

THE MORPHOLOGY OF WAMBON

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LOURENS DE VRIES

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THE MORPHOLOGY OF WAMBON
OF THE IRIAN JAYA
UPPER-DIGUL AREA

With an introduction to its phonology



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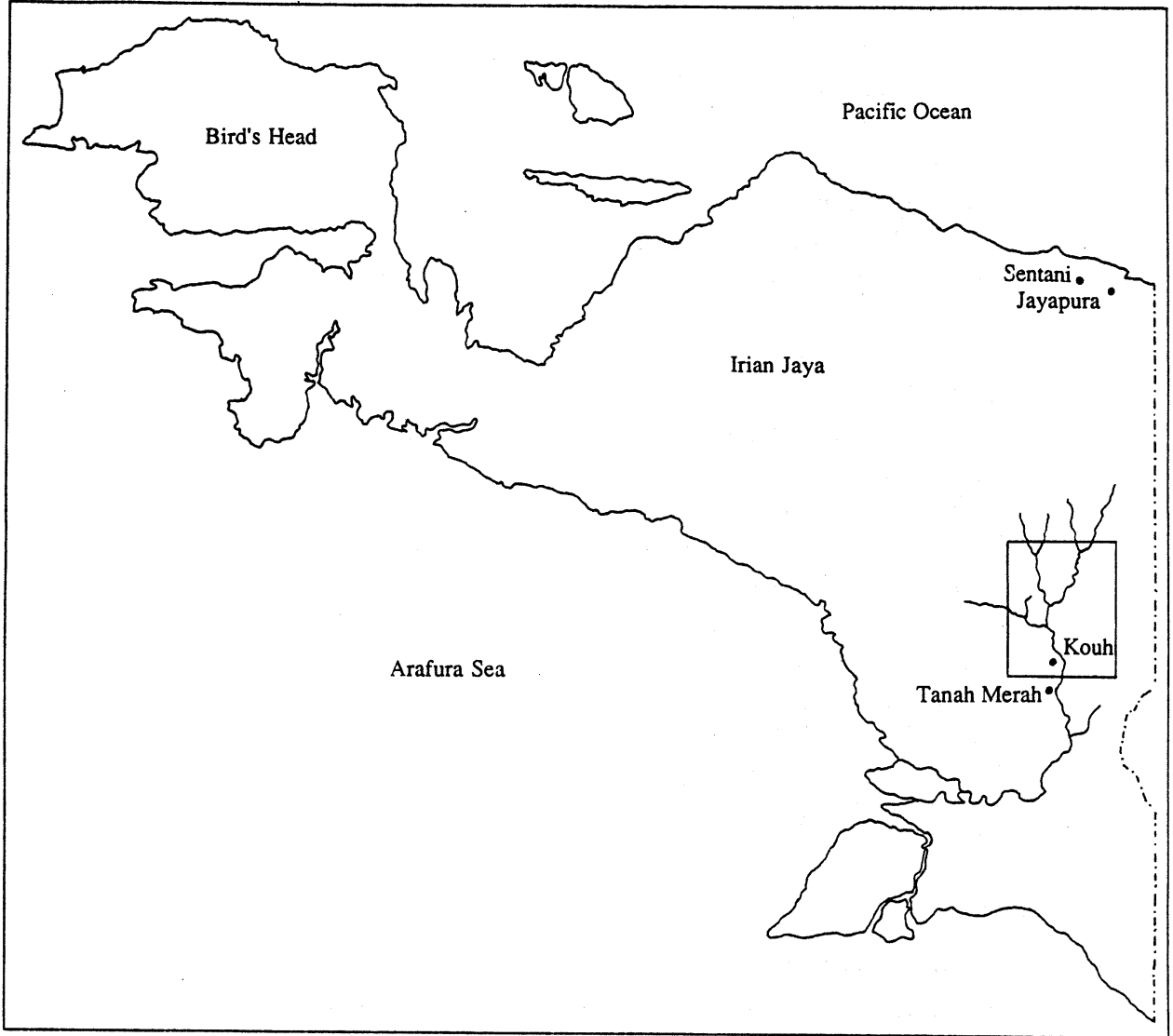
CONTENTS

Maps	viii
Grapheme table	xi
List of abbreviations and symbols	xiii
<i>I Introduction</i>	1
<i>II Phonological introduction</i>	
2.1 Phonemes	3
2.1.1 Consonants	3
2.1.1.1 Chart of consonant phonemes	3
2.1.1.2 Some contrasts for consonants	4
2.1.1.3 Phonetic realization of consonants	5
2.1.1.4 Distribution of consonants	7
2.1.1.5 Morphophonemic changes in consonants	8
2.1.2 Vowels	10
2.1.2.1 Chart of vowel phonemes	10
2.1.2.2 Contrasting pairs for vowels	10
2.1.2.3 Phonetic realization of vowel phonemes	11
2.2 Syllables and words	12
<i>III Morphology</i>	
3.1 Verbs	13
3.1.1 Characterization	13
3.1.2 Derivations of verbs; support verbs <i>-mo</i> and <i>-ke</i>	13
3.1.2.1 Verbalization of adjectives	14
3.1.2.2 Indonesian verb loans	14
3.1.2.3 Noun-based <i>-mol-ke</i> verbs	14
3.1.2.4 Habitual-iterative verb formation with <i>-mo</i> and <i>-ke</i>	15
3.1.2.5 Question-word verbs with <i>-mo</i>	15
3.1.2.6 Past negative verb forms with <i>-mo</i>	15
3.1.2.7 <i>-ke</i> and experiential verbs	16
3.1.3 Verb inflection	17
3.1.3.1 Final and medial in Wambon	17

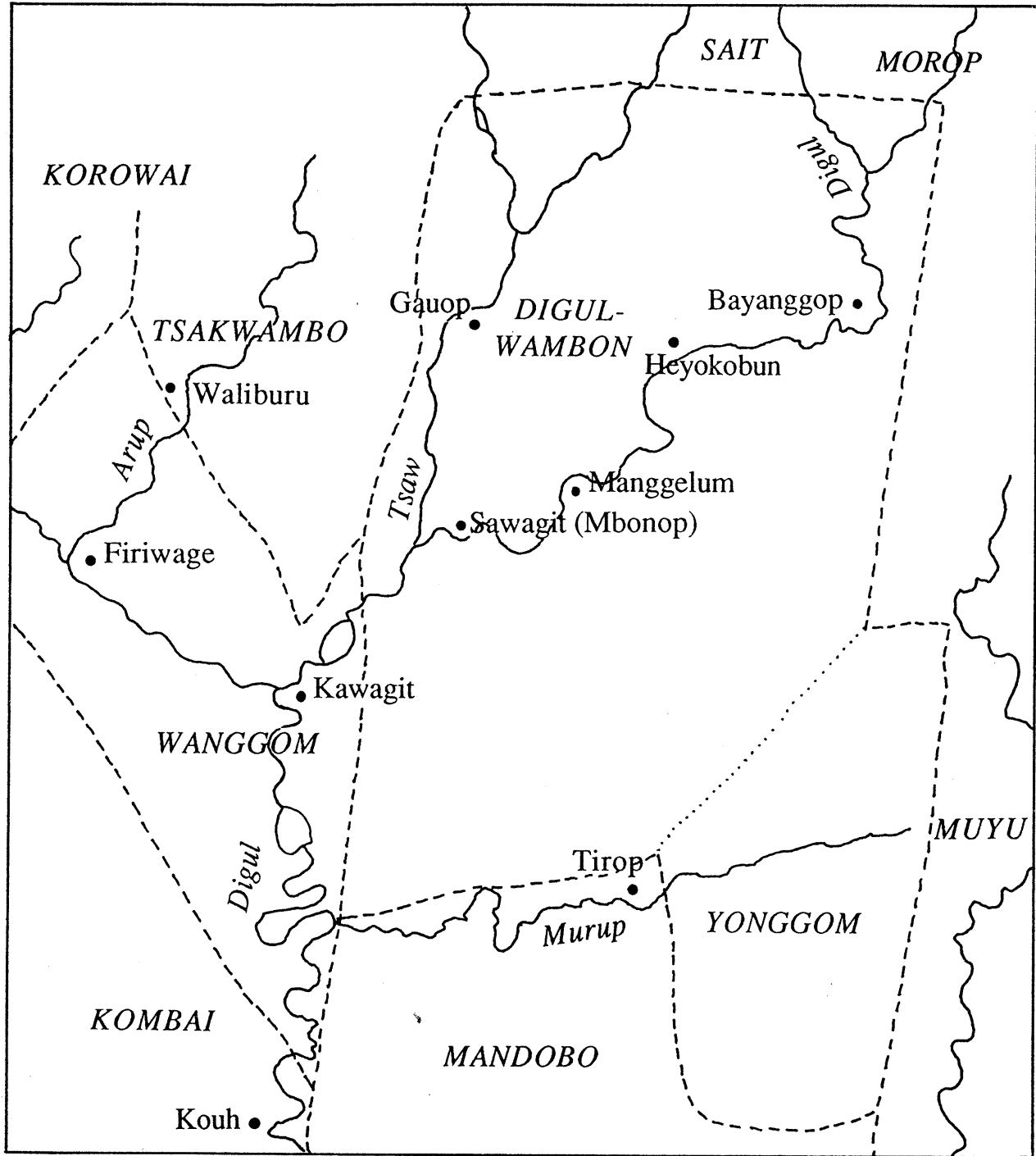
3.1.3.2	Medial verbs	18	
3.1.3.2.1	Same-Subject forms	18	
3.1.3.2.1.1	Temporally neutral SS forms	18	
3.1.3.2.1.2	Temporally marked SS forms	20	
3.1.3.2.2	Different-Subject verb forms	20	
3.1.3.2.3	The origin of SS and DS forms in Wambon	22	
3.1.3.3	Final verbs	23	
3.1.3.3.1	Person-number	23	
3.1.3.3.2	Stems	23	
3.1.3.3.3	Tense	25	
3.1.3.3.3.1	Present-Neutral tense	25	
3.1.3.3.3.2	Past tense	26	
3.1.3.3.3.3	Future tense	26	
3.1.3.3.4	Mood	27	
3.1.3.3.4.1	Illocutionary force	27	
3.1.3.3.4.1.1	Imperative	27	
3.1.3.3.4.1.2	Interrogative	28	
3.1.3.3.4.2	Status	29	
3.1.3.3.4.2.1	Counterfactual	29	
3.1.3.3.4.2.2	Uncertainty	30	
3.1.3.3.4.2.3	Conditional	30	
3.1.3.3.4.3	Modality	31	
3.1.3.3.4.3.1	Intentional/Adhortative	31	
3.1.3.3.5	Aspect	33	
3.1.3.3.5.1	Habitual-iterative	33	
3.1.3.3.5.2	Durative	33	
3.1.3.3.5.3	Completive	34	
3.1.3.3.6	Negation	34	
3.1.4	Copulas; the verb 'to be'	37	
3.2	Nouns		39
3.2.1	Characterization	39	
3.2.2	Plurality	39	
3.2.3	Nominalization with <i>-mop</i>	40	
3.3	Pronouns		41
3.3.1	Personal pronouns	41	
3.3.2	Possessive pronouns	42	
3.3.3	Reflexive pronouns	42	
3.4	Adjectives		42
3.5	Other nominal modifiers		43
3.5.1	Demonstratives	43	
3.5.2	Numerators	44	
3.5.3	Quantifiers	48	
3.6	Question-words		48
3.7	Deictics		50
3.8	Manner adverbs		52
3.9	Adverbial particles		53

3.10	Relators	54
3.10.1	Definition	54
3.10.2	Relator constraint, field and centre	54
3.10.3	Modifier-Head relators	55
3.10.3.1	<i>-o</i>	55
3.10.3.2	<i>-ko</i>	57
3.10.4	Relators in the relative clause	57
3.10.5	Postpositions/subordinators	58
3.10.5.1	Postpositions expressing semantic functions	58
3.10.5.1.1	<i>-ka</i>	58
3.10.5.1.2	<i>-sikhi</i>	61
3.10.5.1.3	<i>-kot</i>	63
3.10.5.2	Postpositions expressing pragmatic functions	64
3.10.5.2.1	<i>(-eve)</i>	64
3.10.5.2.2	<i>-nde</i> and <i>-o</i>	66
3.10.5.3	The syntactic postposition/subordinator <i>-e</i>	67
3.10.6	Coordinators	70
3.10.6.1	Coordination of NP	70
3.10.6.1.1	<i>-kup</i>	71
3.10.6.1.2	<i>-nde</i>	71
3.10.6.1.3	<i>-o</i>	72
3.10.6.2	Clausal coordination	72
3.10.7	Verbs as relators	74
IV	<i>Conclusion</i>	
4.1	Wambon as a Papuan language	77
4.2	Wambon as a Trans-New Guinea Phylum language	77
4.2.1	Phonology	77
4.2.2	Morphology	78
4.3	Digul-Wambon and Yonggom-Wambon	79
V	<i>Texts</i>	
5.1	A pig-hunt	83
5.2	Savanop and the pig	85
5.3	Magic formula for prahu dedication	86
5.4	Sawing	86
	Bibliography	97

Map 1. Irian Jaya with Upper-Digul Area (Kouh subdistrict)



Map 2. Wambon and neighbouring languages



- language border
- dialect border
- SAIT* language name
- Kouh village name
- Digul* river name



GRAPHEME TABLE

The graphemes have been selected from the Indonesian alphabet.

Phoneme	Grapheme
/p/	p
/t/	t
/k/	k
/mb/	mb
/nd/	nd
/ŋg/	ngg
/m/	m
/n/	n
/w/	w
/l/	l
/j/	y
/β/	v
/s/	s
/dʒ/	j
/ɣ/	kh
/h/	h
/i/	i
/e/	e
/a/	a
/u/	u
/o/	o
/e ⁱ /	ei
/o ⁱ /	oi
/u ⁱ /	ui
/a ⁱ /	ai
/a ^u /	au

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Phonetic symbols in this book are taken from the IPA.

