=PAUS*  
           'Having done/said so, we remained waiting.'

(3.23) *wunu        nigak            wunu        nigak,            turu   no    ta,*  
           *wun-u        ni-k-ak            wun-u        ni-k-ak|            tutu   no    ta|*  
           exist-3p.SBJ as such-REAL-then exist-3p.SBJ as such-REAL-then PN   G.REF SPEC

*kevem<sup>66</sup>    be    ndi    pinica            wa-o.*  
*kevem        be    nti    pin-i-tja            wa=o\  
 afternoon   small this   arrive-3s.SBJ-PURP INTERJ=PAUS*  
 'Waiting and waiting, the Turu (man) arrived just before sunset ... "Great!"

(3.24) *pinica            we            kenok        ta,*  
           *pin-i-tja            w-e            k-e-nok        ta|*  
           arrive-3s.SBJ-PURP come-3s.SBJ see-SA-next   SPEC

<sup>66</sup> Also pronounced *kuvem*.

koro            ekenaq                    nikik                    wumu                    ta,  
 kot-o           it-k-e-naq                    ni-k-ik                    w-u-mu                    ta|  
 seek-3s.SBJ do-REAL-3s.SBJ-as such pull-REAL-PROG come-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC

an niye me, neyedowi me, dik-o, nayum negin dik-o,  
 an ni-je me| ne-jedowi me| dik=o| na-jum n-ekin dik=o||  
 I 1s-axe and 1s-knife and no=PAUS 1s-netbag 1s-bow no=PAUS

i            ndu                    ki-o.  
 i            n-d-u                    ki=o\  
 water ADV-steep-down very=PAUS

'As he was about to arrive, I was looking for (my belongings), while they were pulling (the canoe), up, (but) my axe (and) knife. My netbag (and) my bow were not there. (They) sunk (lit. fell down into the water/river).'

(3.25) naburi            me,            nawori                    me,            inyayum            inyegin  
           n-abut-i            me|            n-awot-i                    me|            ina-jum            in-ekin  
           1s-child oM-PL and 1s-younger sibling OSS and 3p-netbag 3p-bow

apik, i            ndu                    ki-o.  
 apik| i            n-d-u                    ki=o\  
 all water ADV-steep-down very=PAUS

'My children and my younger brothers, all of their netbags and bows fell in the water/river (i.e. sunk).'

(3.26) nit            no,            nikik                    wu                    narik,                    mbinitmu  
           nit            no||            ni-k-ik                    w-u                    n-at-ik|                    mpinit-mu  
           we            G.REF pull-REAL-PROG come-3p.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-PROG sand-LOC

muni ngga            ne            ta,            dik-o.  
 muni nka            ne            ta|            dik=o\  
 that where S.REF SPEC no=PAUS

'As for us, we kept on pulling (the canoe) to that sandy place, where there is nothing.'  
 or 'Meanwhile, we simply kept pulling (the canoe) to that sandy place.'

(3.27) turu            ne            ta,            "yum            ambui            ta            ndi,            k-et-ik-o,"  
           turu            ne            ta|            jum            ampui            ta            nti|            k-et-ik=o||  
           PN            S.REF SPEC netbag one            SPEC this            see-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS

iruk                    kenok                    ta,            yum            muni inumu            ta,            enggen  
 it-uk                    k-e-nok                    ta|            jum            muni inu-mu            ta|            enken  
 do-3sp.SBJ:INCEP see-3s.SBJ-next SPEC netbag that inside-LOC SPEC bead

yedok-o            nome,            mbinit            i-numu            on            nabage                    ki-o.  
 jedok=o            nome||            mpinit            i-nu-mu            on            na-ba-k-e<sup>67</sup>            ki=o\  
 large=PAUS therefore sand-inside-at under go-set-REAL-SA very=PAUS  
 'The Turu said, "I saw/found this one netbag!" .... in that netbag, because there were many beads, he put/hid it in the sand ... really.'

<sup>67</sup> From verb compound *na-* 'go' + *ba-g-e* 'set-REAL-s', renders 'he inserts/ed' – cf. Papuan-Malay *dia pi kasih masuk* < lit. 'he goes gives insert'

(3.28) *ndi no, kin okome, yxx ne iruk*  
*nti no| kin it-k-o-me| jxx ne it-uk*  
 this G.REF appear do-REAL-3s.SBJ-LOC PN S.REF do-3sp.SBJ:INCEP

*dokniq ta, "kit no tidjo-vadjo ta, worak-a-o?"*  
*do-k-niq ta| kit no tido~vado ta| wot-ak=a=o*  
 stay-REAL-as such SPEC you.pl G.REF thing-REDUP SPEC come-then=POL=PAUS

*irukmu ta, "dik-o, enggenme ta ambui worak-o.*  
*it-uk-mu ta|| dik=o| enken-me ta ampui wot-ak=o\*  
*do-3s/pA.INCEP SPEC no=PAUS bead-LOC spec one come-then=PAUS*  
 'As this one was visible, John said, "Did you.pl see/find your possessions? (*lit.* Have your possession come)?" Having done/said so, "No, we have found just one with beads (*lit.* just one with beads has come)."'

(3.29) *ndi no, okweid nu nerik ta, turumo*  
*nti no| okweid n-u n-et-ik ta| tutumo*  
 this G.REF downward go-3p.SBJ go-1p.SBJ-PROG SPEC PN

*pingge-o, dik-o.*  
*pin-k-e=o| dik=o\*  
 arrive-REAL-3s.SBJ=PAUS no=PAUS  
 'This being so, (and) we went on going down, arrived at Turumo, (with) nothing in hand (i.e. empty handed).'

(3.30) *nit ninyayum ninyegin ta, i ndonggonggi wu*  
*nit nina-jum nin-egin ta| i ntonkonki w-u*  
 we 1pnetbag 1p-bow SPEC water things come-3p.SBJ

*netik, de age, turumo ne an ta wirik-o.*  
*n-ett-ik de ake| tutumo ne an ta w-it-ik=o\*  
*go-1p.SBJ-PROG cry continue PN S.REF I SPEC come-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS*  
 'Our netbag (and) bow, have gone into the river, went on crying, I was coming to Turumo.'  
 or 'Our netbag (and) bow, have gone into the river, while crying, I was entering Turumo.'

(3.31) *mama<sup>68</sup> kana yogo nirik ta, "yum ambui nego,"*  
*mama kana jo-k-o n-it-ik ta| yum ampui n-ego|<sup>69</sup>*  
 mother PN say-REAL-3s.SBJ go-1sA-PROG SPEC netbag one 1s-give

*digidanak<sup>70</sup> ambui nego ikigirak nome,*  
*dikidanak ampui n-ego it-k-i-k-it-ak nome||*  
 stiched-roll one 1s-give do-REAL-3s.SBJ-REAL-1s.SBJ-then therefore

*ndi no ta, digidanak no ta, niri egaid-o.*  
*nti no ta| dikidanak no ta| n-iti ø-ega-id=o\*  
 this G.REF SPEC stiched-roll G.REF SPEC 1s-sibling o.ds 3sU-give-1sA.INCEP=PAUS

<sup>68</sup> Loan word.

<sup>69</sup> The inflection is not certain.

<sup>70</sup> A roll normally made of pandanus leaf to store '[sirih]', the lime and betel-nuts'.

When I had told mother Kana (my story), she gave me one netbag, one betelnut bag/roll, the betelnut, so this one, the betelnut bag/roll I gave to my sister.'

(3.32) *yum kode-o, yak yum no ta, nagwe*  
*jum kode=o|| jak jum no ta| n-akwe*  
*netbag old=PAUS then netbag G.REF SPEC 1s-wife*

*egaid-o.*

*ø-ega-id=o\*

*3su-give-1s.SBJ:INCEP=PAUS*

'I took the netbag, (and) later I gave that netbag to my wife.'

(3.33) *kobu ta dik yum ndi me kororak,<sup>71</sup> yak*  
*kobu ta dik jum nti me kototak| jak*  
*tomorrow who no netbag this and 3s.OBJ:see-REDUP-then then*

*adombi me ne-o.*

*adompi me n-e=o\*

*PN and go-3s.SBJ=PAUS*

'The next day not (i.e. only) did we look for this netbag (with the other stuff), and later went to Adombi (i.e. Duvele).'

(3.34) *i no be amipede, e miro i bagak tu*  
*i no be amipede| e mit-o i ba-k-ak tu*  
*water G.REF small assume tree cut-3s.SBJ water set-REAL-then way*

*netik mek ambui wanggak no mek nome*  
*n-ett-ik mek ampui wan-k-ak no mek nome*  
*go-1p.SBJ-PROG impossible one take-REAL-then G.REF impossible therefore*

*ta, we nikik we-o.*

*ta| w-e ni-k-ik w-e=o\*

*SPEC come-3s.SBJ pull-REAL-PROG come-3s.SBJ=PAUS*

'[THINKING] "would the water go down, should (we) cut and set the tree (Implying: make a log bridge), impossible for us to go. Since nothing is possible, I pulled back.'

(3.35) *we nikik, wu nerik ta, ome*  
*w-e ni-k-ik| w-u n-et-ik ta| o-me*  
*come-3s.SBJ pull-REAL-PROG come-3p.SBJ go-1pA-PROG SPEC house-LOC*

*pininuk ta, turu no kwevi inggi na-o.*

*pin-i-nuk ta| tutu no kwevi in-k-i na=o\*

*arrive-SG.SBJ-next SPEC PN G.REF then climb up-SG.SBJ go=PAUS*

'I was pulling and we were going (home). Having arrived home, the Turu man went up.'

(3.36) *inggu narik, an niye yedok no*  
*in-k-u n-at-ik| an ni-je yedok no*  
*climp up-REAL-PL.SBJ go-3sp.SBJ-PROG I 1s-axe large G.REF*

<sup>71</sup> The form *kororak* 'see:him-see:him' expresses 'keep looking for' or 'keep searching'.

*kinbago narik ta, an niye no turu kodat-o.*  
 kin\_ba-k-o n-at-ik ta| an ni-je no tutu kodat=o\  
 appear\_set-REAL-3s.SBJ go-3sA/pA-PROG SPEC I 1s-axe G.REF PN get=PAUS  
 'As (we) kept on going up, I saw my big axe (Lit. my big axe was becoming visible), that axe  
 of mine Turu possibly took.'

(3.37) *"kiye no turu kodarak-o," yu narik,*  
*ki-je no tutu kodat-ak=o| j-u n-at-ik|*  
*2s-axe G.REF PN get-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS say-pA go-3sp.SBJ-PROG*

*"ugweidiak-a?"*<sup>72</sup> *embetnuk ta, wone ni-o.*  
*ukweid-iak=a| empet-nuk ta| won-e ni=o\*  
*lie down-then=POL think-next SPEC exist-3s.SBJ as such=PAUS*  
 "'Your axe, the Turu took!" they said (i.e. told me). "Why on earth? (or: too bad!)", having  
 thought so, I stayed there.'

(3.38) *niye dik wone ni-o, an ne, ikirak*  
*ni-je dik won-e ni=o| an ne| it-k-it-ak*  
*1s-axe no exist-3s.SBJ as such=PAUS I S.REF do-REAL-1s.SBJ-then*

*wone ta, muni at-o.*  
*won-e ta|| muni at=o\  
 exist-3s.SBJ SPEC that he/she=PAUS*  
 '(That is why) I have no axe. That is the story about what I did (i.e. what happened to me).  
 That's it.'

(3.39) *dik pouq muni ta, op.*  
*dik pouq muni ta| op\  
 no short that SPEC finished*  
 'Look, it is short. Finished!'

## 1.4 NOVAWI WIGANAK WONE

Text 39 | Kana Nggire-Weya | Biricare | 1994

This story was recorded in Biricare, in January 1994. The narrator was a woman of  
 about 35 years old. She was from Puduk in the western part of the Wano land.<sup>73</sup> This  
 area is close to the Dem, Damal, Nduga and Moni tribes, where (except for the

<sup>72</sup> The expression *"ugweid-iak-a, ..."* 'aduh, kenapa?' > 'goodness me, why would he took it (with  
 regret)?'. Such an expression is parallel to *"ngga-yo-nduk kodar-ar-ak=o, ..."* < where-say-down  
 get-3s-then=PAUS.

<sup>73</sup> Puduk is located Eastward from Beoga and Hitadipa, the villages of the Moni tribe.

Monis) intermarriages take place among these people (by war or trade). The narrator speaks Dem and Moni. She claims to understand Damal and Nduga well. She speaks Indonesian well.

(4.1) *an kxx ne, nombovi ne okouguarak*  
*an kxx ne| n-ompo-vi ne it-k-ou-k-at-ak*  
 I PN S.REF 1s-ancestor-PL S.REF do-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then

*wonedom yok tetik-o.*

*wonedom jok t-et-ik=o\*

story now intend-1s.SBJ-PROG=PAUS

'As for me, Kxx, (it is) the story about what my grandfathers did long ago, I am intending (to tell) now.'

(4.2) *an nombo anduk ta, o indi ta uragotmo wone*  
*an n-ompo ø-antuk ta| o ø-indi ta uragotmo won-e*  
 I 1s-ancestor 3s-back SPEC place 3s-name SPEC PN exist-3s.SBJ

*negirak.*

*ne-k-it-ak||*

go-REAL-3s.SBJ-then

'Before, my grandfather lived in a place (i.e. village) its name (i.e. called) Uragotmo.'

(4.3) *nombo muni ta, nova at ova, indi ta wioqi.*  
*n-ompo muni ta| n-ova at ø-ova| ø-inti ta wioqi||*  
 1s-ancestor that SPEC 1s-father he 3s-father 3s-name SPEC PN  
 'That grandfather of mine, my father's father, his name was Wioqi.'

(4.4) *at awori ando ta, kena kwe, inyindi ando*  
*at ø-awot-i anto ta| kena kwe| in-inti anto*  
 he 3s-younger sibling OSS-PL other SPEC three but 3p-name other

*nengguq nome, yetik mek-o.*

*n-enku' nome| j-et-ik mek=o\*

1s-ignorance therefore say-1sA-PROG impossible=PAUS

'He had three younger brothers but since I don't know their names, I can't tell.'

(4.5) *nombo wioqi muni ne ta, kwa*  
*n-ompo wioqi muni ne ta| kwa*  
 1s-ancestor PN that S.REF SPEC woman

*wanggegirak.*

*wan-k-e-k-it-ak||*

take-REAL-3s.SBJ\_do-REAL-3s.SBJ-then

'As for my grandfather Wioqi, he was married (*lit.* woman he took).'

(4.6) *kwa wanggo dokniq ta, nova at*  
*kwa wan-k-o do-k-niq ta| n-ova at*  
 woman take-REAL-3s.SBJ stay-REAL-as such SPEC 1s-father he

*ica wanggegirak-o.*  
*ø-itja wan-k-e-k-it-ak=o\*  
 3s-mother take-REAL-3s.SBJ\_do-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'The woman he married was my father's mother.'

(4.7) *nova at ica ta, adom kwa, kwa mbere*  
*n-ova at ø-itja ta| ø-adom kwa|| kwa mpete*  
 1s-father he 3s-mother SPEC 3s-root woman woman two

*wanggegirak nome, adom kwa muni ta,*  
*wan-k-e-k-it-ak nome| ø-adom kwa muni ta|*  
 take-REAL-3s.SBJ\_do-REAL-3s.SBJ-then therefore 3s-root woman that SPEC

*acui yedok-o, eee ambui be nova at ica*  
*ø-atjui jedok=o|| eee ampui be n-ova at ø-itja*  
 3s-children of large=PAUS STUT one small 1s-father he 3s-mother  
 'My father's mother (who) was (the) the first/real wife (Lit. root woman). Since he married two women. The first wife her children were many, eee only one, my father's mother (had).'

(4.8) *ni anggup kwa muni ta, acui yedok-o.*  
*ni ø-ankup kwa muni ta| ø-atjui jedok=o\*  
 as such 3s-tip woman that SPEC 3s-children large=PAUS  
 'As for this (i.e. on the other hand), second wife/concubine (Lit. the tip woman), her children were many.'

(4.9) *nome ta, anggup kwa muni indi ta, mbunggarigwe.*  
*nome ta| ø-ankup kwa muni ø-inti ta| mpunkatikwe||*  
 therefore SPEC 3s-tip woman that 3s-name SPEC PN  
 'Thus (it was) so, that wife who was (the) second, her name was Mbunggarigwe.'

(4.10) *nova, at ica adom kwa indi ta, kwanggarek.*  
*n-ova| at ø-itja ø-adom kwa ø-indi ta| kwankatek||*  
 1s-father he 3s-mother 3s-root woman 3s-name SPEC PN  
 'My father's mother, (who) was (the) first wife, her name was Kwanggarek.'

(4.11) *nome ta, nova at ica no ta, ayak ambui*  
*nome ta| n-ova at ø-itja no ta|| ø-ajak ampui*  
 therefore SPEC 1s-father he 3s-mother G.REF SPEC 3s-child of one

*be, nova endat banuk ta, awot ambui, ap vi*  
*be| n-ova endat ban-nuk ta| ø-awot ampui| ap vi*  
 small 1s-father occur set-next SPEC 3s-younger sibling OSS one man mute

*ambui inyom endat ekegirak kwe, ap vi muni*  
*ampui ø-inom endat it-k-e-k-it-ak kwe| ap vi muni*  
 one 3s-with occur do-REAL-do-REAL-3s.SBJ-then but man mute that



*kanggo*                      *ki*.  
 kan-k-o                      ki||  
 die-REAL-3s.SBJ    very

'So then, as for my father's mother, her child was only one. Having caused (Lit. put down) my father (to) give birth to (Lit. occur), his one younger brother (came), a mute boy, one with him was born (Lit. occurred), but that mute boy died.'<sup>74</sup>

(4.12) *ni,            nova    ta    adik   endarak,    wunu-o.*  
          ni|           n-ova    ta    a-dik   endat-ak|    wun-u=o\  
          as such   1s-father SPEC   3s-no   occur-then   exist-3p.SBJ=PAUS  
          'On the other hand, my father alone survived (Lit. occurred), they lived.'

(4.13) *mono        wunumu                      ta,    nombo        no    kanggo                      ki-o.*  
          mono        wun-u-mu                      ta|    n-ompo        no    kan-k-o                      ki=o\  
          like that   exist-3p.SBJ-LOC    SPEC   1s-ancestor   G.REF die-REAL-3s.SBJ    very=PAUS  
          'As they lived thus, my grandfather died, really.'

(4.14) *nombo                indi        wioqi no,                yirak.*  
          n-ompo                ø-indi        wioqi no|                j-it-ak||  
          1s-ancestor        3s-name   PN        G.REF        say-1s.SBJ-then  
          'I am talking (about) my grandfather who's name is/was Wioqi.'

(4.15) *at ne        irudik <sup>75</sup> waku,                      icenuk        ta,        at no*  
          at ne        itudik        wat-k-u||                      itje-nuk        ta|        at no  
          he S.REF magic        3s.OBJ:hit-REAL-3p.SBJ    cook-next    SPEC    he G.REF

*kanggo,                      kanggo                      kenok                      ta,        it        ne        at o*  
 kan-k-o|                      kan-k-o                      k-e-nok                      ta||        it        ne        at o  
 die-REAL-3s.SBJ    die-REAL-3s.SBJ    see-3s.SBJ-next SPEC    they    S.REF    he place  
*bane-o.*  
 bane=o\  
 INST=PAUS  
 'As for him, they killed him (with) magic. Having cooked (the magic), as for him he died. They (took revenge) on him.'

