A GRAMMAR OF AWTUW

by

Harry Feldman

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

1	First person	FA	Factive	OBL	Obliviative
2	Second person	FU	Future	P	Past
3	Third person	GEN	Generic marker	PCL	Particle
A	Adjective	HR	Hortative	PF	Perfect
AB	Absent	I	Instrumental/Commitative	PlN	Place name
ADV	Adverb	I	Intensifier	PL	Plural
AGN	Again	IM	Imperative	POS	Possessive NP
AP	Adjective Phrase	IP	Imperfective	PPR	Personal pronoun
BEN	Benefactive	KT	Kinship term	PrN	Personal name
CDL	Conditional	L	Locative/Directional	PR	Prohibitive
CM	Case marker	MT	Motion	PRO	Pronoun
CMP	Comparative	M	Non-female	PS	Possessive marker
CN	Common noun	MS	Non-female singular	PT	Potential
DB	Debitive	N	Noun	Q	Quantifier
DEM	Demonstrative	NDB	Negative Debitive	RC	Reciprocal
DES	Desiderative	NF	Non-factive	REFL	Reflexive
DET	Determiner	NG	Negative	S	Clause constituent
DH	Downhill	NM	Number marker	SG	Singular
DS	Downstream	NOM	Nominal constituent	TP	Tok Pisin
DU	Dual	NP	Noun Phrase	UH	Uphill
F	Female	NPR	Non-present	US	Upstream
FS	Female singular	O	Object	V	Vocative

Notational conventions

//	enclose phonemes
[ ]	enclose phonetic transcriptions and feature specifications
()	enclose optional elements
{}	enclose optional specifications and expansions
<>	enclose keyed feature specifications (see page 17)
→	'becomes' or 'is rewritten as'
/	'in the environment of' (also used to separate allomorphs and options in examples)
>	'is higher on a hierarchy than'
~	inflectional or derivational morpheme boundary
+	boundary between compounded elements
##	word boundary
*	unacceptable
?	of marginal or dubious acceptability
'	precedes a stressed syllable or indicates an elided vowel

The canonical forms of verb roots are underlined with a broken line.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preface

The data upon which I base the description presented here was collected in the course of a field trip of 15 months' duration (November 1979 — February 1981) in the village of Kamnum, the largest of the five Awtuw-speaking villages.

Insofar as possible I have gleaned examples from a small corpus of narrative text. But I have also used elicited examples to illustrate points where necessary.

The content and structure of this description rest on a number of assumptions which I will attempt to make explicit.

1.1.1 Language is a singularly prominent facet of culture in that it serves as the main repository and channel of communication of culture. But there are areas of linguistic structure that may in most cultures be described conveniently and without significant distortion as discrete from other aspects of culture.

Within the domain that is nuclear to language, there are a number of structural components that mediate between meanings to be conveyed and the acoustic code through which they are transmitted. These components are the proper subject of linguistic description.

1.1.2 The physical properties of the acoustic code are marginal to linguistic description. Similarly, the nature of the relations between expressible meanings and cognitive processes on the one hand and external reality on the other, are marginal to the description of linguistic structure.

Within this periphery are three main structural components. The phonological component mediates between meaningful forms and the acoustic code through which they are transmitted. The lexical component mediates between lexical forms and expressible meanings. And the grammatical component organises the composition and combination of lexical forms, mediating, as it were, between the other two components.

Viewed in this way, the grammatical component is central to linguistic structure. I intend here to present a comprehensive, even if not exhaustive, description of the morphology, syntax, and morphosyntax of Awtuw. Because Awtuw is a previously undescribed language, I include information on aspects of the language peripheral to my main concerns. Specifically, Chapter 1 places the

1

language in its social and sociolinguistic context, Chapter 2 provides an overview of Awtuw's rich phonological and morphophonological system, Chapter 11 examines the structure of a few lexical fields of general interest, and Chapter 12 describes some paralinguistic phenomena.

1.1.3 The aims and methodology of linguistic theory and of linguistic description are fundamentally different. The aim of theory is to delimit and explain the functions of language in human society and human cognition. Its methodology must therefore be to establish a set of explanatory principles that will generate hypotheses about linguistic functions and the ways that languages can express them. These hypotheses can then be tested against empirical data about languages.

The aim of linguistic description is to identify the formal classes, categories, and structures of a language on empirical, language-internal evidence. Its methodology must therefore be to examine and analyse such evidence and to correlate the formal properties so isolated with their semantic functions. In other words, it must describe language from the addressee's perspective — decoding forms into meanings, rather than from the speaker's perspective — encoding meanings into forms.

This is not to insist that every identifiable form is necessarily in a one-to-one correspondence with a single meaning; we often encounter examples of polysemy or structural ambiguity. But, as a heuristic, we do not expect a multiplicity of forms to correspond to a single semantic category.

1.1.4 The approach taken in this description is therefore essentially structuralist. I assume the utility of binary features and relative markedness in distinguishing categories at all levels of structure. I further assume that features used in a description should correspond to empirically identifiable categories. Whenever possible, I have attempted to establish a correspondence between formal categories and plausible semantic categories.

A feature-based analysis has two advantages. Features often cross-classify such that a small set of formal/functional properties can distinguish a large number of categories. It is also possible to make certain kinds of generalisations regarding the properties of marked and unmarked categories.

For example, in the analysis of tense marking in Chapter 4, the feature NONPRESENT at the same time distinguishes Present forms from Past forms, Future from Desiderative, and Conditional from Frustrative. It also identifies the morphologically unmarked Present with the semantically unmarked category of non-NONPRESENT.

Throughout this description, I have aimed to express significant generalisations intelligibly. When it seemed to further this aim, I have borrowed formalisms from Generative theory. I do not mean this to imply any credence in the claims of the theory. The formalisms merely represent a handy and familiar convention for schematising certain types of generalisations.

When a language is described in accordance with these principles, the hypotheses generated by theory can be tested against the description. I have attempted therefore to present an analysis that is empirically-based and relatively theoretically neutral, and that reflects the structure of the language faithfully.

1.2 Geography, genetic affiliation, history, and ethnography

1.2.1 Awtuw is the first language of about 400 people living in five villages between 142°29' and 142°31' East longitude and 3°34' and 3°36 South latitude in an area of about 30 square kilometres in the southern foothills of the Torricelli Range in north-western Papua New Guinea (see Map 1). All five villages are administered as part of the South-west Wapei Census Division of the Lumi District, Sandaun (West Sepik) Province of Papua New Guinea.

The five Awtuw-speaking villages are located at altitudes ranging from 320 to 400 metres above sea-level. Rainfall in Kamlakwlape, recorded from May to December 1980, ranged from a low of 71.5mm in June to a high of 237.7mm in December. Temperatures range from 19.4° to 32.2° Celsius, with an average of 22.2° at 0600 and 29.4° at 1500 daily, with no appreciable seasonal variation.

Table 1.1 lists the five villages with their vernacular names, their names in Tok Pisin, their populations in 1980, and the names of the component hamlets. (1980 Census data courtesy of the Lumi District office.)

Table 1.1: Awtuw-speaking villages		
VILLAGE	MAP NAME	POPULATION

Kamlakwlape
  Meleylape
  Wititlape
  Kolaydenlape
  Tuwaltenlape
  Wiykatuwlape
	(Kamnum)	125

Wutlakwlape
  Makitlape
  Pelketenklape
  Alanowomweylape
	(Gutaiye)	116

Wiyuplape
  Læpinlape
  Kalpelape
	(Wiup)	57

Tupumlape
  Keylamaklape
  Kilawtuwlape
	(Tubum)	51

Kalaktuwlape	(Galgatu)	51

Wiykatuwlape is located about 45 minutes' walk north-east of Meleylape and, as of early 1981, its inhabitants were planning to abandon it. The other four hamlets of Kamlakwlape are clustered within five minutes' walk of each other. Wutlakwlape's three hamlets are closely clustered about 45 minutes' walk south-east of Meleylape. Læpinlape is about 25 minutes' walk south of Meleylape and Kalpelape is another 10 minutes' walk south. The two hamlets of Tupumlape, located about two hours' walk south of Kalpelape, are adjacent to each other and all the inhabitants of Kalaktuwlape, which is about two hours' walk south-south-east of Wutlakwlape, live in a single hamlet.

4
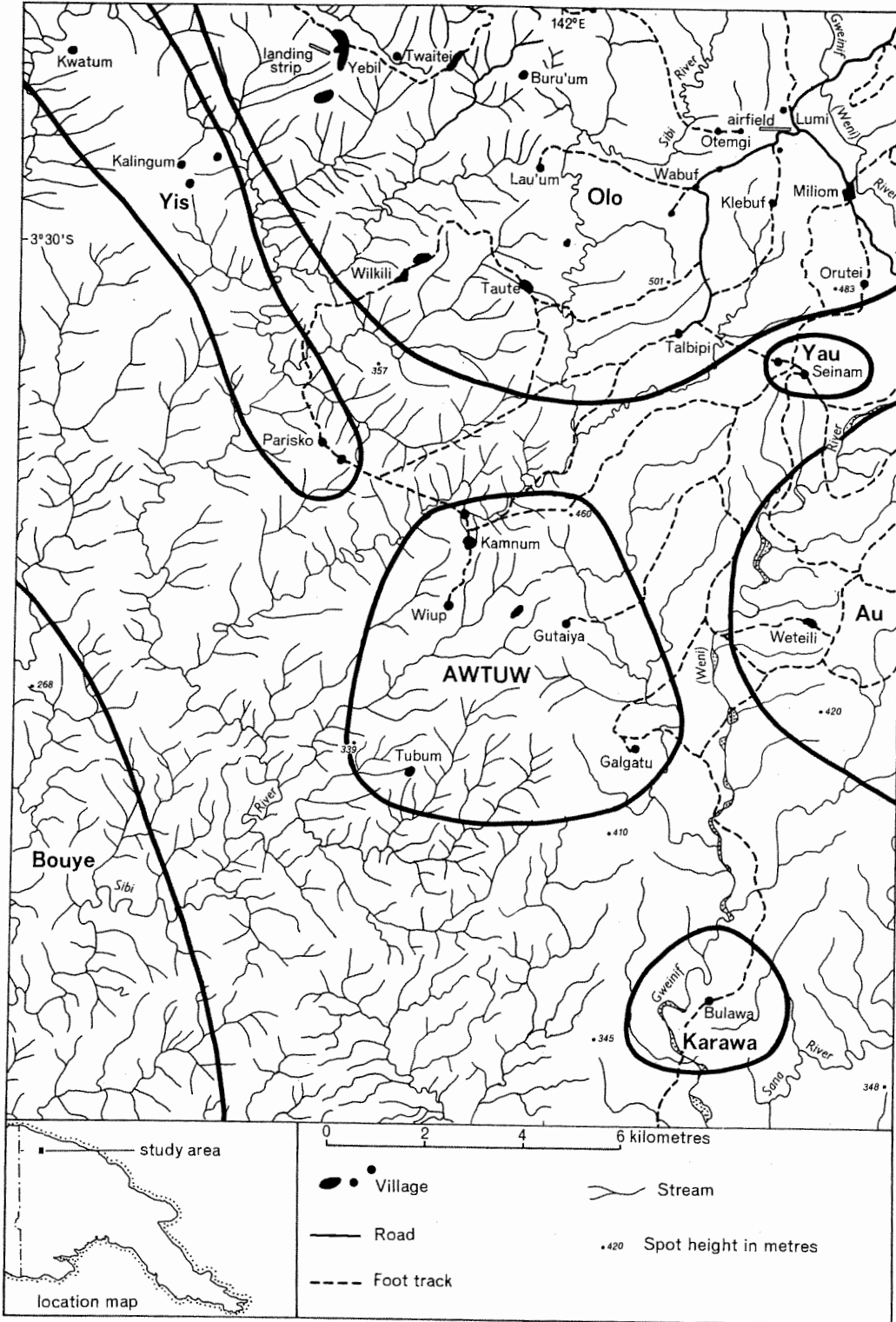
Map 1: The Awtuw language area

1.2.2 Laycock (1973) has classified Awtuw as a member of the Ram 'Stock-level' Family. He further classifies this family within the Upper Sepik Super-stock of the Sepik Sub-phylum of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum. While the postulated broader relationships are tentative, there is little doubt that the three Ram Family languages are closely related (cf. Laycock and Z'Graggen 1977, Wurm 1971). Karawa, with some 53 speakers, is spoken in the village of Bulawa, directly south of the Awtuw-speaking area, and Bouye, with some 642 speakers, is spoken in the villages of Giliato, Maurom, Wokien, and Yukilo to the south-west (see Map 1).

1.2.3 Most reports of patrols through the area prior to World War II were destroyed in air attacks on the administrative centre of Aitape. Some of those that survive indicate that patrols were conducted near, but probably not through, the Awtuw-speaking region in the early- to mid-1930s (McCarthy 1931, 1936-37, Robinson 1931-34, cf. Marshall 1937, 1938).

Prior to contact and the establishment of government control over the area, there was sporadic fighting among the villages in the area. The most recent series of conflicts, which ended in a permanent armistice around 1950, involved the villages of Kamlakw and Wiyup on the one side, and Nalpetlape (Taute) and Wilkilape (Wilkili) on the other.

By the time of World War II, Awtuw speakers were regularly contracting to do plantation labour and some served in the armed forces during the war. The Japanese crossed the Torricellis in the course of the invasion and were certainly in the village of Seinim, but apparently failed to penetrate as far south as Kamlakwlape or Wutlakwlape.

In 1948, the Franciscan order established their mission at Lumi, the nearest airstrip to the Awtuw-speaking area, about three and a half hours' walk north-east of Kamlakwlape. The government established a patrol post there the following year and the Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML), a Brethren mission, also set up their mission at Lumi in 1949. The two missions competed with each other for the souls of the people in the surrounding area, but eventually divided the area to their mutual satisfaction. Don and Aileen MacGregor, a CMML couple from New Zealand, staffed the Lumi mission, probably from its inception, until Don's death in 1976. During this time, Don wrote a number of papers on the culture of the Wapei people (MacGregor 1969, 1972, 1974a, 1974b, 1975), and, in collaboration with Aileen, a sketch of Olo grammar and a glossary of Olo, a Torricelli Phylum language (MacGregor and MacGregor 1982).

In 1957, Ken Knight, of the Sola Fide Mission, established himself and his party of seven to nine people in what is now Meleylape. The hamlet was inhabited at the time, but since the Knights wanted to build their compound there, the Meley people moved to a nearby spot on the track to Wutlakw. The Knights compensated the people thus displaced with a payment of one pound. The Knights ran a school and a clinic at Meley and left in 1961 for reasons which I have not been able to determine. The Sola Fide Mission still exists, with headquarters in Goroka EHP.

After the Knights' party left, the CMML took over responsibility for Kamlakw and the surrounding area. Don MacGregor visited frequently to conduct services. In the mid-1960s, the CMML sent a school teacher to Kamlakw, but the hamlet decided to expel him after a year because they considered him excessively cruel to the children.

Since then, the CMML has sponsored several Awtuw-speaking men to attend their Bible school at Amanab, and several others have attended Bible classes in Lumi.

Bill Mitchell, an American anthropologist, spent 18 months in 1970-71 in Taute doing fieldwork. His wife and two young children accompanied him on his field-trip and so the party had a significant impact on the people of the area. A number of articles and a monograph about Mitchell's field experiences have resulted from this fieldwork. They provide some background on the Wapei culture, which the Awtuw-speaking people participate in (see Mitchell 1973, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c).

Dave Scorza, of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (PNG Branch), has been working in the village of Tumentonik, about 24 km due east of Kamnum, since 1968. He has published some material on the Au language, which, while unrelated to Awtuw, borders on it (see Scorza 1972, 1974). Awtuw speakers marry into at least two Au-speaking villages (see Map 1).

1.2.4 The people of the region largely subsist in an economy dominated by sago production. Sago is at once the staple of their diet and their favourite food (cf. Wark and Malcolm 1969). Moreover, sago fronds tæp are used for thatch and the stalks of these fronds, mədow (TP moraita), are used in the construction of walls, doors, and beds.

The sago diet is supplemented by a small amount of garden produce — mainly niyamel *yam*, talow *taro*, wom *coconut*, and əmək *pandanus* — and occasional game, fish, or domestic pig.

All gardening and hunting tasks fall to the men, while sago production is the exclusive domain of women. The men clear their gardens by burning them off and hunt with ripy'-alme *bows and arrows* or shotguns.

Awtuw-speakers, like most of their countrymen, are inveterate chewers of æy *betelnut* and smokers of tawkway *tobacco*. The gardens of the Awtuw-speaking villages produce more betelnut, tobacco, and æpit *daka pepper* than the people require, and the main source of cash income derives from the sale of these commodities at the weekly market in Lumi. In the two southernmost villages, Tupum and Kalaktuw, where game is more plentiful, meat and occasionally katiok+wate *wildfowl eggs*, or even ælæwye+wate *crocodile eggs* are brought to market.

Throughout the area, settlement is in small villages, most of them consisting of a cluster of smaller hamlets, with populations of between five and 50. Each hamlet generally consists of two parallel lines of houses, with more houses at either end, all facing into a cleared central area. In some cases, houses or small patches of garden may intrude into the centre of the hamlet. In hamlets occupied by more than one lineage, the members of each lineage tend to live in adjacent houses.

Houses themselves are invariably built of mədow and thatched with tæp. Some are built on the ground and others are raised on stilts of yiyle kal *kwila* wood. The floors of raised houses are made of wudpir (TP limbum) *black palm*. More elaborate housing involves the use of playm *mats of woven, flattened*

bamboo in walls and occasionally windows. The typical house is between five
and eight metres square, with a door at either end and no windows. The area
between the two doors is clear, and between two and three small 'rooms' flank
this corridor on either side. The rooms are separated by walls of mədow about
1.5 metres high and each contains two parallel benches of mədow set perpendicu-
lar to the side walls of the house. The benches are about 50 cm high and wide
and between 150 cm and 200 cm long. Between each pair of benches is a cleared
area about one metre wide where a fire may be built.

Generally, a nuclear family, consisting of a married couple, their unmarried
daughters and small sons, and sometimes the husband's widowed parent, will
occupy each house. Boys move into a separate house with their age-mates at
about the age of ten and remain in such a household until they marry, between
the ages of about 25 and 30, when they build their own houses and establish
their own households in the husband's hamlet.

The spouses share the housework and care of children. Men usually undertake
such tasks as cutting grass, while the women sweep out the house and collect
firewood and water. Men cook all meat and most garden crops, and the women
take on responsibility for preparing most of the sago.

The speakers of the majority dialect of Awtuw (see 1.3) share most cultural
traits with their Torricelli language speaking neighbours to the west, north,
and east. The speakers of the southern dialect are much more closely
affiliated with their neighbours to the south. The dialect boundary that
segregates the people of Kamlakw, Wutlakw, and Wiyup from those of Kalaktuw and
Tupum is also the southern limit of the ŋale-wokaw *Devilfish* ceremony.

On the other hand, the restriction on game consumption defines a cultural
continuum stretching from the Sepik River along the Yellow and Wiytape *Sibi*
Rivers up into the highest villages in the Torricellis. At the southern end of
the continuum, the restriction on consuming the game one shoots extends to all
members of the hunter's patriline and his wife. In the Awtuw-speaking area,
only the hunter, his father, brothers, and sons may not eat his game. Further
north, only the hunter himself is restricted from eating his game. Still
further along, the hunter may eat his own game. This continuum corresponds,
perhaps coincidentally, with the density of settlement and concomitant scarcity
of game.

The three villages that speak the majority dialect of Awtuw are distinct from
any of their neighbours with respect to certain cultural traits. For example,
in this area, people do not eat dog meat, on which there is no restriction in
the surrounding area. Women and children in these villages do not eat fresh
fish.

As I mentioned above, the ŋale-wokaw ceremony, celebrated throughout the Wapei
area, stretches only as far south as Wiyup. The other two major ceremonies, the
wokaw *Malangan* and kepne *Tumbuan*, encompass the entire area. All of these
ceremonies, as well as the minor ceremonies that are restricted to a locality,
are closely involved with therapeusis. Although these ceremonies have a
variety of political, economic, artistic, musical, and religious functions, the
explicit motivation for performing any ceremony is always disease. Performing
the appropriate ceremony propitiates the spirit responsible for causing the
disease, who then removes it.

1.3 Sociolinguistics

The Sepik region as a whole, and the Lumi District in particular, are linguistically very diverse (Laycock 1968, 1973). Of the roughly 30,000 inhabitants of the District, over 10,000 are speakers of Olo, a Torricelli Phylum language with over 15,000 speakers, some of them in other administrative areas. The remaining 20,000 people speak 21 other languages. With 400 speakers, Awtuw is larger than many of the surrounding languages.

Such diversity, combined with a general rule of local exogamy, engenders a relatively astounding degree of multilingualism. Typically, an Olo speaker married to another Olo speaker will speak only Olo and Tok Pisin. But speakers of any of the smaller languages will usually speak Olo and Tok Pisin, in addition to their first language. If an individual's parents speak different languages, he or she is likely to speak at least four. Husbands who do not speak their wife's language usually learn it, and wives who do not speak their husband's language always do. People with relations or other contacts further afield commonly speak as many as seven or eight languages.

Children in the Awtuw-speaking area start to learn Awtuw and Tok Pisin at the same time. By the age of three or four they express themselves more comfortably in Awtuw, but they become genuinely fluent in Tok Pisin by the age of five, while it may take another three to five years to master Awtuw entirely. By that time the child will have also learned a modicum of Olo and of other languages that he or she comes into contact with.

Because Awtuw-speaking women marry into villages that do not speak Awtuw, there are a number of Awtuw speakers outside the five villages. Naturally, such Awtuw-speaking women continue to speak Awtuw themselves and their children also speak Awtuw. What strikes one as interesting is that their husbands usually learn it as well. That adults continue to learn Awtuw as a second language indicates that the language remains vital and is likely to continue to thrive.

There are Awtuw-speaking populations in the following villages (see Map 1):

Table 1.2: Villages with Awtuw speakers		
VILLAGE	(TOK PISIN NAME)	LANGUAGE
Taeypil	(Talbipi)	Olo
Nalpet	(Taute)	Olo
Wape	(Wabuf)	Olo
Wilkil	(Wilkili)	Olo
Yutuwiyt	(Yutabi)	Au
Tawlekuw	(Weteili)	Au
Tepalum	(Tebali)	Elkei
Kapol	(Parisko)	Yis
Worke	(Seinim)	Yau
Yiwklaw	(Yukilo)	Bouye
Puluwa	(Buluwa)	Karawa

As I mentioned above, Awtuw, although it has so few speakers, has more than one dialect. In fact, there are three — the Southern dialect, the Witit dialect, and the majority dialect that I describe in this grammar. The Southern dialect, spoken in the two southernmost villages, Kalaktuw and Tupum, has two very distinct phonological features. First, it has completely neutralised the distinction made in the majority dialect between /r/ and /l/ in favour of the /l/. And second, it has replaced the word-initial /ŋ/ of the majority dialect with /ʔ/. Thus /rarere/ *want to eat* in the majority dialect is /lalele/ in the Southern dialect, and /ŋale/ *fish* becomes /ʔale/.

The Witit dialect is spoken by only one lineage in the hamlet of Wititlape in Kamlakw. It is distinguished from the majority dialect in replacing word-initial /ŋ/ with /n/. Thus /ŋale/ *fish* becomes /nale/, homophonous with /nale/ *hole.*

Interestingly, the neutralisation of /r/ and /l/ and of /ŋ/ and /n/ are two features of child language as well as the main indicators of dialect differences.

PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONOLOGY

Awtuw is a language that displays variety and complexity at every level of
structure. Its phonology and especially its morphophonology are enormously
rich and fully deserve a thorough and comprehensive description. But as I
mentioned in 1.1.2, this work is a description of Awtuw grammatical structure
and I have therefore constrained the chapter on phonology to a minimum. The
aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with a brief overview of Awtuw
segmental phonology and some of the major morphophonological rules.

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 The analysis of diphthongs

The nucleus of a syllable in Awtuw frequently consists phonetically of a vowel
and an offglide. The balance of the phonological analysis rests crucially
upon whether such sequences are analysed as unitary phonemes, as sequences of
two vowels, or as vowels followed by consonantal glides. I will therefore open
by presenting two arguments that motivate the VC analysis.

1. Awtuw's Locative/Directional suffix has two allomorphs, ⁻e and ⁻ke, whose
allomorphy is straightforward and natural to describe for a VC analysis, but
complex and artificial under a unitary phonemic or a VV analysis. The ⁻ke
allomorph occurs after vowels, and the ⁻e allomorph after consonants.

> (1)   (a)   aewre⁻ke
>   *house*-L
>
>   (b)   yil⁻ e
>   *edge*-L
>
>   (c)   uy⁻ e
>   *hole*-L
>
>   (d)   tepyiw⁻   e
>   *side of house*-L

The allomorphy of the Location/Direction suffix treats the offglides in (1c-d)
like the consonant in (1b) rather than the vowel in (1a). A V or a VV analysis
would require the addition of a very unnatural morphophonemic rule to delete
the /k/ from the suffix following a phonetic diphthong.

2. Furthermore, although any vowel may be the first in a diphthong, all
diphthongs end in either /w/ or /y/. The more general descriptive statement
that a diphthong may begin with any vowel and end in any semivowel is preferable

to the idiosyncratic statement that only high vowels function as syllabic coda.
The VV and unitary vowel analyses would also require a rule to transform high
vowels into glides between two other vowels; a rule that the VC analysis
obviates entirely. No phenomena have come to my attention that a unitary
phoneme or VV analysis explains but cause difficulties for the VC analysis.

2.1.2 Consonant phonemes and their allophones

Awtuw has 11 consonant phonemes, /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, r, d, l, y, w/, as
displayed in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1					
MANNER	BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	RETROFLEX	PALATAL	VELAR
ORAL STOP	p	t			k
NASAL STOP	m	n			ŋ
TAP		r	d		
LATERAL		l			
SEMIVOWEL	w			y	

The oral stops /p, t, k/ are fortis, voiceless and usually aspirated, but they
have unreleased allophones word finally. Voiced allophones occur following a
nasal preceded by a stressed vowel. They are distinguished by the following
minimal pairs:

> /pap/ *just then* — /tap/ *thatch*
> /tiw/ *foliage* — /kiw/ *pitpit*
> /pare/ *will peel* — /kare/ *will get*

The nasal stops are /m, n, ŋ/. The alveolar nasal optionally assimilates to a
following /p/ or /k/ (see 2.2.2 and 2.2.6). The velar nasal is only phonemic
word initially, where it occurs in a small number of very high frequency
lexemes. The velar nasal is only phonemic in the majority dialect described in
this grammar, the Southern dialect replaces it with a glottal stop and the
Witit dialect with /n/. Children's speech also consistently substitutes /n/
for /ŋ/. The nasals are distinguished by the following minimal pairs:

> /make/ *went and got* — /ŋake/ *beneath*
> /nale/ *hole* — /ɲale/ *fish*
> /wan/ *I* — /wam/ *blunt*

The following minimal pairs distinguish the nasal stops from the corresponding
oral stops:

> /pæy/ *let me go* — /mæy/ *sun*
> /tiw/ *foliage* — /niw/ *ground*
> /kowre/ *will give* — /ŋowre/ *tear (object)*

The alveolar tap /r/ is in free variation with a trill at the same point of articulation. The other tap /d/ is slightly retroflexed. The alveolar tap occurs only in the majority dialect and the Witit dialect. The Southern dialect substitutes /l/, as is also the case in children's speech. They are distinguished by the following minimal pair:

/romke/ *their* — /domke/ *full*

The following minimal pairs distinguish the taps from the alveolar oral stop /t/:

/dæye/ *went* — /tæye/ *went* (Dual)
/raw/ *call* — /taw/ *tree*

The lateral /l/ is always a liquid lateral and does not surface as a tap. The following minimal pairs distinguish /l/ from the two taps and the other alveolar consonants:

/læwe/ *baked*　　　　　— /ræwe/ *them two*
/læye/ *came upstream* — /dæye/ *went*
/lale/ *tongue*　　　　 — /nale/ *hold*
/læye/ *came upstream* — /tæye/ *went* (Dual)

The semivowels /w, y/ occur both as consonantal glides between vowels and after /p/ and /k/, and as offglides of diphthongs, as mentioned in 2.1.1. The following minimal pair motivates their distinction:

/wam/ *blunt* — /yam/ *bee*

2.1.3 Vowel phonemes and their allophones

Awtuw distinguishes seven phonemic vowels, /i, e, æ, ə, a, o, u/. Table 2.2 displays the seven vowel phonemes.

Table 2.2			
	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u
MID	e	ə	o
LOW	æ		a

The high and mid front and back vowels are typically open and lax, [ɪ], [ɛ], [ʊ], [ɔ], but the front vowels are closer and tenser in diphthongs ending in /y/ ([iy], [ey]) and the back vowels in diphthongs ending in /w/ ([uw], [ow]).

There is a variety of complex vowel harmony rules, described in 2.2.3,7,10,11, 16, which blur the distinctions among vowels in certain environments. Moreover, vowel gradation and reduction contribute to a blurring of distinctions. The high and mid back vowels appear to be marginally phonemic.

The following minimal pair distinguishes the low vowels:

/yæm/ *banana* — /yam/ *bee*

The following minimal pair distinguishes the high vowels:

/diye/ *shot* — /duye/ *built*

There do not appear to be minimal pairs to distinguish the mid vowels from each other, but they do enter into contrasts with the other vowels.

The following minimal set distinguishes the front vowels:

/riw/ *tally* — /rew/ *vagina* — /ræw/ *they two*

The following minimal pairs distinguish the back vowels.

/wam/ *blunt* — /wom/ *coconut*
/kowm/ *comb* — /kuwm/ *boil (on skin)*

The following pairs distinguish schwa from /a/ and /o/:

/pəm/ *slit gong* — /pam/ *joint*
/rəkə/ *has eaten* — /roko/ *did*

Phonemic schwa is limited in distribution. It occurs in only a few words which I list exhaustively here.

æwənk	*eel*	nəklay	*cane*
awəna	particle	pəm	*slit gong*
ələp	*yesterday*	pərkwo	*soft*
əmək	*pandanus*	pərpər	*sharp*
kəmkam	*hard, stingy*	pramnənkel	*kind of shell ring*
ləm	*younger same sex sibling*	prawən	*kind of wasp*
mənman	*fun*	wawəy	*mother's brother*
modək	*today*	wokək	*long, tall*
mokəl	*laugh*		

It is worth noting that schwa does not occur in words that contain high vowels whether the schwa is phonemic or reduced from an underlying /e/ or /a/.

In the discussion that follows, I will make use of feature specifications for Awtuw phonemes, which I present here in Table 2.3. The abbreviation for each feature name is capitalised.

Table 2.3: Feature specifications of phonemes																		
FEATURE	p	t	d	k	m	n	ŋ	r	l	y	w	i	e	æ	ə	a	o	u
CONSonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
SYLlabic	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NASal	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
LATeral	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
CORonal	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
ANTerior	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
HIGH	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
LOW	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
BACK	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
RouND	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+

2.1.4 Phonotactic constraints

Each of the seven vowels can occur word initially and may take stress.
Word-final vowels are never stressed. The low vowels are reduced to schwa
word finally. The high back vowel does not occur word finally.

/'im/	*night*	—	/dæli/	*bit*
/'etiy/	*pain*	—	/pare/	*will peel*
/'æm/	*lime*	—	-	
/'ələp/	*yesterday*	—	/rəkə/	*has eaten*
/'an/	*you two*	—	-	
/'om/	*you all*	—	/dalowo/	*spoke*
/'upur/	*throat*	—	-	

The following examples each illustrate that the front and back vowels occur
word medially both with and without stress.

/'kinik/	*sit!*
/ken'etwə/	*extinguish!*
/æp'ælre/	*don't bite!*
/'kanaklə/	*dig!*
/'konor/	*copulate!*
/kun'puyə/	*hit!*

The central vowel also occurs stressed and unstressed in word-medial position:

/'kənwan/ *listen* — /'ələp/ *yesterday*

Sequences of vowels do not occur in Awtuw. The elision rule described in 2.2.9
deletes one of any two vowels that come together across a morpheme boundary.

Any consonant can occur word initially, and any consonant except /ŋ/ can occur
word finally, as illustrated by the following examples:

/pam/	*joint*	—	/tap/	*thatch*
/tam/	*cross cousin*	—	/pat/	*flat*
/kare/	*get!*	—	/pak/	*palm, sole*
/make/	*went and got*	—	/pam/	*joint*
/nale/	*hole*	—	/nan/	*we two*
/ŋale/	*fish*	—	-	
/rom/	*they*	—	/kənpar/	*peel!*
/dalowo/	*spoke*	—	/kud/	*bamboo species*
/lape/	*village*	—	/kinæl/	*bite!*
/wan/	*I*	—	/naw/	*urine*
/yæm/	*banana*	—	/mæy/	*sun*

Consonant clusters occur word initially, word medially, and word finally.
Geminates do not occur at all. An epenthetic vowel breaks up sequences of
/k/s (2.2.1) and a geminate reduction rule (2.2.17) deletes the first of any
other two adjacent identical consonants.

Word-initial consonant clusters are extremely rare and occur almost exclusively
in biological terms. Most clusters have the form stop + /r/, although there is
one example of /ky/ and one of /mw/.

/prawən/	*small wasp*
/pramnənkel/	*kind of shell ring*
/trank/	*barb*
/tramtrom/	*kind of small frog*
/kror/	*kind of bird*

/krekrek/ *kind of frog*
/kyæwkyæw/ *kind of banana*
/mweymoy/ *worm*

Sequences of two or three consonants are also unusual word finally. There is only one example of a word ending in three consonants — /tiwnk/ *fern*. A few other words end in /nk/, although there are no examples of word-final /mp/ or /nt/ clusters. The cluster /rp/ occurs in /kinirp/ *close (the door)!* and two other forms of <u>irp</u> *close*.

Aside from these, there are a few examples of words ending in a semivowel and a stop or a nasal such as /tuwp/ *straightaway*, /kuwm/ *boil (on the skin)*, and /uyk/ *odour*.

Word-medial clusters of two or three consonants are very common. Sequences of three stops are possible in this position, as in the following examples:

/apt'kare/   *don't you two get it*
/diknækp'tætiy/ *is frightening*

It is interesting to note that the stop sequence in the first example crosses two morpheme boundaries, but the second example includes the unique root <u>nækptæt</u>, which has a three stop cluster within the root.

Other clusters that occur word medially include sequences of two semivowels, and of semivowels and taps or laterals:

/wiyware/   *will bathe*
/rokoryəkə/ *broken*
/malware/   *will descend*
/wiwyare/   *will incise*
/wæyrowre/   *will float*
/dotkolye/   *killed*

2.1.5 Stress placement

By and large, main word stress, which entails a rise in pitch and a slight increase in loudness, tends to fall on the first syllable of an Awtuw word. There is also a tendency towards penultimate stress. Where the two tendencies coincide, on disyllabic words, the stress pattern is regular.

/'kinik/ *sit*
/'lape/ *village*
/'tapwo/ *fire*
/'eywo/ *thus*

Where the two tendencies do not coincide, but the first and penultimate syllables are not adjacent, in polysyllabic words, primary stress will usually fall on the penult and secondary stress on the first syllable.

/'orkewey''naywo/ *four*
/'ate''paye/   *far out!*
/'owtiy''kayæn/   *old*
/'periya''yawnow/   *grass*

There are, however, a number of exceptions to this generalisation among words other than verbs, while verbs do not appear to follow it at all.

/ye'nankeyke/   *grandchild*
/mo'nokene/   *bad*
/kay'puteriy/   *dust*

On trisyllabic words other than verbs, where the two tendencies would place stress on adjacent syllables, some words follow one tendency and others the other.

/'waruke/   *big*
/'yankeyke/   *small*
/'alworaw/   *mouth*
/'tipelyow/   *smoke*
/wiy'tape/   *river*
/yil'make/   *moon*
/wom'yætne/   *some*
/tey'wake/   *near*

The addition of a case marker or derivational suffix does not affect the position of stress on a word other than a verb.

/wiy'tape/   *river*
/wiy'tape-ke/   *at the river*
/'tapwo/   *fire*
/'tapwo-re/   *fire-0*
/'tapwo-neney/   *hot*

On the whole, verb forms that are not disyllabic do not follow the same patterns as other words. One generalisation we can make is that the Future and Desiderative forms of /a/-final roots have primary stress on the root-final /a/.

/'kare/   *will get*
/'rare/   *will eat*
/wow'nare/   *will sleep*
/rok'rare/   *will cook*
/ti'tamkur''yare/   *will miss*
/'lamləak''nare/   *will fall*

Affixation of a verb does affect the placement of stress.

/pu'yare/   *will hit*
/'dupuye/   *hit*

Aside from this, verb roots appear to condition stress patterns idiosyncratically, independent of their phonological form.

/'dikiriy/   *is sharpening*
/di'kiliy/   *is twisting*

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to explore in detail the complexities of stress placement on verb forms.

2.2 Morphophonology

This section presents a number of ordered rules which together produce most of the phonetic forms of Awtuw words from strings of morphemes.

On the whole, the rules apply to verb forms, but where other types of words meet the environmental criteria, these rules affect them as well. The only cases of such rules are one of the vowel harmony rules (2.2.10), which changes the canonical /e/ of the past, future, and object suffixes to [I] or [ɔ], and the pre-rhotic stop insertion rule in 2.2.18.

The rules are ordered and must apply sequentially. This is particularly important in the case of the vowel harmony rules that affect the quality of the Imperfective and Past suffixes (2.2.7 and 2.2.10). Although nearly identical in form, one must apply before, and the other after, the elision rule (2.2.9).

With the exception of the vowel gradation rule (2.2.20), I have used the traditional formalisms of Generative Phonology to capture the rules concisely. But as I mentioned in Section 1.1.4, I do not mean to imply any credence in the claims of the theory. The formalism merely represents a convention to schematise morphophonological rules.

Among the formalisms I have adopted is the labelled angle bracket notation (Chomsky and Halle 1968:394-395). This convention, suggested to me by Avery Andrews, permits parts of the environment for a rule to be keyed to the presence or absence of a feature. The benefit of this formalism is that a single process with a complex environment can be represented as a single rule, in conformity with the intuitive judgement that the process is unitary in spite of the complexity of its environment.

Features enclosed in labelled angle brackets are interpreted as relevant parts of the environment if the label is $[+]$, and are ignored when the label is $[-]$. Greek letter values are multiplied by any operator on them. Thus, an angle bracket labelled $[\alpha]$ has the same value as some feature specified $[\alpha]$. But an angle bracket labelled $[-\alpha]$ has the opposite value from the feature specified as $[\alpha]$. In example (2a), the feature F2 is a relevant part of the environment when F1 is specified as $[+]$, and irrelevant when F1 is specified as $[-]$. In example (2b), F2 is relevant when F1 is $[-]$, and irrelevant when F1 is $[+]$.

(2)   (a) $[\alpha F1]$
$$<_{\alpha}[+F2]>$$

       (b) $[\alpha F1]$
$$<_{-\alpha}[+F2]>$$

Thus, the environment in (2a) will be read as either $[-F1]$, or $[+F1,+F2]$, and (2b) will be read as either $[+F1]$, or $[-F1,+F2]$.

I present each rule in a separate subsection, so references to, e.g. Rule 3, refer to the rule presented in subsection 2.2.3. Note that this type of analysis produces intermediate forms that are neither phonemic nor phonetic (cf. Chomsky and Halle 1968:65). I enclose all non-phonemic forms in square brackets $([\ldots])$.

2.2.1 /k/ deletion

$$/k/ \rightarrow \emptyset \, / \, \begin{Bmatrix} C\text{-} \underline{\quad} k\#\# \\ \breve{V}C\text{-} \underline{\quad} k\text{-} \end{Bmatrix}$$

The first rule deletes /k/ after a consonant and a morpheme boundary and before another /k/ and a word boundary. This transforms the conditional suffix /kk/ into /k/ after a consonant-final stem when there is no desiderative suffix.

/rokra-kk/	[rokra-kk]	*would have cooked*
/t-tan-kk/	[t-tan-k]	*would have stunk*
/rokra-kk-rere/	[rokra-kk-rere]	*wanted to cook, but didn't*

The rule also deletes /k/ after any unstressed vowel, any consonant, and a morpheme boundary and before another /k/, which simplifies the conditional suffix after a k-final stem.

```
/mak-kk/        [mak-k]        would have said
/mak-kk-rere/   [mak-k-rere]   wanted to say, but didn't
```

2.2.2 Homorganic nasal assimilation 1

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{COR} \\ +\text{ANT} \\ +\text{NAS} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{COR} \\ -\text{ANT} \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} (-) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ -\text{NAS} \\ -\text{ANT} \\ -\text{COR} \end{bmatrix}
$$

This rule optionally assimilates /n/ to a following velar stop either within a root or across a morpheme boundary.

```
/kan-ka/   [kaŋ-ka]   get!
/wan-ke    [waŋ-ke]   my
```

2.2.3 Vowel harmony 1 — Imperative prefix

$$
\begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ +\text{SYL} \\ +\text{LOW} \\ +\text{BACK} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\,\text{BACK} \\ \beta\,\text{HIGH} \end{bmatrix} / \text{\#\#} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ -\text{ANT} \\ -\text{COR} \\ -\text{NAS} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{ANT} \\ +\text{COR} \\ +\text{NAS} \end{bmatrix}_{\phi} - C \begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ \alpha\,\text{BACK} \\ \beta\,\text{HIGH} \\ \gamma\,\text{SYL} \end{bmatrix} \langle \begin{matrix} [-\text{LOW}] \\ -\gamma \end{matrix} \rangle
$$

This rule assimilates the canonical /a/ of the Imperative prefix kan- to a vowel in the following syllable in backness and height. It must follow the nasal assimilation rule to prevent it from applying to derive forms like *[konkow]. It must also precede /n/ deletion to allow it to derive forms like [konor] and [kurupukurya].

```
/kan-or/          [konor]           copulate!
/kan-rupukurya/   [kunrupukurya]    belch!
/kan-imya/        [kinimya]         run!
/kan-etwa         [kenetwa]         extinguish!
/kaŋ-kow/         [kaŋ-kow]         give!
```

It also changes the /a/ to /i/ before a /y/ initial verb root with a mid or high vowel.

```
/kan-yel/     [kinyel]     cry!
/kan-yakey/   [kanyakey]   go upstream!
```

2.2.4 Post-nasal stop vocalisation

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ -\text{SYL} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{VOICED}] / \text{'V} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ -\text{SYL} \\ +\text{NAS} \end{bmatrix} - \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{V}
$$

This rule vocalises stops following a stressed vowel and a nasal and preceding another vowel.

```
/'kaŋ-kuw/     ['kaŋguw]     give!
/'Kampo/       ['Kambo]      Kampo (man's name)
/d-'waŋ-kay/   [d'-waŋgay]   has heard
```

2.2.5 /n/ deletion

$$/n/ \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \underline{\quad} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{COR} \end{array} \right] \\ \\ \text{ma-} \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule deletes the /n/ of the imperative and debitive prefixes before any coronal consonant or the motion prefix ma-.

/kan-naw/	[kanaw]	*wait!*
/kan-t-natow/	[katnatow]	*bark!*
/kan-lawey/	[kalawey]	*clear off!*
/kan-rokra/	[karokra]	*cook!*
/kan-dardow/	[kadardow]	*jump!*

Note that the second part of the rule applies only to the Motion prefix ma-, and not to other instances of /ma/.

	/kan-ma-ka/	[kamaka]	*go get!*
cf.	/kan-mak/	[kanmaka]	*tell!*

2.2.6 Homorganic nasal assimilation 2

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{COR} \\ +\text{ANT} \\ +\text{NAS} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [-\text{COR}] \; / \; \breve{V} \; \underline{\quad} - \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{CONS} \\ -\text{COR} \\ +\text{ANT} \\ -\text{NAS} \end{array} \right] \quad (\text{OPT})$$

This optional rule assimilates an /n/ to a following labial stop after an unstressed vowel. It must follow the rule determining prefix vowel quality which requires the /n/ as part of its environment.

/kun-'puya/ [kum'puya] *hit!*

2.2.7 Vowel harmony 2 — Imperfective suffix

$$[+\text{SYL}] \rightarrow [+\text{HIGH}] \; / \; \left\langle {}_{-\alpha} \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{HIGH} \\ -\text{LOW} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{CONS} \\ \alpha \; \text{SYL} \\ \beta \; \text{HIGH} \\ \left\langle {}_{-\beta} \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{LOW} \\ -\text{BACK} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \overset{\langle \alpha \, C_{\emptyset} \rangle}{\left\langle {}_{-\alpha} \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{COR} \end{array} \right]_1 \right\rangle} - \underline{\quad} \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{SYL} \\ +\text{HIGH} \end{array} \right] -$$

This rule raises the /e/ of the Imperfective suffix to [I] before a /y/ and any other suffix, or word finally under the following circumstances:

(1) After at least one coronal consonant immediately preceded by a mid vowel and a /y/. When alpha is specified as [-], the two parts of the environment labelled [-α] are relevant, and the part labelled [α] is ignored. In this case, the environment expands as:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{LOW} \\ -\text{HIGH} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{CONS} \\ -\text{SYL} \\ +\text{HIGH} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{COR} \end{array} \right]_1 - \underline{\quad} /y/ -$$

/d-k-eyt-ey(-m-e)/ [d-k-eyt-iy(me)] *are/were sweeping*

(2) After any sequence of consonants immediately preceded by a high vowel. That is, when alpha is [+], and beta is [+], we read the part of the environment labelled [α], and ignore those labelled [-α] and [-β].

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ +\text{SYL} \\ +\text{HIGH} \end{bmatrix} \text{C}_\phi \quad - \quad \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \quad /y/ \; -$$

/d-k-uy-ey(-m-e)/   [d-k-uyiy(me)]   *are/were building*
/d-k-il-ey(-m-e)/   [d-k-iliy(me)]   *are/were weaving*

(3) After /æ/ and any sequence of consonants. When alpha is [+] and beta is [-], we read the part of the environment labelled [-α].

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ +\text{SYL} \\ +\text{LOW} \\ -\text{BACK} \end{bmatrix} \text{C}_\phi \quad - \quad \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \quad /y/ \; -$$

/d-k-iknær-ey(-m-e)/   [d-k-iknæriy(me)]   *are/were breaking*
/d-k-æl-ey(-m-e)/   [d-k-æliy(me)]   *are/were biting*
/k-læt-ey(-re)/   [k-lætiy(re)]   *are/will be pouring*
/d-k-wæy-ey(-m-e)/   [d-k-wæyey(me)]   *are/were scraping*

This rule must precede the vowel elision rule because the final vowel of vowel-final roots conditions the height of the suffix vowel. If elision applied before this rule in a root like i̱lya̱ *boil*, it would derive a spurious form:

/d-k-ilya-ey/ → [d-k-ily-ey] (by elision) → *[d-k-ilyiy] (by this rule)

Applying this rule before elision results in the correct form:

/d-k-ilya-ey/ → [d-k-ilya-ey] (by this rule) → [d-k-ily-ey] (by elision)

2.2.8 /y/ deletion

$$/y/ \rightarrow \phi \; / \; \begin{cases} \text{V}\underline{\hspace{0.8cm}} - \text{C \#\#} & \text{(OBL)} \\ \text{V}\underline{\hspace{0.8cm}} - (\text{CV(C)(V)}) \; \text{\#\#} & \text{(OPT)} \end{cases}$$

This rule must follow the preceding rule because the /y/ that it deletes is a necessary part of that rule's environment.

This rule deletes the final /y/ of the Perfect suffix -kay, or of the Imperfective suffix -ey before the plural suffix -m. The rule applies obligatorily when the -m immediately precedes the word boundary, and optionally when conditional or tense marking follows it.

/d-k-mak-ey-m/	[d-k-mak-em]	*are telling*
/d-k-æl-iy-m/	[d-k-æl-im]	*are biting*
/d-k-ra-y-m/	[d-k-ram]	*are eating*
/d-æl-kay-m/	[d-æl-kam]	*have bitten*
/d-k-mak-ey-m-e/	[d-k-mak-eyme]	
	[d-k-mak-eme]	*were telling*
/d-k-æl-iy-m-ik/	[d-k-æl-iymik]	
	[d-k-æl-imik]	*would have been biting*
/d-k-ra-y-m-e/	[d-k-rayme]	
	[d-k-rame]	*were eating*

```
/d-æl-kay-m-e/     [d-æl-kayme]
                   [d-ael-kame]     had bitten
/d-k-ra-y/         [d-k-ray]
                   [d-k-ra]         is eating
/w-æl-kay-re/      [w-æl-kayre]
                   [w-æl-kare]      will have bitten
```

2.2.9 Vowel elision

$$\breve{V} \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} {}^{\prime}V \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \\ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} V \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule simplifies sequences of vowels by deleting an unstressed vowel
immediately following a stressed vowel or an unstressed vowel before any other
vowel. It must follow rule 8 to allow the final /a/ of a-final roots to
condition the imperfective suffix vowel before the /a/ is elided.

```
/ma-ow'na-re/        [mownare]          will go sleep
/ka-'ma-owna/        [ka'mawna]         go sleep!
/ma-'owra-ow'ra-re/  ['mowrow'rare]     will go reignite
/d-owna-e/           [downe]            slept
```

2.2.10 Vowel harmony 3 — final vowels

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ +\text{SYL} \\ -\text{HIGH} \\ -\text{LOW} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{BACK} \\ +\text{RND} \end{bmatrix} \ / \ [+\text{BACK}] \ \ C_{\emptyset} \ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{SYL} \\ +\text{RND} \end{bmatrix} \\[2em] \begin{bmatrix} -\text{BACK} \\ +\text{HIGH} \end{bmatrix} \ / \ \begin{array}{c} <[-\text{LOW}]> \\ -\alpha \end{array} \ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ \alpha \ \text{SYL} \\ \beta \ \text{HIGH} \\ \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} +\text{LOW} \\ -\beta \ -\text{BACK} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \ \# \# \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule determines the quality of word-final vowels in the Past and Future
suffixes as well as the Object suffix on nouns and pronouns.

The first part of the rule changes the canonical /e/ of these suffixes to [ɔ]
after /m/ or /w/ when the preceding vowel is a back vowel. Thus, the object
forms of all plural personal pronouns, nom, om, and rom, end in /o/.
Similarly, plural forms of nouns, with the suffix -wom, condition the -o
allomorph of the object suffix. The final /w/ of the third person dual pronoun
ræw, and the final /m/ of the generic form of nouns, with the suffix -yænim,
do not condition the -o allomorph because the preceding vowels are not back.

Verb roots like rokw _do_ and kow _give_ condition the -o allomorph of the Past
suffix. But those like wun _love_ do not, because although the preceding vowel
is back, the final /n/ of the root does not meet the rule's conditions.

```
/rom-e/             [romo]               them
/piyren-yænim-e/    [piyren-yænime]      dogs
/rokw-e/            [rokwo]              did
/d-wun-e/           [d-wune]             loved
```

Note that this rule must follow the elision rule, as it applies to the output of that rule.

/d-wanwa-e/ → [d-wanw-e] → [d-wanwo] *washed*

The second part of the rule is virtually identical to the vowel harmony rule applying to the Imperfective suffix. The main difference is that where root-final vowels conditioned that rule, they must be elided before the application of this rule. If this rule applied before elision in a root like i̱ḻy̱a̱ *boil*, it would derive a spurious form:

/d-ilya-e/ → [d-ilya-e] (by this rule) → *[dilye] (by elision)

Applying elision first derives the correct form:

/d-ilya-e/ → [d-ily-e] (by elision) → [dilyi] (by this rule)

This part of the rule changes the canonical /e/ of the Past, Future, and Object suffixes to /i/ under the same conditions as described above.

/w-æl-re/	[wælri]	*will bite*
/w-il-re/	[wilri]	*will weave*
/d-æl-e/	[dæli]	*bit*
/d-il-e/	[dili]	*wove*
/w-eyt-re/	[weytri]	*will scrape*
/d-eyt-e/	[deyti]	*scraped*
/wæk-re/	[wækri]	*belly* (object)
/piyren-yænim-e/	[piyrenyænimi]	*dogs* (object)
/yæn-wæw-e/	[yænwæwi]	*two children* (object)

/d-eytra-e/ → [deytre] → [deytri] *will sweep*

2.2.11 Vowel harmony 4 — -owra-

$$[\text{+SYL}] \rightarrow [\text{-BACK}] \, / \, \underline{\quad} \, C_\phi \begin{bmatrix} \text{-CONS} \\ \text{+SYL} \\ \text{-BACK} \end{bmatrix}$$

This rule has the effect of assimilating the /o/ in the *again* prefix -owra- to /e/ before a root with a front vowel in its initial syllable. The rule only applies to this prefix.

/w-owra-rokra-re/	[wowrarokrare]	*will cook again*
/w-owra-il-re/	[wewrilri]	*will weave again*
/w-owra-æl-re/	[wewrælri]	*will bite again*
/w-owra-eytra-re/	[wewreytrare]	*will sweep again*

2.2.12 Epenthesis 1

$\phi \rightarrow [\text{ə}] \, / \, k \, \underline{\quad} \, k$

This rule inserts a schwa between any two adjacent /k/s. It serves to separate the two /k/s of the conditional suffix when one of these has not been deleted by the /k/-deletion rule (2.2.1) as well as the /k/ of the Imperfective prefix and a /k/-initial root.

/rokra-kk(-rere)/	[rokrakək(-rere)]	*would have cooked (wanted to cook but didn't)*
/d-k-kow-ey/	[d-kəkow-ey]	*is giving*

2.2.13 /d/ deletion

$$/d/ \rightarrow \phi \ / \ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'V } \underline{\quad} \text{ -k-C} \\[1em] \#\# \ \underline{\quad} \ - \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{COR} \\ +\text{ANT} \end{bmatrix} \\[1.5em] \underline{\quad} \ \text{-ma-} \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule deletes the /d/ of the Factive prefix when a consonant-initial root bears both the Negative prefix ka- and the Imperfective prefix k-. It must follow the first epenthesis rule to prevent it from applying to /k/-initial roots with these two prefixes.

/ka-d-kə-kow-ey/	[kadkəkowey]	*isn't giving*
/ka-d-k-law-ey/	[kaklawey]	*isn't baking*
/ka-d-k-mak-ey/	[kakmakey]	*isn't telling*
/ka-d-k-yel-ey/	[kakyeley]	*isn't crying*
/ka-d-k-æy-ey/	[kadkæyey]	*isn't going*

It also deletes the /d/ of the Factive prefix before any coronal consonant and before the Motion prefix ma-.

/d-naw-o/	[nawo]	*waited*
/d-law-o/	[lawo]	*baked*
/d-t-tow-o/	[t-towo]	*lashed*
/d-rokw-o/	[rokwo]	*did*

It is interesting to compare the phonetically similar past forms of the root m̲a̲k̲ *say* and k̲a̲ *get* with the motion prefix ma-. The initial /ma/ of the former does not condition the deletion of the Factive prefix, just as it did not condition the deletion of the final /n/ of the Imperative prefix. But when the same segments belong to the Motion prefix, the /d/ must be deleted.

/d-ma-ka-e/	[make]	*went and got*
/d-mak-e/	[d-make]	*told*

2.2.14 /w/ deletion

$$/w/ \rightarrow \phi \ / \ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \\ \#\# \end{array} \right\} \underline{\quad} \text{-C} \\[1.5em] \text{p-} \ \underline{\quad} \ - \end{array} \right\}$$

The first part of this rule deletes the non-Factive prefix w- before any consonant and after another prefix or at the beginning of the verb complex. The second part deletes it after the Prohibitive prefix.

/(na-)w-rokra-re/	[(na)rokrare]	*can/will cook*
/ap-w-owna-re/	[apownare]	*don't sleep!*

2.2.15 Vowel epenthesis 2

$$o \rightarrow [ə] \ / \ \#\#C \ \underline{\quad} \ \text{-C}$$

This rule inserts a schwa between a word-initial consonant, such as the Imperfective prefix k- in the future or the Factive prefix d-, before a consonant-initial root.

/k-æy-ey-re/	[kæyeyre]	*will be going*
/k-rokra-y-re/	[kərokrayre]	*will be cooking*
/w-owna-kk/	[wownakək]	*would have slept*
/də-k-ka-ey/	[dəkəkey]	*is getting*

2.2.16 Vowel harmony 5

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ +\text{SYL} \\ +\text{BACK} \\ -\text{HIGH} \\ -\text{LOW} \\ -\text{RND} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{HIGH} \\ \alpha\,\text{BACK} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \;\#\#\; C_1 \underline{\quad} - C_\phi \begin{bmatrix} \Big\langle \begin{bmatrix} \beta\,\text{HIGH} \\ \alpha\,\text{BACK} \\ {}_\beta\langle[\underset{\alpha}{+}\text{SYL}]\rangle \end{bmatrix} \Big\rangle \\ \Big\langle {}_\beta\begin{bmatrix} +\text{LOW} \\ -\text{BACK} \end{bmatrix} \Big\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

This rule assimilates the epenthetic vowels inserted by the epenthesis rules to a /y/ or the vowel in the next syllable. It does not affect the vowel of the Motion prefixes or the Imperative prefix, even where the /n/ has been deleted, as only a schwa is susceptible. It applies only to the epenthetic vowels following a word-initial Factive or Imperfective prefix.

/də-puye/	[dupuye]	*hit*
/də-yel-e/	[diyele]	*cried*
/də-k-il-iy/	[dikiliy]	*is weaving*
/də-k-yel-ey/	[dikyeley]	*is crying*
/də-k-eyt-iy/	[dikeytiy]	*is scraping*
/də-k-æl-iy/	[dikæliy]	*is biting*
/də-k-puy-ey/	[dukpuyey]	*is hitting*

Note that a /w/ does not condition this type of vowel harmony.

/də-wun-e/	[duwune]	*loved*
/də-wan-e/	[dəwane]	*heard*

2.2.17 Geminate reduction

$$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha\,\text{CONS} \\ \underset{-\alpha}{<}[-\text{SYL}]> \\ \beta\,\text{COR} \\ \gamma\,\text{ANT} \\ \delta\,\text{LAT} \\ \varepsilon\,\text{NAS} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \phi \Big/ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\,\text{CONS} \\ \underset{-\alpha}{<}[-\text{SYL}]> \\ \beta\,\text{COR} \\ \gamma\,\text{ANT} \\ \delta\,\text{LAT} \\ \varepsilon\,\text{NAS} \end{bmatrix}$$

Rule 17 reduces geminates by deleting the first of any two identical adjacent consonants. This rule must follow the epenthesis rules to prevent it from applying to the sequence /kk/.

/nenæn-neney/	[nenæneney]	*think*
/w-par-re/	[pare]	*will peel*

2.2.18 Pre-rhotic stop insertion

$$\phi \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{ANT} \\ -\text{NAS} \\ +\text{VCD} \\ \alpha\,\text{COR} \end{bmatrix} / \text{'V} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{ANT} \\ \alpha\,\text{COR} \\ \beta\,\text{NAS} \\ -\beta\,\text{LAT} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{1.5em}} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{CONS} \\ +\text{SYL} \\ -\text{LAT} \\ +\text{COR} \end{bmatrix} (<_\alpha[-\text{OPTIONAL}]>)$$

This rule inserts a homorganic voiced stop, [d] or [b], after a stressed vowel and /m/, /n/, or /l/, and before /r/.