*	unacceptable form
<u>V</u>	backed vowel
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
non-1	second and third person

adhor	adhortative
attr	attributive
C	consonant
Circum	Circumstantial
Comit	Comitative
conn	connective
condit	conditional
coord	coordinator
DS	Different Subject
FG	Functional Grammar
fut	future tense
imp	imperative
interrog	interrogative
intent	intentional
Loc	Locative
neg	negative
n.	noun
NF	Non Future
NP	nominal phrase(s)
nom	nominalisator
O	Object (position)
pl	plural
pres	present

q-wrd	question-word
R	relator
RC	relative clause
SS	Same Subject
S	Subject (position)
seq	sequence
sg	singular
sim	simultaneity
sub	subordinator
supp	support-verb
TNGP	Trans-New Guinea Phylum
tr	transitional nasal

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This book presents an outline of the morphology of Wambon, an Awyu-Dumut language belonging to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (Voorhoeve 1975:21, 27). Wambon is spoken by about 3,000 people in the Upper-Digul area of Southeast Irian Jaya, Indonesia (see Maps 1 and 2).¹

Each section of the book discusses a word category that seems relevant to Wambon grammar. The word categories are first characterized in terms of where and how they function in phrases and clauses and/or in terms of the morphological categories they express. Following this characterization derivational processes, if any, are treated. Finally there is a discussion of the inflectional aspects.

Introductory sections on the Wambon language and its phonology precede the sections on the word categories.

Since the Functional Grammar framework was a crucial analytical tool during our fieldwork, several notions from Dik (1978) are used.² However, this study, with its descriptive orientation, does not presuppose knowledge of Dik's theory.

Wambon

Wambon shows much dialectical variation. Two main dialects can be distinguished, Digul-Wambon and Yonggom-Wambon. This study describes Digul-Wambon as it is spoken in the Sawagit area (see Map 2). Yonggom-Wambon has been described by Drabbe (1959). In 4.3 the relation between the two main dialects is discussed.

To the south the Murup River, a branch of the Digul, forms the border of the Wambon language area. On the other side of the Murup, Mandobo (formerly called Dumut or Kaeti) is spoken, an Awyu-family language closely related to Wambon, especially to the Yonggom dialect, and described together with Yonggom by Drabbe (1959).

¹ Estimated by Rev. H. Versteeg, missionary in Manggelum (personal communication).

² The authors spent 21 months in Manggelum between February 1983 and May 1985 as linguistic members of the Mission of Reformed Churches (ZGK).

To the east Wambon has Muyu, a Lowland Ok language, as its neighbour.

To the north Wambon extends far into the foothills of the central mountain ranges. Between the mountains and the Wambon language border there is a small zone where the Sait language is spoken, with which Wambon has a 13% lexical correspondence.³ The affiliation of Sait is not clear; possibly it belongs to the Awyu family.

To the west Wambon has Wanggom and Tsakwambo as its neighbours, both Awyu languages.

The Yonggom-Wambon speakers came under the influence of the Catholic Mission in the 1950s and the Digul-Wambon speakers under the influence of the Protestant Mission in the early 1970s. This was accompanied by the introduction of Bazaar Malay, a Malay-based pidgin, in the area. In this way several Malay loanwords entered the Wambon lexicon.

Socially the Wambon are organized in patrilines, each having its own territory, with households of extended patrilineal families. Marriage is exogamous and polygynous, with elaborate marriage transactions involving bridal payments. Ego has strong ties with both mother's clan and father's clan. Mother's brother represents mother's clan of origin, and with him ego has a strong connection of mutual obligations. Ego has strained relations with his affinal relatives; with his wife's mother ego has an avoidance relation. By gift exchange, affinal and other kinship relations are maintained.

Death is a focal point triggering suspicions of sorcery, followed by accusations, denials and revenge.

³ The lexical correspondence percentage is from an initial lexico-statistical survey done by Rev. H. Versteeg (personal communication).

CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

2.1 Phonemes

There are only segmental phonemes in Wambon.¹ Suprasegmental features such as stress are predictable.

Vowels can be distinguished from consonants on the basis of their function in syllables. Vowels form the nucleus of the syllable and may receive stress, while consonants do not have these properties.

2.1.1 Consonants

2.1.1.1 Chart of consonant phonemes²

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless plosives	p	t		k	
voiced plosives	mb	nd		ŋg	
nasals	m	n			
fricatives	β	s	d ₃	ɣ	h
liquids	w	l	j		

¹ R. de Vries-Wiersma is responsible for the phonology part and L. de Vries for the morphology sections.

² In this chart we have not given the loanphonemes occurring in loans from Indonesian. Loanphonemes are represented with the symbols of the Indonesian alphabet. Loanphonemes include: the Indonesian *g* in *tiga* 'three' (see 5.4 no. 13), the Indonesian *b* in *habis* (see 5.4 no. 14) and in *Belanda* 'Dutch' (see 3.10.6.1.1, example (180), the Indonesian phoneme-cluster *nj* in *kunjungan* 'visit' (see 5.4 no. 13), in which loan, based on the Indonesian word *kunjungan* 'visit', the Indonesian velar nasal *ng* has been replaced by the Wambon alveolar nasal *n* (partly adapted loan), the Indonesian *f* in *sifat* 'measure-string' (see 5.4 no. 5), the Indonesian *c* in *camala* 'head of subdistrict' (see note 22 of Chapter III, example (196)). This last loan is also a partly adapted loan, based on the Indonesian *camat*.

2.1.1.2 Some contrasts for consonants

/mb/	vs	/m/:	[^m but] [mut]	'brother-in-law' 'downwards'
/m/	vs	/w/:	[tamut] [tawut]	'territory' 'leave(n.)'
/β/	vs	/w/:	[^t saβuk] [tawut] [aβɔp] [huwɔp] [βalim] [wak]	'tobacco' 'leave(n.)' 'who' 'air' 'curve' 'hot'
/nd/	vs	/n/:	[na ⁿ dat] [nanat] [nuk] [ⁿ du]	'listen!' 'pineapple' 'I' 'sago'
/t/	vs	/s/:	[^t sɔk] [tɔk]	'dry' 'shrimp'
/s/	vs	/d ₃ /:	[^t sat] [d ₃ at]	'sun' 'clear'
/d ₃ /	vs	/j/:	[ju] [d ₃ u]	'interjection of surprise' 'stringbag'
/p/	vs	/mb/:	[hɛtaɣalɛpɔ] [hɛtaɣalɛ ^m bɔ]	'I saw' ³ 'you(pl)/they saw'
/k/	vs	/ŋg/:	[-kup] [ⁿ gup] [kut] [ⁿ gup]	'also' 'you(sg)' 'sky' 'you(sg)'

³ Some linguists would not treat [p] and [^mb], [k] and [ŋg], and [t] and [ⁿd] as suspect pairs, but given the Wambon phoneme configuration with two rows of stops, we found it appropriate to adduce contrastive evidence for these pairs.

/t/	vs	/nd/:	[tɔk]	'shrimp'
			[ndɔk]	'come!'

2.1.1.3 Phonetic realization of consonants

Voiceless plosives:

/p/: [p] is a voiceless bilabial plosive; in final position it is unreleased.
Examples: [ap] 'house'; [tɔp] 'opening, hole'; [aptɔp] 'door'.

/t/: [t] is a voiceless alveolar plosive; in final position it is unreleased.
Examples: [tɔk] 'shrimp'; [mbitut] 'snake'.

/k/: [k] is a voiceless velar plosive; in final position it is unreleased.
Examples: [kap] 'man'; [ndominuk] 'one'; [satkefɔp] 'sun'.

Voiced plosives

/mb/: [mb] is a voiced prenasalized bilabial plosive.
Examples: [mbap] 'father'; [ambunɔp] 'small'.

/nd/: [nd] is a voiced prenasalized alveolar plosive.
Examples: [ndu] 'sago'; [andit] 'body'.

/ŋg/: [ŋg] is a voiced prenasalized velar plosive.
Examples: [ŋgup] 'you(sg)'; [aŋgai] 'dog; cat'.

Although CC clusters may occur word-medially (see 2.2) we have interpreted the prenasalized plosives as one sound because initially they have to be interpreted as one sound (no initial CC) and because some of the component sounds do not occur singly, viz. [ŋ], [g], [b] and [d].⁴

Nasals

/m/: [m] is a bilabial nasal.
Examples: [tumit] 'crocodile'; [mit] 'bone'; [tum] 'son'.

⁴ In the word *odo* 'and', however, the [d] occurs singly.

/n/: [n] is an alveolar nasal.

Examples: [nuk] 'I'; [lɔn] 'woman'; [nɔ^mbɔnɛ] 'now'.

Fricatives

/β/: [β] is a voiced bilabial fricative.

Examples: [hiβin] 'big'; [βin] 'sweet potato'.

/s/: [tʰs] is a voiceless alveolar homorganic affricate, occurring word-initially;

[s] is a voiceless alveolar fricative, occurring elsewhere.

Examples: [tʰsɔt] 'day'; [asɔt] 'bad'.

/dʒ/: [dʒ] is a voiced palato-alveolar affricate.

Examples: [dʒu] 'stringbag'; [dʒɔt] 'clear'.

/ɣ/: [ɣ] is a voiced velar fricative; in the Manggelum area this phoneme is everywhere replaced by a glottal stop phoneme.

Examples: [aɣup] 'kind of vegetable'; [nɔɣɔp] 'we'.

/h/: [h] is a voiceless glottal fricative.

Examples: [hitulɔpkup] 'four'; [hiβin] 'big'.

Liquids

/w/: [w] is a voiced bilabial semi-vowel.

Examples: [wɔk] 'hot'; [tawut] 'leave(n)'.

/l/: [l] is an alveolar lateral which occurs in total fluctuation with the flapped alveolar vibrant [ɾ].⁵

Examples: [lɔn] 'woman'; [ɾɔn] 'woman'; [kɛɾɔp] 'eye'; [kɛlɔp] 'eye'.

/j/: [j] is a palatal semi-vowel.

Examples: [najɔp] 'my mother'; [jɔk] 'yes'.

⁵ With total fluctuation we mean that the [ɾ] everywhere may replace the [l].

2.1.1.4 Distribution of consonants

The following table shows the distribution of consonant phonemes in words.

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/p/	+	+	+
/t/	+	+	+
/k/	+	+	+
/mb/	+	+	-
/nd/	+	+	-
/ŋg/	+	+	-
/m/	+	+	+
/n/	+	+	+
/β/	+	+	-
/s/	+	+	-
/h/	+	-	-
/ɣ/	-	+	-
/d ₃ /	+	-	-
/w/	+	+	-
/l/	+	+	-
/j/	+	+	-

In several TNG languages we find restrictions on the consonants that may occur finally (Reesink 1984:15; Haiman 1980:xxxiv). The distribution table shows that in Wambon only voiceless plosives and nasals may occur finally: these sounds occur in all three positions in the word.

Liquids and voiced plosives occur both initially and medially. Of the fricatives, two have a very restricted distribution, /ɣ/ occurring only medially (in intervocalic position) and /h/ occurring only initially. The other fricatives occur both initially and medially.

2.1.1.5 Morphophonemic changes in consonants

The morphophonemics of Wambon is quite complex; in this section we sketch only those processes which the reader needs to know about in order to understand the section on morphology.⁶

When voiceless plosives resulting from morpheme clustering occur between vowels, the following changes occur.

- | | | | |
|-----|------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| (1) | /p/ > /β/ | /ap/ + /-e/ > /aβe/ | 'house' |
| | /t/ > /l/ | /sit/ + /-e/ > /sile/ | 'cucumber' |
| | /k/ > /ɣ/ | /tayimo-/ + /-ke/ > /tayimoye/ | 'he buys' |
| | /k/ > /ŋg/ | /mboma/ + /-ka/ > /mbomanga/ | 'in Boma' |

Rule (1) is exceptionless; whether /k/ changes into /ɣ/ or /ŋg/ must be specified per individual morpheme. For example, the /k/ of the present-tense marker /-ke/ always changes into /ɣ/ when suffixed to verb stems ending in a vowel, but the /k/ of the semantic relator /-ka/ (Time, Location, Instrument) always changes into /ŋg/ after noun stems ending in a vowel.

Notice that (1) is a voicing rule for intervocalic conditions, but except for this common voicing aspect the output of (1) is strikingly diverse. The voiceless plosives end up in three different classes of phonemes: lateralization of /t/, fricativization of /p/ and /k/, and (in some morphemes) /k/ becoming a voiced plosive.

The voiced plosives completely assimilate with a preceding homorganic voiceless plosive:

- | | |
|-----|------------------|
| (2) | /p/ + /mb/ > /p/ |
| | /t/ + /nd/ > /t/ |

About the /k/ + /ŋg/ combination we lack sufficient data. In Yonggom (Drabbe 1959:116) /k/ + /ŋg/ > /ŋg/. Some examples of rule (2) follow.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| (3) | /sit/ | + /-nde/ > /site/ | 'there is cucumber' |
| | cucumber | + pred | |

⁶ This section only treats the most frequent morphophonemic changes. Minor changes in the examples are clarified in the text or the notes.

- (4) /kop-/ + /-mbo/ > /kopo/ 'there it is'
 there + pred

The alveolar nasal /n/ completely assimilates with a following bilabial nasal (rule (5)), as illustrated in (6).

- (5) /n/ + /m/ > /m/

- (6) /en-/ + /en-/ + /-moknde/ > /enemoknde/ 'they usually eat'
 eat + eat + supp.3pl.pres

When morphemes ending in a vowel precede morphemes beginning with a vowel, a transitional nasal (tr) occurs between the two vowels (rule (7)), as illustrated in (8) and (9).

- (7) /V/ + /V/ > /V/ + /n/ + /V/

- (8) /na-/ + /ap/ > /nanap/ 'my house'
 my + house

- (9) /ande/ + /-e/ > /andene/ 'banana'
 banana + conn

In some cases vowel elision takes place instead of nasal transition:

- (10) /ka-/ + /-ep/ > /kap/ 'I want to go'
 go + 1sg.

The processes of nasal insertion and vowel elision take place both within words and across word boundaries:

- (11) /ev-o -n- ap/ 'that house'
 that-conn tr house

- (12) /ev-e ap/ > /ev ap/ 'that is a house'
 that-conn house

In (11) the transitional nasal occurs between the demonstrative modifier *evo* 'that' and the noun *ap* 'house'. In (12), where the connective *-e* signals that

the demonstrative is not used as modifier but as head, this *-e* is elided before the initial vowel of *ap* 'house'.