(4.16) *yak    ta,    ni,                kwa        agwe,    anggup    kwa        no        wat-o*  
          jak    ta|    ni|                kwa        ø-akwe|    ø-ankup    kwa        no        wat-o  
          then    SPEC    as such    woman    3s-wife    3s-tip    woman    G.REF    3s.OBJ:hit-3s.SBJ

*bagouguarak-o.*  
 ba-k-ou-k-at-ak=o\  
 set-REAL-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 '(And) then, on the other hand, (the) woman (who was) his wife, as for the second wife, they killed her.'

<sup>74</sup> This suggests that the narrator's father was one of twins.

<sup>75</sup> From *iru* 'hole' + *dik* 'no' implying 'no hole (in one's body) but something can enter (the body), thus referring to the 'magic power'.

(4.17) *mono nome ta, acui ngginik ta, anggup kwa*  
 mono nome ta| ø-atjui nknin-ik ta| ø-ankup kwa  
 like that therefore SPEC 3s-children of multiply-PROG SPEC 3s-tip woman

*acui ta, eee manggu ta eigwengge, ombodid*  
 ø-atjui ta| eee manku ta eikwenke| ø-ompodid  
 3s-children of SPEC STUT first SPEC PN 3s-back

*ta ndoqtoq, ombodid ta Inyamu, it inyeve gena.*  
 ta ntoqtoq| ø-ompodid ta inamu| it ø-in-eve kena||  
 SPEC PN 3s-back SPEC PN they 3s-PL-body three

'As it was like that, her children multiplied, the second wife her children, eee the first born was Eigwengge. After him was Ndo'to', after him Inyamu. There were three of them (i.e. they formed three families).'

(4.18) *mono wunumu ta, "dik-o, o wodegoduk muni puduk*  
 mono wun-u-mu ta| dik=o| o wodekoduk muni puduk  
 like that exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC no=PAUS place PN that assemble

*iriak-o," yuicenuk ta, it apik o yunggu*  
 it-iak=o| ju-itje-nuk ta|| it apik o jun-k-u  
 do-then=PAUS say-3p.OBJ-next SPEC they all place move-REAL-3p.SBJ

*wodegoduk wouguarak-o.*

*wodekoduk w-ou-k-at-ak=o\*

PN come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS

'Thus so, they lived. "Look! we assemble in that Wodegoduk village." Having said to each other (Lit. to them), they all moved and came to Wodegoduk.'

In line (4.19), the narrator referred to her uncle, the younger brother of her father who died, and who's name was Txx. Here, the narrator uses the term 'my father', i.e. *nova* instead of 'my uncle', i.e. *nare*. This is a common practice in the Wano community.

(4.19) *wodegoduk wunumu ta, nova awot, nova*  
 wodekoduk wun-u-mu ta| n-ova ø-awot| n-ova  
 PN exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC 1s-father 3s-younger sibling OSS 1s-father

*indi ta towowa, awot ta kangge ki-o.*  
 ø-indi ta towowa|| ø-awot ta kan-k-e ki=o\  
 3s-name SPEC PN 3s-younger sibling OSS SPEC die-REAL-3s.SBJ very=PAUS  
 'As they lived in Wodegoduk, my father's younger brother, my father his name was Towova. That younger brother of his, died.'

(4.20) *kanggo kenok ta, o yunggu wodegoduk*  
kan-k-o k-e-nok ta| o jun-k-u wodekoduk  
die-REAL-3s.SBJ see-3s.SBJ-next who place move-REAL-3p.SBJ PN

*wouguarak.*

w-ou-k-at-ak\

come-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then

'After he had died, they returned to Wodegoduk village.'

(4.21) *muni ne dokniq ta, nova ne ta, ap indi*  
muni ne do-k-niq ta| n-ova ne ta| ap ø-indi  
that S.REF stay-REAL-as such SPEC 1s-father S.REF SPEC man 3s-name

*unggom muni, abut wanggegirak, eee agwe ta*  
unkom muni| ø-abut wan-k-e-k-it-ak|| eee ø-akwe ta  
PN that 3s-child oM take-REAL-REAL-3s.SBJ-then STUT 3s-wife SPEC

*nggogova.*

nkokova||

PN

'When they stayed there, as for my father, a man called Unggom, his child he married. Eee his wife was Nggogova.' (i.e. As they lived, my father married Unggom's daughter called Nggogova)

(4.22) *inyabut indi ta mbedivi nome ta, ni yok*  
in-abut ø-indi ta mpediwi nome ta| ni jok  
3p-child oM 3s-name SPEC PN therefore SPEC as such now

*tunik<sup>76</sup> ta, debora wanggegirak.*

tunik ta| debora wan-k-e-k-it-ak||

nickname SPEC PN take-REAL-do-REAL-3s.SBJ-then

'Regarding their child called Mbediwi, (which is) the way they called him now, he married to Debora.'

(4.23) *wanbanuk ta, o indi nggitkomarak muni wunu*  
wan-ban-nuk ta| o ø-indi nkitkomatak muni wun-u  
take-put down-next SPEC place 3s-name PN that exist-3p.SBJ

*nouguarak.*

n-ou-k-at-ak||

go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then

'After he had married her, they were living in a village called Nggitkomarak.'

(4.24) *ai wone awo we dokniq dik-o. muni nome*  
ai wone awo w-e do-k-niq dik=o|| muni nome  
eternal story still come-3s.SBJ stay-REAL-as such no=PAUS that therefore

<sup>76</sup> Possibly the inflection of *tu-n-ik=ka* 'way-go-PROG=SPEC' for 'nickname'.

"qdik<sup>77</sup> puduk iriak-o!" yuicenuk ta, it no ne [nggereya]  
a-dik puduk it-iak=o!" ju-itje-nuk ta|| it no ni nkereja  
3s-no assemble do-then=PAUS say-3pU-next SPEC they G.REF as such church

nggitkomarak banuk, wunu nouguarak.  
nkitkomatak ban-nuk| wun-u n-ou-k-at-ak||  
PN put down-next exist-3p.SBJ go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
'(The) eternal voice (i.e. Gospels) had not come yet. Because of that, they said, "Just assemble (here)!" Having said so, they opened a church in Nggitkomarak. Having done so, they remained (i.e. lived) (there).'

(4.25) nggitkomarak muni nome wunumu ta, ni nova  
nkitkomatak muni nome wun-u-mu ta|| ni n-ova  
PN that therefore exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC as such 1s-father

no, at me, nica me, inyimbirak ta, puduk<sup>78</sup>  
no|| at me | n-itja me| in-impitak ta| puduk  
G.REF he and 1s-mother and 3p-together SPEC PN

nouguarak.  
n-ou-k-at-ak||  
go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
'Because of that, they lived in Niggitkomarak, however, as for my father, he and my mother, they went to Puluk together.'

(4.26) puduk nu nouguarik ta, muni nome ne, an  
puduk n-u n-ou-k-at-ik ta| muni nome ne| an  
assemble go-3p.SBJ go-REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-PROG SPEC that therefore S.REF I

endat negouguarak.  
endat n-e-k-ou-k-at-ak||  
occur go-REAL-do:REM-REAL-3p.SBJ-then  
'After they had gone to Puluk, so then, I was born.'

(4.27) mono ekenok ta, an endat ekenok ta, ni  
mono it-k-e-nok ta| an entat it-k-e-nok ta| ni  
like that do-REAL-1p.SBJ-next SPEC I occur do-REAL-3s.SBJ-next SPEC as such

yunggu wodegoduk.  
jun-k-u wodekoduk||  
move-REAL-3p.SBJ PN  
'After it had happened like that, after I was born, (they) moved (back) to Wodegoduk.'

(4.28) wu nouguarik, "an ninyom Exx Icadipa [cekoda]  
w-u n-ou-k-et-ik| an n-inom Exx itjadipa tjekoda  
come-3p.SBJ go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG I 1s-with PN PN school

<sup>77</sup> Originally recorded as *i-dik* '3s-no' that renders 'he/she is alone' which is the old Wano word (Oru).

<sup>78</sup> The name of a place called 'assemble/gather'. It is pronounced 'Puluk' by foreigners, and thus known as it is now.

*iriak-o,*"            *embet-nuk-o.*  
it-*iak=o*|            *embet-nuk=o\*  
do-then=PAUS    think-next=PAUS  
'As (we) came, "I wish to go with Enos to school in Hitadipa," having thought so ....'

(4.29) *dedome wone baneq irica nouguerak.*  
dedome wone baneq it-i-tja n-ou-k-et-ak\  
PN story INST do-3s.SBJ-PURP go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then  
'In order to do (the Bible school) in Moni (i.e. in the Moni language),<sup>79</sup> we went.'

(4.30) *nouguerik Icadipa muni ne dokniq, poiya ambui*  
n-ou-k-uet-ik itjadipa muni ne do-k-niq| poiya ampui  
go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG PN that S.REF stay-REAL-as such sun one

*wone, poiya mbere wunu, poiya kena wun-u, nouguerik,*  
won-e| poiya mpete wun-u| poiya kena wun-u| n-ou-k-uet-ik|  
exist-SA sun two exist-3p.SBJ sun three exist-3p.SBJ go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG

*yavuk ai wone wonigerak, o kombogociga*  
javuk ai wone won-i-k-et-ak| o kompogotjika  
planted field eternal story carry-?-REAL-1p.SBJ-then place PN

*naneb-o!" yotnicegirak-o.*  
na-nev=o| jot-nitje-k-it-ak=o\  
go-2p.SBJ:IMP=PAUS say-1p.OBJ-REAL-3s.SBJ-then=PAUS  
'We went (and) as we were there at Hidadipa, one year (Lit.: 'one sun'), two years, three years we stayed. (And) we taught the Gospels. "You pl go to Kombogociga village!" he told us.'<sup>80</sup>

(4.31) *o indi udogo muni nome nouguerak.*  
o ø-indi udoko muni nome n-ou-k-uet-ak|  
place 3s-name PN that therefore go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then  
'Because of that, we went to a place called Udogo.'

(4.32) *udogo muni nouguerik muni nome, poiya mberekago*  
udoko muni n-ou-k-uet-ik muni nome| poiya mpete kako  
PN that go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG that therefore sun two about

*wunu nouguerak, yunggu ni icadipa*  
wun-u n-ou-k-uet-ak| jun-k-u ni itjadipa  
exist-pA go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then move-REAL-3p.SBJ as such PN

*wouguerak.*  
w-ou-k-uet-ak|  
come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then  
'(So) we went to live in Udogo for two years, (then) we moved back to Hitadipa.'

<sup>79</sup> Dedome is the term for Moni in Wano.

<sup>80</sup> It is not clear here who told the narrator and her husband, but it may be suggested that the headmaster of the Bible school did, cf. (line 4.36).

(4.33) *wunumu ta, icadipa [kedacid] ne ye dokniq*  
 wun-u-mu ta| itjadipa kedatjid ne j-e do-k-niq  
 exist-3p.SBJ-LOC SPEC PN classis S.REF say-3s.SBJ stay-REAL-as such

*ta, "dik-o, kinyamu wodegoduk naneb-o," ye*  
 ta| dik=o kin-amu wodekoduk na-nev=o| j-e  
 SPEC no=PAUS 2p-home PN go-2p.SBJ:IMP=PAUS say-SG.SBJ

*negirik, wodegoduk no yunggu*  
 n-e-k-it-ik| wodekoduk no jun-k-u  
 go-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG PN G.REF move-REAL-PL.SBJ

*wouguerak.*

*wo-u-k-uet-ak||*

come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then

'We lived (then) the Church leader of Hitadipa said, "Look! You pl go to your home Wodegoduk." (Since) he was saying so, we moved back to Wodegoduk.'

(4.34) *wouguerak wunumu ta, ambui dingge nova*  
 wo-u-k-u-et-ak wun-u-mu ta| ampui dinke n-ova  
 come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then exist-PL.SBJ-LOC who one day 1s-father

*no yonggo bagegirak.*  
 no jon-k-o ba-k-e-k-it-ak||  
 G.REF move-REAL-SG.SBJ set-REAL-do:REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then  
 'As we came back (and) lived (there), one day my father called out (everybody).'

(4.35) *ongga<sup>81</sup> no wanggumu ta, ingge ne yanambok*  
 onka no wan-k-u-mu ta| ø-inke ne janampok  
 leaf G.REF take-REAL-PL:SBJ-LOC SPEC 3s-eye S.REF leech

*unggo kegirak dokni*  
 un-k-o k-e-k-it-ak do-k-ni  
 enter-REAL-SG:SBJ see-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then stay-REAL-as such

*nome maduk ekegirak.*  
 nome maduk it-k-e-k-it-ak||  
 therefore bad do-REAL-SA.REM-REAL-3sA-then  
 'As for the leaf, they gathered. As for his eye, since a leech entered it (his eye), became bad.'

(4.36) *maduk ekegirak nome, ingge deid engga*  
 maduk it-k-e-k-it-ak nome| ø-inke deid enka  
 bad do-REAL-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then therefore 3s-eye banana leaf

*bekorak mek ekenok ta, [kepada] [cekoda] ne*  
 be-kot-ak mek it-k-e-nok ta| kepada tjekoda ne  
 meet-see-then impossible do-REAL-1p.SBJ-next SPEC chief school S.REF

<sup>81</sup> k.o. leaf which is used for the roof.

ye dokniq ta, "icadipa ne [cekoda] iriak woranok!"  
 j-e do-k-niq ta|| itjadipa ne tjekoda it-iak wota-nok|  
 say-SG.SBJ stay-REAL-as such SPEC PN S.REF school do-then come-?=PAUS

itnuk yogegirak.

it-nuk jo-k-e-k-it-ak||

do-next say-REAL-do:REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then

'Since it has become bad, his eye couldn't read (*lit.* couldn't see (the) banana leaf. As for (the) headmaster, he said, "Come and study in Hitadipa!" Having said so, ...'

(4.37) yegirak kwe, at ne deid engga bekorak  
 j-e-k-it-ak kwe| at ne deid enka bet\_kot-ak  
 say-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-then but he S.REF banana leaf meet-see-then  
 mek, ingge umok~umogak oko kenok ta, nova  
 mek| ø-inke umok~umok-ak it-k-o k-e-nok ta| n-ova  
 impossible 3s-eye vague-REDUP-then do-REAL-SG.SBJ see-3s.SBJ-next SPEC 1s-father

ne ta, mek-o, yak puk wone-o.

ne ta| mek=o| jak puk won-e=o\

S.REF SPEC impossible=PAUS then wait exist-SG.SBJ=PAUS

'He said so but, as for him, he couldn't read, vaguely it did, as for my father (it was) impossible, stayed and waited (i.e. it was impossible for my father, so he stayed).'

(4.38) mono ekenok, nit no, o wodegoduk muni wunu  
 mono it-k-e-nok| nit no| o wodekoduk muni wun-u  
 like that do-REAL-SG.SBJ-next we G.REF place PN that exist-PL.SBJ

nerak-o.

n-et-ak=o\

go-1p.SBJ-then=PAUS

'It was so, as for us, we went to Wodegoduk.'

(4.39) wunu nouguerik ta, wodegoduk mende  
 wun-u n-ou-k-uet-ik ta|| wodekoduk mente  
 exist-PL.SBJ go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG SPEC PN SRC

it ap akomi<sup>82</sup> apik ne, tu banuk iratoi wu-o.

it ap akomi apik ne| tu ba-nuk itatoi w-u=o||

they man women all S.REF way set-next PN come-pA=PAUS

'While we were living, people from Wodegoduk, men, women, all of them (*lit.* as for all), made (their) way to come to Iratoi.'

(4.40) iratoi wu tu dokniq ta, muni nome,  
 itatoi w-u tu do-k-niq ta| muni nome||  
 PN come-PL.SBJ way stay-REAL-as such SPEC that therefore

<sup>82</sup> This is the expression for 'female persons'. Literally 'person-yam-PL' (*ap-kom-i*) implying 'persons who deal with yam/food', which culturally 'women'.

|                     |                          |              |              |                  |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>mbugu</i>        | <i>ukuguarak</i>         | <i>nome,</i> | <i>puduk</i> | <i>wunumu</i>    |
| mpu-k-u             | it-k-u-k-uet-ak          | nome         | puduk        | wun-u-mu         |
| scatter-REAL-PL.SBJ | do-REAL-pA-REAL-1pA-then | therefore    | PN           | exist-PL.SBJ-LOC |

*ta, an muni nome tawe eiq.*  
*ta|| an muni nome tawe eiq||*  
 SPEC I that therefore young up

'They made way coming to Iratoi, and because of that, we parted. (And) as for (that), we remained in Puluk. And as for me, I became a teenager (Lit. young up).

(4.41) *ni, an ta manggu.*  
*ni| an ta manku||*  
 as such I SPEC first born  
 'Beside, I was the first born.' or 'I was the first born then.'

(4.42) *nombodid ap nonggobe*<sup>83</sup> *wone, indi ta Yxx.*  
*n-ompodid ap non-k-o-be won-e| ø-indi ta jxx||*  
 1s-back man consume-REAL-SG.SBJ-small exist-3s.SBJ 3s-name SPEC PN  
 'After me, there was a boy, his name was Jxx.'

(4.43) *muni, ombodid Txx, ombodid kwa nonggobe nome,*  
*muni| ø-ompodid txx| ø-ompodid kwa non-k-o-be nome|*  
 that 3s-back PN 3s-back woman consume-REAL-SG.SBJ-small therefore

*kangge ki, ombodid Mxx wone, an nirivi kena.*  
*kan-k-e ki| ø-ompodid mxx won-e|| an n-iti-vi kena||*  
 die-REAL-SG.SBJ very 3s-back PN exist-SG.SBJ I 1s-sibling oDS-PL three  
 'That's it! After him, Sxx. After him was a girl but she died. After her Mxx lived. I have three brothers (Lit. I my brother three).'

(4.44)<sup>84</sup> *an ta kwa manggu muni nome, wunumu ta eiq ne,*  
*an ta kwa manku muni nome| wun-u-mu ta eiq ne|*  
 I SPEC woman first born that therefore exist-PL.SBJ-LOC SPEC up S.REF

*nova Exx nimbirak dambun-o pinicorak-o, yu*  
*n-ova exx n-impitak dampun=o pinitj-ot-ak=o| j-u*  
 1s-father PN 1s-together unite-SG.SBJ bind-3p.SBJ-then=PAUS say-3p.SBJ

*icenok ta, eee "bok-o!" itnuk "dambun pinit," yu*  
*itje-nok ta|| eee bok=o| it-nuk dampun pinit| j-u*  
 3p.OBJ:say-next SPEC STUT good=PAUS do-next unite bind say-3p.SBJ

*icenok ta, nit no Icadipa nouguerak-o.*  
*itje-nok ta|| nit no itjadipa n-ou-k-uet-ak=o\*  
 3p.OBJ:say-next SPEC we G.REF PN go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then=PAUS

<sup>83</sup> The figurative expression for 'little child', cf. *nonggodunggwi* in line (1.24).

<sup>84</sup> When referring to her husband, Enos, the narrator uses the term *n-ova* 'my father' instead of *n-oiny* 'my husband'. Probably an influence of Indonesian or may be an honorific expression in Wano. Pending further research.