/'w-il-re/	[wildri]	*will weave*
/ti-'tan-re/	[ti'tandre]	*will stink*
/yam-re/	[yambre]	*bee-O*

2.2.19 Unstressed vowel reduction

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{CONS} \\ +\text{SYL} \\ -\text{HIGH} \\ \alpha\,\text{BACK} \\ \alpha\,\text{LOW} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{BACK} \\ -\text{RND} \end{bmatrix} / \text{UNSTRESSED } \#\#$$

This rule reduces unstressed /a/ and /e/ to schwa word finally.

/də-kow-ka/	[dəkowkə]	*has given*
/də-ke/	[dəkə]	*has got*

2.2.20 Vowel gradation

Certain low and mid root vowels raise to become mid and high vowels respectively when unstressed. It seems obvious that this is a single rule, but there doesn't appear to be any convenient way of formalising it. Moreover, it eludes simple expression because it does not apply to low and mid vowels in all roots, nor even to all low and mid vowels in the same root. The following examples illustrate the application of the rule to the vowels of four susceptible roots.

'w-æy-re	*will go*	—	'kan-ey	*go!*
'kow-re	*will give*	—	'kaŋ-guw	*give!*
də-'k-alw-ey	*is descending*	—	'w-olwa-re	*will descend*
'd-ey-e	*came*	—	w-i'ya-re	*will come*

LEXICAL MORPHOSYNTAX

3.1 Approach to parts-of-speech analysis

In accordance with the descriptive strategy adopted throughout this grammar, this section will endeavour to segregate on language-internal morphosyntactic grounds discrete classes of lexemes in Awtuw, to identify subclasses of the classes so segregated, and to relate the classes thus isolated to universal semantic categories.

> The most revealing way to view a part-of-speech system
> is as a few large stem classes ... divided into
> successively smaller classes on the basis of additional
> criteria.   (Hockett 1958:221-228)

Following Hockett, we can impose a structure on our analysis of the Awtuw parts-of-speech system by dividing Awtuw lexemes into broad classes and refining these into more restricted classes corresponding to the parts of speech in Awtuw.

I refine Hockett's method by treating each identifying property as a privative feature, which can segregate two classes according to the presence or absence of the feature (Trubetzkoy 1969:74). The presence of a feature characterises the marked category.

The structure of a parts-of-speech system thus takes on the shape of a bifurcating tree each of whose branchings represents the segregation of two classes based on the specification for a given feature. When no additional formal properties serve to segregate pairs of categories, the branch terminates in a named class. In some cases it is possible to name superordinate classes. Figure 3.a exemplifies the structure.

```
                          LEXEME

               +A                      -A

          +B        -B            +C        -C
          |         |             |         |
      |  NC1       NC2     |     NC3       NC4  |
      |                    |                    |
      |    CLASS I         |        NC5         |
```
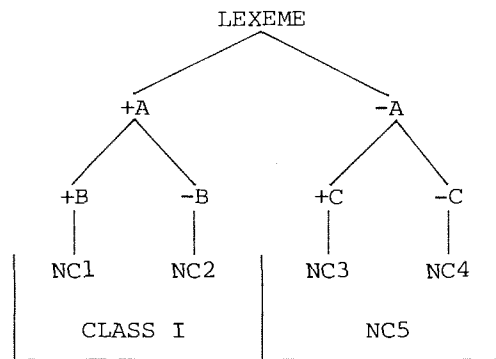
Figure 3.a: example

To clarify the feature specification, I have included a matrix with each tree.
Once a class had been isolated at any level of structure, specification for
features associated with other classes becomes irrelevant to its classification.
Therefore, not all features used in this analysis cross-classify. For example,
referring to Figure 3.a, the specification of Named Class 3 for feature B is
irrelevant to its classification, and will therefore be enclosed in parentheses
in the associated matrix, Table 3.a.

FEATURE	CLASS I		NC 5	
	NC 1	NC 2	NC 3	NC 4
A	+		−	
B	+	−	(−)	(+)
C	(−)	(+)	+	−

Table 3.a: (example)

> While it is assumed here that the assignment of words to
> parts-of-speech classes is based on properties that are
> grammatical rather than semantic, and often language-
> particular rather than universal, it is also assumed that
> the name that is chosen for a particular parts-of-speech
> class in a language may appropriately reflect universal
> semantic considerations. (Schachter, 1985:2,
> cf. Lyons 1968:147, 317-319)

I will therefore refrain from assigning names to the classes isolated in this
analysis until they have been refined sufficiently to suggest a correlation
with a universal semantic type (cf. Dixon 1977:19-20, 24-30, Lyons 1966:214).

The diagnostic properties used to segregate the parts-of-speech classes here
will identify all members of any class, including derived forms. But in
assigning names to classes, it is necessary to identify a focal subclass whose
members are necessarily monomorphemic.

3.2 Major classes

First we can segregate those lexemes that accept the Perfect aspect suffix -kay
from those that do not and denominate the segregated class Class I.

Next, we can divide those lexemes that cannot bear aspect marking into two
additional classes. We call those that can occur as the unique constituent of
a noun phrase Class II and the residuum that cannot, Class III.

It may clarify this tripartite division to represent the identifying criteria
by binary features and display the specifications for each class on a matrix.
(Values for features that are irrelevant to the classification are enclosed in
parentheses).

Table 3.1			
FEATURE	CLASS I	CLASS II	CLASS III
PERFECT	+	-	
UNIQUE	(+)	+	-

We can represent the bifurcating hierarchy of classes as a tree.

```
                          LEXEME
                   _____/      _____
              +ASPECT                -ASPECT
                 |                  __/    \__
                 |            +UNIQUE      -UNIQUE
                 |                |           |
              CLASS I          CLASS II    CLASS III
```
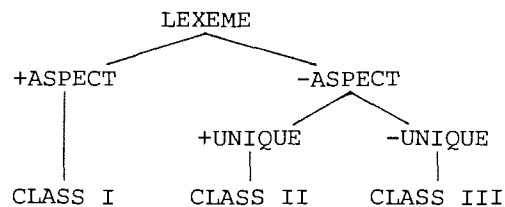
Figure 3.1

The lexemes that fall into Class I include all of those that denote the semantic types (cf. Dixon 1977:25-29) EVENT and ACTIVITY, which typify the part-of-speech traditionally labelled Verbs. A few examples will demonstrate the constituency of the class.

(1) (a) -lakna- *die*   lakna-kay *has died*
     (b) -raren- *light up*   raren-kay *has lit up*
     (c) -naw-   *wait*   naw-kay   *has waited*
     (d) -rokra- *cook*   rokra-kay *has cooked*

Aside from the ability to accept Perfect marking, affixation marking Tense, Modality, and a number of other categories characterises verbs. Chapter 4 provides a detailed discussion of verbal morphosyntax, and Chapter 5 will present a discussion of the subclassification of Verbs.

3.3 Classification of substantives

Each of the two remaining classes can be subdivided further. Class II lexemes can again be divided into two classes. One subclass has the property of being able to occur following tader *this* to form a single constituent, the other does not.

(2) (a) tader yaw Altiy d- iy-   e
          this   pig Altiy FA-shoot-P
          Altiy shot this pig

     (b) *tader rey Altiy-re d- iy-   e
          this   3MS Altiy-O   FA-shoot-P
          **this he shot Altiy*

3.3.1 Each of the classes segregated by this criterion is subject to further division. To begin with, we will examine the distinctions among those lexemes that do occur in the specified environment.

One class of these lexemes accepts the Generic suffix -yænim.

(3)   (a)   *kokot-yænim
             all-   GEN

       (b)   Kamlakw-yænim
             Kammum- GEN
             Kammum people

       (c)   Takiy-yænim
             *Takiy-*GEN
             people named Takiy

       (d)   ŋaye- yænim
             *father-*GEN
             fathers

       (e)   tiyl- yænim
             *stone-*GEN
             stones

The lexemes that lack this property, as illustrated in example (3a), have in common the semantic property of denoting QUANTITY and I therefore call them Quantifiers. These lexemes can also refer to a quantity. Chapter 7 on the structure of the Noun Phrase will discuss other properties of the class of Quantifiers, including their peculiar ability to function either as a determiner or a modifier of an NP. Section 11.3 contains a discussion of Quantifiers, but I include here a list of the most common.

kokot	*all*
womyætne	*some*
liwke	*much, many*
dæni	*one, a, another, the other*
naydowo	*one*
yikiyr	*two*
urunk	*three*
orkweynaywo	*four*

3.3.2 The other class, whose members do accept the suffix, as illustrated in examples (3b-e) can be divided into two further classes. Some of them accept the Adjective-deriving suffix, -neney, the others do not.

(4)   (a)   *Kamlakw-neney
             Kammum- ADJ

       (b)   *Takiy-neney
             *Takiy-*ADJ

       (c)   ŋaye- neney
             *father-*ADJ
             having a father

       (d)   tiyl- neney
             *stone-*ADJ
             full of stones, metaphorically *wealthy*

The lexemes that lack this property, as illustrated in examples (4a-b), share the semantic property of referring constantly to the same token of a type, or UNIQUE REFERENCE (Foley 1986). In accordance with tradition I will call these lexemes Proper Nouns.

The other class, whose members accept the suffix as shown in examples (4c-d), share the semantic property of constantly referring to tokens of the same type, or CONSTANT REFERENCE, and I will accordingly denominate them Common Nouns.

A further feature, the ability to accept the Dual suffix, -wæw, serves to divide each of these classes in two.

(5)　(a)　*Kamlakw-wæw
　　　　　　Kamnum- DU
　　　　　　two people from Kamnum

　　　(b)　Takiy-wæw
　　　　　　Takiy-DU
　　　　　　Takiy and someone else with him

(6)　(a)　*tiyl- wæw
　　　　　　stone-DU
　　　　　　two stones

　　　(b)　ŋaye- wæw
　　　　　　father-DU
　　　　　　father and someone else with him

　　　(c)　*tale- wæw
　　　　　　woman-DU
　　　　　　two women

Example (5) illustrates the distinction among proper nouns. The proper nouns that accept the suffix share the semantic property of referring uniquely to a person, while those that do not refer to places and I accordingly denominate them Personal Names and Place Names respectively.

Common nouns that accept -wæw share the semantic property of referring to relatives and are called Kinship Terms. Example (6c) shows that the distinction is not between human and non-human common nouns or between animate and inanimate common nouns. While in most respects syntactically identical to other common nouns, it will become apparent in Chapter 7 that kinship terms need to be distinguished from the other common nouns here. Section 3.5 presents a description of the other formal properties of nouns.

Table 3.2 displays the feature specifications for each of the subdivisions in this class and Figure 3.2 illustrates the structure of the classification.

Table 3.2					
FEATURE	QUANTIFIERS	PROPER NOUNS		COMMON NOUNS	
		PERSON	PLACE	KINTERM	OTHER
tader__	+				
-yænim	-	+			
-neney	-	-		+	
-wæw	-	+	-	+	-

```
                              LEXEME
                                |
                             -ASPECT
                                |
                              +tader
                   _____/      _____
                  /                               \
              -yænim                            +yænim
                 |                      _____/    _____
              -neney                   /                        \
                 |                 -neney                     +neney
              -wææw             ___/   \___               ___/    \___
                 |            /            \             /             \
                 |         -wææw         +wææw        -wææw          +wææw
                 |           |             |            |              |
             Quantifier  Place Name  Personal Noun  Common Noun  Kinship Term
```
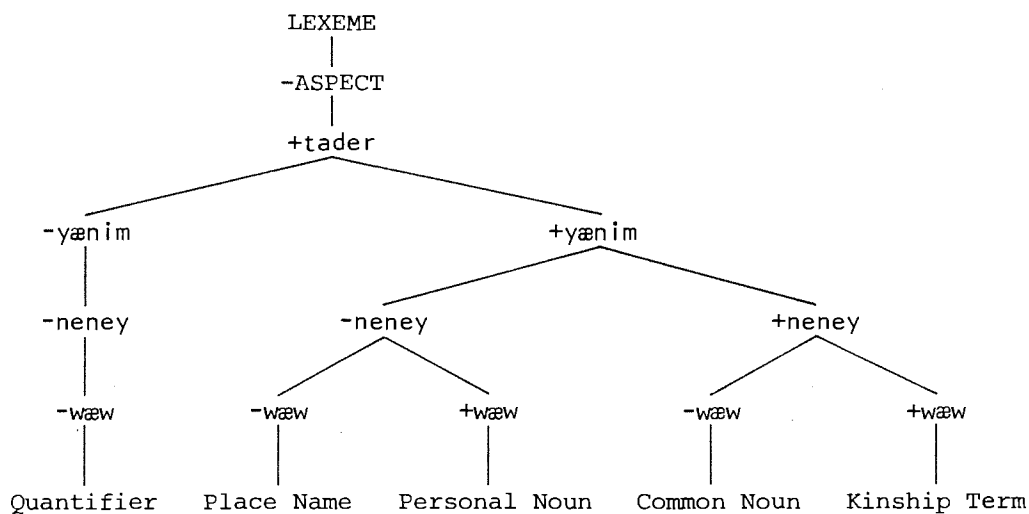
Figure 3.2

3.3.3 We can now turn our attention to the second subclass of class II lexemes, those that may not follow tader *this* to form a single constituent. These lexemes share the semantic property of referring to tokens of different types, or SHIFTING REFERENCE. In accordance with the usual convention, I call them Pronouns.

Two additional features divide the pronouns into four distinct classes. Example (7) shows that some pronouns may agree with a following noun in number, while others do not.

(7) (a) tey tale
          3FS *woman*
          the woman

    (b) rom tale- m
          3PL *woman-PL*
          the women

    (c) tade-t tale
          this-FS *woman*
          this woman

    (d) tadu-m tale- m
          this-PL *woman-PL*
          these women

    (e) menetey tale(-m)
          whatchamacallit woman-PL
          what's her/their name(s)?

    (f) yeran tale(-m)
          who? woman-PL
          what woman/women?

For the nonce we may call the class of pronouns that may agree with a following noun in number Class A, and the class that does not, Class B.

Crosscutting this distinction is the ability of some pronouns to accept the Locative suffix -ke/-e.

(8)   (a) *rey-ke
            3MS-L

       (b) *yeran-ke
            who?- L

       (c) tader-ke
            this- L
            at this one

       (d) menerey-   ke
            whatchamacallit-L
            at whatchamacallit

There are thus four classes of pronouns:

(a)   Personal Pronouns like rey, which distinguish number but do not take Locative marking,

(b)   Demonstrative Pronouns like tader, which distinguish number and accept Locative marking,

(c)   Interrogative Pronouns like yeran, which neither distinguish number nor take Locative marking, and

(d)   Obliviative Pronouns like menerey, which do not distinguish number, but do take Locative marking.

Table 3.3 exhibits the feature specifications for the four classes of pronouns. Other pronominal properties are discussed below in section 3.6

Table 3.3				
FEATURE	PERSONAL	DEMONSTRATIVE	INTER	OBLIV
tader__		-		
NUMBER	+		-	
-ke	-	+	-	+

We can now rename Class II lexemes, i.e. those that can be the unique constituent of a Noun Phrase, as Substantives. Figures 3.3 displays the structure of the subcategorisation of the class, and Table 3.4 displays their feature specifications.

```
                              LEXEME
                                |
                             -ASPECT
                                |
                             +UNIQUE
                    _____
                   |                        |
                +tader                    -tader
            _____|_____            _____|_____
           |             |          |             |
        +yænim        -yænim     +NUMBER       -NUMBER
        __|__            |        __|__         __|__
       |     |           |       |     |       |     |
    +neney -neney     -neney   +LOC  -LOC    +LOC  -LOC
     _|_    _|_          |       |     |       |     |
    |   |  |   |         |       |     |       |     |
 +wæw -wæw +wæw -wæw   -wæw      |     |       |     |
   |    |   |    |       |       |     |       |     |
  KIN COMMON PERSON PLACE        DEM PERSONAL OBLIV INTER

  COMMON NOUNS | PROPER NOUNS            QUANTIFIERS | PRONOUNS
          NOUNS
```
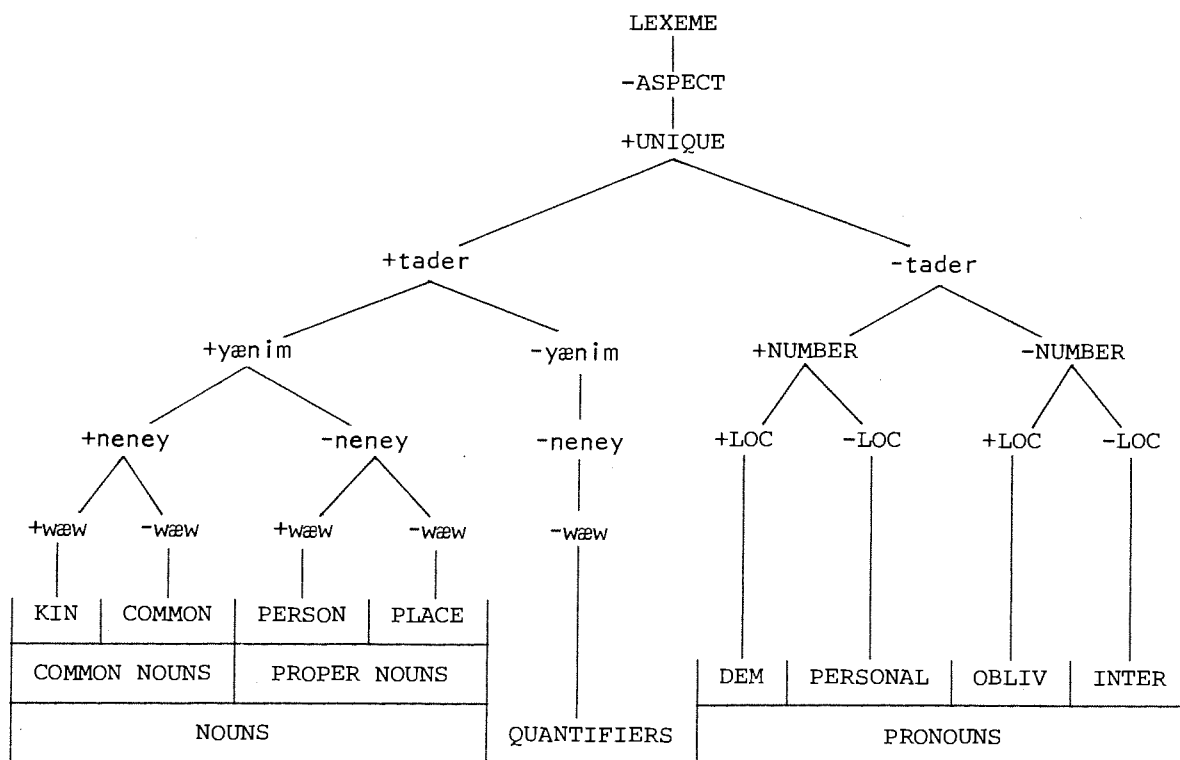
Figure 3.3

FEATURE	QUANT	PROPER NOUNS		COMMON NOUNS		PRONOUNS			
		PERSON	PLACE	KINTERM	OTHER	PERSONAL	DEM	INTER	OBLIV
tader__		+				-			
-yænim	-	+				(-)			
-neney	-	-		+		(-)			
-wæw	-	+	-	+	-	(-)			
NUMBER	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	+	-		
-ke	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+/-)	-	+	-	+

Table 3.4

3.4 Classification of nonsubstantives

The lexemes in Class III fall into several subclasses. First we can isolate the subclass whose members share the property of following a personal pronoun and a common noun to form a single constituent.

(9) (a)　tey　tale　owyæn
　　　　　3FS　*woman old*
　　　　　the old woman

(b)　rom　æwre　næk
　　　　3PL　*house new*
　　　　the new houses

(c)　rey　wom　　æyle
　　　　3MS　*coconut dry*
　　　　the dry coconut

(10) (a)　*tey eypek tale
　　　　　3FS　*thus　woman*
　　　　　**the thus woman*

(b)　*rom æwre ələp
　　　　3PL　*house yesterday*
　　　　**the yesterday houses*

(c)　*rey wom　　yekə
　　　　3MS　*coconut immediately*
　　　　**the immediate(ly) coconut*

The lexemes that fall into this class belong to the semantic types AGE, DIMENSION, VALUE, SPEED, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, and HUMAN PROPENSITY (cf. Dixon 1977:31). I will again venture to speculate that if a language has a grammatically identifiable class whose membership is typified by the semantic types DIMENSION and VALUE, then that class may appropriately be denominated Adjectives.

A small subclass of Awtuw Adjectives is identifiable by the ability of its members to intervene between another adjective and a common noun to form a single constituent.

The Intensifiers, mede and yapor *quite, very* and yankeyke *a little* may modify Nouns, other Adjectives, or certain Adverbs (cf. 7.4).

(11) (a)　waruke mede nemet
　　　　　big　　very mother
　　　　　a very big mother

(b)　*waruke monokene nemet
　　　　big　　bad　　　mother
　　　　**a badly(?) big mother*

The other Adjectives constitute an apparently closed class of about 36 members which can be categorised according to their semantic type. Note that one of the DIMENSION adjectives is also an intensifier and that two of the AGE adjectives, owyæn and owtiykayæn *old* also functions as nouns, meaning *old man*.

The only SPEED adjective also functions as an adverb, a property I suspect of being common for SPEED adjectives. In English, for example, one SPEED adjective, fast, not only functions as an adverb, but may not even accept the

productive adverb-deriving suffix -ly. Two other SPEED adjectives, slow and quick, which may accept -ly, regularly function adverbially without it. Those SPEED adjectives that take -ly obligatorily in adverbial function, like languid, dilatory, precipitate, rapid, and even swift may more appropriately be classified as MANNER adjectives. Like quick, kupkwap, may accept the adverb-deriving suffix, but also functions adverbially without it.

(12) rey mæw- e kupkwap(-wo) d- ewr- ey- e
     3MS *bush*-L *fast*   -ADV FA-*back-come*-P
     he returned from the bush quick(-ly)

Table 3.5 classifies all monomorphemic Awtuw adjectives.

Table 3.5			
AGE		**HUMAN PROPENSITY**	
lop	*old* (-HU)	yitam	*generous*
næk	*new*	kolakw	*reticent*
owtiykayæn	*old* (+HU) [N]	kitokte	*strong*
owyæn	*old* (+HU) [N]	(kəmkam *hard*)	*stingy*
DIMENSION		**VALUE**	
waruke	*big*	medayə	*good*
yankeyke	*small*	monokeke	*bad*
ketket	*small* (PL/-AN)		
laklake	*big* (PL/-AN)	**SPEED**	
wokək	*long, tall*	kupkwap	*fast* [ADV]
wukliwke	*long, tall*		
tukre	*short, shallow*		
kenken	*narrow*		
PHYSICAL PROPERTY			
æyle	*dry*		
nenel	*unripe, raw, wet*		
worne	*light(weight)*		
kəmkam	*hard*		
nelyaw	*empty*		
pərkwo	*soft*		
pərpər	*sharp*		
wam	*blunt*		
yiylekolke	*heavy*		

Colour terms, which are not monomorphemic Adjectives, receive further discussion in section 11.2.

Derived Adjectives with the suffix -neney, which compensate to a great extent for the paucity of monomorphemic adjectives, share their properties (cf. 3.8.1).

On the basis of their acceptance of the suffix -kwo/-wo *like, similar to, sort of* (cf. 3.8.2), we can discriminate two further subclasses within Class III.

(13) (a) ade- kwo
         here-like
         around here

(13) (b) *ap- kwo
         soon-like
         **around soon*

The subclass that accepts the suffix is difficult to characterise in terms of semantic type, but it does include tokens of TIME and MANNER. So without speculating on the universality of the category I will call this class Adverbs.

On semantic grounds, there are three types of Adverbs — Demonstrative Adverbs, Interrogative Adverbs, and 'Lexical' Adverbs. Table 3.6 displays all the members of the first and second types. Further discussion of the forms of these adverbs is to be found in section 3.8.2.

With the exception of kupkwap *quickly*, 'Lexical' adverbs all denote time or distance and I discuss them and list them in full in a later section on Numeration and Measurement in section 11.3. Table 3.6 therefore exhibits only a few examples.

Table 3.6					
DEMONSTRATIVE		INTERROGATIVE		'LEXICAL'	
ade	*here*	yok?	*how?*	reyek	*later*
tade	*here*	yekak?	*when?*	yarow	*tomorrow*
opo	*there*			antante	*always*
topo	*there*			apre	*not yet*
ey	*thus*			mowke	*a long time ago*
tey	*thus*			yæltuwp	*again*
eypek	*thus*			tomte	*far*
teypek	*thus*			im	*night*

Note that one of the 'lexical' adverbs, im *night*, may be quantified by a numeral or other quantifier to indicate a length of time. But since it has none of the diagnostic properties of nouns, I classify it as an adverb.

(14) wan im   yikiyr rer-re-k d- ikiy-e
     1SG *night two*   WH- O- I FA-*stay*-P
     I stayed at my brother-in-law's for two days

We can divide the subclass that does not accept -wo/-kwo into two classes on the basis of their ability to occur in isolation. Those that may occur in isolation we denominate Interjections.

The Interjections, yiy(kay) *wow*, owo *yes*, and awtuw *no*, are discussed in sections 12.1 and 12.2 in the chapter on Paralanguage.

The remaining category constitutes a residuum and there is therefore little need to characterise it semantically. Since the lexemes it includes are not susceptible to affixation, I call them Particles.

Particles fall into four semantic subclasses. The alternative particle, yokri
perhaps is discussed further in section 9.1.2 on question-forming strategies.
The Negative particle yene is discussed in section 9.2 on Negation strategies
and the Focus particle po is discussed in section 9.4.1 on focusing strategies.
Two of the remaining Particles, tə and take, mean *here*. The rest all mean
roughly *straightaway*. The particles tuwp and ap tend to gravitate to clause-
initial position and yekə and awəna tend to gravitate to second position.

We can display the distinctions on a feature matrix and illustrate the
structure of the classification as a tree.

Table 3.7: Class III					
FEATURE	ADJ	INT	ADV	INTERJ	PCL
PPr CN___	+		−		
ADJ____CN	−	+	(−)		
⁻wo	(+)		+	−	
ISOLATION	(−)		−	+	−
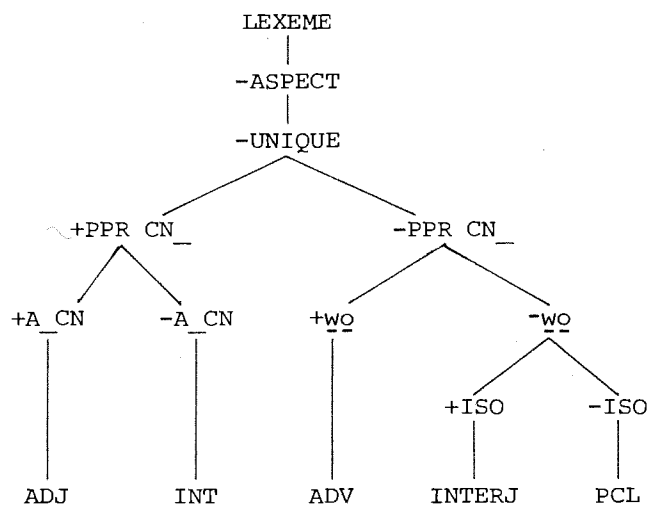
Figure 3.4

Table 3.8 and Figure 3.5 summarise the information in Tables 3.1-4 and 3.7 and
Figures 3.1-4.

Table 3.8

FEATURE	VERB	SUBSTANTIVE									NONSUBSTANTIVE				
		COMMON NOUN		PROPER NOUN		Q	PRONOUN				ADJ	INT	ADV	INTERJ	PCL
		KIN	OTHER	PERSON	PLACE		PERS	DEM	INT	OBL					
PERFECT	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
UNIQUE	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
tader __	(+)	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)
-yænim	(−)	+	+	+	+	−	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)
-neney	(−)	+	+	−	−	−	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)
-wæw	(−)	−	+	+	−	−	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)
NUMBER	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	+	−	−	−	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)
-ke	(−)	(−)	(+/−)	(−)	(+)	(+)	−	+	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)
PPR CN __	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(+)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	+	+	−	−	−
ADJ __ CN	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	−	+	−	−	−
-wo	(−)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(−)	+	−	−
ISOLATN	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	+	−

LEXEME

+ASPECT — −ASPECT

+UNIQUE — −UNIQUE

+tader — −tader — +PPR CN__ — +PPR CN__

+yænim — −yænim — +NUMBER — −NUMBER — +A_CN — −A_CN — +wo — −wo

+neney — −neney — −neney — +LOC — −LOC — +LOC — −LOC — +ISO — −ISO

+wæw — −wæw — +wæw — −wæw — −wæw

| KIN | COMMON | PERSON | PLACE |

| COMMON NOUNS | PROPER NOUNS |

| DEM | PERSONAL | OBLIV | INTER | ADJ | INT | INTERJ | PCL |

| NOUNS | QUANTIFIERS | PRONOUNS | ADJECTIVES | ADVERBS | PARTICLES |

VERBS | SUBSTANTIVES | NONSUBSTANTIVES |

Figure 3.5

3.5 Formal properties of nouns

3.5.1 Awtuw optionally marks the number of nouns with three suffixes, -wæw DUAL, -wom PLURAL, and -yænim GENERIC. The first two of these are restricted to occuring on nouns, proper or common, whose referents are human. The generic suffix occurs only on nouns whose referents are not human and on adjectives.

(15) (a) Kewmæy- wæw
           Kewmaey-DU
           Kewmaey and someone

      (b) yæn- wom
           child-PL
           children

      (c) *Wutlakw-wom
           Gutaiye-PL
           **people from Gutaiye*

      (d) *piyren-wæw
           dog-   DU
           **two dogs*

(16) (a) Wutlakw-yænim
           Gutaiye-GEN
           people from Gutaiye

      (b) piyren-yænim
           dog-   GEN
           dogs

      (c) *Kewmæy- yænim
           Kewmaey-GEN
           **people named Kewmaey*

      (d) *yæn- yænim
           child-GEN
           **children*

      (e) wokək-yænim
           tall- GEN
           the tall

These number-marked forms have some of the affixal properties of personal pronouns. They take -e as the object suffix, they accept possessive marking, and never take the locative suffix.

In addition to these productive number markers, there is a small class of human nouns that take irregular plurals ending in -m.

Table 3.9		
tale	*woman*	tale-m
yapor	*man*	yapu-m
yantelale	*young woman*	yantelale-m
yenankeyke	*grandchild*	yenankeyke-m
eywe	*grandparent*	owyi-m
ləm	*younger same-sex sibling*	limlæmi-m

Like other number-marked nouns, these take the pronominal forms of the object suffix and accept possessive marking.

3.5.2 Aside from the various case markers to be discussed in Chapter 6, Awtuw substantives accept two adverbial suffixes, -wo *just, alone* and -ye *again*. These follow the substantive immediately and precede any case marking, All substantives accept them with apparently equal felicity and they do not exhibit differences in form when they occur on personal pronouns. But only -wo, in the form -wa, may be followed by a case marker, and the only case marker that can follow it is the unmarked form of the object suffix -re. The following examples illustrate the uses of these morphemes.

(17) (a) Kampo-wo   rey-e rə- kə
         Kampo-alone 3MS-O *eat*-PF
         Kampo has eaten it all by himself

     (b) ŋamey æye- wa- re rokra-kə, yiyay awtuw
         mother food-only-O *cook*-PF   *game   no*
         Mommy has only cooked greens, there's no game

(18)   Peyaw Yowmən-re du-puy-e, Awtiy-ye   rey-e du-puy-e
         Peyaw Yowmen-O FA-*hit*-O *Awtiy-again* 3MS-O FA-*hit*-P
         Peyaw hit Yowmen and then Awtiy hit him again

3.6 Formal characteristics of pronouns

3.6.1 The Personal Pronouns comprise a small closed class which I exhibit in full in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10: Personal Pronouns				
		SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
FIRST		wan	nan	nom
SECOND		yen	an	om
THIRD	−FEMALE	rey	ræw	rom
	+FEMALE	tey		

They exhibit three categories of number and three of person with a female/non-female distinction in the third person singular.

While there is a degree of suppletion in the paradigm, we can make a few correlations between forms and the categories that they mark. The most striking regularity is that the plural forms consistently end in the segments /om/. A similar regularity occurs in the first and second person dual forms, which both end in /an/. The first person dual and plural forms both begin with /n/, while the corresponding second person forms begin in a vowel. Finally, the third person dual and plural forms, as well as the unmarked third person singular, have an initial /r/.

Wurm (1977a) has drawn attention to a remarkable consistency among the diverse languages of New Guinea in the forms of certain personal pronouns. Examining the singular forms in all three persons and the first and second person plurals, he finds that most of the pronouns marking these categories throughout New Guinea fall into one of three basic sets and that a given language will often select most of its pronouns from the same set or in a predictable way from two or all three sets. Because the pronominal forms in a given set crop up over a geographically large area and in no way restrict themselves to single genetic groupings, Wurm concludes that personal pronouns are, contrary to popular opinion, commonly borrowed from language to language.

Awtuw's personal pronouns are quite consistent in their set membership. The second person plural form bears no resemblance to the pronouns in any of the sets Wurm has established. But the other four categories all display Set I features.

One of the postulated Set I forms for third person singular is /te/, which resembles the corresponding female form in Awtuw quite closely. There is also a predictable consonant alternation, characteristic of Set I pronouns signalling the gender distinction in the third person singular. A property of second person singular forms in Set IaX appears to end in a coronal consonant and begin with a /y/, as does the Awtuw form /yen/. Similarly, Set I first person forms typically contain an /n/, while Set X forms add to this a /wV-/ in the singular, and an /-m/ in the plural, yielding the Awtuw forms /wan/ and /nom/.

Personal pronouns have a somewhat different set of morphological properties from nouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives. With regard to the suffixes they may accept, nouns marked for number resemble personal pronouns. In other respects, however, personal pronouns are unique.

First of all, only personal pronouns may bear the Possessive suffix -ke, described in 6.3. Second, the Object suffix on personal pronouns has the canonical form -e, subject to vowel harmony (cf. 2.2.10), and does not exhibit the sex gender agreement characteristic of the corresponding suffix on other substantive lexemes. And third, personal pronouns may never bear the Locative/ Direction suffix -e/ke, described in 6.5.

(19) (a) yen-ke
         2SG-PS
         your

     (b) *Kewmæy- ke
         Kewmaey-PS
         **Kewmaey's*

     (c) *piyren-ke
         dog- PS
         **a dog's*

     (d) *Kamlakw-ke
         Kammum- PS
         **Kammum's*

     (e) *tader-ke
         this- PS
         **this one's*

     (f) *yeran-ke
         who?- PS
         **whose?*

(20) (a) wan-e
       1SG-O
       me

    (b) ræw-e
       3DU-O
       them two

    (c) *wan-re
       1SG-O

    (d) *ræw-re
       3DU-O

(21) (a) wiytape-ke
       river- L
       at the river

    (b) Kamlakw-o
       Kamnum- L
       in Kamnum

    (c) *an- e
       2DU-L
       on you two

In addition to the properties they share with number-marked nouns, personal pronouns have three distinctive morphosyntactic characteristics.

Personal pronouns take the suffix -yæn to form what we may call Emotive pronouns. These are used when the speaker wants to elicit sympathy for the referent of the suffixed pronoun.

(22) wan-yæn im   kokot d- ik- al-   e
     1SG-EMT *night all*   FA-*sit-until dawn*-P
     poor me had to sit up all night

In origin, this suffix is very probably a diminutive. It is homophonous with the noun yæn *child*, which compounds fairly productively with other nouns to denote the young of an animal or a small token of the type denoted by the bare noun.

(23) (a) piyren
       dog
       dog

    (b) piyren+yæn
       dog+ child
       puppy

    (c) æymen
       knife
       machete

    (d) æymen+yæn
       knife+child
       small knife

Second, personal pronouns may reduplicate in full to form what I call Emphatic pronouns. Such forms have two basic functions — to emphasise an argument, usually in contrastive situations, and to signal coreference with the preceding subject. In this latter case, emphatic pronouns bear the possessive suffix when the possessor is coreferential with the subject, bear the reflexive marker

44

when the direct or indirect object is coreferential with the subject, and mark
the subject of a succeeding clause, with or without the reflexive marker, to
mark it unambiguously as coreferential with the preceding subject (cf. 5.1,
10.6).

(24) (a) an   ki- t- ik,   wan-wan æye   pa- rokra
        2DU IMP-DU-*sit* 1SG-1SG *food* HRT-*cook*
        you two sit down, I'll cook the food

     (b) nan də-k- owna- y,   ræw-ræw-e kə- ma-puya
        1DU FA-IP-*sleep*-IP 3DU-3DU-O IMP-GO-*hit*
        we two are lying down, go hit THEM two!

     (c) wan wækyi ka-d- k- æy-ey, rey-rey-e æye kaŋ-kuw
        1SG *hunger* NG-FA-IP-*go*-IP 3MS-3MS-O *food* IMP-*give*
        I'm not hungry, give HIM the food!

(25)   Yowmən rey-rey-ke nemet- te du-puy-e
         Yowmen 3MS-3MS-O *mother*-O FA-*hit*-P
         Yowmen hit his own mother

(26) (a) Kampo yiw- e rey-rey yimay-re d- upw-o
         Kampo water-L 3MS-3MS REFL- O FA-*see*-P
         Kampo saw himself in the water

     (b) Altiy rey-rey yimay-re də-k- alow-ey
         Altiy 3MS-3MS REFL- O FA-IP-*talk*-IP
         Altiy is talking to himself

(27)   Yawur Altiy-re du-puy-e, rey-rey(-yimay) gow di-yel-e
         Yawur Altiy-O FA-*hit*-P 3MS-3MS(-REFL) *tear* FA-*cry*-P
         Yawur hit Altiy and he, himself (Y), cried

Note that as the examples above illustrate, emphatic pronouns take the same
suffixes as ordinary personal pronouns. But they differ in two respects — they
may not take yæn and they may not themselves reduplicate.

3.6.2 The Obliviative pronoun, menerey, shares the morphological characteristics
of demonstratives. That is to say, like personal pronouns, it takes -e and its
allomorphs as the Object suffix, but it may not accept the Possessive suffix,
as illustrated in example (28).

(28) (a) rey mentey(*-ke) tey-ke yapor
         3MS OBLIV- PS 3FS-PS *husband*
         it was what's-her-name's husband

     (b) eywe   Eliw menetey-e də-k- ə
         ancestor Eliw OBLIV- O FA-*get*-P
         Ancestor Eliw married what's-her-name

The three forms of the Obliviative pronoun display the same female/non-female
distinction as the personal pronouns from which they are probably derived.

OBLIVIATIVE PRONOUNS
menerey *what's his name* [-FEM]
meneney *what's his name* [-FEM]
menetey *what's her name* [+FEM]

3.6.3 There are a few generalisations to be made about the forms of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns in Awtuw. Since demonstrative and interrogative adverbs share these features, I will deal with them here as well.

Table 3.11: Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns			
DEMONSTRATIVE		INTERROGATIVE	
(t)ader	*this* [-FEM]	yakum(oyæn)	*what?*
(t)adet	*this* [+FEM]	yeran	*who?*
(t)adum	*these*	yeremæn	*who?*
(t)opor	*that* [-FEM]		
(t)opot	*that* [+FEM]		
(t)opum	*those*		

Essentially there is one demonstrative adverb and two demonstrative pronouns, all of whose forms I list here.

Table 3.12		
ey	tey	
eypek	teypek	*thus*
eywo	teywo	
eypekwo	teypekwo	
ade	tade	*here*
ader	tader	*this* [-FEMALE]
adet	tadet	*this* [+FEMALE]
adum	tadum	*these*
opo	topo	*there*
opor	topor	*that* [-FEMALE]
opot	topot	*that* [+FEMALE]
opum	topum	*those*

To begin with the pronouns, we notice immediately that there are two demonstrative roots, (t)ade and (t)opo, each of which codes a category of proximity, within reach and out of reach respectively. These are then marked for plurality with the suffix -m. Non-plural forms further distinguish female from non-female referents. The optional t- in the pronouns and the manner adverb does not appear to correlate with any grammatical category and forms with and without the t- are in free variation. The eight manner adverb forms also seem to be in free variation.

We may conveniently compress the demonstrative adverb forms into the following constructs.

    (t)ey(pek)(wo)   *thus*
    (t)ade(r/t/m)   *here, this*
    (t)opo(r/t/m)   *there, that*

3.6.4 Like the demonstratives, Awtuw interrogative pronouns and adverbs display formal similarities that suggest that they ought to be treated together. There are three basic interrogative adverbs and two pronouns, but the use of the derivational suffix -kwo allows Awtuw to express a full range of WH- questions (cf. 9.1.3).

Table 3.13	
yakum ⎫ yakumoyæn ⎭	*what?*
yeran ⎫ yeremæn ⎭	*who?*
yok	*how? when?*
yekak	*when?*
yipe	*where?* (location)
yipke	*where?* (location/direction)
yak-kwo	*how much/many/often*
yakum-kwo	*what kind? why?*

Yakum and yakumoyæn are in free variation, though only yakum accepts -kwo to derive the form glossed *what kind?*, *why?* Similarly, yeran and yeremæn are in free variation. But as the glosses indicate, yipe and yipke are not entirely interchangeable. While yipke has the full range of functions of a noun with the location/direction suffix (see 6.5 below) and only occurs in predications with verbs, yipe only occurs as the predicate in verbless predications and may only request the location of the subject.

(29)   ŋaye   yipe (*d- ikiy)
         father where   FA-*stay*
         where's Daddy?

(30) (a) *ŋaye   yipke
         father where
         where's Daddy?

    (b) ŋaye   yipke d- ikiy
         father where FA-*stay*
         where's Daddy?

    (c) ŋaye   yipke d- æy-ka/d- eya- ka
         father where FA-*go*-PF/FA-*come*-PF
         where has Daddy gone/come from?

3.7 Compounding

Awtuw has three basic compounding strategies. Two of these compound two nouns to form a third noun. The other strategy, which compounds two verb roots to form a verb stem with the same inflectional possibilities as a monomorphemic root, may not be a compounding strategy at all. I have described the relevant phonemenon in section 4.12 and 10.1, but feel that it deserves mention in this section.

3.7.1 There are two strategies for compounding nouns. Because of their similarity to compounding strategies in Sanskrit, I have used the Sanskrit names to distinguish them.

First, and least productive among the Awtuw compounding strategies, is the *Dvandva* compound (cf. Whitney 1960:485-487). This strategy compounds two common nouns to form a third common noun whose meaning is a coordination of the two components. Example (31) illustrates the two most common *Dvandva* compounds.

(31) (a) nemet+ ŋawer
mother+father
mother and father, parents

(b) ripye+alme
bow+ arrow
bow and arrow

3.7.2 In the second strategy for compounding two common nouns, the first modifies or somehow restricts the meaning of the second. Like the *Tatpuruṣa,* or 'determinative' compounds in Sanskrit or Classical Greek (cf. Whitney 1960: 481, 490-491, Smyth 1920:252), it may be useful to conceive of the first component as standing in a dependent, or case, relation with the second.

(32) (a) niw+   æwre
ground+house
house on the ground

(b) æpiyæn+ æwre
chicken+house
house for chickens

(33) (a) yuwp+ tapwo
kunai+fire
fire made of kunai

(b) tiyl+ yekne
stone+axe
axe made of stone

(c) əmək+   tepe
pandanus+sago 'pudding'
sago 'pudding' made with pandanus

The examples in (33) illustrate situations where the name of a distinctive material restricts the meaning of a noun that may characteristically denote something made with other materials.

(34) (a) ole+ yaw
bush+pig
pig from the bush

(b) Wutlakw+tale
Gutaiye+woman
woman from Gutaiye

Example (34) illustrates compounds where the first component designates the source of the second. Example (35) shows a compound where the first component designates the characteristic inhabitants of the second.

(35)   ŋale+yiw
         fish+water
         waterhole full of fish

Finally, the first component noun may denote a whole of which the second forms a part.

(36) (a)   æwrʼ+ or
           house+top
           roof

     (b)   taw+ tïw
           tree+hair
           foliage

     (c)   wiytape+yil
           river+ edge
           river bank

     (d)   riwe+lake
           foot+bone
           bone of the leg

Further discussion of compounds like the one in (36a) is to be found in section 6.5.

As mentioned above, this strategy is quite productive. The resulting compound nouns bear all the same properties as monomorphemic common nouns, including the ability to enter into similar compounds.

(37) (a) [piyren+nale]+lukw
         dog+ hole+ middle
         the middle of a doghole

     (b) [taw+ tïw]+diyake
         tree+hair+under
         the underside of the foliage

3.7.3 The other strategy compounds two or more verb roots to form another verb stem which enters into the verb complex as if it were a single root. While any verb may be the first in such a compound, the second and subsequent roots are selected from a closed set of about 30 members. About a third of the members of this set may themselves function as independent verb roots in meanings reasonably closely related to the meanings they express in a compound. The balance bear no phonological resemblance to any independent verb root, although they all have a phonological shape that would be plausible for one.

The morphemes that may occur as the second and subsequent components of such a compound range in meaning from ḵow *give*, which marks verbs with a benefactive argument, through aspectual meanings like tǣwa *begin* and worka *completely*, auxiliary-like meanings like (wey)pa *try*, and adverbial meanings like newta *secretly*, to meanings that more closely resemble a second predicate, like kayna *... and go away.*

There is no apparent correlation between the independence of the morpheme and the independence of its meaning from that of the matrix verb root. Thus, ḵow the benefactive marker, which has the most clearly 'grammatical' meaning of the

morphemes in this set, is among the commonest verbs in the language used independently. But <u>kayn</u>a ... *and go away*, one of the morphemes with the most conspicuously independent meanings, bears no resemblance to any independent verb root.

These factors conspire to make the situation highly ambiguous. The membership in this class of verb roots that occur independently suggests that the structure is one of compounding, or of a very tight, partly crystalised, verb serialisation, or both (cf. 10.1.1). But the generally 'grammatical' nature of the meanings expressed suggest an analysis of the morphemes concerned as verb affixes.

I have therefore mentioned the phenomenon here in the section on compounding and in the section on verb serialisation (cf. 10.1.1), while presenting a full description, including a complete list of the morphemes in the class, in the discussion of verbal morphosyntax in section 4.12.

3.8 Derivation

Awtuw has three derivational strategies. The suffix -neney *-y, full of, including, etc.*, mentioned in 3.3.2 as a distinguishing property of Common Nouns, derives adjectives from common nouns. The suffix -wo/-kwo, also a defining criterion for parts-of-speech categories, is less transparently a derivational suffix, but has the effect of deriving adjectives from nouns and other adjectives, and adverbs from nouns, adjectives and other adverbs. In most contexts, -wo/-kwo corresponds reasonably neatly in meaning with the English suffixes -like and -ish. Finally, the number-marking suffixes -wæw DUAL, -wom PLURAL, and -yænim GENERIC, derive words with some of the formal morphological characteristics of personal pronouns from nouns.

3.8.1 The suffix -neney is enormously productive and regularly forms apparently nonce expressions from any eligible noun, i.e. any common noun. Its basic meaning would appear to be to attribute the noun bearing the suffix as a property or possession of the noun that the derived adjective modifies. The examples in (38) illustrate these two meanings.

> (38) (a) neknek-   neney
>   *knowledge-y*
>   *clever*
>
> (b) æwre- neney
>   *house-y*
>   *having a house*
>
> (c) yæy+ tiw- neney
>   *skin+hair-y*
>   *hairy*
>
> (d) yenkay- neney
>   *husband-y*
>   *married (of woman)*

Another important function of this suffix is to take up the slack left by Awtuw's closed class of adjectives. Unlike many other languages with closed adjective classes, many of the gaps in the inventory of basic adjectival

meanings are filled not by nouns or verbs (cf. Schachter to appear p.18), but rather by derived adjectives with -neney.

(39) (a)   tapwo-neney
            fire- y
            hot

      (b)   nampet-neney
            cold- y
            cold

      (c)   yiw- neney   (cf. æyle *dry*)
            water-y
            wet, full of water

3.8.2 As noted above, -kwo/-wo has a number of functions. The distribution of the two allomorphs appears to be lexically conditioned. Perhaps most important among these is the derivation of colour terms. Section 11.2 contains further discussion of colour terminology.

(40) (a). tipray-kwo
            soot- like
            black

      (b)   æypiy-kwo
            blood-like
            red

      (c)   nenel- wo
            unripe-like
            green

Examples (40a) and (40b) illustrate the derivation of adjectives from nouns and (40c) illustrates the derivation of an adjective from another adjective.

Another important function of this suffix is to derive an extremely common adjective.

(41)   lum-wo
            fat-like
            slow, easy

This suffix may be added to any adjective to fudge its meaning.

(42) (a)   pərpər-kwo
            sharp-like
            kind of sharp

      (b)   tukre-like
            short-like
            kind of short

It has an important function in a type of comparative predication, discussed in chapter 8.

(43)   yen-ke æymen wan-ke-kwo
            2SG-PS *knife* 1SG-PS-*like*
            your knife is like mine

Finally, the same suffix productively derives adverbs from nouns, demonstratives, and other adverbs.

(44) (a)   piyren-kwo
            dog-   like
            like a dog

      (b)   Poliw-kwo
            Poliw-like
            like Poliw

(45) (a)   topor-kwo
            that- like
            thus

      (b)   ader-kwo
            this-like
            thus

(46) (a)   yarow- kwo
            tomorrow-like
            around tomorrow

      (b)   tæy- wo
            near-like
            sort of near

3.8.3 The number markers occur on human Common and Proper nouns in the case of -wæw DUAL and -wom PLURAL and on Place names and most common nouns and adjectives in the case of -yænim GENERIC. All three of these have the peculiar property of deriving a form with some of the morphological characteristics of a personal pronoun from a noun. Both the distribution of the number markers and the morphological properties of personal pronouns receive fuller discussion in section 3.5 and 3.6. But briefly, where nouns may not take the possessive suffix -ke, nouns bearing the number markers may. Where a subclass of nouns may take the locative suffix -ə/-kə, nouns with number marking may not. And where nouns take one of the allomorphs of the object marker beginning with a consonant, number-marked nouns take the allomorphs consisting of a vowel alone.

VERBAL MORPHOSYNTAX

4.1 Structure of the verb complex

Many of the affixes discussed in this chapter have already appeared in section
2.2. There I was concerned with the changes phonemes undergo in the presence
of other specified phonemes and boundaries in the verb complex and elsewhere.
Here, I describe the formal morphological similarities and differences among
verbs, the co-occurrence of affixes, and the meanings and functions of the
affixes. Illustrative paradigms are to be found at the end of this chapter.

We can begin by examining a few highly expanded forms of typical verbs to
illustrate the overall structure of the verb complex and the order of the
elements that it comprises. For the sake of intelligibility, I will first
display a table of the slots in the verb complex and the affixes that may fill
them, and then present the evidence for the analysis. With the exception of
slot +1, the lists of affixes for each slot are exhaustive. I discuss the
affixes that occur in slot +1 fully in section 4.12.

Co-occurrence restrictions make three examples necessary to illustrate the
relative order of affixes in all slots. I will discuss these in subsequent
sections.

Example (1) shows the relative order of affixes in slots -8, -7, -6, -5, -4,
-3, 0, +1, +2, and +5.

    (1)   -8 -7 -6 -5 -4   -3 0   +1 +2 +5
         ka-d- ma-taw-owra-t- akla-kow-kay-e
         NG-FA-MT-YET-AGN- DU-*dig*- BEN-PF- P
         (two) hadn't gone and dug again for (someone) yet

Example (2) shows the relative order of affixes in slots -7, 0, +3, +4, +5,
and +6.

    (2)   -7 0   +3 +4 +5   +6
         w- akla-m- ek- rere-m
         NF-*dig*- PL-CDL-DES- PL
         (PL) wanted to dig, but didn't

And example (3) shows the relative order of affixes in slots -3, -2, -1, 0,
and +2.

    (3)   -3 -2 -1 0   +2
         t- k- ni-puya-ey
         DU-IP-RC-*hit*- IP
         (two) are hitting each other

Table 4.1: Structure of the Awtuw verb complex

```
-8
MODALITY: ka- NG, na- PT, pa- HT, kan- IMP, wan- DB, ap- PR, nil- NDB

-7
REALITY: w- NF, d- FA

-6
LOCATION/DIRECTION: ma- MT, wa- AB, lam- DS, lom- DH, wam- UH, yam- US

-5      -4
ADVERBIAL: taw- YET, owra- AGN

-3
DUAL: t-

-2
IMPERFECTIVE: k-

-1
RECIPROCAL: ni-

0
ROOT

+1
COMPOUND*: -kow BEN, see 4.12 (30 items)

+2
ASPECT: -iy IP, -kay PF

+3
PLURAL: -m, -nem, -mem

+4
CONDITIONAL: -(k)ek

+5
TENSE: -rere DES, -re FU, -e P

+6
PLURAL: -m
```

Examples (4) and (5) illustrate that, again with the exception of slot +1, only one affix may occur in any given slot.

    (4)   (a)   -8 -8 -7 0   +5
           *ka-na-w- alow- re
           NG-PT-NF-*speak*-FU
           can't speak

54

Example (4a) provides the single most semantically plausible combination of affixes from the same slot available from the inventory. Nevertheless, it is entirely unacceptable, the form with this meaning being:

(4) (b) -8 -7 0   +5
            ka-w- alow- re
            NG-NF-*speak*-FU
            can't/won't speak

The combination of slot -6 affixes in example (5) is again ungrammatical in spite of its semantic plausibility.

(5)   -8 -6 -6 0   +5
        ap-ma-w- alow- re
        PR-MT-AB-*speak*-FU
        *don't go and speak while [someone is] absent

The semantic bizarreness of other concatenations of affixes from the same slot makes illustration of their unacceptability virtually unnecessary.

The examples below demonstrate that affixes from the various slots are not permutable. Each example shows a single permutation of affixes in an otherwise well-formed and minimal verb complex.

(6)   -7 -8 0   +5
        *d- ka-puya-e
        FA-NG-*hit*- P
        *didn't hit

Example (6) shows that affixes from slots -8 and -7 are not permutable.

(7)   -6 -7 0   +5
        *ma-d- puya-e
        MT-FA-*hit*- P
        *went and hit

Example (7) demonstrates that affixes from slots -7 and -6 are not permutable.

A very large number of additional examples, which I hope the reader is willing to forego, would demonstrate the impermutability of affixes in other slots and of non-adjacent affixes.

4.2 Modality marking

4.2.1 The debitive modalities

Awtuw codes debitive illocutionary force, i.e. commands, necessities, and strong suggestions, in a set of prefixes that occupy the very first slot in the verb complex along with the negative and potential prefixes. It is only in the debitive modalities that verb affixes are sensitive to the person of the subject.

(1) The Hortative prefix p(a)- occurs only with first person subjects and is used in situations where the subject wishes to express a firm intention to do something in the immediate future with an implicit request for the addressee's permission or agreement. Semantically, the Awtuw Hortative bears a very close resemblance to English *let*-Hortatives.

(8) p- æy-nem!
     HR-*go*-PL
     let's go!

(9) gale waruke pə-t- nak!
     fish big   HR-DU-*hold*
     let's (two) grab some big fish!

(10) ŋamey-wo, wan po wom   æyle topor-re pə-ma-kə!
     mommy-V   1SG PCL *coconut dry   that*- O HR-MT-*get*
     Mommy, let me go get that dry coconut!

As these examples illustrate, a subject pronoun may or may not occur in
Hortative clauses, the person, and usually the number, of the subject being
recoverable from the verb affixation. A Hortative clause may consist of the
verb complex alone or may have any number of arguments and adjuncts. While the
tendency for clauses to be verb final is somewhat stronger for debitive
modality clauses, it is not unusual to find the verb in other positions.

(11) wan p- apwo yakum-kwo wanklow!
     1sg HR-*see what- like turtle*
     let me see what kind of turtle it is!

Unlike the second- and third-person debitive modalities, the Hortative has no
negative portmanteau counterpart so there is no exact Awtuw equivalent for an
English *let's not* ... construction. In such circumstances, an Awtuw speaker
would either use a lexical antonym, e.g. *let's go!* for *let's not stay!*, or a
Negative Desiderative, e.g. nom kae-w-ikiy-rere *we don't want to stay.*

(2) Imperatives are marked by the prefix kan- and its many allomorphs, whose
distribution is described in section 2.2. As with Hortatives, the person of an
Imperative verb is always recoverable, and the second person pronoun may or may
not occur.

(12) an ka- t- lawey!
     2DU IMP-DU-*clear*
     you two clear off!

(13) wan-e yiyte ka- lopa-kow-nem!
     1SG-O *gate* IMP-*open*-BEN-PL
     open the gate for me!

Again, like Hortative clauses, Imperative clauses are not always verb final.

(14) po ke- t- eyə wan-ke lape-   ke
     PCL IMP-DU-*come* 1SG-PS *village*-L
     (you two) come to my village!

Although it is uncommon for verbs in the other debitive modalities to enter
into serialisations (cf. 10.1.2), Imperative verbs often do so.

(15) kan-kə kər-eya- mem, uy   reypapwo!
     IMP-*get* IMP-*come*-PL *hole finished*
     bring (the corpse), the hole is finished!

(16) am kin-iwya- m kin-itpær-nəm kə- ra- mem
     2PL IMP-*slice*-PL IMP-*steam*-PL IMP-*eat*-PL
     you slice (the pig), cook it, and eat it!

(3) Prohibitives with the prefix ap-/æp- are the negative counterpart of imperatives and, like imperatives, always have second-person subjects. Clauses with Prohibitive verbs share most of the properties of other debitive clauses, but are even more likely to be verb final.

(17) ap- t- æytir-re!
      PRH-DU-*fear*- FU
      (you two) don't be afraid!

(18) wawəy, pək   ap- rokw-re!
      MB   *thus* PRH-*do*- FU
      Uncle, don't do that!

(19) wan-ke wiye- ke topor-kwo ap- t- rokw-re!
      1SG-PS *garden*-L *that*- *like* PRH-DU-*do*- FU
      (you two) don't do that in my garden!

(4) Debitives with the prefix wan- express necessity or obligation for a third-person subject. The most common single Debitive form is wan-owkey *it must stay*, discussed in section 7.3.1.

(20) ap- ma-ka- re! wan-owkey! (reply to (10))
      PRH-M- *get*-FU   DB- *exist*
      don't go get it! leave it alone! (it must stay where it is!)

(21) wan-owkey æwre- ke!
      DB- *exist house*-L
      leave it in the house

(22) Wariykom war-eyə!
      Wariykom DB- *come*
      Wariykom has to come!

(5) Negative Debitives have the prefix nil- and generally express impossibility. They are not therefore a direct opposite of a debitive, that is, they do not mean 'unnecessary'. Rather, if we visualise a scale of possibility with necessity at one pole and impossibility at the other, the negative debitive form expresses the *polar* opposite of the debitive, as illustrated in the following diagram.

OBLIGATION/	PERMISSION/	PROHIBITION/
NECESSITY	POSSIBILITY	IMPOSSIBILITY

Negative debitive forms are very uncommon both in narrative and in conversation.

(23) nil-t- owkaneyaw-p'- e, wiyum ræw-e d- æl- i
      NDB-DU-*climb*   *try*-P *wasp* 3DU-O FA-*bite*-P
      they two couldn't try to climb, wasps bit them

4.2.2 Verbs expressing possibility or permission take the Potential prefix na-/-næ-. There are no constraints on the person of the subject of a Potential verb and the subject must therefore be overt unless it is otherwise recoverable from context.