2.1.2 Vowels

2.1.2.1 Chart of vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
close	i		u u ⁱ
open	e e ⁱ	a a ⁱ a ^u	o o ⁱ

2.1.2.2 Contrasting pairs for vowels

/e/ vs /i/	[alip] [alɛp]	'yesterday' 'canoe'
/e/ vs /e ⁱ /	[mbɛt] [mbɛ ⁱ t]	'younger sister' 'mountain'
/a/ vs /a ⁱ /	[kɔp] [ka ⁱ p]	'man' 'rain'
/a/ vs /a ^u /	[kɔp] [ka ^u p]	'man' 'sound(n.)'
/o/ vs /o ⁱ /	[ndɔ] [ndɔ ⁱ]	'only' 'not'
/o/ vs /u/	[molo] [mulo]	'back(n.)' 'descend'
/o/ vs /a/	[ap] [ɔp]	'house' 'sound(n.)'
/u/ vs /u ⁱ /	[kumuk] [ku ⁱ luk] [ŋgu] [laŋgu ⁱ]	'wrist' 'pipe' 'you(sg)' 'female animal'

2.1.2.3 Phonetic realization of vowel phonemes

/i/: [i] is a close front spread vowel.

Examples: [kalit] 'nose', [mit] 'bone', [ip] 'earth'.

/e/: three allophones [ɛ], [ɪ] and [e]. [e] is a half-close front unrounded vowel, [ɛ] is a half-open front unrounded vowel and [ɪ] is a lax front unrounded vowel between close and half-close. [e] occurs in variation with [ɛ] in open syllables and [ɪ] occurs in variation with [ɛ] in closed syllables. Thus [ɛ] has the widest distribution.

Examples: [kɛlɔp] 'eye'; [kelɔp] 'eye'; [enɔp] 'tree; wood; firewood; fire'; [ɛnɔp] 'tree; wood; firewood; fire'; [aⁿde] 'banana'; [aⁿdɛ] 'banana'; [kɔpsɪk] 'grass'; [kɔpsɛk] 'grass'; [alɛp] 'canoe'; [alɪp] 'canoe'.

/eⁱ/: [eⁱ] is a half-close front unrounded off-glide.

Example: [ŋgeⁱ] 'stone'.

/a/: two allophones, [a] and [ɑ]; [a] is an open central unrounded vowel and [ɑ] is a backed open unrounded vowel; [ɑ] occurs in closed syllables and [a] elsewhere. Examples: [ap] 'house'; [kap] 'man'; [kalit] 'nose'; [ˈsalip] 'wife'.

/aⁱ/: [aⁱ] is an off-glide from [a] towards [i].

Example: [kɔmɑⁿdaⁱ] 'little'.

/a^u/: [a^u] is an off-glide from [ɑ] towards [u].

Example: [kɑ^up] 'sound(n.)'.

/o/: two allophones, [o] and [ɔ]; [o] occurs only in open syllables in variation with [ɔ]; [ɔ] elsewhere.

Examples: [kɛlɔp] 'eye'; [tɔp] 'hole'; [hijɔpkɔ] 'opinion'; [hijɔpkɔ] 'opinion'.

/oⁱ/: [ɔⁱ] is an off-glide from [ɔ] towards [i].

Example: [ɔⁱ] 'pig'.

/u/: [u] is a close rounded back vowel.

Example: [luk] 'word; speech'.

/uⁱ/: [uⁱ] is an off-glide from [u] towards [i].

Example: [kuⁱluk] 'pipe'.

2.2 Syllables and words

There is one syllable-type: (C)V(C). Examples:

CVC /tok/ 'shrimp'

CV /ndu/ 'sago'

VC /ok/ 'water'

V /oⁱ/ 'pig'

The canonical word form is (C)V(C).{CV(C)}⁰⁻⁵

This form implies that V and VC syllables can occur only in the first position. Maximally a word may have six syllables. The minimal word form is a word consisting of a V syllable only. In these words we find only glides. Example: /oⁱ/ 'pig'.

Stress, which is rather light in Wambon, generally falls on the penultimate syllable; in some words we found the stress on the final and the penultimate syllable in variation.

Example: /tambúlop/ 'kind of fruit';

/tambulóp/ 'kind of fruit'.

Due to insufficient data on stress phenomena, it is impossible to state how these cases of variable stress affect the predictability of stress in Wambon.

CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY

The following sketch of Wambon morphology is really an initial outline, and does not pretend to be complete or definitive.

Each main section deals with one category. After a characterization of the category, derivation (if any) and inflection involving that category are discussed. The data are written using the phonemes represented by the graphemes in the Grapheme Table at the front of the book.

3.1 Verbs

3.1.1 Characterization

Verbs are words that are inflected for switch-reference¹ and/or tense. Verbs are the unmarked fillers on the head of the predicate slot. When nouns or adjectives function as heads of predicates, they constitute marked items and this is made clear either by copula support (see 3.1.4) or by verbalization (see 3.1.2). When verbs function as head of nominal constituents, they have to be nominalized (see 3.2.3).

3.1.2 Derivation of verbs; support verbs *-mo* and *-ke*

Support verbs are verbs whose stems go with other stems, both verbal and non-verbal, to form compound verbs. In Wambon *-mo* and *-ke* are support verbs with a crucial role in the derivation of verbs: a considerable number of verbs, possibly even the majority (Drabbe 1959:20, 126), are *stem + -mo* or *stem + -ke* compounds. According to Drabbe (1959:20, 126) *-mo* and *-ke* occur in all Awyu languages and also in the Asmat-Kamoro family. The existence of support verbs seems to be a common feature of Trans-New Guinea Phylum

¹ Switch-reference is the commonly used label in Papuan linguistics (but the phenomenon is by no means restricted to these languages; see Haiman and Munro 1983) for the widespread phenomenon in TNGP languages whereby, in consecutive clauses, the verbs express that the Subject of the following verb (clause) is the same or different from the Subject of the preceding verb (clause).

(TNGP) languages (Haiman 1980:xlvi).

Drabbe (1959:126) states that *-mo* basically means 'to do' and *-ke* 'to be/become', but he himself points out that there are transitive *-ke* derived verbs and intransitive *-mo* derived verbs.

3.1.2.1 Verbalization of adjectives

Adjectives can be productively turned into verbs with either *-mo* or *-ke* as verbalizers. For example

- | | | |
|-------------------|--------|--------------------|
| (13) adjective: | kok | 'ill' |
| - <i>mo</i> verb: | kokmo- | 'to be/become ill' |
| - <i>ke</i> verb: | koke- | 'to be/become ill' |

There do not seem to be differences in meaning between the *-mo* derived verbs and *-ke* derived verbs of adjectival origin.

3.1.2.2 Indonesian verb loans

Indonesian verbs are productively integrated into the Wambon lexicon with *-mo* and *-ke*. An example is:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|------------|
| (14) Indonesian verb: | belajar | 'to learn' |
| - <i>mo</i> loan: | mbelajatmo- | 'to learn' |
| - <i>ke</i> loan: | mbelajatke- | 'to learn' |

Wambon allows only voiceless stops and nasals as final consonants (see 2.1.1.4) and this explains the presence of root-final /t/ in the loan forms. Voiced plosives are always prenasalized in Wambon (see 2.1.1.3) and this explains the root-initial /mb/ in the loans. Thus, by adapting the phonological form and adding *-mo* or *-ke*, any Indonesian verb can be turned into a Wambon verb.

3.1.2.3 Noun-based *-mo* and *-ke* verbs

Although there are many noun-based *-mo* and *-ke* verbs, there is no longer a productive *-mo/-ke* verbalization of nouns. *-mo* and *-ke* cannot be used interchangeably:

(15) Noun:	takhet	'money'
- <i>mo</i> verb:	takhimo-	'to buy'
- <i>ke</i> verb:	—	
Noun:	kinum	'sleep'
- <i>mo</i> verb:	—	
- <i>ke</i> verb:	kinumke-	'to be sleepy'

3.1.2.4 Habitual-iterative verb formation with -*mo*/*ke*

From verbs, habitual-iterative verbs are productively derived by reduplicating the first syllable of the verb and adding -*mo* or -*ke*. An example is:

(16) Verb:	ndat-	'to listen'
Habitual-iterative - <i>mo</i> verb:	ndatndatmo-	'to listen usually'
Habitual-iterative - <i>ke</i> verb:	ndatndatke-	'to listen usually'

When the input verb is a -*mo* compound, in the habitual-iterative form -*mo* is not doubled. For example *kunumo-* 'to kiss' and *kukunumo-* 'to kiss repeatedly/habitually'. We have no data about what happens when the input verb is a -*ke* compound.

3.1.2.5 Question-word verbs with -*mo*

There are a few -*mo* derived Q-word verbs. For example

(17) Q-word:	atkenap-	'how many'
Q-word verb:	atkenapmo-	'to be how many'
Q-word:	andakha-	'what'
Q-word verb:	andakhamo-	'to do what'

3.1.2.6 Past negative verb forms with -*mo*

According to Drabbe (1959:140), in the Yonggom dialect all verb forms with the negation -*nok* 'not' take -*mo* or -*ke*. In the Digul-Wambon dialect described here, the role of the support verbs in the formation of negative verb forms is much more restricted: only with Past negative verb forms and only with -*ma*²,

² Why would the support verb -*mo* (Past stem -*ma*) occur with Past negative verb forms? According to Drabbe (1959:140), the negation -*nok* not only negativizes verb forms but also nominalizes them. Such Yonggom nominalized forms as *lapnok* 'not taking' we have never found

the Past stem of *-mo* (see 3.1.3.3.2 for tense-related suppletive stems). For example:

- (18) *lap-nok-ma-lepo*
 take-neg-supp-1sg.past
 'I did not take'

3.1.2.7 *-ke and experiential verbs*

Experiential verbs are verbs denoting psychological or physical conditions that humans may experience: to be cold, angry, hungry and so forth. Wambon experiential verbs typically have their Experiencer expressed as clause-initial Topics. 'Topic' is used here in the sense of Dik, who defines the Topic as 'that constituent of a predication "about" which the predication can be taken to predicate something' (Dik 1978:141). The majority of experiential verbs in Wambon are *-ke* derived verbs (see also Drabbe 1959:143). For example:

- (19) *Nuk kinum-ke-khe*
 I sleep-supp-3sg.pres
 'I am sleepy'

The *-ke* derived experiential verb *kinumke-* 'to be sleepy' in (19) is a 3sg form: there is no agreement with *nuk* 'I' (1sg), *nuk* being the Topic but not the Subject. The nominal denoting the Condition or Phenomenon which the Experiencer experiences, is either integrated in the experiential verb (as in (19)) or expressed as Subject as in:

- (20) *Nuk nggom mut-ke*
 I blood downwards-supp.3sg.pres
 'I am bleeding'

In (20) the verb agrees with the PhenomenonSubject *nggom* 'blood' and not with the ExperiencerTopic *nuk* 'I'.

The existence of ExperiencerTopics with experiential verbs has been

in Digul-Wambon. In Digul-Wambon the negation does not nominalize verbs. To build negative verbs from negative nominals like *lapnok*, *-mo* and *-ke* are used in Yonggom in their verbalizing capacity. The presence of *-ma*, the Past form of *-mo*, with Past negatives in Digul-Wambon, is probably a relic from an earlier process of verbalization of nominal *-nok* forms, which process is still productive in Yonggom.

reported for many Papuan languages (Davies 1981; Reesink 1984). In experiential predicates there tends to be a generalized 'do', 'be', 'come' or 'hit/strike' verb as support verb to create an experiential predicate. This explains why many experiential verbs in Wambon are *-ke* derived verbs.

3.1.3 Verb inflection

3.1.3.1 Final and medial in Wambon

Wurm calls sentence-medial verb forms 'one of the outstanding characteristics of the majority of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages' (Wurm 1982:83). These sentence-medial forms are a special set of forms restricted to sentence-medial clauses and generally expressing temporal relations (sequence, simultaneity) between consecutive clauses. In addition these sentence-medial forms tend to indicate identity or non-identity of subjects of consecutive clauses (the so-called switch-reference relations). The sentence-medial verb forms stand in contrast to independent or final verb forms.

In Wambon the opposition medial verb versus final verb may be defined as follows. Final verb forms are the only verbs that may occur in sentence-final clauses. In a restricted set of conditions they may also occur sentence-medially. If that is the case, they function generally³ in Same-Subject (SS) conditions. In subordinate clauses we always find final verbs. Final verbs never take switch-reference suffixes. Medial verb forms only occur in sentence-medial clauses. They imply a coordinate relationship with the next clause. In De Vries (1986) the interrelationships of final, medial, subordinate and coordinate are treated in terms of Wambon grammar. Medial verbs carry suffixes that express switch-reference and temporal relations. In medial verbs the opposition finite versus infinite verb forms has been grammaticalized into the opposition between SameSubject and Different-Subject (DS) forms. In De Vries (1985) the functionality of switch-reference morphology in maintaining topics in discourse

³ In (at least) the following conditions we find final verbs in medial clauses:

- a. adhortative coordinations (see 3.10.6.2);
- b. periphrastic relational verb constructions (see 3.10.7);
- c. medial clauses that contain a subordinate clause must have a final form as verb in the main clause (see 5.2. no.1 *hetkalepone* 'I saw that...');
- d. in presens narraticum conditions (e.g. *kilimkekndevo* in 5.1 no. 1).

Generally, medial clauses with final verbs are SS clauses, but there are exceptions, like *tamjopnimokndevo* in 5.1 no. 1, making further research on this point necessary. Notice that 'final' in 'final verbs' only means that such verbs are the only ones allowed in final clauses. Given the frequent and unmarked use of final verbs in medial clauses, the term 'final' is perhaps somewhat misleading.

is discussed. In (21) the Wambon verb system is summarized.