'I was the firstborn girl, so as we lived, up there, my father Enos, I together marry (*lit.* unite),<sup>85</sup> (they said). Having said so, eee "Good (i.e. okay)!" (I said). Having done so, "(We) marry (them)!" (they said). As for us, we went to Hitadipa.'

(4.45) *icadipa nouguerik, icadipa ne mona mbit kena wunu*  
*itjadipa n-ou-k-uet-ik| itjadipa ne mona mpit kena wun-u*  
 PN go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG PN S.REF there moon three exist-PL.SBJ

*nouguerak.*

*n-ou-k-uet-ak||*

*go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then*

'We went to Hidadipa, as for Hitadipa, we lived there for three months.'

(4.46) *wunumu ta, [cekoda] ekegirak kwe, it*  
*wun-u-mu ta| tje-koda it-k-e-k-it-ak kwe| it*  
 exist-PL.SBJ-LOC SPEC school do-REAL-do:REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then but they

*ne "naneb-o!" yu icenok ta, kebo*  
*ne na-nev=o| j-u itje-nok ta| kebo*  
 S.REF go-3pU.IMP=PAUS say-PL.SBJ 3s.OBJ:say-next SPEC PN

*nouguerak.*

*n-ou-k-u-et-ak||*

*go-REM-REAL-1pA-then*

'(While) we were living there, we wished to go to school but, after they had told us, "You pl go (to Kebo?)!", we went to Kebo.'

(4.47) *kebo no nouguerik ta, muni nome, Nxx*  
*kebo no n-ou-k-uet-ik ta| muni nome| nxx*  
 PN G.REF go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG SPEC that therefore PN

*endat ne ki-o.*

*endat n-e ki=o\*

*occur go-SG.SBJ very=PAUS*

'After we had gone to Kebo, so then Nxx was born.'

(4.48) *an nayak manggu ta, kwa muni nome, ni poiya*  
*an n-ajak manku ta| kwa muni nome| ni poiya*  
 I 1s-child of first born SPEC woman that therefore as such sun

*mbere-mbere itnuk yunggu icadipa wouguerak.*

*mpete ~mpete it-nuk jun-k-u itjadipa w-ou-k-u-et-ak||*

*two-REDUP do-next move-REAL-PL.SBJ PN come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then*

'My firstborn child was a girl. Then, having (been there) for four years, we moved back to Itadipa.'

<sup>85</sup> *Lit.* 'we marry each other'.

(4.49) *icadipa wu nouguerik, poiya mbere muni ne*  
*itjadipa w-u n-ou-k-u-et-ik| poiya mpete muni ne*  
 PN come-PL.SBJ go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG sun two that S.REF

*wunu nerak.*  
*wun-u n-et-ak||*  
 exist-PL.SBJ go-1p.SBJ-then  
 'We came and lived in Itadipa for two years.'

(4.50) *wunu nerik ta, ni icadipa ne [baan],<sup>86</sup> ni*  
*wun-u n-et-ik ta| ni itjadipa ne baan| ni*  
 exist-PL.SBJ go-1p.SBJ-PROG SPEC as such PN S.REF material as such

*nabire ne warak.*  
*nabire ne w-atak||*  
 PN S.REF come-3sA/pA-then  
 '(While) we were living in Hitadipa, on one occasion, (some) paper-work from Nabire came.'

(4.51) *we kenok, [baan] ni ikirak,*  
*w-e k-e-nok| baan ni it-k-it-ak||*  
 come-SG.SBJ see-SA-next material as such do-REAL-1p.SBJ-then

*no, negirik ni muni nome,*  
*no| n-e-k-it-ik ni muni nome|*  
 G.REF go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG as such that therefore

*nabire nouguerak.*  
*nabire n-ou-k-u-et-ak||*  
 pn go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then  
 '(The) paper-work came, (and) we did (something with it). As for that (i.e. what we did) and thus so we went to Nabire.'

(4.52) *nouguerak nabire wunumu ta,*  
*n-ou-k-u-et-ak nabire wun-u-mu ta|*  
 go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then PN exist-PL.SBJ-LOC SPEC

*Bxx endat ne ki-o.*  
*bxx entat n-e ki=o\*  
 pn occur go-SG.SBJ very=PAUS  
 'We went and lived in Nabire (and) Bxx was born.'

(4.53) *ni muni nome ne, poiya kena u-k-u nerik*  
*ni muni nome ne| poiya kena it-k-u n-et-ik*  
 as such that therefore S.REF sun three do-REAL-PL.SBJ go-1p.SBJ-PROG

<sup>86</sup> From the Indonesian word [*bahan*] 'material', is referred to as 'paper work' by the inland people. In Wano it is pronounced with implosive [ɓ] and with stress on the last syllable: [ɓa'an].

*yunggu*                      *werak.*  
 jun-k-u                      w-et-ak||  
 move-REAL-PL.SBJ      come-1p.SBJ-then  
 'As for the other occasion, we lived for three years (then) we moved back (to Hitadipa).'

(4.54) *poiya kena itnuk ta dik-o, turumo norak-o, itnuk, an*  
          *poiya kena it-nuk ta dik=o|| tutumo not-ak=o| it-nuk| an*  
          *sun three do-next SPEC no=PAUS PN go-then=PAUS do-next I*

*no, turumo nengguq nome, nggayo nome kamit embetnuk,*  
*no | tutumo n-enkuq nome| nkajo nome kamit empet-nuk|*  
*G.REF PN 1s-ignorance therefore why therefore perceive think-next*

*worigerak-o.*  
*wot-i-k-et-ak=o\*  
*come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then=PAUS*  
 'After three years we lived there, look, we wished to go to Turumo. Having done so, as for me, since I didn't know Turumo, I thought of seeing it, (so) we went.'

(4.55) *wouguerak*                      *ki-o, turumo*  
          *w-ou-k-u-et-ak*                      *ki=o| tutumo*  
          *come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then*      *very=PAUS PN*

*nduguca*                                      *wouguerak*                      *wunumu*  
*n-d-u-k-u-tja*                              *w-ou-k-u-et-ak*                      *wun-u-mu*  
*ADV-steep-down-REAL-PL.SBJ-PURP*      *come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then*      *exist-PL.SBJ-LOC*

*ta, eee ninyova wxx eve, at ne ni, wano wone mboinyiak-o, yak*  
*ta| eee nin-ova wxx eve| at ne ni| wano wone mpoin-iaak=o| jak*  
*SPEC STUT 1p-father PN also 3s S.REF as such PN story cut-then=PAUS then*

*koro,*                      *egenok,*                      *we*                      *negirik.*  
*kot-o|*                      *it-k-e-nok|*                      *w-e*                      *n-e-k-it-ik||*  
*3s.OBJ:seek-SG.SBJ do-REAL-SG.SBJ-next come-SG.SBJ go-REM-REAL-3s.SBJ-PROG*  
 'We really came. In order to live (Lit. be) in Turumo, we did come downward, (and) as we stayed, eee our father Wxx also. As for him, he searched (and) wrote the Wano language (*lit.* search and cut Wano), so he was coming.'

(4.56) *nit ta dukibeci inggouguerikmu,*                      *dik-o,*  
          *nit ta dukibetji in-k-ou-k-u-et-ik-mu|*                      *dik=o|*  
          *weSPEC PN climb up-REAL-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-PROG-LOC*      *no=PAUS*

*warak,*                      *yak nare Yxx dinggitduwo [pendeta] muni yonggo*  
*w-at-ak|*                      *jak n-ate jxx dinkitduwo pendeta muni jon-k-o*  
*come-3sA/pA-then then 1s-uncle PN PN pastor that move-REAL-SG.SBJ*

*dukibeci woneme ne ki.*  
 dukibetji won-e-me n-e ki||  
 PN exist-SG.SBJ-LOC go-3s.SBJ very  
 '(But) we entered (i.e. carried on traveling to) Lukibesi. Nothing there. (It was) then my  
 uncle John Dinggitduwo, the pastor, moved to Lukibesi to live there, really. (But he wasn't  
 there when we went).'

(4.57) *nerak taiwa wunumu yunggu turumo*  
 n-et-ak taiwa wun-u-mu jun-k-u tutumo  
 go-1p.SBJ-then PN exist-PL.SBJ-LOC move-REAL-PL.SBJ PN  
*wouguerak, ki-o, at turumo narak woneme.*  
 w-ou-k-u-et-ak|| ki=o| at tutumo n-at-ak won-e-me||  
 come-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then very=PAUS 3s PN go-3s.SBJ-then exist-SG.SBJ-LOC  
 '(Then) we went to live in Taiwa, (and) moved back to Turumo. Really, he had gone and  
 lived in Turumo.'

(4.58) *ninyom dambunggouguerak, mono ekenok,*  
 n-inom dampun-k-o-u-k-u-et-ak| mono it-k-e-nok|  
 1s-with unite-REAL-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then like that do-REAL-1p.SBJ-next

*dambunggu enok, eee ninyenuk eee*  
 dampun-k-u enok| eee nin-enuk eee  
 unite-REAL-PL.SBJ next STUT 1p-knowledge STUT

*ekenok ta, wunu ne-o.*  
 it-k-e-nok ta || wun-u n-e=o\  
 do-REAL-1p.SBJ-next SPEC exist-PL.SBJ go-SA=PAUS  
 'We met each other and so we were together and eee then we lived (there).'

(4.59) *at no amu ne kenok, wunu nerik,*  
 at no ø-amu n-e k-e-nok| wun-u n-et-ik|  
 3s G.REF 3s-home go-SG.SBJ see-SG.SBJ-next exist-PL.SBJ go-1p.SBJ-PROG

*ni iratoi inggerak-o.*  
 ni iratoi in-k-et-ak=o\  
 as such pn climb up-REAL-1pA-then=PAUS  
 'As for him, he went to his home (i.e. village), (but) we stayed, (then) went up to Iratoi.'

(4.60) *iratoi muni nome, wunu nerak kwe, at ne ye*  
 itatoi muni nome| wun-u n-et-ak kwe|| at ne j-e  
 PN that therefore exist-PL.SBJ go-1p.SBJ-then but 3s S.REF say-SG.SBJ

*dokni "dik-o, iratoi-o o iruq nome, nit doiak*  
 do-k-ni dik=o| itatio=o o ituq nome| nit do-iak  
 stay-REAL-as such no=PAUS PN=PAUS place hot therefore we stay-then

*mek-o, kit ta, o kaidmu kot-o, kinyumbovi*  
 mek=o|| kit ta| o kaid-mu kot=o| kin-umbo-vi  
 impossible=PAUS 2p SPEC place sprout-LOC 3s.OBJ.seek=PAUS 2p-ancestor-PL

wonak-u, yugut bane kot-o, ekaneb-o!"  
 wo-na-k-u| jukut bane kot=o| it-k-anev=o||  
 come-go-REAL-PL.SBJ mountain INST 3s.OBJ:seek=PAUS do-REAL-2p.IMP=PAUS  
 'We were living at Iratoi but, as for him, he said, "Look, Iratoi is a hot place, we can not live (here). You pl do look for (the) first place your ancestors came and went in the mountains!"'

(4.61) ye kenok ta, mono yak yotnicegenok,  
 j-e k-e-nok ta| mono jak jot-nitj-e-k-e-nok|  
 say-3s.SBJ see-SG.SBJ-next SPEC like that then say-1p.OBJ\_do-REAL-3s.SBJ-next

nit ne werik, ni, biricare nouguerak-o.  
 nit ne w-et-ik| ni| bititjate n-ou-k-u-et-ak=o\  
 we S.REF come-1p.SBJ-PROG as such PN go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'Having said so, he told us thus so, as for us we went to Biricare.'

(4.62) biricare nouguerak, wu uku, eee  
 bititjate n-ou-k-u-et-ak| w-u it-k-u| eee  
 PN go-REM-REAL-1p.SBJ-then come-PL.SBJ do-REAL-PL.SBJ STUT

miruca nu, tabi yat-o, wu tu  
 mit-u-tja n-u| tabi jat=o| w-u tu  
 cut-PL.SBJ-PURP go-PL.SBJ k.o. vegetable plant=PAUS come-PL.SBJ way

dokniq wunu nerik-o.  
 do-k-niq wun-u n-et-ik=o\  
 do-REAL-as such exist-PL.SBJ go-1p.SBJ-PROG=PAUS  
 '(So) we went to Biricare, we did come eee in order to live there, we in fact went (and) planted some vegetables.'

(4.63) wunu nerik ta, ni, ninyova wxx no  
 wun-u n-et-ik ta| ni| nin-ova wxx no  
 exist-PL.SBJ go-1p.SBJ-PROG SPEC as such 1p-father PN G.REF

yunggo warak-o.  
 jun-k-o w-at-ak=o\  
 move-REAL-SG.SBJ come-3sp.SBJ-then=PAUS  
 'As we were living (there), on the other occasion, our father Wxx moved (to Biricare).'

(4.64) we kenok, ninyinyom enok Jayapura ne, nerak  
 w-e k-e-nok| nin-inom enok jayapura ne| n-et-ak  
 come-SG.SBJ see-3s.SBJ-next 1p-with next PN S.REF go-1p.SBJ-then

muni no wunumu ta, Bxx1 endat na-o.  
 muni no wun-u-mu ta| bxx1 endat na=o\  
 that G.REF exist-PL.SBJ-LOC SPEC PN occur go=PAUS  
 'He came, then with him we went to Jayapura, thus so we lived (and) Benami was born.'

(4.65) nome yok ta, an acui kena, kwa manggu, Bxx1, Bxx2.  
 nome jok ta| an n-atjui kena| kwa manku| bxx1| bxx2.  
 therefore now SPEC I 1s-children of three woman first born PN PN  
 'Thus so, now I have three children. The first born was a girl, (then) Bxx1 (and) Bxx2.'

(4.66) *mono.*  
mono\  
like that  
'That's it!'

## Appendix 2

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### NOUN PARADIGMS

#### KINSHIP TERMS

As was discussed in chapter 3 §3.4.2, in the **parent-child** relationship, the terms for ego's father and mother do not depend on ego's sex. When ego is a parent, the term for 'child' is determined by the sex of ego, regardless of the sex of the child. In English, the sex of a child is clear by the terms 'son' and 'daughter'. In Wano, however, the sex of a parent is clear by the terms **abut**, i.e. 'child of male person', and **ayak**, i.e. 'child of female person'. (Ap.2.1a) is the term for a child of a male ego, while (Ap.2.1b) is for a female ego. Note that this also holds for other languages in the Dani language family, as observed by Bromley (1973: 9). He writes, "The kinship terminologies in these languages group a woman's children with a man's children; the terminologies in the Western Dani and Grand Valley areas distinguish them."

|          |    |             |                |                |                |
|----------|----|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| (Ap.2.1) | a. | MALE EGO    |                |                |                |
|          |    | SINGULAR    |                | PLURAL         |                |
|          |    | <i>abut</i> | 'his child'    | <i>aburi</i>   | 'his children' |
|          |    | ø-abut      |                | ø-abut-i       |                |
|          |    | 3s-child.OM |                | 3s-child.OM-PL |                |
|          | b. | FEMALE EGO  |                |                |                |
|          |    | SINGULAR    |                | PLURAL         |                |
|          |    | <i>ayak</i> | 'her child'    | <i>acui</i>    | 'her children' |
|          |    | ø-ajak      |                | ø-atjui        |                |
|          |    |             | 3s-child.OF.SG |                | 3s-child.OF.PL |

The distribution of (Ap.2.1) is outlined in (Ap.2.2).

(Ap.2.2) ADDRESSEE

| SPEAKER | MALE                                 | FEMALE                               | PARTNER                                              | OTHERS                                           |
|---------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| MALE    | <i>ninyabut</i>                      | <i>*ninyabut</i>                     | <i>ninyayak-nabut</i><br><i>ninyayak-ninyabut</i>    | <i>ayak-nabut</i>                                |
| FEMALE  | <i>*ninyayak</i>                     | <i>ninyayak</i>                      | <i>ninyabut-nayak</i><br><i>ninyabut-ninyayak</i>    | <i>abut-nayak</i>                                |
| OTHERS  | <i>kabut</i><br><i>kinyabut-ayak</i> | <i>kayak</i><br><i>kinyayak-abut</i> | <i>kinyabut-kinyayak</i><br><i>kinyayak-kinyabut</i> | <i>inyayak-inyabut</i><br><i>inyabut-inyayak</i> |

There are about 24 semantic-pragmatic implications of (Ap.2.2) we may find, as shown in (Ap.2.3) - (Ap.2.26) illustrate such implications.