(24) Awtiy yarow   Liwmiy-e næ-w- æy-re
Awtiy tomorrow Lumi- L PT-NF-go-FU
Awtiy might go to Lumi tomorrow

(25) Yen na-w- owna-re tə
2SG PT-NF-*lie-* FU *here*
You may lie down here

Lest-type constructions also use a Potential form.

(26) ey   ap-rokw-re, yen na-lamləkna-re!
thus PR-*do-* FU 2SG PT-*fall-*   FU
don't do that lest you fall!

Ability is expressed not by a Potential verb, but by a construction with yirin *enough* and the Future.

(27) Topor yæn   yirin yekə taw w- uwk- re
that child enough PCL *tree* IP-*fell-*FU
that child can fell a tree

4.2.3 Morphological negation with ka-/kæ- is the usual strategy for negating any clause with a verbal predicate.

(28) Awtiy kæ-w- æy-re
Awtiy NG-NF-*go*-FU
Awtiy isn't going

(29) Awtiy-re wan ka-d- uwpo-ka
*Awtiy-*O 1SG NG-FA-*see-* PF
I haven't seen Awtiy

This strategy may contrast verbs, verb phrases (cf. 5.2), or subjects, although it is more common to find the particle yene negating constituents (see 9.2.2).

(30) Numoy Altiy-re ka-d- puy-e, rey po wan-e d- ir- e
*Numoy Altiy-*O NG-FA-*hit-*P 3MS PCL 1SG-O FA-*feed-*P
Numoy didn't hit Altiy, he fed me

Morphological negation cannot contrast objects or other full constituents, but, oddly, it can contrast adjectival constituents of the object.

(31) *wan Yawmən-re ka-d- puy-e, wan (po) Naytow-re du-puy-e
1SG *Yawmen-*O NG-FA-*hit-*P 1SG PCL *Naytow-*O FA-*hit-*P
I didn't hit Yawmen, I hit Naytow

(32) *rey Liwmiy-e kæ-d- eya- ka, rey (po) Tæypil- e d- eya- ka
3MS *Lumi-* L NG-FA-*come*-PF 3MS PCL *Talbipi-*L FA-*come*-PF
**he didn't come from Lumi, he came from Talbipi*

(33) wan æwre næk-re ka-d- uwp-o, wan (po) æwre lop-re d- uwp-o
      1SG *house new*-O NG-FA-*see*-P 1SG PCL *house old*-O FA-*see*-P
      I didn't see a new house, I saw an old house

4.3 Factivity marking

The categories that the Factive and Nonfactive prefixes mark are semantically
otiose. Tense and Modality, as well as the morphophonological factors
described in 2.2.13 and 2.2.14, condition their presence. If the verb bears
one of the three non-Negative debitive modality markers, then it may not bear
either Factivity prefix.

(34) (a) yen kan-ey
           2SG IM- *go*
           go!

      (b) *yen kan-w- ey
           2SG IM- NF-*go*

If the verb bears the Conditional, the Future, or the Desiderative suffix, then
it must also have the Nonfactive prefix.

(35) (a) yile w- it- ik
           rain NF-*rain*-CDL
           if it had rained ...

      (b) *yile (d-) it- ik
           rain FA- *rain*-CDL

(36) (a) tey w- æy-re
           3FS NF-*go*-FU
           she'll go

      (b) *tey (d-) æy-re
           3FS FA- *go*-FU

(37) (a) wan w- æy-rere
           1SG NF-*go*-DES
           I want to go

      (b) *wan (d-) æy-rere
           1SG FA- *go*-DES

The Modalities that require Future marking bear Nonfactive marking as well
(see 4.5). Verbs that have Past tense marking or are unmarked for tense must
take a Factive stem.

(38) (a) rey d- æy-e
           3MS FA-*go*-P
           he went

      (b) *rey (w-) æy-e
           3MS NF- *go*-P

(39) (a) rey də-k- æy-ey
           3MS FA-IP-*go*-IP
           he's going

      (b) *rey (w-) k- æy-ey
           3MS NF- IP-*go*-IP

(40) (a) rey d- æy-kay
           3MS FA-*go*-PF
           he's gone

      (b) *rey (w-) æy-kay
           3MS NF- *go*-PF

4.4 Conditional marking

Verbs with Conditional marking must take the Nonfactive prefix. They occur in
two constructions. If the Conditional stem has no desiderative marking, then
the verb must occur in either the protasis or the apodosis of a contrary-to-fact
conditional sentence (see 10.4).

(41) yen w- eya- kək, wan w- æy-ək
      2SG NF-*come*-CDL   1SG NF-*go*-CDL
      if you had come, I would have gone

If the verb takes Desiderative suffixation as well as Conditional marking, the
result is a Frustrative form meaning *wanted to ..., but didn't.* No other
marking from slot +5 may occur on a Conditional stem.

4.5 Tense marking

Verbs with Past or Desiderative marking are constrained from occurring on a verb
marked for any Modality save Negative. Verbs with Potential, Prohibitive, or
Negative Debitive Modality prefixes require the Future suffix.

(42) (a) ap-æy-re
           PR-*go*-FU
           don't go!

      (b) *ap-æy-e/-rere
           PR-*go*-P/-DES

The labels I have assigned to the three suffixes that occur in slot +5 are
entirely transparent. Verbs marked with the Past tense suffix depict situations
which occurred prior to the speech event. Verbs with Future marking depict
situations that are expected to occur after the speech event, and verbs with
Desiderative marking depict situations that the speaker desires to come about.

Awtuw tense marking does not distinguish grades of temporal proximity — simply
before or after the speech event, or neither.

Section 10.2.5 will discuss the matter of sequence of tenses in sentences with
more than one clause.

4.6 Aspect marking

The Awtuw verb displays marking for two aspects — Perfect and Imperfective. The
Perfect is marked by a suffix in slot +2, and the Imperfective by a circumfix,
the suffixal component of which appears in slot +2. The prefixal component
appears in slot -2. Except when the verb is in a truncated verb serialisation,
both components of the Imperfective circumfix must co-occur (see 10.1.2).

The Imperfective marker appears on verbs depicting a situation that is durative, continuous, progressive, or iterative in nature.

(43) (a) rey di-k- ik- iy
         3MS FA-IP-*sit*-IP
         he's sitting

     (b) nom Kamlakw-o di-k- ikiy-i- m
         1PL *Kamnum-* L FA-IP-*live*-IP-PL
         we live in Kamnum

     (c) nom Tæypil- e də-k- æy-e- m
         1PL *Talbipi*-L FA-IP-*go*-IP-PL
         we're going to Talbipi

     (d) rey yamo antante də-k- ra- y
         3MS *sago always* FA-IP-*eat*-IP
         he always eats sago

Verbs with Imperfective marking may bear tense marking as well.

(44) (a) rey di-k- ik- iy-e
         3MS FA-IP-*sit*-IP-P
         he was sitting/used to sit

     (b) rey k- ik- iy-re
         3MS IP-*sit*-IP-FU
         he will be sitting

The Perfect suffix expresses both the category of Perfect, i.e. present relevance, as in example (45b), and Perfective, i.e. a situation viewed as complete, as in example (45a).

(45) (a) Yawur d- eya- kay
         Yawur FA-*come*-PF
         Yawur has come

     (b) æwre d- irp- kay
         house FA-*close*-PF
         the door is closed

Again, verbs with Perfect marking may bear tense suffixes.

(46) (a) Yawur d- eya- kay-e wan d- ukl'-e
         Yawur FA-*come*-PF- P 1SG FA-*wake*-P
         Yawur had come when I woke up

     (b) rey w- eya- kay-re yen w- æy-re
         3MS NF-*come*-PF- FU 2SG NF-*go*-FU
         he'll have come when you go

With the exception of verbs in a debitive modality, any verb that is unmarked for tense makes an obligatory aspect distinction.

(47) (a) *wan w- eya
         1SG NF-*come*

     (b) *tey d- æy
         3FS FA-*go*

4.7 Feature analysis of modality, tense, and aspect categories

The preceding sections have mentioned a variety of co-occurrence restrictions among the affixes that may appear in the Awtuw verb complex. A simple statement of positional restrictions can account for some of these. A verb may not be specified, for example, as both Negative and Potential because once the Negative prefix has occupied slot -8, the Potential prefix cannot do so, and vice versa.

A number of co-occurrence restrictions apply to affixes that fill different slots. The purpose of this section is to submit the relevant morphemes to an analysis that assigns a set of feature specifications to each and stipulates their co-occurrence possibilities in terms of a set of redundancy rules.

We will be primarily concerned with the categories of tense, aspect, and mood, represented in verbal affixes in slots -8, -7, -2, +2, +4, and +5. There will also be reason to touch on the category of person, which is represented in Awtuw only as a portmanteau of the Debitive modality prefixes, and number. Since no co-occurrence restrictions apply to the other categories marked by verb morphology, it will be unnecessary to analyse them in this way.

Three features distinguish the categories of modality marked in slot -8. The feature Debitive distinguishes forms marked with pa-, kan-, wan-, ap-, and nil- from those marked with na-, ka-, or ϕ. Potential distinguishes those marked with na- from those marked with ka- or ϕ. Negative distinguishes those marked with ka- from unmarked forms on the one hand, and those marked with pa-, kan-, and wan- from those marked with ap- and nil- on the other.

The feature Nonfactive distinguishes forms marked with w- in slot -7 from those that do not bear the Nonfactive prefix. As I mentioned in the discussion above, Factive and Nonfactive marking is conditioned by tense. This makes the non-Factive feature useful in the specification of the tense suffixes as well as the Factive and Nonfactive prefixes. Specifically, the feature distinguishes Future and Desiderative forms from Past and unmarked forms.

The purpose of this analysis is to describe co-occurrence restrictions on overt morphemes. The features therefore correspond directly with morphological categories. Ideally, a feature mediates between a morphologically marked category and a corresponding semantic category. Since the morphological category of Nonfactivity in Awtuw is semantically redundant, specifications of forms for this feature may at times seem arbitrary.

The feature Nonpresent distinguishes Past and Future forms, which are overtly marked and have Nonpresent time reference from Desiderative forms and forms unmarked for tense, which have present time reference.

Finally, the features Conditional, Perfect, Imperfective, Second Person, Third Person, Plural, and Dual are morphologically and semantically transparent. Since the categories of aspect, person, and number in Awtuw all make three-way distinctions, a pair of features is required for each.

4.7.1 The first distinction we need to make is between forms marked as Debitive in illocutionary force and those that are not. Verbs of this kind depict commands, exhortations, and expressions of necessity, which do not make tense distinctions. Forms bearing the prefixes pa-, kan-, wan-, ap-, and nil- in slot -8 are marked for the feature Debitive, while those with ka-, na-, or

no prefix are unmarked. The variety of contexts in which non-Debitive forms
occur and the constraints on tense marking of Debitive forms justify
identifying Debitive rather than, say, Declarative, as the marked category.

4.7.2 Next we must isolate Potential forms marked by the prefix na- from
non-Potential forms. Note that Debitive and Potential are mutually exclusive
categories because both are marked by slot -8 prefixes.

4.7.3 The next step is to distinguish forms specified as Negative from those
specified as non-Negative, for both Debitive and non-Debitive categories. This
feature distinguishes Negative Debitive forms with the prefixes ap- and nil-
from non-Negative Debitive forms with the prefixes pa-, kan-, and wan-. It
also distinguishes among non-Debitive, non-Potential forms. Again, the
position of the prefixes that mark the categories make Potential and Negative
mutually exclusive.

This leaves a three-way distinction among Potential forms with the prefix na-,
Negative non-Potential forms with the prefix ka-, and non-Negative non-Potential
forms with no prefix in slot -8. The morphological and semantic unmarkedness
of the non-Negative non-Potential justifies naming the feature Negative rather
than Affirmative.

An illustrative diagram at this point may serve to clarify the distinctions
proposed thus far.

Figure 4.1

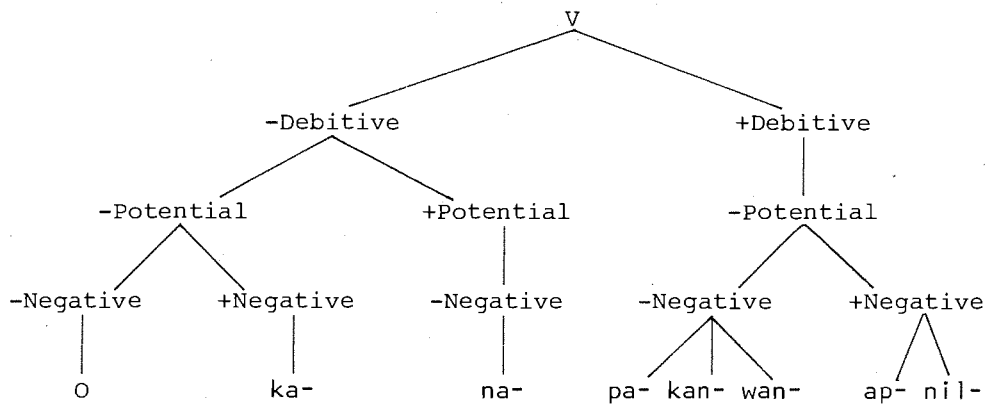4.7.4 These three features, in conjunction with the positionally motivated
restrictions on their co-occurrence, distinguish all the prefixes in slot -8,
with the exception of person marking of Debitive forms.

At this stage, it will be most convenient to focus on further specifications
to the left-most, non-Potential, non-Debitive branch of the diagram and return
to the Potential and the Debitive branches later.

Forms on this branch distinguish Nonfactivity as marked in slot -7. Although the Nonfactive prefix w- and the Factive prefix d- both make more than one tense distinction, it is preferable to identify Nonfactive as the marked form for the purpose of this analysis.

Since non-Debitive, non-Potential forms make precisely the same distinctions regardless of their specification for Negativity, further discussion will be neutral with respect to Negativity.

Nonfactive and non-Nonfactive forms distinguish tense through the feature Nonpresent. Nonfactive forms specified Nonpresent bear the Future suffix and those specified non-Nonpresent bear the Desiderative suffix. Non-Nonfactive forms specified Nonpresent have past tense marking, while those specified non-Nonpresent are unmarked for tense.

This feature Conditional distinguishes forms with the Conditional suffix in slot +4 from those that lack it. Conditional forms are redundantly specified as Nonfactive. Thus non-Nonfactive forms will automatically be specified as non-Conditional, while Nonfactive forms distinguish Conditional and non-Conditional.

This analysis conveniently specifies Conditional forms, which occur in past contrafactual conditions, as Nonfactive, Nonpresent, and Conditional, and Frustratives, which depict frustrated desires, as Nonfactive, non-Nonpresent, and Conditional. Note that the only marker from slot +5 that may co-occur with the Conditional suffix is the Desiderative suffix.

It is now appropriate to display another diagram to clarify the feature specifications made thus far and their correspondence with verb suffixes. (Note: NPR = non-Present, CDL = Conditional.)

```
                          -Debitive
                              |
                          -Potential
                              |
                          ±Negative
                         /          \
            -Nonfactive                  +Nonfactive
             /      \                    /           \
        -NPR        +NPR            -NPR              +NPR
         |           |             /    \            /    \
        -CDL        -CDL        -CDL    +CDL       -CDL    +CDL
         |           |           |       |          |       |
         -O          -e        -rere   -əkrere     -re      -ək
       Present      Past       Desir    Frust       FU      CDL
```
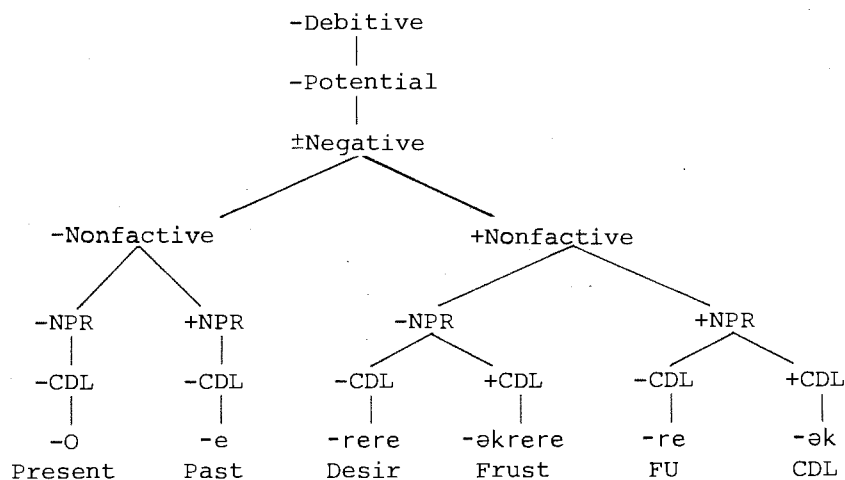
Figure 4.2

4.7.5 Now we can turn our attention to forms specified as Potential. Potential forms require Nonfactive marking and may bear either the Future or the Conditional suffix. Redundancy rule 1 yields all possible forms under this node.

(48) Redundancy rule 1

$$[+\text{Potential}] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Nonfactive} \\ +\text{Nonpresent} \end{bmatrix}$$

Note that Potential forms must also be non–Debitive and non–Negative, but because all three categories, Potential, Debitive, and Negative are expressed by affixes in the same slot, the redundancy rule need not specify it.

Potential forms may still be specified for Conditionality. Potential Conditionals take the Conditional suffix and Potential non–Conditionals take the Future suffix, as was the case with non–Potential forms specified as Nonfactive and Nonpresent.

4.7.6 Two additional redundancy rules will specify the mood and tense values for Debitive forms. The first of these stipulates that Negative Debitives will also be Nonfactive and Nonpresent, and so have Future marking, and non–Negative Debitives will be neither.

(49) Redundancy rule 2

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Debitive} \\ \alpha\text{Negative} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{Nonfactive} \\ \alpha\text{Nonpresent} \end{bmatrix}$$

The second stipulates that any form specified as either Debitive or non–Nonfactive will also be specified as non–Conditional.

(50) Redundancy rule 3

$$\begin{Bmatrix} [+\text{Debitive}] \\ [-\text{non-Factive}] \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{Conditional}]$$

Figure 4.3 displays the feature specifications for Debitive and Potential forms. (Note: numerals below each terminal node refer to forms in Tables 4.4–7).

4.7.7 A further redundancy rule specifies the permissible aspect distinctions for each tense/mood category isolated above.

(51) Redundancy rule 4

$$\left\langle \begin{bmatrix} -\text{Debitive} \\ -\text{Nonfactive} \\ -\text{Nonpresent} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle_{-\alpha} \rightarrow [-\alpha\text{Imperfective}]$$
$$[\alpha\text{Perfect}]$$

This rule stipulates that any form specified as Perfect will also be non–Imperfective regardless of the specifications for the other three features and that non–Perfect forms that are also non–Debitive, non–Nonfactive, and non–Nonpresent must be specified as Imperfective. In other words, forms with any Debitive or tense marking may bear either Perfect or Imperfective marking, or be unmarked for aspect, while non–Debitive forms unmarked for tense must bear either the Perfect or the Imperfective suffix.
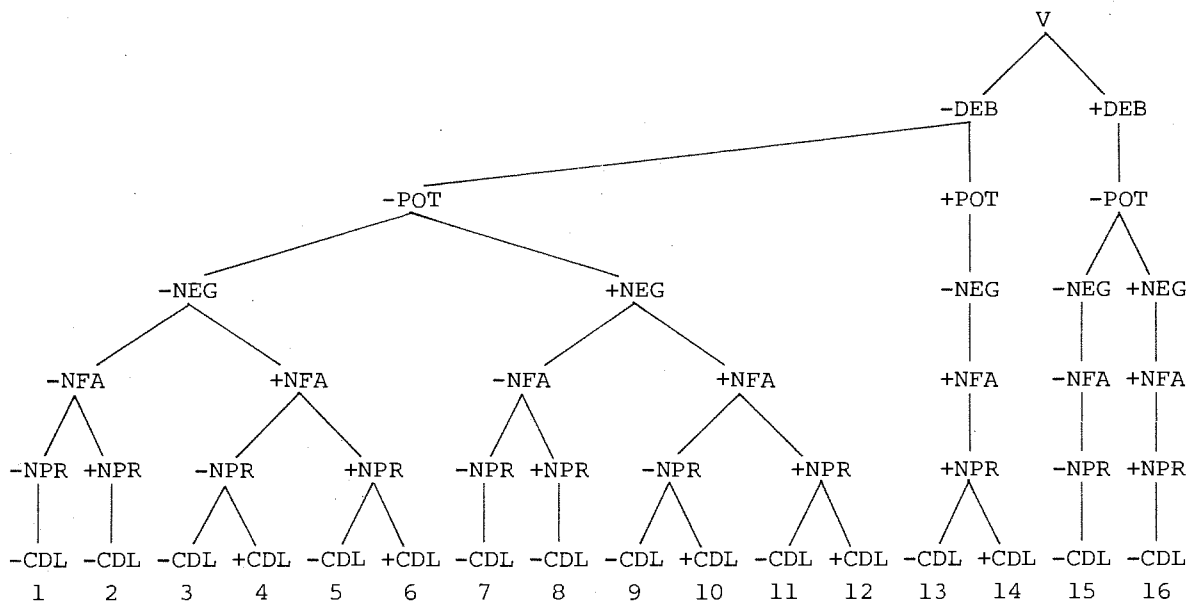
Figure 4.3

It therefore suspends the structure illustrated in Figure 4.4a to each terminal node in Figure 4.3 except those negatively specified for all features besides Negative and the structure illustrated in Figure 4.4b to the remaining two nodes (i.e. nodes 1 and 7). (Note: IP = Imperfective)

Figure 4.4

4.7.8 Redundancy rule 5a stipulates that Debitive forms marked as second person must be non-third person. Rule 5b stipulates that Negative Debitives marked as third person must be non-second person. In other words, Negative Debitives may be either second or third person, while non-Negative Debitives may be second or third person or neither, i.e. first person.

(52) Redundancy rule 5

$$\text{(a)} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Debitive} \\ +\text{II} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{III}] \qquad \text{(b)} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Debitive} \\ +\text{Negative} \\ +\text{III} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{II}]$$

This rule appends the structure illustrated in Figure 4.5a to each non-Negative Debitive node suspended from node 15 in Figure 4.3 and the structure in 4.5b to each Negative Debitive node suspended from node 16.

(a) Node

```
        Node
        /  \
      -II   +II
      / \    |
   -III +III -III
```

(b) Node

```
        Node
        /  \
      -II   +II
       |     |
     +III  -III
```

Figure 4.5

4.7.9 Finally, with the exception of Reciprocal verbs, noted below, the Dual and Plural affixes may not co-occur, and this too may be expressed in the form of a redundancy rule.

(53) Redundancy rule 6

$$[+\text{Plural}] \rightarrow [-\text{Dual}]$$

This rule has the effect of suspending the structure illustrated in Figure 4.6 to each terminal node.

```
          Node
          /  \
       +PL    -PL
        |     / \
      -DU  +DU  -DU
```
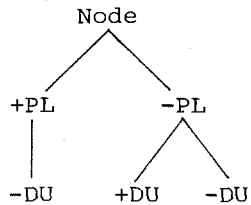
Figure 4.6

4.7.10 There is one further co-occurrence restriction that requires explication. On any verb with the Reciprocal prefix in slot -1, the Dual prefix must also occur in slot -3 regardless of the number of the subject. As this morphological restriction does not correspond to any comparable semantic restriction, I will not submit it to a feature-based analysis.