(21)			close
	Final	temporally neutral	
			non-close
Verbs			
		Infinite (SS)	simultaneous
	Medial	temporally marked	
			sequential
		Future	
		Finite (DS)	
		Non-Future	

3.1.3.2 Medial verbs

Haiman (1980:xlvi) has formulated three patterns whereby SS and DS forms are distinguished in TNGP languages. Wambon follows Haiman's second pattern:

- (22) a. SS = verb stem + invariable ending
 b. DS = verb stem + variable ending marking subject of verb

We shall first discuss forms indicating Same-Subject, following (22a), and then forms indicating Different-Subject, following (22b).

3.1.3.2.1 Same-Subject forms

SS forms depend on the next final verb for both Subject person-number and tense-mood interpretation. Because of this their morphological form can be very simple: either the stem only or stem plus invariable ending. Within the SS forms there is an opposition between temporally marked and neutral forms.⁴

3.1.3.2.1.1 Temporally neutral SS forms

Temporally neutral SS forms do not indicate a specific temporal relation (sequence, simultaneity) to the next verb. There are two types:

⁴ Notice that the picture of SS forms in 3.1.3.2.1 is much more complicated than the sketch in De Vries (1985) suggests: the SS forms *stem*, *stem* + *-mbet*, *stem* + *-o* and *stem* + *-lo*, are all in semantic-pragmatic opposition.

- (23) a. verb stem
 b. verb stem + *-lo*

The first type, consisting of the verb stem only, is used when the conceptual distance⁵ between consecutive verbs is minimal, whether temporally or otherwise. The second type is used when the two consecutive verbs denote conceptually more separate events.

The (23a) type of medial verb is typically used in contexts like (24), where the medial verb semantically functions as modifier or qualifier of the next verb.

- (24) Jakhov-e matet-mo ka-lembo?
 they-conn good-supp.SS go-3pl.past
 'Did they travel without problems?'

In (24) the medial verb *matetmo* semantically modifies the next predicate. *matetmo* is a *-mo* verb derived from the adjective *matet* 'good' (see 3.1.2.1 for this derivation). The two verbs in (24) do not denote separate events. The medial verb, together with the final verb, expresses the idea of 'travelling well'. An example of a context in which a (23b) form is appropriate is:

- (25) Kutip-ke-lo odo ip-kim-ka la-levambo
 night-supp-SS and earth-surface-at sleep-1pl.past
 'The night fell and we slept in a temporary shelter.'

The conceptual separateness of the falling of the night and the sleeping in (25) makes the *-lo* form appropriate.

Notice that, although there is a change of Subject referents in (25), the SS form *kutipkelo* is used. These 'false' SS forms are discussed in De Vries (1985). Temporal clauses, and other background clauses that do not imply a switch of Topic in the discourse, take SS forms. Switch-reference in Wambon has an important role in maintaining topicality.

⁵ The notions of conceptual distance and closeness are used here as defined by Haiman : 'Firstly two concepts are conceptually close to the extent that they share semantic properties (e.g., two verbs are closer if they share a common tense, mood, subject, object, or topic); second, two concepts are close to the extent that one is thought to affect the other (e.g, the conceptual closeness between a verb and its object varies with the transitivity of the verb); finally, two concepts are close to the extent that they are perceived as inseparable (e.g., there is a closer conceptual link between a possessor and an inalienably possessed object than between a possessor and an alienably possessed object).' (Haiman 1983:783.)

3.1.3.2.1.2 Temporally marked SS forms

These forms express the temporal opposition of sequence versus simultaneity. Simultaneous forms consist of stem + *-o*. For example:

- (26) Jakhov-e ko-n-o nggom li-knde
 they-conn go-tr-SS.sim song sing-3pl.pres
 'While travelling they are singing.'

The events of going and singing occupy the same time-span.

Sequence SS forms consist of verb stem + *-mbet*; *-mbet* indicates sequence and this means that event A starts before B; A and B may or may not partially overlap. The sequence forms generally but optionally take the coordinating connective *-o* (see 3.10.6.2). For example:

- (27) Ndu-n-e takhi-mo-mbel-o ande-levambo
 sago-tr-conn money-supp-seq.SS-coord eat-1pl.past
 'We bought sago and ate it.'

See morphophonemic rule (1) of 2.1.1.5 for the change of /t/ to /l/ in *-mbelo* in (27).

3.1.3.2.2 Different-Subject verb forms

In terms of conceptual independence, DS forms stand between SS forms and final forms. In terms of tense-mood, DS forms are dependent on the next final verb, but in terms of Subject person-number they are independent.

(28)	SS	DS	Final
tense-mood independence	-	-	+
person-number independence	-	+	+

The increase in morphological complexity from SS via DS to the most complex final forms seems to be economically motivated: medial verbs do not express what may be derived from the final verb of the sentence. Within the SS forms the morphological complexity runs parallel to the conceptual closeness to the

next verb: the longer form is the non-close form (stem + *-lo*) and the short form (stem only) is the close SS verb. Here we might have a case of iconic motivation in the sense of Haiman (1983), with the linguistic distance between forms reflecting their conceptual distance.

DS verb forms must have the coordinating connective *-o* (see 3.10.6.2) attached to them. Depending on the tense-mood of the final verb, Future or Non-Future DS forms are used. When the tense of the final verb is Future or the mood Intentional, the Future DS forms are used. In all other cases the Non-Future DS forms are used.

The Future DS forms consist of Future stem plus person-number. For example with *ko-* 'to go', Future stem *-ka-*, the paradigm runs as follows:

(29)	sg	1	ka-v-o	'I will go and (DS following)'
		non-1	ka-n-o	
	pl	1	ka-va-n-o	
		non-1	ka-n-o	

The 1sg form consists of the stem *ka-* plus the 1sg marker *-ep*, of which the vowel has been elided and the /p/ has been voiced and fricativized intervocally (see 2.1.1.5). The coordinator *-o* closes the 1sg form (as clitic). In the non-1sg the person-number marker is zero and a transitional nasal occurs in between the coordinator *-o* and the stem. In the 1pl form the person-number marker *-eva* has become *-va* through vowel elision (see 3.1.3.3.1 for person-number suffixes). The transitional nasal occurs between the final vowel of the person-number suffix and the coordinator *-o*. In the non-1pl form the person-number marker is zero. Again, the transitional nasal occurs. Thus, in the Future DS, the non-1sg and non-1pl forms are not formally distinguished.

The Non-Future DS forms are formed as follows:

(30) Past stem + *-t* + person-number

Diachronically the *-t* is a neutral-present tense marker⁶, but synchronically the *-t* can be said to mark Non-Future since (30) contrasts with the pattern (31) for Future DS forms.

⁶ According to Drabbe (1959:29), in the Yonggom dialect there are two neutral-present formations. First, the *ken-* forms which correspond to the Digul-Wambon *kende-* forms (see 3.1.3.3.3.1) and second, the *t*-forms which do not occur in Digul-Wambon as neutral-present formation. Thus in Yonggom the *t* marks neutral-present tense. The *t*-forms in Digul-Wambon, possibly because they were redundant, have been used in the formation of other tenses and moods, viz. the Past, the DS Non-Future and the Conditional.

(31) Future stem + person-number

Non-Future DS forms belong to the so-called 't-forms' from which the Past and the Conditional are also built (see 3.1.3.3.2 and 3.1.3.3.4.2.3). (32) is an example of a Non-Future DS paradigm for *ko-* 'to go', Past stem *ka-* (see 3.1.3.3.2 for stems):

(32)	sg	1	ka-l-ev-o	'I went and (DS following)..'
		non-1	ka-l-o	
	pl	1	ka-l-eva-n-o	
		non-1	ka-l-e-n-o	

The *-t* of (30) has everywhere become /l/ (see 2.1.1.5) between vowels. In the non-1pl the person-number marker is *-e*. Again, we find the transitional nasals and other morphophonemics of 2.1.1.5 operative in (32).

3.1.3.2.3 The origin of SS and DS forms in Wambon

English *singing* in (33) is an 'SS' form in the sense that *he died* provides the Subject interpretation for *singing*.

(33) Singing he died

The rule for the interpretation of such participial forms seems to be: if no Subject person-number is specified, look to the finite verb for Subject person-number.

This rule also holds for Wambon SS forms, but in contrast with English, Wambon has an additional rule: if (medially) Subject person-number is specified, the next verb has a different Subject reference. In this way the finite versus non-finite opposition has been reinterpreted for medial verbs as the SS versus DS opposition.

A principle of economy now accounts for the simple form of SS verbs: reduction of tense-mood and person-number morphology. Since DS forms only differ from SS forms in the need to express Subject person-number, we would expect DS forms to lack a tense-mood slot or at least to have less tense-mood morphology than final forms (neutralization of tense-mood contrasts). Indeed we find neutralizations in Wambon DS forms. The final verb tenses Past, Present and Future are reduced to a binary DS contrast of Future versus Non-Future. None of the mood distinctions of the final verb can be expressed in DS

forms. The selection of Future or Non-Future DS forms depends on the tense of the final verb.

Now in Digul-Wambon and in Yonggom but also in Aghu, another Awyu language (Drabbe 1957), certain final forms are also in use as DS forms. Which final forms? Those final forms that either lack a tense-mood slot (what Drabbe 1959:127 calls zero-forms) or that have a neutral tense morpheme (the *-t* and *-ke* forms). Since DS forms are characterized by a combination of tense-mood dependence and person-number independence, the zero-forms and the neutral tense forms seemed to be logical candidates for a secondary use as medial DS forms. In their primary final use, zero-forms express Intentional mood and *-t* and *-ke* forms express Neutral-Present tense.

3.1.3.3 Final verbs

3.1.3.3.1 Person-number

These are the person-number suffixes:

(34)	sg	1:	-ep
		non-1:	zero
	pl	1:	-eva
		non-1:	-e (in Past)
			-na (in Future)
			zero (in Present)

Uncertain Future and Conditional (and Non-Future DS) take *-e* as non-1pl marker like the Past. The Intentional and the Imperative take *-na* as non-1pl marker like the Future.

Identity of second and third persons in verbal paradigms seems to be a typical Papuan category conflation (Haiman 1980:xxxix). It is possible to split the 1pl ending *-eva* into a first-person marker *-ep* and a plural marker *-a*, as Drabbe proposes for Yonggom (Drabbe 1959:129).

3.1.3.3.2 Stems

Wambon verbs have basic stems and in addition up to three tense-related suppletive stems. The basic stem is the shortest one from which the other stems developed through processes of vowel addition.⁷ Synchronically the suppletive

⁷ Very tentatively, we might reconstruct the origin of suppletive stems as follows. When the

stems are unpredictable.

The basic stem is used in the Neutral-Present tense, the Past Negative tense and the Imperative Positive.

The Past stem is used for the Past Positive and the Non-Future DS forms (see note 7).

The Future stem is used for the Future, the Conditional, the Uncertain Future, the Intentional and the Imperative Negative.⁸

We sometimes find two suppletive stems for one tense; in other cases there is one suppletive stem for both Past and Future. Furthermore, some verbs have unpredictable Imperative stems. Examples of basic and suppletive stems follow.

- (35) en- 'to eat' (basic stem)
 ande- Past stem/Future stem/Imperative Pl stem
 na- Imperative sg stem
- (36) luk- 'to speak' (basic stem)
 lokha- Past stem
 lokho- Future stem
- (37) nda- 'to come' (basic stem)
 nde- Past stem with non-1sg/Future stem
 ndave- Past stem elsewhere
 ndok- Imperative stem

last vowel of the basic stem was a back vowel, then the addition of the vowel /a/ created the Past stem, for example the basic stem *lok-* 'to speak' with Past stem *lokha-*. When a basic stem ended in a vowel, the addition of the Past marking /a/ led to elision of the stem vowel (e.g. *ko-* 'to go' with Past stem *ka-*, the support verb *-mo* with Past stem *-ma*). Final stem-consonants underwent the usual morphophonemic changes (e.g. *lok-* + /a/ > *lokha-*).

When the last vowel of the basic stem was a front vowel, the added vowel to create a Past stem was an /e/. For example *mi-* 'to drink' with Past stem *me-*.

With basic stems that have the central vowel /a/, we find addition of /e/ in some cases (e.g. *ndat-* 'to listen' with Past stem *ndale-*) and /a/ in other cases (e.g. *lap-* 'to take' with Past stem *lava-*).

⁸ The formation of Future stems probably also took place by vowel-addition, although it is difficult to reconstruct the process even tentatively. Most stems that added an /a/ to create Past stems, added an /o/ to create Future stems, as in the examples below.

Basic stem	Past stem	Future stem	Meaning
hetak-	hetakha-	hetakho-	'to see'
lap-	lava-	lavo-	'to take'
ndak-	ndakha-	ndakho-	'to give'
lok-	lokha-	lokho-	'to speak'

- (38) hetak- 'to see' (basic stem)
 hetakha- Past stem
 hetakho- Future stem

3.1.3.3.3 Tense

3.1.3.3.3.1 Present-Neutral tense

Events taking place at the time of utterance and before that time on the same day are described using the Present-Neutral tense. These forms also function, in narratives, tense neutrally, with the tense interpretation depending on the following tense-marked verb.

The Present-Neutral tense marker is {-kende}:

- (39) {-kende}: (-kende~ -knde) ∞ (-ke~ -khe)

The shorter form *-ke* is used with non-1sg (*-khe* after stem-final vowels, *-ke* elsewhere); the longer form is used for 1sg, 1pl and non-1pl (*-knde* after stem-final vowels, *-kende* elsewhere).

The Present-Neutral tense is formed as in (40); examples are in (41).⁹

- (40) Basic stem + {-kende} + person-number

- | | | | |
|------|----|--------|------------------------------------|
| (41) | sg | 1: | ndat- + -kende + -p: ndatkendep |
| | | non-1: | ndat- + -ke: ndatke |
| | pl | 1: | ndat- + -kende + -eva: ndatkendeva |
| | | non-1: | ndat- + -kende: ndatkende |

With a verb stem ending in a vowel:

- | | | | |
|------|----|--------|----------------------|
| (42) | sg | 1: | takhimokndep 'I buy' |
| | | non-1: | takhimokhe |
| | pl | 1: | takhimokndeva |
| | | non-1: | takhimoknde |

⁹ The paradigms in this and following sections distinguish first person (1) versus second/third person (non-1); in the morpheme-by-morpheme translations in the examples, however, choices have been made for either second or third person, depending on the meaning of the examples.