(Ap.2.3) *ninyabut*  
 nin-abut  
 1p-child.oM  
 'our child' *lit.* 'our child of male' (A man speaks to his sibling(s) or kin related male person(s) or to his fellow man/men or vice versa)

(Ap.2.4) *ninyayak*  
 nin-ajak  
 1p-child.oF  
 'our child' *lit.* 'our child of female' (A woman speaks to her sibling(s) or kin related female person(s) or to her fellow woman/women or vice versa)

(Ap.2.5) *ninyayak-nabut*  
 nin-ajak-n-abut  
 1p-child.oF-1s-child.oM  
 'our child' *lit.* 'our child of female, my child of male' (A husband speaks to his wife, husband's genetic child)

(Ap.2.6) *ninyayak-ninyabut*  
 nin-ajak-nin-abut  
 1p-child.oF-1p-child.oM  
 'our child' *lit.* 'our child of female, our child of male' (A husband speaks to his wife, the child genetically belongs to both husband and wife)

(Ap.2.7) *ninyabut-nayak*  
 nin-abut-n-ajak  
 1p-child.oM-1s-child.oF  
 'our child' *lit.* 'our child of male, my child of female' (A wife speaks to her husband, wife's genetic child)



- (Ap.2.8) *ninyabut-ninyayak*  
 nin-abut-nin-ajak  
 1p-child.oM-1p-child.oF  
 'our child' *lit.* 'our child of male, our child of female' (A wife speaks to her husband, the child genetically belongs to both husband and wife)
- (Ap.2.9) *kayak-nabut*  
 k-ajak-n-abut  
 2s-child oF-1s-child oM  
 'your.sg child, my child' *lit.* 'your.sg child of female, my child of male' (A husband speaks to his wife referring to his genetic child (her step child) and/or her genetic child (his step child))
- (Ap.2.10) *kabut-nayak*  
 k-abut-n-ajak  
 2s-child oM-1s-child oF  
 'your.sg child, my child' *lit.* 'your.sg child of male, my child of female' (A wife speaks to her husband referring to her genetic child (his step child) and/or his genetic child (her step child))
- (Ap.2.11) *kinyayak-nabut*  
 kin-ajak-n-abut  
 2p-child oF-1s-child oM  
 'your.pl child, my child' *lit.* 'your.pl child of female, my child of male' (A husband speaks to his wife and kin related female persons referring to his child (her/their step.child))
- (Ap.2.12) *kinyabut-nayak*  
 kin-abut-n-ajak  
 2p-child oM-1s-child oF  
 'your.pl child, my child' *lit.* 'your.pl child of male, my child of female' (A wife speaks to husband and kin related male persons referring to her child (his/their step child))
- (Ap.2.13) *ayak-nabut*  
 ø-ajak-n-abut  
 3s-child oF-1s-child oM  
 'her child, my child' *lit.* 'her child of female, my child of male' (A husband speaks to other(s) referring to his and his wife's child)
- (Ap.2.14) *abut-nayak*  
 ø-abut-n-ajak  
 3s-child oM-1s-child oF  
 'his child, my child' *lit.* 'his child of male, my child of female' (A wife speaks to other(s) referring to her and her husband's child)
- (Ap.2.15) *kabut*  
 k-abut  
 2s-child oM  
 'your.sg child' *lit.* 'your.sg child of male' (A wife speaks to her husband referring to his child or a Speaker (*Sp*) to a male Addressee (*Ad*) referring to his child)

- (Ap.2.16) *kayak*  
 k-ajak  
 2s-child of  
 'your.sg child' *lit.* 'your.sg child of female' (A husband speaks to his wife referring to her child or a *Sp* speaks to a female *Ad* referring to her child)
- (Ap.2.17) *kinyabut-ayak*  
 kin-abut-ø-ajak  
 2p-child oM-3s-child of  
 'your.pl child, her child' *lit.* 'your.pl child of male, her child of female' (Someone speaks to a husband including his wife referring to his and his wife's child, the wife's genetic child)
- (Ap.2.18) *kinyayak-abut*  
 kin-ajak-ø-abut  
 2p-child of-3s-child oM  
 'your.pl child, his child' *lit.* 'your.pl child of female, his child of male' (Someone speaks to a wife including her husband referring to her and her husband's child, the husband's genetic child)
- (Ap.2.19) *kinyabut-kinyayak*  
 kin-child-kin-ajak  
 2p-child oM-2p-child of  
 'your.pl child' *lit.* 'your.pl child of male, your.pl child of female' (Someone speaks to a man and a woman referring to their child, the child genetically belongs to both parents)
- (Ap.2.20) *kinyayak-kinyabut*  
 kin-ajak-kin-abut  
 2p-child of-2p-child oM  
 'your.pl child' *lit.* 'your.pl child of female, your.pl child of male' (Someone speaks to a woman and a man referring to their child, the child genetically belongs to both the parents)
- (Ap.2.21) *inyayak-inyabut*  
 in-ajak-in-abut  
 3p-child of-3p-child oM  
 'their child' *lit.* 'their child of female, their child of male' (Someone speaks to another persons referring to a woman and a man's child, the child genetically belongs to both the parents)
- (Ap.2.22) *inyabut-inyayak*  
 in-abut-in-ajak  
 3p-child oM-3p-child of  
 'their child' *lit.* 'their child of male, their child of female' (Someone speaks to another persons referring to a man and a woman's child, the child genetically belongs to both the parents)

- (Ap.2.23) *abut-ayak*  
 ø-abut-ø-ajak  
 3s-child oM-3s-child oF  
 'his (and) her child' *lit.* 'his child of male, her child of female' (Someone speaks to another person referring to a man and a woman's child, the child genetically belongs to both the parents)
- (Ap.2.24) *ayak-abut*  
 ø-ajak-ø-abut  
 3s-child oF-3s-child oM  
 'her (and) his child' *lit.* 'her child of female, his child of male' (Someone speaks to another person referring to a woman and a man's child, the child genetically belongs to both the parents)
- (Ap.2.25) *kabut-kayak*  
 k-abut-k-ajak  
 2s-child oM-2s-child oF  
 'your.pl child' *lit.* 'your.sg child of male, your.sg child of female' (Someone speaks to a man and his wife referring to their child)
- (Ap.2.26) *kayak-kabut*  
 k-ajak-k-abut  
 2s-child oF-2s-child oM  
 'your.pl child' *lit.* 'your.sg child of female, your.sg child of male' (Someone speaks to a woman and her husband referring to their child)



## Appendix 3

### Conjugational forms of *wat-*

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#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Appendix 3 is taken from Burung (2005). Languages with rich morphological information do not usually have many verbs. Kalam, a Papuan language spoken in Papua New Guinea, has less than 100 verb stems (Foley 1986: 115, 243). Wano, a Papuan language spoken in the interior of Papua (Indonesia), has about 120 verb stems listed in §3. These verb stems have bound roots and may have about 280 conjugational forms encoding tense-aspect-mode and subject(-object) markers. The verb root *wat-* 'hit him/her/it', for example, has been translated here as such, but the root can also be translated: 'kill him/her/it', 'stab him/her/it', 'poke him/her/it', 'strike him/her/it', 'attack him/her/it', 'prod at him/her/it' or 'kick him/her/it' (cf. Pawley's data on Kalam, in Foley 1986: 115). Verb roots like *wat-*, in Wano, and in many other Papuan languages, thus represents perfectly well a complete clausal expression. For instance, the verb stem *wakirak* is a morphological shape of the verb root *wat-* that means '(s)he/it hit him/her/it', which is a complete transitive clause in English (cf. Foley 1986: 169). Hereunder, the 281 conjugational forms of *wat-* 'hit him/her/it' is presented alphabetically.

### 3.2 THE ROOT *WAT* {*WAT-*} 'HIT HIM/HER/IT'

**inyareb** [iɲa'rebʔ] /i.na.tep/ <inyar-eb> {hit them-you pl:inceptive} *incept vb* 'you pl are about to hit them'.

**inyarid** [iɲa'ridʔ] /i.na.tid/ <inyar-id> {hit them-I:incept} *incept vb* 'I am about to hit them'.

**inyarok** [iɲa'ɾokʔ] /i.na.tok/ <inyar-ok> {hit them-3s/p:inceptive} *incept vb* 'sg/pl is/are about to hit them'.

**inyaru** [iɲa'ru] /i.na.tu/ <inyar-u> {hit them-you:inceptive} *incept vb* 'you are about to hit them'.

**inyaruid** [iɲaru'idʔ] /i.na.tu.id/ <inyar-uid> {hit them-we:inceptive} *incept vb* 'we are about to hit them'.

**inyokacak** [iɲokə'çakʔ] /i.no.ka.tjak/ <inyot-k-ac-ak> {hit them-realis-I-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'I hit them then'.

**inyokarik** [iɲokə'rikʔ] /i.no.ka.tik/ <inyot-k-ar-ik> {hit them-realis-they-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'they were hitting them'.

**inyokendak** [iɲokə<sup>h</sup>'dakʔ] /i.no.ke.ntak/ <inyot-k-end-ak> {hit them-realis-you-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'you hit them then'.

**inyokendik** [iɲokə<sup>h</sup>'dikʔ] /i.no.ke.ntik/ <inyot-k-end-ik> {hit them-realis-you-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'you were hitting them'.

**inyokepak** [iɲokə'pakʔ] /i.no.ke.pak/ <inyot-k-ep-ak> {hit them-realis-you pl-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'you pl hit them then'.

**inyokerak** [iɲokə'rakʔ] /i.no.ke.tak/ <inyot-k-er-ak> {hit them-realis-we-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'we hit them then'.

**inyokicik** [iɲoki'çik] /i.no.ki.tjik/ <inyot-k-ic-ik> {hit them-realis-I-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'I was hitting them'.

**inyokirak** [iɲoki'rakʔ] /i.no.ki.tak/ <inyot-k-ir-ak> {hit them-realis-3s-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'he/she/it hit them then'.

**inyokirik** [iɲoki'rikʔ] /i.no.ki.tik/ <inyot-k-ir-ik> {hit them-realis-he/she/it-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting them'.

**inyoko** [iɲo'kɔ] /i.no.ko/ <inyot-k-o> {hit them-realis-singular} *simp vb* 'he hit them'.

- inyokodarak** [ɪnɔkɔdɑ'rakʰ] /i.no.ko.da.tak/ <inyot-k-od-ar-ak> {hit them-realis-reflexive-they-sequential} *reflex prox seq vb* 'they hit themselves then'.
- inyokodarik** [ɪnɔkɔdɑ'rikʰ] /i.no.ko.dar.ik/ <inyot-k-od-ar-ik> {hit them-realis-reflexive-they-progressive} *reflex prox prog vb* 'they were hitting themselves'.
- inyokoduca** [ɪnɔkɔdʊ'ʧa] /i.no.ko.du.tja/ <inyot-k-od-u-ca> {hit them-realis-reflexive-singular:plural-purposive} *prox purp vb* in order that sg/pl hit themselves. IMPL in order that they hit themselves.
- inyokogodarik** [ɪnɔkɔɣɔdɑ'rikʰ] /i.no.ko.ko.da.tik/ <inyot-k-o-g-od-ar-ik> {hit them-see-remote-realis-reflexive-they-progressive} *reflex rem prog vb* 'they were hitting themselves long ago'.
- inyokondik** [ɪnɔkɔ<sup>nd</sup>'dikʰ] /i.no.ko.ntik/ <inyot-k-ond-ik> {hit them-realis-you-progressive} *prog vb* 'you are hitting them'.
- inyokotik** [ɪnɔkɔ'tikʰ] /i.no.ko.tik/ <inyot-k-ot-ik> {hit them-realis-I-progressive} *prog vb* 'I am hitting them'.
- inyokouguarak** [ɪnɔkɔ<sup>u</sup>ɣ'a'rakʰ] /i.no.kou.kwa.tak/ <inyo-k-ou-gw-ar-ak> {hit them-see-remote-realis-they-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'they hit them long ago then'.
- inyokouguarik** [ɪnɔkɔ<sup>u</sup>ɣ'a'rikʰ] /i.no.kou.kwa.tik/ <inyot-k-ou-gu-ar-ik> {hit them-see-remote-realis-they-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'they were hitting them long ago'.
- inyoku** [ɪnɔ'ku] /i.no.ku/ <inyot-k-u> {hit them-realis-plural} *simp vb* 'they hit them'.
- inyokuca** [ɪnɔku'ʧa] /i.no.ku.tja/ <inyot-k-u-ca> {hit them-realis-singular:plural-purposive} *prox purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit them'.
- inyokudu** [ɪnɔku'du] /i.no.ku.du/ <inyot-k-ud-u> {hit them-realis-reflexive-plural} *reflex simp vb* 'they hit themselves'.
- inyokuerik** [ɪnɔk<sup>w</sup>ɛ'rikʰ] /i.no.ku.et.ik/ <inyot-k-uer-ik> {hit them-realis-we-progressive} *prog vb* 'we are hitting them'.
- inyokuerik** [ɪnɔk<sup>w</sup>ɛ'rikʰ] /i.no.kue.tik/ <inyot-k-uer-ik> {hit them-realis-we-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'we were hitting them'.
- inyokupik** [ɪnɔku'pikʰ] /i.no.ku.pik/ <inyot-k-up-ik> {hit them-realis-you pl-progressive} *prog vb* 'you pl are hitting them'.
- inyokupik** [ɪnɔku'pikʰ] /i.no.ku.pik/ <inyot-k-up-ik> {hit them-realis-you pl-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'you pl were hitting them'.

**inyokwa** [ɪnɔ'kʷa] /i.no.ko.wa/ <inyot-k-o-wa> {hit them-real-is-plural-habitual} *hab vb* 'singular always hits them'. SEE (i) *wat*. (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.

**inyoriak** [ɪnɔri'akʷ] /i.no.ti.ak/ {hit them-sequential} *neut seq vb* 'wish to hit them then'.

**inyorigendak** [ɪnɔriɣɛ<sup>ln</sup>dakʷ] /i.no.ti.ke.ntak/ <inyor-i-g-end-ak> {hit them-remote-real-is-you-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'you hit them long ago then'.

**inyorigendik** [ɪnɔriɣɛ<sup>ln</sup>dikʷ] /i.no.ti.ke.ntik/ <inyor-i-g-end-ik> {hit them-remote-real-is-you-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'you were hitting them long ago'.

**inyorigepak** [ɪnɔriɣɛ'pakʷ] /i.no.ti.ke.pak/ <inyor-i-g-ep-ak> {hit them-remote-real-is-you pl-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'you pl hit them long ago then'.

**inyorigerak** [ɪnɔriɣɛ'rakʷ] /i.no.ti.ke.tak/ <inyor-i-g-er-ak> {hit them-remote-real-is-we-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'we hit them long ago then'.

**inyorigicak** [ɪnɔriɣi'çakʷ] /i.no.ti.ki.tjak/ <inyor-i-g-ic-ak> {hit them-remote-real-is-I-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'I hit them long ago then'.

**inyorigicik** [ɪnɔriɣi'çikʷ] /i.no.ti.ki.tjik/ <inyor-i-g-ic-ik> {hit them-remote-real-is-I-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'I was hitting them long ago'.

**inyorigirik** [ɪnɔriɣi'rikʷ] /i.no.ti.ki.tik/ <inyor-i-g-ir-ik> {hit them-remote-real-is-3s-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting them long ago'.

**inyorigoca** [ɪnɔriɣɔ'ça] /i.no.ti.ko.tja/ <inyor-i-g-o-ca> {hit them-remote-real-is-singular-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that singular hit them long ago'.

**inyorigodarak** [ɪnɔriɣɔda'rakʷ] /i.no.ti.ko.da.tak/ <inyor-i-g-od-ar-ak> {hit them-remote-real-is-reflexive-they-sequential} *reflex rem seq vb* 'they hit themselves long ago then'.

**inyorigoduca** [ɪnɔriɣɔdu'ça] /i.no.ti.ko.du.tja/ <inyor-i-g-od-u-ca> {hit them-remote-real-is-reflexive-plural-purposive} *reflex rem purp vb* in order that plural hit themselves. IMPL in order that they hit themselves.

**inyoriguca** [ɪnɔriɣu'ça] /i.no.ti.ku.tja/ <inyor-i-g-u-ca> {hit them-remote-real-is-plural-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that plural hit them'.

**inyoriguerik** [ɪnɔriɣ<sup>wɛ</sup>'rikʷ] /i.no.ti.kue.tik/ <inyor-i-g-uer-ik> {hit them-remote-real-is-we-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'we were hitting them long ago'.

**inyorigupik** [ɪnɔriɣu'pikʷ] /i.no.ti.ku.pik/ <inyor-i-g-up-ik> {hit them-remote-real-is-you pl-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'you pl were hitting them long ago'.



**inyorodok** [ɪnɔɾɔ'dɔkʷ] /i.no.to.dok/ <inyor-od-ok> {hit them-reflexive-they:inceptive} *reflex incept vb* sg/pl is/are about to hit themselves. IMPL they are about to hit themselves.

**inyoroduca** [ɪnɔɾɔdu'ʧa] /i.no.to.du.tja/ <inyor-od-u-ca> {hit them-reflexive-singular:plural-purposive} *reflex purp vb* in order that sg/pl hit themselves. IMPL in order that they hit themselves.

**inyoruca** [ɪnɔɾu'ʧa] /i.no.tu.tja/ <inyor-u-ca> {hit them-singular:plural-purposive} *purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit them'.

**inyot** [ɪnɔtʷ] /i.not/ <inyot-> {hit them-} *vb st* 'hit them'.

**inyotnuk** [ɪnɔt'nukʷ] /i.not.nuk/ <inyot-nuk> {hit them-same subject} *ss vb* 'having hit them'.

**inyukwa** [ɪnu'kʷa] /i.nu.ku.wa/ <inyut-k-u-wa> {hit them-realiz-plural-habitual} *hab vb* 'plural always hit them'. SEE (i) *wat.* (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.

**inyurodugwa** [ɪnɔɾɔdu'ɣʷa] /i.nu.to.du.kwa/ <inyur-od-u-g-wa> {hit them-reflexive-plural-realiz-habitual} *reflex hab vb* plural always hit themselves. IMPL they always hit themselves. SEE (i) *wat.* (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.

**karid** [ka'ridʷ] /ka.tid/ <kar-id> {hit you-I:inceptive} *incept vb* 'I am about to hit you'.

**karok** [ka'rɔkʷ] /ka.tok/ <kar-ok> {hit you-3s/p:inceptive} *incept vb* 'sg/pl is/are about to hit you'.

**karuid** [karu'idʷ] /ka.tu.id/ <kar-uid> {hit you-we:incept} *incept vb* 'we are about to hit you'.

**kinyarid** [kiɲa'ridʷ] /ki.na.tid/ <kinyar-id> {hit you pl-I:inceptive} *incept vb* 'I am about to hit you pl'.

**kinyarok** [kiɲa'rɔkʷ] /ki.na.tok/ <kinyar-ok> {hit you pl-3s/p:inceptive} *incept vb* 'sg/pl is/are about to hit you pl'.

**kinyaruid** [kiɲaru'idʷ] /ki.na.tu.id/ <kinyar-uid> {hit you pl-we:inceptive} *incept vb* 'we are about to hit you pl'.

**kinyokacak** [kiɲɔka'ʧakʷ] /ki.no.ka.tjak/ <kinyot-k-ac-ak> {hit you pl-realiz-I-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'I hit you pl then'.

**kinyokarak** [kiɲɔka'rakʷ] /ki.no.ka.tak/ <kinyot-k-ar-ak> {hit you pl-realiz-they-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'they hit you pl then'.

**kinyokarik** [kiɲɔka'rikʷ] /ki.no.ka.tik/ <kinyot-k-ar-ik> *prox prog vb* 'they were hitting you'.

**kinyokerak** [kɪnɔkɛ'ɾakʷ] /ki.no.ke.tak/ <kinyot-k-er-ak> {hit you pl-realiz-we-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'we hit you pl then'.

**kinyokicik** [kɪnɔki'çikʷ] /ki.no.ki.tjik/ <kinyot-k-ic-ik> {hit you pl-realiz-I-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'I was hitting you pl'.

**kinyokirak** [kɪnɔki'ɾakʷ] /ki.no.ki.tak/ <kinyot-k-ir-ak> {hit you pl-realiz-3s-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'he/she/it hit you pl then'.

**kinyokirik** [kɪnɔki'ɾikʷ] /ki.no.ki.tik/ <kinyot-k-ir-ik> {hit you pl-realiz-3s-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting you pl'.

**kinyoko** [kɪnɔ'kɔ] /ki.no.ko/ <kinyot-k-o> {hit you pl-realiz-singular} *simp vb* 'he hit you pl'.

**kinyokodepak** [kɪnɔkɔdɛ'pakʷ] /ki.no.ko.de.pak/ <kinyot-k-od-ep-ak> {hit you pl-realiz-reflexive-you pl-sequential} *reflex prox seq vb* 'you pl hit yourselves then'.

**kinyokoduca** [kɪnɔkɔdu'ça] /ki.no.ko.du.tja/ <kinyot-k-od-u-ca> {hit you pl-realiz-reflexive-singular:plural-purposive} *reflex prox purp vb* in order that sg/pl hit yourselves. IMPL in order that you pl hit yourselves.

**kinyokodupik** [kɪnɔkɔdu'pikʷ] /ki.no.ko.du.pik/ <kinyot-k-od-up-ik> {hit you pl-realiz-reflexive-you pl-progressive} *reflex prog vb* 'you pl are hitting yourselves'.

**kinyokodupik** [kɪnɔkɔdu'pikʷ] /ki.no.ko.du.pik/ <kinyot-k-od-up-ik> {hit you pl-realiz-reflexive-you pl-progressive} *reflex prox prog vb* 'you pl were hitting yourselves'.

**kinyokotik** [kɪnɔkɔ'tikʷ] /ki.no.ko.tik/ <kinyot-k-ot-ik> {hit you pl-realiz-I-progressive} *prog vb* 'I am hitting you pl'.