4.7.11 Table 4.2 expands each relevant affix as a cluster of features. In each case, the cluster includes only the essential specifications. Specifications for other features are either specified by a positional rule or a redundancy rule, or irrelevant.

```
┌────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                         Table 4.2                              │
├────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┤
│   pa-    →   [+DEB, -NEG, -II, -III]  (Hortative)              │
│                                                                │
│   kan-   →   [+DEB, -NEG, +II, -III]  (Imperative)            │
│                                                                │
│   wan-   →   [+DEB, -NEG, -II, +III]  (Debitive)              │
│                                                                │
│   ap-    →   [+DEB, +NEG, +II, -III]  (Prohibitive)           │
│                                                                │
│   nil-   →   [+DEB, +NEG, -II, +III]  (Negative Debitive)     │
│                                                                │
│   na-    →   [+POT]  (Potential)                               │
│                                                                │
│   ka-    →   [-DEB, +NEG]  (Negative)                          │
│                                                                │
│   d-     →   [-DEB, -NFA]  (Factive)                           │
│                                                                │
│   w-     →   [+NFA]  (Nonfactive)                              │
│                                                                │
│   -ək    →   [+CDL]  (Conditional)                             │
│                                                                │
│   -re    →   [+NFA, +NPR]  (Future)                            │
│                                                                │
│   -rere  →   [+NFA, -NPR]  (Desiderative)                      │
│                                                                │
│   -e     →   [-NFA, +NPR]  (Past)                              │
│                                                                │
│   -o     →   [-NFA, -NPR]  (Unmarked tense)                    │
│                                                                │
│   -kay   →   [+PF]  (Perfect)                                  │
│                                                                │
│   -k-ey  →   [-PF, +IP]  (Imperfective)                        │
└────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

4.7.12 Table 4.3 displays the tense, mood, and aspect feature specifications for all non-Negative, non-Debitive forms of the root a<u>low</u> *speak*, Table 4.4, the specifications for Negative forms, Table 4.5, the specifications for Potential forms, and Table 4.6 the tense, mood, aspect, and person specifications for all Debitive forms

4.8 Reciprocal marking

Any verb that depicts an action that people can do to each other may bear the Reciprocal prefix. Verbs with Reciprocal marking always have a prefix in the Dual slot, -3, as well as the Reciprocal prefix in slot -1. If the subject is Plural rather than Dual, the Dual marking remains obligatory. In the absence of Reciprocal marking, Dual and Plural marking are mutually exclusive.

(54) (a) Nalpet Kamlakw yakruk ti-n- iy-   m- e
           Taute   Kammum   once   DU-RC-shoot-PL-P
           Taute and Kammum once had a war (i.e. shot each other)

      (b) *rey ti-ni-puy-e
           3MS DU-RC-*hit*-P
           **he shot each other*

#	FORM -7-2 0 +2 +4 +5	DEB	POT	NEG	NFA	NPR	CDL	PF	IPF	GLOSS
1	d- alow-kay	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	*has spoken*
	də-k-alow-ey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	*is speaking*
2	d- alow- o	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	*spoke*
	d- alow-kay- e	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	*had spoken*
	də-k-alow-ey- e	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	*was speaking, used to speak*
3	w- alow- rere	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	*wants to speak*
	w- alow-kay- rere	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	*wants to have spoken*
	k-alow-ey- rere	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	*wants to be speaking*
4	w- alow- ək-rere	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	*wanted to speak, but didn't*
	w- alow-kay-ək-rere	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	*wanted to have spoken, but didn't*
	k-alow-ey- ək-rere	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	*wanted to be speaking, but didn't*
5	w- alow- re	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	*will speak*
	w- alow-kay- re	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	*will have spoken*
	k-alow-ey- re	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	*will be speaking*
6	w- alow- ək	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	*would have spoken*
	w- alow-kay-ək	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	*would have had spoken*
	k-alow-ey- ək	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	*would have been speaking*

Table 4.3

#	FORM -8 -7 -2　0 +2 +4 +5	DEB	POT	NEG	NFA	NPR	CDL	PF	IPF	GLOSS
7	ka-d- a low-kay	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	*hasn't spoken*
	ka-d-k-a low-ey	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	*isn't speaking*
8	ka-d- a low- o	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	*didn't speak*
	ka-d- a low-kay- e	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	*hadn't spoken*
	ka-d-k-a low-ey- e	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	*wasn't speaking*
9	ka-w- a low- rere	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	*doesn't want to speak*
	ka-w- a low-kay- rere	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	*doesn't want to have spoken*
	ka- k-a low-ey- rere	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	*doesn't want to be speaking*
10	ka-w- a low- ək-rere	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	*didn't want to speak, but did*
	ka-w- a low-kay-ək-rere	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	*didn't want to have spoken, but did*
	ka- k-a low-ey- ək-rere	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	*didn't want to be speaking, but did*
11	ka-w- a low- re	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	*won't speak*
	ka-w- a low-kay- re	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	*won't have spoken*
	ka- k-a low-ey- re	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	*won't be speaking*
12	ka-w- a low- ək	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	*wouldn't have spoken*
	ka-w- a low-kay-ək	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	*wouldn't have had spoken*
	ka- k-a low-ey- ək	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	*wouldn't have been speaking*

Table 4.4

#	FORM -8-7-2 0 +2 +4+5	DEB	POT	NEG	NFA	NPR	CDL	PF	IPF	GLOSS
					Table 4.5					
13	na-w- alow- re	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	*can speak*
	na-w- alow-kay- re	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	*can have spoken*
	na- k-alow-ey- re	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	*can be speaking*
14	na-w- alow- ək	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	*could have spoken*
	na-w- alow-kay-ək	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	*could have had spoken*
	na- k-alow-ey- ək	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	*could have been speaking*

#	FORM -8 -7-2 0 +2 +5	DEB	POT	NEG	NFA	NPR	CDL	PF	IPF	II	III	GLOSS
						Table 4.6						
15	p- alow	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*let me speak!*
	p- alow-kay	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	*let me finish speaking!*
	pə- k-alow-ey	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	*let me go on speaking!*
	kan- alow	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	*speak!*
	kan- alow-kay	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	*finish speaking!*
	kan- k-alow-ey	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	*go on speaking!*
	wan- alow	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	*(he) must speak*
	wan- alow-kay	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	*(he) must finish speaking!*
	wan- k-alow-ey	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	*(he) must go on speaking!*
16	ap- alow- re	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	*don't speak!*
	ap- alow-kay-re	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	*don't finish speaking!*
	ap- k-alow-ey- re	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	*don't go on speaking!*
	nil-w- alow- re	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	*(he) mustn't speak!*
	nil-w- alow-kay-re	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	*(he) mustn't finish speaking!*
	nil- k-alow-ey- re	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	*(he) mustn't go on speaking!*

4.9 Number marking

4.9.1 As mentioned above in section 4.8, all Reciprocal stems take Dual marking. Aside from this, Hortative, Imperative, and Debitive verbs must agree with their subjects in number.

 (55) (a) nan pa-t- ey/*p- æy(*-nem)
      1DU HR-DU-*go*
      let's (two) go!

    (b) wan p- æy(*-nem)/*pa-t- ey
      1SG HR-*go* -PL HR-DU-*go*
      let me go!

    (c) nom p- æy-nem/*p- æy/*pa-t- ey
      1PL HR-*go*-PL HR-*go* HR-DU-*go*
      let's go!

4.9.2 When the subject of any other verb is singular in number, then the verb must be unmarked for number. If the subject is dual or plural, the verb may agree with it or be unmarked for number.

Three suffixes mark a stem as plural. One of these, -m in slot +3, may occur on any type of verb with one exception. If the verb bears Future or Desiderative marking and no aspect marking, or if the Conditional suffix occurs word finally, then -m may not fill this slot. The homophonous Plural marker in slot +6, if any, will appear.

 (56) (a) rom d- æy-(ka-)m- e
      3PL FA-*go*- PF- PL-P
      they had gone

    (b) rom w- æy-ka-m- re
      3PL NF-*go*-PF-PL-FU
      they will have gone

    (c) *rom w- æy-m- re(re)
      3PL NF- -PL-FU/DES

    (d) rom w- æy-re(re)-m
      3PL NF-*go*-FU/DES-PL
      they will/want to go

When the verb bears Past tense marking, this slot may be filled, regardless of the aspect. When the verb is marked for aspect, then it may again be filled, regardless of the tense as illustrated in (56a-b).

The other two allomorphs, -mem and -nem, occur only on verbs in the Debitive modalities. These two suffixes are in free variation with each other on any stem that ends in a consonant. They are in free variation with each other and with -m on any stem ending in /a/.

 (57) (a) wan-e yiyte ka-lopwa-kow-mem/-nem
      1SG-O *fence* IM-*open*- BEN-PL /-PL
      open the gate for me!

    (b) yiyte ka-lopwa-m /-nem/-mem
      fence IM-*open*- PL/-PL /-PL
      open the gate!

The other plural slot, +6, may be filled on any verb that has tense, but not Conditional, marking. The presence or absence of Plural marking in slot +3 has no effect on the ability of verbs with tense marking to have slot +6 full.

(58)   (a)   nom w- æy-re-m
              1PL NF-*go*-FU-PL
              we'll go

       (b)   nom w- æy-ka-(m-)re-m
              1PL NF-*go*-PF- PL-FU-PL
              we'll have gone

       (c)   rom w- æy-(m-)ək- rere-m
              3PL NF-*go* PL-CDL-DES- PL
              they wanted to go but didn't

In other words, plural subjects may trigger number agreement in slot +3 if the verb has aspect marking or if it doesn't have Future or Desiderative marking, and they may trigger number agreement in slot +6 if the verb has tense marking. If the verb has both aspect and tense marking, then either or both slots may be filled. The option always remains for the verb to display no number marking.

4.9.3 Where there is both a subject and a comitative, the following principles determine the number agreement on the verb and the interpretation of the number of actors.

(1) Number marking on the verb is optional in any comitative construction.

(2) Where the verb is marked for number, it may agree either with the actual number of actors, including both the subject and the comitative, or with the NP whose referent is the more numerous.

(3) If the subject is not first person dual, then the subject does not include the comitative and the number of actors must be interpreted as the total of the subject plus the number of the comitative.

(4) If the subject is first person dual and the comitative is singular, then number agreement on the verb may disambiguate the number of actors.

    (a) If the verb bears dual marking, then the dual subject includes the singular comitative.

    (b) If the verb is marked with a plural suffix, then the dual subject does not include the singular comitative and there is a total of three actors.

    (c) If the verb is unmarked for number, then the sentence will remain ambiguous as to whether there are two or three actors.

(5) If either the subject or the comitative is plural, then the verb will either have plural marking or be unmarked.

(59)   (a)   Kapoy rom-e-k w- æy-re(-m)
              Kapoy 3PL-O-I NF- -FU(-PL)
              Kapoy will go with them

       (b)   Kapoy-wom tey-e-k w- æy-re(-m)
              Kapoy-PL 3FS-O-I NF-*go*-FU (-PL)
              Kapoymob will go with her

(59) (c) rom Yowmen-wæw-e-k w- æy-re(-m)
3PL *Yowmen*-DU- O-I NF-*go*-FU(-PL)
they will go with Yowmen and someone

These principles account for the following facts concerning the interaction of number marking and a comitative construction.

If both the subject and the comitative are dual, then there are four actors and the verb may be marked as either dual, plural, or unmarked.

(60) ræw Yowmen-wæw-e-k w- æy-re(-m) /t- æy-re
3DU *Yowmen*-DU- O-I NF-*go*-FU(-PL)/DU-*go*-FU
they two will go with Yowmen and someone

If both the subject and the comitative are singular, then there are two actors and the verb may bear dual marking or be unmarked for number.

(61) tey wan-e-k w- æy-re/t- æy-re
3FS 1SG-O-I NF-*go*-FU/DU-*go*-FU
she'll go with me

If the subject is singular and the comitative is dual, then the number of actors is three and the verb may take dual, plural, or no marking.

(62) tey nan-e-k w- æy-re(-m) /t- æy-re
3FS 1DU-O-I NF-*go*-FU(-PL)/DU-*go*-FU
she'll go with us two

If the comitative is singular, then:

(1) If the subject is second or third person dual, then there are three actors and the verb may bear any number marking.

(63) an Yawur-re-k w- æy-re(-m) /t- æy-re
2DU *Yawur*-O- I NF-*go*-FU(-PL)/DU-*go*-FU
you two will go with Yawur

(2) If the subject is first person dual, then:

(a) If the verb has dual marking, the number of actors is two, the first person dual subject including the singular comitative.

(64) nan Yawur-re-k t- æy-re
1DU *Yawur*-O- I DU-*go*-FU
I'll go with Yawur *we two will go with Yawur*

(b) If the verb has plural marking, the number of actors is three, the first person dual subject excluding the singular comitative.

(65) nan Yawur-re-k w- æy-re-m
1DU *Yawur*-O- I NF-*go*-FU-PL
we two will go with Yawur *I'll go with Yawur*

(c) If the verb is unmarked for number, then the number of actors is ambiguous, either two or three.

(66) nan Yawur-re-k w- æy-re
1DU *Yawur*-O- I NF-*go*-FU
I/we two will go with Yawur

4.10 Adverbial prefixes

Because they can co-occur in a fixed order, I have placed the two 'adverbial' prefixes taw- *yet, still* and owra- *again* in separate slots, -5 and -4. Both of these prefixes are very productive. Frequently owra- occurs attached to the root e̲y̲a̲ *come* to derive a form meaning *return*.

(67) (a) rey yarow   w- ewr'-eya- re
           3MS *tomorrow* NF-AGN- *come*-FU
           he'll come back tomorrow

      (b) rey yæpær   d- owr'-upw'-o
           3MS *kangaroo* FA-AGN- *see*- P
           he saw the kangaroo again

The other prefix, taw-, often occurs in Temporal clauses (cf. 10.3). Like several of the 'compound' suffixes, this prefix, along with regular tense and aspect marking, and the nominal suffix -wo *just* which can occur on verb forms in certain syntactic environments, helps Awtuw to compensate for its lack of conjunctions. Among them, these strategies can produce a wide range of temporal clause types (cf. 10.3).

(68) nom d- ewr'-eye- m- e, rey taw-k- owna- y- e
      1PL FA-AGN- *come*-PL-P 3MS YET-IP-*sleep*-IP-P
      we returned while he was still sleeping

(69) Awtiy-wom Liwmiy-e ka-taw-ewr'-eya- ka-m
      Awtiy-PL *Lumi*- L NG-YET-AGN- *come*-PF-PL
      Awtiy and his family haven't come back from Lumi yet

4.11 Location and direction prefixes

Awtuw codes grammatically, through verb affixation, a number of concepts that in other languages might require an additional verb. In particular, the suffix -kayna *and go* is used to indicate that the subject goes away after performing the action depicted by the verb root.

Most of the prefixes in the Location/Direction slot -6 can have much the same function. Ma- *go and* specifically, has virtually the opposite affect from -kayna — the subject moves and then performs the action depicted by the root. Ma- does not specify the direction of motion, whether it is from a source or to a goal, or whether it is up or down with relation to slope or stream.

(70) (a) tey yilmæt d- il-   kayn'-e
           3FS *string* FA-*twist*-GO-   P
           she twisted string and went away

      (b) tey yilmæt mæ-'l-   -i
           3FS *string* MT-*twist*-P
           she went/came and twisted string

The four Location/Direction prefixes can have much the same effect as ma-, but do grammaticise the direction as either up or down with relation to slope or stream.

(71) (a) rey tapwo lam-k'- e
           3MS *fire* DS- *get*-P
           he went downstream and got fire

(71) (b) rey tapwo lim-k'- e
3MS *fire* DH- *get*-P
he went downhill and got fire

(c) rey tapwo yam-k'- e
3MS *fire* US- *get*-P
he went upstream and got fire

(d) rey tapwo wam-k'- e
3MS *fire* UH- *get*-P
he went uphill and got fire

These four prefixes can also indicate the location with respect to the location of the speech event where the action depicted by the root takes place.

(72) rey lam-own'- e
3MS DS- *sleep*-P
he slept downstream/he went downstream and slept

The last prefix that can occupy slot -6, wa- *absent* is very peculiar semantically. It grammaticises the absence of someone or something whose referent is recoverable from a previous clause.

(73) Tey lamu-t lak- e. Nemane-t po də-wæ-'k- newta-kay-e.
3FS Y//S-F *go* DS-P   P//S- F FC FA-AB-*sit-hide*- PF- P
the younger sister went downstream and the elder sister had sat and hid

4.12 Compound roots

Slot +1 is unlike any other slot in three major respects. First, there are at least 30 morphemes, listed below, that can fill it. Second, as many as three of the eligible morphemes can co-occur in the same verb complex. I have chosen to place the entire class of morphemes in the same slot, rather than three separate slots, because any of the eligible morphemes would be able to occupy any of the slots, as long as no single morpheme occurs more than once. And finally, seven of the morphemes are identical or nearly identical in form to a verb root that occurs independently. It is for this reason that I have designated the slot a Compound slot. Another factor that has contributed to this decision is the semantic diversity that the morphemes in this class display. They range from the Benefactive suffix -kow which increases the valence of the verb it is attached to, through the aspectual-like Inchoative suffix -tæwa, to such apparently lexical and adverbial meanings as -ata *in order to detain someone.*

Every member of this class of morphemes is of a phonological shape plausible for a verb root, i.e. they end in a consonant or /a/, and it is likely that this construction has arisen diachronically from a very tightly-bound verb serialisation. As the serialisation crystallised into suffixation, some of the verbs which could participate in the serialisation have ceased to occur as independent verbs, and a few have not yet done so.

The suffixes that can fill this slot may conveniently be divided into semantic classes which I label Grammatical, 'pretend' Auxiliary, Aspectual, Quantitative, Adverbial, Consecutive, and Obstructive.

In Table 4.7, I list the morphemes that can occur in this position, and have come to my attention. Each entry includes a gloss for the suffix, and, where relevant, for the morpheme when it occurs independently. I have flagged the most common morphemes with an asterisk.

Table 4.7: 'Compound' morphemes

'GRAMMATICAL' SUFFIX
-kow*   *Benefactive (give)*

'"pretend" AUXILIARY' SUFFIXES
-(wey)pa*   *try*
-la   *try*
-panya   *pretend (pretend)*

'ASPECTUAL' SUFFIXES
-tæwa   *begin*
-tay   *finish*
-ney*   *first*
-pæyk   *originally*
-imya*   *quickly (run)*
-omkur   *for a long time (spend a long time)*

'QUANTITATIVE' SUFFIXES
-worka*   *all*
-okrey   *much*
-wana   *half*
-tawa   *incompletely*

'ADVERBIAL' SUFFIXES
-prana   *separately*
-pama*   *together (live together)*
-porya   *properly*
-iypapw   *wrong*
-wuley   *badly*
-klak   *back and forth, here and there*
-alw   *until dawn*
-twaw   *in vain*

'CONSECUTIVE' SUFFIXES
-kayna   *and go away*
-ukla   *and get up (arise)*
-lakna*   *down, and put down (die)*
-prik   *and throw away (iprik throw)*
-newta   *and hide, secretly*

'OBSTRUCTIVE' SUFFIXES
-ata   *to detain someone*
-morey   *to cover something*
-tiy   *to block something*

4.12.1 There is only one 'Grammatical' suffix, -kow *Benefactive*. I have classified it separately from the others because it has the distinctive property of increasing the number of Object NPs that can co-occur with the verb by one, specifically, a Benefactive NP. Benefactive NPs are syntactic Indirect Objects and receive further discussion in sections 5.1 and 6.2.

> (74) (a) yiyte ka-lopwa
>   *fence* IM-*open*
>   *open the gate!*
>
> (b) wan-e yiyte ka-lopwa-kow-mem
>   1SG-O *fence* IM-*open-* BEN-PL
>   *open (PL) the gate for me!*

4.12.2 I have designated the second category of suffixes '"pretend" Auxiliary' because they all depict situations that do not come to fruition.

The morpheme -weypa *try*, or more commonly -pa *try*, is among the members of this class that occurs most frequently. The far rarer -la is apparently synonymous.

> (75) (a) wan tader wom-   re w- owkaney-(wey)pa-re
>   1SG *this   coconut-*O NF-*climb-   *TRY-   FU
>   *I'll try to climb this coconut tree*
>
> (b) rey taw d- uwk- l- e
>   3MS *tree* FA-*fell-*TRY-P
>   *he tried to fell a tree*

The third 'pretend' Auxiliary suffix is -panya *pretend*, which also occurs independently with the same meaning.

> (76) (a) rey æye rokra-pany-   e
>   3MS *food cook-* PRETEND-P
>   *he pretended to cook food*
>
> (b) rey æye rokr'-e?
>   3MS *food cook-* P
>   *did he cook food?*
>
> (c) awtuw, rey də-k- pany'- ey-e
>   *no,*   3MS FA-IP-*PRETEND-*IP-P
>   *no, he was just pretending*

4.12.3 The aspectual morphemes -tæwa *begin* and -tay *finish* are important in temporal clauses.

> (77) nom æye rokra-tay-   ka-wa- re rey ra- tæw- e
>   1PL *food cook-* FINISH-PF-*just-*O 3MS *eat-*BEGIN-P
>   *he started to eat just as soon as we had finished cooking*

The suffix -ney *first* means *just before something else*, contrasting with -pæyk *for the first time ever*.

> (78) Nom apre   p- æy-nem. Wan naw pə-mæ-'w-   ney.
>   1PL *not yet* HR-*go-PL   1SG *piss* HR-MT-*excrete-FIRST
>   *Let's not go yet. Let me go piss first.*

(79) nam-kə owyim   də-kə- pæyk- ə tapwo
      1PL-*get ancestors* FA-*get-FIRST*-P *fire*
      our ancestors got fire for the very first time

The other two Aspectual suffixes are -imya *quickly*, which also occurs independently in the meaning *run*, and -omkur *for a long time*, which also occurs independently in the meaning *spend a long time*.

(80) (a) rey æye rokr'-imy'-   e
           3MS *food cook-* QUICKLY-P
           he cooked the food quickly

      (b) rey æye rokr'-omkur-   e
           3MS *food cook-* LONG TIME-P
           he cooked the food for a long time

4.12.4 Three of the Quantitative suffixes have the property of quantifying any subject or direct object NP.

The suffix -worka can refer to either the subject or the direct object of the verb to which it is attached, but does not appear to quantify indirect objects, even when there is no overt direct object.

(81) (a) rom d- owra-ukla- worka-m- e
           3PL FA-AGN- *arise-ALL-* PL-P
           they all got back up

      (b) də-kə- pama   worka-m- e
           FA-*get-together-ALL-* PL-P
           they got them all together

      (c) nam-o də-kow- worka-re-m
           1PL-O FA-*give-ALL-* FU-PL
           they'll give all of it to us

Note that example (81a) also illustrates the use of ukḷa, to be discussed below in its role as a suffix, as an independent verb root.

This suffix can also be adverbial, especially with intransitive verbs.

(82) wan w- æy-worka-re, ka-w- ewr-eya- re
      1SG NF-*go*-COMPL-FU NG-NF-AGN-*come*-FU
      I'll go altogether and won't come back

One of the four suffixes in this class, -tawa *incompletely*, can only quantify the object.

(83) rom æye rokra-taw'-   e
      3PL *food cook-* INCOMPLETE-P
      they cooked the food incompletely/they cooked part of the food/
      *they didn't all cook the food

The other two, -okrey *a lot*, and -wana *half*, may, as I said, quantify either the subject or the object.

(84) (a) rom æye rokr'-okrey-re
           3PL *food cook-* A LOT-FU
           they will cook a lot of food/a lot of them will cook food

(84) (b) rom æye rokra-wana-re
           3PL *food cook- HALF*-FU
           they'll cook half of the food/half of them will cook food

4.12.5 Two of the suffixes in the Adverbial class have a property similar to
the Quantitative suffixes — they may modify the subject or the object of the
verb. The English glosses for example (85) reflect the ambiguity of the Awtuw
sentences they gloss.

(85) (a) rom æy   æpit   də-k- ra- pam'-   ey
           3PL *betelnut pepper* FA-IP-*eat-TOGETHER*-IP
           they are chewing betelnut and pepper together

      (b) rom æy   æpit   də-k- ra- prana-   ey
           3PL *betelnut pepper* FA-IP-*eat-SEPARATE*-IP
           they are chewing betelnut and pepper separately

Three other suffixes in this class seem to group themselves together
semantically — -porya *properly*, -iypap *wrong*, and -wuley *badly*. Example (86)
illustrates the distinction between the second and the third of these.

(86) (a) rey də-k- æy-iypap-ey
           3MS FA-IP-*go-WRONG*-IP
           he's going astray

      (b) rey də-k- æy-wuley-ey
           3MS FA-IP-*go-BADLY*-IP
           he's limping

The first of the three, -porya, contrasts with both -iypap and -wuley.

(87) rey də-k- æy-pory'-   ey
      3MS FA-IP-*go-PROPERLY*-IP
      he's walking properly/going the right way

Three other suffixes fall into this class.

(88) (a) rey w- æy-klak   -re
           3MS NF-*go-BACK AND FORTH*-FU
           he'll go here and there/walk back and forth

      (b) rey æye   rokra-twaw-re
           3MS *food cook- SEE-* FU
           *he'll cook the food and see how it turns out (i.e. without
           attachment to result)*

      (c) rey æye rokr'-alw   -o
           3MS *food cook- UNTIL DAWN*-P
           he cooked food until dawn

4.12.6 The suffixes I am calling Consecutive all depict an action performed
after the action depicted by the root.

Note that the same subject must perform both actions with -ukla and -kayna, but
that with -lakna, -prik, and -newta, the object of both actions must be the
same.

(89) (a) tey yilmæt d- il-   lakn'-e
           3FS *string* FA-*twist-down-* P
           she twisted string and put it down

      (b) tey yilmæt d- il-   prik- e
           3FS *string* FA-*twist-throw*-P
           she twisted string and threw it away

      (c) tey yilmæt d- il-   newt'-e
           3FS *string* FA-*twist-hide-* P
           she twisted string and hid it/she twisted string secretly

      (d) tey yilmæt d- il-   ukl'-e
           3FS *string* FA-*twist-up-* P
           she twisted string and got up

      (e) tey yilmæt d- il-   kayn'-e
           3FS *string* FA-*twist-go-* P
           she twisted string and went away

4.12.7 The final three suffixes attribute an obstructive purpose to the
situation depicted by the root.

   (90) (a) wan tey-e kil   w- alow- ata-   re
             1SG 3FS-O *speech* NF-*speak-detain*-FU
             I'll talk to her to detain her

         (b) wan nələmak-e w- ik- tiy-   re
             1SG *door-*   L NF-*sit-block*-FU
             I'll sit at the door to block it

         (c) wan takə w- ik- morey-   re
             1SG *here* NF-*sit-conceal*-FU
             I'll sit here to conceal [something]

This last suffix also acts as a Consecutive suffix.

   (91) wan w- æy-morey-   re
         1SG NF-*go-conceal*-FU
         I'll go and conceal [something]

4.13 Conjugation classes

Aside from the six irregular verbs discussed in the next section, all Awtuw
verb roots fall into one of four conjugation classes. One of these classes
has five members with slightly aberrant Imperfective suffixes. The second
class, with 14 members, has a prefix identical in form to the Dual prefix
through most of its conjugation regardless of the number of the subject. The
third is somewhat irregular in the way that it accepts the Imperfective prefix.
The fourth class includes all other verbs.

4.13.1 The five members of the first class differ from other verbs in that the regular elision rule does not delete the final /a/ of the root (see section 2.2) after having conditioned the /e/ of the Imperfective suffix. Rather, the /e/ of the Imperfective suffix is deleted after the final /a/. The distinction is conveniently illustrated by contrasting the Imperfective forms of the homophonous roots r̲a̲ *consume* and r̲a̲ *weave*.

(92) (a) ra-   re
         consume-FU
         will consume

     (b) ra-   re
         weave-FU
         will weave

     (c) də-k- ra-   y
         FA-IP-*consume*-IP
         is consuming

     (d) də-k- r-   ey
         FA-IP-*weave*-IP
         is weaving

The final /y/ in the Imperfective of these roots may delete after the /a/ just as the /y/ of the Perfect suffix may delete word finally after /a/.

(93) (a) rə-   kə
         consume-PF
         has consumed

     (b) də-k- rə
         FA-IP-*consume*
         is consuming (cf. 92a)

A fuller paradigm of the root r̲o̲k̲r̲a̲ is to be found in the verb paradigms at the end of this chapter.

Table 4.8				
r̲a̲	r̲o̲k̲r̲a̲	i̲ r̲a̲	o̲w̲n̲a̲	a̲l̲w̲a̲
consume	*cook*	*feed*	*sleep*	*descend*

4.13.2 The roots in the second class all begin with /t/ save one, t̲-̲n̲a̲t̲o̲w̲ *bark*, which begins with /n/. The class includes all those that begin with /t/. Throughout the conjugation of the roots in this class, a prefix identical to the Dual prefix occurs just as it does with Reciprocal stems. As the geminate reduction rule (see 2.2) obliterates the prefix in many of the forms of the t-initial roots, I will illustrate with the paradigm of t̲-̲n̲a̲t̲o̲w̲ as well as t̲-̲t̲a̲n̲ *stink*.

Table 4.9: Paradigms of t-class verbs		
FORM	t-<u>tan</u> *stink*	t-<u>natow</u> *bark*
HORTATIVE	pə-'tan	'pa-t-natow
IMPERATIVE	'kə-tan	'ka-t-natow
DEBITIVE	'wa-tan	'wa-t-natow
PROHIBITIVE	ap-'tan-re	'ap-t-natow-re
NEG DEBITIVE	nil-'tan-re	nil-t-'natow-re
POTENTIAL	na-'tan-re	na't-'natow-re
FUTURE	ti-'tan-re	ti-'natow-re
NEG FUTURE	'ka'tan-re	'ka-t-natow-re
FUTURE PERFECT	ti'tan-'kay-re	ti-natow-'kay-re
FUTURE IMPERFECTIVE	ti-k-'tan-ey-re	ti-k-'natow-ey-re
PERFECT	ti-'tan-kay	ti-'natow-kay
NEG PERFECT	'ka-tan-kay	'ka-t-natow-kay
IMPERFECTIVE	ti-k-'tan-ey	ti-k-'natow-ey
NEG IMPERFECTIVE	ka-k-'tan-ey	ka-k-'natow-ey
PAST	ti-'tan-e	ti-'natow-o
NEG PAST	'ka-tan-e	ka-t-'natow-o
PAST PERFECT	ti-tan-'kay-e	ti-natow-'kay-e
PAST IMPERFECTIVE	ti-k-'tan-ey-e	ti-k-'natow-ey-e
CONDITIONAL	ti-'tan-ək	ti-'natow-ək
POT CONDITIONAL	'na-tan-ək	'na-t-natow-ək
FRUSTRATIVE	ti-'tan-ək-'rere	ti-'natow-ək-'rere

Most of the roots in this class are listed in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10					
t-<u>natow</u>	*bark*	t-<u>tarey</u>	*shoot*	t-<u>towlil</u>	*lure*
t-<u>ta</u>	*plant*	t-<u>tow</u>	*lash*	t-<u>towpret</u>	*limp*
t-<u>talilwa</u>	*leap*	t-<u>towleyakw</u>	*flow*	t-<u>towuk</u>	*squat*
t-<u>tamkurya</u>	*miss*	t-<u>tawlil</u>	*pick up*	t-<u>towpæwa</u>	*recline*
t-<u>tan</u>	*stink*				

The t-class of verb roots is so semantically diverse that there is little point in attempting to conjure a unitary semantic characteristic that would apply to the entire group.

4.13.3 The members of the third conjugation class differ from other verb roots in the way that they accept Imperfective prefixation. These four roots infix the Imperfective prefix k- within the root as well as prefixing the usual Factive and Imperfective markers.

(94) (a) rey æwre- ke yey'-   e
           3MS *house*-L *come in/out*-P
           he came into/out of the house

(94) (b) rey æwre- ke də-k- ye-k-ey'-   ey
            3MS *house-L* FA-IP-*come in/out*-IP
            he's coming into/going out of the house

The verbs in this class are listed in Table 4.11, along with their glosses and Imperfective forms.

Table 4.11		
w<u>æ</u>y<u>a</u>	*follow*	di-k- wækey'-ey
l<u>æ</u>y<u>a</u>	*come upstream*	di-k- lækey'-ey
w<u>u</u>y<u>a</u>	*come down*	di-k- wukey'-ey
y<u>e</u>y<u>a</u>	*come in/out*	də-k- yekey'-ey

The last three of these are easy to characterise semantically as *come* verbs, but the class does not include other *come* verbs (see 5.4). Moreover, w<u>æ</u>y<u>a</u> *follow* takes a direct object rather than a direction NP as its complement. All the verbs in this class share the phonological property of ending in /Vya/.

4.13.4 All other roots except those discussed below fall into the same conjugation class. Such differences as exist among them are accounted for by the morphophonological rules presented in section 2.2. The paradigms for three such regular roots appear in Table 4.13 at the end of the chapter. Each of the three, along with r<u>okra</u> from the first conjugation class, illustrates different morphophonological properties.

The members of this, the largest, and residual, conjugation class, are again impossible to characterise as semantically unified.

Chapter 5, on the classification of predicate types, will provide a much more detailed classification of verb roots on morphosyntactic grounds.

4.14 Irregular verbs

Awtuw has six verb roots that are irregular or defective in their conjugation.

4.14.1 The most regular among these is the common root <u>eya</u> *come*. <u>Eya</u> is regular in all respects but one — in the Imperative and Debitive, it takes the prefixes kər- and war- respectively rather than the expected kən- and wan-. It is tempting to analyse the /r/ as the first segment of the root itself, as this would condition deletion of the final /n/ of the two prefixes (see 2.2) yielding the forms we actually find. But there is no evidence for this analysis in the rest of the conjugation. A root-initial /r/ would necessarily condition the deletion of the Factive prefix d- and the non-Factive prefix w-, and this does not occur with <u>eya</u> as shown in example (95).

(95) (a) rey war-eya
            3MS DB- *come*
            he must come

      (b) kər-eya
            IM- *come*
            come!

(95) (c)   wan pæ-ya
            1SG HR-*come*
            let me come!

       (d)   rey w- eya- re
            3MS NF-*come*-FU
            he'll come

       (e)   rey d- eya- kay
            3MS FA-*come*-PF
            he's come

4.14.2 Next is the root (l)iwken̲a̲ *ascend*, whose initial segment /l/ vanishes when the Motion prefix ma- precedes the root, as indeed it frequently does.

(96) (a)   liwkena-re
           ascend- FU
           will ascend

       (b)   mæ-wkena- re
            MT-*ascend*-FU
            will go and ascend

       (c) *mæ-liwkena-re
            MT-*ascend*- FU

4.14.3 Another slightly irregular verb is ma̲-we̲y *arrive*, which is irregular only insofar as it requires the Motion prefix ma- and never occurs without it.

(97) (a)   ma-wey- kay
            MT-*arrive*-PF
            has arrived

       (b) *də-wey- kay
            FA-*arrive*-PF

4.14.4 Wu̲tma̲k *arrive here* is defective in having only Past and Future forms. The Past form does not have the expected Factive prefix.

(98) (a)   wutmak-e
            arrive-P
           arrived here

       (b) *də-wutmak-e
            FA-*arrive*-P

       (c)   wutmak-re
            arrive-FU
           will arrive here

       (d) *də-k- wutmak-ey
            FA-IP-*arrive*-IP
           **is arriving here*

4.14.5 <u>Awkey</u> *exist* does not occur in as full a range of forms as a regular verb. In fact, the form that I cite as the root, <u>awkey</u> is probably a crystalised imperfective stem formed from a root <u>w</u> and the imperfective circumfix -k--ey. If this conjecture is correct, then the initial vowel would have arisen from an epenthetic vowel regularly inserted between the factive prefix d- and the prefix component of the imperfective circumfix -k- and a regular w-metathesis rule would have reversed the order of the -k- and the -w-. The future form, w-owkey-re, which occurs only rarely, demonstrates that the form is indeed crystalised because the regular future imperfective of a root <u>w</u> would have to be *kə-w-ey-re. There would be no factive prefix, the non-factive prefix w- would be deleted before the -k-, and there would be no epenthetic vowel before the -k- to accept stress and condition w-metathesis. The past tense form, d-awkey-e, is much more common. The root appears very often in the Debitive wan-owkey. All three of these are formally regular for a root <u>awkey</u>. But the root occurs most frequently in a defective imperfective form unmarked for tense, d-awkey, sometimes with the Absentive prefix wa-, yielding də-w-awkey.

4.14.6 Like <u>awkey</u>, <u>ikiy</u> *stay, live, be alive* resembles an imperfective stem. But here if we were to assign the -k- and the -iy to the imperfective circumfix, the verb would most likely have to be derived from a root with the canonical form O, and it is difficult to see how a O-root could condition the -iy allomorph of the imperfective suffix. It seems more probable that <u>ikiy</u> derives from the imperfective of <u>ik</u> *sit*.

> (99) (a) di-k- ik- iy
>   FA-IP-*sit*-IP
>   *is sitting*
>
> (b) di-k- ikiy-iy
>   FA-IP-*stay*-IP
>   *is staying*

Again like <u>awkey</u>, <u>ikiy</u> most frequently occurs in a form with Factive marking but no tense or aspect marking.

> (100) (a) d- awkey
>   FA-*exist*
>   *exists*
>
> (b) d- ikiy
>   FA-*stay*
>   *stays*

Table 4.12: Verb paradigms				
FORM	-<u>i</u>k-	-<u>kow</u>-	-<u>puya</u>-	-<u>rokra</u>-
HORTATIVE	'pæ-k	'pa-kuw	'pa-puyə	'pa-rokrə
IMPERATIVE	'kin-ik	'kaŋ-kuw	kən⁻'puyə	'ka-rokra
PROHIBITIVE	ap⁻'ik-rə	ap-'kow-rə	a-pu'ya-rə	ap-rok'ra-rə
DEBITIVE	'wan-ik	'waŋ-kuw	wan-'puyə	'wa-rokrə
NEG DEBIT	nil-'ik-rə	nil-'kow-rə	nil-pu'ya-rə	nil-rok'ra-rə
POTENTIAL	'næ-w-ik-rə	'na-kow-rə	na-pu'ya-rə	na-rok'ra-rə
FUTURE	'w-ik-rə	'kow-rə	pu'ya'rə	rok'ra-rə
NEG FUTURE	'ka-w-ik-rə	'ka-kow-rə	ka-pu'ya-rə	ka-rok'ra-rə
FUT PERFECT	w-ik-i'ka-rə	kow-'ka-rə	puyə-'ka-rə	rokrə-'ka-rə
FUT IMPERFECT	ka-k-ik-'iy-rə	kə-'kow-ey-rə	kə-'puy-ey-rə	kə-rokra-y-rə
PERFECT	'w-ik-ikay	də-'kow-kay	du-'puyə-kay	'rokrə-kay
NEG PERFECT	ka-'w-ik-ikay	'ka-d-kow-kay	ka-d-'puyə-kay	ka-'rokrə-kay
IMPERFECT	'di-k-ik-iy	də-kə-'kow-ey	du-k-'puy-ey	də-k'rokra-y
NEG IMPERF	'ka-d-k-ik-i	ka-d-kə-'kow-ey	ka-k-'puy-ey	'ka-k-rokra-y
PAST	'd-ik-i	də-'kow-o	'du-puy-e	'rokr-e
NEG PAST	'ka-d-ik-i	'ka-d-kow-o	'ka-d-puy-e	'ka-rokr-e
PAST PERF	d-ik-i'kay-e	də-kow-'kay-e	du-puyə-'kay-e	rokrə-'kay-e
PAST IMPERF	də-k-'ik-iy-e	də-kə-'kow-ey-e	du-k-'puy-ey-e	də-k-rok'ra-y-e
CONDITIONAL	'w-ik-ik	'kow-ək	pu'ya-kək	rok'ra-kək
POTL CONDTL	'næ-w-ik-ik	'na-kow-ək	na-pu'ya-kək	na-rok'ra-kək
FRUSTRATIVE	w-ik-ikik-'rerə	kow-əkək-'rerə	puya-kək-'rerə	rokra-kək-'rerə

CHAPTER 5

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS AND VERB CLASSES

5.1 Grammatical relations

By and large, Awtuw is a language that depends heavily on pragmatic real-world considerations in recovering the role and reference of NPs in a sentence. As a result, the identification of grammatical relations is not entirely transparent.

Case marking alone does not constitute a reliable diagnostic for the identification of grammatical relations for three reasons.

(1) Although subjects never bear case marking, there are other nouns that may occur in the clause that never bear case marking either (cf. 6.1 and 5.4).

(2) Object marking is obligatory on some direct objects and optional on others (cf. 6.2).

(3) Although indirect objects always bear object marking, certain direct objects do so too (cf. 6.2).

Furthermore, although Awtuw's basic word order is readily identifiable as verb final, indeed as SOV, OS order and other permutations are far too common to allow word order to be of any value in identifying grammatical relations.

It is possible, nevertheless, to isolate the three relations on the basis of a more complicated statement of their case marking properties in combination with other criteria. It is important to be able to identify grammatical relations on formal grounds and without reference to verb semantics because the classification of verbs in section 5.2 relies on their ability to co-occur with NPs in various grammatical relations.

5.1.1 The subject of a clause has a number of properties that distinguish it from other grammatical relations.

(1) First, as I mentioned above, the subject never bears case marking. But the complementary nouns that co-occur obligatorily with the idiomatic composite verbs discussed in 5.4 never do so either. Note that in clauses whose subject is a pronoun, a personal name, or an NP with any determiner or modifier, this problem does not arise because the noun complement of idiomatic complement constructions is always a single common noun.

A simple substitution test can distinguish the subject in any clause where there is a doubt as to its identification. The complementary noun in an idiomatic composite construction is lexically specified. So if we substitute

an appropriate pronoun coreferential with the noun in question, and the clause remains acceptable, we can be certain that that noun is the subject of the clause. If such a substitution results in an unacceptable clause, then we can identify the noun as a complementary noun.

(1) (a) yæn   yiw   di-k- iyw'- ey
        child water FA-IP-*bathe*-IP
        a child is bathing

    (b) rey yiw   di-k- iyw'- ey
        3MS *water* FA-IP-*bathe*-IP
        he is bathing

    (c) *yæn   rey di-k- iyw'- ey
        child 3MS FA-IP-*bathe*-IP
        **child he is bathing*

(2) Second, only the subject of the clause can trigger person agreement in those verb forms — Hortative, Imperative, and Debitive — that are marked for person. As first- and second-person subjects, where overt, are always pronominal, and therefore readily identifiable as subjects by their lack of case marking, I will illustrate with the third person form.

(2) (a) yen-e yapor wan-irə
        2SG-O *man*   DB- *feed*
        the man has to feed you

    (b) *yen-e wan wan-irə
        2SG-O 1SG DB- *feed*
        **I have to feed you*

(3) Third, only dual and plural subjects can trigger number agreement on the verb. As number agreement is obligatory with these same three verb forms, I will again illustrate with debitive forms.

(3) (a) yæn- wom tale wan-puyə
        child-PL *woman* DB- *hit*
        the woman must hit the children
        **the children must hit the woman*

    (b) yæn   tale- m wan-puya-mem
        child woman-PL DB- *hit*- PL
        the women must hit the child
        **the child must hit the woman*

    (c) yæn- wom tale- wæw wa-t- puyə
        child-PL *woman*-DU DB-DU-*hit*
        the two women must hit the children
        **the children must hit the two women*

4. Fourth, Awtuw refers to an antecedent through a variety of available strategies. Among these are zero anaphora, an ordinary personal pronoun, an emphatic pronoun, or an emphatic pronoun in combination with a reflexive marker. Where the pragmatics of the verb of a second clause are such that the subject of the preceding clause is at least as likely to have performed the action depicted in the second verb as the object, then it will be interpreted as the antecedent for any of these strategies.

(4) Yawur Altiy-re du-puy-e, (rey(rey(yimay))) d- upow-ka
     Yawur Altiy-O FA-hit-P   3MS 3MS REFL   FA-flee-PF
     Yawur hit Altiy and (Yawur) has run away

But where the pragmatics of the second verb are such that an object of the
first clause is more likely to have performed it than the subject, then that
object will be interpreted as the antecedent of a zero or ordinary personal
pronoun subject in the second clause.

(5) Yawur Altiy-re du-puy-e, (rey) ŋow di-yel-e
     Yawur Altiy-O FA-hit-P   3MS tear FA-cry-P
     Yawur hit Altiy and he (Altiy) cried

(6) Yawmən Awtiy-re tawkway də-kow- o, (rey) d- iypud-ka
     Yawmen Awtiy-O tobacco FA-give-P   3MS FA-roll- PF
     Yawmen gave Awtiy tobacco and he (Awtiy) has rolled it

This provides yet another example of the importance in Awtuw grammar of real-
world considerations in comparison to grammatical relations. But the other two
anaphoric strategies do provide firm evidence for a category of subject. When
the subject of the second clause is an emphatic pronoun, with or without an
accompanying reflexive marker, the antecedent is invariably interpreted as the
subject of the preceding clause, regardless of what pragmatic considerations
may seem to dictate.

(7) Yawur Altiy-re du-puy-e, rey-rey (yimay) ŋow di-yel-e
     Yawur Altiy-O FA-hit-P   3MS-3MS REFL   tear FA-cry-P
     Yawur hit Altiy and he, himself, cried

(8) Yawmən Awtiy-re tawkway də-kow- o, rey-rey (yimay) d- iypud-ka
     Yawmen Awtiy-O tobacco FA-give-P   3MS-3MS REFL   FA-roll- PF
     Yawmen gave Awtiy tobacco and he, himself, has rolled it

(5) Finally, in direct perception complements, the covert subject of the
complement may appear as the direct object of the matrix clause. The object
of the complement may not do so (cf. 10.2.3).

(9) (a) wan [Numoy æye də-k- rokra-y- re] d- ayn'- e
          1SG *Numoy food FA-IP-cook- IP-O   FA-smell-P*
          I smelled Numoy cooking food

     (b) wan Numoy₁-re [$\phi_i$æye də-k- rokra-y-re] d- ayn'- e
          1SG *Numoy- O   food FA-IP-cook- IP-O FA-smell-P*
          I smelled Numoy cooking food

     (c) wan æye- re Numoy də-k- rokra-y- re d- ayn'- e
          1SG *food-O Numoy FA-IP-cook- IP-O FA-smell-P*
          **I smelled food being cooked by Numoy*
          I smelled the food that Numoy was cooking

5.1.2 When the direct object is a pronoun or a personal name, where it is
equal in empathy to the subject, or where the referents of the subject and the
object are equally likely to have performed the action depicted in the clause
(see 6.1), it obligatorily takes object marking (cf. 6.2). An indirect object
takes object marking under all circumstances. So we can identify the common
noun or quantifier direct object of a clause with a pronominal subject, because
the clause will be acceptable whether the direct object has the object suffix
or not.

(10) tey rame(-re) du-puy'-ə
      3FS *man-* O   FA-*hit-* P
      she hit a man

By the same token, we can identify a common noun indirect object because the clause will be unacceptable if we remove its object suffix.

(11) (a) tey rame-re tawkway də-kow- o
           3FS *man-* O *tobacco* FA-*give*-P
           she gave a man tobacco

      (b) *tey rame tawkway də-kow- o
           3FS *man* *tobacco* FA-*give*-P
           she gave a man tobacco

But we will need to apply another substitution test to identify pronominal and personal name direct objects in clauses with common noun subjects, in other words, where the direct object is higher in empathy than the subject. In such clauses, pronominal and personal name direct objects take obligatory object marking and are therefore indistinguishable from indirect objects on formal grounds without reference to information about the meaning of the verb. We cannot substitute a human common noun, because it will necessarily be equal to or higher than the subject in empathy, and therefore still require object marking. Thus we can substitute a non-human common noun for the pronoun or personal name in question. If the substituted common noun still requires object marking, then it must be an indirect object. If the clause is acceptable whether the substituted common noun bears object marking or not, then it is a direct object.

(12) (a) yæn   rey-e du-puy-i
           child 3MS-O FA-*hit*-P
           a child hit him

      (b) yæn   piyren(-re) du-puy-i
           child dog-   O   FA-*hit*-P
           a child hit a dog

      (c) yæn   rey-e æye(-re) də-kow- o
           child 3MS-O *food*-O FA-*give*-P
           a child gave him food

      (d) yæn   piyren-re æye(-re) də-kow- o
           child dog- O *food*-O FA-*give*-P
           a child gave a dog food

      (e) *yæn   piyren æye(-re) də-kow- o
           child dog   *food*-O FA-*give*-P

Note that (12b-d) are grammatical whether or not the direct object (piyren in (12b) and æye in (12c-d)) has object marking. But the clause becomes ungrammatical when the indirect object is unmarked, as illustrated in (12e).

5.1.3 In summary, then, I define the three identifiable grammatical relations as follows:

(1) The subject is that NP that never takes object marking, even when pronominal, that triggers person and number agreement on the verb, that is the obligatory antecedent of an emphatic pronoun, and that may occur as the direct object of the matrix clause in direct perception constructions.

(2) The direct object is the NP that takes optional object marking when it is a common noun and when its referent is lower in empathy than, or less likely to have performed the action than, the subject.

(3) The indirect object is that NP that takes obligatory object marking under all circumstances.

5.2 Major classes of verb roots

A number of factors conspire to complicate the classification of Awtuw verb roots on strictly formal grounds. First, all verbs, with a few exceptions discussed in section 4.14, have precisely the same properties with regard to the affixes they may bear. Second, the four conjugation classes described in section 4.13 do not correlate with any other grammatical or semantic categories. And third, many contexts permit, or even require, the deletion of NPs.

The analysis I present here will rest heavily on the number of NPs that co-occur with various verb roots and what their grammatical relation is to the verb.

The first thing to notice is that no verb root in Awtuw always occurs without an accompanying NP. NPs may be deleted in elliptical contexts to leave a verb form alone in a clause, but in unmarked, out-of-the-blue contexts, all Awtuw verbs have at least one accompanying NP.

Before embarking on the analysis it is important to point out that the Benefactive marker -kow- may be suffixed to a wide variety of verb roots. This suffix increases the valency of the verb so that it may co-occur with a beneficiary NP in addition to any NPs that they otherwise co-occur with. In establishing the basic classification of verbs, therefore, I will be considering only those that do not bear this suffix.

Finally, it is appropriate at this stage to define the verb phrase as the constituent that includes:

- a verb form,
- any NP eligible to bear Object marking, (cf. 5.7 and 6.1-2),
- the goal or source NP with a Direction verb (cf. 5.3.1 and 5.4.1),
- the source NP with the verb ka (cf. 5.4.1 and 6.4).

5.2.1 The first distinction we can make is between those verbs that may co-occur with a direct object NP and those that may not.

(13) (a) rey(*-e) taw(-re) d- uwk- o
          3MS- O *tree*-O   FA-*fell*-P
          he felled a tree

      (b) rey(*-e) (*lape (-re)) d- imy'-e
          3MS- O   *village*-O   FA-*run*- P
          *he ran (*a village)*

Note that the first NP in (13a), and the only possible NP in (13b), may not take the Object suffix although they are pronominal. They are therefore identifiable as subjects under the criteria described in the previous section.

In accordance with traditional usage, I call verbs that occur with direct objects, exemplified in (13a), transitive verbs, and verbs that do not, exemplified in (13b), intransitive verbs.

5.2.2 To complete the basic classification, we may further distinguish two types of transitive verbs — those that occur with an indirect object, and those that may only do so when marked with the Benefactive suffix.

(14) (a) Awtiy rey yæn- re æpiyæn(-re) də-kow- o
 Awtiy 3MS *child*-O *chicken*-O FA-*give*-P
 Awtiy gave the child a chicken

(b) Awtiy (*rey yæn (-re)) taw(-re) d- uwk- o
 Awtiy 3MS *child*-O *tree*-O FA-*fell*-P
 Awtiy felled (*the child) a tree

(c) Awtiy rey yæn- re taw(-re) d- uwkə-kow-o
 Awtiy 3MS *child*-O *tree*-O FA-*fell*-BEN-P
 Awtiy felled a tree for the child

In the interests of etymological consistency, I prefer the term *bitransitive* to the somewhat commoner *ditransitive* for verbs that take indirect objects.

5.2.3 Table 5.1 provides a few examples of verbs in each major class.

Table 5.1		
INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	BITRANSITIVE
ik *sit*	aytir *fear*	kow *give*
imya *run*	upwa *see*	mak *tell*
æy *go*	puya *hit*	ikriy *name*
karey *spit*	ilya *boil*	
akra *crow*	kay *put*	
t-tan *stink*	yawa *dislike*	

Following the pattern established in the classification of parts of speech, I represent the properties of the three major classes of verbs as binary features and display them on a matrix.

Table 5.2: Major verb classes			
FEATURE	INTR	TR	BITR
DIRECT OBJ	–	+	+
INDIRECT OBJ	–	–	+

We can again exhibit the bifurcating structure of the classification as a tree.
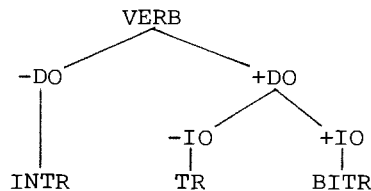
Figure 5.1

5.3 Classification of intransitive verbs

5.3.1 The intransitive verbs are subject to further classification. When an NP marked with the Locative/Directional suffix (L) -ke (cf. 6.5) co-occurs with some intransitive verbs, it is interpreted as a source or goal of motion. With other verbs, it may only refer to a location.

(15). (a) rey yæn (lape- ke) də-k- æy-ey
3MS *child village*-L FA-IP-*go*-IP
the child is going (to the village)

(b) rey yæn (lape- ke) di-k- imy-ey
3MS *child village*-L FA-IP-*run*-IP
the child is running (in the village)

(c) tey tale (æwre- ke) di-k- ik- iy
3FS *woman house*-L FA-IP-*sit*-IP
the woman is sitting (in the house)

(d) tey tale (æwre- ke) di-k- iywatn-ey
3FS *woman house*-L FA-IP-*sneeze*-IP
the woman is sneezing (in the house)

I call those verbs that can co-occur with a Direction NP, as in (15a), Direction verbs.

These fall into two sets which form an interesting pattern. In one set, the Direction verb depicts a motion towards the speaker. In the other, it depicts a motion away from the speaker. The Direction NP may therefore refer to either a source or a goal, depending upon the point of view of the speaker. If the speaker adopts the perspective of being at the source of motion, he or she will select an appropriate verb from the first set. If the speaker is at the goal of motion, a verb from the second set will be chosen.

Within each set, there is a generic member, a member depicting motion with relation to a three-dimensional object, a member depicting arrival, and up/down pairs with relation to both slope and stream.

Table 5.3: Direction verbs			
SPEAKER = SOURCE		**SPEAKER = GOAL**	
æy	*go*	eya	*come*
wana	*go in/out*	yeya	*come in/out*
alwa	*go up (hill)*	wutka	*come up (hill)*
i-iwkena	*go down (hill)*	wuya	*come down (hill)*
yakey	*go upstream*	læya	*come upstream*
lak	*go downstream*	yækya	*come downstream*
ma-wey	*arrive there*	wutmak	*arrive here*

5.3.2 Other criteria distinguish further classes of intransitive verbs. First, certain verbs may occur as the first in a truncated verb serialisation with any Direction verb. Such verbs may co-occur with a Direction NP in this construction (cf. 10.1.2).

(16) (a) rey lape-   ke d- imya-d- lak- e
           3MS *village*-L FA-*run*- FA-*go* DS-P
           he ran downstream to the village (cf. 15b)

      (b) *rey (lape-   ke) d- ik- d- lak- e
           3MS *village*-L   FA-*sit*-FA-*go* DS-P
           **he sat downstream to the village*

I call the verbs that may occur in this construction Motion verbs and list them
in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Motion verbs			
apta	*fly*	t-talilwa	*leap*
imya	*run*	t-towpret	*limp*
lawey	*get out of the way*	upoka	*flee*
owkaney	*climb*	wa	*swim*
pakra	*creep*	wæyrow	*float*

5.3.3 We can further distinguish those intransitive verbs that may co-occur
with a Location NP in a verb phrase serialisation and those that may not.
The example given in (17b) is actually acceptable, but not with the intonation
characteristic of this type of serialisation (cf. 10.1.5).

(17) (a) tey æwre- ke d- ik- i, yilmæt d- il-   i
           3FS *house*-L FA-*sit*-P *string* FA-*twist*-P
           she sat in the house and twisted string

      (b) *tey æwre- ke də-karey-e, yilmæt d- il-   i
           3FS *house*-L FA-*spit*- P *string* FA-*twist*-P
           **she spat in the house and twisted string*

The verbs that may occur in such serialisations have an interesting semantic
property. They may depict either the posture or the action of adopting that
posture.

Table 5.5: Posture verbs				
ik	iwrek	owna	t-towuk	t-towpæwa
sit	*stand*	*lie*	*squat*	*recline*

5.3.4 Other intransitive verbs do not lend themselves to further classification
on the basis of formal properties. Nevertheless, it is worth noting some of the
semantic categories they express, even though they do not correlate with
morphosyntactic classes.

We have already isolated Direction, Motion, and Posture verbs. Other
intransitive verbs fall into the semantic categories Weather, Bodily function,
Act, Event, Physical state, and Location.

The unique Weather verb it *rain* has the lexically specified subject yele *rain*.

Bodily function verbs include verbs like i̲w̲t̲o̲w̲ *vomit*, i̲y̲w̲a̲t̲n̲a̲ *sneeze*, i̲y̲w̲e̲n̲a̲
hiccup, r̲a̲t̲o̲w̲ *nod off*, and u̲k̲l̲a̲ *awaken*. I would include in this class verbs
like newt̲i̲y̲ o̲w̲n̲a̲ *sleep* and p̲i̲y̲ l̲a̲n̲y̲a̲ *smile*, as well as animal noise verbs like
t̲-̲n̲a̲t̲o̲w̲ *bark*.

There are a few intransitive Act verbs, like t̲a̲r̲e̲y̲ *shoot*. There is also a
small number of Event predicates like l̲a̲m̲l̲a̲k̲n̲a̲ *fall*.

Physical state verbs include o̲k̲w̲ *be burning*, r̲a̲r̲e̲n̲ *be alight*, and r̲e̲y̲a̲k̲w̲ *be
bald*.

Finally, there are a few verbs that predicate location or existence. These
include a̲k̲l̲e̲y̲ *hang*, w̲æ̲y̲r̲o̲w̲ *float*, p̲a̲m̲a̲ *live together in a place*, i̲k̲i̲y̲ *stay*, and
a̲w̲k̲e̲y̲ *exist*. Note that i̲k̲i̲y̲ is also a physical state verb meaning *be alive*.

Two of the verbs in this class, a̲w̲k̲e̲y̲ and i̲k̲i̲y̲, are interesting in themselves
and I will discuss them further in section 5.8.

Figure 5.2 illustrates the classification of intransitive verbs.
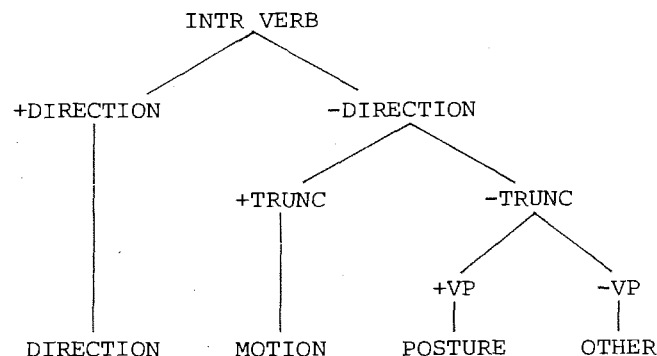
Figure 5.2

5.4 Classification of transitive verbs

Transitive verbs fall into three main classes according to whether they derive
intransitive verbs or not and whether it is the subject or the object of the
transitive verb that becomes the subject of the intransitive verb.

Verb Morphology does not reflect these derivations. It is only through the
argument structure of the predications the verb participates in that the
derivation becomes apparent.

Some transitive verbs do not derive corresponding intransitive verbs at all.
A deleted subject or object can only be interpreted as anaphoric or irrelevant.
Because these verbs are always transitive, I call them cardinal transitive
verbs.

(18) (a) rey æye rokra-kay
        3MS *food cook- PF*
        he has cooked food

     (b) æye rokra-kay
        food cook- PF
        someone has cooked food
        the food has been cooked

(18)   (c)   *rey rokra-kay
          3MS *cook-* PF
          he has cooked

Another class derives intransitive verbs whose subject corresponds to the
direct object of the transitive form.   This class of verbs bears a formal
resemblance to the class of English verbs that Lyons (1968:359-360) calls
'causative' verbs.   I am therefore adopting his term for the corresponding
class of Awtuw verbs.

On the whole, causative verbs do not permit the deletion of their object.

(19)   (a)   Peyaw yaw də-k- law- ey
          Peyaw pig FA-IP-*bake*-IP
          Peyaw is baking a pig

      (b)   *Peyaw də-k- law- ey
          Peyaw FA-IP-*bake*-IP
          **Peyaw is baking (something)*

      (c)   yaw də-k- law- ey
          pig FA-IP-*bake*-IP
          a pig is baking

      (d)   yaw-re də-k- law- ey
          *pig-*O FA-IP-*bake*-IP
          (someone) is baking a pig

The third class of transitive verbs derives an intransitive verb whose subject
corresponds to the subject of the transitive form.   I again follow Lyons's
(1968:360-361) terminology in calling verbs in this class 'object deletion'
verbs.

(20)   (a)   Poytin wan-e də-k- aytir-iy
          Poytin 1SG-O FA-IP-*fear-* IP
          Poytin is afraid of me

      (b)   Poytin də-k- aytir-iy
          Poytin FA-IP-*fear-* IP
          Poytin is afraid

      (c)   wan-e də-k- aytir-iy
          1SG-O FA-IP-*fear-* IP
          (someone) is afraid of me

Treating these derivational possibilities as features, we can display the basic
distinctions among transitive verbs on a tree.
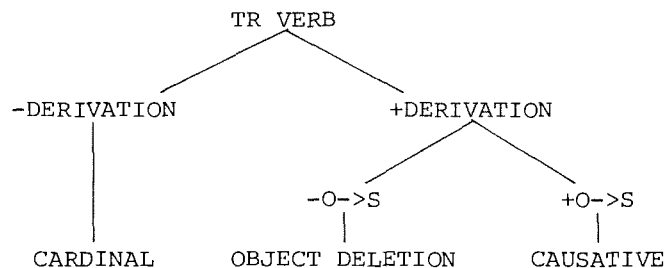
Figure 5.3

5.4.1 Cardinal transitive verbs

The cardinal transitive verbs fall into four subclasses. First, we can identify those verbs that can co-occur with arguments bearing Locative case marking (cf. 6.5). Most of the cardinal transitive verbs may co-occur with such NPs, but only three take such NPs as arguments. These NPs are identifiable as arguments because they must be interpreted as either a source or a goal. Locative NPs occurring with other cardinal transitive verbs are interpreted as locations.

(21) (a) rey yekne-re æwre- ke di-kay-kay
           3MS *axe- O house-L FA-put-PF*
           he has put the axe into the house

      (b) rey yekne-re æwre- ke d- iknær-kay
           3MS *axe- O house-L FA-break-PF*
           he has broken the axe in the house
           **he has broken the axe (in)to the house*

The three roots in the Directional class are, k<u>a</u>y (1) *put*, k<u>a</u>y (2) *remove*, and l<u>æt</u> *pour*.

Next, we can isolate the single verb that can co-occur with an argument in the Instrumental case (cf. 6.3) which is interpreted as a source.

(22) (a) wan topor tawkway Nimpiy-tek də-k'- ə
           1SG *that tobacco Nimpiy-I FA-get-P*
           I got that tobacco from Nimpiy

      (b) wan topor tawkway Nimpiy-tek r'-   e
           1SG *that tobacco Nimpiy-I consume-P*
           I smoked that tobacco with Nimpiy
           **I smoked that tobacco from Nimpiy*

      (c) wan rey yaw-re alme- rek d- iy-   i
           1SG 3MS *pig-O arrow-I FA-shoot-P*
           I shot the pig with an arrow
           **I shot the pig from an arrow*

The root k<u>a</u>, is, as I said, the unique member of the Source class.

Then we can segregate those verbs that can take a predication as their complement (cf. 10.2). As example (23b) illustrates, while other cardinal transitive verbs may co-occur with similar constructions, they must be interpreted as purpose or result clauses (cf. 10.2.3 and 10.2.6).

(23) (a) wan Yawur w- æy-re-re nenæn   də-k- lay- ey
           1SG *Yawur NF-go-FU-O thought FA-IP-bear-IP*
           I think that Yawur will go

      (b) wan Yawur w- æy-re-re kil   d- alow- o
           1SG *Yawur NF-go-FU-O speech FA-speak-P*
           I spoke so that Yawur would go
           **I spoke that Yawur would go*

Table 5.6 lists the Awtuw complement-taking verbs with their glosses, and idiomatic complements.

Table 5.6			
ROOT	GLOSS	IDIOMATIC COMPLEMENT	
upwa	*see*		
wan	*hear*		
ayna	*smell*	awæy	*?*
lay (1)	*like*		
yawa	*dislike*		
lay (2)	*think*	nenæn	*thought*
arney	*forget*	mane	*ear*
nak	*remember*	nenæn-e	*in thought*

The balance of the cardinal transitive verbs are all actions with the exception of the one remaining static verb wun *love*. They do not fall into further subclasses on formal criteria. I list most of them in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7					
ROOT	GLOSS	REMARKS	ROOT	GLOSS	REMARKS
alow	*speak*	kil *speech*	iryar	*pass*	
ilin	*pull*		iy	*shoot*	
marpænka	*lop*	taw *tree*	maryow	*awaken*	
moyna	*search*		otkolya	*kill*	
nak	*hold*		puya	*hit*	
nir	*track*		t-tamkurya	*miss*	
rokra	*cook*		wun (2)	*love*	
t-tawlil	*pick up*		iylakna	*hang*	reflexive
wæya	*follow*		nækptæt	*frighten*	
way	*carry*		naw	*wait*	
yæley	*stalk*		now	*shave*	
iknær	*break*		owra	*ignite*	
iprek (1)	*throw*		ra (1)	*consume*	

5.4.2 Causative verbs

Causative verbs do not lend themselves to subclassification on formal morpho-syntactic grounds. Each of them, when transitive, depicts an action with a more or less clearly defined end point, and typically results in a state. When intransitive, they depict a situation where the subject undergoes a process with a definable end point.

Many causative verbs have lexically specified objects, or a very small class of permissible objects. Table 5.8 lists a number of the verbs in this class, along with examples of their specified objects.

Table 5.8		
ROOT	GLOSS	SPECIFIED OBJECT
okw (2)	*sing-sing*	riwtow *ceremony*
t-tow (2)	*strike*	pəm *slit gong*
aden	*sew*	
akla	*dig*	uy *hole*
alwa (3)	*bear*	wate *seed, etc.*
etwa	*extinguish*	tapwo *fire*
eytra	*sweep*	e.g. æwre *house*
il	*net*	
ilya	*boil*	
ir	*sharpen*	
irp	*close*	e.g. æwre *house*
iɣpud	*roll, fold*	
lælna	*paint*	
law	*bake*	
lay (3)	*bear*	yæn *child*
lopwa	*open*	æwre *house*
ra (2)	*braid*	e.g. take *ring*
t-ta	*plant*	wiye *garden*
t-tow (3)	*lacerate*	
ud	*tie*	
uwk	*cut*	
uy	*build*	æwre *house*
wæɣ	*scrape*	yamo *sago*
worya	*wash*	

5.4.3 Object deletion verbs

The object deletion verbs comprise a small class and are not susceptible to further subclassification. Table 5.9 lists the six object deletion verbs that have come to my attention (see 5.4).

Table 5.9			
ROOT	GLOSS	ROOT	GLOSS
æl (2)	*bite*	lwa	*angry*
iwrey	*call*	or	*copulate*
aytir	*fear*	rank	*scratch*

5.5 Bitransitive verbs

There are only seven underived bitransitive verbs in Awtuw. These are subject to subclassification on much the same basis as were the transitive verbs. Some of them derive transitive verbs whose direct object is the same as the direct object of the bitransitive clause. Others derive transitive verbs whose direct object is the same as the indirect object of the bitransitive form. One verb does not derive a transitive verb at all. I call these classes indirect object (IO) deletion, object deletion, and cardinal bitransitive verbs, respectively.

5.5.1 One verb, kow *give*, does not derive an ordinary transitive verb. If either the direct or the indirect object is missing from a clause, it is either recoverable from context or irrelevant.

(24)　(a)　Yawur yen-e æymen-re kow- re
　　　　　Yawur 2SG-O *knife*-O　*give*-FU
　　　　　Yawur will give you the knife

　　　(b)　Yawur æymen-re kow- re
　　　　　Yawur knife-O　*give*-FU
　　　　　Yawur will give someone the knife
　　　　　*Yawur will give the knife

　　　(c)　Yawur yen-e kow- re
　　　　　Yawur 2SG-O *give*-FU
　　　　　Yawur will give you something
　　　　　*Yawur will give you

5.5.2 Three bitransitive verbs derive transitive verbs whose direct object corresponds to the direct object of the bitransitive verb. These are mak *say*, *tell*, yarna *ask*, and irkay *apportion*.

(25)　(a)　Ruwmay Yawur w- æy-re-re wan-e də-mak- e
　　　　　Ruwmay Yawur NF-*go*-FU-O　1SG-O FA-*tell*-P
　　　　　Ruwmay told me that Yawur would go

(25) (b) Ruwmay Yawur w- æy-re-re də-mak- e
　　　　Ruwmay Yawur NF-*go*-FU- O FA-*tell*-P
　　　　Ruwmay said/told someone that Yawur would go

　　　(c) Ruwmay wan-e də-mak- e
　　　　Ruwmay 1SG-O FA-*tell*-P
　　　　Ruwmay told me something

Two of these verbs, m̲a̲k̲ *say, tell* and y̲a̲r̲n̲a̲ *ask* may take complement clauses, as in example (25) (cf. 10.2.2 and 10.2.5). The second of these may also occur with an ordinary direct object NP in the sense *ask about*, if the object is human, or *ask for*, if not. Example (26) illustrates that when there are two human NPs, the clause is systematically ambiguous as to which NP is the direct, and which is the indirect object. But when a single human NP occurs as the object, it is obligatorily interpreted as the direct object unless another direct object is recoverable from context, as exemplified in (26b).

(26) (a) Ruwmay Yawur-re wan-e di-yærn'-e
　　　　Ruwmay Yawur-O 1SG-O FA-*ask*- P
　　　　Ruwmay asked me about Yawur/Yawur about me

　　　(b) Ruwmay Yawur-re di-yærn'-e
　　　　Ruwmay Yawur-O FA-*ask*- P
　　　　Ruwmay asked about Yawur
　　　　Ruwmay asked Yawur for it/about him/her

　　　(c) Ruwmay tawkway-re wan-e di-yærn'-e
　　　　Ruwmay tobacco-O 1SG-O FA-*ask*- P
　　　　Ruwmay asked me for the tobacco

The third verb in this class takes only non-sentential NPs as direct objects.

(27) rom æye (nam-o) w- irkay-　 re
　　　3PL *food* 1PL-O NF-*apportion*-FU
　　　they'll apportion the food (to us)

5.5.3 The object deletion verbs are i̲k̲r̲i̲y̲ *name*, i̲r̲a̲ *feed*, and i̲y̲m̲a̲l̲e̲y̲ *teach*. The last of these takes an imperfective nominal construction as its complement (cf. 10.2.3).

(28) tey wan-e (yilmæt də-k- nak- ey-re) w- iymaley-re
　　　3FS 1SG-O *string* FA-IP-*hold*-IP-O NF-*teach*- FU
　　　she'll teach me (to make string figures)

The first, i̲k̲r̲i̲y̲ *name*, takes a personal name as direct object. This verb has the unusual property that the direct object may not bear object case marking.

(29) ræw riwtale yæn-　 re (Kampo(*-re) d- ikriy-e
　　　3DU *couple child*-O (*Kampo*- O) FA-*name*- P
　　　the couple named the child (Kampo)

Finally, i̲r̲a̲ *feed*, typically takes a direct object that is edible, although mythical characters sometimes give each other inedible substances to eat.

(30) (rey yamo(-re)) nemet tey-ke yæn-　 re di-k- ir-　 iy
　　　3MS *sago*- O　*mother* 3FS-PS *child*-O FA-IP-*feed*-IP
　　　the mother is feeding her child (the sago)

5.6 Classification of verbs

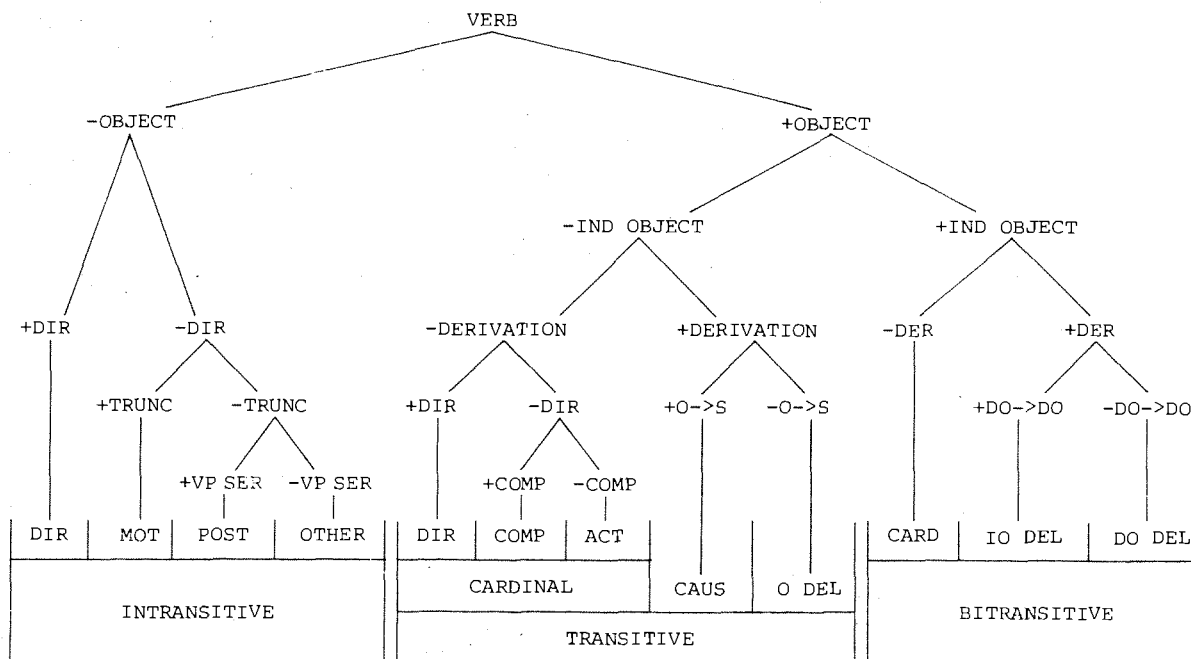We can now represent the structure of the classification of all verbs as a tree.

Figure 5.4

5.7 Benefactive verbs

The Benefactive marker -kow-, transparently derived from the root k̲o̲w̲ *give* (cf. 3.7, 4.12, and 10.1), has the property of increasing the number of objects a verb may co-occur with by one. An intransitive verb so marked would be able to co-occur with one object, a transitive verb with two, and a bitransitive verb with three. As in English and many other languages, the Benefactive NP may refer to an entity on whose behalf or for whose benefit the action is performed.

(31) tapwo an- e də-k- okwo-kow-ey
      fire 2DU-O FA-IP-*burn*-BEN-IP
      the fire is burning for you two (for your benefit)

(32) Wawpey yen-e yaw də-kə- kow-o
      Wawpey 2SG-O *pig* FA-*get*-BEN-P
      Wawpey got a pig for you (behalf/benefit)

(33) Kukrown yen-e wan-e yilmæt də-k- nak- ey-re w- iymaley-re
      Kukrown 2SG-O 1SG-O *string* FA-IP-*hold*-IP-O NF-*teach-* FU
      Kukrown will teach you to make string figures for me

5.8 Idiomatic composite constructions

A small number of Awtuw verb roots occur in idiomatic composite constructions with an obligatory, lexically specified noun which may not accept object marking. Some roots only occur in such constructions, others occur in other constructions in different meanings. As I mentioned earlier, this class of verbs intersects the categories of transitivity. Most of the verbs in this class depict intransitive bodily processes. Often the complementary noun resembles an 'internal accusative' in that its meaning does not contribute to the meaning of the composite because the verb root alone conveys the whole meaning and there is no apparent derivational relationship between the noun and the verb.

(34) tey ewkit(*-re) də-k- owk- ey
      3FS *cough-* O FA-IP-*cough*-IP
      is she coughing?/does she have a cough?

The complementary noun in these composite constructions is restricted in the modification it may accept. Only an Intensifier may co-occur with it.

(35) (a) Awkay mokəl(*-re) (yapor) də-wun- ə
           Awkay laugh- O *very* FA-*love*-P
           Awkay laughed (a great laugh)/(really laughed)

      (b) Awkay (*dæni) mok l (*waruke) (*urunk) də-wun- ə
           Awkay other laugh big three FA-*love*-P
           *Awkay laughed (*another/*a big/*three laugh(s))*

One of the verbs in this class iw *excrete*, conditions one of two complementary nouns — riy *faeces* and naw *urine*.

(36) wan riy/ naw(*-re) pə- mæ-'w- ney
      1SG *faeces/urine*-O HRT-*go-excrete-first*
      let me go shit/piss first!

Table 5.10 presents a full list of the bodily process verbs that fall into this class.

Table 5.10		
ROOT	GLOSS	COMPLEMENT
iw	*excrete*	riy *faeces,* naw *urine*
iywa	*bathe*	yiw *water*
lanya	*smile*	piy *point, tooth*
owka	*cough*	ewkit *cough*
pud *(hug)*	*blink*	new *eye*
wun *(love)*	*laugh*	mokəl *laugh*
yel	*cry*	ŋow *tear*

One of the other verbs that participates in an idiomatic composite construction is an intransitive verb.

(37) karpen ram(*-re) d- omw- ka
      basket full?-O FA-*full*-PF
      the basket is full

The complementary noun, ram, that co-occurs with <u>omw</u> *full* does not occur in any other context, which makes it difficult to gloss.

Three members of the class, awæy <u>lay</u> *like, want,* mane *(ear)* <u>arney</u> *forget,* and nenæn-e <u>nak</u> *(hold in thought) remember,* are cognition verbs and may take nominal objects or complement constructions (cf. 10.2).

(38) (a) yen tader yamo(-re) awæy(*-re) də-k- lay- ey
        2SG *this sago-* O *like?-* O FA-IP-*bear*-IP
        do you like this sago?

     (b) rey tawkway də-k- ra-   y- re awæy(*-re) lay- ka
        3MS *tobacco* FA-IP-*consume*-IP-O *like?-* O *bear*-PF
        he likes to smoke

(39) wan yen-e/w- æy-re-re mane(*-re) d- arney- kay
     1SG 2SG-O/NF-*go*-FU-O *ear-*   O FA-*forget*-PF
     I've forgotten you/to go

The third of these is unlike any of the others in the class in requiring its complement to bear Locative marking — nenæn-e *thought*-L.

(40) wan yen-e/w- æy-re-re nenæn- e nak- əkay
     1SG 2SG-O/NF-*go*-FU-O *thought*-L *hold*-PF
     I remember you/to go

A fourth cognition verb, nenæn <u>lay</u> *(bear thought) think,* may take complements only.

(41) rey d- æy-ka-re wan nenæn   lay- e
     3MS FA-*go*-PF-O 1SG *thought bear*-P
     I thought he had gone

5.9 Existence and possession

The most ubiquitous state verb is the irregular verb <u>awkey</u>, whose morphological peculiarities are described in 4.14. When <u>awkey</u> acts as an intransitive verb, what it predicates is the existence of a non-human entity in a place.

(42) wanklow æwre- ke d- awkey
     turtle   house-L FA-*exist*
     the turtle is in the house

(43) yaw d- awkey tade
     pig FA-*exist here*
     here is some pig

(44) rey kelaklow yankeyke d- awkey-e
     3MS *bell   small*   FA-*exist*-P
     the little bell was [still] around

Examples (42) and (43), which are quoted from narratives, illustrate that the category <u>awkey</u> is sensitive to is humanness and not animacy, because the pig in (42) is dead, but the turtle in (43) is alive. Under certain circumstances — when a non-human NP refers metaphorically to a human — the subject of <u>awkey</u> may be human.

```
(45)  wan-e piyren-yæn    rey   wan-owkey
      1SG-O dog-    child there DB- exist
      the puppy has to stay there for me
```

Here piyren-yæn is a metaphor for a promised bride.

More commonly, posture verbs absorb the functions of a̲w̲k̲e̲y̲ for human subjects.
In other words, in expressing the location of a human being, the additional
category of posture is obligatory.

```
(46)  Yawmən æwre- ke də-k- owna-y
      Yawmen house-L  FA-IP-lie- P
      Yawmen is lying down in the house
```

```
(47)  Takiy taw- wey- e di-k- iwrek-ey
      Takiy tree-base-L FA-IP-stand-IP
      Takiy is standing at the base of the tree
```

```
(48)  modək Altiy di-k- ik- iy rey
      now   Altiy FA-IP-sit-IP there
      Altiy is sitting there now
```

There is one verb that constitutes an exception to the general rule stated
above, unless we construe the category of posture very broadly. This is i̲k̲i̲y̲
live in a place, stay.

```
(49)  modək Wutpey d- ikiy ade
      now   Wutpey FA-live here
      now Wutpey lives here
```

```
(50)  Wawpey kæ-d- æy-ka, rey d- ikiy tə
      Wawpey NG-FA-go-PF  3MS FA-stay here
      Wawpey hasn't gone, he's staying here
```

Finally, the root p̲a̲m̲a̲ live together occurs with plural subjects only.

```
(51)  rey lape-    ke yæn- wom-wo  də-pama-kay-e
      3MS village-L child-PL- only FA-live-PF- P
      only children had lived in the village
```

From the meaning of a̲w̲k̲e̲y̲ illustrated above, i.e. the existence of a non-human
entity in a place, one would expect it to participate in a possessive
construction with the human possessor in the Object case. And this does,
indeed, happen.

```
(52)  wan-e tawkway d- awkey
      1SG-O tobacco FA-exist
      I have (some) tobacco
```

But this is not the usual possessive construction. It is far more common to
find a̲w̲k̲e̲y̲ acting precisely as if it meant have, with the possessor unmarked
for case. Where a̲w̲k̲e̲y̲ displays number agreement, as it usually does not, it
agrees in number with the possessor.

```
(53)  wan tawkway d- awkey
      1SG tobacco FA-exist/have
      I have (some) tobacco
```

(54)   nom æy   d- awkey/d- awke-m
       1PL *betelnut* FA-*have*/ FA-*have*-PL
       we have (some) betelnut

(55)   rey yekne urunk d- awkey/*d- awke-m
       3MS *axe*   *three* FA-*have*/ FA-*have*-PL
       he has three axes

In such constructions, the possessed NP never has object marking. But one would
not expect object marking on an indefinite low-empathy object in a clause with a
high-empathy subject (cf. 6.1 and 6.2). Possession of a definite NP is expressed
in a verbless predication with a possessive NP acting as the predicate of a
definite subject referring to the possession (cf. 8.3.2).

(56)   (a)   wan-ke piyren d- awkey
             1SG-PS *dog*   FA-*exist*
             I have a dog

       (b)   rey piyren wan-wan-ke
             3MS *dog*   1SG-1SG-PS
             the dog is mine

CHAPTER 6

CASE MARKING

Case marking in Awtuw distinguishes two classes of substantives. Personal
pronouns and nouns marked for number may take possessive, but not locative
marking (see 3.6.2). Nouns unmarked for number, Demonstratives, Quantifiers,
Obliviatives, and Interrogatives may take locative marking but not possessive
marking. A third person personal pronoun must follow such substantives and
bear possessive marking for them (see 7.6). The pronoun agrees with the
possessor in number and if singular, optionally in gender.

This section considers primarily the functions of the case markers, which I
list here, for convenience, together with their allomorphs. Further discussion
of the morphophonological alternations affecting these suffixes is to be found
in section 2.2.10, and there is a discussion of the formal properties of nouns
and pronouns in sections 3.5 and 3.6.

1.	Unmarked	$\emptyset$
2.	Object (O)	-re/-te/-e
3.	Instrumental (I)	-k
4.	Possessive (P)	-ke
5.	Locative (L)	-e/-ke
6.	Vocative (V)	-wo/-ə

This analysis assumes that functions are to be assigned to forms — the formal
case markers delimit the cases and each case has one or more syntactic or
semantic functions.

Whitehead (1981) has developed a typology for case marking in Papuan languages
based on the distribution of case markers in nouns and pronouns and their
functions in marking Agents (=transitive subjects=A (Dixon 1979)), Actors (=S),
Patients (=O), Recipients and Benefactives. Awtuw's case marking system, for
both full NPs and pronouns, as well as its pronoun marking, falls into his
class IIb, which includes those languages, 19 per cent of his sample of 35,
that have zero marking on As and Ss and a case marker on Os. Like 13 per cent
of the sample, Awtuw marks Benefactives, Recipients, and Patients in the same
way (see Feldman and Seiler 1983).

6.1 Unmarked case

The Subject of the clause, as identified above in section 5.1, is always
unmarked.

(1)   rey d- ey- e
        3SG FA-*come*-P
        he came

107

> (2)　eywe　　　m- alw-　　o
> 　　　*ancestor go-descend*-P
> 　　　*the ancestor descended*

Predicate NPs are also unmarked.

> (3)　Miytiy yene tukre rame, rey wokək rame yapor
> 　　　*Miytiy* NEG *short man*　3MS *tall　man　very*
> 　　　*Miytiy isn't a short man, he's a very tall man*

As we saw in Chapter 5, any Object, including the recipient of a bitransitive verb or the beneficiary of a verb with benefactive marking, may accept Object marking. This section will examine under what circumstances Object marking is obligatory, and under what circumstances it is optional.

In order to describe the relative tendencies of NPs to bear Object marking, we must first develop an Empathy hierarchy. NPs conforming to the types to the left are higher in empathy than those to the right. Object NPs of the highest empathy always take Object marking. Those of the lowest empathy rarely take Object marking, and those in between have a greater or lesser propensity to take it. This depends particularly upon whether or not the object NP is definite, and the relative empathy of the object and the subject. The conditions under which object NPs take Object marking are discussed in detail in section 6.2.

[PRO] > [PrN] > [+HUMAN] > [+ANIMATE] > [-ANIMATE]

Figure 6.1

The Object of a clause is optionally marked when it is lower in empathy than the Subject (cf. 6.2). Consequently, low-empathy Common noun Objects are frequently unmarked.

> (4)　yaw rom d- ir-　　m- e
> 　　　*pig* 3PL FA-*chase*-PL-P
> 　　　*they hunted pig*

> (5)　Waypawiy kelaklow də-ka- ə
> 　　　*Waypawiy bell*　　　FA-*get*-P
> 　　　*Waypawiy got a bell*

6.2 Object case

The Object suffix (O) has two forms:

On Nouns unmarked for number, including personal and place names, on demonstratives, on interrogatives, and on forms of the verb, it appears as -re[-FEMALE]/-te[+FEMALE]. The [+FEMALE] form occurs optionally where the referent is female, the [-FEMALE] form elsewhere. (See 2.2.10 for a discussion of the factors conditioning the quality of the suffix vowel.)

> (6)　(a)　yaw-re
> 　　　　　*pig*-O
>
> 　　　(b)　opor-re
> 　　　　　*that*-O
>
> 　　　(c)　Peyaw-re
> 　　　　　*Peyaw*-O

```
(6)  (d)  Napeyre-te
          Napeyre-O(F)

     (e)  tey dow-k- l-    ey-re rame
          3SF FA- IP-angry-IP-O man
          she was an irritable person
```

On personal pronouns, nouns marked as [+DUAL] -wæw or [+PLURAL] -wom, and nouns
or adjectives marked as [+GENERIC] -yænim, the form is -e/-i/-o/-ə, again
determined by morphophonemic considerations.

```
(7)  (a)  nan-ə
          1DU-O
          us two

     (b)  am- o
          2PL-O
          you

     (c)  Witit yænim-i
          Witit-GEN-  O
          Witit people

     (d)  Mowke-wæw-i
          Mowke-DU-  O
          Mowke and someone

     (e)  yæn-  wom-o
          child-PL- O
          children
```

All Object NPs consisting of a Pronoun of any type, Demonstrative, Interrogative,
Obliviative, or Personal, take Object marking obligatorily. Example (8b)
illustrates that the obligatory interpretation of an unmarked pronoun is as the
Subject.

```
(8)  (a)  rey yapor an- e/ram-o/tader-re/yeran-re du-puy-e
          3MS man   2DU-O/3PL-O/this- O  who?- O  FA-hit-P
          the man hit you two/them/this one/who?

     (b)  rey yapor an/ rom/tader/yeran du-puy-e
          3MS man    2DU/3PL/this/ who? FA-hit-P
          you two/they/this one/who? hit the man
      cf. *the man hit you two/them/this one/who?
```

A clause with two unmarked pronouns is ungrammatical, as in (9b).

```
(9)  (a)  wan rey-e du-k- puy-ey
          1SG 3MS-O FA-IP-hit-IP
          I'm hitting him

     (b)  *wan rey du-k- puy-ey
          1SG 3MS FA-IP-hit-IP
          *I'm hitting him/*he's hitting me
```

All Object NPs that include a Personal Name also take obligatory Object marking.
An unmarked Personal Name can only be interpreted as the Subject.

```
(10) (a)  rey piyren Kampo-re d- æl-  i
          3MS dog    Kampo-O  FA-bite-P
          the dog bit Kampo
```

(10) (b) rey piyren Kampo d- æl- i
          3MS *dog*   *Kampo* FA-*bite*-P
          Kampo bit the dog
     cf. **the dog bit Kampo*

Two unmarked Personal Names in a clause can only be interpreted as conjoined
Subject NPs.

(11) (a) Yowmən-re Yawur du-k- puy-ey
          Youmen-O *Yawur* FA-IP-*hit*-IP
          Yawur is hitting Youmen

     (b) Yowmən Yawur du-k- puy-ey
          Youmen Yawur FA-IP-*hit*-IP
          Youmen and Yawur are hitting [someone]
          Youmen and Yawur hit [customarily]
     cf. **Yawur is hitting Youmen/*Youmen is hitting Yawur*

When the Object is equal to or higher than the Subject in empathy, it must take
the Object suffix (cf. examples (8) and (10)). When two unmarked NPs co-occur
in a clause, the one that is higher on the empathy hierarchy is again
obligatorily interpreted as the Subject.

(12) (a) tey tale- re yaw d- æl- i
          3FS *woman*-O *pig* FA-*bite*-P
          the pig bit the woman

     (b) tey tale yaw(-re) d- æl- i
          3FS *woman pig*- O   FA-*bite*-P
          the woman bit the pig
     cf. **the pig bit the woman*

When two unmarked NPs equal in empathy co-occur in a clause, they are
interpreted as conjoined Subjects.

(13) (a) piyren-re yaw di-k- æl- iy
          dog- O *pig* FA-IP-*bite*-IP
          the pig is biting the dog

     (b) piyren yaw di-k- æl- iy
          dog   *pig* FA-IP-*bite*-IP
          the dog and the pig bite
     cf. **the dog is biting the pig/*the pig is biting the dog*

Common Noun Objects whose referents are either human or definite tend to bear
case marking.

(14) (a) wawəy nam-o yaw ma-kow- ka ... ŋawer yaw-re də-kay-e
          MB   1PL-O *pig* GO-*give*-PF   *father pig*-O FA-*put*-P
          Uncle has given us a pig ... Father put the pig away

     (b) lamu- r lamu- t-te də-k- ə
          Y//S15M Y//SB-F-O FA-*get*-P
          the younger brother took the younger sister

When an Object is overtly marked as definite by a demonstrative, a personal
pronoun, or a possessive in the Determiner slot (cf. 7.3), it is especially
likely to bear case marking, even if the intrinsic empathy of the noun is low.

(15) nemet rey tapwo-uyk- re d- ayn- e
      mother 3MS *fire- small-*O FA-*smell-*P
      [*his*] *mother smelled the odour of fire*

But if the Subject is higher on the empathy hierarchy than the Object and the
Object is a common noun, Object marking is optional even where the referent of
the NP is both human and overtly definite.

(16) yen topor tale yikiyr yipke də-k- ə
      2SG *this woman two   where* FA-*get-*P
      where did you get those two women?

In bitransitive clauses, the Indirect Object takes Object marking obligatorily.
Indirect Objects are almost invariably Pronouns or Personal Names. But Common
noun Indirect Objects do not have the same freedom to occur unmarked as do
Direct Objects and it was for this reason that I recognised the category in 5.1.

It follows that pronominal Indirect Objects will invariably take Object marking.

(17) Nam-o yaw ma-kow- ka rey
      1PL-O *pig* GO-*give-*PF 3MS
      he has come and given us some pig

Similarly, Indirect Objects that are Personal Names always bear Object marking.

(18) Kampo-re wan tawkway də-kow- o
      *Kampo-*O 1SG *tobacco* FA-*give-*P
      I gave Kampo tobacco

What makes it necessary to recognise Indirect Objects as a category is that
they must be marked even when they are Common Nouns.

(19) yæn- wom-o rom yaw-re də-kow- o
      *child-*PL- O 3PL *pig-*O FA-*give-*P
      they gave the pig to the/some children

Indeed, the Indirect Object must be marked even if it is lower in empathy than
the Direct Object.

As example (20a) illustrates, both the Direct and the Indirect Object may bear
Object marking.

(20) (a) yapor-re wan Kæmpiy- te də-kow- o
           *man- *O 1SG *Kaempiy-*O FA-*give-*P
           I gave Kaempiy to a man

      (b) ?rey yapor wan Kæmpiy- te də-kow- o
           3MS *man   *1SG *Kaempiy-*O FA-*give-*P
           ?I gave the man to Kaempiy

Included in the category of Indirect Objects are both the Recipient NP that
co-occurs with a bitransitive verb and the Benefactive NP that co-occurs with
a verb marked as Benefactive with k<u>ow</u>.

(21) Meytow-re Kapol- tale- re d- irka-kow- o
      *Meytow-*O *Parisko-woman-*O FA-*get- give-*P
      he bought a Parisko woman for Meytow

In those rare situations where a bitransitive verb bears the Benefactive
suffix, all three Object NPs may be marked. The verb k<u>ow</u> *give* may not bear
the homophonous Benefactive suffix.

```
(22)   wan Yawur-re Awtiy-re tawkway(-re) di-yærnə-kow-o
       1SG Yawur-O  Awtiy-O  tobacco- O    FA-ask-  BEN-P
       I asked Yawur for tobacco for Awtiy/
       I asked Awtiy for tobacco for Yawur
```

This suffix also occurs optionally on the verb of a subordinate clause, including relative clauses, complements, and, oddly, subject complements (cf. 10.2.4).