3.1.3.3.2 Past tense

The Past in Wambon is used to describe events taking place in the time before 'today' (the day of utterance); for the time before the time of utterance but on the same day, the Present is used. The Past is formed as follows:

(43) Past stem + *-t-* + person-number + *-mbo*

The Past marker is the discontinuous marker *-t...-mbo*.¹⁰ (44) is the Past paradigm for *en-* 'to eat', with Past stem *ande-*, before application of morpho-phonemic rules:

(44)	sg	1:	ande-t-ep-mbo	'I ate'
		non-1:	ande-t-mbo	
	pl	1:	ande-t-eva-mbo	
		non-1:	ande-t-e-mbo	

Applying the rules of 2.1.1.5 to (44), we get the actual paradigm (45):

(45)	sg	1:	andelepo	'I ate'
		non-1:	andetmbo	
	pl	1:	andelevambo	
		non-1:	andelembo	

3.1.3.3.3 Future tense

Future forms are used for the time following the time of utterance. When a speaker ascribes a future action to himself, he will often use the Intentional mood (see below). Future tense is formed as follows:

(46) Future stem + person-number + *-mat*

¹⁰ The discontinuity of the Past marker can be understood in the light of comparative diachronic evidence from Yonggom. As stated in note 6 (see 3.1.3.2.2 note 6), the Yonggom dialect has two neutral-present formations, the *t*-forms and the *ken*- forms. The *t*-forms being redundant, they were used as building blocks in the formation of other tenses. Now the Digul-Wambon Past can be seen as the result of the addition of the Past marker *-mbo* to the *t*-forms. Consider the paradigms (44) and (45) of 3.1.3.3.2.

As will be clear from the discussion in 4.3 concerning the paradigms (192)-(195), in both Digul-Wambon and Yonggom the *t*-forms are used as building blocks for the formation of the Past, but in Yonggom the *t*-forms also still function synchronically as neutral-present forms.

In the first person forms the person-number suffix is repeated after the Future suffix *-mat*. (47) is an example paradigm of *en-* 'to eat' with Future stem *ande-*, before morphophonemics. (48) is the same paradigm after morphophonemics.

(47)	sg	1:	ande-ep-mat-ep
		non-1:	ande-mat
	pl	1:	ande-eva-mat-eva
		non-1:	ande-na-mat

(48)	sg	1:	andepmalep
		non-1:	andemat
	pl	1:	andevamava
		non-1:	andenamat

In the 1pl form *-mat + -eva* has become *-mava* instead of *-maleva*, which would be predicted by the morphophonemic rules of 2.1.1.5.

3.1.3.3.4 Mood

Following Foley and Van Valin (1984:212-3), we shall divide the Wambon mood distinctions into illocutionary force, status and modality. Illocutionary-force moods have to do with the type of speech act the speaker is performing, such as questions (interrogative mood) or commands (imperative mood). Status-related moods have to do with the actuality status of the event (real, necessary, probable, possible, unreal). Modality pertains to the relationship between the actor and the accomplishment of the event, whether the actor has the obligation or the intention or the ability to perform the action.

3.1.3.3.4.1 Illocutionary force

3.1.3.3.4.1.1 Imperative

The Imperative is formed as follows:

(49) *na-* + basic stem + person-number

na- is the Imperative marker; in the 2sg the person-number is zero, in the 2pl- it is *na*. For example:

- (50) *ndat-* 'to listen'
na-ndat! 'listen(sg)!'
na-ndat-na 'listen(pl)!'

With some verbs the Imperative marker is absent, for example with *hetak-* 'to see': *hetak!* 'look!'.

Other verbs combine the absence of the Imperative marker with a special Imperative stem, for example *nda-* 'to come' with Imperative stem *ndok-* and the Imperatives *ndok* 'come(sg)!' and *ndokna* 'come(pl)!'

The verb *en-* 'to eat' has a special Imperative Sg and Imperative Pl stem, with the Imperative marker present in the plural form but absent in the singular form: *na!* 'eat(sg)!', *nandena!* 'eat(pl)!'

A third group of verbs combines a special Imperative stem with presence of the Imperative marker *na-*. For example:

- (51) *ko-* 'to go'
-koi Imperative stem
na-khoi! 'go(sg)!'

la- 'to sleep'
-le Imperative stem
na-le! 'sleep(sg)!'

-mo derived verbs (see 3.1.2) never take the Imperative marker *na-*; *-nu* is the Imperative stem of the support verb *-mo*. For example (52):

- (52) *takhimo-* 'to buy'
takhinu- Imperative stem
takhinu! 'buy(sg)!'
takhinu-na! 'buy(pl)!'

3.1.3.3.4.1.2 Interrogative

Apart from the optional interrogative marker *-koi*, which occurs in Q-word questions (for example (53)), there is no indication of interrogativity in the form of the verb; *-koi* is a predicate clitic.

- (53) Ngguv-e andekhev-o kap-nde-khoi?
 you-conn from.where-conn man-be-interrog
 'Where do you come from?'

3.1.3.3.4.2 Status

3.1.3.3.4.2.1 Counterfactual

The expression of counterfactuality always involves subordination, expressed by the general subordinative clitic *-e* (3.10.5.3) and by the use of final verb forms. The marker of counterfactuality is the predicate clitic *-koi*, which is cliticized to the predicate of both the main and the subordinate clause. For example:

- (54) Nukh-eve aliv-e enov-e
 I-Topic yesterday-conn firewood-conn

lap-nok-ma-lepo-nggoy-e
 take-neg-supp-1sg.past-counterfactual-sub

nombone tembet-koi
 now not.be-counterfactual

'If I had not brought firewood yesterday, there would not be firewood now.'

After predicate-final vowels *-koi* becomes *-nggoi* (see 2.1.1.5).

In the preceding section we discussed the interrogativity marker *-koi*. It is possible that *-koi* is a marker of interrogativity which is also used as a marker of counterfactuality. Semantically, counterfactuals are a type of conditionals; in a number of languages, including both Germanic and Papuan, conditionals may take the form of interrogatives (Haiman 1980:468). Here are some examples from Dutch:

- (55) Komt er slecht weer? Dan gaan we niet.
 comes there bad weather? then go we not
 'Is the weather bad? Then we do not go.'

- (56) Als het weer slecht is, dan gaan we niet.
 if the weather bad is, then go we not
 'If the weather is bad, then we do not go.'

Hua, a TNGP language, is an example of a Papuan language using the same marker (-*ve*) for both interrogatives and conditionals (see Haiman 1980:468 for examples).

Formally the only difference between -*koi* with interrogatives and -*koi* with counterfactuals is that with interrogatives -*koi* changes into -*khoi* after predicate-final vowels (as in (53)) and with counterfactuals into -*nggoi* after predicate-final vowels (as in (54)).¹¹

3.1.3.3.4.2.2 *Uncertainty*

The Uncertain Future is formed by adding the suffix -*akhet* to the Future forms. For example:

- (57) Jatkende nekheve- oi takhimo-mal-akhet
 tomorrow he-conn pig buy-Future.3sg-uncertain
 'Maybe he will buy a pig tomorrow.'

3.1.3.3.4.2.3 *Conditional*

The Conditional mood is formed as follows:

- (58) Future stem + -*t* + person-number + -*kekhet*

Like the Past forms, the Conditional forms have the relic morpheme -*t*: both Past and Conditional are built from the so-called *t*-forms (see note 10). The Conditional marker is -*kekhet*. (59) is an example paradigm with *en-* 'to eat', Future stem *ande-*, before morphophonemics. (60) presents the actual paradigm.

¹¹ Notice that both the allomorphs (-*khoi* and -*nggoi* after predicate-final vowel) of -*koi* are consistent with rule (1) of 2.1.1.5. The change of -*nggoi* > -*nggoy* before the connective -*e* in (54) (*lapnokmalepo-nggoy-e*) is due to the Wambon VC-pattern which does not allow VV-clusters (see 2.2).

- (59) sg 1: ande-t-ep-kekhet 'if I eat'
 non-1: ande-t-kekhet
 pl 1: ande-t-eva-kekhet
 non-1: ande-t-e-kekhet

- (60) andelepkekhet 'if I eat'
 andetkekhet
 andelevanggekhet
 andelenggekhet

The Conditional is used for conditions situated in Past, Present and Future. The expression of the Conditional always involves subordination, expressed by the Topical subordinator *-eve* (see 3.10.5.2.1). (61) is an example of the Conditional:

- (61) Kikhuv-e nde-tkekhel-eve nokhov-e Manggelum
 Digul-conn come-3sg.condit-Topic we-conn Manggelum
 ko-nok-siva
 go-neg-1pl.Intent.neg
 'If the Digul River rises, we do not want to go to Manggelum.'

3.1.3.3.4.3 Modality

3.1.3.3.4.3.1 Intentional/Adhortative

The Intentional/Adhortative is formed by adding the person-number suffixes to the Future stem. We have found only first-person forms. Informants did give non-1 forms in elicitation, but these were not given consistently nor confirmed by occurrences in texts or overheard conversations. (62) is an example of the Intentional/Adhortative forms of *ko-* 'to go', Future stem *ka-*.

- (62) ka-p 'I want to go/let me go'
 ka-va 'we want to go/let us go'

In the Adhortative use we often also find the imperative of *nda-* 'to come'. For example:

(63) Ndok-na ka-va
 come-2pl.imp go-1pl.adhor
 'Let us go'

Ndok-na ami-va
 come-2pl.imp drink-1pl.adhor
 'Let us drink'

The Adhortative/Intentional forms are also used in purposive constructions of a type we find in several Papuan languages (see Reesink 1984:216) in which intention is expressed as quoted thought. For example:

(64) Oi takhimo-p ne-mbel-o ka-tmbo
 pig buy-1sg.intent say-seq.SS-coord go-3sg.past
 'He went to buy a pig.'

The quoted thought is expressed by the 1sg Intentional form *takhimop* 'I want to buy'. Thus Intention is represented as silent speech directed by the Agent to himself, with the quote-marking verb *ne-* 'to say'. This type of construction is the most usual form to express Purpose in Wambon and this makes the Intentional forms quite frequent.

Sometimes we find an Intentional suffix *-ni* in Intentional forms after the person-number suffix in the word-final mood-slot of the verb. For example:

(65) takhimo-p-ni
 buy-1sg.intent-intent
 'I want to buy'

Occasionally we found in texts the use of the support verb *-mo* with Intentional forms, as in (66):

(66) takhimo-p-ni-mo-kndep
 buy-1sg.intent-intent-supp-1sg.pres
 'I want to buy'

In this form the Intentional verb word including *-ni* precedes a fully inflected form of the support verb *-mo*.

3.1.3.3.5 Aspect

3.1.3.3.5.1 Habitual-iterative

When an action is intrinsically repetitive or when a plural Subject implies repetition of the action or when a habit implies repetition, in all these cases habitual-iterative verbs may be used. The formation of these verbs by adding the support verb *-mo* (or *-ke*) to verb stems with a reduplicated first syllable has been discussed in 3.1.2.4. (67) is an example of a habitual-iterative verb.

- (67) Ev-o -n- amil-e nekho-ni-n-o luk
 that-conn -tr- child-conn his-mother-tr-conn word
 ndat-ndat-mo-khe
 listen-listen-supp-3sg.pres
 'That child usually listens to (= obeys) his mother.'

3.1.3.3.5.2 Durative

Durative aspect is expressed by periphrasis with the final form of *mba-* 'to sit; to stay'. For example:

- (68) Jakhop hetakh-o mba-knde
 they see-SS.sim.coord stay-3pl.pres
 'They are looking.'

The verb of which the duration is expressed, precedes the periphrastic *mba-* form as an SS simultaneity medial verb.

Most probably related to *mba-* is the aspectual marker *-mbo* 'durative'. In elicited data informants attach *-mbo* to verb forms as in (69), but we have not been able to confirm such forms in texts.

- (69) Ju si-kndep-o
 stringbag make-1sg.pres-durative
 'I am making a bag.'

The pre-morphophonemic form of the verb in (69) is *si-kndep-mbo*.

3.1.3.3.5.3 *Completive*

Completive aspect may be expressed by the completive adverbs *wasi* 'already' and *sokmbat* 'already', which sometimes co-occur, but the more usual way to express completive aspect is by periphrastic relational verbs (see 3.10.7). In (70) we see *wasi*:

- (70) Nukh-e wasi okima-lepo
 I-conn already bathe-1sg.past
 'I had already taken a bath.'

In (71) we see periphrasis with the verb *kitmo-* 'to be finished' in its medial sequence form:

- (71) Oi takhimo-kndeva-n-o kitmo-mbel-o
 pig buy-1pl.pres-tr-coord be.finished-SS.seq-coord

 ap ka-levambo
 house go-1pl.past
 'Having bought the pig, we went home.'

Periphrastic verb constructions are very frequent in Wambon and may express a variety of relations. They always contain final verbs in the present tense which are connected to the following relational verb by the coordinator *-o*.

3.1.3.3.6 *Negation*

Negativization takes place by suffixing the negative suffix *-nok-* to the verb stem before person-number, tense and mood. Thus the negation slot precedes the other slots in the verb word and comes immediately after the stem. Imperative and Future have a different negativization to which we will return below.

Past negative forms have two peculiarities. In the first place the basic stem is used and not the Past stem. In the second place we always find *-ma*, the Past stem of the support verb *-mo*, in the Past negative forms.¹² (72) illustrates these two properties:

¹² See note 2 of this chapter for a possible diachronic explanation for the presence of *-ma* with Past negative verb forms.

- (72) enokmalepo
'I did not eat'

In (72) we find the basic stem *en-* 'to eat' and not *ande-*, the Past stem of *en-*. Furthermore *-ma* occurs after the negative *-nok-* and before the 1sg.past ending *-lepo*.

(73) is an example of a Present negative verb form:¹³

- (73) lap-nok-ndep
take-neg-1sg.pres
'I do not take'

The Intentional negative also uses *-nok-* but has two additional properties that the Intentional positive forms do not have, the presence of *-si-* and of the non-1sg marker *-t*:

- (74) e-nok-si-t
eat-neg-intent.neg-3sg
'He does not want to eat.'