**kinyoku** [kɪnɔ'ku] /ki.no.ku/ <kinyot-k-u> {hit you pl-realiz-plural} *simp vb* 'they hit you pl'.

**kinyokuca** [kɪnɔku'ça] /ki.no.ku.tja/ <kinyot-k-u-ca> {hit you pl-realiz-singular:plural-purposive} *prox purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit you pl'.

**kinyokuerik** [kɪnɔkʷɛ'ɾikʷ] /ki.no.kue.tik/ <kinyot-k-uer-ik> {hit you pl-realiz-we-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'we were hitting you pl'.

**kinyokwa** [kɪnɔ'kʷa] /ki.no.ko.wa/ <kinyot-k-o-wa> {hit you pl-realiz-singular-habitual} *hab vb* 'singular always hits you pl'. SEE (i) *wat.* (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.

**kinyoriak** [kɪnɔɾi'akʷ] /ki.no.ti.ak/ <kinyor-iak> {hit you pl-sequential} *neut seq vb* 'wish to hit you pl then'.

**kinyorigarak** [kɪnɔɾiya'ɾakʷ] /ki.no.ti.ka.tak/ <kinyor-i-g-ar-ak> {hit you pl-remote-realiz-they-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'they hit you pl long ago then'.

- kinyorigarik** [kɨnɔɾiɣa'rikʰ] /ki.no.ti.ka.tik/ <kinyor-i-g-ar-ik> {hit you-remote-realis-they-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'they were hitting you long ago'.
- kinyorigerak** [kɨnɔɾiɣe'ɾakʰ] /ki.no.ti.ke.tak/ <kinyor-i-g-er-ak> {hit you pl-remote-realis-we-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'we hit you pl long ago then'.
- kinyorigicak** [kɨnɔɾiɣi'ɕakʰ] /ki.no.ti.ki.tjak/ <kinyor-i-g-ic-ak> {hit you pl-remote-realis-I-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'hit you pl long ago then'.
- kinyorigicik** [kɨnɔɾiɣi'ɕikʰ] /ki.no.ti.ki.tjik/ <kinyor-i-g-ic-ik> {hit you pl-remote-realis-I-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'I was hitting you pl long ago'.
- kinyorigirik** [kɨnɔɾiɣi'rikʰ] /ki.no.ti.ki.tik/ <kinyor-i-g-ir-ik> {hit you-remote-realis-3s-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting you long ago'.
- kinyorigoca** [kɨnɔɾiɣɔ'ɕa] /ki.no.ti.ko.tja/ <kinyor-i-g-o-ca> {hit you-remote-realis-singular-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that singular hit you long ago'.
- kinyorigodepak** [kɨnɔɾiɣɔɖe'pak] /ki.no.ti.ko.de.pak/ <kinyor-i-g-od-ep-ak> {hit you pl-remote-realis-reflexive-you pl-sequential} *reflex rem seq vb* 'you pl hit yourselves long ago then'.
- kinyorigoduca** [kɨnɔɾiɣɔɖu'ɕa] /ki.no.ti.ko.du.tja/ <kinyor-i-g-od-u-ca> *reflex rem purp vb* in order that plural hit you pl. IMPL in order that you pl hit yourselves.
- kinyorigodupik** [kɨnɔɾiɣɔɖu'pikʰ] /ki.no.ti.ko.du.pik/ <kinyor-i-g-od-up-ik> {hit you pl-remote-realis-reflexive-you pl-progressive} *reflex rem prog vb* you 'pl were hitting yourselves long ago'.
- kinyoriguca** [kɨnɔɾiɣu'ca] /ki.no.ti.ku.tja/ <kinyor-i-g-u-ca> {hit you pl-remote-realis-plural-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that plural hit you pl'.
- kinyoriguerik** [kɨnɔɾiɣʷe'rikʰ] /ki.no.ti.kue.tik/ <kinyor-i-g-uer-ik> {hit you pl-remote-realis-we-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'we were hitting you pl long ago'.
- kinyorodeb** [kɨnɔɾɔ'dɛbʰ] /ki.no.to.dep/ <kinyor-od-eb> {hit you pl-reflexive-you pl:inceptive} *reflex incep vb* 'you pl are about to hit yourselves'.
- kinyoroduca** [kɨnɔɾɔɖu'ɕa] /ki.no.to.du.tja/ <kinyor-od-u-ca> {hit you pl-reflexive-singular:plural-purposive} *reflex purp vb* in order that sg/pl hit yourselves. IMPL in order that you pl hit yourselves.
- kinyoruca** [kɨnɔɾu'ɕa] /ki.no.tu.tja/ <kinyor-u-ca> {hit you-singular:plural-purposive} *purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit you pl'.

**kinyot** [kɪnɔt˧] /ki.nɔt/ <kinyot-> {hit you pl-} *vb st* 'hit you pl'.

**kinyotnuk** [kɪnɔt˧nuk˧] /ki.nɔt.nuk/ <kinyot-nuk> {hit you pl-same subject} *ss vb* 'having hit you pl'.

**kinyukwa** [kɪnu˧k˧wa] /ki.nu.ku.wa/ <kinyut-k-u-wa> {hit you pl-realis-plural-habitual} *hab vb* 'plural always hit you pl'. SEE (i) *wat*. (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.

**kinyurodugwa** [kɪnurɔdu˧ɣ˧wa] /ki.nu. to.du-kwa/ <kinyur-od-u-g-wa> {hit you pl-reflexive-plural-realis-habitual} *reflex hab vb* plural always hit yourselves. IMPL you pl always hit yourselves. SEE (i) *wat*. (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.

**kokacak** [kɔka˧ɕak˧] /ko.ka.tjak/ <kot-k-ac-ak> {hit you-realis-I-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'I hit you then'.

**kokarak** [kɔka˧rak˧] /ko.ka.tak/ <kot-k-ar-ak> {hit you-realis-they-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'they hit you then'.

**kokarik** [kɔka˧rik˧] /ko.ka.tik/ <kot-k-ar-ik> {hit you-realis-they-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'they were hitting you'.

**kokerak** [kɔke˧rak˧] /ko.ke.tak/ <kot-k-er-ak> {hit you-realis-we-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'we hit you then'.

**kokewok** [kɔke˧wɔk˧] /ko.ke.wok/ <k-otkewok> {2s-forehead} *ipn* 'your forehead'.

**kokicik** [kɔki˧ɕik˧] /ko.ki.tjik/ <kot-k-ic-ik> {hit you-realis-I-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'I was hitting you'.

**kokirak** [kɔki˧rak˧] /kot-ki-tak/ <kot-k-ir-ak> {hit you-realis-3s-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'he/she/it hit you then'.

**kokirik** [kɔki˧rik˧] /ko.ki.tik/ <kot-k-ir-ik> {hit you-realis-they-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting you'.

**koko** [kɔ˧kɔ] /ko.ko/ <kot-k-o> {hit you-realis-singular} *simp vb* 'he hit you'.

**kokodendak** [kɔkɔɖɛ˧˩dak˧] /ko.ko.de.ntak/ <kot-k-od-end-ak> {hit you-realis-reflexive-you-sequential} *reflex prox seq vb* 'you hit yourself then'.

**kokodendik** [kɔkɔɖɛ˧˩dik˧] /ko.ko.de.ntik/ <kot-k-od-end-ik> {hit you-realis-reflexive-you-progressive} *reflex prox prog vb* 'you were hitting yourself'.

**kokodontik** [kɔkɔɖɔ˧˩dik˧] /ko.ko.do.ntik/ <kot-k-od-ond-ik> {hit you-realis-reflexive-you-progressive} *reflex prog vb* 'you are hitting yourself'.

- kokoduca** [kəkɔdu'ça] /ko.ko.du.tja/ <kot-k-od-u-ca> {hit you-realis-reflexive-singular:plural-purposive} *reflex prox purp vb* in order that sg/pl hit yourself. IMPL in order that you hit yourself.
- kokotik** [kəkɔ'tikʷ] /ko.ko.tik/ <kot-k-ot-ik> {hit you-realis-I-progressive} *prog vb* 'I am hitting you'.
- koku** [kɔ'ku] /ko.ku/ <kot-k-u> {hit you-realis-plural} *simp vb* 'they hit you'.
- kokuca** [kɔku'ça] /ko.ku.tja/ <kot-k-u-ca> {hit you-realis-singular:plural-purposive} *prox purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit you'.
- kokuerik** [kəkʷɛ'rikʷ] /ko.kue.tik/ <kot-k-uer-ik> {hit you-realis-we-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'we were hitting you'.
- kokwa** [kɔ'kʷa] /ko.ko.wa/ <kot-k-o-wa> {hit you-realis-singular-habitual} *hab vb* 'singular always hits you'. SEE (i) *wat*. (ii) *kukwa*. (iii) NOTE in *nokwa*.
- koriak** [kɔri'akʷ] /ko.ti.ak/ <kor-iak> {hit you-sequential} *neut seq vb* 'wish to hit you then'.
- korigarak** [kɔriya'rakʷ] /ko.ti.ka.tak/ <kor-i-g-ar-ak> {hit you-remote-realis-they-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'they hit you long ago then'.
- korigarik** [kɔriya'rikʷ] /ko.ti.ka.tik/ <kor-i-g-ar-ik> {hit you-remote-realis-they-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'they were hitting you long ago'.
- korigerak** [kɔriyɛ'rakʷ] /ko.ti.ke.tak/ <kor-i-g-er-ak> {hit you-remote-realis-we-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'we hit you long ago then'.
- korigicak** [kɔriyi'çakʷ] /ko.ti.ki.tjak/ <kor-i-g-ic-ak> {hit you-remote-realis-I-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'I hit you long ago then'.
- korigicik** [kɔriyi'çikʷ] /ko.ti.ki.tjik/ <kor-i-g-ic-ik> {hit you-remote-realis-I-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'I was hitting you long ago'.
- korigirak** [kɔriyi'rakʷ] /ko.ti.ki.tak/ <kor-i-g-ir-ak> {hit you-remote-realis-3s-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'he/she/it hit you long ago then'.
- korigirik** [kɔriyi'rikʷ] /ko.ti.ki.tik/ <kor-i-g-ir-ik> {hit you-remote-realis-3s-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting you long ago'.
- korigoca** [kɔriyɔ'ça] /ko.ti.ko.tja/ <kor-i-g-o-ca> {hit you-remote-realis-singular-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that singular hit you long ago'.
- korigodendak** [kɔriyɔdɛ'ɫdakʷ] /ko.ti.ko.de.ntak/ <kor-i-g-do-end-ak> {hit you-remote-realis-reflexive-you-sequential} *reflex rem seq vb* 'you hit yourself long ago then'.

**korigodendik** [kəɾiɣɔdɛ<sup>ln</sup>dik<sup>ɿ</sup>] /ko.ti.ko.de.ntik/ <kor-i-g-od-end-ik> {hit you-remote-realis-reflexive-you-progressive} *reflex rem prog vb* 'you were hitting yourself long ago then'.

**korigodoca** [kəɾiɣɔdɔ<sup>l</sup>ça] /ko.ti.ko.do.tja/ <kor-i-g-od-o-ca> {hit you-remote-realis-reflexive-singular-purposive} *reflex rem purp vb* in order that singular hit yourself long ago. IMPL in order that you hit yourself.

**koriguca** [kəɾiyu<sup>l</sup>ça] /ko.ti.ku.tja/ <kor-i-g-u-ca> {hit you-remote-realis-plural-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that plural hit you long ago'.

**koriguerik** [kəɾiɣ<sup>w</sup>ɛ<sup>l</sup>rik<sup>ɿ</sup>] /ko.ti.kue.tik/ <kor-i-g-uer-ik> {hit you-remote-realis-we-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'we were hitting you long ago'.

**korodogwa** [kəɾɔdɔ<sup>l</sup>ɣ<sup>w</sup>a] /ko.to.do.kwa/ <kor-od-o-g-wa> {hit you-reflexive-singular-realis-habitual} *reflex hab vb* singular always hit yourself. IMPL you always hit yourself.

**korodu** [kəɾɔ<sup>l</sup>du] /ko.to.du/ <kor-od-u> {hit you-reflexive-you:inceptive} *reflex incep vb* 'you are about to hit yourself'.

**koroduca** [kəɾɔdu<sup>l</sup>ça] /ko.to.du.tja/ <kor-od-u-ca> {hit you-reflexive-purposive} *purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit yourself'. IMPL in order that you hit yourself.

**koruca** [kəɾu<sup>l</sup>ça] /ko.tu.tja/ <kor-u-ca> {hit you-singular:plural-purposive} *purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit you'.

**kot**<sup>1</sup> [kɔt<sup>ɿ</sup>] /kot/ <kot-> {hit you-} *vb st* 'hit you'.

**kotnuk** [kɔt<sup>l</sup>nuk<sup>ɿ</sup>] /kot.nuk/ <kot-nuk> {hit you-same subject} *ss vb* 'having hit you'.

**kukwa** [ku<sup>l</sup>k<sup>w</sup>a] /ku.ku.wa/ <kut-k-u-wa> {hit you-realis-plural-habitual} *hab vb* 'plural always hit you'. SEE (i) *wat-*. (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.

**nareb** [na<sup>l</sup>rɛb<sup>ɿ</sup>] /na.tep/ <nar-eb> {hit me-you pl:inceptive} *incep vb* you pl are about to hit me.

**narok** [na<sup>l</sup>rɔk<sup>ɿ</sup>] /na.tok/ <nar-ok> {hit me-3s/p:inceptive} *incep vb* 'sg/pl is/are about to hit me'.

**naru** [na<sup>l</sup>ru] /na.tu/ <nar-u> {hit me-you:inceptive} *incep vb* 'you are about to hit me'.

**ninyareb** [niɲa<sup>l</sup>rɛb<sup>ɿ</sup>] /ni.na.tep/ <ninyar-eb> {hit us-you pl:inceptive} *incep vb* 'you pl are about to hit us'.

**ninyarok** [niɲa<sup>l</sup>rɔk<sup>ɿ</sup>] /ni.na.tok/ <ninyar-ok> {hit us-3s/p:inceptive} *incep vb* 'sg/pl is/are about to hit us'.

**ninyaru** [nɪnɑˈru] /ni.na.tu/ <ninyar-u> {hit us-you:inceptive} *incep vb* 'you are about to hit us'.

**ninyokarak** [nɪnɔkɑˈrakˀ] /ni.no.ka.tak/ <ninyot-k-ar-ak> {hit us-realis-they-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'they hit us then'.

**ninyokarik** [nɪnɔkɑˈrikˀ] /ni.no.ka.tik/ <ninyot-k-ar-ik> {hit you pl-realise-they-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'they were hitting you pl'.

**ninyokendak** [nɪnɔkɛˈndakˀ] /ni.no.ke.ntak/ <ninyot-k-end-ak> {hit us-realise-you-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'you hit us then'.

**ninyokendik** [nɪnɔkɛˈndikˀ] /ni.no.ke.ntik/ <ninyot-k-end-ik> {hit us-realise-you-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'you were hitting us'.

**ninyokepak** [nɪnɔkɛˈpakˀ] /ni.no.ke.pak/ <ninyot-k-ep-ak> {hit us-realise-you pl-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'you pl hit us then'.

**ninyokirak** [nɪnɔkiˈrakˀ] /ni.no.ki.tak/ <ninyot-k-ir-ak> {hit us-realise-3s-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'he/she/it hit us then'.

**ninyokirik** [nɪnɔkiˈrikˀ] /ni.no.ki.tik/ <ninyot-k-ir-ik> {hit us-realise-3s-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting us'.

**ninyoko** [nɪnɔˈkɔ] /ni.no.ko/ <ninyot-k-o> {hit us-realise-singular} *simp vb* 'he hit us'.

**ninyokoderak** [nɪnɔkɔdɛˈrakˀ] /ni.no.ko.de.tak/ <ninyot-k-od-er-ak> {hit us-realise-reflexive-we-sequential} *reflex prox seq vb* 'we hit ourselves then'.

**ninyokoduca** [nɪnɔkɔdʊˈʧɑ] /ni.no.ko.du.tja/ <ninyot-k-od-u-ca> {hit us-realise-reflexive-singular:plural-purposive} *reflex prox purp vb* in order that sg/pl hit ourselves. IMPL in order that we hit ourselves.

**ninyokoduerik** [nɪnɔkɔdʊˈɛˈrikˀ] /ni.no.ko.due.tik/ <ninyot-k-od-uer-ik> *reflex prox prog vb* 'we were hitting ourselves'.

**ninyokondik** [nɪnɔkɔˈndikˀ] /ni.no.ko.ntik/ <ninyot-k-od-ond-ik> {hit us-realise-you-progressive} *prog vb* 'you are hitting us'.

**ninyoku** [nɪnɔˈku] /ni.no.ku/ <ninyot-k-u> {hit us-realise-plural} *simp vb* 'they hit us'.

**ninyokuca** [nɪnɔkuˈʧɑ] /ni.no.ku.tja/ <ninyot-k-u-ca> {hit us-realise-singular:plural-purposive} *prox purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit us'.

**ninyokupik** [nɪnɔkuˈpikˀ] /ni.no.ku.pik/ <ninyot-k-up-ik> {hit us-realise-you pl-progressive} *prog vb* 'you pl are hitting us'.

**ninyokupik** [nɪjɔku'pɪkʰ] /ni.no.ku.pik/ <ninyot-k-up-ik> {hit us-realis-you pl-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'you pl were hitting us'.

**ninyokwa** [nɪjɔ'kʷa] /ni.no.ko.wa/ <ninyot-k-o-wa> {hit us-realis-singular-habitual} *hab vb* 'singular always hits us'. SEE (i) *wat*. (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.

**ninyoriak** [nɪjɔri'akʰ] /ni.no.ti.ak/ <ninyor-iak> {hit us-sequential} *neut seq vb* 'wish to hit us then'.

**ninyorigarak** [nɪjɔriɣa'rakʰ] /ni.no.ti.ka.tak/ <ninyor-i-g-ar-ak> {hit us-remote-realis-they-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'they hit us long ago then'.

**ninyorigarik** [nɪjɔriɣa'rikʰ] /ni.no.ti.ka.tik/ <ninyor-i-g-ar-ik> {hit us-remote-realis-they-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'they were hitting us long ago'.

**ninyorigendak** [nɪjɔriɣɛ<sup>ln</sup>dakʰ] /ni.no.ti.ke.ntak/ <ninyor-i-g-end-ak> {hit us-remote-realis-you-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'you hit us long ago then'.

**ninyorigendik** [nɪjɔriɣɛ<sup>ln</sup>dikʰ] /ni.no.ti.ke.ntik/ <ninyor-i-g-end-ik> {hit us-remote-realis-you-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'you were hitting us long ago'.

**ninyorigepak** [nɪjɔriɣɛ'pakʰ] /ni.no.ti.ke.pak/ <ninyor-i-g-ep-ak> {hit us-remote-realis-you pl-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'you pl hit us long ago then'.

**ninyorigirak** [nɪjɔriɣi'rakʰ] /ni.no.ti.ki.tak/ <ninyor-i-g-ir-ak> {hit us-remote-realis-3s-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'he/she/it hit us long ago then'.

**ninyorigirik** [nɪjɔriɣi'rikʰ] /ni.no.ti.ki.tik/ <ninyor-i-g-ir-ik> {hit us-remote-realis-3s-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting us long ago'.