```
(23)   rey Yowmən-re d- upw-o rey-ke æye  də-k- ra- y- re
       3SG Yowmen-O  FA-see-P 3SG-PS food FA-IP-eat-IP-O
       he saw Yowmen eating
```

The Instrumental suffix -k is always attached to a form with the Object suffix as mentioned below in section 6.4.

6.3 Possessive

The Possessive suffix (P) -ke/-kə occurs only on the same set of substantives as does the vowel-initial allomorph of the Object suffix, i.e. pronouns and nouns with number marking.

```
(24)   (a)   rom-kə
             3PL-P
             their

       (b)   Yawur-wæw-ke
             Yawur-DU- P
             Yawur and someone's

       (c)   Kamlakw-yænim-ke
             Kammum- GEN-  P
             the Kammum people's
```

The Possessive suffix marks NPs bearing a range of semantic relations, such as:

(1)   Alienable possession, i.e. possession of animals, land, things, etc.

```
(25)   (a)   Karowpe-yænim-ke niw
             Karowpe-GEN- P ground
             the Karowpes' land

       (b)   wan-ke piyren-yæn
             1SG-P  dog-   child
             my puppy
```

(2)   Inalienable possession, i.e. possession of body parts or kin.

```
(26)   (a)   wan-ke maklake
             1SG-P  head
             my head

       (b)   Mowke-wæw-ke nemet
             Mowke-DU- P  mother
             the mother of Mowke and someone (i.e. his brother)
```

(3)   The place of origin.

```
(27)   (a)   wiye    rey-ke mæn
             garden 3MS-P  tulip
             tulip from the garden
```

(27)   (b)   mæw   rey-ke yiyay
              bush 3MS-P *game*
              game from the bush

       (c)   Tæypil   rey-ke rame
              Talbipi 3MS-P *man*
              man from Talbipi

(4)   The subject of a nominalised verb also may occur with possessive marking
(cf. 10.2-3).

6.4   Instrumental/Comitative

The Instrumental/Comitative (I) marker -k is always attached to a form with
Object marking.   The form of this suffix does not vary.

       (28)   (a)   Kewmæy- rə-k
                    Kewmaey-O- I
                    with Kewmaey

              (b)   yekne-re-k
                    axe-   O- I
                    with an axe

              (c)   wan-e-k
                    1SG-O-I
                    with me

              (d)   Mokæl- te-k
                    Mokael-O- I
                    with Mokael

(1)   This suffix marks all Instruments.

       (29)   rey taw   yekne-re-k d- ukw- o
              3SG *tree axe-*   O- I FA-*fell*-P
              he felled the tree with an axe

(2)   It also marks all Comitatives.   Section 4.9 contains a discussion of the
effects of comitative NPs on number marking on the verb.

       (30)   Yawepiy-re-k æye də-k- ra- y- e
              Yawepiy-O- I *food* FA-IP-*eat*-IP-P
              he used to eat food with Yawepiy

(3)   The personal source of getting with the verb ka̲ *get* bears the Instrumental/
Comitative suffix (cf. 5.6).

       (31)   Siypik-yænim-e-k tapwo də-k'- ə
              Sepik- GEN- O-I *fire* FA-*get*-P
              [*we*] *got fire from the people of the Sepik*

(4)   Finally, the verb in temporal clauses is marked as Instrumental/Comitative
(cf. 10.3).

       (32)   rey d- ey- e nom æye də-k- ra- tæw- ey-wa- re-k
              3SG FA-*come*-P *we* *food* FA-IP-*eat-start*-IP-*just*-O- I
              he came just as we were starting to eat

6.5 Location/Direction

The Location/Direction suffix (L), has the form -ke/-ko/-kə after vowels and
-e/-o/-ə after consonants. The vowel quality of the suffix is determined by a
vowel harmony rule described in 2.2.10. It occurs on NPs referring to places,
including Demonstratives, but never on personal pronouns. It may occur on an
adjective or an intensifier if it is the last word in such a noun phrase, as in
(33d) and (33e).

(33) (a) Kamlakw-o
Kamnum- L

(b) Witit-i
*Witit-*L

(c) æwre- ke
*house-*L

(d) wiytape yapo-ke
*river   very-*L
to/from/at a real big river

(e) kapem waruke-ke
pond   big-   L
to/from/at a big pond

The Location/Direction suffix marks the source or the goal of motion, if it is
a place, i.e. a place name, a direction, or denotes some physical locality,
e.g. a house, a road, a river, a part of a house or a tree, etc. It also marks
the location of a state, process, or action, again provided that the NP refers
to a place. The meaning of the associated verb determines the interpretation
of Locative NP as either location or direction, and if direction, whether
from or to. Thus, unless the clause contains a Direction verb, the Locative NP
will refer to a location. If the clause contains the verb æy *go*, one of the
other Goal verbs (cf. 5.2) or a serialisation with æy, then the Locative NP
will refer to a goal. And if the clause contains the verb eya *come*, one of the
other Source verbs (cf. 5.2), or a serialisation ending in eya, then the
Locative will be a source. There are a number of 'location' nouns that commonly
compound with other nouns to make the reference of the Locative more explicit
(cf. 3.7.2). The following list includes all such nouns that have come to my
attention.

Table 6.1			
or	*top*	or-e	*above, on top of*
diyake	*under*	diyake-ke	*under, beneath, below*
ŋake	*under*	ŋake-ke	*far under*
tæytæy	*near*	tæytæy-e	*near (touching)*
teywake	*near*	teywake-ke	*near*
lukw	*middle*	lukw-o	*inside, between, among*
niw	*ground*	niw-e	*outside*
wurne	*heart*	wurne-ke	*in front of*
yekmak	*back*	yekmak-e	*behind*
amole	*side*	amole-ke	*beside*
yil	*edge*	yil-e	*alongside*
tepyiw	*side (house)*	tepyiw-e	*next to a house*
talten	*end (house)*	talten-e	*in front/back of a house*
kodank	*corner (house)*	kodank-e	*at corner of a house*

(34) (a) æwr'+ or
     house+top
     roof

(b) æwre rey-k' or(-e)
    house 3MS-PS *top-L*
    (on) top of a house

(c) æwr'+ or- e
    house+top-L
    on top of a house/on a roof

(35) piyren yikiyr æwre+ diyake-ke də-k- owna- y
     dog   two   house+under- L FA-IP-sleep-IP
     two dogs are sleeping under the house

Locative NPs are almost exclusively adverbial in nature. Awtuw speakers will
occasionally accept a Locative NP as a nominal modifier, but with noticeable
reluctance. Such constructions are therefore clearly not felicitous, and
almost certainly not grammatical.

(36) (a) *rey tiwle-   ke taw
         3MS *mountain-L tree*
         the tree on the mountain

(b) *rey taw tiwle-   ke
    3MS *tree mountain-L*
    the tree on the mountain

A restrictive relative clause, as in (37a), or a non-restrictive relative
clause, as in (37b), are the only structures available to express such notions.

(37) (a) rey tiwle-   ke di-k- iwrek-ey-re taw
         3MS *mountain-L FA-IP-stand-IP-O tree*
         the tree that is standing on the mountain

(b) rey taw, tiwle-   ke di-k- iwrek-ey
    3MS *tree mountain-L FA-IP-stand-IP*
    the tree, which is standing on the mountain

6.6 Vocative

The Vocative suffix (V) occurs only when the speaker wishes to attract the
attention of the addressee (cf. 12.3). It does not mark nouns in the course
of conversation. The only nouns that accept this suffix are personal names
and kinship terms that bear no number marking.

(38) ŋaye- wo, yen kər-eyə
     father-V   2SG IMP-come
     Daddy, come here!

(39) Yowmen-ə, yen tawkway kan-kə ker-eya
     Yowmen-V   2SG tobacco IMP-get IMP-come
     Yowmen, bring some tobacco!

STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE

Awtuw word order is, on the whole, very free. Where the constraints are most
rigid is within the Noun Phrase. This chapter describes the constituents of
the NP, their possibilities of co-occurrence, their order, and the permissible
permutations of canonical order.

7.1 Schematic of NP structure

We can begin with a simple presentation of a few rules that describe the
structure of the Awtuw NP. These expansion rules do not represent a commitment
to generative theory, but rather a convenient schematic representation of the
basic structure of the Awtuw NP.

1. NP → NP (NP*) (CASE MARKER)

2. NP → (DETERMINER) (NOM*) (QUANTIFIER)

3. DET → $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{KINSHIP TERM} \\ \text{QUANTIFIER} \\ \text{POSSESSIVE NP} \\ \text{PRONOUN} \end{Bmatrix}$

4. POS → $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{(NP) PERSONAL PRONOUN} \\ \text{N-NUMBER MARKER} \\ \text{A-yænim} \end{Bmatrix}$ -ke

5. NOM → $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{(S) (CN (NM) (AP))} \\ \text{A-yænim} \\ \text{PlN (yænim)} \\ \text{PrN (NM)} \end{Bmatrix}$

6. AP → (ADJECTIVE) (INTENSIFIER)

I will defer discussion of rule 1 and begin with the expansion of the simple
NP. As I mentioned, there are a number of constraints on the co-occurrence of
various constituents within the NP, and I will describe these as they become
relevant in the course of the ensuing discussion.

7.2 The minimal NP

In Chapter 3 we saw that a large and internally complex class of lexemes, which
we denominated Substantives, can be identified by precisely this criterion — the

ability to occur as the unique constituent of an NP. This class includes all Nouns — Common nouns, Kinship terms, Personal Names, and Place Names — and all Pronouns — Personal Pronouns, Demonstrative Pronouns, Interrogative Pronouns, and Obliviative Pronouns.

We can begin by illustrating simple NPs and examine the more complicated structures later. Rule 2 stipulates than an NP may consist of either a Determiner, a Quantifier, or a constituent I have designated Nominal.

7.2.1 Example (1) illustrates Quantifiers in the role of sole constituent of an NP.

> (1)　(a)　kokot d- æy-ka
> 　　　　 *all*　RL-*go*-PF
> 　　　　 *everyone has gone*
>
> 　　　(b)　yikiyr ma-wey-e
> 　　　　 *two*　 *arrive*-P
> 　　　　 *two arrived*

7.7.7 Next we can look at the expansion of the Determiner as the sole constituent of the NP. At this point it is relevant to mention that there is a constraint that prevents a Kinterm from occurring as the Determiner of any NP that does not have a Personal name in the Nominal constituent. Furthermore, since an NP with a Quantifier as the sole constituent in the Determiner slot is indistinguishable from one with a Quantifier as the sole constituent in the Quantifier slot, examples (2) and (3) illustrate only Pronouns and Possessives as expansions of the Determiner.

> (2)　(a)　yen-ke waruke
> 　　　　 2SG-PS *big*
> 　　　　 *yours is big*
>
> 　　　(b)　rey wokǝk rame rey-ke waruke
> 　　　　 3MS *tall* *man* 3MS-PS *big*
> 　　　　 *the tall man's is big*
>
> (3)　(a)　yen waruke
> 　　　　 2SG *big*
> 　　　　 *you're big*
>
> 　　　(b)　tader waruke
> 　　　　 *this* *big*
> 　　　　 *this one's big*
>
> 　　　(c)　yeran waruke?
> 　　　　 *who? big*
> 　　　　 *who's big?*
>
> 　　　(d)　menerey waruke
> 　　　　 OBLIV　*big*
> 　　　　 *whatchamacallit is big*

Examples (2) and (3) display the following structures:

```
[2]  NP                      [3]  NP
      |                            |
     DET                          DET
      |                            |
     POS                          PRO
     /|                            |
    / |                            |
 PPR  |                           yen
  |   |
 yen -ke
```
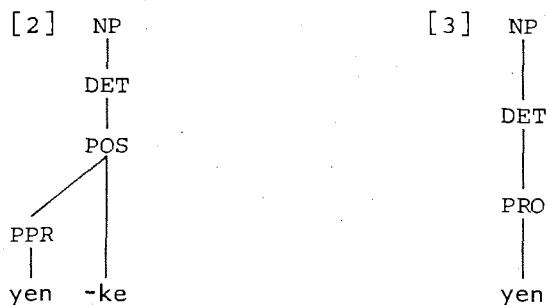
7.2.3 We can now turn to the expansions of the NOM given in rule 5. To begin with, the NOM may consist of an Adjective marked with the Generic suffix -yænim. Bare adjectives may not occur as the only constituent of NOM, as was pointed out in 3.3.

(4) (a) wokək-yænim
          tall- GEN
          tall people

     (b) yitam-   yænim
          *generous-*GEN
          generous people

Next, the NOM may expand to a Place name, as shown in example (5).

(5) Tæypil waruke
     Talbipi big
     Talbipi is big

A Place name may carry the Generic suffix.

(6) Worke- yænim d- æy-ka
     *Seinim-*GEN   RL-*go*-PF
     the people from Seinim have gone

A Personal name, with or without number marking, can also fill the NOM slot.

(7) (a) Awkay d- æy-e
          Awkay RL-*go*-P
          Awkay went

     (b) Altiy-wom d- æy-m- e
          *Altiy-*PL RL-*go*-PL-P
          Altiy-mob went

The NOM can also expand to S (cf. 10.2), which may be any clause, although there are constraints on its complexity. Example (8) illustrates this structure.

(8) (a) tey wan-e [Yawur d- æy-ka-re] də-mak-ə
          3FS 1SG-O *Yawur* RL-*go*-PF-O   RL-*say*-P
          she told me that Yawur had gone

     (b) yen rom-o [w- æy-re-re] de-yærnə-ka
          2SG 3PL-O RL-*go*-FU-O   RL-*ask-* PF
          have you asked them to go?

It can also expand to a Common noun, with or without number marking or an Adjective phrase, as illustrated in example (9).

(9) (a) tiyl waruke
stone big
the stone is big

(b) tiyl- yænim waruke
stone-GEN big
the stones are big

(c) tiyl tipraykwo waruke
stone black big
the black stone is big

(d) tiyl- yænim tipraykwo waruke
stone-GEN black big
the black stones are big

(e) tale waruke
woman big
the woman is big

(f) tale- m waruke
woman-PL big
the women are big

(g) tale medaye waruke
woman good big
the good woman is big

(h) tale- m medaye waruke
woman-PL good big
the good women are big

The structures exemplified in (9a-h) are displayed in [9].

7.2.4 Finally, NOM may expand to an S and any of the structures involving a Common noun displayed above

(10) d- æy-ka-m- re tale- m medaye waruke
RL-go-PF-PL-O woman-PL good big
the good women who have gone are big

Example [10] displays the structure of the NOM in (10).

[10]

```
                    NP
                    |
                   NOM
                  /  |  \
                 /   |   \
           S    CN   NM   AP
           |    |    |    |
       dæykamre tale  -m  medaye
```

While I exemplify the functions of an S in the structure of the NP in this
chapter, as in examples (8) and (10), I defer detailed discussion of such Ss
to 10.2.7.

7.3 Constraints on the Determiner

As Rule 3 shows, there are four potential candidates for inclusion in the
Determiner slot, a Kinship term, a Quantifier, a Pronoun, and a Possessive NP.

7.3.1 As I mentioned above, there is a constraint pertaining to Kinship terms
— if a Kinship term occurs as the Determiner, then there must be an unmodified
Personal Name in the Nominal slot. The members of the class of Kinship terms
are isolated formally in 3.3 and listed exhaustively, with some discussion, in
11.1. Example (11) illustrates this constraint and [11] displays the structure
of (11a).

(11) (a) eywe   Wiltiw
           ancestor Wiltiw
           Grandpa Wiltiw

      (b) *eywe   Kamlakw
           ancestor Kamnum
           **grandfather (from) Kamnum*

      (c) *eywe   rame
           ancestor man
           **ancestor man*

[11]

```
            NP
           /  \
          /    \
        DET    NOM
         |      |
         KT     N
         |      |
         |     PrN
         |      |
        eywe  Wiltiw
```
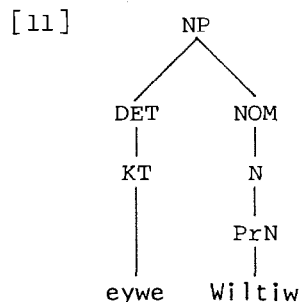
While example (12a) might be interpreted as a case of a Kinship term determining
a Quantifier as displayed in [12a^1], (12b) illustrates that [12a^2] is a more
plausible analysis.

(12) (a) eywe   yikiyr
           ancestor two
           two grandparents

(12) (b) ræw eywe   yikiyr
           3DU *ancestor two*
           the two grandparents

[12] [a¹] NP   [a²] NP   [b] NP

           DET   Q   NOM   Q   DET   NOM   Q

           KT   CN   PRO   CN

           eywe   yikiyr   eywe   yikiyr   ræw   eywe   yikiyr
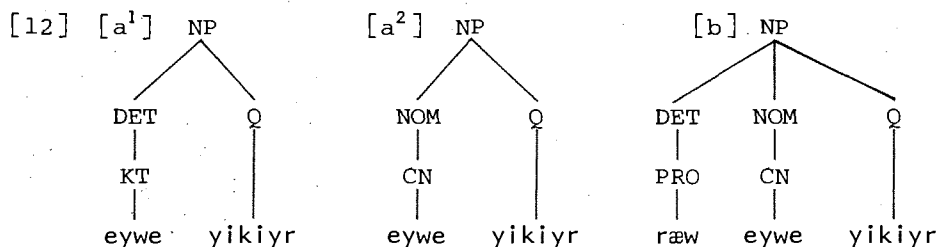
7.3.2 There are four formally distinguishable classes of Pronouns, any of which may occur as the Determiner of an NP. Any pronoun may determine any Quantifier or a Nominal that expands to one of the following.

    a. (S) (CN(NM)(AP))
    b. PlN -yænim
    c. A   -yænim

Example (13) illustrates each class of pronoun determining a Quantifier.

    (13) (a) rom kokot
               3PL *all*
               all them

          (b) ·tadu-m   orkweynaywo
               this-PL *four*
               these four

          (c) yeran yikiyr?
               who?   two
               who two?

          (d) menerey urunk
               OBL   *three*
               what's their three names

Example (14) illustrates each class of pronoun determining a Nominal expanded as S CN NM AP.

    (14) (a) rom d- æy-ka-m- re yæn- wom waruke
               3PL RL-*go*-PF-PL-O *child*-PL *big*
               the big kids who have gone

          (b) topo-m d- æy-ka-m- re yæn- wom waruke
               that-PL RL-*go*-PF-PL-O *child*-PL *big*
               those big kids who have gone

          (c) yeran d- æy-ka-m- re yæn- wom waruke?
               who? RL-*go*-PF-PL-O *child*-PL *big*
               which big kids who have gone

          (d) menerey d- æy-ka-m- re yæn- wom waruke
               OBL   RL-*go*-PF-PL-O *child*-PL *big*
               what's their face big kids who have gone

Example (15) illustrates each class of pronoun determining a Nominal expanded as PlN-yænim.

(15) (a) rom Meley-yænim
3PL *Meley-*GEN
the people from Meley

(b) tadu-m Meley-yænim
*this-*PL *Meley-*GEN
these people from Meley

(c) yeran Meley-yænim?
*who? Meley-*GEN
which people from Meley?

(d) menerey Meley-yænim
OBL *Meley-*GEN
what's their faces from Meley

Example (16) illustrates each class of pronoun determining a Nominal expanded as A-yænim.

(16) (a) rom wokək-yænim
3PL *tall-* GEN
the tall

(b) tadu-m wokək-yænim
*this-*PL *tall-* GEN
these tall people

(c) yeran wokək-yænim?
who? tall- GEN
which tall people?

(d) menerey wokək-yænim
OBL *tall-* GEN
what's their face tall people

Two classes of Pronoun are more restricted in their ability to determine Nominals. Interrogative and Obliviative pronouns may not determine either Place Names or Personal Names. For our purposes, number marking on Personal Names is irrelevant.

(17) (a) *yeran?/*menerey Yawur
who? OBLIV *Yawur*
*who?/*what's-his-name Yawur*

(b) *yakum?/*menerey Wutlakw
what? OBLIV
*what?/*whatchamacallit Gutaiye*

Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns may determine Personal names and Place names without number marking, as shown in example (18).

(18) (a) rey/tader Awtiy
3MS/*this Awtiy*
(this) Awtiy

(b) rom/tadu-m Wutlakw
3PL/*this-*PL *Gutaiye*
the/these people from Gutaiye

(18) (c) rey/topor Wutlakw
3MS/*that   Gutaiye*
(that) Gutaiye (over there)

Personal Pronouns and Demonstrative Pronouns, which are freer to determine a
variety of Nominal structures, bear number marking. The Demonstratives exhibit
a plural/non-plural distinction and may agree with their referent in number.
If the referent of the Nominal is singular or dual, the Demonstrative must be
unmarked for number, and if the referent of the nominal is plural, the
Demonstrative may bear plural marking.

(19) (a) tader-*tadum tale   naydowo
this/   these woman one
this one woman

(b) tader/*tadum tale yikiyr
this/   these woman two
these two women

(c) tader/tadum tale- m liwke
this/ these woman-PL many
these many women

The Personal Pronouns make an obligatory three-way distinction in number. A
plural Nominal conditions a plural Personal pronoun in its Determiner, a dual
Nominal, a dual Determiner, and a singular Nominal, a singular Determiner.

(20) (a) rey/*ræw/*rom yæn   naydowo
3MS- 3DU/ 3PL *child one*
the one child

(b) *rey/ræw/*rom yæn-   wæw yikiyr
3MS/3DU/ 3PL *child-DU   two*
the two children

(c) *rey/*ræw/rom yæn-   wom
3MS/3DU/ 3PL *child-PL*
the children

Furthermore, non-plural Demonstratives, third person singular Personal Pronouns,
and the Obliviatives exhibit a Female/non-Female distinction. If the referent
of the Nominal is either animate and male, or inanimate, then the Determiner
must be in the non-Female form. But if the referent of the Nominal is female,
the Determiner may be either Female or non-Female.

(21) (a) rey/tey tale
3MS/3FS *woman*
the woman

(b) ade-r/ade-t tale
DEM-M/DEM-F *woman*
this woman

(c) menerey/menetey tale
OBLIV-M/OBLIV-F *woman*
what's-her-name

(22) *tey/*ade-t/*menetey tiyl/yompurkay
3FS/ DEM-F/ OBLIV-F *stone/youth*
*the/this/what's-her-name stone/youth

The last point I want to make here with regard to the Pronouns is the function of the third person Personal Pronouns. These are by far the most common determiners in any discourse. Their function is to mark an NP as definite, which accounts for their ubiquitousness. While definite NPs need not be determined by such a pronoun, all NPs determined by rey, tey, ræw, or rom are definite.

7.3.3 Quantifiers are more constrained than Pronouns in the range of Nominals they may determine. A Quantifier may not determine any Nominal that is other-wise quantified in any way, either by a Quantifier in the Quantifier constituent or by number marking on the Noun. Furthermore, a Quantifier may not determine any Proper Noun or S. Quantifiers may only determine otherwise unquantified Common nouns.

> (23) (a) *kokot Yawur/Tæypil(-yænim)/uy   d- aklə-ka-m- re
>   *all*   *Yawur/Talbipi-*GEN   *hole* RL-*dig-* PF-PL-O
>   **all Yawur(s)/Talbipi(people)/who have dug a hole*
>
> (b) *kokot yæn- wæw/yæn- wom/yæn   urunk
>   *all*   *child-*DU/ *child-*PL/ *child three*
>   **both/all/three children*

There is one Quantifier nevertheless worthy of special discussion. Like the other Quantifiers, dæni may occur in either the Determiner or the Quantifier component.

When dæni determines an NP, it means *one, another, the other.*

> (24) (a) dæni   rame monokene
>   *another man   bad*
>   *another bad man*
>
> (b) dæni   yæn
>   *another child*
>   *another child*

When it appears in the Quantifier constituent of an otherwise determined NP, it retains this meaning.

> (25) opo- m æwre dæni
>   *that-*PL *house other*
>   *those other houses*

But if it occurs as the Quantifier of an undetermined Nominal, then it marks the NP as indefinite.

> (26) (a) tale   owyæn dæni
>   *woman old   a*
>   *an old woman*
>
> (b) wom   æyle dæni
>   *coconut dry   a*
>   *a dry coconut*

It is conceivable that the basic meaning of an NP with dæni in any position is that the referent of that NP is not the most salient instance of the type that the NP denotes (Avery Andrews, pc).

What is odd is that when dæni seems to be most determiner-like semantically, when it signals indefiniteness, it must occur in the Quantifier slot, where we would expect it to be less determiner-like. And when it occurs as a Determiner, it has the less determiner-like meaning. It may be possible to explain this in terms of dæni's predeliction to mean precisely *one*, in this position. Dæni substitutes for the numeral naydowo *one* in many contexts. Indeed, naydowdowo *only one, alone* appears to occur much more frequently than the bare numeral, probably because dæni is the unmarked form for *one*.

Once we have established that dæni as a Quantifier is very much like the numeral *one*, it requires no great leap to see how it has come to mean *a*, as the numeral *one* has in many other languages.

For example, in Tongan, despite a three-way distinction of referentiality — the article ha 'non-referential' contrasting with the article e/he 'referential' which in turn contrasts with the article e/he with an accompanying shift in stress to the last vowel in the NP 'definite' — the commonest way of marking an NP as non-referential is to use a construction with the numeral.

(27) mai   fo'i   suluka   e   taha
      give-me NOUN CL *cigarette* NUM CL *one*
      give me a cigarette

Awtuw has a construction precisely parallel to the Tongan.

(28) wan-e tawkway dæni kaŋ-kuw
      1SG-O *tobacco one* IMP-*give*
      give me a cigarette

7.3.4 Possessive NPs may determine any Nominal or Quantifier without restriction.

(29) (a) nom-ke Altiy
           1PL-PS *Altiy*
           our Altiy

      (b) nom-ke Kamlakw
           1PL-PS *Kamnum*
           our Kamnum

      (c) nom-ke yaw
           1PL-PS *pig*
           our pig

      (d) nom-ke ŋaye
           1PL-PS *father*
           our father

      (e) nom-ke urunk
           1PL-PS *three*
           our three

      (f) nom-ke d- æy-ka-m- re
           1PL-PS RL-*go*-PF-PL-O
           our having gone

Three types of lexemes may take Possessive marking. Any noun with the plural
suffix -m may take Possessive marking. Forms with the dual, plural, and generic
suffixes also accept the Possessive suffix. And all Personal Pronouns are
eligible to take -ke.

Nouns unmarked for number, including Proper and Place names, demonstratives and
interrogatives are followed by the possessive form of a third person personal
pronoun. The pronoun carrying possessive marking agrees in number and gender
with the referent of the NP in accordance with the principles discussed above.

    (30) Menyew rey-ke yar
          PrN   *he-* PS *ancestor*
          Menyew's ancestor

    (31) Tæypil rey-ke trewel
          PlN   *he-* PS *trouble*
          Talbipi's trouble

    (32) nemane-t tey-ke wom
          elder- F 3FS-PS *coconut*
          [her] elder sister's coconut

Examples (30-32) illustrate the following structure:

[30-32]
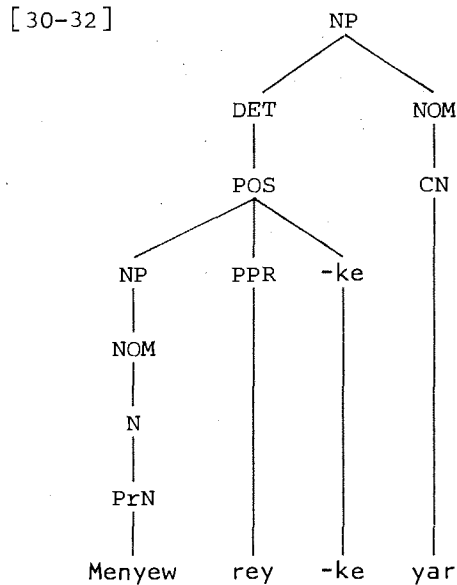
A Possessive NP may embed another Possessive NP.

    (33) Wiykatuw-yænim-ke owyim-   ke kil
          PlN-   GEN- PS *ancestors-PS story*
          the story of the ancestors of the people of Wiykatuw

Example [33] displays the structure of (33).

[33]

```
                                        NP
                                       /  \
                                    DET    NOM
                                     |      |
                                    POS     CN
                                    / \
                                  NP   CM
                                 /  \
                              DET    NOM
                               |      |
                              POS    N+NM
                              / 
                            NP   CM
                             |
                            NOM
                            / |
                         P1N  |
                          |   |
          Wiykatuw-yænim     -ke    owyim    -ke    kil
```
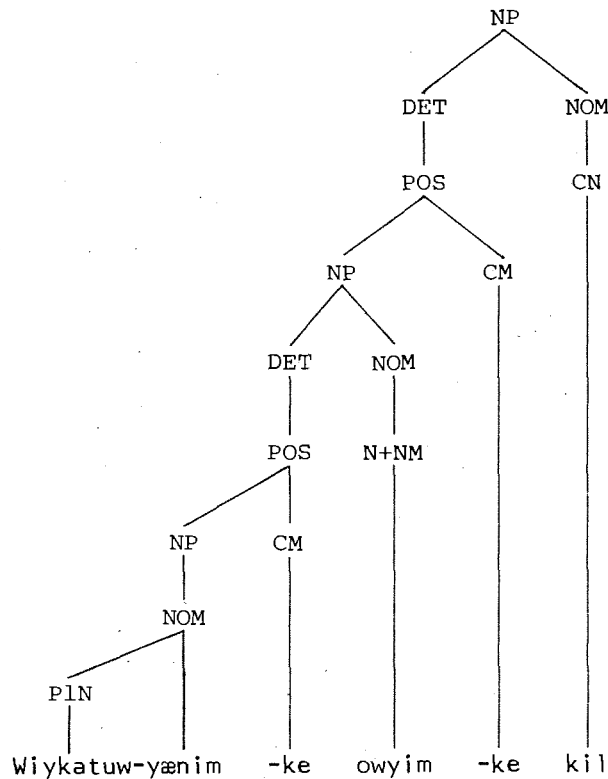
7.4 Structure of the Adjective phrase

As indicated in rule 5 above, only an NP with a Common noun in the Nominal
constituent may include an Adjective phrase. Example (34) illustrates
the ungrammaticality of co-occurrences of Adjective phrases with Personal
names, Place names, and Adjectives with the generic suffix. Note that I defer
discussion of multiple Nominal constituents to section 7.6.

> (34) (a) *Kewmæy   (waruke) (yapor)
>   *Kewmaey* *big*   *very*
>   *a (very) big/quite the Kewmaey*
>
> (b) *Kamlakw (waruke) (yapor)
>   *Kamnum*   *big*   *very*
>   *a (very) big/quite the Kamnum*
>
> (c) *yitam-   yænim (waruke) (yapor)
>   *generous*-GEN *big*   *very*
>   *(very) big/quite the generous people*

Note that these constructions are only ungrammatical in the interpretation of
the adjective phrase as attributive. Otherwise identical utterances with
predication intonation are perfectly acceptable.

Any lexical item identifiable as an Adjective by the criteria described in
Chapter 3, except the Intensifiers, may fill the Adjective slot. Intensifiers
have a slot of their own.

Rule 6 stipulates that an Adjective phrase may consist of either an Adjective or an Intensifier, or both. Example (35) illustrates all three possibilities and [35] displays their structure.

(35) (a) yompurkay waruke
young man big
a big young man

(b) yompurkay yapor
young man very
quite the young man

(c) yompurkay waruke yapor
young man big very
a very big young man

[35]

[a] NP — NOM — CN, AP — A : yompurkay waruke

[b] NP — NOM — CN, AP — A : yompurkay yapor

[c] NP — NOM — CN, AP — A, I : yompurkay waruke yapor
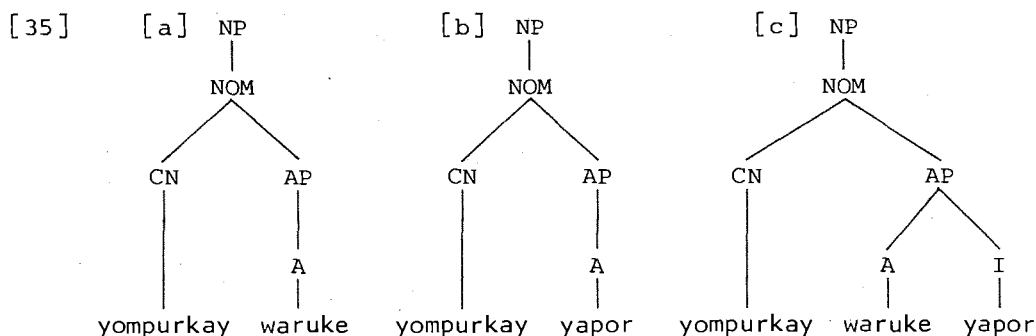
Note that one of the Intensifiers, yankeyke *a little, slightly* is also a DIMENSION Adjective meaning *small*, and a Quantifier meaning *a little (quantity)*, and may occur in either the Adjective or the Intensifier slot.

(36) (a) tiyl yankeyke
stone small
a small stone

(b) tiyl worne yankeyke
stone light little
a rather light stone

Yankeyke may double as an Intensifier in tongue-in-cheek contexts if the Adjective is not yankeyke.

(37) (a) ulwun waruke yankeyke yankeyke, tenk-tapem-kwo
python big slightly slightly tank-trunk-CMP
a very slightly big python, like a rain tank

(b) tale yankeyke mede/yapor/yankeyke
woman small very/very/ slightly
a very/slightly small woman

(c) *tale yankeyke yankeyke yankeyke
woman small slightly slightly
**a very slightly small woman*

7.5 Word order permutations

When a Common noun is high in empathy, Adjectives often, and more complex
Adjective phrases sometimes, precede it. Examples like (38) and (39) motivate
the abbreviated Empathy hierarchy in (40).

 (38) (a) waruke tale
     big woman
     big woman

    (b) *waruke piyreṇ (c) *waruke taw
      big dog   *big tree*

 (39) (a) wuwkliwke tale
     long   woman
     tall woman

    (b) wuwliwke piyren (c) *wuwkliwke taw
      long   dog   *long   tree*
      long dog

 (40) Abbreviated Empathy Hierarchy
    [+HUMAN] > [+ANIMATE] > [-ANIMATE]

In fact, certain classes of adjectives have a strong tendency to precede high
empathy nouns. VALUE adjectives, e.g. monokene *bad*, AGE adjectives, e.g. owyæn
old, and HUMAN PROPENSITY adjectives, e.g. yitam *generous* are most likely to
precede the nouns they modify, other classes of adjectives, as in (41d) and
(41e), do so too.

 (41) (a) yitam rame
     generous man
     generous man

    (b) mede rame
     good man
     good man

    (c) owtiykayæn tale
     old   woman
     old woman

    (d) yankeyke tale
     small woman
     small woman

    (e) kupkwap tale
     fast woman
     fast woman

Most PHYSICAL PROPERTY adjectives either may not co-occur with human nouns, as
in (41f), or become HUMAN PROPENSITY adjectives in such constructions, as in
(41h). When a PHYSICAL PROPERTY adjective, as such, modifies a human noun, it
tends to depersonify that noun, reducing it in empathy. So these are more
likely to follow the noun, as in (41j)

    (f) *tale wam
     woman blunt
     *blunt woman

130

(41) (g) melpeyaw kəmkam
           paʋpaʋ   hard
           hard paʋpaʋ

      (h) kəmkam tale
           stingy woman
           stingy woman

      (i) ?worne tale
           light woman
           light woman

      (j) tale worne
           woman light
           light woman

Occasionally, a full Adjective Phrase will precede the noun, as in (42a). But it is more common for the Intensifier to follow the Noun, as in (42b).

(42) (a) yanyankeyke mede nemet
           tiny   real mother
           real tiny mother

      (b) waruke rame yapor
           big   man very
           very big man

(43) ulwun waruke yapor/mede/yankeyke
      python big   very/ very/slightly
      a very/slightly big python

7.6 Nominal serialisation

The Awtuw Noun Phrase as I have analysed it here is constrained as to the amount of information it can accommodate. In particular, no Adjective Phrase contains more than one adjective. The question inevitably arises as to how a speaker modifies a noun when it is necessary to attribute more than one property to that noun.

The answer to this question resides in an explanation of the multiple NPs that Rule 1 permits, and the multiple nominal constituents that Rule 2 permits. I have coined the term *nominal serialisation* to describe this phenomenon.

7.6.1 Where an NP enters into a construction of this sort, it most frequently serialises a nominal constituent consisting of a noun and an adjective.

(44) (a) rey tukre rame, kalakw rame, yitam   rame
           3MS *short man   quiet man   generous man*
           the short, quiet, generous man

Example [44a] displays the structure of (44a).

[44] [a]

```
                                    NP
          _____/ | _____
         /              /           |                   \
       DET           NOM           NOM                  NOM
        |            / \           / \                  / \
       PRO         AP   CN       AP   CN              AP   CN
        |          |    |         |    |               |    |
        |          A    |         A    |               A    |
        |          |    |         |    |               |    |
       rey       tukre rame     kalakw rame          yitam rame
```
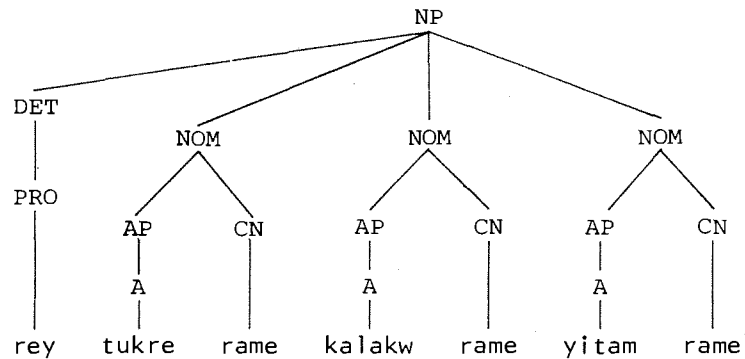
The Determiner in this NP prevents any ambiguity from arising with regard to
co-referentiality. If the three NPs were not co-referential, the most idiomatic
construction would concatenate equative predications (cf. 8.4), as in (44b).

    (44)   (b) (urunk rame), dæni rame tukre rame, dæni rame ...
              three man   one man short man   one man
              (three men), one man is short, one man is ...

Example (44c) illustrates the consequences of concatenating NPs quantified with
a numeral.

       (c) (yiyle dæni mak orkweynaywo rame), tukre rame urunk,
           hand a   plus four   man   short man   three
           (nine men), three short men, three quiet men,

           kalakw rame urunk, yitam rame urunk
           quiet man   three generous man   three
           and three generous men

7.6.2 The second NP may also consist of a more fully expanded Nominal
constituent, including a Clause constituent (S) (cf. 10.2.8).

    (45) owyim-   ke kil [[Wiykatuw+owyim   rokw-pæyk- e-re] kil]
        ancestors-PS story   Wiykatuw+ancestors do- first-P-O   story
        a traditional story that the ancestors of Wiykatuw originally told

The structure of this NP is displayed in [45].

[45]

```
                              NP
                  _____/ _____
                 /                          \
               NP                            NP
              / \                            |
            DET  NOM                        NOM
             |    |                         / \
            POS   CN                       S   CN
            /|\   |                        |    |
           N NM -ke                        |    |
           |  |  |   |                     |    |
         owyim -ke  kil        [W. rokwpæykere]  kil
```
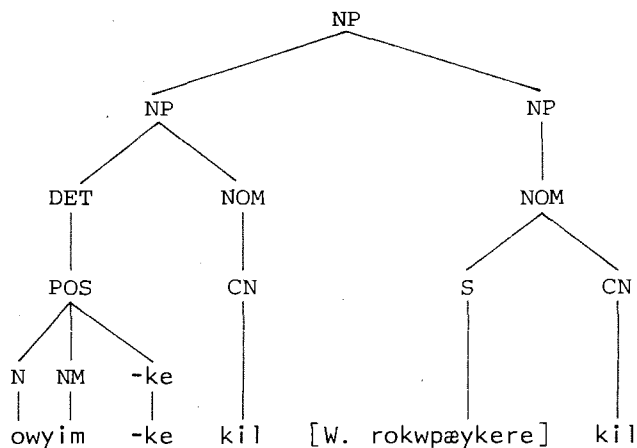
7.6.3 The second NP may also consist of an unadorned Clause constituent functioning as a non-restrictive Relative clause, as in (46). Example [46] displays the structure.

(46) [[rey ŋawer] [wiye- taw du-k- uwk- iy-re]]
      3MS *father   garden-tree* RL-IP-*fell*-IP-O
      the father, who was felling a garden tree

[46]
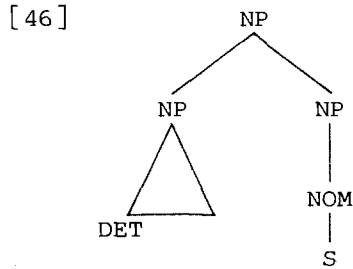
Appositional relative clauses may also be verbless predications as in example (47).

(47) [[dæni   rame] [yæy tilink- neney]]
      another man   skin ringworm-y
      another man, who had ringwormy skin

Where the subject of the relative clause is deleted by co-reference with the head noun, a predicated Adjective Phrase must be fully expanded to [Adjective Intensifier], as in example (48).

(48) (a) [wiytape yapor] waruke yapor
           river   very   big   very
           real big river

      (b) *[wiytape yapor] waruke
           river   very   big

      (c) *[wiytape waruke] yapor
           river   big   very

7.6.4 The second NP in a serialisation may also include a Determiner in such non-restrictive constructions as (49).

(49) [[rom uy   d- akla-ka-m- re rame] [urunk rame]]
      3PL *hole* RL-*dig*- PF-PL-O *man   three man*
      the three men who had dug the hole

[49]
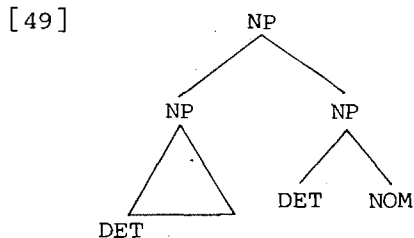
7.6.5 Probably the single most pervasive form of NP serialisation places an NP consisting of a Determiner in serial with a more fully expanded NP.

    (50)   [[wom   æyle] [topor] -re]
                coconut dry   that-   o
                that dry coconut

    (51)   [[tapwo] [rey-rey] -ke]
                fire   3MS-3MS- PS
                his very own fire

[50]
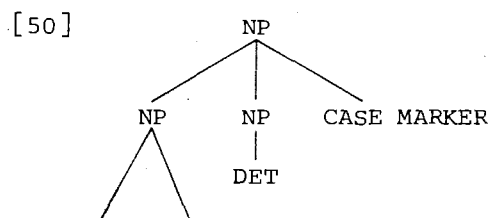
This non-restrictive strategy is used to permit NPs other than Personal Pronouns and number-marked nouns to accept possessive marking.

    (52)   [[wiye] [rey] -ke]
                garden 3MS- PS
                garden's

    (53)   [[Yawur] [rey] -ke]
                Yawur . 3MS- PS
                Yawur's

    (54)   [[tadet owtiykayæn tale] [tey] -ke]
                this old   woman 3FS- PS
                this old woman's

7.7 Case marking

7.7.1 Under ordinary circumstances, any case marking will occur on the last word in the NP, as stipulated in rule 1. Quantifiers, Intensifiers, and Adjectives, as well as nouns and pronouns, may all carry the case marking for the NP.

    (55)   (a)   wutyæn dæni-ke
                    basket a-   L
                    into a basket

             (b)   wiytape yapo-ke
                    *river   very-*L
                    to the really big river

             (c)   nam-ke ole waruke-re
                    1PL-PS *bush big-*   o
                    our big bush

7.7.2 There are two peculiar constructions that bear discussion in this context. Both have low functional loads and are probably arcane literary devices. In one case, two full NPs in a co-ordinate construction take a single case marker on the end of the second, as in example (56).

(56) Waypawiy d- iwrek-e ŋaye   Takiy eywe   Wiltiw-re new naw- o
      Waypawiy RL-*stand*-P *father Takiy ancestor Wiltiw*-O *eye wait*-P
      Waypawiy begot [my] father, Takiy and his elder brother, Wiltiw

In the other, we find two NPs co-ordinated, with separate case marking on each, where the semantic relation between them is possessive, as in examples (57) and (58).

(57) tapwo-re uyk- re rey d- ayn- e
      fire- O *odour*-O 3MS RL-*smell*-P
      he smelled the fire and the odour

(58) piylake-re alworaw-re kən-uwpa-m
      tooth- O *mouth-* O IMP-*look*-PL
      examine the teeth and mouth

A more idiomatic way of expressing (57) would involve an overtly possessive construction, as in (59a), or a *tatpuruṣa* compound (cf. 3.7.1), as in (59b).

(59) (a) tapwo rey-ke uyk- re rey d- ayn- e
           fire 3MS-P *odour*-O 3MS RL-*smell*-P
           he smelled the odour of the fire

      (b) tapwo+uyk- re rey d- ayn- e
           fire + odour-O 3MS RL-*smell*-P
           he smelled the odour of fire

CHAPTER 8

VERBLESS PREDICATIONS

By identifying diagnostic criteria and applying them sequentially as we have done elsewhere, we can segregate verbless predications into types.

Several of the distinctions I make in this classification rely heavily on the analysis of the structure of the Noun Phrase which I have presented in detail in Chapter 7.

8.1 Locative predications

First, we can separate out those predicates that consist of a locational particle. There is only a small set of items that can occur in this position and I list them exhaustively here.

tə	*here*
(t)ade	*here*
rey	*there*
(t)opo	*there*
yipe	*where?*

(1) (a) ŋamey yipe
           mother where
           where's Mommy?

     (b) *ŋamey yipke
           mother where
           **where's Mommy?*

     (c) tey po tade
           3FS PCL *here*
           she's here

     (d) *tey po æwre- ke
           3FS PCL *house-L*
           **she's in the house*

Note that Locative NPs and the Interrogative yipke *where* are not eligible candidates for Locative predicates. Other types of locational predications require a verb, as mentioned above in the discussion of a̲w̲k̲e̲y̲ and i̲k̲i̲y̲ (5.9), and will be discussed further below.

8.2 Non-locative predications

Next, we can distinguish among those verbless predications which do not have one of the five locational adverbs and particles as predicate. Some of these have a full NP as their predicate, as in example (2), while others have only an Adjective phrase, a possessive, or a comparative, as in example (3).

> (2) tader wokək rame po wan-ke ŋaye
> *this tall man* PCL 1SG-PS *father*
> *this tall man is my father*

> (3) Miytiy po wokək
> *Miytiy* PCL *tall*
> *Miytiy is tall*

8.3 Ascriptive, possessive, and comparative predications

We can distinguish among predicates that do not consist of a full NP between those whose only constituent is an Adjective Phrase on the one hand, and those that have either a possessive or a comparative, on the other.

8.3.1 I call the subclass that has only a bare Adjective Phrase as its predicate Ascriptive predications because its semantic function is to ascribe a property to its subject.

> (4) Miytiy po wokək (yapor)
> *Miytiy* PCL *tall very*
> *Miytiy is (very) tall*

> (5) wan-wan-ke yæn mede
> 1SG-1SG-PS *child good*
> *my own child is good*

A common type of ascriptive predicate has a possessed or unpossessed body part as its subject.

> (6) (nan-ke) yæy nampet-neney
> 1DU-PS *skin cold-* ADJ
> *our (two) skin is cold*

A more complex embellishment of the Ascriptive predication has the unusual feature of the possessor of the body part appearing as an Object. As example (7) shows, such constructions may also have peripheral NPs, in this case, a Locative NP.

> (7) wiytape-ke po nan-e yæy nampet-neney
> *river-* L PCL 1DU-O *skin cold-* ADJ
> *we two were cold in the river*

A semantically similar type of predication has the possessor of the body part unmarked for case. This makes analysis ambiguous. We could analyse the unmarked possessor as the subject and the noun and adjective as constituents of a single NP in a classificatory predication (cf. 8.4.1). But I believe that it is preferable to analyse the adjective alone as an ascriptive predicate whose subject is the body part. This leaves the syntactic function of the unmarked possessor in some doubt, but unmarked possessors are common in constructions with a̲w̲k̲e̲y̲ (cf. 5.10). Moreover, the structural and semantic parallel between

this construction and those exemplified in (6) and (7) is too strong to ignore. The semantic parallel with a classificatory predicate, on the other hand, is non-existent.

> (8) nan yæy nampet-neney
> 1DU *skin cold-* ADJ
> *we have cold skin/feel cold*

8.3.2 Possessive predications have a possessive NP as their predicate. These predicates have the formal property of bearing the Possessive marker -ke and the semantic property of identifying the possessor of the subject (cf. 5.9).

> (9) (a) tader piyren wan-wan-ke
> *this dog*   1SG-1SG-PS
> *this dog is mine*
>
> (b) topor piyren Miytiy rey-ke
> *that dog   Miytiy* 3MS-PS
> *that dog is Miytiy's*

8.3.3 Comparative predications have a comparative NP as their predicate. They share the formal property of bearing the Comparative marker -kwo and the semantic property of comparing their subject to a standard of comparison.

> (10) (a) Yawur po Kewmæy- kwo
> *Yawur* PCL *Kewmaey*-CMP
> *Yawur is like Kewmaey*
>
> (b) Yen-ke æymen wan-ke-kwo
> 2SG-PS *knife* 1SG-PS-CMP
> *your knife is like mine*

In another comparative construction the predicate consists of an NP marked with -kwo as the standard of comparison in apposition to an ascriptive predicate denoting the parameter of comparison.

> (11) yen-ke æymen pərpər, rey-ke-kwo
> 2SG-PS *knife sharp*   3MS-PS-CMP
> *your knife is as sharp as his*
>
> (12) topor yaw kupkwap piyren-kwo
> *that pig fast   dog-   CMP*
> *that pig is as fast as a dog*

8.4 NP predications

We can distinguish those predicates that consist of an NP that includes a Quantifier from those that consist of an unquantified NP.

8.4.1 Predicates that consist of a quantifier NP have two functions. Those that occur without a subject predicate the existence of that NP and those that occur with a subject denote possession of the predicate by the subject. In either case, this type of predication appears to arise from the deletion of a verb. Where the quantifier is awtuw *none*, the deleted verb is rokw *do*, and if the quantifier is not awtuw, then the deleted verb is awkey *exist* (cf. 5.10).

(13) (a) modək tapwo liwke
now   fire   much
now there is a lot of fire

   (b) æye awtuw
food none
there are/were no vegetables

(14) (a) wanklow kanel liwke
turtle   fat   much
a turtle has a lot of fat

   (b) nom-ke owyim   mowkə tapwo awtuw
1PL-PS *ancestors before fire none*
once, our ancestors had no fire

8.4.2 Unquantified NP predicates fall into two further subclasses depending upon whether the NP is definite or not.

The former class equates the subject with the predicate and I call such predicates Equative predicates.

(15) (a) tader wokək rame po wan-ke ŋaye
this   tall   man PCL 1SG-PS *father*
this tall man is my father

   (b) wan-ke ŋaye   po tader wokək rame
1SG-PS *father* PCL *this   tall   man*
my father is this tall man

(16) tey tale po Napeyre
3FS *woman* PCL *Napeyre*
the woman is Napeyre

Because of the semantic nature of this type of predication, the roles of subject and predicate are interchangeable, as illustrated in (15a) and (15b).

The other subclass, whose predicate consists of an indefinite NP, has the semantic property of assigning its subject to a class, so I label these Classificatory predications.

(17) wan po   rameyæn
1SG PCL *human being*
I'm a human being

(18) Wiykatuw-lape   lape   waruke
Wiykatuw-village village big
Wiykatuw is a big village

(19) Miytiy po wokək rame
Miytiy PCL *tall   man*
Miytiy is a tall man

8.5 Classification of verbless predications

We can represent the classification of verbless predication types as a tree structure.

VERBLESS PREDICATION