We interpret *-si-* as an Intentional negative marker, probably related to the verb *soi-* 'to refuse'.¹⁴

Imperative and Future forms have a different negativization. The Imperative negative is formed by adding the negation *-khet* to the Future stem. The Imperative positive takes the basic stem (see 3.1.3.3.4.1.1). (75) is the Imperative negative of *en-* 'to eat':

- (75) ande-khet!
eat-neg.imp
'Do not eat!'

The Future negative is formed as in (76).

¹³ The pre-morphophonemic form of *lapnokndep* is *lap-nok-kndep*. The minor change involved is: /k/ + /k/ > /k/ in morpheme clustering.

¹⁴ The pre-morphophonemic form of *enoksit* in example (74) is: *en-nok-si-t*. The minor change involved is: /n/ + /n/ > /n/ in morpheme clustering.

(76) Future stem + person-number + *-khet* + *-ndoi*

-ndoi is a negation that we also sometimes find with medial SS forms like (77):

(77) takhimo-ndoi
 buy-SS.neg
 'not buying (SS following)'

-khet is the negation that we also find with the Imperative negative.

Notice that in Future negative forms the double negation occurs finally in the verb, whereas the negation *-nok-*, which occurs with Present and Past and Intentional negative forms, occurs immediately after the stem of the verb.

(78a) is the Future negative paradigm for *takhimo-* 'to buy' before morphophonemics and (78b) after morphophonemics.

(78a)	sg	1:	akhimo-ep-ep-ndoi	'I shall not buy'
		non-1:	takhimo-khet-ndoi	
	pl	1:	takhimo-eva-khet-ndoi	
		non-1:	takhimo-na-khet-ndoi	
(78b)	sg	1:	takhimovepndoi	'I shall not buy'
		non-1:	takhimokhetoi	
	pl	1:	takhimovakhetoi	
		non-1:	takhimonakhetoi	

The 1sg is not according to (76): the negative *-khet* is absent and the first person marker *-ep* occurs twice.¹⁵ Notice that we also find the repetition of the first person marker in the Future positive forms (see 3.1.3.3.3).

That Imperative and Future have a rather similar negativization is not so strange: in many languages there is a close relationship between Future negative and Imperative negative ('you shall not kill'). The similarity in Wambon does not only consist in both forms using *-khet* but also in the use of the Future stem (and not the basic stem as in Imperative positive).

¹⁵ In the 1sg form of (78a) vowel elision takes the place of the /e/ of the first *-ep* (*takhimo-ep-* > *takhimop-*) and then the /p/ of this first *-ep* is fricativized between vowels according to rule (1) of 2.1.1.5 (*takhimo-p-ep-* > *takhimo-v-ep-*). In the other forms of the paradigm rule (2) of 2.1.1.5 is operative (/t/ + /nd/ > /t/).

3.1.4 Copulas; the verb 'to be'

The support verbs *-mo* and *-ke* have been discussed in 3.1.2; they function as part of the compound stem of verbs and not as copulas. The support verbs are verbalizers: in the derivation with *-mol-ke* the category of the input stems (such as adjectives and nouns) is changed; *-mol-ke* support is a device to add verbs to the lexicon.

Copula support is a syntactic process to enable nouns and adjectives to function as heads of predicates, without changing their categorial status.

Thus, to become head of predicate, a noun or adjective in Wambon has two options. First, to be verbalized by *-mol-ke*, after which the newly formed verb can function as an unmarked head of predicate, that is as a verb:

- (79) Ev-o kav-e mimop-ke-khe
 that-conn man-conn black-supp-3sg.pres
 'That man is black.'

Second, to invoke the support of the copula *-nde* while retaining the non-verb status, that is as marked nominal head of predicate:

- (80) Ev-o kav-e mimop-nde
 that-conn man-conn black-copula
 'That man is black.'

We have not found semantic or pragmatic differences between (79) and (80) but it is of course quite possible that further research will detect such differences.¹⁶

-nde cliticizes to the noun or adjective it supports; it is optional, insensitive to person and number of Subject but it has a special negative form (*-ndiknde*); *-nde* occurs in identifying predications, for example (81), and in attributive predications, for example (80).

- (81) Ev-o kav-e na-mbap-ndiknde
 that-conn man-conn my-father-not.be
 'That man is not my father.'

¹⁶ In the initial study of unknown tribal languages, formal differences are more easily detected than differences in meaning. Since in further research formal differences generally turn out to express differences in meaning, it is to be expected that oppositions like those in the examples (79)/(80) and (85)/(86) will turn out to express pragmatic and semantic differences.

Locative 'to be' is expressed by a different copula, *-mbo*, which occurs with indefinite Subjects:

- (82) *Ande-mbo*
 food-be
 'There is food.'

-mbo is invariable (but it has a negative form *mbumba* 'not be') and cliticizes to the indefinite Subject. It is probably related to *mba-* 'to sit; to stay' that in its final form occurs in locative predications with definite Subjects:

- (83) *Ahitup ap-ka mba-khe*
 Ahitup house-in stay-3sg.pres
 'Ahitup is at home.'

In locative contexts *tembet* 'not be', an invariable element, may replace both negative final forms of *mba-* with definite Subjects and *mbumba* with indefinite Subjects:

- (84) *Ahituv-e av-e tembet*
 Ahitup-conn house-conn not.be
 'Ahitup is not at home.'

- (85) *Ande-n-e tembet*
 food-tr-conn not.be
 'There is no food.'

- (86) *Ande-n-e mbumba*
 food-tr-conn not.be
 'There is no food.'

We have not been able to find semantic or pragmatic differences between (85) and (86) (see note 16).

3.2 Nouns

3.2.1 Characterization

A morphological definition of nouns is not possible as there is no nominal morphology apart from a marginal plural formation with kinship terms (see 3.2.2). Functionally nouns are the unmarked fillers of the head-of-NP slot. As such they may be modified by adjectives. Other categories that may function as head of NP, for example pronouns, do not have the possibility of adjectival modification. For verbs to function as head of NP, they have to be nominalized (see 3.2.3).

3.2.2 Plurality

The noun *kap* 'man, person' can be pluralized by reduplication:

- (87) *kap kap*
 man man
 '(several) persons'

With other nouns this does not seem to be possible. The only inflectional process involving nouns is the plural formation of kinship terms by adding the plural suffix *-ngguye* to the noun stems, for example (88) and (89).

- (88) *na-mbap*
 my-father
 'my father'

na-mbap-ngguye
my-father-plural
 'my fathers'

- (89) *na-mom*
 my-uncle
 'my uncle (mother's brother)'

na-mom-ngguye
my-uncle-plural
 'my uncles'

Some kinship terms have their own irregular plural forms:

- (90) na-mbut
 my-brother.in.law
 'my brother-in-law'
- na-mbul-alile
 my-brother.in.law-plural
 'my brothers-in-law'

- (91) na-net
 my-older.brother
 'my older brother'
- na-net-na
 my-older.brother-plural
 'my older brothers'

Finally, plurality may be indicated by the use of iterative verbs (see 3.1.3.3.5.1) and by reduplication of adjectives (see 3.4).

3.2.3 Nominalization with -mop

From verbs, nouns can be productively derived by adding the nominalizing suffix *-mop* to the Future stem. For example:

- (92) ande-mop
 eat-nom
 'food'
- hetko-mop
 see-nom
 'the seeing'

The *-mop* nominalizations are frequently used in purposive constructions with the postposition *-sikhi* 'because of':

- (93) Oi hetko-mop-sikhi ndave-lepo
 pig see-nom-because.of come-1sg.past
 'I came to see the pig.'

3.3 Pronouns

3.3.1 Personal pronouns

Wambon has six personal pronouns:

- | | | | | |
|------|----|----|----------|-------------|
| (94) | sg | 1: | nuk | 'I' |
| | | 2: | nggup | 'you' |
| | | 3: | nekhep | 'he/she/it' |
| | pl | 1: | nokhop | 'we' |
| | | 2: | nggokhop | 'you(pl)' |
| | | 3: | jakhop | 'they' |

The set (94) can be used for both Subject and Object functions. Since switch-reference takes over much of the functional load of participant tracking in discourse (De Vries 1985), the use of personal pronouns in narratives is rather infrequent and a rather strong device to identify participants (see Grimes 1975 for the notion 'strength of identification').

When the personal pronouns have the pragmatic or informational function of Focus, they may take the Focus marker *-nde* (see 3.10.5.2.2) or a special set of Focus pronouns is used. Focus constituents are those constituents which present the relatively most important or salient information with respect to the pragmatic information of the Speaker and the Addressee (see Dik 1978:149). (95) gives the Focus forms of the personal pronouns.¹⁷

- | | | | |
|------|----|----|--------------|
| (95) | sg | 1: | novotke |
| | | 2: | nggovotke |
| | | 3: | nekhovotke |
| | pl | 1: | nokhovotke |
| | | 2: | nggokhovotke |
| | | 3: | jakhovotke |

¹⁷ In the Yonggom dialect, set (95) may also occur without *-ke* (Drabbe 1959:119). In Digul-Wambon the support verb *-ke* has been integrated in the emphatic pronouns.

3.3.2 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns occur only as bound forms:

- (96) sg 1: na- 'my'
 2: ngga- 'your'
 3: nekho- his/her'
- pl 1: nokho- 'our'
 2: nggokho- 'your(pl)'
 3: jakho- 'their'

3.3.3 Reflexive pronouns

When Subject and Object are co-referential, the Object takes the form of one of the reflexive pronouns of (97):

- (97) sg 1: nukta
 2: ngguta
 3: nekhota
- pl 1: nokhota
 2: nggokhota
 3: jakhota

For example:

- (98) Jakhov-e jakhota-n-e okhomap-ka hetaknde
 they-conn themselves-tr-conn mirror-in see.3pl.pres
 'They see themselves in the mirror.'

3.4 Adjectives

Adjectives are words functioning as modifiers in NP; only adjectival modifiers may take the optional intensifier *-mbalin*. For example:

- (99) kaimo 'good'
 kaimombalin 'very good'
 ambunop 'little'
 ambunopalin 'very little'

When used attributively, adjectives immediately follow the noun they modify:

- (100) *evo kap ambunopalin*
 that man very.little
 'that very little man'

When used predicatively, the copula *-nde* cliticizes to the adjective (see 3.1.4).

Adjectives have plural forms that are rather infrequent. They are formed by reduplication of the first syllable of the adjective:

- (101) *ambunop* 'little'
ambambunop 'little(pl)'
kowanggai 'big'
kokowanggai 'big(pl)'

The plurality expressed by adjectival syllable reduplication has the semantic aspect of 'various', 'several'.

3.5 Other nominal modifiers

3.5.1 Demonstratives

From the deictics *ep-* 'there (in proximity of hearer)' and *nombo-* 'here (in proximity of speaker)' (see 3.7), demonstratives are formed by using the connectives *-e* and *-o* (see 3.10).

-o links pre-nominal modifiers to the head noun, and when *-o* combines with the deictics *ep-* and *nombo-*, the results are the demonstrative modifiers *evo* 'that' and *nombono* 'this'.

Examples:

- (102) *ev-o lan*
 that-conn woman
 'that woman'
- nombo-n-o lan*
 this-tr-conn woman
 'this woman'

When *-e*, which links arguments to the verb in clauses (see 3.10.5.3), combines with the deictics, the demonstratives *eve* and *nombone* are formed that function as heads of NP:

(103) *ev-e lan*
 that-conn woman
 'That is a woman.'

nombo-n-e lan
 this-tr-conn woman
 'This is a woman.'

Although there is a third person deictic *kop-* (see 3.7), we have not (yet) found a demonstrative based on that deictic.

3.5.2 Numerators

The Wambon counting system is basically a body-part counting system. Thus the words for the body parts in (104) have as second meaning the numbers:

(104) <i>sanop</i>	1. 'little finger'	2. 'one'
<i>sanopkunip</i>	1. 'ring finger'	2. 'two'
<i>takhem</i>	1. 'middle finger'	2. 'three'
<i>hitulop</i>	1. 'index finger'	2. 'four'
<i>ambalop</i>	1. 'thumb'	2. 'five'
<i>kumuk</i>	1. 'wrist'	2. 'six'
<i>mben</i>	1. 'lower arm'	2. 'seven'
<i>muyop</i>	1. 'elbow'	2. 'eight'
<i>javet</i>	1. 'upper arm'	2. 'nine'
<i>malin</i>	1. 'shoulder'	2. 'ten'
<i>nggokmit</i>	1. 'neck'	2. 'eleven'
<i>silutop</i>	1. 'ear'	2. 'twelve'
<i>kelop</i>	1. 'eye'	2. 'thirteen'
<i>kalit</i>	1. 'nose'	2. 'fourteen'

Counting is accompanied by touching the relevant body part with the middle finger and/or index finger; the little finger of the left hand is the starting point and the nose is the turning point, after which the counting goes down again via the right-hand side of the body, by prefixing *em-* 'the other side' to the body-

part/number words. Thus:

(105) emkelop	1. 'eye on the other side'	2. 'fifteen'
emsilutop	1. 'ear on the other side'	2. 'sixteen'
emnggokmit	1. 'neck on the other side'	2. 'seventeen'
emalin	1. 'shoulder on the other side'	2. 'eighteen'
emjavet	1. 'upper arm on the other side'	2. 'nineteen'
emuyop	1. 'elbow on the other side'	2. 'twenty'
emben	1. 'lower arm on the other side'	2. 'twenty-one'
emkumuk	1. 'wrist on the other side'	2. 'twenty-two'
emambalop	1. 'thumb on the other side'	2. 'twenty-three'
emhitulop	1. 'index finger on the other side'	2. 'twenty-four'
emtakhem	1. 'middle finger on the other side'	2. 'twenty-five'
emsanopkunip	1. 'ring finger on the other side'	2. 'twenty-six'
emsanop	1. 'little finger on the other side'	2. 'twenty-seven'

According to one informant, for numbers higher than 27 one can start all over again with the little finger by prefixing *nggisikhivo-* 'return' to the numbers; thus 28 = *nggisikhivo-sanop*, 29 = *nggisikhivo-sanopkunip* and so forth. We have not been able to confirm the *nggisikhivo* forms in overheard actual usage or in texts.