**ninyorigoca** [nɪjɔriɣɔ'ça] /ni.no.ti.ko.tja/ <ninyor-i-g-o-ca> {hit us-remote-realis-singular-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that singular hit us long ago'.

**ninyorigoderak** [nɪjɔriɣɔdɛ'rakʰ] /ni.no.ti.ko.de.tak/ <ninyor-i-g-od-er-ak> {hit us-remote-realis-reflexive-we-sequential} *reflex rem seq vb* 'we hit ourselves long ago then'.

**ninyorigoduca** [nɪjɔriɣɔdɯ'ca] /ni.no.ti.ko.du.tja/ <ninyor-i-g-od-u-ca> {hit us-remote-realis-reflexive-plural-purposive} *reflex rem purp vb* in order that plural hit us long ago. IMPL in order that we hit us long ago.

**ninyorigoduerik** [nɪjɔriɣɔd<sup>w</sup>ɛ'rikʰ] /ni.no.ti.ko.due.tik/ <ninyor-i-g-od-uer-ik> {hit us-remote-realis-reflexive-we-progressive} *reflex rem prog vb* 'we were hitting ourselves long ago'.



- ninyoriguca** [nɪjɔɾiɣu'ça] /ni.no.ti.ku.tja/ <ninyor-i-g-u-ca> {hit us-remote-realis-plural-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that plural hit us long ago'.
- ninyorigupik** [nɪjɔɾiɣu'pikʰ] /ni.no.ti.ku.pik/ <ninyor-i-g-up-ik> {hit us-remote-realis-you pl-progressive} *rem prog vb* you pl were hitting us long ago.
- ninyoroduca** [nɪjɔɾɔɖu'ça] /ni.no.to.du.tja/ <ninyor-od-u-ca> {hit us-reflexive-singular:plural-purposive} *reflex purp vb* in order that sg/pl hit ourselves. IMPL in order that we hit ourselves.
- ninyoroduid** [nɪjɔɾɔɖu'idʰ] /ni.no.to.du.id/ <ninyor-od-uid> {hit us-reflexive-we:inceptive} *reflex incep vb* 'we are about to hit ourselves'.
- ninyoruca** [nɪjɔɾu'ça] /ni.no.tu.tja/ <ninyor-u-ca> {hit us-singular:plural-purposive} *purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit us'.
- ninyot** [nɪjɔtʰ] /ni.not/ <ninyot-> {hit us-} *vb st* 'hit us'.
- ninyotnuk** [nɪjɔt'nukʰ] /ni.not.nuk/ <ninyot-nuk> {hit us-same subject} *ss vb* 'having hit us'.
- ninyukwa** [nɪju'kʷa] /ni.nu.ku.wa/ <ninyut-k-u-wa> {hit us-realis-plural-habitual} *hab vb* 'plural always hit us'. SEE (i) *wat.* (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.
- ninyurodugwa** [nɪjɪɾɔɖu'ɣʷa] /ni.nu.to.du.kwa/ <ninyur-od-u-g-wa> {hit us-reflexive-plural-realis-habitual} *reflex hab vb* plural always hit ourselves. IMPL we always hit ourselves. SEE (i) *wat.* (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.
- nokarak** [nɔka'rakʰ] /no.ka.tak/ <not-k-ar-ak> {hit me-realis-they-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'they hit me then'.
- nokarik** [nɔka'rikʰ] /no.ka.tik/ <not-k-ar-ik> {hit me-realis-they-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'they were hitting me'.
- nokendak** [nɔkɛʰndakʰ] /no.ke.ntak/ <not-k-end-ak> {hit me-realis-you-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'you hit me than'.
- nokendik** [nɔkɛʰndikʰ] /no.ke.ntik/ <not-k-end-ik> {hit me-realis-you-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'you were hitting me'.
- nokepapak** [nɔkɛ'pakʰ] /no.ke.pak/ <not-k-ep-ak> {hit me-realis-you pl-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'you pl hit me then'.
- nokirak** [nɔki'rakʰ] /no.ki.tak/ <not-k-ir-ak> {hit me-realis-3s-sequential} *pox seq vb* 'he/she/it hit me then'.

**nokirik** [noki'rikʰ] /no.ki.tik/ <not-k-ir-ik> {hit me-realis-3s-progressive} *prox prog vb*  
'he/she/it was hitting me'.

**noko** [nɔ'kɔ] /no.ko/ <not-k-o> {hit me-realis-singular} *simp vb* 'he hit me'.

**nokodicik** [nɔkɔdɪ'çikʰ] /no.ko.di.tjik/ <not-k-od-ic-ik> {hit me-realis-reflexive-I-progressive} *reflex prox prog vb* 'I was hitting myself'.

**nokodirak** [nɔkɔdɪ'rakʰ] /no.ko.di.tak/ <not-k-od-ir-ak> {hit me-realis-reflexive-I-sequential} *reflex prox seq vb* 'I hit myself then'.

**nokodorik** [nɔkɔdɔ'rikʰ] /not.ko.do.tik/ <not-k-od-or-ik> {hit me-realis-reflexive-I-progressive} *reflex prog vb* 'I am hitting myself'.

**nokoduca** [nɔkɔdɔ'ça] /no.ko.du.tja/ <not-k-od-u-ca> {hit me-realis-reflexive-singular:plural-purposive} *reflex prox purp vb* in order that sg/pl hit myself. IMPL in order that I hit myself.

**nokondik** [nɔkɔ<sup>nd</sup>'dikʰ] /no.ko.ntik/ <not-k-ond-ik> {hit me-realis-you-progressive} *prog vb*  
'you are hitting me'.

**noku** [nɔ'ku] /no.ku/ <not-k-u> {hit me-realis-plural} *simp vb* 'they hit me'.

**nokuca** [nɔku'ça] /no.ku.tja/ <not-k-u-ca> {hit me-realis-singular:plural-purposive} *prox purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit me'.

**nokupik** [nɔku'pikʰ] /no.ku.pik/ <not-k-up-ik> {hit me-realis-you pl-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'you pl were hitting me'.

**nokwa** [nɔ'k<sup>w</sup>a] /no.ko.wa/ <not-k-o-wa> {hit me-realis-singular-habitual} *hab vb* 'singular always hits me'. SEE *wat*, cf. *nukwa*. NOTE 1 Highly likely that a fusion of the suffix -o that marks Subject/Agent and Number (singular) occurs when it precedes the liquid /w/, or simply /o/ coalescences with /w/. The morphophonemic inner-structure would then be <not-k-o-wa>, from the phonetic [nɔkɔ'wa] in a very slow realization. Furthermore, comparing the contrast between *o-k-o* of 'do-realis-singular' and *u-k-u* 'do-realis-plural', or *t-e* 'intend-singular' and *t-u* 'intend-plural', the hypothesis is promising. If this is so, then (i) the contrast between the stem *o-* and *u-* in *o-k-o* and *u-k-u* simply occurs due to the presence of the suffixal number marking, in that -o 'singular' and -u 'plural' respectively (vowel harmony). (ii) the fused or coalescenced phonetic elements shall be marked in both phonemic and morphophonemic structures of each entry sharing the similar feature, while ignored in the phonetic representation

and the spelling convenience, cf. *nukwa*. 2 When consider its reflexive form *norodogwa*, the number marking -o preceeds the realis -k. 3 The number here refers to any singular Subject/Agent person.

- noriak** [nɔri'ak] /no.ti.ak/ <nor-iak> {hit me-sequential} *neut seq vb* 'wish to hit me then'.
- norigarak** [nɔriya'rakʷ] /no.ti.ka.tak/ <nor-i-g-ar-ak> {hit me-remote-real-is-they-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'they hit me long ago then'.
- norigarik** [nɔriya'rikʷ] /no.ti.ka.tik/ <nor-i-g-ar-ik> {hit me-remote-real-is-they-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'they were hitting me long ago'.
- norigendak** [nɔriye<sup>n</sup>dakʷ] /no.ti.ke.ntak/ <nor-i-g-end-ak> {hit me-remote-real-is-you-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'you hit me long ago then'.
- norigendik** [nɔriye<sup>n</sup>dikʷ] /no.ti.ke.ntik/ <nor-i-g-end-ik> {hit me-remote-real-is-you-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'you were hitting me long ago'.
- norigepak** [nɔriye'pakʷ] /no.ti.ke.pak/ <nor-i-g-ep-ak> {hit me-remote-real-is-you pl-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'you pl hit me long ago then'.
- norigirak** [nɔriyi'rakʷ] /no.ti.ki.tak/ <nor-i-g-ir-ak> {hit me-remote-real-is-3s-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'he/she/it hit me long ago then'.
- norigirik** [nɔriyi'rikʷ] /no.ti.ki.tik/ <nor-i-g-ir-ik> {hit me-remote-real-is-3s-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting me long ago'.
- norigoca** [nɔriyo'ça] /no.ti.ko.tja/ <nor-i-g-o-ca> {hit me-remote-real-is-singular-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that singular hit me long ago'.
- norigodicak** [nɔriyɔdi'çakʷ] /no.ti.ko.di.tjak/ <nor-i-g-od-ic-ak> {hit me-remote-real-is-reflexive-I-sequential} *reflex rem seq vb* 'I hit myself long ago then'.
- norigodicik** [nɔriyɔdi'çikʷ] /no.ti.ko.di.tjik/ <nor-i-g-od-ic-ik> {hit me-remote-real-is-reflexive-I-progressive} *reflex rem prog vb* 'I was hitting myself long ago'.
- norigodoca** [nɔriyɔdɔ'ça] /no.ti.ko.do.tja/ <nor-i-g-od-o-ca> *reflex rem purp vb* in order that singular hit myself long ago. IMPL in order that I hit myself long ago.
- noriguca** [nɔriyu'ça] /no.ti.ku.tja/ <nor-i-g-u-ca> {hit me-remote-real-is-plural-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that plural hit me long ago'.
- norigupik** [nɔriyu'pikʷ] /no.ti.ku.pik/ <nor-i-g-up-ik> {hit me-remote-real-is-you pl-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'you pl were hitting me long ago'.

**norodid** [nɔrɔ'dɪdʷ] /no.to.did/ <nor-od-id> {hit me-reflexive-I:inceptive} *reflex incept vb* 'I am about to hit myself'.

**norodogwa** [nɔrɔdɔ'ɣʷa] /no.to.do.kwa/ <nor-od-o-g-wa> {hit me-reflexive-singular-realis-habitual} *reflex hab vb* 'singular always hits myself'. IMPL I always hit myself. SEE (i) *wat*. (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.

**noroduca** [nɔrɔdu'ça] /no.to.du.tja/ <nor-od-u-ca> {hit me-reflexive-singular:plural-purposive} *purp vb* in order that sg/pl hit myself. IMPL in order that I hit myself.

**noruca** [nɔru'ça] /no.tu.tja/ <nor-u-ca> {hit me-singular:plural-purposive} *purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit me'.

**not** <sup>1</sup> [notʷ] /not/ <not-> {hit me-} *vb st* 'hit me'.

**notnuk** [not'nukʷ] /not.nuk/ <not-nuk> {hit me-same subject} *ss vb* 'having hit me'.

**nukwa** [nu'kʷa] /nu.ku.wa/ <nuk-k-u-wa> {hit me-real-is-plural-habitual} *hab vb* 'plural always hit me'. SEE (i) *wat*. (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*.

**wakaca** [waka'tja] /wa.ka.tja/ <ø-wat-k-a-ca> {3s-hit-real-is-singular-purposive} *prox purp vb* 'in order that sg hit him/her/it'.

**wakacak** [waka'eakʷ] /wa.ka.tjak/ <ø-wat-k-ac-ak> {3s-hit-real-is-I-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'I hit him/her/it then'.

**wakarak** [waka'rak] /wa.ka.tak/ <ø-wat-k-ar-ak> {3s-hit-real-is-they-sequential} *prox seq vb* 'they pl hit him/her/it then'.

**wakarik** [waka'rikʷ] /wa.ka.tik/ <ø-wat-k-ar-ik> {3s-hit-real-is-they-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'they were hitting him/her/at'.

**wakegirak** [wakeɣi'rakʷ] /wa.ke.ki.tak/ <ø-wat-k-e-g-ir-ak> {3s-hit-see-remote-real-is-3s-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'he/she/it hit him/her/it long ago then'. SEE *wat*. NOTE Serialization of three verbs: *wat*- 'hit 3s' + *kot*- 'see 3s' + *it*- 'do', where the last verb is compounded with the verb *kot*- 'see 3s' that marks 'realis'.

**wakegirik** [wakeɣi'rikʷ] /wa.ke.ki.tik/ <ø-wat-k-e-g-ir-ik> {3s-hit-see-remote-real-is-3s-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting him/her/it long ago'.

**wakendak** [wake<sup>m</sup>dakʷ] /wa.ke.ntak/ <ø-wat-k-end-ak> {3s-hit-real-is-you-sequential} *prox vb* 'you hit him/her/it then'.

**wakendik** [wake<sup>m</sup>dikʷ] /wa.ke.ntik/ <ø-wat-k-end-ik> {3s-hit-real-is-you-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'you were hitting him/her/it'.

- wakepak** [wake'pak<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ke.pak/ <ø-wat-k-ep-ak> {3s-hit-realises-you pl-sequential} *prox vb*  
'you pl him/her/it then'.
- wakerak** [wake'rak<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ke.tak/ <ø-wat-k-er-ak> {3s-hit-realises-we-sequential} *prox seq vb*  
'we him/her/it then'.
- wakicik** [waki'çik<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ki.tjik/ <ø-wat-k-ic-ik> {3s-hit-realises-I-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'I  
was hitting him/her/it'.
- wakirak** [waki'rak] /wa.ki.tak/ <ø-wat-k-ir-ak> {3s-hit-realises-3s-sequential} *prox seq vb*  
'he/she/it hit him/her/it then'.
- wakirik** [waki'rik<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ki.tik/ <ø-wat-k-ir-ik> {3s-hit-realises-they-progressive} *prox prog vb*  
'he/she/it was hitting him/her/it'.
- wako** [wa'ko] /wa.ko/ <ø-wat-k-o> {3s-hit-realises-singular} *prog vb* 'he/she/it is hitting  
him/her/it'.
- wakodarak** [wakɔda'rak<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ko.da.tak/ <ø-wat-k-od-ar-ak> {3s-hit-realises-reflexive-3s-  
sequential} *reflex prox seq vb* 'he/she/it hit him/her/itself then'.
- wakodarik** [wakɔda'rik<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ko.da.tik/ <ø-wat-k-od-ar-ik> {3s-hit-realises-reflexive-3s-  
progressive} *reflex prox prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting him/her/itself then'.
- wakodirik** [wakɔdi'rik<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ko.di.tik/ <ø-wat-k-od-ir-ik> {3s-hit-realises-reflexive-he/she/it}  
*reflex prox prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting himself/herself/itself'.
- wakodo** [wakɔ'dɔ] /wa.ko.do/ <ø-wat-k-od-o> {3s-hit-realises-reflexive-singular} *reflex prog*  
*vb* 'sg is hitting him/her/itself'.
- wakodoca** [wakɔdɔ'ça] /wa.ko.do.tja/ <ø-wat-k-od-o-ca> {3s-hit-realises-reflexive-singular-  
purposive} *reflex prog purp prox vb* 'in order that sg hit him/her/itself'.
- wakoduca** [wakɔdu'ça] /wa.ko.du.tja/ <ø-wat-k-od-u-ca> {3s-hit-realises-reflexive-  
singular:plural-purposive} *reflex prox purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit him/her/itself'.
- wakondik** [wakɔ<sup>m</sup>dik<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ko.ntik/ <ø-wat-k-ond-ik> {3s-hit-realises-you-progressive} *prog*  
*vb* 'you are hitting him/her/it'.
- wakotik** [wakɔ'tik<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ko.tik/ <ø-wat-k-ot-ik> {3s-hit-realises-I-progressive} *prog vb* 'I am  
hitting him/her/it'.
- wakouguarak** [wakɔ<sup>u</sup>ɣ<sup>w</sup>a'rak<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.kou.kwa.tak/ <ø-wat-k-ou-gu-ar-ak> {3s-hit-see-remote-  
realises-3s-sequential} *rem vb* 'he/she/it hit him/her/it long ago then'.

- wakouguarik** [wakɔ̃<sup>u</sup>γ<sup>w</sup>a'rik<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.kou.kwa.tik/ <ø-wat-k-ou-gu-ar-ik> {hit 3s-see-remote-realis-3s-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'he/she it was hitting him/her/it long ago'.
- waku** [wa'ku] /wa.ku/ <ø-wat-k-u> {3s-hit-realis-plural} *prog vb* 'they are hitting him/her/it'.
- wakuca** [waku'ça] /wa.ku.tja/ <ø-wat-k-u-ca> {3s-hit-realis-plural-purposive} *prox purp vb* 'in order that pl hit him/her/it'.
- wakuerik** [wak<sup>w</sup>ε'rik<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.kue.tik/ <ø-wat-k-uer-ik> {3s-hit-realis-we-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'we are hitting him/her/it'.
- wakupik** [waku'pik] /wa.ku.pik/ <ø-wat-k-up-ik> {3s-hit-realis-you pl-progressive} *prox prog vb* 'you pl are hitting him/her/it'.
- wakwa** [wa'k<sup>w</sup>a] /wa.ko.wa/ <ø-wat-k-o-wa> {3s-hit-realis-singular-habitual} *hab vb* singular always hits him/her/it. IMPL he/she/it always hit him/her/it. SEE (i) *wat*. (ii) *wukwa*. (iii) NOTE in *nokwa*.
- wareb** <sup>1</sup> [wa'reb<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.tep/ <ø-war-eb> {3s-hit-you pl:inceptive} *incep vb* 'you pl are about to hit him/her/it'.
- wareb** <sup>2</sup> [wa'reb] /wa.tep/ <ø-war-eb> {3s-hit-you pl imperative} *imp vb* 'you pl hit him/her/it'.
- wariak** [wari'ak<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ti.ak/ <ø-war-iak> {3s-hit-sequential} *neut seq vb* 'wish to hit him/her/it then'.
- warid** <sup>1</sup> [wa'rid<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.tid/ <ø-war-id> {3s-hit-I am about to} *incep vb* 'I am about to hit him/her/it'.
- warigaca** [wariya'ça] /wa.ti.ka.tja/ <ø-war-i-g-a-ca> {3s-hit-remote-realis-singular-purposive} *purp rem vb* 'in order that sg hit him/her/it long ago'.
- warigendak** [wariye<sup>n</sup>dak] /wa.ti.ke.ntak/ <ø-war-i-g-end-ak> {3s-hit-remote-realis-you-sequential} *rem vb* 'you hit him/her/it long ago then'.
- warigendik** [wariye<sup>n</sup>dik<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ti.ke.ntik/ <ø-war-i-g-end-ik> {3s-hit-remote-realis-you-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'you were hitting him/her/it long ago'.
- warigepak** [wariye'pak<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ti.ke.pak/ <ø-war-i-g-ep-ak> {3s-hit-remote-realis-you pl-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'you pl hit him/her/it long ago then'.
- warigerak** [wariye'rak] /wa.ti.ke.tak/ <ø-war-i-g-er-ak> {3s-hit-remote-realis-we-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'we hit him/her/it long ago then'.
- warigicak** [wariyi'çak<sup>ɿ</sup>] /wa.ti.ki.tjak/ <ø-war-i-g-ic-ak> {3s-hit-remote-realis-I-sequential} *rem seq vb* 'I hit him/her/it long ago then'.