```
                    VERBLESS PREDICATION
                   /                    \
            +PARTICLE                -PARTICLE
                |                    /          \
                |                +NP              -NP
                |               /    \           /    \
                |          +QUANT   -QUANT   +ADJ      -ADJ
                |            |       /    \     |      /    \
                |            |    +DEF   -DEF   |   +POS    -POS
                |            |     |      |     |    |        |
           LOCATIVE  QUANTITATIVE  EQUATIVE  CLASSIFICATORY  ASCRIPTIVE  POSSESSIVE  COMPARATIVE
```
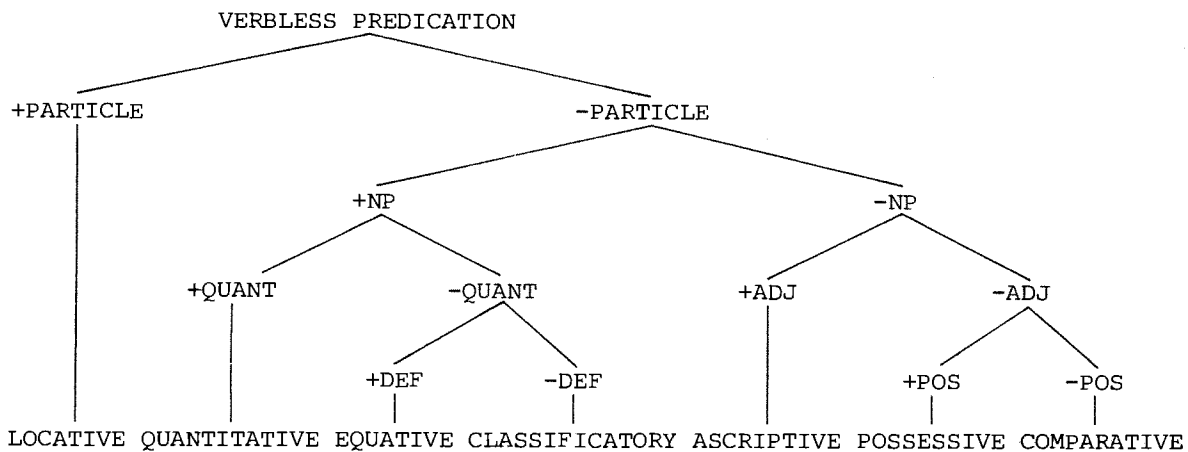
Figure 8.1

Table 8.1							
FEATURE	LOC	QUANT	EQUAT	CLASS	ASC	POSS	COMP
PARTICLE	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
NOUN PHRASE	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
QUANTIFIER	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
ADJECTIVE	–	–	+/–	+/–	–	+	+
DEFINITE	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
POSSESSIVE	–	–	–	–	–	+	–

8.6 Word order in verbless predications

The word order in verbless clauses is far more rigid than in other types of
predications. Most types of verbless predications do not permit variation of
word order, as shown in examples (20a-e).

(20) (a) *yipe ŋamey   (cf.(1))
          where mother
          **where's Mommy?*

     (b) *modək liwke tapwo   (cf.(4))
          now   much fire
          **now there is a lot of fire*

     (c) *kanel liwke wanklow   (cf.(6))
          fat   much turtle
          **a turtle has a lot of fat*

(20) (d) *wokək (yapor) po Miytiy   (cf.(8))
          tall   *very* PCL *Miytiy*
          **tall is Miytiy*

     (e) *wokək rame po Miytiy
          tall *man* PCL *Miytiy*
          **a tall man is Miytiy*

Because of the nature of the equative relation, the subject and predicate of an Equative clause are interchangeable. Possessive and Comparative predicates may precede their subjects with a change in intonation, as in examples (20f) and (20g).

     (f) wan-wan-ke tader piyren (cf.(15))
          1SG-1SG-PS *this   dog*
          this dog is mine

     (g) Kewmæy- kwo po Yawur   (cf.(16))
          Kewmaey-CMP PCL *Yawur*
          Yawur is like Kewmaey

8.7 Complement-taking verbless predications

There is one final predication type that bears some resemblance to some of the Idiomatic Composite constructions described above (cf. 5.9), on the one hand, and to the verbless body part constructions (cf. 8.3.1), on the other. All such predicates denote Cognitive states.

8.7.1 Two of the four predicates may be regarded as participating in more or less straightforward Ascriptive predications that happen to take complements (see 10.2.5).

     (21) tey Yawur d- æy-ka(-re) nenæn- neney
          3FS *Yawur* FA-*go*-PF- O   *thought*-ADJ
          she thinks that Yawur has gone

     (22) (a) tey Yawur d- æy-ka(-re) neknek-neney
               3FS *Yawur* FA-*go*-PF- O   *know*- ADJ
               she knows that Yawur has gone

          (b) tey apwo di-k- il- iy(-re) neknek-neney
               3FS *bag* FA-IP-*net*-IP- O   *know*- ADJ
               she knows how to net bags

          (c) tey yen-e neknek-neney
               3FS 2SG-O *know*   ADJ
               she knows you

8.7.2 We saw in the discussion of Idiomatic Composite predicates (5.9) that nenæn *thought* occupies the same position in the nenæn <u>lay</u> construction as do nouns in other predicates of the same type. Its ability to take -neney here provides further evidence for believing nenæn to be a noun. The adjective-deriving suffix on neknek in example (22) suggests that it may be a noun denoting 'knowledge'. But as the next example illustrates, neknek can occur

as the predicate without derivation or any verb with which to participate in a composite construction, making the gloss 'knowledge' appear most improbable and casting doubt upon its part-of-speech affiliation.

(23) (a) tey Yawur d- æy-ka(-re) neknek
           3FS *Yawur* FA-*go*-PF- O   *know*
           she knows that Yawur has gone

      (b) tey apwo di-k- il- iy(-re) neknek
           3FS *bag* FA-IP-*net*-IP- O   *know*
           she knows how to net bags

      (c) tey yen-e neknek
           3FS 2SG-O *know*
           she knows you

8.7.3 Finally, there is a predicate that I am inclined to regard as a defective verb. Arene takes none of the verb morphology described in Section 4, but neither does it accept any other affixation except the optional plural marker -m. It cannot even take -neney, as neknek and nenæn can, nor can it modify a noun attributively. I will not speculate further upon its part-of-speech membership, but simply exemplify its use.

(24) (a) rom/tey Yawur d- æy-ka(-re) arene
           3PL/3FS *Yawur* FA-*go*-PF- P   *not know*
           they don't/she doesn't know Yawur has gone

      (b) rom/tey apwo di-k- il- iy(-re) arene
           3PL/3FS *bag* FA-IP-*net*-IP- O   *not know*
           they don't/she doesn't know how to net bags

      (c) rom yen-e arene(-m)
           3PL 2SG-O *know-* PL
           they don't know you

CLAUSE TYPES

9.1 Questions

Awtuw has three basic strategies for forming questions. Yes-no questions are distinguished from declarative clauses by a change in intonation contour. Alternative questions are formed by postposing the particle yokri *perhaps* to each alternative. WH-questions are formed by substituting one of the set of interrogatives, which begin with /y/ in Awtuw, for a constituent.

9.1.1 While each word stress in a declarative sentence is uttered at approximately the same pitch, in a yes-no question, the last word stress in the clause is appreciably higher in pitch than the others and the pitch of any syllables following that stressed syllable falls markedly as a result. Constituents in a yes-no question have the same freedom of order as in a declarative sentence.

(1) (a) tey Tæypil- e d- eya- ka
          3FS *Talbipi*-L FA-*come*-PF
          she's come from Talbipi or *has she come from Talbipi?*

     (b) Tæypil-e d-eya-ka tey

     (c) d-eya-ka tey Tæypil-e

     (d) tey d-eya-ka Tæypil-e

     (e) Tæypil-e tey d-eya-ka

     (f) d-eya-ka Tæypil-e tey

(2) (a) Wawpey Yawmən-re du-puy-e
          Wawpey Yawmen-O FA-*hit*-P
          Wawpey hit Yawmen or *did Wawpey hit Yawmen?*

     (b) Wawpey du-puy-e Yawmən-re

     (c) Yawmən-re Wawpey du-puy-e

     (d) Yawmən-re du-puy-e Wawpey

     (e) du-puy-e Wawpey Yawmən-re

     (f) du-puy-e Yawmən-re Wawpey

Yes-no questions frequently include the particle yokri *perhaps*. This particle may not occur clause initially and most commonly occurs clause finally. When it occurs clause medially, yokri has the effect of focusing the constituent it follows.

    (3)   Wawpey Yawmən-re du-puy-e yokri?
          Wawpey Yawmen-O FA-hit-P perhaps
          did Wawpey hit Yawmen by any chance?

    (4)   Wawpey yokri   Yawmən-re du-puy-e?
          Wawpey perhaps Yawmen-O FA-hit-P
          was it Wawpey who hit Yawmen?

    (5)   Wawpey Yawmən-re yokri   du-puy-e?
          Wawpey Yawmen-O perhaps FA-hit-P
          was it Yawmen Wawpey hit?

Yes-no questions also have the same focusing strategies available to them as do declarative sentences as described in section 9.4.

In answering an affirmative question, owo means *yes* — it acknowledges the accuracy of the proposition presupposed by the question.

In answering affirmative yes-no questions, awtuw *no* denies the accuracy of the proposition presupposed by the question. Awtuw also functions as a predicate meaning *lack, be absent.*

    (6)   (a)   Tæypil- yænim ma-taw-wey-   ka-m?
               Talbipi-GEN   GO-YET-arrive-PF-PL
               have the Talbipi people arrived yet?

         (b)   owo (ma-wey-   ka-m)
               yes GO-arrive-PF-PL
               yes, they've arrived

         (c)   awtuw (ka-ma-taw-wey-   ka-m)
               no   NG-GO-YET-arrive-PF-PL
               no, they haven't arrived yet

Awtuw and owo in answers to negative questions are completely ambiguous and must be accompanied by a clause, usually consisting of a single verb without arguments expressing the real-world situation.

    (7)   (a)   Tæypil- yænim ka-ma-taw-wey-   ka-m?
                Talbipi-GEN   NG-GO-YET-arrive-PF-PL
                haven't the people from Talbipi arrived yet?

         (b)   awtuw/owo ka-ma-taw-wey-   ka-m
               no/ yes NG-GO-YET-arrive-PF-PL
               no/yes, they haven't arrived yet

         (c)   awtuw/owo yakruk   ma-wey-   tay-   ka-m
               no/ yes long time GO-arrive-FINISH-PF-PL
               no/yes they arrived a long time ago

9.1.2 Alternative questions are formed by concatenating yokri with the alternatives, yokri following each alternative. Any constituent may enter into such constructions, including a verb phrase. The alternatives need not be adjacent, as shown in example (8b).

    (8)   (a)   Altiy yokri Yawur yokri Takiy-re du-puy'-e?
               Altiy PCL   Yawur PCL   Takiy-O FA-hit- P
               was it Altiy or Yawur who hit Takiy?

(8) (b) Altiy yokri Takiy-re du-puy'-e, Yawur yokri?
         Altiy PCL *Takiy-o* -hit- P *Yawur* PCL
         was it Altiy who hit Takiy, or Yawur?

(9) Altiy Yawur-re yokri Takiy-re yokri du-puy-e?
     Altiy Yawur-o PCL *Takiy-o* PCL FA-*hit*-P
     was it Yawur or Takiy who Altiy hit?

(10) yen Wutlakw-o yokri Tæypil- e yokri w- æy-re?
     2SG *Gutaiye-*L PCL *Talbipi-*L PCL NF-*go*-FU
     are you going to Gutaiye or to Talbipi?

(11) Awtiy Yawur-re æy   yokri tawkway yokri də-kow- o?
     Awtiy Yawur-o betel PCL *tobacco* PCL FA-*give*-P
     was it betelnut or tobacco that Awtiy gave to Yawur?

(12) Awtiy Yawur-re yokri yen-e yokri tawkway də-kow- o?
     Awtiy Yawur-o PCL 2SG-O PCL *tobacco* FA-*give*-P
     did Awtiy give tobacco to Yawur or you?

(13) yen rey-e tawkway də-kow- o yokri Takiy-re du-puy-e yokri?
     2SG 3MS-O *tobacco* FA-*give*-O PCL *Takiy-o* FA-*hit*-P PCL
     did you give tobacco to him or did you hit Takiy?

The answer to an alternative question will ordinarily consist of an echo of the correct alternative preceded by the focus particle po. Thus the answers to the questions in examples (10) and (12) might be:

[10] (wən) po Wutlakw-o (w- æy-re)
     1SG PCL *Gutaiye-*L NF-*go*-FU
     (I'm going) to Gutaiye

[12] (rey) po Yawur-re ((tawkway) də-kow- o)
     3MS PCL *Yawur-o*   *tobacco* FA-*give*-P
     (he gave tobacco) to Yawur

9.1.3 WH-questions are formed using the set of interrogative adverbs and pronouns described in 3.6.4 and tabulated here for convenience.

Table 9.1		
ADVERBS	yok	*how?, when?*
	yekak	*when?*
	yekwo	*how much/many/long/often?*
	yakumkwo	*why?, what kind?*
	yipe	*where?* (Location)
	yipke/yiperke	*where?* (Location/Direction)
PRONOUNS	yeran/yeremæn	*who?*
	yakum(oyæn)	*what?*

The adverb yipe *where?* occurs only as the predicate in a verbless question and as such is constrained to occur clause finally (see 8.2).

(14)　(a)　ŋamey yipe?
　　　　　　　mommy where?
　　　　　　　where's Mommy?

　　　(b)　*yipe ŋamey

Otherwise, constituents in a WH-question have the same freedom of order as they do in other types of clauses. In particular, there is no requirement, though there may be a slight tendency, for the interrogative to occur clause initially.

(15)　(a)　yen yekak w- æy-rere?
　　　　　　　2SG *when* NF-*go*-DES
　　　　　　　when do you want to go?

　　　(b)　yekak yen w-æy-rere?

　　　(c)　w-æy-rere yen yekak?

The interrogative pronouns take nominal case marking and may replace a nominal constituent in any role.

(16)　yeran Awtiy-re du-puya-ka?
　　　who? Awtiy-O FA-*hit*- PF
　　　who has hit Awtiy?

(17)　Keriy yeremæn-re du-puya-ka?
　　　Keriy who?- O FA-*hit*- PF
　　　who has Keriy hit?

(18)　yen yeran-re æye də-kow- o?
　　　2SG *who?*- O *food* FA-*give*-P
　　　who did you give food to?

(19)　Naytow mæw- e d- æy-ka yeran-te- k?
　　　Naytow bush-L FA-*go*-PF *who?*- O(F)-I
　　　who(F) *has Naytow gone to the bush with?*

Interrogatives may replace more than one constituent in such a question.

(20)　yeran yekak yakumoyæn rokw-re?
　　　who? when? what? do- FU
　　　when will who do what?

The answer to a WH-question will ordinarily consist of the word that will most suitably replace the interrogative in the question. When the interrogative bears case marking, the answer too will usually have it, even if the answer consists of only a single word. It is common, though not quite as common as in answers to alternative questions, for the particle po to focus the answer.

[18]　(wan) (po) Yawur-re ((æye) də-kow- o)
　　　　1SG　PCL *Yawur*-O　*food* FA-*give*-P
　　　(I gave food) to Yawur

9.2 Negation

Awtuw has two basic negation strategies. The negative prefix ka-/kæ- may fill the first slot in the verb complex to negate any verbal predicate. And the negative particle yene may negate any constituent, including a predicate nominal or adjective, a verb, or even a negative verb, that it precedes.

There are also two special portmanteau morphemes that code the negatives of the second and third person debitive modalities, the Prohibitive prefix (PR) ap- and the Negative Debitive (NDB) prefix nil-, respectively. These are discussed in 4.2.

9.2.1 Morphological negation with ka-/kæ- is the usual strategy for negating any clause with a verbal predicate.

(21)   Awtiy kæ-w- æy-re
        Awtiy NG-NF-*go*-FU
        Awtiy isn't going

(22)   Awtiy-re wan ka-d- uwpo-ka
        Awtiy-O 1SG NG-FA-*see*- PF
        I haven't seen Awtiy

This strategy may be used to contrast verbs, verb phrases, or subjects, although it is more common to find yene negating constituents.

(23)   Numoy kæ-d- k- æy-ey, rey po d- ikiy
        Numoy NG-FA-IP-*go*-IP 3MS PCL FA-*stay*
        Numoy isn't going, he's staying

(24)   Numoy kæ-d- k- æy-ey, po wan də-k- æy-ey
        Numoy NG-FA-IP-*go*-IP PCL 1SG FA-IP-*go*-IP
        Numoy isn't going, I am

(25)   Numoy Altiy-re ka-d- puy-e, rey po wan-e d- ir- e
        Numoy Altiy-O NG-FA-*hit*-P 3MS PCL 1SG-O FA-*feed*-P
        Numoy didn't hit Altiy, he fed me

Morphological negation cannot contrast objects or other full constituents, but, oddly, it can contrast adjectival constituents of the object.

(26)   *wan Yawmən-re ka-d- puy-e, wan (po) Naytow-re du-puy-e
        1SG *Yawmen*-O NG-FA-*hit*-P 1SG PCL *Naytow*-O FA-*hit*-P
        **I didn't hit Yawmen, I hit Naytow*

(27)   *rey Liwmiy-e kæ-d- eya- ka, rey (po) Tæypil- e d- eya- ka
        3MS *Lumi*- L NG-FA-*come*-PF 3MS PCL *Talbipi*-L FA-*come*-PF
        **he hasn't come from Lumi, he's come from Talbipi*

(28)   wan æwre næk-re ka-d- uwp-o, wan (po) æwre lop-re d- uwp-o
        1SG *house new*-O NG-FA-*see*-P 1SG PCL *house old*-O FA-*see*-P
        I didn't see a new house, I saw an old house

9.2.2 The negative particle yene may negate any constituent of the clause that it precedes, including the verb. Because yene is associated with a particular constituent, it frequently has somewhat more of a contrastive force than a negation of the entire clause using the morphological strategy. Compare, for example, example (29) with example (26) above.

(29)   wan yene Yawmən-re du-puy-e, wan Naytow-re du-puy-e
        1SG NG *Yawmen*-O FA-*hit*-P 1SG *Naytow*-O FA-*hit*-P
        I didn't hit Yawmen, I hit Naytow

There is a similar contrast between examples (30) and (27).

(30) rey yene Liwmiy-e d- eya- ka, rey Tæypil- e d- eya- ka
    3MS NG *Lumi-* L FA-*come*-PF 3MS *Talbipi*-L FA-*come*-PF
    he hasn't come from Lumi, he's come from Talbipi

9.2.3 When yene negates a morphologically negative verb, the meaning of the
resulting double negation includes both negatives. The morphological negative
is in the scope of yene, which cancels rather than emphasises its meaning.

(31) Yawur yene kæ-d- k- æy-ey...
    Yawur NEG NG-FA-IP-*go*-IP
    Yawur isn't not going...

[31] (a) *...rey d- ikiy
        3MS FA-*stay*
     ...*he's staying*

     (b) ...rey də-k- æy-ey
        3MS FA-IP-*go*-IP
     ...*he's going*

9.3 Reflexives

Certain verbs allow reflexivisation to take place. Only patients, recipients,
and benefactives may reflexivise. Possessors and commitatives may not. The
two reflexivisers yimay and yelow, must always follow the reduplicated form of
a pronoun co-referential with the subject. They take Object marking optionally.
The word order in reflexive clauses is rigidly S REFL (O) V.

(32) (a) Osiy rey-rey yimay(-re) d- upwo-ka
        Osiy 3MS-3MS REFL- O   FA-*see*- PF
        Osiy has seen himself

     (b) Osiy rey-rey yelow(-re) d- upwo-ka
        Osiy 3MS-3MS REFL- O   FA-*see*- PF
        Osiy has seen himself

(33) (a) wan wan-wan yimay(-re) æye də-kow- ka
        1SG 1SG-1SG REFL- O   *food* FA-*give*-PF
        I have given myself some food

     (b) wan wan-wan yelow(-re) æye də-kow- ka
        1SG 1SG-1SG REFL- O   *food* FA-*give*-PF
        I have given myself some food

(34) (a) Numoy rey-rey yimay(-re) tawkway d- iypud-kow- ka
        Numoy 3MS-3MS REFL- O   *tobacco* FA *roll- give*-PF
        Numoy has rolled himself a cigarette

     (b) Numoy rey-rey yelow(-re) tawkway d- iypud-kow- ka
        Numoy 3MS-3MS REFL- O   *tobacco* FA *roll- give* PF
        Numoy has rolled himself a cigarette

(35) *Numoy rey-rey yimay-ke nemet- te du-puya-ka
     Numoy 3MS-3MS REFL- PS *mother*-O FA-*hit*- PF
     Numoy has hit his own mother

The yelow/yimay reflexive construction has a very low functional load — there are no examples whatsoever in the corpus of narrative I have collected. This is in part because in many of the cases where one might expect frequent reflexivisation, for example with a verb like worya *wash*, the reflexive is lexicalised, in this instance by yiw iywa *water bathe*.

(36) (a) *Wayekaw tey-tey yimay(-re) də-warya-ka
           Wayekaw 3FS-3FS REFL- O FA-*wash*- PF
           Wayekaw has washed herself

      (b) Wayekaw yiw   d- iywa- ka
           Wayekaw water FA-*bathe*-PF
           Wayekaw has bathed

Another factor contributing to the low frequency of such reflexives is that in benefactive constructions where one could conceivably occur, the benefactive NP is more likely to surface as a possessive.

[34] Numoy rey-rey-ke tawkway d- iypud-ka
      Numoy 3MS-3MS-PS *tobacco* FA-*roll*- PS
      Numoy has rolled his own cigarette

9.4 Focusing

Although constituent order within a clause carries no information about the case roles of the nominal constituents, neither does it appear to bear information about the relative focus of the various constituents. The two most common methods of focusing a constituent are sentence stress and the particle po, usually used in concert with each other.

9.4.1 The ubiquitous particle po occurs in virtually every other sentence in Awtuw. In most cases the focused constituent, whose stressed syllable receives sentence stress, follows po.

(37) (a) yen lape-   ke w- ikiy-re?
           2SG *village*-L NF-*stay*-FU
           are you staying in the village

      (b) awtuw, wan po 'w- æy-rere
           no   1SG PCL NF-*go*-DES
           no, I want to go

But there are two main classes of exceptions to this generalisation. This particle has a slight tendency to gravitate to second position, or at least to avoid occurring clause initially, and will therefore sometimes focus a preceding clause-initial constituent.

(38) (a) yen w- æy-rere?
           2SG NF-*go*-DES
           do you want to go?

      (b) awtuw, 'Napeyre po w- æy-rere
           no   *Napeyre* PCL NF-*go*-DES
           no, Napeyre wants to go

It may also occur clause finally with the effect of focusing the entire clause, often to express astonishment or vehemence.

(39)   (a)   yen w-æy-rere?

         (b)   owo, wan w- æy-rere po
              yes 1SG NF-*go*-DES PCL
              yes, of course I'm going!

(40)   rey mæw- e eywæk- rame d- upw-o, rey-e d- iy- e po
       3MS *bush*-L *sorcery-man* NF-*see*-P 3MS-O FA-*shoot*-P PCL
       he saw a sorcerer in the bush and he shot him!

It is possible to focus more than one constituent in a clause using po.

(41)   (a)   yen lape- ke w- ikiy-re?
              2SG *village*-L NF-*stay*-FU
              are you staying in the village?

         (b)   awtuw po, wan po 'Liwmiy-e po 'w- æy-re po
              no PCL 1SG PCL *Lumi-* L PCL NF-*go*-FU PCL
              absolutely not, I'm going to Lumi of course!

9.4.2 Awtuw uses four other focusing strategies, all of them much rarer than po. The simplest of these is topicalisation, which entails extracting the focused constituent with a pause between the extracted constituent and the rest of the clause.

(42)   (a)   Takiy, tader æwre d- uy- kay
              Takiy this house FA-*build*-PF
              Takiy, he's built this house

The topicalised constituent may appear either to the right or to the left of the clause.

         (b)   tader æwre d-uy-kay, Takiy

Topicalisations may focus direct objects, recipients, instruments, or any other nominal constituent.

(43)   (a)   yekne-re-k, Keriy rey taw d- uwk- o
              axe- O- I *Keriy* 3MS *tree* FA-*fell*-P
              with an axe, Keriy felled the tree

         (b)   Keriy rey taw d-uwk-o, yekne-re-k

(44)   (a)   Kampo-re, wan æwre d- uy- kow- o
              Kampo-O 1SG *house* FA-*build-give*-P
              Kampo, I built a house for

         (b)   wan æwre d-uy-kow-o, Kampo-re

Note that appositional intonation over the extracted constituent and the associated pause, represented here by a comma, are necessary components of this construction. Without them, the resulting permutation of word order would have no particular focusing effect.

9.4.3 Dislocation differs from topicalisation only in that a pronominal copy of the focused constituent remains behind in the body of the clause.

> (45) (a) Peyaw, rey yaw-re d- iy-   e
> *Peyaw* 3MS *pig-*O FA-*shoot-*P
> *Peyaw, he shot a pig*

The dislocated element may appear to the right or to the left of the clause from which it was extracted.

> (b) rey yaw-re d-iy-e, Peyaw

The dislocation strategy may be used to focus any nominal constituent, but not pronominal, adverbial, or verbal constituents.

> (46) (a) rey yaw, Altiy rey-e d- iy-   e
> 3MS *pig Altiy* 3MS-O FA-*shoot-*P
> *the pig, Altiy shot him*
>
> (b) Altiy rey-e d-iy-e, rey yaw
>
> (47) (a) Tuwaltin-lape,   Mimpel rey   d- ikiy
> *Tuwaltin-village Mimpel there* FA-*stay*
> *Tuwaltin, Mimpel lives there*
>
> (b) Mimpel rey d-ikiy, Tuwaltin-lape
>
> (48) (a) *Yapun-wo, wan eywo Liwmiy-e d- æy-e
> *alone-*ADV 1SG *thus Lumi-* L FA-*go-*P
> *alone, I went to Lumi that way*
>
> (b) *wan Liwmiy-e eywo d-æy-e, yapun-wo

9.4.4 Awtuw forms clefts by extracting a nominal constituent for focusing from a clause, predicating that constituent to a third-person pronoun agreeing with it in sex and number, and modifying it with a restrictive relative clause formed from the balance of the original clause.

> (49) (a) Altiy yaw waruke d- iy-   e
> *Altiy pig big   * FA-*shoot-*P
> *Altiy shot a big pig*
>
> (b) rey Altiy [yaw waruke d- iy-   e-re]
> 3MS *Altiy   pig big   * FA-*shoot-*P-O
> *it's Altiy who shot a big pig*

The clefted constituent may appear to the right or to the left of the relative clause.

> (c) [yaw waruke d-iy-e-re] rey Altiy

This strategy may also focus any nominal constituent.

> (50) (a) rey tader yaw [Yawmən d- iy-   e-re]
> 3MS *this pig Yawmen* FA-*shoot-*P-O
> *it's this pig that Yawmen shot*
>
> (b) [Yawmən d-iy-e-re] rey tader yaw
>
> (51) (a) rey Tæypil [Piynane d- ey- e-re]
> 3MS *Talbipi   Piynane* FA-*come-*P-O
> *it's Talbipi that Piynane came from*
>
> (b) [Piynane d-ey-e-re] rey Tæypil

9.4.5 Finally, Awtuw can focus constituents by pseudoclefting. In this construction, a nominal constituent is extracted from the clause, a generic noun is predicated to it, and that noun heads a relative clause formed from the rest of the original clause.

(52) Liwmiy rey lape   [Kewmæy d- æy-ka-re]
      Lumi   3MS *village Kewmaey* FA-*go*-PF-O
      Lumi is the village Kewmaey has gone to

Pseudoclefts with the focused constituent to the left do not focus subjects. In pseudoclefts to the right, which may focus any nominal constituent, the focused element appears alone to the right of the clause after a pause, while the inserted head noun remains on the left.

(53) rey lape   [Kewmæy d- æy-ka-re], Liwmiy
      3MS *village   Kewmaey* FA-*go*-PF-O   *Liwmiy*
      the village Kewmaey has gone to is Lumi

(54) tey tale [tader apwo d- il- i-re], Kukron
      3FS *woman this   bag* FA-*net*-P-O   *Kukron*
      the woman who netted this bag is Kukron

CHAPTER 10

INTERPREDICATE AND INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONS

Awtuw displays a wide variety of constructions for relating predicates. These range from the strategy described in section 3.7.3 and 4.14, which fuses roots within a single verb complex, to strategies that conjoin clauses with separate sets of NPs and completely independent specification for verbal categories.

This chapter describes the formal properties of each construction and relates them to their semantic functions.

The constructions fall into five distinct categories. Serialisation constructions concatenate verb roots, verb forms, or verb phrases whose subjects are obligatorily co-referential to code diverse semantic functions ranging from an increase in valency to a sequence of actions.

Nominal constructions subordinate a verb phrase or a full clause as a constituent of an NP performing a nominal or adjectival function. In these constructions, the tense of the subordinate verb is either determined by the construction or interpreted as relative to the tense of the matrix verb. Nominal constructions code a variety of relations ranging from so-called psych-action complements, such as 'remember to...', to cause clauses, including relative clauses.

Adverbial constructions code actions contemporaneous or sequential to the action coded by the matrix verb. They are formally similar to nominal constructions in some respects. But where a nominal clause is marked as subordinate with the suffix -re, an adverbial clause bears the suffix -rek. Moreover, the subject of an adverbial clause may not occur as the object of the matrix clause, as is possible in certain nominal constructions. And an adverbial clause functions adverbially rather than nominally or adjectivally.

Conditional constructions juxtapose two interdependent clauses which must bear identical future or conditional marking.

Co-ordination constructions juxtapose two or more entirely independent clauses to code simultaneous, consecutive, and unspecified relations among predicates.

10.1 Serialisations

Awtuw has six serialisation strategies. The first and most tightly-knit construction concatenates verb roots within a single verb complex. The second appends a form of a direction verb to a truncated, suffixless form of another verb. The third concatenates repetitions of the same verb form. The fourth concatenates full verb forms, the fifth concatenates verb phrases, and the sixth concatenates an Imperfective verb form with a full clause.

152

10.1.1 Root compounds have received ample discussion and exemplification in section 4.12. Because of their position in the structure of the verb complex, no affixation can intervene between compounded roots, so it is inconceivable that compounded roots should differ in their specification for any category marked by verbal morphology. And since such compounded roots function syntactically as a single predicate, they must share all arguments and adjuncts.

10.1.2 The second strategy involves the serialisation of a truncated verb form with a direction verb. There are two types of truncated verb serialisation.

In the first type the first verb consists of a full set of prefixes and any verb root, but no suffixation whatsoever. The second verb consists of a full verb complex whose root must be æy *go*. Speakers often reiterate the form of æy as many as five times or more, but only the last verb bears suffixation. The semantic function of this strategy is to depict prolonged continuous or habitual aspect.

(1)   (a)   ram-o yæy d- æl+ d -æy-e
            3PL-O *skin* FA-*bite*+FA-*go*-P
            their skin kept itching

    (b)   teypekwo də-k- rokw+də-k- æy-ey
            thus   FA-IP-*do*+ FA-IP-*go* IP
            he goes on doing the same thing

    (c)   ræw nenæn   tə-lay+ t- æy+t- æy+t- æy-e
            3DU *thought* DU-*bear*+DU-*go*+DU-*go*+DU-*go*-P
            they two thought and thought

    (d)   wan-ke wanklow-re yakumkwo kə-ma-t- rokw+kə-t- æy-kow-kay?
            1SG-PS *turtle*- O *what?*   NG-GO-DU *do*+ NG-DU-*go*-BEN-PF
            what haven't you two kept going and doing to my turtle?

Nothing may intervene within this type of serialisation. The single tense marker, if any, has scope over the entire serialisation, as does any directional prefix or root compound, as illustrated in (1d). Example (1b) shows that if the first verb has the Imperfective prefix, then the final verb must be an Imperfective form. Similarly, any Negative prefix must occur on both verbs, as shown in (1d).

One variation on this strategy involves the repetition of full forms of æy after a truncated verb, with the same semantic function, as shown in example (2).

(2)   d- ewræ- l-   i d- il+ d- æy-e dæye dæye
        FA-*again-twist*-P FA-*twist*+FA-*go*-P *went went*
        she twisted [string] again and kept twisting

The second type is formally very similar to the first. But there are three major differences. First, in this strategy only two verbs may enter into the serialisation. Second, the first verb must be either ka *get*, lay *bear*, way *carry*, one of the other verbs of carrying, or one of the manner of motion verbs, e.g. imya *run*, towkaney *climb* (cf. 5.4.2). And third, the second verb may be any of the Direction verbs.

When the first verb is ka *get*, the second verb depicts a sequential action deriving a form meaning 'take' or 'bring'.

(3)   (a)   kan-kə+ kər-eyə
            IMP-*get*+IMP-*come*
            bring [it]!

       (b)   rey tapwo də-kə+ lak- e
            3MS *fire* FA-*get*+*go* DS-P
            he brought the fire downstream

Where the first verb is a verb of carrying or a manner of motion verb, the construction specifies direction and allows an accompanying source or goal NP.

(4)   (a)   rom rey-e də-way+ d- æy-m- e
            3PL 3MS-O FA-*carry*+FA-*go*-PL-P
            they carried him away

       (b)   rom rey-e də-way+ d- eya- m- e
            3PL 3MS-O FA-*carry*+FA-*come*-PL-P
            they carried him here

Example (5) illustrates the distinction between a manner of motion verb alone and such a verb in this construction, where there is a Locative NP in the clause.

The interpretation of the Locative NP as source or goal depends upon the point of view of the speaker and the class of the directional verb. Thus, the NP in (5b) gets goal interpretation if the narrator adopts the perspective of being outside the village and source interpretation if the narrator adopts the point of view of someone within the village (cf. 5.3.1).

(5)   (a)   rey lape- ke d- imy'-e
            3MS *village*-L FA-*run*- P
            he ran in the village

       (b)   rey lape- ke d- imya+d- æy-e
            3MS *village*-L FA-*run*+ FA-*go*-P
            he ran to/from the village

Similarly, the Locative NP in (6) will be a goal if the speaker adopts inside perspective, and a source if the narrator views the situation from outside.

(6)   tey æwre- ke d- upokə+d- ey'- e
       3FS *house*-L FA-*flee*+ FA-*come*-P
       she fled to/from the house

10.1.3 The third strategy repeats identical full forms of a single 'lexical' verb form, with the same semantic function as the first type of truncated verb serialisation — to depict continuous or habitual aspect.

(7)   yilmæt d- il- i dili dili dili
       string FA-*twist*-P *twisted twisted twisted*
       she kept on twisting string

This construction has a characteristic intonation where each repetition of the verb is pronounced with a low pitch, and the final syllable of the last repetition is protracted and has a rising pitch.

10.1.4 The next strategy concatenates between two and five full verb forms. Nothing may intervene between the verbs in this type of serialisation.

Although each verb is fully inflected, they do not select categories independently. Every verb must bear the same tense marking. Typically, each verb will bear the same aspect marking as well. But since one or more of the verbs may be serialisations of a truncated verb with æy, which is itself a mark of aspect, there does not appear to be a constraint that a single aspect must have scope over the entire serialisation.

As nothing may interrupt the serialisation, the same argument or set of arguments will apply to every verb.

(8) rey yaw-re ti-na-kow+ d- æy-m- e re- m- e
3MS *pig*-O DU-RC-*give*+FA-*go*-PL-P *eat*-PL-P
they kept sharing the pig and ate

(9) rey yaw-re rom də-way- m- e, də-kə+ d- æy-m- e mæ-wey- m- e
3MS *pig*-O 3PL FA-*carry*-PL-P FA-*get*+FA-*go*-PL-P MT-*slice*-PL-P
they carried the pig, took it, and sliced it

(10) yakum-re-k w- itwa-re ra- re?
what?-O- I NF-*boil*-FU *eat*-FU
what would they boil and eat it with?

The intonation characteristic of this serialisation strategy involves a high pitch on the penultimate syllable of each serialised verb falling over the ultimate, with no pause between verbs, as shown in example [10].
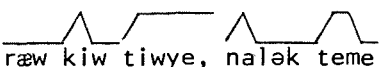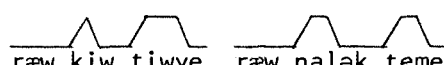
[10] yakumrek witware rare

10.1.5 The next serialisation strategy concatenates verbs and their objects. A single subject has scope over the entire serialisation, and as in the preceding strategy, all the verbs must be marked for the same tense.

(11) (a) [ræw] kiw   t- iwy'-e nalək t- em- e
3DU *pitpit* DU-*cut*- P *abika* DU-*pick*-P
they two cut pitpit and picked abika

(b) ræw kiw   t- iwya-re nalək t- em- re
3DU *pitpit* DU-*cut*- FU *abika* DU-*pick*-FU
they two will cut pitpit and pick abika

(12) rey mæw- e d- æy-e, yaw+tæk   d- ir+   d- æy-e
3MS *bush*-L FA-*go*-P *pig+track* FA-*follow*+FA-*go*-P
he went to the bush, went on following pig tracks,

yaw d- iy-   e də-way+ d- æy-e, lape-   ke wutmak-e
pig FA-*shoot*-P FA-*carry*+FA-*go*-P *village*-L *arrive*-P
shot and carried away a pig, and arrived in the village

There is an intonation characteristic of this strategy that clearly distinguishes it from the preceding construction on the one hand, and from other strategies with either a reiterated subject, a change of subject, or a change of tense on the other.

In this case, the intonation rises over the penultimate syllable of each verb in the serialisation, except the last, and remains high over the lengthened ultimate syllable, followed by a brief pause. When the subject changes or is repeated, the intonation falls from a high pitch over the penultimate syllable to a low pitch over the last. Example [11] illustrates the intonation contour over example (11) and example (13) shows the intonation contours over two similar sentences.

[11] ræw kiw tiwye, naɬək teme

(13) (a) ræw kiw tiwye, ræw naɬək teme

(b) ræw kiw tiwye, yen (po) naɬək teme
they cut pitpit, and you picked abika

10.1.6 The last strategy resembles a participial construction in certain respects. Although there is no actual participial form in Awtuw, an Imperfective form unmarked for tense functions like one in this construction. The situations depicted by the two verbs are interpreted as simultaneous. The tense of the second verb has scope over the unmarked first verb.

The ability of a subject to occur with the second, tense-marked, verb distinguishes this construction from the one described in 10.1.5.

The verbs accept independent aspect and directional marking, as shown in example (14a). Examples (14b) and (14c) illustrate that Adverbs and Location/ Direction NPs have scope over only one of the verbs.

(14) (a) eypek də-k- rokw+də-k- æy-ey, (rey) yuwp+ tapwo lam-k'- e
thus FA-IP- *do+* FA-IP-*go*-IP (3MS) *kunai+fire* DS- *get*-P
continuing in this way, he got the kunai fire downstream

(b) eypek yiw+ yil- e də-k-rokw+də-k-æy-ey, (rey) yuwp-tapwo ...
river+edge-L
continuing along the river in this way, ...

(c) eypek də-k-rokw+də-k-æy-ey, (rey) yuwp+tapwo kupkwap lam-k'-e
quickly
continuing ..., he quickly got the kunai fire downstream

10.2 Nominal constructions

There are six types of nominal constructions in Awtuw, all of which involve a predication as a constituent of an NP.

10.2.1 Reanalysis of case markers

The constructions to be discussed in this section all share two formal properties, a suffix homophonous with the Object marker on the embedded verb and permutability of the embedded predication with relation to the matrix clause. A number of them share a third, the ability of the subject of the embedded predicate to take possessive marking.

1. The subordinate verb in any nominal construction may optionally bear the suffix -re. As I will discuss in section 10.3, verbs in adverbial constructions may bear the suffix -re-k. These two suffixes are homophonous with the object and instrumental/comitative case markers, respectively (see Chapter 6).

While a number of the constructions discussed in this section are, in fact, direct object complements, it is interesting that subject complements, although marginal, may take -re, as shown in section 10.2.4. Relative clauses may also take this suffix. It would appear therefore that this case marker has been at least partially reanalysed as a subordination marker. But since -re retains its object-marking function in many cases, I will continue to gloss it as such. There is no convincing evidence that the Instrumental/Comitative suffix has undergone a similar reanalysis.

2. The embedded predications discussed in the subsequent sections may, like most constituents of an Awtuw clause, occur clause initially or finally, as well as clause medially. For the most part, I will exemplify only the clause medial construction, but I will insert illustrative examples of these constituents in other positions from time to time.

3. Many of these constructions allow the expression of the subject of the embedded predicate with possessive marking. Wherever this is possible, I mention it explicitly and exemplify the phenomenon.

10.2.2 Future complement constructions

The first three constructions we will be examining require a verb with future marking in the nominal clause. These constructions express desire or lack of desire to do something, remembering or forgetting to do something, asking or telling someone to do something, and purpose. In each case, the future-marked verb depicts an action that must take place after the situation depicted by the matrix verb. This makes the future marking seem semantically natural.

1. In one of these, the covert subject of the nominal clause must be co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause. Although Awtuw lacks an infinitive form, this bears a close resemblance to an infinitive construction.

In this construction, the future verb functions as the complement of the other verb, as signalled by the Object suffix. The Object-marked verb may have an object of its own, but it has no overt subject as it is necessarily co-referential with the subject of the other verb.

There is a limited class of roots that can occur as the matrix verb in this construction, specifically, a subset of the cognition verbs. This class includes the two preference verbs, æwæy lay *like* and yawa *don't like, don't want* when they mean *like/want to* and *not like/want to*.

(15)   Kæmpiy lape-   ke w- ikiy-re-re de-yaw'-   o
       Kaempiy village-L NF-stay-F- O FA-not want-P
       Kaempiy doesn't want/like to stay in the village

The two memory verbs mane arney *(ear) forget* and nenæn-e nak *(hold in thought) remember* enter into this construction when they mean *remember/forget to*.

(16)   (a) wan æye   ra- re-re mane d- arney- kay
            1SG *food   eat-FU-O ear FA-forget-PF*
            I've forgotten to eat

(16)   (b)   wan mane d- arney- kay æye ra- re(-re)
             1SG *ear* FA-*forget*-PF *food eat*-FU- O
             I've forgotten to eat

Awtuw uses the same construction to express purpose when the embedded subject
is co-referential with the matrix subject. In this construction the matrix
verb may be any root and the embedded verb bears future marking and the object
suffix.

(17)   Altiy Kukrown-tə kil   w- alow- kow-re-re Wutlakw-o d- æy-e
       Altiy Kukrown-O *speech* NF-*speak*-BEN-FU-O *Gutaiye*-L FA-*go*-P
       Altiy went to Gutaiye to speak to Kukrown

A variant of this construction allows æwæy lay *like, want* to take an object-
marked future complement whose subject is a possessive NP co-referential with
the matrix subject.

(18)   Ruwmay rey-rey-ke w- æy-re-re æwæy lay-kay
       Ruwmay 3MS-3MS-PS NF-*go*-FU-O *like*   PF
       Ruwmay likes to go

2. In the second construction, the covert subject of the object-marked future
verb is obligatorily co-referential with the indirect object of the matrix verb.

Again, only a limited class of predicates may take this construction. This
class includes the two speech verbs yarna *ask* and mak *tell* when they mean *ask
to* and *tell to*.

(19)   (a)   Yawur rey-e Liwmiy-e w- æy-re-re də-mak'-e
             Yawur 3MS-O *Lumi-* L NF-*go*-FU-O FA-*tell*-P
             Yawur told him to go to Lumi

       (b)   Yawur rey-e də-mak'-e Liwmiy-e w- æy-re(-re)
             Yawur 3MS-O FA-*tell*-P *Lumi-* L NF-*go*-FU- O
             Yawur told him to go to Lumi

Note that the indirect object of the matrix clause can not intervene between
Liwmiye and wæyrere.

[19]   *Yawur Liwmiy-e rey-e w- æy-re-re d -mak'-e
       Yawur Lumi- L 3MS-O NF-*go*-FU-O FA-*tell*-P
       Yawur told him to go to Lumi

The preference verbs can also participate in this construction.

(20)   Awtiy Numoy-re æwæy lay-kay Liwmiy-e w- æy-re-re
       Awtiy Numoy-O *want bear*-PF *Lumi-* L NF-*go*-FU-O
       Awtiy wants Numoy to go to Lumi

3. Finally, purpose clauses, like the purpose structures described above,
always have a verb in the future. In this construction, however, there are
no co-reference restrictions.

(21)   wan Malay mənman ka- re-re yen-e yukuwt də-kow- kay
       1SG *Malay fun*   *get*-FU-O 2SG-O *paper* FA-*give*-PF
       I have given you paper for Malay to play with

The subject of such a purpose clause may bear possessive marking.

(22)   wan Malay rey-ke mənman ka- re-re yen-e yukuwt də-kow- o
       1SG *Malay* 3MS-PS *fun*   *get*-FU-O 2SG-O *paper* FA-*give*-P
       I gave you paper for Malay to play with

10.2.3 Imperfective complement constructions

Two types of complements require an imperfective form. In one case, the imperfective verb depicts a skill that is known, not known, or taught. In the other, it depicts a situation that is perceived directly while it is going on. The imperfective form is semantically well-suited to such imperfective situations.

1. The first type allows the two knowledge quasi-verbs <u>neknek</u> *know* and <u>arene</u> *don't know* to occur in the meaning *(not) know how to*.

> (23) (a) Altiy-wo   take   də-k- r'-   ey-re neknek
> *Altiy-only bow stop* FA-IP-*plait*-IP-O *know*
> *only Altiy knows how to plait bow stops*
>
> (b) Altiy-wo   neknek take   də-k- r'- ey(-re)
> *Altiy-only know   bow stop* FA-IP-*plait*-IP- O
> *only Altiy knows how to plait bow stops*

The verb <u>iymaley</u> *teach, show* also takes this construction.

> (24) Kukrown wan-e yilmæt də-k- nak- ey-re d- iymaley-e
> *Kukrown* 1SG-O *string* FA-IP-*hold*-IP-O FA-*teach-* P
> *Kukrown taught me to make string figures*

2. Direct perception complements have their verbs in the imperfective with object marking and their covert subjects are co-referential with the matrix direct object. The perception verbs that take such complements are <u>wan</u> *hear*, <u>ayna</u> *smell*, and <u>owpa</u> *see*.

> (25) wan Numoy-re æye də-k- rokra-y- re d- ayn'- e
> 1SG *Numoy-*O *food* FA-IP-*cook-* IP-O FA-*smell-*P
> *I smelled Numoy cooking food*

It is not possible for the matrix object to refer to the object of the embedded verb in this construction. Example (26a), while grammatical, exemplifies not a direct perception complement, but a relative clause. Note that it is possible to insert a perfect verb form, which is not a feature of this construction, in (26b). Example (26c) shows that an unambiguous relative clause construction is synonymous with (26a).

> (26) (a) wan æye- re Numoy də-k- rokra-y- re d- ayn'- e
> 1SG *food-*O *Numoy* FA-IP-*cook-* IP-O FA-*smell-*P
> *I smelled the food that Numoy was cooking*
>
> (b) wan æye- re Numoy rokra-kay-re d- ayn'- e
> 1SG *food-*O *Numoy* *cook-* PF- O FA-*smell-*P
> *I smelled the food that Numoy had cooked*
>
> (c) wan Numoy də-k- rokra-y- re æye- re d- ayn' -e
> 1SG *Numoy* FA-IP-*cook-* IP-O *food-*O FA-*smell-*P
> *I smelled the food that Numoy was cooking*

When the complement subject is overt, it occurs as a possessive pronoun co-referential with the matrix direct object.

> (27) Osiy Takiy-re d- uwp-o rey-ke æye də-k- rokra-y- re
> *Osiy Takiy-*O FA-*see-*P 3MS-PS *food* FA-IP-*cook-* IP-O
> *Osiy saw Takiy cooking food*

Perception verbs can also take direct perception complements whose subject is marked as possessive. In this case, the complement itself serves as the unique direct object of the matrix clause.

(28) (a) Osiy Takiy rey-ke æye də-k- rokra-y- re d- uwp-o
           Osiy Takiy 3MS-PS *food* FA-IP-*cook*- IP-O FA-*see*-P
           Osiy saw Takiy's cooking food

      (b) Osiy Takiy d- uwp-o rey-ke æye də-k- rokra-y(-re)
           Osiy Takiy FA-*see*-P 3MS-PS *food* FA-IP-*cook*- IP-O
           Osiy saw Takiy's cooking food

10.2.4 Subject complements

Subject complements, which are unusual in Awtuw, and whose predicate may only be a predicate NP or adjective phrase, also have an imperfective verb form that may be marked with -re.

A nominal construction with an imperfective verb form may function as the subject of certain types of verbless predication. This construction occurs very infrequently.

(29) (a) Poytin antante ŋow di-k- yel-ey(-re) monokene yapor
           Poytin always tear FA-IP-*cry*-IP- O *bad   very*
           it's very bad that Poytin always cries

      (b) æy   də-k- ra- y(-re) wan-ke lake
           betelnut FA-IP-*eat*-IP-O   1SG-PS *bone*
           chewing betelnut is my thing

It is surprising that the only available strategy for forming subject complements can accept object marking. It would appear that -re has become partly generalised as a marker of subordination and that on those rare occasions when called upon to produce a subject complement, Awtuw speakers are therefore inclined to mark the clause with the subordination marker.

10.2.5 Indirect discourse, inferential perception, and cognition

In this construction, the verb marked with -re may bear any tense marker and may carry a full set of arguments and adjuncts. This strategy has three major functions. It is used for inferential perception complements, for indirect discourse complements, and for indirect cognition complements.

Whatever the semantic function, clauses of this sort have in common the feature that the tense of the complement is relative to the tense of the matrix verb.

Thus, if the matrix verb is present, i.e. unmarked, then an unmarked complement verb refers to an event contemporaneous with the speech event, a past complement verb to an event prior to it, and a future complement verb to an event subsequent to it.

(30) (a) rey rom yaw di-k- itwar-e- m- re də-k- mak-ey
           3MS 3PL *pig* FA-IP-*bake*- IP-PL-O FA-IP-*say*-IP
           he says that they are baking a pig

      (b) rey rom yaw di-k- itwar-e- m- e-re də-k- mak-ey
           3MS 3PL *pig* FA-IP-*bake*- IP-PL-P-O FA-IP-*say*-IP
           he says that they were baking a pig

(30) (c)   rey rom yaw di-k- itwar-e- m- re-m- re də-k- mak-ey
           3MS 3PL *pig* FA-IP-*bake*- IP-PL-FU-PL-O FA-IP-*say*-IP
           he says that they will be baking a pig

Similarly, if the matrix verb is past, then an unmarked complement verb refers
to a contemporaneous event, a past complement verb to a prior event, and a
future complement verb to a subsequent event.

(31) (a)   rey rom yaw di-k- itwar-e- m- re də-mak-e
           3MS 3PL *pig* FA-IP-*bake*- IP-PL-O FA-*say*-P
           he said that they were baking a pig (while he said it)

     (b)   rey rom yaw di-k- itwar-e- m- e-re də-mak-e
           3MS 3PL *pig* FA-IP-*bake*- IP-PL-P-O FA-*say*-P
           he said that they had been baking a pig

     (c)   rey rom yaw k- itwar-ey-re-m- re də-mak-e
           3MS 3PL *pig* IP-*bake*- IP-FU-PL-O FA-*say*-P
           he said that they would be baking a pig

And if the matrix verb is future, then the tense marking of the complement verb
again refers to time with relation to the time of the matrix verb.

(32) (a)   rey rom yaw di-k- itwar-e- m- re mak-re
           3MS 3PL *pig* FA-IP-*bake*- IP-PL-O *say*-FU
           he will say that they are baking a pig (while he says it)

     (b)   rey rom yaw di-k- itwar-e- m- e-re mak-re
           3MS 3PL *pig* FA-IP-*bake*- IP-PL-P-O *say*-FU
           he will say that they had been baking a pig (before he says it)

     (c)   rey rom yaw k- itwar-ey-re-m- re mak-re
           3MS 3PL *pig* IP-*bake*- IP-FU-PL-O *say*-FU
           he will say that they will be baking a pig (after he says it)

A perfect form in the complement has much the same semantic effect as a perfect
form in an independent clause. In the latter case it may refer to an event
completed prior to the speech event, in the former, to an event completed prior
to the time indicated by the tense of the complement verb, which is determined
in turn by the tense of the matrix verb.

In example (34) each perfect complement verb indicates that the baking is
complete at the time referred to by the tense. So in (34a), the unmarked
tense of the complement verb refers to a time contemporaneous with the time
of mak *say*. In (34b), the past tense of the itwar *bake* refers to a time prior
to the time of the matrix verb, and the perfect indicates that the baking was
completed at that time. And in example (34c), the perfect of the complement
verb indicates that the baking will be complete at the time referred to by the
future.

(33)   rom yaw d- itwar-ka-m
       3PL *pig* FA-*bake*- PF-PL
       they have baked a pig

(34) (a)   rey rom yaw d- itwar-ka-m- re də-k- mak-ey
           3MS 3PL *pig* FA-*bake*- PF-PL-O FA-IP-*say*-IP
           he says that they have baked a pig

     (b)   rey rom yaw d- itwar-ka-m- e-re də-k- mak-ey
           3MS 3PL *pig* FA-*bake*- PF-PL-P-O   FA-IP-*say*-IP
           he says that they had baked a pig

<pre>
(34) (c) rey rom yaw w- itwar-ka-m- re-re də-k- mak-ey
           3MS 3PL pig NF-bake- PF-PL-FU-O FA-IP-say-IP
           he says that they will have baked a pig
</pre>

The same kinds of interpretation apply to complements of matrix verbs in other tenses. The glosses in example (35) are not precisely equivalent to the Awtuw they gloss. Example (35a) means that they will have finished baking the pig at a time subsequent to the time he said it, which is of course prior to the time of the speech event. Example (35b) means that at some time before he says it, they will have finished baking the pig.

<pre>
(35) (a) rey rom yaw w- itwar-ka-m- re-re də-mak-e
           3MS 3PL pig NF-bake- PF-PL-FU-O FA-say-P
           he said that they would have baked a pig

      (b) rey rom yaw d- itwar-kay-e-m- re mak-re
           3MS 3PL pig FA-bake- PF- P-PL-O say-FU
           he will say that they had baked a pig
</pre>

As is common in comparable constructions in other languages, there is also a relativity of person in the complement, because the narrator relates the act of perception, speech, or cognition from his or her own point of view. So, for example, if Takiy utters the sentence in example (36) to Yawur, Yawur would report the speech to Napeyre as in example [36a] and to Takiy as in example [36b].

<pre>
(36) 'wan Napeyre-te tawkway kow- re'
      1SG Napeyre-O tobacco give-FU
      'I'll give Napeyre some tobacco'

[36] [a] Takiy wan-e yen-e tawkway kow- re-re də-mak-e
           Takiy 1SG-O 2SG-O tobacco give-FU-O FA-say-P
           Takiy told me that he would give you some tobacco

      [b] yen wan-e tey-e tawkway kow- re-re də-mak-e
           2SG 1SG-O 3MS-O tobacco give-FU-O FA-say-P
           you told me that you would give her some tobacco
</pre>

1. Perception verbs take this type of complement in the sense that the perception enables the subject to infer the situation depicted by the complement. Thus Kampo in example (37) did not actually observe his father going, but his observations enabled him to surmise that his father had gone.

<pre>
(37) Kampo rey-rey-ke ŋawər d- æy-kay-e-re d- uwp-o
      Kampo 3MS-3MS-PS father FA-go-PF- P-O FA-see-P
      Kampo saw that his father had gone
</pre>

2. The two speech verbs also take this construction, as illustrated in the preceding examples and here in (38).

<pre>
(38) wan (Naytow-re) Yawur mæw- e d- æy-e-re də-mak-e
      1SG (Naytow-) Yawur bush-L FA-go-P-O FA-say-P
      I told (Naytow) whether Yawur went to the bush
</pre>

The interpretation of the complement is as indirect speech — the speaker merely reports the narrated speech event, and does not attempt to reproduce it.

3. All the cognition verbs, including the preference verbs, can enter into this construction.

    (39)   tey Awtiy Tæypil- e w- ewr'-eya- re-re nenæn   di-k- lay- ey-e
               3FS *Awtiy Talbipi*-L NF-AGN- *come*-FU-O   *thought* FA-IP-*bear*-IP-P
               she was thinking that Awtiy would return from Talbipi

Complements of this type often occur sentence finally with their subject appearing as the direct object of the matrix verb. Perception and cognition verbs can take this construction, preference and speech verbs do not.

    (40)   (a)   wan Osiy-re də-wan- e taw d- uwk- o-re
                    1SG *Osiy*-O FA-*hear*-P *tree* FA-*fell*-P-O
                    I heard that Osiy felled a tree

           (b)   rey Numoy-re neknek Liwmiy-e w- æy-re-re
                    3MS *Numoy*-O *know* *Lumi*- L NF-*go*-FU O
                    he knows that Numoy will go to Lumi

           (c)   *rey Numoy-re de-yaw'- o Liwmiy-e d- æy-e-re
                    3MS *Numoy*-O FA-*not want*-P *Lumi*- L FA-*go*-P-O
                    **he doesn't want that Numoy went to Lumi*

           (d)   rey Numoy-re də-mak-e Liwmiy-e d- æy-e-re
                    3MS *Numoy*-O FA-*say*-P *Lumi*- L FA-*go*-P-O
                    he told Numoy that someone went to Lumi
                    **he said that Numoy went to Lumi*

This construction does not permit the complement subject to occur as a possessive pronoun.

    (41)   *rey Numoy-re neknek rey-ke Liwmiy-e d- æy-e-re
               3MS *Numoy*-O *know* 3MS-PS *Lumi*- L FA-*go*-P-O
               **he knows that Numoy went to Lumi*

10.2.6 Cause and result clauses

Awtuw uses a superficially similar strategy to form cause and result clauses. These clauses may also have object marking on the verb and possessive marking on the embedded subject. But their subjects never occur as the direct object of the matrix verb and the tense of the embedded clause is not relative to the tense of the matrix clause.

    (42)   (a)   Yawur Peyaw awtuw rokwo-ka-re rey-e tawkway də-kow- o
                    Yawur Peyaw none do- PF-O 3MS-O *tobacco* FA-*give*-P
                    Yawur gave Peyaw tobacco because he had run out

           (b)   Peyaw rey-ke awtuw rokwo-ka(-re) Yawur rey-e tawkway də-kow- o
                    Peyaw 3MS-PS *none do- PF- O Yawur* 3MS-O *tobacco* FA-*give*-P
                    Yawur gave Peyaw tobacco because he had run out

           (c)   Yawur Peyaw awtuw rokw-re-re rey-e tawkway də-kow- o
                    Yawur Peyaw none do- FU-O 3MS-O *tobacco* FA-*give*-P
                    Yawur gave Peyaw tobacco because he will run out

           (d)   Yawur Peyaw rey-ke awtuw rokwo-ka-re rey-e tawkway də-kow- o
                    Yawur Peyaw 3MS-PS *none do- PF*-O 3MS-O *tobacco* FA-*give*-P
                    Yawur gave Peyaw tobacco because he had run out

(43) (a) Yawur Peyaw-re tawkway də-kow- o-re rey awtuw rokw-o
          Yawur Peyaw-O tobacco FA-*give*-P-O 3MS *none do-* P
          Peyaw ran out of tobacco so Yawur gave him some

      (b) Yawur Peyaw-re tawkway də-kow- o-re rey awtuw rokw-re
          Yawur Peyaw-O tobacco FA-*give*-P-O 3MS *none do-* FU
          Peyaw will run out of tobacco so Yawur gave him some

      (c) Yawur Peyaw-re tawkway də-kow- o-re rey awtuw rokw-re
          Yawur Peyaw-O tobacco FA-*give*-P-O 3MS *none do-* FU
          Peyaw will run out of tobacco so Yawur gave him some

10.2.7 Relative clauses

Relative clauses have much the same structure as the complements discussed in the preceding paragraphs. Relative clauses typically occur between a determiner and a noun, and while there is no restriction on their tense, the most common relative clauses are those with an imperfective verb unmarked for tense as in example (44a).

(44) (a) rey kil   də-k- alow- ey-re rame laknə-kay
          3MS *speech* FA-IP-*speak*-IP-O *man die-* PF
          the talkative man has died

      (b) rey yen tawkway də-k'- ə-re rame(-re-k) laknə-kay
          3MS 2SG *tobacco* FA-*get*-P-O *man- O-* I *die-* PF
          the man you got tobacco from has died

      (c) rey [yæpær] d- uwpo-kay-re rame lumwo-wo d- æy-e
          3MS *kangaroo* FA-*see-* PF- O *man slow-* ADV FA-*go*-P
          the man who had seen the kangaroo walked slowly

This same strategy is used to relativise all positions on the NP Accessibility Hierarchy except possessives (Keenan and Comrie 1977, 1979). Examples (44a) and (44c) illustrate relativisation on a subject, and (44b), on a source of getting with instrumental marking. Example (45a) illustrates relativisation on a direct object, (45b) on an indirect object, (45c) on a beneficiary, (45d) on a comitative, (45e) on an instrument, and (45f) on a locative.

(45) (a) tey wan d- uwp-o-re tale Wutlakw-o d- ikiy
          3FS 1SG FA-*see*-P-O *woman Gutaiye-*L FA-*stay*
          the woman I saw lives in Gutaiye

      (b) rey wan tawkway də-kə-kow- ey-e-re rame lakna-kay
          3MS 1SG *tobacco* FA-IP-*give*-IP-P-O *man die-* PF
          the man I used to give tobacco to has died

      (c) tey Yawur æwre- d- uy- kow-kay-re tale w- eya- re
          3FS *Yawur house-*FA-*build*-BEN-PF- O *woman* NF-*come*-FU
          the woman Yawur has built a house for will come

      (d) rey wan d- ey'- e-re rame æye də-k- ra- y
          3MS 1SG FA-*come*-P-O *man food* FA-IP-*eat*-IP
          the man I came with is eating

      (e) rey wan taw d- uwk- o-re yekne perper mede
          3MS 1SG *tree* FA-*fell*-P-O *axe sharp very*
          the axe I felled the tree with is very sharp

```
(45)  (f)  rey yæn-  wom də-k- owna- y- e-re æwre  lamlaknə-kay
           3MS child-PL FA-IP-sleep-IP-P-O house fall-    PF
           the house the boys used to sleep in has fallen down
```

Another strategy leaves a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause. This strategy relativises all positions on the Hierarchy including possessives, as shown in example (46).

```
(46)  rey rey-ke piyren wan-e d- æl-  i-re rame lakna-kay
      3MS 3MS-PS dog     1SG-O FA-bite-P-O man  die-  PF
      the man whose dog bit me has died
```

In yet another strategy, the head noun takes case marking appropriate to its role in the relative clause. This construction can also relativise all positions except possessives.

```
(47)  (a)  tey Yawur æwre  d- uy-   kow-kay-re tale- re w- eya- re
           3FS Yawur house-FA-build-BEN-PF- O woman-O NF-come-FU
           the woman Yawur has built a house for will come
```

```
      (b)  rey wan taw  d- uwk- o-re yekne-re-k perper mede
           3MS 1SG tree FA-fell-P-O axe-  O- I sharp  very
           the axe I felled the tree with is very sharp
```

It is possible to summarise the attributes of the three constructions in terms of two principles:

1. A resumptive pronoun must carry possessive marking when relativising on a possessive NP.

2. The head noun may bear the case marking of the position from which it was relativised when there is no resumptive pronoun.

The head noun of any relative clause may occupy any syntactic position in the matrix clause, as illustrated in example (48).