When the numbers function attributively in NP, they take the attributive suffix *-kup*, for example *hitulop* 'four':

(106) ap	hitulop-kup
house	four-attributive
	'four houses'

This suffix *-kup* basically means 'added' (see 3.10.6). The origin of the use of *-kup* with numbers lies in the way Wambon people count: in counting up to, say, four, all the fingers are bent one after the other until the index finger is also 'added' by being bent.

For the numbers 'one', 'two' and 'three' there are no attributive forms with *-kup* but special attributive forms:

(107) ap	ndominuk
house	one
	'one house'

ap ilumo
house two
'two houses'

ap ilumtakhemo
house three
'three houses'

These special attributive forms for 'one' and 'two' are the only two real numerals in Wambon, real in the sense of not based on body parts. The form for 'three' in (107), *ilumtakhemo*, is clearly composed of *ilumo* and *takhem* 'middle finger; three'. For attributive 'one' we also find the form *han*.

The numerals may occur both pre- and postnominally; we have not found semantic or pragmatic differences associated with pre- and postnominal occurrence. In prenominal occurrence we sometimes find *takhemo* 'three' instead of the longer form *ilumtakhemo* of (107).

When the numerals precede the noun, they take the connective *-o* just like all other prenominal modifiers (see 3.10.3.1):

(108) ndominukh-o -n- ap
one-conn tr house
'one house'

ilumo -n- ap
two tr house
'two houses'¹⁸

ilumtakhemo -n- ap
three tr house
'three houses'¹⁸

hitulop-kuv-o -n- ap
four-attr-conn tr house
'four houses'

¹⁸ Notice that the connective *-o*, which links prenominal modifiers to the head noun, is absent in these cases. This connective never occurs with postnominal modifiers (see 3.10.3.1). Postnominally *ilumo* and *ilumtakhemo* have the same form as prenominally (see example (107)).

ambalop-kuv-o -n- ap
 five-attr-conn tr house
 'five houses'

Thus far we have discussed cardinal numerals; we have found the numbers used as ordinalia only with the days of the week and with the months of the year. For example:

(109) sanov-o sat
 first-conn day
 'Monday'
 sanopkuniv-o sat
 second-conn day
 'Tuesday'

takhem-o sat
 third-conn day
 'Wednesday'

hitulov-o at
 fourth-conn day
 'Thursday'

ambalov-o sat
 fifth-conn day
 'Friday'

kumukh-o sat
 sixth-conn day
 'Saturday'

mhen-o sat
 seventh-conn day
 'Sunday'

sanov-o wakhot
 first-conn month
 'January'

sanopkuniv-o wakhot
 second-conn month
 'February'

The word *sat* 'sun; day' may be left out in the names of the days of the week. This never happens to *wakhot* 'moon; month' in the names of the months. For both days and months we also find Indonesian loanwords.

Notice that in the ordinal context of (109) we do not find the attributive forms of (106)/(107) which we find whenever the cardinal numerals are used attributively.

When mentioning a day of the week or a month of the year, Wambon speakers very often bend the relevant finger or touch the relevant part of the body. Since we never find the 'ordinalia' of (109) outside the context of the names for days and months, we may conclude that Wambon does not have regular ordinalia.

3.5.3 *Quantifiers*

A small set of quantifying words occurs finally in the NP:

(110) enop ambunop ndakhet
 tree little many
 'many little trees'

kap mitukhup
 man all
 'all the men'

There are no inflectional or derivational processes involving quantifiers.

3.6 *Question-words*

In question-word questions there occurs a small closed class of question-words that have the two following characteristics.

First, their position in the clause depends on the functional specification of the questioned NP of which the question-word is the head.

Second, question-words have the Focus function because they present the relatively most salient information. The Focus function is assigned to constituents which present information that is the relatively most salient or

important information with respect to the pragmatic information of the Speaker and the Addressee (Dik 1978:149).

Both characteristics are illustrated by example (111).

- (111) Ev-o kap keno-nde takhimo-khe?
 that-conn man what-Focus buy-3sg.pres
 'What does that man buy?'

As for position, the question-word *kenonde* in (111) occupies the Object position (Wambon is an SOV language). As for informational status, the question-word has Focus, expressed by the Focus relator *-nde* (see 3.10.5.2.2). This Focus relator also occurs on the NP in the answer (112), which presents the information asked for in (111):

- (112) Oi-nde (takhimokhe)
 pig-Focus (he.buys)
 'He buys a pig.'

When there is a semantic relator on the question-word, the Focus relator is never present:

- (113) Keno-sikhi nda-khe?
 what-because come-3sg.pres
 'Why does he come?'

This follows from the general restriction in Wambon that an NP can take no more than one relator (see 3.10.5).

The question-word for 'who' is *avop-*; for example (114).

- (114) Avop-nde nda-khe?
 who-Focus come-3sg.pres
 'Who is coming?'

The temporal question-word is *atkenap-ka* 'when', in which *-ka* is the temporal/locative/instrumental relator (see 3.10.5.1.1) that also occurs in *andakhepka* 'where'.

3.7 Deictics

Deictic elements are elements which can only be interpreted when the circumstances of the speech event are known. Personal deixis and tense have been treated in 3.3.1 (pronouns) and 3.1.3.3.3 (tense). In this section spatial-temporal deictics will be discussed.

Although we could not confirm it for all deictics, most of the deictics in this section allow for both temporal and spatial interpretations, depending on the context. Thus *nombone* may mean both 'now' and 'here'.

Wambon's basic set of spatial-temporal deictics can be described in terms of the three-way distinction of speaker (first person), hearer (second person) and third person.

Deictics of time and place are an important category in the grammar of Wambon: besides their basic spatial-temporal deictic function, they have anaphoric and cataphoric discourse functions, they mark Topics (see 3.10.5.2.1) and Themes and they function as demonstratives (see 3.5.1).

The speaker-related deictic is *no-*. It always occurs with the predicative *-mbo* (see 3.1.4). *Nombo* is used in gestural deixis meaning 'here it is'. With the connective *-o* the modifying demonstrative *nombono* 'this' is formed (see 3.5.1), and with *-e* the demonstrative *nombone* 'this', which functions as head of NP (see 3.5.1). *Nombone* also functions as deictic adverb meaning 'here/now'. For example:

- (115) *Nombone* na-n-ap ka-p
 now my-tr-house go-1sg.intent
 'I want to go home now.'

Deictic adverbs of time and place like *nombone* in (115) function clause-initially like all constituents in Wambon that specify the framework or background for the predication (see Chafe 1976:50 for this framework notion).

Nombone forms together with *eve* (see below) the form *nomboneve*, which is used, firstly, to mark Themes and Strong Topics (see De Vries 1985:170) and secondly, in cataphorical discourse deixis, as in (116):

- (116) *Nomboneve* jakhove: "Nde-nok-siva" ne-knde
 this they: come-neg-1pl.intent.neg say-3pl.pres
 'They say this: "We do not want to come." '

Finally *nombo* occurs with the Circumstantial relator *-ka* (see 3.10.5.1.1) as a

spatial adverb *nombongga* 'here'.

The hearer-related deictic is *ep-* 'in the proximity of the hearer'; *ep-* occurs with either the support verb *-ke* (see 3.1.2) or a relator. With *-ke* it forms *epke* 'there it is', used in gestural deixis but also in the sense 'that's it!', approvingly, for example when somebody has made a good shot with his bow.

With the connectives *-e* and *-o*, *ep-* forms the demonstrative elements *eve* and *evo* (see 3.5.1). Cliticized to NP, *-eve* marks Themes and Topics (see 3.10.5.2.1). Furthermore *eve* functions as anaphoric discourse deictic (see 3.10.5.2.1).

With the Circumstantial relator *-ka* (see 3.10.5.1.1) *ep-* forms the spatial adverb *epka* 'there'. For example (117):

117) Kutip-ke-lo Kui mata-levambo
 night-supp-SS Kou arrive-1pl.past
 'At nightfall we arrived in Kouh.'

Ep-ka la-levambo-n-o...
 there-loc sleep-1pl.past-tr-coord
 'There we slept and...'

In (117) *epka* points back to the phrase *Kui* 'Kouh' in the preceding context. Again we find the deictic place adverb in the clause-initial position. Notice that in the first sentence of (117) a medial clause with a *-lo* SS verb (see 3.1.3.2.1) expresses the time framework for the predication in the clause-initial position. Many time references take this medial clause form, always having an SS verb whatever the Subject of the following clause is (see De Vries 1985 for this skipping of temporal and other background clauses by the switch-reference mechanism). Together with the deictic adverbs of this section and deictic time-words such as *jatkende* 'tomorrow' and *alive* 'yesterday', these medial SS time-clauses are the typical fillers of the clause-initial framework slot.

Related to the third person is the deictic *kop-* 'in the proximity of neither speaker nor hearer'. It occurs with *-mbo*, the predicative element which we also find with *no-* (see above), in the form *kopo* (*kop-* + *-mbo* > *kopo*), meaning 'there (far away) it is' in gestural deixis. When this form *kopo* takes the connective *-e*, the deictic adverb *kopone* 'there' is the result, often used anaphorically. Sometimes *kopone* is shortened to *ko* 'there'.

It is not clear to what extent *kop-* is related to the element *koip-*, which occurs in the spatial-temporal deictic adverb *koip-ka* 'then/there' with the Circumstantial relator *-ka* and in such deictic expressions as:

- (118) Koiv-o talom-e
 last/next-conn year-conn
 'last/next year'

Depending on the tense of the verb, such expressions as *koivo talome* are interpreted as referring to the time before or after time of utterance. For example:

- (119) Koiv-o talom-e Mboma ka-lepo
 last-conn year-conn Boma go-1sg.past
 'Last year I went to Boma.'

3.8 Manner adverbs

In 3.7 we discussed deictic time-place adverbs occurring in the clause-initial framework slot. Manner adverbs have a different functionality and a different position: they specify the manner or the circumstances of the event referred to by the verb that they modify and they occur in the immediate pre-verbal position. An example of a manner adverb is *wasi* 'quick' in (120):

- (120) Wasi ndok!
 quick come.imp
 'Come quickly!'

We have not yet found other manner adverbs in Wambon; probably there are a few more words that make up, together with *wasi*, the rather marginal category of manner adverbs in Wambon.

That the category of manner adverbs can be so marginal is because Wambon prefers to use medial verbs as modifiers of other verbs in serial verb constructions, in which the modifying verb immediately precedes the modified verb. For example (121):

- (121) Matulo ka-tmbo
 go.up.SS go-3sg.past
 'He went up.'

The medial verb *matulo* modifies the verb *katmbo* in (121), by specifying the direction of the motion verb.

Very often the medial verbs specifying manner are verbs which are derived

from adjectives by *-mo* (see 3.1.2.1). For example in (122) the verb *matetmo* is a medial SS form of the verb *matetmo-* 'to be/become good'. This verb is derived from the adjective *matet-* 'good'.

- (122) Jakhov-e matet-mo ka-lembo?
 they-conn good-supp.SS go-3plpast
 'Did they travel well?'

Generally it is the temporally neutral and conceptually close form, consisting of the stem only (see 3.1.3.2.1), that functions as manner-specifying verb. The conceptual closeness sometimes leads to a conceptual merger in which the manner verb and the modified verb together express one concept, as in (121), where the idea of 'ascending' is expressed by the verb series with *matulo* as modifying medial verb.

3.9 Adverbial particles

There is a small closed set of adverbial particles that cannot be traced back to deictics, as with the spatial-temporal adverbs of 3.7, nor to verbs, as with the majority of the manner adverbials of 3.8.

Whereas the adverbs of 3.7 and 3.8 have fixed positions in the clause, the adverbial particles of this section may occur clause-initially as in (126) and clause-medially as in (125) and (123).

To this class belong *sonop* 'again', *ndo* 'just', *na* 'pause marker', *osi* 'again, in turn, also', *osak* 'again, in turn, also'.

The adverbial particles *sonop*, *osi* and *osak* occur in the following combinations: *osi osak*, *osak osak*, *osak-sonop*.

There may be subtle pragmatic and semantic differences between *sonop*, *osi* and *osak* and the various combinations of these elements. Both the distribution and meaning of the adverbial particles of this section need further research. Some examples:

- (123) Hitulov-e osi ka-levambo
 Thursday-conn again go-1pl.past
 'On Thursday we went again.'

- (124) Sonop sivi-nde tambe-lepo
 again stonefish-Focus shoot-1sg.ast
 'Again I shot a stonefish.'

(125) Nggulum-e osak sivi-nde tamja-tmbo
 teacher-conn also stonefish-Focus shoot-3sg.past
 'The teacher also shot a stonefish.'

(126) Osi osakh-a ali senin-e Mbulunggop ka-lepo
 again again-conn day monday-conn Burunggop go-1sg.past
 'On Monday I resumed my journey to Burunggop.'

3.10 Relators

3.10.1 Definition

Functionally, relators are those elements of a language which serve to establish relationships between constituents and which link relata (Dik 1983). Defined categorially in terms of Wambon grammar, members of at least the following two categories are relators:

- A. enclitical relators (postpositions, subordinators, coordinators and modifier-head linkers);
- B. medial verb suffixes.

The relators of category B express interclausal relations of temporality and switch-reference. They form part of the medial verb word. The relators of category A express intra-clausal and intra-phrasal relations; they are words and not parts of words; and they cliticize to the preceding constituent which they link to another constituent. The relatum to which the relators cliticize, we call their immediate relatum.

The relators of category B have been treated in 3.1.3.2; in this section we will treat those of category A.

The relators of A really form one distributional category: the postpositions also function as subordinators and some postpositions also function as coordinators. The relator *-o* functions as modifier-head connective but also as coordinator; in the Yonggom dialect, *-e* links arguments to the verb but also modifiers to the head noun.

3.10.2 Relator constraint, field and centre

Head nouns of NP and verbs in clauses we will call the centre of NP and of clauses. The area in front of the centre we will call the prefield and the area

after the centre the postfield, following the terminology of Dik (1983). Languages make a basic choice between prefield ordering and postfield ordering (Dik 1983). In prefield ordering all constituents belonging to a given domain are in principle ordered before the centre and in postfield ordering after the centre.