- warigicik** [wariyɨ'çikʷ] /wa.ti.ki.tjik/ <ø-war-i-g-ic-ik> {3s-hit-remote-realis-I-progressive}  
*rem prog vb* 'I was hitting him/her/it long ago'.
- warigoca** [wariyɔ'ça] /wa.ti.ko.tja/ <ø-war-i-g-o-ca> {3s-hit-remote-realis-singular-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that singular hit him/her/it long ago'.
- warigodirak** [wariyɔdɨ'rakʷ] /wa.ti.ko.di.tak/ <ø-war-i-g-od-ir-ak> {3s-hit-remote-realis-reflexive-3s-sequential} *reflex rem seq vb* 'he/she/it hit him/her/itself long ago then'.
- warigodirik** [wariyɔdɨ'rikʷ] /wa.ti.ko.di.tik/ <ø-war-i-g-od-ir-ik> {3s-hit-remote-realis-reflexive-3s-progressive} *reflex rem prog vb* 'he/she/it was hitting him/her/itself long ago then'.
- warigodoca** [wariyɔdɔ'ça] /wa.ti.ko.do.tja/ <ø-war-i-g-od-o-ca> {3s-hit-remote-realis-singular-purposive} *reflex rem purp vb* in order that singular hit him/her/itself long ago. IMPL in order that he/she/it hit him/her/itself.
- wariguca** [wariyɨ'ça] /wa.ti.ku.tja/ <ø-war-i-g-u-ca> {3s-hit-remote-realis-plural-purposive} *rem purp vb* 'in order that pl hit him/her/it long ago'.
- wariguerik** [wariyʷɛ'rikʷ] /wa.ti.kue.tik/ <ø-war-i-g-uer-ik> {3s-hit-remote-realis-we-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'we were hitting you long ago'.
- warigupik** [wariyɨ'pikʷ] /wa.ti.ku.pik/ <ø-war-i-g-up-ik> {3s-hit-remote-realis-you pl-progressive} *rem prog vb* 'you pl were hitting him/her/it'.
- waro**<sup>1</sup> [wa'rɔ] /wa.to/ <ø-war-o> {3s-hit-singular} *irr vb st* 'sg hits him/her/it'.
- waro**<sup>2</sup> [wa'rɔ] /wa.to/ <ø-war-o> {3s-hit-pausal} *vb st* 'hit him/her/it'.
- warod** [wa'rɔdʷ] /wa.tod/ <ø-war-od> {3s-hit-reflexive} *reflex vb st* 'hits him/her/itself'.
- warodiak** [warɔdɨ'akʷ] /wa.to.di.ak/ <ø-war-od-ia-k> {3s-hit-reflexive-sequential} *reflex neut vb* 'wish to hit him/her/itself'.
- warodnuk** [warɔdɨ'nukʷ] /wa.tod.nuk/ <ø-war-od-nuk> {3s-hit-reflexive-sequential} *reflex ss vb* 'having hit him/her/itself'.
- warodoca** [warɔdɔ'ça] /wa.to.do.tja/ <ø-war-od-o-ca> {3s-hit-reflexive-singular-purposive} *reflex purp vb* in order that sg hit him/her/itself. IMPL in order he/she/it hit him/her/itself.
- warodogwa** [warɔdɔ'ɣʷa] /wa.to.do.kwa/ <ø-war-od-o-g-wa> {3s-hit-reflexive-singular-realis-habitual} *reflex hab vb* singular always hits him/her/itself. IMPL he/she/it always hits him/her/itself. (i) *wat*. (ii) *wakwa*.

- warodok** [warɔ'dɔkʷ] /wa.to.dok/ <ø-war-od-ok> {3s-hit-reflexive-3s/p:inceptive} *reflex*  
*incep vb* sg/pl is/about to hit him/her/itself. IMPL he/she/it is about to hit him/her/itself.
- waroduca** [warɔdu'ça] /wa.to.du.tja/ <ø-war-od-u-ca> {3s-hit-reflexive-plural-purposive}  
*reflex purp vb* in order that sg/pl hit him/her/it. IMPL in order that he/she/it hit him/her/itself.
- warok** [wa'rɔkʷ] /wa.tok/ <ø-war-ok> 1{3s-hit-he/she/it is about to}; 2{ they are about to hit him/her/it} *incep vb* 1 'he/she/it is about to hit him/her/it'. 2 'they are about to hit him/her/it'.
- waru** <sup>1</sup> [wa'ru] /wa.tu/ <ø-war-u> {3s-hit-you are about to} *incep vb* 'you are about to hit him/her/it'.
- waru** <sup>2</sup> [wa'ru] /wa.tu/ <ø-war-u> {3s-hit-plural} *irr vb st* 'pl hits him/her/it'.
- waru** <sup>3</sup> [wa'ru] /wa.tu/ <ø-wat-u> {3s-hit-you imperative} *imp vb* 'you hit him/her/it'.
- waruca** [waru'ça] /wa.tu.tja/ <ø-war-u-ca> {3s-hit-singular:plural-purposive} *purp vb* 'in order that sg/pl hit him/her/it'.
- waruid** [waru'idʷ] /wa.tu.id/ <ø-war-uid> {3s-hit-we:inceptive} *incep vb* 'we are about to hit him/her/it'.
- wat** [watʷ] /wat/ <ø-wat-> {3s-hit-} *st vb* 'hit him/her/it'. LEXEN 281.
- watnuk** [wat'nukʷ] /wat.nuk/ <ø-wat-nuk> {3s-hit-same subject} *ss vb* 'having hit him/her/it'.
- wukwa** [wu'kʷa] /wu.ku.wa/ <ø-wut-k-u-wa> {3s-hit-realiz-plural-habitual} *hab vb* 'plural always hit him/her/it'. SEE (i) *wat*. (ii) NOTE in *nokwa*, cf. *wakwa*.



### 3.3 WANO VERB STEMS

There are 122 stems listed below. Each stem is the citation form of a bound verb root.

Each stem may have about 280 conjugational forms as the verb root *wat-*, given in

§3.2.

***aguiak*** 'to spoil', 'to corrupt', 'to damage', 'decompose', 'deface', 'to destroy'

***baiak*** 'to set'

***baniak*** 'to put down'

***bariak*** 'to open'

***bedeniak*** 'to clear up', 'to clean'

***bekorak*** 'to visit'

***beriak*** 'to meet', 'to see'

***dambuniak*** 'to unite', 'to mix'

***daniak*** 'to chew'

***deiak*** 'to cry'

***dembeniak*** 'to peel', 'to skin', 'to break', 'to divide'

***deniak*** 'to stitch'

***doiak*** 'to stay', 'to live', 'to be'

***donggoniak*** 'to dye', 'to drown', 'to dip', 'to immerse'

***doniak*** 'to barter', 'to buy', 'to pay'

***duniak*** 'to catch'

***emberiak*** 'to think', 'to ponder', 'to remember'

***endarak*** 'to occur', 'to happen', 'to be born', 'to bear'

***icariak*** 'to cook' cf. *tariak*

***iniak*** 'to climb', 'to climb up'

***iriak*** 'to do' cf. *mariak*

***kadeniak*** 'to climb over'

***kainiak*** 'to collect', 'to take'

***kambiak*** 'to die from sorcery'

***kambuniak*** 'to tie', 'to tie up'

***kaniak*** 'to die'

***keniniak*** 'to burp'

***kiniaak*** 'to appear', 'to be visible'

***kiniak*** 'to pick up', 'to take out'  
***kodariak*** 'to have', 'to possess', 'to take control'  
***kodiak*** 'to get', 'to find', 'to discover'  
***koneniak*** 'to listen', 'to hear'  
***koniak*** 'to correct'  
***korak*** 'to see'  
***kuniak*** 'to make a fire'  
***kweidiak*** 'to sit down'  
***maminiak*** 'to learn', 'to study', 'to investigate'  
***mariak*** 'to make', 'to build', 'to squeeze', 'to prepare (food)'  
***mbaiak*** 'to wiggle'  
***mbareniak*** 'to knot'  
***mbariak*** 'to fasten'  
***mbiak*** 'to curse'  
***mbicariak*** 'to search'  
***mbininiak*** 'to recite', 'to announce', 'to proclaim'  
***mboinyiak*** 'to slice', 'to write'  
***mboniak*** 'to cut', 'to cross'  
***mboriak*** 'to whistle by putting fingers in the mouth'  
***medeniak*** 'to roll a tobacco'  
***mediak*** 'to lift up', 'to lean on', 'to erect'  
***meinyiak*** 'to pull out'  
***mendarak*** 'to wrap', 'to put on' cf. *pungguniak*  
***meriak*** 'to rise', 'to stand up'  
***miriak*** 'to fell', 'to fall', 'to cut down'  
***moinyiak*** 'to capture'  
***muniak*** 'to dry'  
***naboiak*** 'to throw away'  
***nambeniak*** 'to glue'  
***nariak*** 'to close'  
***ndariak*** 'to immerse', 'to wash', 'to bathe', 'to shower', 'to swim'  
***ndeniak*** 'to dig'  
***ndoniak*** 'to spread', 'to weave'  
***ndoriak*** 'to scoop', 'to take out'

**nggigiriak** 'to pull out' cf. *meinyiak, nibiniak, niriak*  
**nggiraniak** 'to carry on head' cf. *woniak, yeriak*  
**nggoriak** 'to shiver', 'shivering'  
**nibiniak** 'to pull' cf. *niriak*  
**niriak** 'to pull out' cf. *meinyiak, nibiniak*  
**noniak** 'to cross'  
**norak** 'to consume (eat, drink, smoke)'  
**norak** 'to go'  
**odiak** 'to urinate'  
**pariak** 'to produce'  
**pereniak** 'to roll' cf. *medeniak*  
**piganiak** 'to keep', 'to hold'  
**pigorak** 'to grab', 'to embrace'  
**piniak** 'to arrive'  
**piniak** 'to dance'  
**piniriak** 'to bind'  
**podaniak** 'to bend', 'to curve'  
**podiak** 'to lie', 'to tell a lie', 'to deceive', 'to trick with words'  
**poniak** 'to sweep'  
**poriak** 'to split'  
**pungguniak** 'to wrap with leaf' cf. *mendarak*  
**puriak** 'to wait'  
**tariak** 'to roast on/under the ground' cf. *wodeniak, icariak*  
**teveniak** 'to cremate'  
**tiriak** 'miscarry'  
**toniak** 'to cough'  
**torak** 'to intend', 'will', 'want to'  
**tuniak** 'to walk'  
**uiak** 'to sleep', 'to lie down'  
**uniak** 'to enter'  
**waniak** 'to take', 'to gather', 'to pick up'  
**wariak** 'to hit', 'to abuse', 'to stab', 'to shoot', 'to pod', 'to forge', 'to spit', 'to play', 'to kick'  
**widiak** 'to fetch'  
**wiganak** 'to spread out', 'to develop', 'to come out' cf. *windiriak*

**windiriak** 'to come out' cf. *wiganak*  
**winiak** 'to come up'  
**wiriak** 'to fill up', 'to pull out'  
**wodeniak** 'to roast on the stake' cf. *tariak*, *icariak*  
**woiak** (see *woriak*)  
**woniak** 'to carry by hand' cf. *nggiraniak*, *yeriak*  
**woniak** 'to exist', 'to be', 'to present'  
**worak** 'to come'  
**woriak** 'to give' cf. *woiak*  
**wuriak** 'to have sexual intercourse'  
**yambeniak** 'to count'  
**yaniak** 'to scream', 'to yell'  
**yariak** 'to plant', 'to grow'  
**yeniak** 'to wander'  
**yeriak** 'to carry on shoulders' cf. *nggiraniak*, *woniak*  
**yigirak** 'to rub both hands against each other'  
**yiviniak** 'to scratch', 'to scrape', 'to grate', 'to claw', 'to shave'  
**yo** 'to pick' (also *yoq*)  
**yodiak** 'to insert', 'to fill in', 'to put in'  
**yonggoniak** 'to rest'  
**yoniak** 'to help'  
**yoniak** 'to return', 'to move', 'to shake'  
**yoriak** 'to say', 'to tell'  
**yumbuniak** 'to fold'  
**yuniak** 'to move'

## Appendix 4

# WORDLIST – WANO DIALECTS

## INTRODUCTION

While lexical differences are not found based on Uncen-SIL Swadesh based wordlist, my field notes comprising 115 words indicate lexical cognacy (adapting Foley's (2000: 366) term) that suggests five dialects, which are: **Puduk**, **Mbowid**, **Acodi**, **Dumo** (Lumo), and **Kiagai** (Tiagai). Data collected in collaboration with Isak Weya, representing Dumo and its surrounding area, Yote Wanimbo for the Kiagai area, and Yumilep Murib for the Acodi area. The following are the five dialects listed with the main villages they are spoken.

| WORDLIST                           | 1<br><b>PUDUK</b><br>Puduk,<br>Wodegoduk,<br>Iratoi | 2<br><b>MBOWID</b><br>Mbowid, Biricare,<br>Yevamu, Turumo,<br>Fawi 2, Nggweri | 3<br><b>ACODI</b><br>Acodi, Mbomban,<br>Yei, Yedome | 4<br><b>KIAGAI</b><br>Kiagai (Tiagai),<br>Wina, Tumbui,<br>Anevawi,<br>Nggiduweni | 5<br><b>DUMO</b><br>Dumo (Lumo),<br>Kidudomo, Ninggi,<br>Mbinimu, Wiga,<br>Puduk |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| already                            | <i>op</i>                                           | <i>op</i>                                                                     | <i>avu</i>                                          | <i>avu (avu<br/>neggacak, an<br/>navu<br/>nenggacak)</i>                          | <i>avu</i>                                                                       |
| ancestor(s)                        | <i>ninyombo(wi)</i>                                 | <i>ninyombo(wi)</i>                                                           | <i>ninyombo(wi)</i>                                 | <i>ninyombo(wi)</i>                                                               | <i>ninyombo(wi)</i>                                                              |
| back                               | <i>amban (?)<br/>ombodid</i>                        | <i>ombodid</i>                                                                | <i>ombodid</i>                                      | <i>ambotme</i>                                                                    | <i>ombodid</i>                                                                   |
| betel (fruit)                      | <i>uni</i>                                          | <i>uni</i>                                                                    | <i>uni</i>                                          | <i>uni</i>                                                                        | <i>uni</i>                                                                       |
| betel (leaf)                       | <i>uni engga</i>                                    | <i>eni engga</i>                                                              | <i>uni engga</i>                                    | <i>uni engga</i>                                                                  | <i>uni engga</i>                                                                 |
| betel-nut                          | <i>jimbe</i>                                        | <i>jimbe</i>                                                                  | <i>jimbe</i>                                        | <i>jimbe</i>                                                                      | <i>jimbe</i>                                                                     |
| bile (gall-bladder)<br>cf. bladder | <i>erage</i>                                        | <i>erage</i>                                                                  | <i>erage</i>                                        | <i>erage</i>                                                                      | <i>erage</i>                                                                     |
| bitter, spicy, sour                | <i>ede</i>                                          | <i>ede</i>                                                                    | <i>ede</i>                                          | <i>ede</i>                                                                        | <i>ede</i>                                                                       |
| black, dirty                       | <i>kik</i>                                          | <i>kik</i>                                                                    | <i>kik</i>                                          | <i>kik, mudi</i>                                                                  | <i>kik</i>                                                                       |
| bladder cf. bile                   | <i>awang awedi</i>                                  | <i>awang awedi</i>                                                            | <i>awang erage</i>                                  | <i>ogogun awedi</i>                                                               | <i>ogogun awedi</i>                                                              |
| blood                              | <i>(a)dian</i>                                      | <i>(a)dian</i>                                                                | <i>moija</i>                                        | <i>moija, omeija</i>                                                              | <i>moija</i>                                                                     |

|                                               | 1                                     | 2                                     | 3                                     | 4                                         | 5                                                   |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| blunt, dull                                   | <i>andogon,<br/>andokon<br/>andom</i> | <i>andogon,<br/>andokon<br/>andom</i> | <i>andogon,<br/>andokon<br/>andom</i> | <i>andogon,<br/>andokon<br/>andom</i>     | <i>andogon,<br/>andokon<br/>andom</i>               |
| bush                                          | <i>pavuk</i>                          | <i>pavuk</i>                          | <i>woda</i>                           | <i>woda</i>                               | <i>woda</i>                                         |
| cave                                          | <i>ndo wid (OLD)</i>                  | <i>ndo wid (OLD)</i>                  | <i>ndo wid (OLD)</i>                  | <i>ndo wid (OLD)</i>                      | <i>ndo wid (OLD)</i>                                |
| chest                                         | <i>mewok,<br/>namegowok</i>           | <i>mewok,<br/>namegowok</i>           | <i>mewok,<br/>namegowok</i>           | <i>mewok,<br/>namegowok</i>               | <i>mewok,<br/>namegowok</i>                         |
| children                                      | <i>nonggobeq</i>                      | <i>nonggobeq</i>                      | <i>wudi</i>                           | <i>wudi, wuli<br/>[WT]</i>                | <i>noggodi</i>                                      |
| circle cf. round                              | <i>kedon ogo</i>                      | <i>kedon ogo</i>                      | <i>kedon ogo</i>                      | <i>kedon ogo</i>                          | <i>kedon ogo</i>                                    |
| cloud (black)                                 | <i>o kik eko</i>                      | <i>o kik eko</i>                      | <i>o kik eko</i>                      | <i>o kik eko</i>                          | <i>o kik eko</i>                                    |
| cloud (white)                                 | <i>ndugwi</i>                         | <i>ndugwi</i>                         | <i>ndugwi</i>                         | <i>ndugwi,<br/>*merakut<br/>[Dani]</i>    | <i>ndugwi</i>                                       |
| elbow, bending                                | <i>amunggut(mu)</i>                   | <i>amunggut(mu)</i>                   | <i>amunggut(mu)</i>                   | <i>amunggut(mu)</i>                       | <i>amunggut(mu)</i>                                 |
| dark                                          | <i>umok</i>                           | <i>umok</i>                           | <i>umok</i>                           | <i>umok</i>                               | <i>umok</i>                                         |
| corner, bending                               | <i>unggut(mu)</i>                     | <i>unggut(mu)</i>                     | <i>unggut(mu)</i>                     | <i>unggut(mu)</i>                         | <i>unggut(mu)</i>                                   |
| dead person's<br>spirit cf. sacred<br>article | <i>nggena (IPN)</i>                   | <i>nggena (IPN)</i>                   | <i>kugwi, kugwit<br/>(Yi)</i>         | <i>kugwi</i>                              | <i>kugwi</i>                                        |
| delicious cf. taste                           | <i>enggebok</i>                       | <i>enggebok</i>                       | <i>andid bok</i>                      | <i>andid bok</i>                          | <i>andid bok</i>                                    |
| ear                                           | <i>acuk</i>                           | <i>acuk</i>                           | <i>aruk [A]<br/>eanggo [MYi]</i>      | <i>aruk</i>                               | <i>aruk</i>                                         |
| ear leaf                                      | -                                     | -                                     | <i>eanggo</i>                         | -                                         |                                                     |
| earthquake                                    | <i>nggwenuk ke-o</i>                  | <i>nggwenuk ke-o</i>                  | <i>omi eko</i>                        | <i>omi eko</i>                            | <i>omi eko<br/>[LNM],<br/>nggwenuk ke-o<br/>[K]</i> |
| evening                                       | <i>kovem</i>                          | <i>kovem</i>                          | <i>kovem, kioma</i>                   | <i>kioma [KAN],<br/>kenagame<br/>[TW]</i> | <i>kovem</i>                                        |
| fat, thick                                    | <i>amok</i>                           | <i>amok</i>                           | <i>amok</i>                           | <i>amok</i>                               | <i>amok</i>                                         |
| fatamorgana                                   | <i>(o) budidum</i>                    | <i>(o) budidum</i>                    | <i>(o) budidum</i>                    | <i>(o) budidum</i>                        | <i>(o) budidum</i>                                  |
| feeling for                                   | <i>abua</i>                           | <i>abua</i>                           | <i>arigi</i>                          | <i>arigi</i>                              | <i>abua</i>                                         |
| fertile cf. sap                               | <i>mburu,<br/>amburu</i>              | <i>mburu,<br/>amburu</i>              | <i>mburu,<br/>amburu</i>              | <i>mburu,<br/>amburu</i>                  | <i>mburu,<br/>amburu</i>                            |
| finger click                                  | <i>dombak<br/>wariak</i>              | <i>dombak<br/>wariak</i>              | <i>kodombak<br/>wariak</i>            | <i>kodombak<br/>wariak</i>                | <i>dombak<br/>wariak</i>                            |
| finish, enough                                | <i>op</i>                             | <i>op</i>                             | <i>op</i>                             | <i>op</i>                                 | <i>op (op narak)</i>                                |
| fire, flame                                   | <i>indu</i>                           | <i>indu, navu<br/>[OLD]</i>           | <i>indu</i>                           | <i>indu, punu</i>                         | <i>indu</i>                                         |
| flat cf. round,<br>circle                     | <i>tabit</i>                          | <i>tabit</i>                          | <i>tabet</i>                          | <i>tabet</i>                              | <i>tabit</i>                                        |
| flat circle                                   | <i>tabit kedon<br/>ogo</i>            | <i>tabit kedon<br/>ogo</i>            | <i>tabet kedon<br/>ogo</i>            | <i>tabet kedon<br/>ogo</i>                | <i>tabit kedon<br/>ogo</i>                          |
| fly (noun)                                    | <i>tebon,<br/>titnyebon</i>           | <i>tebon,<br/>titnyebon</i>           | <i>tebon,<br/>titnyebon</i>           | <i>tebon,<br/>titnyebon</i>               | <i>tebon,<br/>titnyebon</i>                         |
| fog                                           | <i>tiradi</i>                         | <i>tiradi</i>                         | <i>murigi</i>                         | <i>murigi [KAN]</i>                       | <i>tiradi [LK],<br/>murigi</i>                      |
| for (one's sake)                              | <i>ambit</i>                          | <i>ambit</i>                          | <i>ake</i>                            | <i>ake</i>                                | <i>ambit</i>                                        |