```
(48)  (a)  rey æye  də-k- ra- y- re rame-re wan d- uwp-o
           3MS food FA-IP-eat-IP-O man- O 1SG FA-see-P
           I saw the man who is eating
```

```
      (b)  rey æye  də-k- ra- y- re rame-re wan tawkway də-kow- kay
           3MS food FA-IP-eat-IP-O man- O 1SG tobacco FA-give-PF
           I gave tobacco to the man who is eating
```

```
      (c)  rey æye  də-k- ra- y- re rame-re wan æwre  d- uy-   kow- kay
           3MS food FA-IP-eat-IP-O man- O 1SG house FA-build-BEN- PF
           I have built a house for the man who is eating
```

```
      (d)  rey æye  də-k- ra- y- re rame-re-k wan d- eya- kay
           3MS food FA-IP-eat-IP-O man- O- I 1SG FA-come-PF
           I came with the man who is eating
```

```
      (e)  rey yen də-kə- kay-re yekne-re-k wan taw  d- uwk- o
           3MS 2SG FA-get-PF- O axe-  O- I 1SG tree FA-fell-P
           I felled a tree with the axe that you have taken
```

```
      (f)  rey yen d- uy-   e-re æwre-ke yæn-  wom də-k- owna- m
           3MS 2SG FA-build-P-O house-L child-PL FA-IP-sleep-PL
           the boys sleep in the house that you built
```

A relative clause can follow the head noun with appositional intonation and non-restrictive sense, a matter I have discussed in 7.6.

(49) rey rame(-re-k) (rey) æye də-k- ra- y- re wan d- eya- kay
      3MS *man-* O- I   3MS *food* FA-IP-*eat*-IP-O 1SG FA-*come*-PF
      I came with the man, who is eating

10.3 Adverbial constructions

An adverbial construction marks the verb of the embedded clause with the instrumental/comitative suffix -re-k. The verb in such a clause selects all verbal categories but tense and illocutionary force independently of the matrix clause and has its own set of arguments and adjuncts. Its tense is relative to the tense of the matrix verb.

The subject of a verb marked as instrumental may appear with possessive marking.

(50) nom yen-ke ma-wey-   e-wa- re-k- kil   d- alow+d- æy-ka-m
      1PL 2SG-PS *go-arrive*-P-*just*-O- I *speech* FA-*talk*+FA=*go*-PF-PL
      we have gone on talking since you arrived

Sequence of tenses in this construction is quite different from the sequence of tenses described above in section 10.2.5. Here an embedded verb must either bear the same tense marker as the matrix verb, or no tense marking at all.

A matrix verb of any tense may embed a verb unmarked for tense.

(51) (a) rey wan də-k- æy-ey-re-k di-ik- i
           3MS 1SG FA-IP-*go*-IP-O -I FA-*sit*-P
           he sat down when I was going

      (b) rey wan də-k- æy-ey-re-k di-k- ik- iy
           3MS 1SG FA-IP-*go*-IP-O- I FA-IP-*sit*-IP
           he is sitting down while I am going

      (c) rey wan də-k- æy-ey-re-k w- ik- re
           3MS 1SG FA-IP-*go*-IP-O- I NF-*sit*-FU
           he will sit down when I am going

A future matrix verb may also embed a future form, and a past matrix verb can embed a past form.

(52) (a) *rey wan d- æy-e-re-k w- ik- re
           3MS 1SG FA-*go*-P-O- I NF-*sit*-FU
           *he'll sit down when I went

      (b) rey wan w- æy-re-re-k w- ik- re
           3MS 1SG NF-*go*-FU-O- I NF-*sit*-FU
           he'll sit down when I go

(53) (a) rey wan d- æy-e-re-k di-ik- i
           3MS 1SG FA-*go*-P-O- I FA-*sit*-P
           he sat down when I went

      (b) *rey wan w- æy-re-re-k di-ik- i
           3MS 1SG NF-*go*-FU-O- I FA-*sit*-P
           *he sat down when I will go

But an unmarked matrix verb can only embed another verb unmarked for tense.

(54)   (a) *rey wan d- æy-e-re-k di-k- ik- iy
         3MS 1SG FA-*go*-P-O- I FA-IP-*sit*-IP
         he's sitting down when I went

       (b) *rey wan w- æy-re-re-k di-k- ik- iy
         3MS 1SG NF-*go*-FU-O- I NF-IP-*sit*-IP
         he's sitting down when I'll go

       (c) rey wan də-k- æy-ey-re-k di-k- ik- iy
         3MS 1SG FA-IP-*go*-IP-O- I NF-IP-*sit*-IP
         he's sitting down while I go

       (d) rey wan də- æy-ka-re-k di-k- ik- iy
         3MS 1SG FA- *go*-PF-O -I NF-IP-*sit*-IP
         he's sitting down when I've gone

As I mentioned in section 4.12, Awtuw's ability to code a variety of aspectual and adverbial categories in compounding roots and elsewhere in the verb complex compensates for its lack of conjunctions. These categories, along with regular aspect marking and the adverbial prefixes in slots -5 and -4, make it possible to form a wide variety of temporal clauses.

An embedded clause with imperfective marking is typically interpreted as a *while*-clause. The adverbial prefix taw- *still* can reinforce this interpretation.

(55)   yen nom æye taw- k- rokra-y- m- e-re-k lape- ke ma-wey- e
      2SG 1PL *food still*-IP-*cook*- IP-PL-P-O- I *village*-L GO-*arrive*-P
      you arrived in the village while we were still cooking food

An imperfective matrix verb and an embedded perfect verb result in a structure analogous to an *until*-clause. This interpretation is strengthened by the addition of the compounding root t̪æw̪ə̲- *begin* to the matrix verb.

(56)   nom yen w- eya- kay-re-re-k kil   ka-k- alow- tæw'- ey-re-m
      1PL 2SG NF-*come*-PF- FU-O -I *speech* NG-IP-*speak*-*begin*-IP-FU-PL
      we won't start talking until you have arrived

And an embedded past verb combines with an æy serialisation (see 10.1.2) with perfect marking to form a *since*-clause.

(57)   nom yen ma-wey- e-wa- re-k kil   də-alow+d- æy-ka-m
      1PL 2SG *go-arrive*-P-*just*-O- I *speech* FA-*talk*+FA-*go*-PF-PL
      we have gone on talking since you arrived

Clauses with Instrumental marking may occur in any position in the matrix clause — either medially, as in examples (50) and (52), or initially as in (58), or finally, as in (59).

(58)   yen-ke ma-wey- e-wa- re-k nom kil   də-alow+d- æy-ka-m
      2SG-PS *go-arrive*-P-*just*-O- I 1PL *speech* FA-*talk*+FA-*go*-PF-PL
      we have gone on talking since you arrived

(59)   nom kil   də-alow+d- æy-ka-m yen-ke ma-wey- e-wa- re-k
      1PL *speech* FA-*talk*+FA-*go*-PF-PL 2SG-PS *go-arrive*-P-*just*-O- I
      we have gone on talking since you arrived

10.4 Conditional constructions

Awtuw has two types of conditional sentences. Future conditionals have verbs
marked for future in both the protasis and the apodosis, as in (61), and
contrafactual conditionals have verbs marked as conditional in both clauses, as
in (60) and (62). In either case, there is a strict constraint that the two
interdependent clauses bear the same marking for tense and modality, although
each verb selects aspect, direction, and negative marking independently.
Moreover, each verb carries an independent set of arguments and adjuncts.

> (60)　yele w- it- ik, wan ka-w- æy-ək
> 　　　*rain* NF-*rain*-CDL 1SG NG-NF-*go*-CDL
> 　　　*if it had rained, I wouldn't have gone*

> (61)　yele w- it- re, wan ka- w- æy-re
> 　　　*rain* NF-*rain*-FU 1SG NG- NF-*go*-FU
> 　　　*if it rains, I won't go*

> (62)　yen topor rame-re ka-w- owpa-kək, wan mæw- e w- æy-kay-ək
> 　　　2SG *that man-* O NG-NF-*see-* CDL 1SG *bush-*L NF-*go*-PF- CDL
> 　　　*if you hadn't seen that man, I would have gone to the bush*

The protasis always precedes the apodosis in such constructions, as in (63).

> (63)　wan ka-w- æy-ək, yele ka-w- it- ik
> 　　　1SG NG-NF-*go*-CDL *rain* NG-NF-*rain*-CDL
> 　　　*if I hadn't gone, it wouldn't have rained*
> 　　　**if it hadn't rained, I wouldn't have gone*

10.5 Co-ordinated clauses

In addition to the various serialisation and subordination strategies described
in the preceding sections, Awtuw can concatenate fully independent clauses.
One such clause is never embedded in the other, nor may either clause bear case
marking. Each clause is always entirely acceptable on its own.

Unlike the previously described strategies, where the tense of the verb in one
clause was dependent upon the tense of the other — either determined by the
construction, or relative to the time of the matrix verb, the tense of each
clause in co-ordinate constructions is independent of the other. The tense of
every verb has absolute time reference.

Furthermore, the clauses in these constructions are independent with respect to
illocutionary force. One clause may be in a debitive or potential modality,
or be a question, while the other is not.

> (64)　wan Liwmiy-e d- eya- kay, yen po yipke w- æy-re
> 　　　1SG *Lumi-* L FA-*come*-PF　2SG PCL *where* FA-*go*-FU
> 　　　*I've come from Lumi, and where are you going?*

> (65)　an ki-t- ik tə, wan po æye ma-rokra-kow-re
> 　　　2DU IM-DU-*sit here* 1SG PCL *food* GO-*cook-* BEN-FU
> 　　　*you two sit here and I'll go cook you some food*

(66) yen ey   ap-rokw-re, yen na-lamlakna-re
      2SG *thus* PR-*do-* FU 2SG PT-*fall-*   FU
      don't do that, you could (lest you) fall

(67) yen yaw w- iy-   re, yen-yen ap-ra- re
      2SG *pig* NF-*shoot*-FU 2SG-2SG PR-*eat*-FU
      if you shoot a pig, don't eat it

10.5.1 When two or more co-ordinated clauses have the same verb as their
predicate, the verb of the second and subsequent clauses may be deleted.

(68) Awtiy yaw-re d- iy-   e, Mimpel komkoran-re, Yawur kewyæne- re
      Awtiy pig-O FA-*shoot*-P *Mimpel bat-*   O *Yawur cassowary*-O
      Awtiy shot a pig, Mimpel a bat, and Yawur a cassowary

Indeed, when the verb is recoverable from context, it may be deleted altogether.

(69) (a) om yipke w- æy-re-m
           2PL *where* NF-*go*-FU-PL
           where are you all going?

      (b) wan Liwmiy-e, Yawur Tæypil- e, Altiy Wutlakw-o
           1SG *Lumi-* L *Yawur Talbipi*-L *Altiy Gutaiye*-L
           I'm going to Lumi, Yawur to Talbipi, and Altiy to Gutaiye

10.5.2 There are three types of co-ordinate construction that deserve special
discussion.

Comparative clauses involve the verb <u>eryer</u> *surpass* in the second clause.

(70) (a) rey lælal də-k- rokw-ey, yaw d- eryer- kay
           3MS *noise* FA-IP-*do-* IP *pig* FA-*surpass*-PF
           he makes more noise than a pig

      (b) rey lælal də-k- rokw-ey, yaw rey-e d- eryer- kay
           3MS *noise* FA-IP-*do-* IP *pig* 3MS-O FA-*surpass*-PF
           he makes less noise than a pig

Direct discourse clauses follow a speech verb and one of the ((t)ey)(pek)(wo)
adverbs *thus*. Unlike indirect discourse complements, they never take case
marking or occur clause medially. Tense and person are not relative to the
tense and person in the matrix clause.

(71) ræw ey   də-yarn'-e, 'yen po wokrampe yokri'
      3DU *thus* FA-*ask-* P 2SG PCL *troll*   PCL
      they two asked, 'are you a troll?'

Manner and degree clauses involve a special construction with the expression
yen eywo makre *you would say/think* with an indirect discourse complement in the
imperfective.

(72) rey lælal də-k- rokw-ey yen eywo mak-re yaw də-k- ra- y- re
3MS *noise* FA-IP-*do-* IP 2SG *thus say*-FU *pig* FA-IP-*eat*-IP-O
he makes noise like a pig eating
he makes as much noise as a pig eating

In most cases, it would be far more idiomatic to use a construction with an NP
bearing the comparative suffix -kwo (cf. 8.3.3).

(73) rey lælal də-k- rokw-ey yaw-kwo
3MS *noise* FA-IP-*do-* IP *pig-like*
he makes noise like a pig
he makes as much noise as a pig

10.6 Co-referential NPs

In any of the constructions discussed above that do not entail specific
co-reference constraints, the possibility of confusion arises. Awtuw
compensates for this in large measure pragmatically by interpreting the
antecedent of a deleted NP as the most plausible NP available.

(74) Kampo Poytin-te du-puy'-e, ŋow di-yel-e
Kampo Poytin-O FA-*hit-* P *tear* FA-*cry*-P
Kampo hit Poytin and she cried

In this case the antecedent of the missing NP in the second clause is
interpreted as the object of the first — Poytin got hit, so she must be the
one who cried.

When two or more NPs are equally likely candidates for the role of antecedent
of a deleted NP, the default interpretation is that it is the subject of the
preceding clause.

(75) Kampo Poytin-te du-puy'-e, d- upoka+d- æy-e
Kampo Poytin-O FA-*hit-* P FA-*flee+* FA-*go*-P
Kampo hit Poytin and fled

When the antecedent is the subject of the preceding clause, but it is not the
most plausible candidate, an emphatic pronoun must occur in the second clause
(cf. 5.1.1).

(76) Kampo Poytin-te du-puy'-e, rey-rey ŋow di-yel-e
Kampo Poytin-O FA-*hit-* P 3MS-3MS *tear* FA-*cry*-P
Kampo hit Poytin and he, himself, cried

10.7 Correlation of forms and functions

Table 10.1 correlates the various constructions relating predicates and clauses
in Awtuw with their semantic functions.

Table 10.1		
SECT	FORM	FUNCTIONS
1.1	Root compounds	Benefactive 'Pretend' auxiliary Aspect Quantitification Adverbial Consecutive action Obstructive purpose
1.2	Truncated verb serialisation	Aspect Direction
1.3	Repetition serialisation	Aspect
1.4	Full verb concatenation	Simultaneous action Consecutive action
1.5	Verb phrase concatenation	Consecutive action
1.6	Present imperfective	Simultaneous action
2.2	Future complement	Jussive Purpose 'Psych-action'
2.3	Imperfective complements	'know how' 'teach' Direct perception
2.4	Subject complement	Subject complement
2.5 2.6	Sequence of tense complement	Indirect discourse Indirect cognition Inferential perception Cause and result
2.8	Head noun	Relative clause
3.2	-rek suffix	Temporal clause
4.	Interdependent	Conditional
5.	Co-ordination	Consecutive action
5.2	eryer	Comparative
	ey mak	Direct discourse
	yen eywo makre	Manner, degree

LEXICAL FIELDS

11.1 Terminology of kinship and affinity

11.1.1 We can begin the discussion of kinship and affinity terms by listing them in full along with a gloss, the plural form, and the form used for relations to other than the speaker, if any. Figure 11.1 illustrates the denotation of most of these terms for the most direct link to a male ego. Note that a triangle in Figures 11.1-6 represents a male and a circle, a female. A circle within a triangle represents a person of either sex and a triangle within a circle, a person of the opposite sex to the person represented by a circle within a triangle. An affine to whom the name taboo (see below) applies is represented by a shaded circle or triangle.

Note the following abbreviations used in this section:

B	brother	H	husband	Sb	sibling	/	same sex sibling
C	child	M	mother	Sp	spouse	x	opposite sex sibling
D	daughter	P	parent	W	wife	o	older
F	father	S	son	Z	sister	y	younger

11.1.2 We can identify the focus of a kinship term as the kinsman a speaker refers to as [KT] mede *real* [KT] and represent the meanings of the foci componentially in terms of the following semantic features.

(a) Affine — specified [+] if the named relative is related to Ego through a marriage link.

(b) Ascending generation — specified [+] if the named relative's generation is prior to Ego's or if the relation involves a link between two other relatives in an ascending generation.

(c) One generation — specified [+] if the named relative is one generation removed from Ego or related through a link between two other relatives one generation removed from Ego.

(d) Brother/sister — specified [+] if the relation involves any link between brother and sister.

(e) Prior birth — specified [+] if the named relative is older than the same sex sibling through whom he or she is related to Ego. The relevant same sex sibling may be Ego.

(f) Female — specified [+] if the named relative is female.

Table 11.1: Foci of kinship and affinity terms				
TERM	**GLOSS**	**PLURAL**	**NON-FIRST** **MALE**	**PERSON** **FEMALE**
1. ŋaye	father	ŋaye-wom	ŋawər	-
2. ŋamey	mother	ŋamey-wom	-	nemet
3. lam	younger /	limlæmim	lamur	lamut
4. yaye	older /	yaye-wom	nemaner	nemanet
5. napre	opposite sex sibling	napre-wom	naprer	napret
6. eywe	ancestor	(owyim)	yar	-?
7. yæn	child	yæn-wom	yæner	-
8. yenankeyke	grandchild	yenankeykim	-	-
9. wawəy	mother's brother	wawəy-wom	yaner	-
10. mame	father's sister	mame-wom	-	mamet
11. elne	parents /'s son	elne-wom	-	-
12. ene	parents y/	ene-wom	-	-
13. tamyæn	MB child	tamyæn-yænim	tamor	tamot
14. yawyæn	sister's child	yawyæn-yænim	-	-
15. yapor	husband	yapum	-	-
16. talet	wife	talem	-	-
17. rer	WB, ZH (MS)	ewrerim	ewreryæn	-
18. yætkælne	BW, HZ (FS)	yætkælne-yænim	-	-
19. tæpiyne	MBDH	tæpiyne-yænim	-	-
20. yenan	child's spouse	yenan-wom	yenaner	yenanet
21. ayram	xSpx	ayram-yænim	-	-
22. walne	xSpP, CSpx	walne-yænim	-	-
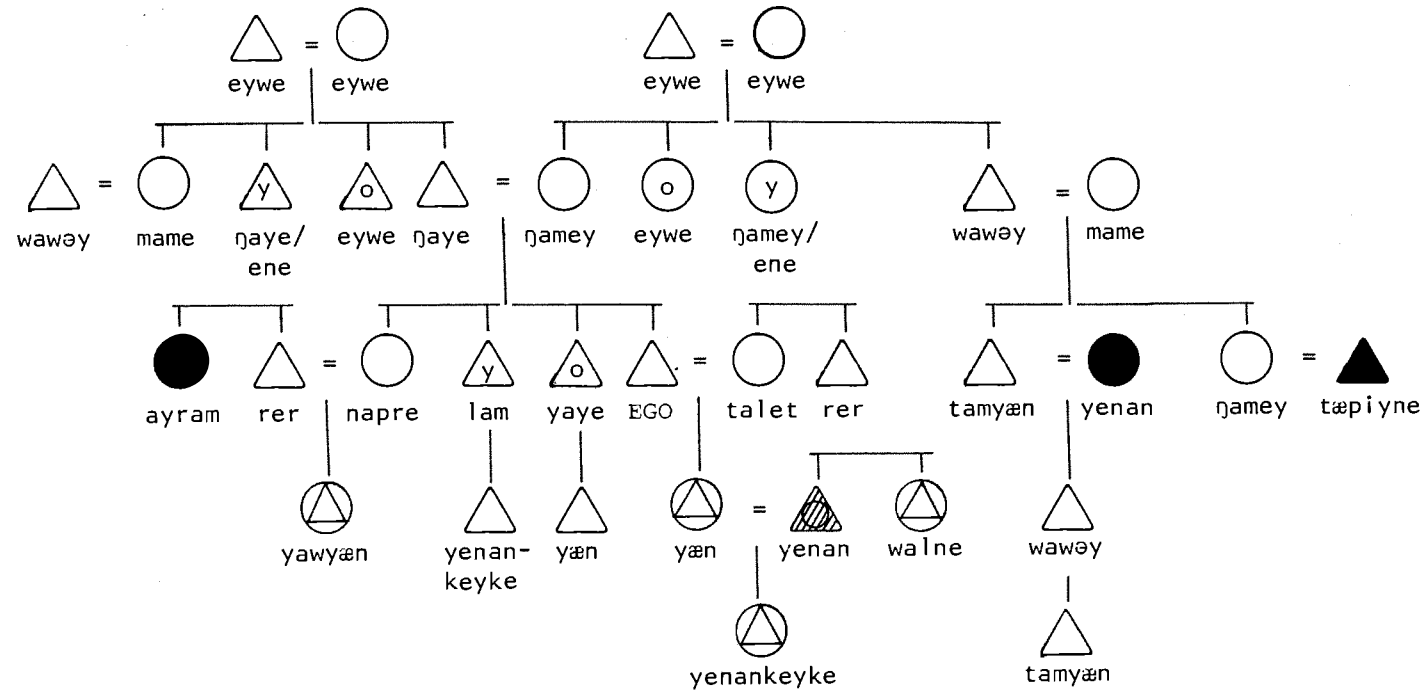
Figure 11.1: Simplified diagram of kin and affines

Table 11.2: Feature specifications for kinship term foci (A specification of [0] may be either [+] or [-].)							
TERM	GLOSS	AFFINE	ASCEND	1 GEN	B/S	PRIOR	FEMALE
ŋaye	father	-	+	+	-	0	-
ŋamey	mother	-	+	+	-	0	+
lam	younger same sex Sb	-	-	-	-	-	0
yaye	older same sex Sb	-	-	-	-	+	0
napre	opposite sex Sb	-	-	-	+	0	-
eywe	ancestor	-	+	-	-	0	0
yæn	child	-	-	+	-	0	0
yenankeyke	grandchild	-	-	-	-	0	0
wawəy	mother's brother	-	+	+	+	0	-
mame	father's sister	-	+	+	+	0	+
elne	parent's same sex Sb	-	+	+	-	0	0
ene	parent's younger SSSb	-	+	+	-	-	0
tamyæn	MBC	-	+	+	+	0	0
yawyæn	sister's child	-	-	+	+	0	0
yapor	husband	+	-	-	-	0	-
talet	wife	+	-	-	-	0	+
rer	WB, ZH (ms)	+	-	-	+	0	-
yætkælne	BW, HZ (fs)	+	-	-	+	0	+
tæpiyne	MBDH	+	-	+	+	0	-
yenan	child's spouse	+	-	+	-	0	0
ayram	xSpx	+	-	-	+	0	0
walne	xSpP, CSpx	+	0	+	+	0	0

11.1.3 Next, referring to Figures 11.1-6, we can examine the extensions of these terms to other kin and affines. Figures 11.2 and 11.3 illustrate kinship and affinity through members of Ego's generation for male and female egos respectively. Figure 11.4 shows kinship through members of the first ascending generation for a male ego. And Figures 11.5 and 11.6 illustrate the relations through the parents of Ego's mother and father respectively, also for a male ego. Note that all members of the second and higher ascending generations are eywe, and, with the exception of Ego's mother's and Ego's parents' mothers' patrilines, all members of the second and higher descending generations are yenankeyke.

Table 11.3: Extensions of kinship and affinity terms (male Ego)			

ABBREVIATIONS:

B	brother	H	husband	Sb	sibling	/	same sex sibling
C	child	M	mother	Sp	spouse	x	opposite sex sibling
D	daughter	P	parent	W	wife	o	older
F	father	S	son	Z	sister	y	younger

1.	ŋaye	F, FyB, FPy/S, FMBDS, WF, MyZH
2.	ŋamey	M, MyZ, MP/D, MBD, MMBDD, MBSD, MBSSD, WM, FyBW
3.	lam	y/, Py/S, NBDS, MPy/DS, FPy/SS, y/Sp, Spy/, Spy/Sp
4.	yaye	o/, Po/S, MFZS, MPo/DS, FPo/SS, o/Sp, Spo/, Spo/Sp
5.	napre	x, MBDD, P/D, MFZD, MBDD, MP/DD, FP/SD, SpxSp
6.	eywe	PP, PPSb, FPo/S, PMBC, PMBSC, PMBSCC..., PPP, etc.
7.	yæn	C, o/C, SPo/C, Po/C, MFZSC, WBC(ms), BC(fs)
8.	yenankeyke	CC, y/C, o/CC, xCC, FZCC, FFZCC, SpxCC, Spo/CC, Spy/C
9.	wawəy	MB, MBSS, MBSSSS..., FZH, MMBDS, MP/S
10.	mame	FZ, MBW, FP/D, FMBDD
11.	elne	P/S
12.	ene	Py/, Py/Sp
13.	tamyæn	MBS, FZS, MBSSS, MMBDSS..., MBSW, FZSW
14.	yawyæn	ZC, FFZC, MFZDC, P/DC, WBC
15.	yapor	H (female ego)
16.	talet	W (male ego)
17.	rer	ZH, WB, P/DH (male ego)
18.	yætlkælne	BW, HZ (female ego)
19.	tæpiyne	MBDH, WFZS
20.	yenan	CSp, SbCSp
21.	ayram	ZHZ (male ego), BWB (female ego)
22.	walne	ZHP (male ego), BWP (female ego), CSpx
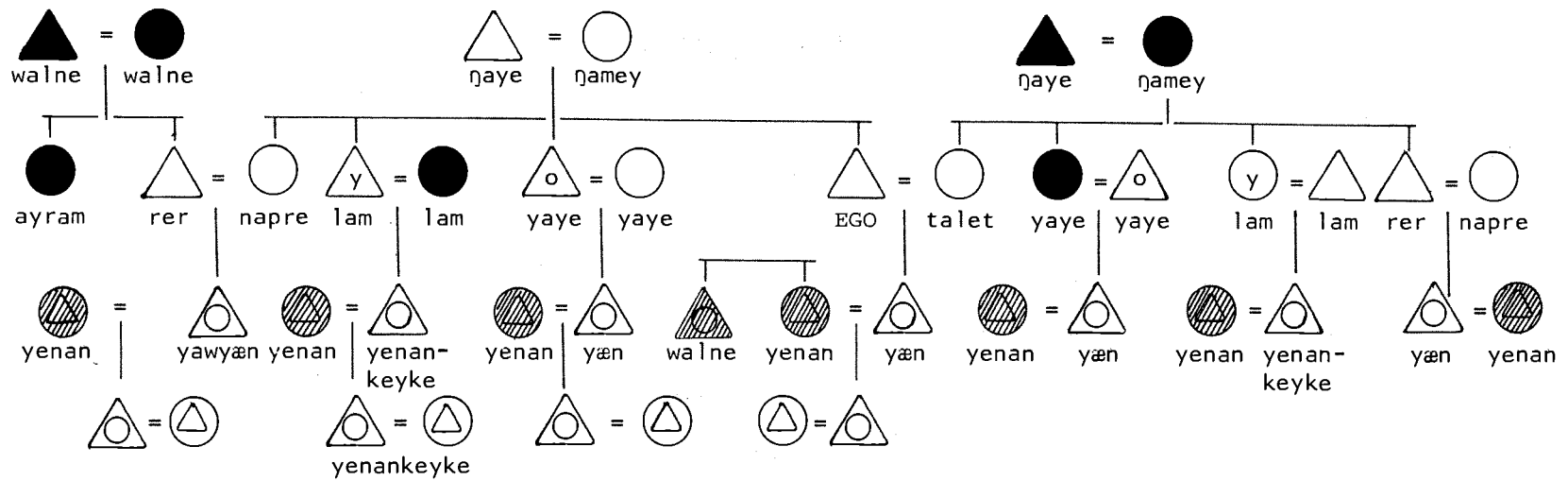
Figure 11.2: Kin and affines through Ego's generation (Male Ego)

Figure 11.3: Kin and affines through Ego's generation (Female Ego)
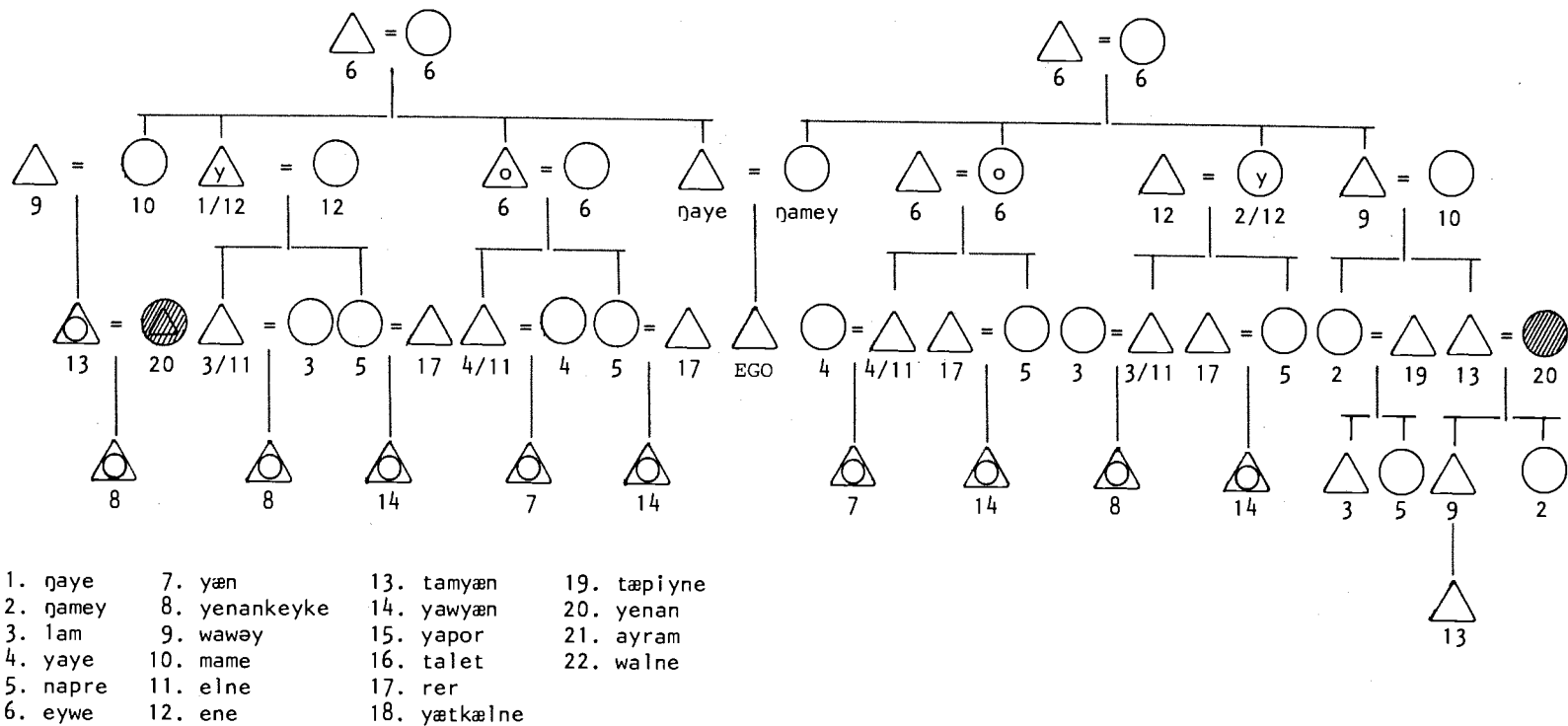
Figure 11.4: Kin and affines through first ascending generation (Male Ego)

1. ŋaye
2. ŋamey
3. lam
4. yaye
5. napre
6. eywe
7. yæn
8. yenankeyke
9. wawəy
10. mame
11. elne
12. ene
13. tamyæn
14. yawyæn
15. yapor
16. talet
17. rer
18. yætkælne
19. tæpiyne
20. yenan
21. ayram
22. walne

1. ŋaye	7. yæn	13. tamyæn	19. tæpiyne
2. ŋamey	8. yenankeyke	14. yawyæn	20. yenan
3. lam	9. wawəy	15. yapor	21. ayram
4. yaye	10. mame	16. talet	22. walne
5. napre	11. elne	17. rer	
6. eywe	12. ene	18. yætkælne	
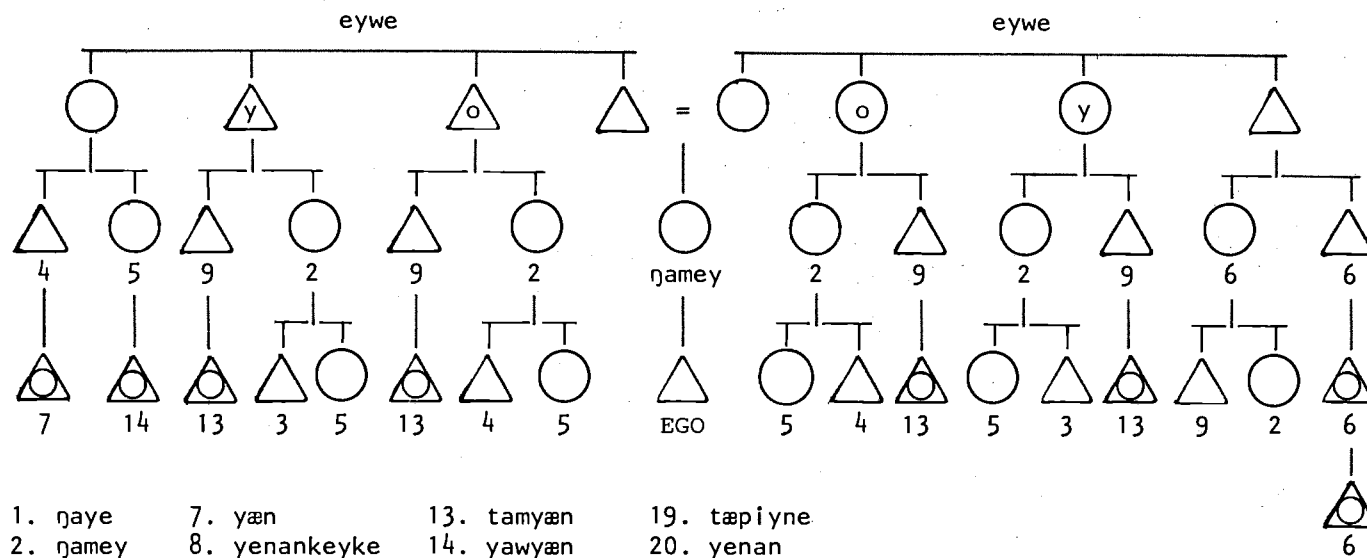
Figure 11.5: Kin through mother's parents (Male Ego)
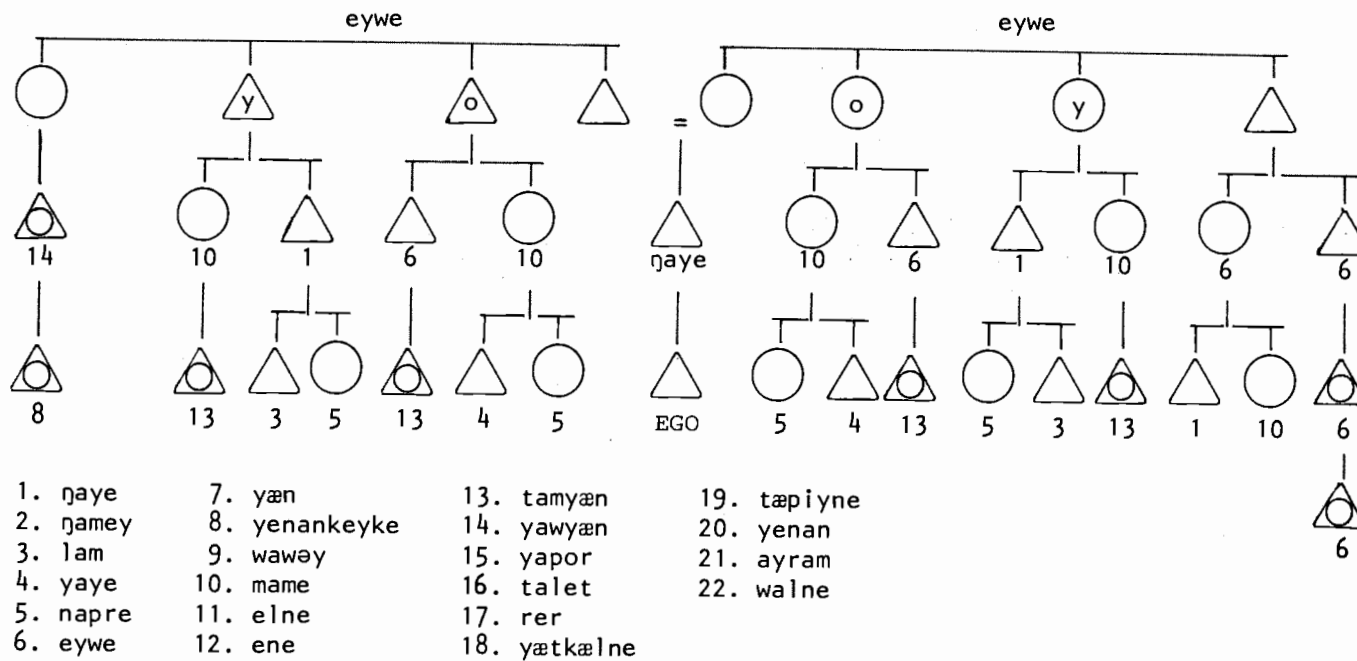
Figure 11.6: Kin through father's parents (Male Ego)

1. ŋaye
2. ŋamey
3. lam
4. yaye
5. napre
6. eywe
7. yæn
8. yenankeyke
9. wawəy
10. mame
11. elne
12. ene
13. tamyæn
14. yawyæn
15. yapor
16. talet
17. rer
18. yætkælne
19. tæpiyne
20. yenan
21. ayram
22. walne

11.1.4 There are several interesting features of this system. First, and most conspicuous, is that the term for mother's brother, wawəy, is not the same as that for mother's brother's son, tamyæn. Second, these two terms alternate in subsequent generations. Thus mother's brother's son's son is again wawəy, his son is tamyæn, his son wawəy again, and so forth.

Next, parents' mother's brother's son's descendants are all eywe *grandparent* regardless of generation. Thus, Ego's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's son, who is of the same generation as Ego's grandchildren, is still *grandparent* to Ego. A male ego may marry his eywe, who is the only relative he may marry. Conversely, a female ego may marry her yenankeyke *grandchild* who is the only relation she may marry.

Fourth, there are three special terms for affines, to all of whom the name taboo applies (cf. 11.1.7) and all of which are reciprocal. Tæpiyne is mother's brother's daughter's husband or wife's father's sister's son. Ayram is Ego's opposite sex sibling's spouse's opposite sex sibling. And walne is Ego's opposite sex sibling's spouse's parent or child's spouse's opposite sex sibling. Note that these are not the only affines whose names Ego may not pronounce.

Fifth, Ego's parents' older same sex siblings are addressed and referred to by the same term as grandparents.

Finally, there are two sets of terms for parents' younger same sex siblings. Mother's younger sister may be either ŋamey *mother* or ene *parent's younger same sex sibling* while father's younger brother may be either ŋaye *father* or ene. In neither system, however, is father's brother the same as mother's brother.

This makes classification of the system in terms of the first ascending generation terms problematical. Leaving aside the problem of identifying parents' older same sex siblings with parents' parents, the two co-existing sets of terms for parents' siblings remain problematical. In one case, the terms for father and father's (younger) brother are the same, ŋaye, and contrast with the term for mother's brother, wawəy — a bifurcate merging system. In the other, the term for father, ŋaye, contrasts with both the term for father's (younger) brother, ene, and that for mother's brother — a bifurcate collateral system (Lowie 1968). Either of these classifications ignores two apparently significant facts — the problem of parents' older same sex siblings remains, and, in the second system, the term for father's younger brother identifies him with mother's younger sister.

There is less difficulty in classifying the Awtuw system according to cousin terms (Murdock 1949:223). This system is unambiguously an Iroquois type. The terms for parallel cousins identify them with siblings and contrast with the terms for cross cousins. Father's older brother's son, mother's older sister's son, and (male) Ego's older brother are all yaye, father's younger brother's son, mother's younger sister's son and Ego's younger brother are all lam, while mother's brother's son and father's sister's son are both tamyæn.

11.1.5 Next we can look at what various kin and affines call Ego. Several of the terms are reciprocal, others are in a one-to-one relation, and a few are in a one-to-many relation.

Table 11.4: Reciprocity of kinship and affinity terms		
	If Ego calls X:	then X calls Ego:
1.	ŋaye ⟷	yæn
2.	ŋamey ⟷	yæn
3.	lam ⟷	yaye
4.	yaye ⟷	lam
5.	napre ⟷	napre
6.	eywe ⟷	yenankeyke
7.	yæn ⟷	ŋamey, ŋaye, mame, ene
8.	yenankeyke ⟷	eywe
9.	wawəy ⟷	yawyæn
10.	mame ⟷	yæn
11.	elne ⟷	elne
12.	ene ⟷	yæn
13.	tamyæn ⟷	tamyæn
14.	yawyæn ⟷	wawəy
15.	yapor ⟷	talet
16.	talet ⟷	yapor
17.	rer ⟷	rer
18.	yætkælne ⟷	yætkælne
19.	tæpiyne ⟷	tæpiyne
20.	yenan ⟷	ŋaye, ŋamey
21.	ayram ⟷	ayram
22.	walne ⟷	walne

11.1.6 The birth order of children can be specified by four compounds with yæn. These are not, strictly speaking, part of the system of kinship terminology. They are only used in enumerating one's children or in specifying the birth order of a particular group of siblings.

watik+yæn	*(sprout+child)*	*first child*
takle+yæn		*second child*
luwk+yæn	*(middle+child)*	*middle child*
palmo+yæn		*last child*

11.1.7 There is a name taboo associated with various affinal relations. The form this taboo takes is that ego may not pronounce the personal names of anyone standing in the appropriate relation to him or her — Awtuw speakers typically have from three to six personal names — either in reference or in address.

All name taboos are reciprocal, whether the terms by which Ego and the specified affine address each other are reciprocal or not. Thus, Ego and his sister's husband's sister call each other ayram and may not pronounce each other's names. But although Ego calls his wife's mother ŋamey and she calls him yenan, they still may not pronounce each other's names. Affines in a name-taboo relationship address and refer to each other by the name of the relation.

Moreover, Ego may not address or refer to any namesake of the relevant affines by the tabooed name. Generally, anyone who is not in a name-taboo relation with Ego will have at least one personal name that does not overlap with the personal names of those who are in such a relation to Ego. Note that the namesake of someone in a name taboo relation with Ego may pronounce Ego's name, provided Ego is not a namesake of someone in a name-taboo relation with that person.

Finally, where an affine in a name-taboo relation to Ego has a personal name that is also a common noun or one that resembles a common noun closely, Ego may not use that common noun. Affines in a name-taboo relation to Ego are represented by filled triangles and circles in Figures 11.1-7.

We can illustrate this with reference to the data in Figure 11.7.
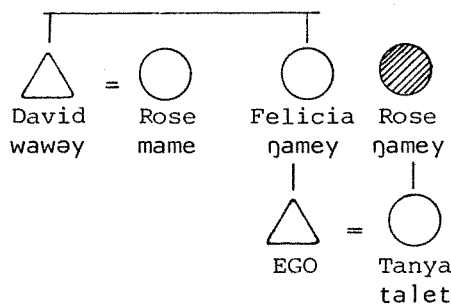
Figure 11.7: Illustration of application of name taboo

In the case that Figure 11.7 illustrates, Ego's mother's brother's wife, who stands in the relation mame to Ego, is named Rose. Ego's mame is not in a name-taboo relation. Ego's wife's mother, who is in a name-taboo relation, is also named Rose. Therefore, when Ego marries Tanya, he may no longer address or refer to his mother's brother's wife by the name Rose. Furthermore, he may no longer use the common noun rose, but must use a paraphrase. Fortunately, most Awtuw speakers and members of the groups with whom they intermarry have, as I mentioned above, several names. And personal names that resemble common nouns are comparatively rare. Note that Ego's mother's brother's wife, Rose, may still pronounce Ego's name, provided Ego is not the namesake of someone in a name-taboo relation to her.

The affines whose names Ego may not pronounce include walne *opposite sex sibling's spouse's parent*, ayram *opposite sex sibling's spouse's opposite sex sibling*, tæpiyne *mother's brother's daughter's husband*, and yenan *child's spouse*.

In addition, the name taboo applies to specific individuals who Ego calls lam *younger same sex sibling,* yaye *older same sex sibling,* ŋaye *father,* and ŋamey *mother.* Specifically, a male Ego may not pronounce the name of his wife's mother, ŋamey, his wife's father, ŋaye, his younger brother's wife, lam, or his wife's older sister, yaye. A female Ego may not pronounce the names of her husband's parents, ŋamey and ŋaye, her younger sister's husband, lam, or her husband's older brother, yaye.

It is worth stressing that the taboo on pronouncing the names of specific affines does not entail any other speech taboos. Ego may speak to or about those in a name taboo relation to him or her freely. Indeed, the virilocal residence pattern typical in the Awtuw-speaking area ensures that any male Ego is normally in frequent, if not constant, contact with his younger brother's wife. And any female Ego is in contact with her husband's parents and older brothers.

11.1.8 In addition to other kin relations, two agemates of the same sex may enter into one of two special fictive kin relations voluntarily. These are called marap and milwane and pairs of agemates who have elected to enter into such a relation address and refer to each other by the name of the relation. To enter into a milwane relation, the agemates involved will share a galip nut that has two kernels. There is no comparable ceremony associated with the marap relation, although in other respects they are similar.

11.2 Colour terminology

Awtuw has eight colour terms which I list below along with their glosses.

Table 11.5 Awtuw colour terminology	
1. kiywo-kwo	*white*
2. tipray-kwo	*black (soot-like)*
3. æypiy-kwo	*red (blood-like)*
4. kowlaw-kwo	*yellow*
5. nenel-wo	*green (unripe-like)*
6. apotaw-kwo	*blue (like a kind of blue dye)*
7. æyle-kwo	*grey (dry-like)*
8. tuwp-kwo	*purple (like a kind of berry)*

As is apparent from the data in Table 11.5, each of the terms ends in the productive suffix -wo/-kwo *like.* All save two, kiywo-kwo *white* and kowlaw-kwo *yellow* are transparently derived from other lexemes.

Berlin and Kay (1969) have developed and defended a hypothesis that the foci of colour terms do not vary significantly from language to language, and that languages select their basic colour terms from a limited inventory in a predictable manner.

They define the concept of a basic colour term (p.6) as a term that is:

(a)   monolexemic — the meaning is not predictable from the meanings of its components,

(b) autonomous — it is not included within the meaning of another colour term,

(c) generally applicable — not restricted to a small class of entities, and

(d) psychologically salient —
    i.   occurs early in elicitation of colour terms
    ii.   has stable reference
    iii. occurs in all idiolects.

Using these criteria, all of Awtuw's colour terms except kiywo-kwo *white* and kowlaw-kwo *yellow* are immediately identifiable as non-basic under criterion (a), although they do, in fact, meet the other criteria.

We can identify those two terms as basic colour terms because, although they bear a productive suffix, or at least something formally indistinguishable from one, their meaning is not predictable.

The data on Awtuw colour terminology were elicited using the same colour chart that Berlin and Kay used in their study. As they suggest, there is remarkable consistency among speakers as to the foci of the various colour terms and an even more remarkable inconsistency regarding the extensions of the terms.

The foci of Awtuw's eight terms are all within the ranges Berlin and Kay predict on the basis of the sample they examined. But Awtuw appears to violate their proposed universal ordering of colour terms.

If we restrict our attention for the present to the two terms that fit the definition of basic colour terms most closely, the terms for white and yellow, we find that they violate Berlin and Kay's first 'distributional restriction': 'All languages contain terms for black and white.' (p.2).

Turning to the other colour terms, although they are not basic under Berlin and Kay's definition, we find that for the most part they conform to Berlin and Kay's predictions, which are summarised in Figure 11.8.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{white} \\ \text{black} \end{bmatrix} < [\,\text{red}\,] < \begin{bmatrix} \text{green} \\ \text{yellow} \end{bmatrix} < [\,\text{blue}\,] < [\,\text{brown}\,] < \begin{bmatrix} \text{purple} \\ \text{pink} \\ \text{orange} \\ \text{grey} \end{bmatrix}$$
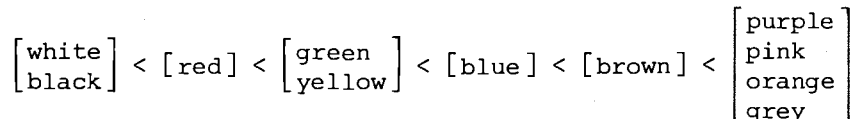
Figure 11.8: Berlin and Kay's rule for the distribution of colour terms

Awtuw does, in fact, have terms for the first four positions on the hierarchy. The presence of terms from the last slot on the hierarchy would constitute a serious violation if it did not have such terms. But there is one additional violation — Berlin and Kay predict that a language with a seventh term will have a term for 'brown' and that languages with any of 'purple', 'pink', 'orange', or 'grey' will add those terms after 'brown'. Awtuw's violation, whose import is in some question because the terms involved are polymorphemic, is in having terms from the last category without having a term for 'brown'. The terms æypiykwo *red* and nenelwo *green* are used by Awtuw speakers in referring to the brown segment of the colour chart. Figure 11.9 exhibits the foci of Awtuw's eight colour terms on a representation of Berlin and Kay's colour chart. The strip at the left consist of a range of greys without hue. The colours on the body of the chart range from red on the left to purple on the right and from light at the top to dark at the bottom. All Awtuw speakers consulted unhesitatingly selected the border of the chart, which is whiter than any of the individual chips on the body of the chart proper, as the focus of kiywokwo *white*.

1. kiywo-kwo *white*   5. nenel-wo   *green*
2. tipray-kwo *black*   6. apotaw-kwo *blue*
3. æypiy-kwo *red*   7. æyle-kwo   *grey*
4. kowlaw-kwo *yellow*   8. tuwp-kwo   *purple*

(Numerals in the top margin are for reference only.)

Figure 11.9: Foci of Awtuw colour terms

11.3 Numeration and measurement

11.3.1 Numerals

Awtuw has four basic counting numerals. These combine productively with yiyle *hand*, riwe *foot*, and rame *man* to form numerals as high as 419. But in practice, Awtuw speakers seldom use vernacular numerals in excess of 20.

There are several reasons for this. First, for most purposes, Awtuw speakers do not concern themselves with precision of numeration — liwke *a lot* and yankeyke *a little, few* are ordinarily sufficiently accurate. Second, in counting cash, Awtuw speakers and their neighbours use a variety of denominations obviating the need for large numerals (see below 11.3.3). And finally, all Awtuw speakers are fluent in Tok Pisin and use Tok Pisin numerals freely in all contexts.

Table 11.6 lists the numerals from one to 20 and examples of higher numerals.

Table 11.6: Awtuw numerals
1 naydowo
2 yikiyr
3 urunk
4 orkweynaywo
5 yiyle dæni *(one hand)*
6 yiyle dæni yiyle mak (nay)dowo
7 yiyle dæni yiyle mak yikiyr
8 yiyle dæni yiyle mak urunk
9 yiyle dæni yiyle mak orkweynaywo
10 yiyle yikiyr *(two hands)*
11 yiyle yikiyr riwe mak (nay)dowo
12 yiyle yikiyr riwe mak yikiyr
13 yiyle yikiyr riwe mak urunk
14 yiyle yikiyr riwe mak orkweynaywo
15 yiyle yikiyr riwe dæni *(two hands, one foot)*
16 yiyle yikiyr riwe dæni riwe mak (nay)dowo
17 yiyle yikiyr riwe dæni riwe mak yikiyr
18 yiyle yikiyr riwe dæni riwe mak urunk
19 yiyle yikiyr riwe dæni riwe mak orkweynaywo
20 yiyle yikiyr riwe yikiyr *(two hands, two feet* or rame+taw naydowo *one man+tree)*
37 yiyle yikiyr riwe yikiyr, rame dæni, yiyle yikiyr riwe dæni, riwe mak yikiyr (or) rame+taw naydowo, rame dæni, yiyle yikiyr, riwe dæni, riwe mak yikiyr
43 rame+taw yikiyr, rame dæni, yiyle mak urunk
?419 rame+taw yiyle yikiyr riweyikiyr, rame dæni, yiyle yikiyr, riwe dæni, riwe mak orkweynaywo

There are no ordinal numerals in Awtuw. Any numeral may derive a distributive adverb by reduplicating.

> (1)   stua tawkway urunk-urunk də-kə-kow- ey
>   *shop tobacco three-three* FA-IP-*give*-IP
>   *the shop sells cigarettes in threes/three at a time*

11.3.2 Counting gestures

Awtuw speakers count on their figures and toes beginning with the right hand open and closing each finger in turn, beginning with the little finger. If counting above five, the process is repeated on the left hand. If counting above ten, one then begins pointing at the toes of either foot, again beginning with the little toe, and continuing in the same way on the other foot. When the occasion arises to count beyond 20, the speaker elicits the assistance of the addressee.

It is interesting to note that orkweynaywo *four* is clearly derived from orkwey *little finger* although the little finger is in fact the first finger used in counting.

11.3.3 Counting money

The basic unit of currency is the siliyn (shilling) or mak (mark) *ten-toea piece*. Since almost all transactions involve multiples of ten toea, it is common to omit any specification of the denomination. The nature of a transaction provides enough information for speaker and addressee to be able to recover the appropriate denomination.

> (2) (a) tader yilmæt yakwo
>   *this string how much?*
>   *how much is this string?*
>
>   (b) (mak) urunk
>   *mark   three*
>   *three (marks) (=30 toea)*
>
> (3) (a) tader yekne yakwo
>   *this axe   how much*
>   *how much is this axe?*
>
>   (b) (pawn) urunk
>   *pound   three*
>   *three (pounds) (=6 kina)*
>
> (4) (a) yen-ke talet-te yakwo   də-kow- ka
>   2SG-PS *wife- O how much?* FA-*give*-PF
>   *how much have you paid for your wife?*
>
>   (b) (tawap) rame+taw yikiyr, rame dæni, yiyle yikiyr
>   *stick   man+tree two   man one   hand two*
>   *fifty (sticks) (=500 kina)*

Using these three denominations — siliyn or mak *ten toea*, pawn *two kina*, and tawap or piws *ten kina*, there is little occasion to use large numerals in describing cash transactions. Fractions of a siliyn, when they arise, are expressed either as a number of toea, or as sikispeniy *five toea*.

11.3.4 Time

Awtuw makes an eight-way distinction among days counting from the present, as shown in Table 11.7.

Table 11.7: Days	
nikirmey	*days before yesterday*
ələp	*yesterday*
modək	*today*
yarow	*tomorrow*
yay	*day after tomorrow*
eyk	*two days after tomorrow*
muk	*three days after tomorrow*
parək	*four days after tomorrow*

Table 11.8 lists the times of day.

Table 11.8: Times of day	
mæy	*daylight*
umkurkwə	*dark*
mæy dikliwkeney	*sunrise (sun is ascending)*
imik	*morning*
piyren dupuyaka	*noon (dog has been hit)*
pæytey+mæy	*afternoon (evening sun)*
pæytey	*early evening*
mæy makəlwey	*sunset (sun is descending*
imim	*evening*
imlukw	*midnight*

Periods of time are expressed in terms of im *night(s)*, wiyk *week(s)*, yilmake *moon, month(s)*, or yia *year(s)*.

Days of the week and months of the year are all borrowed from Tok Pisin.

Other temporal adverbs are shown in Table 11.9.

Table 11.9: Temporal adverbs	
mowkə	*long ago*
mokə	*before*
iw	*later*
reyek	*afterwards*
antante	*always*
emtemte	*always*
modək-yarow	*daily (today-tomorrow)*
yæltuwp	*again*

11.4 Body part terminology

Awtuw constructs body part terms by compounding the name of the area of the body, e.g. riwe *foot*, with the name of a component type, e.g. limkew *digit*. These two terms compound to form riwe+limkew *toe*. As with other *tatpuruṣa* compounds (cf. 3.7.2), these compounds may enter into further compounds, e.g. [riwe+limkew]+poke *toenail*.

Table 11.10 lists the major divisions of the body, Table 11.11, the names of component types, and Table 11.12, bodily substances.

Table 11.10: Divisions of the body

yæy	*body*
mak(lake)	*head*
kolæy	*neck*
tapem	*trunk*
wæk	*abdomen*
yiyle	*hand, arm (to shoulder)*
riwe	*foot, leg (to hip)*

Table 11.11: Component types

(mow)yæy	*skin* (cf. yæy *body*)	nale	*hole*
lake	*bone*	piy	*point*
lum	*muscle, fat*	pak	*underside*
tenlay	*tendon, blood vessel*	or	*top*
pam(puy)	*joint*	yekmak	*back*
tiw	*hair*	limkew	*digit*
poke	*eyelid, nail*		

Table 11.12: Bodily substances

æypiy	*blood*
owyiw	*pus*
wuryiw	*mucous*
wutil+yiw	*snot (nose+water)*
naw	*urine*
riy	*faeces, vomit*
wole+yiw	*semen*
rew+kanel	*vaginal secretion (vagina+grease)*
yake	*sweat*
yiyk	*breath*
ŋow	*tear*
new+yiw	*tear (eye+water)*
lælkwey	*saliva*
tapley	*spit*

Note that Awtuw distinguishes *mucous within the body*, wuryiw, from wutil+yiw *snot that has dripped or been sneezed out.* A similar distinction applies between lælkwey *saliva in the mouth* and tapley *saliva spat out.*

11.5 Biological terminology

Awtuw divides the plant and animal kingdoms into several classes. Some of these are large, subdivided classes, while others include only a variety of species all of which are denoted by the single superordinate term. While this is not an appropriate place to list biological terms at length, it is worth mentioning the major classes of plants and animals. Where speakers have identified a particular species as focal to a class, I mention that as well.

11.5.1 Botanical terminology

1. mæt *vine* — includes all climbing plants. The focal species is talkey, a species I have not been able to identify. This class subsumes naklay *cane*, which in turn subsumes at least seven named species, of which pamnuw is focal.

2. keyt *bamboo* — includes 12 bamboo species, of which kud is focal.

3. tiwnk *fern* — includes a large variety of species, all referred to only as tiwnk.

4. tuluk *fungus* — includes at least eight species of ground and tree fungi. All named fungi are edible.

5. taw *tree* — includes a wide variety of mostly useful plants which are subdivided further. The term includes both large and small plants with both ligneous and non-ligneous stems. The focal species is yelaw (TP ton) *Pometia pinnata.*

6. yawnow *weed* — includes a large variety of mostly useless plants. The focal species is uluwp (TP kunai) *Imperata arundinacea.*

11.5.2 Zoological terminology

Awtuw divides the animal kingdom into ten large classes. Several species do not appear to be included in a more comprehensive class. In other cases, all species share the generic name and have no specific names.

1. yi — includes all birds, including kewyæne *cassowary*, and komkoran *bat.* The focal species of bird is the komon *eagle.*

2. wulæk — includes all snakes, including water snakes, but not eels. There are at least 17 named species, of which ulwun *python* is focal.

3. æpiy — includes all lizards, geckos, and skinks, including legless species. The class subsumes at least 19 named species, of which wunkir, a species of monitor, is focal.

4. ŋale — includes at least ten named species of fish, including æwank *eel*, but not other aquatic animals, i.e. snakes, frogs, crustaceans, and mollusks.

5. yiyay — includes all mammals except bats, but including kæwletken a gliding marsupial. This class subsumes at least three subclasses, tawyekyaw *tree marsupials*, tekel or tælpæwye *ground marsupial*, and mokæl *rat*.

6. yowkey — includes at least 12 named species of frogs.

7. wuwp — includes several named species and a number of unnamed species of beetle.

8. menætiyum — includes at least 14 named species of ants and termites.

9. ilkil — includes several species of flies.

10. wiyum — includes many named species of wasps, bees, and hornets.

A number of animals are apparently not subsumed under any of the listed classes. Among these are:

1. kapow   *grub*

2. yumnil   *millipede*

3. poprow   *caterpillar*

4. pedak   *cockroach*

5. yiwelkey   *mosquito*

6. yeketwæyt   *butterfly, moth*

7. wukum   *snail*

8. kolkoy   *crab*

9. modyer   *crayfish*

10. mweymoy   *worm*

11. wanklow   *turtle*

PARALANGUAGE

12.1 Greetings and farewells

Traditionally, Awtuw has no formulaic greetings. The arrival of a person is acknowledged by calling his or her name, kinship term, or quasi-kinship term. One does not of course address by name those affines who are in a name taboo relationship with Ego (cf. 11.1.7). Nowadays Awtuw speakers will typically use greetings borrowed from Tok Pisin and often even substitute Tok Pisin for vernacular kin terms.

(1) gut moning nau, Osiy/wawəy
     good morning now Osiy/mother's brother
     good morning, Osiy/mother's brother!

(2) apinun   tru, poroman/yenankeyke
     afternoon real agemate/grandchild
     good afternoon, agemate/grandchild!

(3) gutnait   nau, yiytay/wannem
     goodnight now namesake
     goodnight, namesake!

The vernacular formula for parting is reypapwo *finished* accompanied by the addressee's name and optionally by an imperative appropriate to what the addressee is about to do. Tok Pisin greetings are in common use in this context, but because there is a satisfying vernacular alternative, they have not become as ubiquitous as they have as greetings. Generally when a group of people leaves, or remains, one says reypapwo to each of them individually.

(4) Reypapwo! Powkil, reypapwo. Kan-ey!
     goodbye Powkil goodbye IMP-go
     Goodbye, Powkil, go!

(5) (a) Reypapwo! Kə-m- owna- m!
          goodbye IM-GO-sleep-PL
          Goodnight! (addressee leaving)

     (b) Owo. Reypapwo, Peyaw! Kan-w- owna!
          yes goodbye Peyaw IMP-ABS-sleep
          Goodnight, Peyaw! (addressee remaining)

Note that (5a) and (5b) are the usual formulas for saying 'goodnight' and are reciprocal. (See 4.10 for the ma- and wa- prefixes. The response to a greeting or a farewell always begins with owo *yes*, also illustrated in example (5b).

Owo *yes* is a general acknowledgement. As mentioned above, it is always used in response to a greeting or farewell. It is also used to acknowledge other commands, including summonses. Awtuw *no* is a general denial. See section 9.1.1 for a discussion of owo and awtuw in response to yes-no questions.

12.2 Interjections

12.2.1 The main interjections of surprise are yiykay and yiy. The former expresses a milder degree of surprise usually at something someone has said. The latter is a reaction to a more startling experience, the sudden appearance of a snake, for example. The second syllable of yiykay is quite long and with rising pitch. The final segment of yiy is usually long and partially devoiced, ending in a lamino-alveolar fricative.

A further interjection, atepaye *far out*, expresses approving amazement.

12.2.2 A lenis bilabial trill with egressive velar air is a common interjection of dislike or distaste.

12.2.3 Awtuw has borrowed a number of interjections from Tok Pisin, including olaman *far out!* and tarangu *what a shame!*

12.3 Calling people

12.3.1 In Awtuw-speaking communities, each person has several names, a practice that overcomes two problems. First, on the birth of a child, a number of his relations will want the child to bear his or her name. By giving the child the names of all those who request the honour, the parents avoid conflicts that would arise out of the slight offered to those whose requests they denied. And second, Ego may not pronounce the names of people who bear one of a number of affinal relations (cf. 11.1). Having a variety of names makes it possible for all who do not themselves stand in a name-taboo relation to Ego to address or to call ego by name, even if Ego should be the namesake of someone who does bear such a relation.

12.3.2 Nicknames are formed from the first one or two syllables of the full name. Similar shortening can apply to the kinship terms ŋamey *mother* and ŋaye *father* — ŋam and ŋay, respectively.

    Wariy — Wariykom   Yaw — Yawur

12.3.3 One calls individuals from a distance by shouting their name with the last syllable protracted and in a falsetto pitch. If the addressee is within the same hamlet, one calls the Vocative form of their name, kinship term, or quasi-kinship term with a rising pitch on the suffix -wo or -ə.

12.3.4 Signals on the pəm (TP garamut *slit gong*) have three main functions — to summon specific groups of people (by lineage), to announce specific events, e.g. a satu game, and to control nature, e.g. to stop the rain.

12.3.5 A protracted note on the tawur *conch* or keyt+tawur *bamboo transverse flute* is a general summons.

12.4 Calling animals

12.4.1 All dogs in an Awtuw-speaking community have individual names. There are separate sets of names for male and for female dogs. The syllable [ʔəs] or [ʔəsə] is used, concatenated with the dog's name, to call the dog.

12.4.2 Each pig in an Awtuw-speaking community has an individual name. Females have a different set of names from males. Awtuw speakers call their pigs by interspersing their name with a prenasalised, lax, voiced, protracted bilabial trill followed by a nasalised low front vowel. A syllable consisting of a glottal stop and a nasalised low front vowel may intervene between sequences of name + [m̩bæ̃].

12.4.3 Chickens are called with a protracted voiced, apical-alveolar trill uttered with a high pitch followed by a series of very tense bilabial fricatives with egressive velar air.

12.5 Gestures, nods, and shrugs

12.5.1 Awtuw speakers typically point with pouted lips, sometimes accompanied by a fortis bilabial trill with egressive velar air. One occasionally points with the index finger.

12.5.2 Shrugging, wulæy dəkəkramkey, indicates *I don't know, I don't have any,* or disagreement. It involves raising one shoulder and simultaneously inclining the head to the side of the raised shoulder.

12.5.3 Holding the hand in a fist with the thumb extended upwards is derogatory or insulting.

12.5.4 Shaking the head from side to side, rotating on the neck vigorously indicates disagreement. When performed slowly, the same gesture expresses sympathy.

12.5.5 Raising the eyebrows and holding them raised momentarily indicates agreement.

12.5.6 Raising the eyebrows and simultaneously tilting the head back slightly indicates incomprehension.

12.5.7 Ignorance is signalled by pressing the lips together while turning down the corners of the mouth and lowering the head as if to pull it down to the shoulders.

12.5.8 Nodding the head forwards indicates a continued interest in a narrative addressed to the gesturer.

12.6 Clicks and grunts

12.6.1 Awtuw speakers indicate the complete unacceptability of an utterance or an action by the grunt [ʔm̩m̥'ʔm̩ː] (preglottalised syllabic [m̩], voiceless [m̥], preglottalised long syllabic [m̩ː] with high pitch on the first syllable and low pitch and stress on the second).

12.6.2 [ʔə̃'hə̃] indicates continued interest in narrative. (Preglottalised, nasalised [ə̃], [h], stressed, nasalised [ə̃] with rising pitch).

12.6.3 Sympathy can be signalled by [ʔai'ya] with the second syllable stressed and rising in pitch.

12.6.4 Any low or mid vowel or syllabic nasal with rising pitch indicates incomprehension.

12.6.5 Ignorance can be signalled by [ʔæy] pronounced with a falling pitch.

12.6.6 Agreement is indicated by ['ʔVʔV̩ʔ] where the first syllable is stressed and has high pitch and the second has low pitch. V may be any mid or low vowel or syllabic nasal, as long as the two vowels are the same. The vowels may or may not be nasalised.

12.6.7 Disagreement is indicated by ['ʔm̩m̥ʔm̩ː] or ['ʔāhʔāː] with a mid pitch over both syllables.

12.6.8 An apical-alveolar click or a fortis bilabial trill also indicate disagreement.

12.6.9 A sharp intake of breath through rounded lips either indicates agreement or acknowledges some difficulty, typically a difficulty that the addressee has just pointed out.

APPENDIX A: TEXTS

Yawkil *The story of the pig* by Napeyre (recorded 5.1.81).

Yaw rom d- ir   d- æy-m- e mur+ waruke-re rom d- iy-   m- e.
pig 3PL FA-*follow* FA-*go*-PL-P *tusk+big-* O 3PL FA-*shoot*-PL-P
They were hunting a pig and they shot a big one

D- iy-   m- e də-kə d- eya- m- e rom d- kay-kay-m- e.
FA-*shoot*-PL-P FA-*get* FA-*come*-PL-P 3PL FA-*put*-PF- PL-P
When they had shot it they took it and brought it home and put it away.

Yæn- wom d- ewræ-'k- m- e d- æy-m- e rom wurit+opyækay də-kə- m- e.
child-PL FA-AGN- *sit*-PL-P FA-*go*-PL-P 3PL *frond+spine*   FA-*get*-PL-P
The children, who were sitting again, went and got some coconut-frond-spines.

New-re ti-taw- m- e tader po eywe   rey-ke new-kwo.
eye-O DU-*stab*-PL-P *this* PCL *ancestor* 3MS-PS *eye*-CMP
They stabbed him in the eye so he would be half-blind.

Eywe   rey-ke new-kwo rey-rey yaw də-pælkwa-e də-moyna- e.
ancestor 3MS-PS *eye*-ADV 3MS-3MS *pig* FA-*arise*- P FA-*search*-P
Half-blind, the pig got up and searched.

"Wan-ke maklake yipe? yiyle yipe? riwe-yak yipe?"
1SG-PS *head*   *where? hand where foot-?   where?*
"Where's my head? Where's my hands? Where's my feet?"

Də-kə- pama-   work-e.
FA-*get*-TOGETHER-ALL- P
They got all his parts together.

Rey t- ot- e d- æy-e.
3MS FA-*join*-P FA-*go*-P
He put himself back together and went.

Rom d- okw- m- e tarepe də-kə- m- e, rom d- okw- m- e.
3PL FA-*dance*-PL-P *drum*   FA-*get*-PL-P 3PL FA-*dance*-PL-P
They danced. They got a drum and danced.

D- okw- m- e d- æy-m- e kapem waruke-ke ma-alwa-   worka-m- e.
FA-*dance*-PL-P FA-*go*-PL-P *pond big-*   L MT-*descend*-ALL- PL-P
They all danced down to a big pond.

Ma-alwa-   worka-m- e rom.
MT-*descend*-ALL- PL-P 3PL
They all went down.

Owyim   d- eya- m- e d- uwpo-m- e yaw awtuw.
ancestors FA-*come*-PL-P FA-*see*- PL-P *pig no*
The ancestors came and saw that there was no pig.

Rey rom-o də-wa-'wp'-e də-mak-e tapu-m "yaw rey".
3MS 3PL-D FA-AB-*see*- P FA-*say*-P *this*-PL *pig there*
He saw them, and they said, "There's the pig!"

Dowo   də-k- okw- ey-m- e rey.
together FA-IP-*dance*-IP-PL-P *there*
They were dancing together there.

Yaw awtuw, ti-nota-kay rom d- okwo- ka-m d- æy-ka rey yaw.
pig no   FA-*join*-PF 3PL FA-*dance*-PF-PL FA-*go*-PF 3MS *pig*
There was no pig. They had put him back together and gone off and danced.

Kapem waruke m- alwa-   m- e rey yaw yawo   ti-not- e d- æy-ka-re.
pond big   go-descend-PL-P 3MS *pig immediately* FA-*join*-P FA-*go*-PF
They went down to the big pond. The pig that had gone was put together.

D- æy-kay-m- e rom yantelalem kokot.
FA-*go*-PF- PL-P 3PL *young women all*
All the young women had gone.

Rom ma-alwa-   worka-m- e.
3PL *go-descend*-ALL- PL-P
They all went down.

D- eya- m- e rom yawo   d- wa- moyna- m- e awtuw, d- æy-ka.
FA-*come*-PL-P 3PL *immediately* FA-AB- *search*-PL-P *none*   FA-*go*-PF
They came and looked for them, but they had gone.

Rom ka-rokra-m wan-ke kil   reypapw, awtuw.
3PL NG-*cook*- PL 1SG-PS *story finished no*
They couldn't cook. And that's the end of my story.

Tapwokil *The story of fire* by Kewmaey (recorded 24.11.80).

Orait wan kil   w- alow-rere, tapwo+kil- re.
okay 1SG story NF-*talk*-DES *fire+ story*-O
Okay, I want to tell a story, the story of fire.

Nom-ke owyim   mowke tapwo awtuw.
1PL-PS *ancestors before fire   none*
Once upon a time, our ancestors had no fire.

Orait nom-ke Wiykatuw+owyim   Menyew rey-ke yar.
okay 1PL-PS Wiykatuw+ancestors Menyew 3MS-PS *grandfather*
Okay, our Wiykatuw ancestors, Menyew's grandfather.

(Wudpey-re kan-yerna-weypa-m), e:, Wawriy.
Wudpey-O IMP-*ask*- TRY- PL *oh Wawriy*
(Try and ask Wudpey!), oh, Wawriy.

Menyew rey-ke yar,   Wawriy, nenæn   ey   de-k- lay- ey.
Menyew 3MS-PS *grandfather Wawriy   thought thus* FA-IP-*bear*-IP
Menyew's grandfather, Wawriy, that's what I'm thinking.

Ŋom mowke tapwo awtuw. Wiykatuw-yænim tapwo awtuw.
1PL *before fire none Wiykatuw-*GEN *fire none*
Once upon a time we had no fire. The people of Wiykatuw had no fire.

Non Kamlakw kokot, Læpin, Wutlakw, nom tapwo awtuw.
1PL *Kamlakw all Wiup Gutaiye* 1PL *fire none*
All us Kammum people, and Wiup, and Gutaiye, we had no fire.

Menyew rey-ke yar rey-ke nemet yilmæt d- il- lakn'-e.
Menyew 3MS-PS *ancestor* 3MS-PS *mother string* FA-*twist*-DOWN- P
Menyew's grandfather's mother twisted string.

Kampawo yiyle dæni eypek d- iwrek-e.
dish hand one thus FA-*stand*-P
Five dishes stood like this.

Orait tey lak- e yuwp+ tapwo-ke, rey tapwo lam-k'- e.
okay thus go-DS-P *kunai+fire*- L 3MS *fire* DS- *get*-P
Okay, he went downstream to the kunai fire like this, and he got fire.

Yilmæt d- il- i dili dili dili m- alw'- o kampawo dæni-ke.
string FA-*twist*-P MT-*descend*-P *dish one*- L
She went on twisting string into one dish.

D- ewræ-'l- i d- il+ d- æy-e dæye dæye kampawo dæni ram d- am- o.
FA-AGN- *twist*-P FA-*twist*+FA-*go*-P *dish one full* FA-*fill*-P
She kept on and on twisting string — one dish was full.

Orait Wiytape-re bihainim rokw-o. D- æy-e dæye rey d- own'- e.
okay Wiytape-O *follow do*- P FA-*go*-P 3MS FA-*sleep*-P
Okay, he followed the Sibi River. He walked and walked, then slept.

Nemet yilmæt-re də-wa-nak- p'- e tader-kwo tə.
mother string-O FA-AB-*hold*-TRY-P *this*- CMP *here*
His mother tried to hold the string in his absence like this.

Crait imik rey d- owr'-ukl'- e yilmæt də-k'- ə.
okay morning 3MS FA-AGN- *arise*-P *string* FA-*get*-P
Okay, in the morning, he got up again and got the string.

Yilmæt də-k'- ə rey dæye dæye dæye dæni- ke ma-'wn'- e.
string FA-*get*-P 3MS *went went went other*-L MT-*sleep*-P
He got the string and walked and walked and slept in another place.

Teypekwo də-k- rokw+də-k- æy+dəkæy+dekæy-ey yuwp+tapwo lam-k'- e.
thus FA-IP-*do*+ FA-IP-*go+go*+ *go*- IP *kunai+fire* DS- *get*-P
Continuing in this way, he got the kunai fire downstream.

Mowke nom-ke owyim tey də-k- mak-ey-e "yuwptapwo".
before 1PL-PS *ancestors thus* FA-IP-*say*-IP-P *"kunai+fire"*
That's what our ancestors used to say, "kunai fire".

D- æy-e tapwo-re uyk- re rey d- ayn'- e rey lamlakn'-e.
FA-*go*-P *fire*- O *odour*-O 3MS FA-*smell*-P 3MS *fall*- P
He went, and when he smelled the odour and the fire, he fell down.

Rey lamlakne. A: tapwo waruke yapor.
3MS *fell oh fire big very*
He fell down. Oh the fire was very big.

Yuwp+tapwo yapor də-k- okw- ey-e.
kunai+fire very FA-IP-*burn*-IP-P
Quite a kunai *fire was burning.*

Rey tapwo reyke də-k'- ə, mæn+ tapwo-re də-ka+ lak- ə.
3MS *fire there* FA-*get*-P *tulip+fire*- O FA-*get+go* DS-P
He got the fire there, he got the tulip *fire and went downstream.*

Nemet d- uwp-o yilmæt yæltuwp læya+ læy'- e.
mother FA-*see*-P *string again come* US+*come* US-P
His mother saw that the string came back upstream.

Yilmæt læya+ læy'- e m- alw'- o kampawo-ke.
string come US+*come* US-P MT-*descend*-P *dish*- L
The string came and came and descended in the dish.

Kampawo dæye dæye dæye dæye dæni ram d- omw- o.
dish went went went went other full FA-*full*-P
It went on like that and another dish was full.

Dæye dæye dæye kampawo dæni ram d- omw- o.
went went went dish other full FA-*full*-P
It went on and another dish was full.

Də-mak-e, "wan-ke yæn reypapwo de-k- ey'- ey, tæytæy ma-wey- e".
FA-*say*-P 1SG-PS *child finish* FA-IP-*come*-IP *nearly* MT-*arrive*-P
She said, "My son is already coming, he's almost arrived."

Nemet rey tapw'+uyk- wa- re d- ayn'- e lamlekn'-e.
mother 3MS *fire+ odour-just*-O FA-*smell*-P *fall*- P
His mother just smelled the odour of fire and fell down.

A: rey d- uwp'-o opo- m æwre uyk d- ayna- kay-e,
oh 3MS FA-*see*- P *that*-PL *house odour* FA-*smell*-PF- P
Oh, he saw that those houses had smelled the odour,

d- imyə+d- eya- kay-e, ma-lamlakna-kay-e.
FA-*run*+ FA-*come*-PF- P MT-*fall*- PF- P
had come running and had fallen down.

Opo- m æwre dæni d- uwpo-kay-e tapwo+uyk- re ma-lamlakna-kay.
that-PL *house other* FA-*see*- PF- P *fire+ odour*-O MT-*fall*- PF
Those other houses had seen it and fallen down from the smell of fire.

D- uwp'-o kokot æwre rom ma-lamlakna-worka-m- e.
FA-*see*- P *all house* 3PL MT-*fall*- ALL- PL-P
He saw that every house, they all fell down.

Rom d- owra-'kla- worka-m- e.
3PL FA-AGN- *arise*-ALL- PL-P
Then they all got back up.

Rom d- ukla- worka-m- e rey tapwo də-ka+ d- æy-m- e.
3PL FA-*arise*-ALL- PL-P 3MS *fire* FA-*get*+FA-*go*-PL-P
They all got up and brought the fire.

"Yiy! mede tapwo! atepaye!"
wow! real fire far out!
"Wow! Real fire! Far out!"

Orait yaw ram de-ka- m- e tapwo-ke law- o rom ra- pa- m- e.
okay pig 3PL FA-get-PL-P fire- L bake-P 3PL eat-TRY-PL-P
Okay, they got a pig and baked it on the fire and tried eating it.

"O: tə! medaye tə!" mowke nom nenel æye de-k- ra- m- e.
oh here good here before 1PL raw food FA-IP-eat-PL-P
"Oh yes! That's nice!" Once we used to eat food raw.

Mowke nom nenel æye de-k- ra- m- e.
before 1PL raw food FA-IP-eat-PL-P
Once we used to eat food raw.

Yaw nom d- iy- m- e tiyle də-wæy- kay-m- e.
pig 1PL FA-shoot-PL-P stone FA-carry-PF- PL-P
We shot pigs, having carried stones.

Mæy du-puy'-e nom æypiy-neney də-k- ra- y- m- e.
sun FA-hit- P 1PL blood-ADJ FA-IP-eat-IP-PL-P
The sun hit it, and we used to eat it bloody.

Tapwo d- okw- o, rom æye reyke d- ilya-m- e, dilyame ra- pa- m- e.
fire FA-burn-P 3PL food there FA-boil-PL-P boiled eat-TRY-PL-P
Once there was fire burning, they boiled greens there. They boiled and ate.

Kewlake-re rom du-puya-m- e tur tur tur.
chest- O 3PL FA-hit- PL-P thump thump thump
They beat their chests — thump, thump, thump.

Nom mowke owyim arene, nom eywo də-k- mak-ey-e "yuwp+tapwo".
1PL before ancestors not know 1PL thus FA-IP-say-IP-P kunai+fire
Before, our ancestors didn't know, we used to say "kunai fire".

Siypik-yænim-ik tapwo də-k'- ə.
Sepik- GEN- I fire FA-get-P
He got fire from the Sepik people.

Nom-ke Wiykatuw də-ka- pæyk- e tapwo.
1PL-PS Wiykatuw FA-get-FIRST-P fire
Our Wiykatuw ancestors originally got fire.

Modek tapwo liwke rok'-work-e ade.
today fire much do- ALL- P here
Now we all made a lot of fire here.

Nom tapwo-neney, mowke nom tapwo awtuw.
1PL fire- ADJ before 1PL fire none
We have fire, but once we had no fire.

Orait nom yenankeyke modek de-wa-pama-kə tə.
okay 1PL grandchild today FA-AB-live-PF here
Okay, today we grandchildren live together here, the ancestors are gone.

Mowke nom Kamlakw tapwo awtuw.   Nom nelyaw də-pama-kay-m- e.
before 1PL Kammum fire none   1PL nothing FA-live-PF- PL-P
Once, we Kammum people had no fire. We had lived with nothing.

Kil yankeyke, tapwo rey-ke stori eypekwo.
story little fire 3MS-PS story thus
And that's the way the little story of fire goes.

Yantelalekil *Young woman* by Yawur (recorded 30.12.80).

Ræw ŋawer- re-k d- æy-m- e wiye- ke.
3DU *father-O- I FA-go-PL-P garden-L*
They went to the garden with their father.

Ræw yæn+ nay- neney yikiyr ŋawer dowo.
3DU *child+skirt-ADJ two father with*
The two girls with their father.

Rom d- æy-m- e wiye- ke yew æyle ma-kay- m- e.
3PL *FA-go-PL-P garden-L yam dry MT-remove-PL-P*
They went to the garden and removed dry yams.

ŋawer wiye- ke yew æyle də-wa-kə-kay- ey-e.
father garden-L yam dry FA-AB-IP-remove-IP-P
The father was removing dry yams from the garden.

Ræw yæn- wæw yikiyr, naynen+yæn- wæw yikiyr, ræw waruke, muy- neney yikiyr.
3DU *child-DU two female+child-DU two 3DU big breast-ADJ two*
The two children, the two girls, they were already grown, both had breasts.

Ræw d- iwrek-e ŋawe- re de-mak-e,
3DU *FA-stand-P father-O FA-say-P*
They stood up and said to their father,

"ŋaye, nan-e yekne kan-kuw." Ræw yekne də-k'- e.
dad 1DU-O axe IM- give 3DU axe FA-get-P
"Dad, give us an axe." They got an axe.

Dispela taw kapow, rey ŋawer wiye+ taw du-k- uwk-iy-re,
this tree bug 3MS father garden+tree FA-IP-cut-IP-O
This tree-bug, which the father was cutting a garden tree for,

kapow-re də-k- par- klak- ey-e.
bug- O FA-IP-peel-HERE AND THERE-IP-P
he was peeling [bark] for tree bugs here and there.

Də-k- par- klak- ey-e, rey wiye+ luwk- o.
FA-IP-peel-HERE AND THERE-IP-P 3MS garden+heart-L
He was peeling around in the middle of the garden.

Taw+ mowyay+merætkey lamlekn-e talow+uy- e m- alw- o.
tree+skin+ rubbish fall- P taro+ hole-L MT-descend-P
Pieces of bark fell into the taro hole.

ŋawer rey mokre l'- o, "ay ay wan-ke wiye- ke.
father 3MS cause angry-P hey hey 1SG-PS garden-L
The father got mad because of this, "Hey, don't do that

topor-kwo ap-t- rokw-re talow+uy. An ka-t- lawiy!"
that- CMP PR-DU-do- FU taro+ hole 2DU IM-DU-clear
to the taro hole in my garden! You two clear off!"

Ræw-e l'- o+d- æy-e. Ræw d- iwrek-e d- uwpok-e.
3DU *angry-P+FA-go-P 3DU FA-stand-P FA-flee- P*
He was angry at them. They stood up and fled.

Rey tawdow waruke tæytæy-wa- ke. Ræw mo-t- elw'- o rey yiw- e,
3MS *brook big near- just-L 3DU MT-DU-descend-P 3MS water-L*
There was a big brook nearby. They went down to that water.

ŋale ræw te-nak+ te-lak- e. ŋale te-nak+ t- æy+tæy+tæy+tæy-e.
fish 3DU DU-*hold+*DU-*go* DS-P *fish* DU-*hold+*DU-*go+go+ go+ go-* P
They grabbed fish going downstream. They went on grabbing fish.

Rey taw+ riwe-ke yiluk-wo le-k-iwken'-ey-e.
3MS *tree+foot-*L *mud-* CMP IP-*ascend-*IP-P
They were climbing the root in the mud.

Ræw tə-mak-e, "Uw! Rom ŋale waruke yokri? Pe-t- nak".
3DU DU-*say-*P *oh* 3PL *fish big* PCL HR-DU-*hold*
They said, "Oh, aren't these fish big? Let's grab!"

Ræw tə-nak- l'- e tenakle tenakle, awtuw.
3DU DU-*hold-*TRY-P *hold hold none*
They tried and tried to grab one, but didn't get any.

Ræw t- ewræ-t- lak- e riwe-ke tə-nak læm-t- iwrek-e.
3DU DU-AGN- DU-*go* DS-P *foot-*L DU-*hold* DS- DU-*stand-*P
They went downstream again and grabbed a root and stood there.

"P- ewræ-t- yakey, topor ŋale waruke-re pe-yam-t- uwpo yiluk ti-k- taw- ey".
 HR-AGN- DU-*go* US *that fish big-* O HR-US- DU-*see mud* FA-IP-*stick-*IP
"Let's go back upstream and look at that big fish sticking in the mud."

Rey po yiluk teywo te-k- rokw-ey-e.
3MS PCL *mud thus* DU-IP-*do-* IP-P
He was doing this to the mud.

Rey taw+ riwe-re ræw yæltuwp yiyle m- owra-t- alw- o.
3MS *tree+foot-*O 3DU *again hand* MT-AGN- DU-*descend-*P
They went back down the root by hand.

Tə-nak- pə- klak- e. Tə-nak- lə tə-nak+ lak- ə, awtuw.
DU-*hold-*TRY-*HERE AND THERE-*P DU-*hold-*TRY DU-*hold+go* DS-P *none*
They tried to grab for fish around again. They tried

Ka-t- nak- pe.
NG-DU-*hold-*TRY
to grab it going downstream, but couldn't. They failed to grab it.

Orait, nemanet d- iwrek-e lamut- e de-mak-e,
okay elder FA-*stand-*P *younger-*O FA-*say-*P
Okay, the elder sister stood up and said to the younger,

"Yen kalakw, kə-t- ewra-lak ... kən-ewra-lak.
 2SG *quiet* IM-DU-AGN- *go* DS IM- AGN- *go* DS
"You be quiet and go back downstream.

Wan pə-wæ-'k newte-kə tə newpen pæ-'y yakumyæn."
1SG HR-AB-*sit-*HIDE- PF *here eye* HR-*shoot what*
Let me see what it is, having sat here and hid while you're away."

Lamut lak- e. Tey nemanet po de-wæ-'k- newte-kay-e
younger go DS-P 3FS *elder* PCL FA-AB-*sit-*HIDE- PF- P
The younger sister went downstream, the elder having sat and hid

rey yiw+ yil- e. D- uwp'-o dispela owtiykayæn.
3MS *water+edge-*L FA-*see-* P *this old*
on the river bank. She saw this old woman.

"Wuwoy! Rameyæn owtikayæn talerame!"
wow   person old   woman
"Wow! There's an old woman!"

Lamut   d- ey'- e-re   ræw t- ewra-te-nak- panya- klak-   e,
younger FA-come-P-O   3DU DU-AGN- DU-hold-PRETEND-HERE AND THERE-P
When the younger sister came, they pretended to grab fish again.

Nemanet d- alow- kow-o,
elder   FA-speak-BEN-P
The elder sister said,

"Iy! Rameyæn. Tale owyæn dæni rey yiluk rey   ti-k-tow- ey."
oh   person   woman old   other 3MS mud   there IP-thrash-IP
"Oh! A person! Some old woman is thrashing up the mud over there."

Tuwp   tey ræw-e de-mak-e,
straightaway 3FS 3DU-O FA-say-P
Straightaway, she said to them,

"A: an   yakumoye te-kə'- kay? ŋale te-k- nak- ey?"
ah 2DU what   DU-get- PF   fish DU-IP-hold-IP
"Ah! What have you two been doing? Catching fish?"

De-mak-e, "Nan ŋale te-k- nak- ey po."
FA-say-P   1DU fish DU-IP-hold-IP PCL
She said, "We've been catching fish."

"An   yok t- ey'- e?"
2DU   how DU-come-P
"How did you come here?"

"Ey   nan-e ŋaye   lo+ d- æy-e, nan rey- ke ti-yæky'- e."
thus 1DU-O father angry+FA-go-P 1DU there-L DU-come DS-P
"Our father was angry at us, so we came downstream from there."

"A: ke-taw-t- eye- pe."
ah IM-YET-DU-come-TRY
"Ah! Try coming further!"

Ræw t- ey'- e kil   t- alow- ney- m- e ræw te-yarn'-e,
3DU DU-come-P speech DU-speak-FIRST-PL-P 3DU DU-ask-   P
They came after they spoke and asked,

"Yen yakumoyæn, rameyæn o: o: wokrampe?"
2SG what   person or or troll*
"What are you? A human being, or...or a troll?"

De-mak-e, "Iy, wan po rameyæn!"
FA-say-P   ee 1SG PCL person
She said, "Ee! I'm a human being!"

Ræw-e de-yarn'-e, "An?" tə-mak-e, "Iy, nan po rameyæn!"
3DU-O FA-ask- P   2DU DU-say-P   ee 1DU PCL person
She asked them, "And you?" "Ee, we two are human!"

---

*A wokrampe is a fabulous creature made of stone that lives near water and
devours passersby. Under the circumstances, I feel that *troll* is an
appropriate gloss.