|                                                                                  | 1                                | 2                                | 3                                                          | 4                                        | 5                                    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| forefather cf. old, grandfather, grandmother                                     | <i>ado</i>                       |                                  |                                                            |                                          |                                      |
| grandfather cf. forefather                                                       | <i>omba</i>                      |                                  |                                                            |                                          |                                      |
| grandmother cf. forefather                                                       | <i>oma</i>                       |                                  |                                                            |                                          |                                      |
| handsome, pretty heart                                                           | <i>bok</i><br><i>enokweid pu</i> | <i>bok</i><br><i>enokweid pu</i> | <i>op</i><br><i>enokweid pu</i>                            | <i>op (kwa op)</i><br><i>enokweid pu</i> | <i>nggarek</i><br><i>enokweid pu</i> |
| home, land, country                                                              | <i>amu</i>                       | <i>amu</i>                       | <i>amu</i>                                                 | <i>amu</i>                               | <i>amu</i>                           |
| how                                                                              | <i>nggayo</i>                    | <i>nggayo</i>                    | <i>nonggoti</i>                                            | <i>nggayoti, nonggoti</i>                | <i>nggayoti [upper LKNM], nggayo</i> |
| k.o. wood skin (used to chew betel-nut together with jimbe, uni, and kom anggen) | <i>tam</i>                       | <i>tam</i>                       | <i>tam</i>                                                 | <i>tam</i>                               | <i>tam</i>                           |
| leech                                                                            | <i>mudi</i>                      | <i>mudi</i>                      | <i>yanambok</i>                                            | <i>yanambok</i>                          | <i>yanambok</i>                      |
| light                                                                            | <i>eya</i>                       | <i>eya</i>                       | <i>eya</i>                                                 | <i>eya</i>                               | <i>eya</i>                           |
| lime (for bettle nut)                                                            | <i>kweid</i>                     | <i>kweid</i>                     | <i>kweid</i>                                               | <i>kweid</i>                             | <i>kweid</i>                         |
| liver > mind etc.                                                                | <i>enokweid</i>                  | <i>enokweid</i>                  | <i>enokweid</i>                                            | <i>enokweid</i>                          | <i>enokweid</i>                      |
| long                                                                             | <i>aduk</i>                      | <i>aduk</i>                      | <i>nggorek, mot [M]</i>                                    | <i>nggorek</i>                           | <i>aduk</i>                          |
| man                                                                              | <i>ap</i>                        | <i>ap</i>                        | <i>ap [M], ap</i>                                          | <i>ap</i>                                | <i>ap</i>                            |
| men                                                                              | <i>ap (mbere, yedogo)</i>        | <i>ap (mbere, yedogo)</i>        | <i>ap (mbere, nougiq)</i><br><i>ap (mbere, yedogo) [M]</i> | <i>ap (mbere, nougiq)</i>                | <i>ap (mbere, nougiq)</i>            |
| neck                                                                             | <i>anggok</i>                    | <i>anggok</i>                    | <i>anggok</i>                                              | <i>anggok</i>                            | <i>anggok</i>                        |
| nephew, niece                                                                    | <i>mboko, amboko</i>             | <i>mboko, amboko</i>             | <i>mboko, amboko</i>                                       | <i>mboko, amboko</i>                     | <i>mboko, amboko</i>                 |
| nose                                                                             | <i>akwi</i>                      | <i>akwi</i>                      | <i>akwi</i>                                                | <i>akwi, *agobak [Dani]</i>              | <i>akwi</i>                          |
| old cf. ancestor                                                                 | <i>ade</i>                       | <i>ade</i>                       | <i>kode</i>                                                | <i>kode, *anggok [Dani]</i>              | <i>kode</i>                          |
| old people                                                                       | <i>ade</i>                       | <i>ade</i>                       | <i>ade</i>                                                 | <i>ade</i>                               | <i>ade</i>                           |
| one                                                                              | <i>ambui</i>                     | <i>ambui</i>                     | <i>ambit</i>                                               | <i>ambit</i>                             | <i>ambui</i>                         |
| other                                                                            | <i>ando</i>                      | <i>ando</i>                      | <i>ando</i>                                                | <i>ando</i>                              | <i>ando</i>                          |
| out side                                                                         | <i>ombatme</i>                   | <i>ombatme</i>                   | <i>teken, ombaka [M]</i>                                   | <i>teken</i>                             | <i>ombaka</i>                        |
| pain                                                                             | <i>anduk</i>                     | <i>anduk</i>                     | <i>anduk</i>                                               | <i>anduk, *andi [Dani]</i>               | <i>andi</i>                          |
| palm of hand                                                                     | <i>amo, amoa</i>                 | <i>amo, amoa</i>                 | <i>amo, amoa</i>                                           | <i>amo, amoa</i>                         | <i>amo, amoa</i>                     |
| pandanus                                                                         | <i>dagu</i>                      | <i>dagu, kawe [OLD]</i>          | <i>dagu</i>                                                | <i>dagu</i>                              | <i>dagu</i>                          |

|                                               | 1                                     | 2                                     | 3                                     | 4                                                                                        | 5                                              |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| people, mankind                               | <i>akungge</i>                        | <i>akungge</i>                        | <i>akomi,</i><br><i>akungge [M]</i>   | <i>akomi</i>                                                                             | <i>akomi</i>                                   |
| possum                                        | <i>abui</i>                           | <i>abui</i>                           | <i>abui [M], ?</i>                    | ?                                                                                        | ?                                              |
| rain                                          | <i>tavi [Dem:</i><br><i>tavi]</i>     | <i>tavi</i>                           | <i>mayu</i>                           | <i>mayu</i>                                                                              | <i>mayu</i>                                    |
| rat                                           | <i>kadea</i>                          | <i>kadea</i>                          | <i>umbum</i>                          | <i>umbum,</i><br><i>*ambea</i><br><i>[Dani]</i>                                          | <i>kadea,</i><br><i>umbum</i><br><i>[LKNM]</i> |
| ravine                                        | <i>omban(me)</i>                      | <i>omban(me)</i>                      | <i>jigevu(mu)</i>                     | <i>jigevu(mu)</i>                                                                        | <i>jigevu</i>                                  |
| red                                           | <i>kwi</i>                            | <i>kwi</i>                            | <i>kwi</i>                            | <i>kwi, dambu</i>                                                                        | <i>kwi</i>                                     |
| root                                          | <i>adom</i>                           | <i>adom</i>                           | <i>adom</i>                           | <i>adom</i>                                                                              | <i>adom</i>                                    |
| round cf. circle                              | <i>pu</i>                             | <i>pu</i>                             | <i>pu</i>                             | <i>pu</i>                                                                                | <i>pu</i>                                      |
| sacred article cf.<br>dead person's<br>spirit | <i>kugwidom</i>                       | <i>kugwidom</i>                       | <i>kugwidom</i>                       | <i>kugwidom</i>                                                                          | <i>kugwidom</i>                                |
| saliva, to spit                               | <i>warid</i>                          | <i>warid</i>                          | <i>warid</i>                          | <i>warid</i>                                                                             | <i>warid</i>                                   |
| salt                                          | <i>mayuk</i>                          | <i>mayuk</i>                          | <i>mayuk</i>                          | <i>mayuk</i>                                                                             | <i>mayuk</i>                                   |
| sap, juice, liquid<br>cf. fertile             | <i>mburu,</i><br><i>amburu</i>        | <i>mburu,</i><br><i>amburu</i>        | <i>mburu,</i><br><i>amburu</i>        | <i>mburu,</i><br><i>amburu</i>                                                           | <i>mburu,</i><br><i>amburu</i>                 |
| secret                                        | <i>mbok</i>                           | <i>mbok</i>                           | <i>mbok [M],</i><br><i>mbok dik</i>   | <i>mbokdik</i>                                                                           | <i>mbok dik</i>                                |
| shadow                                        | <i>adumak (IPN)</i>                   | <i>adumak (IPN)</i>                   | <i>adumak (IPN)</i>                   | <i>adumak (IPN),</i><br><i>alumak [WT]</i>                                               | <i>adumak (IPN)</i>                            |
| sharp                                         | <i>embet</i>                          | <i>embet</i>                          | <i>erat</i>                           | <i>erat</i>                                                                              | <i>embet, erat</i><br><i>[LKNM]</i>            |
| short                                         | <i>pouq</i>                           | <i>pouq</i>                           | <i>wanggem</i>                        | <i>kouak</i>                                                                             | <i>kouak</i>                                   |
| sit down                                      | <i>kwoidjek</i>                       | <i>kwoidjek</i>                       | <i>kodik</i>                          | <i>kodik</i>                                                                             | <i>kodik</i>                                   |
|                                               | <i>kwoidnye</i><br><i>(IMP.SG)</i>    | <i>kwoidnye</i><br><i>(IMP.SG)</i>    | <i>kweidnyaru</i><br><i>(IMP.SG)</i>  | <i>kweidnyaru</i><br><i>(IMP.SG)</i>                                                     | <i>kweidnyaru</i><br><i>(IMP.SG)</i>           |
|                                               | <i>kwoidnyareb</i><br><i>(IMP.PL)</i> | <i>kwoidnyareb</i><br><i>(IMP.PL)</i> | <i>kwoidnyatib</i><br><i>[IMP.PL]</i> | <i>kwoidnyatib</i><br><i>[IMP.PL]</i>                                                    | <i>kwoidnyatib</i><br><i>[IMP.PL]</i>          |
| slippery                                      | <i>ambedak</i>                        | <i>ambedak</i>                        | <i>eravin</i>                         | <i>eravin</i>                                                                            | <i>eravidin</i>                                |
| small, few                                    | <i>be'</i>                            | <i>be'</i>                            | <i>mbut be', be'</i><br><i>[M]</i>    | <i>mbut be'</i>                                                                          | <i>mbut be'</i>                                |
| smoke                                         | <i>kiduk</i>                          | <i>kiduk</i>                          | <i>kaduk</i>                          | <i>kaduk</i>                                                                             | <i>kaduk</i>                                   |
| snake                                         | <i>wavut</i>                          | <i>wavut</i>                          | <i>wade, wado</i>                     | <i>wade</i>                                                                              | <i>wado</i>                                    |
| snot                                          | <i>tinggu</i>                         | <i>tinggu</i>                         | <i>tinggut</i>                        | <i>tinggut,</i><br><i>*amunggut</i><br><i>[Dani]</i>                                     | <i>tinggut</i>                                 |
| sorcery                                       | <i>irudik</i>                         | <i>irudik</i>                         | <i>magagirak</i>                      | <i>magagirak,</i><br><i>ninggirak [A],</i><br><i>irulik [WT],</i><br><i>*kovu [Dani]</i> | <i>magagirak</i>                               |
| stand up                                      | <i>medak</i>                          | <i>medak</i>                          | <i>medak</i>                          | <i>medak</i>                                                                             | <i>medak</i>                                   |
|                                               | <i>metnye</i><br><i>(IMP.SG)</i>      | <i>metnye</i><br><i>(IMP.SG)</i>      | <i>metnaru</i><br><i>(IMP.SG)</i>     | <i>metnaru</i><br><i>(IMP.SG)</i>                                                        | <i>metnaru</i><br><i>(IMP.SG)</i>              |
|                                               | <i>metnyareb</i><br><i>(IMP.PL)</i>   | <i>metnyareb</i><br><i>(IMP.PL)</i>   | <i>metnarib</i><br><i>(IMP.PL)</i>    | <i>metnarib</i><br><i>(IMP.PL)</i>                                                       | <i>metnarib</i><br><i>(IMP.PL)</i>             |



|                                             | 1                         | 2                         | 3                                             | 4                               | 5                                       |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| witch, suanggi (Ind)                        | <i>nggodu</i>             | <i>nggodu</i>             | <i>kuguruo</i>                                | <i>kuguruo</i>                  | <i>kuguruo</i>                          |
| demon cf. landlord                          | <i>kugwi</i>              | <i>kugwi</i>              | <i>kugwi</i>                                  | <i>kugwi</i>                    | <i>kugwi</i>                            |
| spirit of a dead person                     | <i>nggena, anggena</i>    | <i>nggena, anggena</i>    | <i>nggena, anggena</i>                        | <i>nggena, anggena</i>          | <i>nggena, anggena</i>                  |
| sugarcane                                   | <i>en</i>                 | <i>en</i>                 | <i>en, bugu [A]</i>                           | <i>bugu [K]</i>                 | <i>en, bugu. [also dumbuk but rare]</i> |
| landlord of caves (male and grey in colour) | <i>dimbu</i>              | <i>dimbu</i>              | <i>dimbu</i>                                  | <i>dimbu</i>                    | <i>dimbu</i>                            |
| landlord of universe (female) cf. demon     | <i>kugwigwe</i>           | <i>kugwigwe</i>           | <i>kugwigwe</i>                               | <i>kugwigwe</i>                 | <i>kugwigwe</i>                         |
| tail                                        | <i>enggawok</i>           | <i>enggawok</i>           | <i>enggawok</i>                               | <i>enggawok, *agewak [Dani]</i> | <i>enggawok</i>                         |
| taste cf. delicious                         | <i>engge</i>              | <i>engge</i>              | <i>andid</i>                                  | <i>andid</i>                    | <i>andid</i>                            |
| tear                                        | <i>demburu (IPN)</i>      | <i>demburu (IPN)</i>      | <i>demburu (IPN)</i>                          | <i>demburu (IPN)</i>            | <i>demburu (IPN)</i>                    |
| thick                                       | <i>kugup</i>              | <i>kugup</i>              | <i>kugup mbin</i>                             | <i>umok, kugup mbin</i>         | <i>kuguk mbin</i>                       |
| to count                                    | <i>yambeniak</i>          | <i>yambeniak</i>          | <i>yambeniak</i>                              | <i>yambeniak</i>                | <i>yambeniak</i>                        |
| tough, hard                                 | <i>ambok (IPN)</i>        | <i>ambok (IPN)</i>        | <i>ambok (IPN)</i>                            | <i>omawi (IPN)</i>              | <i>ambok (IPN), omawi (IPN)</i>         |
| tough, rough, hard                          | <i>ambok</i>              | <i>ambok</i>              | <i>ambok</i>                                  | <i>ambok</i>                    | <i>ambok</i>                            |
| tounge                                      | <i>mede, amede</i>        | <i>mede, amede</i>        | <i>mede, amede</i>                            | <i>mede, amede</i>              | <i>mede, amede</i>                      |
| treasure                                    | <i>yi worak ndi worak</i> | <i>yi worak ndi worak</i> | <i>yi worak ndi worak [M], yi bok ndi bok</i> | <i>yi bok ndi bok</i>           | <i>yi bok ndi bok</i>                   |
| uncle                                       | <i>are (IPN)</i>          | <i>are (IPN)</i>          | <i>are (IPN)</i>                              | <i>ami (IPN)</i>                | <i>are (IPN), ami (IPN)</i>             |
| urine                                       | <i>meiyo</i>              |                           |                                               |                                 |                                         |
| wallaby                                     | <i>codea</i>              | <i>codea</i>              | <i>codea</i>                                  | <i>codea</i>                    | <i>codea, kure (small type)</i>         |
| wild jungle                                 | <i>kugu(mu)</i>           | <i>kugu(mu)</i>           | <i>kugu(mu) [M], akdom(me)</i>                | <i>akdom(mo)</i>                | <i>akdom(me)</i>                        |
| woman                                       | <i>kwa</i>                | <i>kwa</i>                | <i>kwa</i>                                    | <i>kwa</i>                      | <i>kwa</i>                              |
| women                                       | <i>akomi</i>              | <i>akomi</i>              | <i>akomi [M], komi</i>                        | <i>komi</i>                     | <i>komi</i>                             |
| worm                                        | <i>mboidica</i>           | <i>mboidica</i>           | <i>mboidica [M], bicon</i>                    | <i>bicon</i>                    | <i>(w)anggoq, bicon</i>                 |
| young (plants)                              | <i>bo</i>                 | <i>bo</i>                 | <i>bo [M], boca</i>                           | <i>boca</i>                     | <i>boca</i>                             |
| young people                                | <i>tawe</i>               | <i>tawe</i>               | <i>tawe</i>                                   | <i>tawe</i>                     | <i>tawe</i>                             |
| youngest child                              | <i>amea</i>               | <i>amea</i>               | <i>amea</i>                                   | <i>amea</i>                     | <i>amea</i>                             |