```
Rom kil    ti-n'-alow -ney- m- e ræw te-mak-e,
3PL speech DU-RC-speak-FIRST-PL-P 3DU DU-say-P
First they spoke to each other and they said,
```

```
"Naŋ t- ewræ-t- k- yakey-ey."
 1DU DU-AGN- DU-IP-go US-IP
"We're going back upstream."
```

```
Tey de-mak-e, "Po  rey, kin-ewræ-t- yakey!"
3FS FA-say-P   PCL 3MS  IM- AGN- DU-go DS
She said, "Okay, go back upstream!"
```

```
Ræw ti-yakey-e ti-yam-t- uwp'-o, dispela yiw+  tawdow po  awtuw.
3DU DU-go US-P DU-US- DU-see- P  this    water+brook  PCL none
They went upstream and saw that there was no brook.
```

```
Kenken-wo    rokw+d- æy-kay.
constricted do+  FA-go-PF
It had become constricted.
```

```
Ræw di-yam-t- moynə+ lak- e.  Nuwp po  awtuw.
3DU FA-US- DU-search+go DS-P   road PCL none
They searched upstream and went downstream.  But there was no road.
```

```
Krekrow    kop+ dæni, kop+ dæni tiwle    waruke.
precipice  side+one   side+other mountain big
There was a precipice on one side and a big mountain on the other.
```

```
Yiw+   tawdow rey yiw+ nuwp ti-k- yæky'- ey-re awtuw.
water+brook  3MS water+road DU-IP-come DS-IP-O  none
The brook and the path that they were coming downstream on were gone.
```

```
Ræw nil-towkaney-pa- re, wiyum ræw-e d- æl- i.
3DU NDB-climb-    TRY-FU wasp 3DU-O FA-bite-P
They couldn't try and climb, wasps bit them.
```

```
Ræw t- ewræ-t- yækye   kay-e, tey owyæn tale  taw-k- iwrek-ey-e
3DU DU-AGN- DU-come DS-PF- P  3FS old   woman YET-IP-stand-IP-P
When they came back downstream, the old woman was still there.
```

```
Tey ræw-e di-yarn'-e, "An  nuwp yok t- æy-e, mede po?" "Awtuw."
3FS 3DU-O FA-ask-  P   2DU road how DU-go-P  well PCL    no
She asked them, "How did you go on the road?  Well?" "No."
```

```
Ræw nenæn    te-lay+ t- æy+tæy+tæy-e,
3DU thought DU-bear+DU-go+go +go- P
They kept on thinking that
```

```
tadet owtiykayæn tey-ke nuwp yankeyke po  d- awkey-e.
this old         3FS-PS road small     PCL FA-exist-P
this old woman had a little road.
```

```
Ræw t- iwrek-e te-yarn'-e, "Yen-ke nuwp d- awkey?"
3DU DU-stand-P DU-ask- P   2SG-PS road FA-exist
They stood up and asked, "Do you have a road?"
```

```
"A: wan-ke nuwp po  d- awkey."
 ah 1SG-PS road PCL FA-exist
"Ah! Sure I have a road."
```

Ræw dowowo t- æy-e rey owtiykayæn tale- re-k,
3DU *with* DU-*go*-P 3MS *old* woman-O- I
They went with the old woman.

"Po ke-t- eye wan-ke lape- ke. P- æy-nem."
PCL IM-DU-*come* 1SG-PS *village*-L HR-*go*-PL
"You two come to my village! Let's go!"

Ræw t- ir- e t- æy-e tæye tæye, tey-ke lape- ke wutmak-e.
3DU DU-*follow*-P DU-*go*-P *went went* 3FS-PS *village*-L *arrive*-P
They followed on and on until they arrived in her village.

Tey-ke yæner yikiyr, yompurkay yikiyr t- ikiy-e.
3FS PS *son two young man two* DU-*live*-P
Her two sons were young men.

Ræw yæner yikiyr t- uwp'-o te-mak-e,
3DU *son two* DU-*see*- P DU-*say*-P
The two sons saw them and said,

"Uw, ŋamey, yen topor tale yikiyr yipke de-k'- e?"
oh mom 2SG *that woman two where* FA-*get*-P
"Oh, Mom, where did you get those two women?"

"Wan yiw- e de-k'- e."
1SG *water*-L FA-*get*-P
"I got them at the river."

Lamur lamu- te de-k'- e, nemaner nemane-te de-k'- e.
younger younger-O FA-*get*-P *elder elder*- O FA-*get*-P
The younger brother married the younger sister and the elder the elder.

Ræw wæk- neney rokw-o, yæn new naw- o.
3DU *belly*-ADJ *do*- P *child eye wait*-P
When they became pregnant, they begot children.

Yæley+mak ræw te-k'- e te-kow- o ræw-e.
ring+ tally 3DU DU-*get*-P DU-*give*-P 3DU-O
The two brothers got the brideprice and gave it to the two sisters.

Ræw te-k'- e t- æy-e ræw-ræw-ke lape- ke yæltuwp t- ewræ-t- ey'- e.
3DU DU-*get*-P DU-*go*-P 3DU-3DU-PS *village*-L *again* DU-AGN- DU-*come*-P
They took it and went to their own village and came back again.

ŋawer+ nemet ræw-e wom- re t- uwpo-kay-e.
father+mother 3DU-O *coconut*-O DU-*see*- PF- P
Their parents had looked after a coconut tree for them.

Rom yene də-k- ra- y- m- e, new-e de-k- æy-ey-e.
3PL *not* FA-IP-*eat*-IP-PL-P *eye*-L FA-IP-*go*-IP P
They didn't eat the coconuts, they just looked after the tree.

Wom æyle dæni lamlekn-e, yæn yankeyke dæni də-mak-e,
coconut dry one fall- P *child small other* FA-*say*-P
When a dry coconut fell, the other little child said,

"ŋamey-wo, wan po wom æyle topo-re pə-ma-ke?"
mom- V 1SG PCL *coconut dry that*-O HR-MT-*get*
"Mommy, let me go get that dry coconut!"

Nemet de-mak-e, "Ap-ma-ka- re! wan-owkey!
mother FA-*say*-P PR-MT-*get*-FU DB- *exist*
His mother said, "Don't go get it! Leave it alone!

yaye- wæw-e d- uwpo-kay-e wom."
elder-DU- P FA-*see*- PF- P *coconut*
It's the coconut that we look after for your two big sisters."

Ræw waruke yikiyr po mi-t- iwrek-ey-e, ræw nemanet yikiyr.
3DU *big* *two* PCL MT-DU-*stand*-IP-P 3DU *elder* *two*
The two big ones were going and standing up, the two elder sisters.

Neme- te m- alow- kow-o,
mother-O MT-*speak*-BEN-P
He said to his mother,

"ŋamey-wo, d- uwp'-o tale yikiyr ti-k- iwrek-ey!"
mom- V FA-*see*- P *woman two* DU-IP-*stand*-IP
"Mom, I saw two women standing there!"

"Yakumyænre yokri?" Nemet d- imya+d- æy-e.
what PCL *mother* FA-*run+* FA-*go*-P
"What on earth could that be?" The mother went running.

"Yaye- wæw yikiyr po rey!" Tey ŋow di-yel-kow-o.
elder-DU *two* PCL *there* 3FS *tear* FA-*cry*-BEN-P
"That's your two elder sisters!" She cried for them.

Ræw-e de-yarne+d- æy-e, "An yipeke mæ-t- ikiy, wan-ke yæn- wæw yikiyr?"
3DU-O FA-*ask+* FA-*go*-P 2DU *where* MT-DU-*live* 1SG-PS *child*-DU *two*
She went on asking them, "Where did you two go and live, my two children?"

"Yiy, nan po t- æy-ka læm-t- ikiy.
ee 1DU PCL DU-*go*-PF DS- DU-*live*
"Ee, we have gone and lived downstream.

Owtiykayæn tale nan-e paulim rokw-o. Nan yenkay- neney.
old *woman* 1DU-O *foul* *do*-P 1DU *husband*-ADJ
An old woman led us astray. We're married.

Nan yæley ti-kir+t- eye- ka tade am- o.
1DU *ring* DU-*get+*DU-*come*-PF *here* 2PL-O
We've brought rings for you.

Am- o ram-o ma-t- kow- o yæley+mak."
2PL-O 3PL-O MT-DU-*give*-P *ring+* *tally*
We came to give you the brideprice for them."

Nemet+ ŋawer- e ma-t- kow- o ræw.
mother+father-O MT-DU-*give*-P 3DU
They gave it their parents.

T- ewræ-t- ey'- e ræw-ræw-ke lape- ke.
DU-AGN- DU-*come*-P 3DU-3DU-PS *village*-L
They came back to their own village.

Reypapw tader yantelale+ kil reypapwo.
finished this young woman+story finished
And that's the end of the story of the young women.

ABBREVIATIONS:

Arguments

A = Transitive subject   L = Locative
So = Source   R = Recipient/Addressee
O = Direct Object   S = Intransitive Subject

Class

BF	= bodily function (intransitive)
BITR	= cardinal bitransitive
CAUS	= causative (transitive)
COMP	= complement-taking (transitive)
DIR	= direction (intransitive)
DIR2	= direction (transitive)
DO DEL	= direct object deletion (bitransitive)
INTR	= unclassified (intransitive)
IO DEL	= indirect object deletion (bitransitive)
MOT	= motion (intransitive)
O DEL	= object deletion (transitive)
POS	= posture (intransitive)
SOURCE	= source (transitive)
TR	= cardinal transitive

GLOSS	ROOT	ARG	CLASS	REMARKS
alive, stay	ikiy	S(L)	POS	
angry	lwa	A(O)	O DEL	
apportion	irkay	AOR	IO DEL	
arrive	ma-wey	S(L)	DIR	
arrive	wutmak	SL	DIR	
ascend	l-iwkena	S(L)	DIR	
ask	yærna	AOR	COMP	
awaken	maryow	AO	TR	
awaken	ukla	S	BF	
bake	law	O(A)	CAUS	
bald	reyakw	S	INTR	

GLOSS	ROOT	ARG	CLASS	REMARKS
bark	t-natow	S	BF	
bathe	iywa	S	BF	yiw *water*
be crazy	aptowa	S	INTR	
bear	alwa (3)	O(A)	CAUS	wate *seed*, etc
bear	lay (3)	O(A)	CAUS	yæn *child*
belch	rupukurya	S	BF	
bite	æl (2)	A(O)	O DEL	
blink	pud (1)	S	BF	new *eye*
blow	ilyæmna	S(L)	INTR	
boil	ilya	O(A)	CAUS	
boil	iprek (1)	O(A)	CAUS	yiw *water*
break	iknær	AO	TR	
broken	rokorya	S	INTR	
build	uy	O(A)	CAUS	æwre *house*
burn	okw (1)	S	INTR	tapwo *fire*
call	iwrey	A(O)	O DEL	
carry	way	AO	TR	
clear off	lawey	S	MOT	
close	irp	O(A)	CAUS	e.g. æwre *house*
come DS	yækya	S(L)	DIR	
come US	læya	S(L)	DIR	
come down	wuya	S(L)	DIR	
come in/out	yeya	S(L)	DIR	
come up	wutka	S(L)	DIR	
come	eya	S(L)	DIR	
consume	ra (1)	AO	TR	
cook	rokra	AO	TR	
copulate	or	A(O)	O DEL	
cough	owka	S	BF	ewkit *cough*
creep	pakra	S	MOT	
crow	akra	S	BF	
cut	uwk	O(A)	CAUS	
descend	alwa (4)	S(L)	DIR	
die	lakna	S	INTR	

GLOSS	ROOT	ARG	CLASS	REMARKS
dig	akla	O(A)	CAUS	uy *hole*
dislike	yawa	AO	COMP	
do	rokw			
drip	daney	S	INTR	
extinguish	etwa	O(A)	CAUS	tapwo *fire*
fall	lamlakna	S	MOT	
fear	aytir	A(O)	O DEL	
feed	ira	AR(O)	DO DEL	
flee	upoka	S	MOT	
float	wæyrow	S(L)	INTR	
flow	t-towleyakw	S	INTR	
fly	apta	S	MOT	
follow	wæya	AO	TR	
forget	arney	AO	COMP	mane *ear*
frighten	nækptæt	AO	TR	
full	omw	S	INTR	ram *?*
get	ka	AO(So)	SOURCE	So=Instrumental
give	kow	AOR	BITR	
go DS	lak	S(L)	DIR	
go US	yakey	S(L)	DIR	
go in/out	wanwa	S(L)	DIR	
go	æy	S(L)	DIR	
hang	iylakna	AO	TR	Reflexive
hang	akley	S	INTR	
hear	wan	AO	COMP	
heat	alwa (1)	O(A)	CAUS	tepe *sago 'pudding'*
hiccup	iywena	S	BF	
hit	puya	AO	TR	
hold	nak	AO	TR	
hot	alwa (2)	S	BF	yæy-won *hot-skin*
howl	iwreyiwk	S	BF	
hug	pud (2)	AO	TR	
ignite	owra	AO	TR	
jump	dardow	S	INTR	

GLOSS	ROOT	ARG	CLASS	REMARKS
kill	otkolya	AO	TR	
knot	day	O(A)	CAUS	mak *knot?*
lacerate	t-tow (3)	O(A)	CAUS	
lash	t-tow (1)	O(A)	CAUS	
laugh	wun (1)	S	BF	mokəl *laugh*
leap	t-talilwa	S	MOT	
lie	owna	S(L)	POS	
light	raren	S	INTR	
like	lay (1)	AO	COMP	awæy
limp	t-towpret	S	MOT	
live	pama	S(L)	INTR	S=PL
lop	marpænka	AO	TR	taw *tree*
love	wun (2)	AO	TR	
lure	t-towlil	AO	TR	
miss	t-tamkurya	AO	TR	
mount	tewa	AO	TR	
name	ikriy	AR(O)	DO DEL	
net, twist	il	O(A)	CAUS	
nod off	ratow	S	BF	
open	iplæl	O(A)	CAUS	
open	lopwa	O(A)	CAUS	æwre *house*
paint	lælna	O(A)	CAUS	
pass	iryar	AO	TR	
pick up	t-tawlil	AO	TR	
plant	t-ta	O(A)	CAUS	wiye *garden*
pour	læt	AO(L)	DIR2	
pull	ilin	AO	TR	
put	kay (1)	AO(L)	DIR2	
recline	t-towpæwa	S(L)	POS	
remember	nak (2)	AO	COMP	nenæn-e *in mind*
remove	kay (2)	AO(L)	DIR2	
roast	lawyer	O(A)	CAUS	
roll, fold	iypud	O(A)	CAUS	
run	imya	S	MOT	
say	mak	AO(R)	IO DEL	

GLOSS	ROOT	ARG	CLASS	REMARKS
scrape	eyt	O(A)	CAUS	talow *taro*
scrape	wæy	O(A)	CAUS	yamo *sago*
scratch	rank	A(O)	O DEL	
search	moyna	AO	TR	
see	upwa	AO	COMP	
sew	aden	O(A)	CAUS	
sharpen	ir	O(A)	CAUS	
shave	now	AO	TR	
shoot	iy	AO	TR	
shoot	tarey	S(L)	INTR	
singsing	okw (2)	O(A)	CAUS	riwtow *ceremony*
sit	ik	S(L)	POS	
sleep	owna	S	BF	newtiy *eye*
slip	wureray	S	INTR	
smell	ayna	AO	COMP	
smile	lanya	S	BF	piy *teeth*
sneeze	iywatna	S	BF	
speak	alow	AO	TR	kil *speech*
spit	karey	S	BF	
squat	t-towuk	S(L)	POS	
stalk	yæley	AO	TR	
stand	iwrek	S(L)	POS	
steam	idwær	O(A)	CAUS	
stink	t-tan	S	INTR	
strike	t-tow (2)	O(A)	CAUS	pəm *slit gong*
sweep	eytra	O(A)	CAUS	æwre *house,* niw *ground*
swim	wa	S	MOT	
think	lay (2)	AO	COMP	nenæn *thought*
throw	iprek (1)	AO	TR	
tie	ud	O(A)	CAUS	
track	nir	AO	TR	
vomit	iwtow	S	BF	
wait	naw	AO	TR	
wash	worya	O(A)	CAUS	
weave	ra (2)	O(A)	CAUS	e.g. karpen *basket*

APPENDIX C: BASIC VOCABULARY — ENGLISH-AWTUW
(Based on Comrie and Smith 1977:66-71.)

1. *all*   kokot

2. *and*   (TP na)

3. *animal*   (yiyay *game* cf. 11.5)

4. *ashes*   kaypiw

5. *at*   (-e/-ke 'Locative/ Directional' (cf. 6.5))

6. *back*   yekmak (cf. 6.5, 11.4)

7. *bad*   monokene

8. *bark*   taw+mowyæy *tree+skin* t-natow *bark*

9. *because*   (TP olsem)

10. *belly*   wæk (cf. 11.4)

11. *big*   waruke

12. *bird*   yi (cf. 11.5)

13. *bite*   æl

14. *black*   tipray-kwo *soot-like* (cf. 11.2)

15. *blood*   æypiy (cf. 11.4)

16. *blow*   ilyæmna

17. *bone*   lake (cf. 11.4)

18. *breast*   muy (cf. 11.4)

19. *breathe*   yiyk liwkena/m-alwa *wind ascend/descend*

20. *burn*   okw (S = tapwo *fire*) alwa *be hot*

21. *child*   yæn (cf. 11.1)

22. *claw*   limkew-poke *(fingernail* cf. 11.4)

23. *cloud*   æwktil

24. *cold*   nampet(-neney) (cf. 8.7)

25. *come*   eya (cf. 4.14, 5.4)

26. *count*   riw mak *tally* (cf. 11.3)

27. *cut*   iwya

28. *day*   mæy *sun* (cf. 11.3) im yikiyr *(two nights)*

29. *die*   lakna

30. *dig*   akla

31. *dirty*   wuneneney

32. *dog*   piyren

33. *drink*   yiw ra *(consume water)*

34. *dry*   æyle

35. *dull*   wam *(blunt)*

36. *dust*   kayputeriy

37. *ear*   mane (cf. 11.4)

38. *earth*   niw *ground, soil*

39. *eat*   æye ra *(consume food)*

40. *egg*   yi+wate *(bird+egg)*

41. *eye*   new (cf. 11.4)

42. *fall*   lamlakna

43. *far*   tomte

44. *fat*   kanel, lum (cf. 11.4)

45. *father*   ŋaye/ŋawər (cf. 11.1)

46. *fear*   aytir

47. *feather*   yi+tiw *(bird+hair)*

48. *few*   urunk-kwo *(three-like)*

49. *fight*   t-ni-puya *(hit each other)*
    t-n-iy *(shoot each other)*

50. *fire*   tapwo

51. *fish*   ŋale (cf. 11.5)

52. *five*   yiyle dæni *(one hand)*
    (cf. 11.3)

53. *float*   wayrow

54. *flow*   t-towleyakw

55. *flower*   wale

56. *fly*   apta

57. *fog*   æwktil *(cloud)*

58. *foot*   riwe(-yak) (cf. 11.4)

59. *four*   orkweynaywo (cf. 11.3)

60. *freeze*   —

61. *fruit*   taw+wate *(tree+egg)*

62. *full*   ram omw

63. *give*   kow

64. *good*   medaye

65. *grass*   periyayawnow

66. *green*   nenel-wo *(unripe-like)*
    (cf. 11.2)

67. *guts*   ripat (cf. 11.4)

68. *hair*   tiw (cf. 11.4)

69. *hand*   yiyle (cf. 11.4)

70. *he*   rey (cf. 3.6)

71. *head*   maklake (cf. 11.4)

72. *hear*   wan

73. *heart*   wurne (cf. 11.4)

74. *heavy*   yiylekolke

75. *here*   takə, tə, ade, tade

76. *hit*   puya

77. *hold*   nak
    take   ka

78. *horn*   (TP kowm)

79. *how*   yok (cf. 9.1)

80. *hunt*   yiyay moyna/ir
    (look for/follow game)

81. *husband*   yapor, yenkay
    (cf. 11.1)

82. *I*   wan (cf. 3.6)

83. *ice*   —

84. *if*   (TP sapos cf. 10.4)

85. *in*   (-e/-ke 'Locative')
    (cf. 6.5)

86. *kill*   otkolya

87. *knee*   pampwey (cf. 11.4)

88. *know*   neknek(-neney)
    (cf. 10.2)

89. *lake*   kapem

90. *laugh*   mokəl (wun)

91. *leaf*   taw+tiw *(tree+hair)*

92. *leftside*   atkwak

93. *leg*   riwe (cf. 11.4)

94. *lie*   owna

95. *live*   ikiy, pama

96. *liver*   wurne+wæw (cf. 11.4)

97. *long*   wokək, wukliwke

98. *louse*   nin

99. *man/male*   yapor, yenkay, rame
    male X   X-rokwo

100. *many*   liwke

101. *meat*   lum *(fat)*

102. *moon*   yilmake

103. *mother*   ŋamey/nemet (cf. 11.1)

104. *mountain*   tiwle

105. *mouth*   alworaw, raw+nale
    (call+hole cf. 11.4)

106. *name*   yenyiy

107. *narrow*   kenken

108. *near*   teywake

109. *neck*   kolæy (cf. 11.4)

110. *new*   næk

111. *night*   im (cf. 11.3)

112.	*nose*	wutil (cf. 11.4)	143.	*sit*	i̱k̠
113.	*not*	yene (cf. 9.2), ka- (cf. 4.2.3)	144.	*skin*	yæy (cf. 11.4)
			145.	*sky*	mæy *(sun)* (cf. 11.3)
114.	*old*	owtiykayæn, owyæn [+HUMAN] lop [-HUMAN]	146.	*sleep*	newtiy ow̲na̲
			147.	*small*	yankeyke
115.	*one*	naydowo (cf. 11.3)	148.	*smell*	ayn̲a̲, uyk *(odour)*
116.	*other*	dæni (cf. 7)	149.	*smoke*	tipelyow
117.	*person*	rameyæn	150.	*smooth*	wereye
118.	*play*	mənman k̲a̲	151.	*snake*	wulæk (cf. 11.5)
119.	*pull*	i̱li̱n̲	152.	*snow*	—
120.	*push*	i̱kri̱ti̱t	153.	*some*	womyætne (cf. 11.3)
121.	*rain*	yele (i̱t̲)	154.	*spit*	tæpley (cf. 11.4), ka̲re̲y
122.	*red*	æypiy-kwo *(blood-like cf. 11.2)*			
			155.	*split*	uwkdye̲r̲
123.	*right*	medemede *true* yirin yekə *correct* ap rey *just so*	156.	*squeeze*	na̲kta̲ne̲y
			157.	*stab*	t-to̲w̲
124.	*rightside*	yiyle+mede *(real hand)*	158.	*stand*	i̲wre̲k̲
125.	*river*	wiytape	159.	*star*	wuwp, towlow
126.	*road*	nuwp	160.	*stick*	tawap
127.	*root*	taw+ten *(tree+tendon)*	161.	*stone*	tiyl
128.	*rope*	mæt *(vine cf. 11.5)*	162.	*straight*	peteyta-kwo
129.	*rotten*	pumpum ro̲kw̲, t-ta̲n̲ *(stink)*	163.	*suck*	a̲mti̱rna̲
			164.	*sun*	mæy
130.	*round*	pomkewe	165.	*swell*	la̲wa̲
131.	*rub*	i̲ytwe̲y̲	166.	*swim*	wa̲
132.	*salt*	wow *(coconut shell ash)*	167.	*tail*	uwn
133.	*sand*	telman	168.	*that*	opor, topor
134.	*say*	ma̲k̲ (cf. 10.2)	169.	*there*	rey, opo, topo
135.	*scratch*	ra̲nk̲	170.	*they*	ræw (DU), rom (cf. 3.6)
136.	*sea*	(TP solwara)	171.	*thick*	wawər-neney
137.	*see*	owpa (cf. 10.2)	172.	*thin*	periyaw-kwo
138.	*seed*	wate	173.	*think*	nenæn la̲y̲, nenæn-neney (cf. 8.8, 10.2)
139.	*sew*	a̲de̲n̲			
140.	*sharp*	pərpər			
141.	*short*	tukre	174.	*this*	ader, tader (cf. 3.6)
142.	*sing*	riwtow o̲kw̲ *(perform a ceremony)*	175.	*thou*	yen (cf. 3.6)
			176.	*three*	urunk (cf. 11.3)

177. *throw*   iprik
178. *tie*   day
179. *tongue* lale (cf. 11.4)
180. *tooth* piylake (cf. 11.4)
181. *tree* taw (cf. 11.5)
182. *turn* porya
183. *two* yikiyr (cf. 11.3)
184. *vomit* iwtow
185. *walk* æy *(go)*
186. *warm* tapwo-neney *(fire-y)*
187. *wash* worya
188. *water* yiw
189. *we* nan (DU), nom (cf. 3.6)
190. *wet* yiw-neney *(water-y)*
191. *what* yakum(oyæn) (cf. 9.1)
192. *when* yekak (cf. 9.1)
193. *where* yipe, yipke (cf. 9.1)

194. *white* kiwyo-kwo (cf. 11.2)
195. *who* yeran, yeremæn (cf. 9.1)
196. *wide* wawerneney
197. *wife* talet (cf. 11.1)
198. *wind* yiyk
199. *wing* læt
200. *wipe* naklalna
201. *with* -k 'Instrumental/ Comitative' (cf. 6.3) dowo *(together)* pokneney *(mixed with)*
202. *woman* tale
203. *woods* mæw, ole
204. *worm* mweymoy (cf. 11.5)
205. *ye* an (DU), om (cf. 3.6)
206. *year* (TP yia)
207. *yellow* kowlaw-kwo (cf. 11.2)

REFERENCES

ALLIED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION, SOUTHWEST PACIFIC AREA.

   1943   Terrain Study No. 65: Area study of the Sepik District.

BERLIN, Brent and Paul KAY

   1969   *Basic color terms: their universality and evolution.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

CHOMSKY, Noam, and M. HALLE

   1968   *The sound pattern of English.* New York: Harper and Row.

CHUNG, Sandra and Alan TIMBERLAKE

   1985   Tense, aspect, and mood. In T. Shopen, ed. 1985, Vol.III:202-257.

COMRIE, Bernard

   1976   *Aspect.* Cambridge: CUP.

COMRIE, Bernard and Norval SMITH

   1977   Lingua Descriptive Series: Questionnaire. *Lingua* 42:1-72.

DIXON, R.M.W.

   1977   Where have all the adjectives gone? *Studies in Language* 1:19-80.

   1979   Ergativity. *Language* 55:59-138.

FELDMAN, Harry and Walter SEILER

   1983   On the foundations of a typology and what 'optional' case markers mark. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 14:195-201.

FOLEY, W.A.

   1986   *The Papuan languages of New Guinea.* Cambridge: CUP.

HOCKETT, Charles F.

   1958   *A course in modern linguistics.* New York: MacMillan.

HOPPER, Paul J. and Sandra A. THOMPSON

   1980   Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56:251-299.

KEENAN, Edward L. and Bernard COMRIE

   1977   Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8:63-100.

   1979   Data on the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy. *Language* 55:333-351.

LAYCOCK, Donald D.

    1968   Languages of the Lumi Subdistrict (West Sepik District) New Guinea. *Oceanic Linguistics* 7:36-66.

    1973   *Sepik languages: checklist and preliminary classification.* *PL*, B-25.

LAYCOCK, Donald C. and J. Z'GRAGGEN

    1977   The Sepik-Ramu Phylum. In Wurm, ed. 1977:731-763.

LOWIE, Robert H.

    1968   Relationship terms. In P. Bohannan and J. Middleton, eds *Kinship and social organization,* 39-59. Garden City, NY: Natural History Press.

LYONS, John

    1966   Towards a 'notional' theory of the 'parts of speech'. *Journal of Linguistics* 2:209-236.

    1968   *Introduction to theoretical linguistics.* London: CUP.

    1977   *Semantics.* Cambridge: CUP.

McCARTHY, J.K.

    1931,   Patrol reports.
    1936-37

MacGREGOR, Donald E.

    1969   Learning from Wape mythology. *Practical Anthropology* 16:201-215.

    1972   The villager's world. *Catalyst* 2/4.

    1974a   Communicating the Christian message to the Wape people of Papua New Guinea. *International Review of Mission* 63:530-538.

    1974b   New Guinea myths and scriptural similarities. *Missiology* 2:35-46.

    1975   *The fish and the cross: a description and interpretation of the fish sing-sing festival held at Teloute village, Papua New Guinea.* Hamilton, New Zealand: privately printed by the author.

MacGREGOR, Donald E. and Aileen MacGREGOR

    1982   *Olo language materials. PL,* D-42.

MARSHALL, A.J.

    1937   Northern New Guinea. *Geographical Journal* 89:489-506.

    1938   *The men and birds of paradise.* London: Heinemann.

MITCHELL, William E.

    1973   A new weapon stirs up old ghosts. *Natural History* 82:74-84.

    1974   Medical care for a New Guinea tribal population: administrative strategies and the human response. Paper presented at the 73rd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Mexico City.

220

MITCHELL, William E.

    1975   Culturally contrasting therapeutic systems of the West Sepik: the Lujere. In Thomas R. Williams, ed. *Psychological anthropology*, 409-439. The Hague: Mouton.

    1977   Changing others: the anthropological study of therapeutic systems. *Medical Anthropology Newsletter* 8:15-20.

    1978a   Sorcellerie chamanique: 'sanguma' chez les Lujere du cours supérieur de Sépik. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 33:179-189.

    1978b   On keeping equal: polity and reciprocity among the New Guinea Wape. *Anthropological Quarterly* 51:5-15.

    1978c   *The bamboo fire: an anthropologist in New Guinea.* New York: Norton.

MURDOCH, George P.

    1949   *Social structure.* New York: Macmillan.

ROBINSON, E.D.

    1931-   Patrol reports.
    1934

SCHACHTER, Paul

    1985   Parts-of-speech systems. In T. Shopen, ed. 1985, vol.I:1-61.

SCORZA, David P.

    1972   Classification of Au myths. *Practical Anthropology* 19:214-218.

    1974   Au social relations ... and please behave. In Shaw, ed. 1974:187-209.

SHAW, R. Daniel, ed.

    1974   *Kinship studies in Papua New Guinea.* Ukarumpa: SIL.

SHOPEN, Timothy ed.

    1985   *Language typology and syntactic description.* Cambridge: CUP.

SMYTH, Herbert W.

    1920   *Greek grammar.* Cambridge MA: Harvard UP.

TRUBETZKOY, N.

    1969   *Principles of phonology.* Translated by Christianne A.M. Baltaxe. Berkeley: University of California Press.

VENDLER, Zeno

    1967   Verbs and times. In *Linguistics and philosophy,* 97-121. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

WARK, Lynette and L.A. MALCOLM

    1969   Growth and development of the Lumi child in the Sepik District of New Guinea. *Medical Journal of Australia* 2:129-136.

WHITEHEAD, Carl R.

    1981   Subject, object and indirect object: towards a typology of Papuan languages. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 13/1:32-63.

WHITNEY, William D.

    1960   *Sanskrit grammar.* Cambridge MA: Harvard UP.

WURM, S.A.

    1971   The Papuan linguistic situation. In T.A. Sebeok, ed. *Current trends in linguistics,* 8/1:591-594.

    1977   Personal pronouns. In Wurm, ed. 1977:191-217.

WURM S.A., ed.

    1977   *New Guinea area languages and language study,* vol.1: *Papuan languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene.* *PL,* C-38.

INDEX