Wambon is a prefield language: in clauses the verb is the final constituent and in NP the ordering is basically Modifier-Head. Of course there are independent ordering principles that may counteract the basic prefield or postfield ordering of a language (Dik 1983), such as the tendency to place 'heavy' NPs in the postfield of clauses, that is, after the verb.

According to Dik (1983:274), the preferred position of a relator is between its two relata. This relator constraint plays an important role in the following description of Wambon relators.

3.10.3 Modifier-Head relators

3.10.3.1 -o

Wambon has semantic, pragmatic and syntactic relators.

Within NP the syntactic relator *-o* links all types of pre-nominal modifiers to the head noun. Thus *-o* expresses the prefield-centre relation in the NP domain. Semantically and pragmatically neutral relators like *-o* and *-e* (see below) we shall call connectives (conn) in the morpheme-by-morpheme translations of this book.

Consider the following examples:

- (127) *Ev-o lan*
 that-conn woman
 'that woman'

In (127) *-o* links the deictic *ep-* as demonstrative modifier to the head noun *lan*. In (128) *-o* links the attributive noun *Ahitup* as modifier to the head noun *ap* 'house':

- (128) *Ahituv-o -n- ap*
 Ahitup-conn tr house
 'Ahitup's house'

(129) is an example of *-o* linking the numeral *hitulopkup* 'four' to the head noun *enop* 'tree':

(129) hitulopkuv-o -n- enop
 four-conn -tr- tree
 'four trees'

In (130) *-o* links a prenominal relative clause (RC) as modifier to the head noun *kave* 'man'; the immediate relatum in (130) being the RC *oya temke*, *-o* cliticizes to the RC:

(130) Nuk oy-a temke-n-o kav-e hetak-nok-ndep
 I pig-RC shoot.3sg.pres-tr-conn man-conn see-neg-1sg.pres
 'I do not see the man who shoots the pig.'

The *-a* clitic on *oi* 'pig' in (130) is an RC delineating relator that we will discuss in 3.10.4.

Adjectives and numerals disturb the prefield ordering in NP by occurring postnominally. Adjectives¹⁹ always occur after the head noun and numerals optionally.

Now, interestingly, *-o* that occurs with all prefield modifiers in NP, never occurs with postfield modifiers:

(131) ev-o kap ambalopkup
 that man five
 'those five men'

(132) ambalopkuv-o kap
 five-conn man
 'five men'²⁰

(133) *ev-o kap ambalopkuv-o
 that-conn man five
 'those five men'

¹⁹ The positioning of Wambon adjectives in the postfield is in accordance with the independent ordering principle VII of Dik 1983, which states that adjectives universally tend to occur in the postfield.

²⁰ We were not able to find in texts or to elicit from informants the form *evo ambalopkuv-o kap*. This is because Wambon does not like to have more than one modifier in the prefield of NP.

The distribution of *-o* follows from the relator constraint of Dik (1983), which states that the preferred position of a relator is between its two relata. In (133) the relator *-o* does not occupy the preferred position: the expression is unacceptable. In (131) *-o* is absent in accordance with the relator constraint. In (132) *-o* occurs in the preferred position.

3.10.3.2 *-ko*

With attributive nouns – and only with attributive nouns – the specific attributive noun relator *-ko* may substitute for the general modifier-head connective *-o*:

(134) Ahitup-ko -n- ap
 Ahitup-attr -tr- house'
 Ahitup's house'²¹

(135) Ahituv-o -n- ap
 Ahitup-conn -tr- house'
 Ahitup's house'

We have not yet found semantic or pragmatic differences associated with the use of *-o* and *-ko* with attributive nouns. This may be due to insufficient data.

3.10.4 *Relators in the relative clause*

Wambon has at least two types of RC. The first type is the prenominal one, exemplified by (130). The second type is the head-internal RC in which the head nominal is part of the RC:

(136) Aliv-a ndu-n-e takhima-lepo-n-eve
 yesterday-RC sago-tr-conn buy-1sg.past-tr-Topic

setelep-ke-khe

delicious-supp-3sg.pres

'The sago I bought yesterday is delicious.'

²¹ The name *Ahitup* often occurs in the examples. He was a very helpful informant and language teacher. The name is from the Indonesian translation of the Bible (Nehemiah 11:11) and thus constitutes a loan. In Wambon the /h/ never occurs medially except in loans from Indonesian. The final *b* of the Indonesian *Ahitub* has been replaced by the Wambon final /p/.

In both types of RC we find final verbs (as in all subordinate clauses) and the RC-domain delineator *-a*, cliticized to the first constituent of the RC.²²

In (130) and (136) the function of *-a* is to signal the beginning of the RC domain and not to relate the RC to its head, because *-o*, for example in (130), takes care of that in prenominal RC, whereas in head-internal RC like (136) *-a* does not occur on the head noun *ndune* 'sago'.

3.10.5 Postpositions/subordinators

Since Wambon is a prefield language, we would expect to find postpositions in its verb-final clauses and no prepositions, given the relator constraint. Indeed we find a small set of postpositional enclitics relating the prefield NP to the verb, the centre of the clause, establishing semantic, syntactic and pragmatic relations between NP and verb.

No more than one relator may occur on a given NP. Only Subjects and Objects may occur without any relator at all.

This 'masking' of underlying semantic relations with Subjects and Objects is found in very many languages (Dik 1978:26).

3.10.5.1 Postpositions expressing semantic functions

3.10.5.1.1 *-ka*

-ka occurs with optional, inanimate NP that specify the circumstances of the event denoted by the verb, whether spatial-temporal (Time, Location) or otherwise (Instrument, Manner). Examples:

- (137) Kikhup-ka okima-levambo
 Digul-in take.a.bath-1pl.past
 'We took a bath in the Digul.'

²² In one case we found *-a* on the first two constituents of the RC:

- (196) Camal-a lukh-a lokha-tmbo-n-eve...
 camat-RC word-RC speak-3sg.past-tr-Topic
 'The word the Camat (head of subdistrict) said...'

Since in all other examples the *-a* only occurs on the first constituent of the RC, it is difficult to interpret (196) without additional data.

(138) Alip-ka koma-tmbo
 yesterday-on die-3sg.past
 'Yesterday he died.'

(139) Wasi-ngga nda-khe
 quick-Circum come-3sg.pres
 'He comes quickly.'

(140) Ndu-n-e likhe-n-e wakhi-ngga
 sago-tr-conn he.cuts-tr-conn knife-with
 'He cuts the sago with a knife'

We shall call the semantic function expressed by *-ka* the Circumstantial (Circum).

With the nouns of set (141) *-ka* forms complex locational relators:

(141) wamip 'inside'
 hitop 'bottom'
 kuk 'front'
 linggit 'back'
 palip 'top'

(142) ap wamip-ka
 house inside-in
 'in the house'

(143) jandit wamip-ka
 road inside-in
 'on the way'

(144) ap palip-ka
 house top-on
 'on top of the house'

(145) enop palip-ka
 tree top-in
 'in the tree'

(146) ap ku-ka²³
 house front-at
 'before the house'

(147) ap linggit-ka
 house back-at
 'behind the house'

-ka not only occurs with nominal NP but also with clausal NP, that is, with subordinate clauses that function as nominal constituent within another clause. For example:

(148) Nukh-e ande-lepo-ngga nekhep nde-tmbo
 I-conn eat-1sg.past-Circum he come-3sg.past
 'When I ate, he came.'

In (148) *-ka* occurs with a clausal NP with the semantic function Time. Compare (148) with (138), where *-ka* occurs with a noun-headed NP with the function Time. In (148) *-ka* functions as semantic subordinator. Compare (148) also with (149):

(149) Nukh-e ande-lev-o nekhep nde-tmbo
 I-conn eat-1sg.Non-Fut.DS-coord he come-3sg.past
 'I ate and he came.' or: 'When I ate, he came.'

In (149) we find a medial DS verb coordinated with a final verb. This coordination implies the same temporal relation as that expressed explicitly by the subordination in (148). Since all medial verb clauses are coordinated with the next clause, the postpositions/subordinators never occur with medial verb clauses.

When *-ka* occurs with subordinate clauses containing negated verbs, the 'before A,B' temporal relation is expressed:

- (150) Kinumla-no-khe-ngga²³ ko-knde
 sleep-neg-3sg.pres-Circum go-3pl.pres
 'Before he sleeps, they go away.'

3.10.5.1.2 -sikhi

Like *-ka*, *-sikhi* or its shortened form *-si* expresses a whole range of semantic functions.

-ka (see preceding section) is the general relator of inanimate satellites (that is, of non-arguments) outside the syntactic nucleus of the clause (see Dik 1978 for the satellite notion). The semantic relations brought under the heading of the Circumstantial function are not independently needed in the description of the language and have conceptual similarity. Is it also possible to subsume the relations expressed by *-sikhi* under one heading? Consider the following data:

- (151) Beneficiary: Ev-a nuk-sikhi si-khe-n-eve
 that-RC me-for make-3sg.pres-tr-Topic
 'What he makes for me...'
- (152) Recipient: Andemop ndakhet ev-o kap-sikhi ndakha-lembo
 food much that-conn man-to give-3pl.past
 'They gave much food to that man.'
- (153) Addressee: Ev-e nuk-sikhi lokha-tmbo
 that-conn me-to say-3sg.past
 'He said that to me.'
- (154) Purpose: Oi hetko-mop-sikhi nda-kndep
 pig see-nom-to come-1sg.pres
 'I come to see the pig.'

²³ In the examples (146), (150) and (157) a minor morphophonemic change has taken place, viz. /k/ + /k/ > /k/. For example the pre-morphophonemic form of (146) is (197):

- (197) Ap kuk-ka
 house front-at
 'before the house'

This change is sometimes, intervocalically, followed by the change /k/ > /ɣ/ of 2.1.1.5 (rule (1)). This has happened in (150) and (157):

- (198) -nok-ke- > -no-ke- > -no-khe-

- (155) Reason: Aliv-e kenop kok-sikhi ep-ka
 yesterday-conn foot sore-because there-Circum

 la-lepo-n-o...
 sleep-1sg.past-tr-coord
 'Yesterday because of sore feet I rested there and...'

Using the notion of 'goal' of Reesink (1984:215), we can bring Beneficiary, Recipient, Addressee and Purpose under one heading (but not Reason, see below). The 'goal' of an action is the entity to which the action is directed or at which the action is aimed. With verbs of giving, the Recipient is the goal of the action. Similarly, in doing something for someone's benefit, the Beneficiary is the goal (Reesink 1984:215). With verbs of speaking and asking, the Addressee is the goal to which the speaking or asking is directed. Again, the Purpose of an action is a goal, just like Destination with verbs of motion.

In Wambon, verbs of motion have Destination as their Object and this 'masks' the underlying semantic function:

- (156) Kui ka-tmbo
 Kouh go-3sg.past
 'He went to Kouh.'

If this analysis holds water, we may subsume Beneficiary, Recipient, Addressee and Purpose under the semantic function Goal.

What about (155), the Reason case? It is clear that in (155) the sore feet cannot be seen as a goal at which the resting was aimed. Reasons are not goals in the sense of Reesink (1984). On the other hand, there is evidence that diachronically *-sikhi* derives from a noun meaning 'cause, reason'. This noun was used relationally and developed into a Reason-relator.²⁴

²⁴ In the Yonggom dialect the semantic relation of Reason may be expressed by a relational noun used in periphrasis:

- (199) Ran-e tigin-de Katit pitip ndarin-de
 woman-conn reason-copula Katit house they.burned-and
 'Because of a woman they burned down the house of Katit and...'

(199) is an example from Drabbe (1959:148). *Tigin* 'cause, reason, affair' is a noun and not a relator, firstly, because it is the head of the NP *rane tigin* in which the modifier-head relator *-e* links the modifier *ran* to the head noun *tigin*, and secondly, because *rane tigin* refers to an affair involving a woman with *tigin* having the specific lexical meaning of 'cause, reason, affair'. Digul-Wambon *-si(khi)* is the cognate of *tigin*. The Digul-Wambon /s/ is realized initially as the

If *-sikhi* is indeed a relationally used noun that became a Reason-relator (see note 24), how did *-sikhi* come to be used for the roles of the 'goal' cluster (Beneficiary, Recipient, Purpose, Addressee)?

Heine and Reh (1982) speak of a diachronic process of expansion when grammatical elements expand the functions they have. Such an expansion presupposes 'routes' or 'channels' along which the expansion took place.

In the case of *-sikhi* the 'route' may have been as follows. According to Reesink (1984:215) purpose is a subcategory of the psychological concept of 'reason'. Questions like 'Why did you do that?' may be answered by referring to some preceding event (cause or reason) or to some following event (purpose).

Once *-sikhi* had expanded from Reason to Purpose, the common 'goal' nature of Beneficiary, Recipient and Addressee could have formed the 'channel' for the expansion of *-sikhi* into the 'goal' domain.²⁵

3.10.5.1.3 -kot

-kot occurs primarily as subordinator, expressing Cause and Reason:

- (157) Nukh-e jambolok-mo-kndep-kot nekhev-e nda-no-khe (see note 23)
 I-conn ill-supp-1sg.pres-Reason he-conn come-neg-3sg.pres
 'Because I am ill, he does not come.'

-kot is used for both human motivations for doing or not doing something

affricate [tʃ]. The Digul-Wambon /ɣ/ is related to the Yonggom /g/.

Now *-si(khi)* is a relator and not a relational noun, firstly, because it no longer functions as noun:

- (200) Ev-o lan-sikhi kalembo.
 that-conn woman-because they.went
 'Because of that woman they went away.'

In (200) *-sikhi* cannot be the head of the NP *evo lansikhi*, because in that case *lan* as modifier would take the modifier-head relator *-o* (see 3.10.3.1); *-sikhi* has cliticized to the new head *lan*; only relators cliticize, relational nouns never do.

Secondly, in Digul-Wambon *-sikhi* has lost its specific lexical meaning and has acquired a generalized grammatical meaning allowing it to express Purpose, Recipient and so on. This weakening of meaning is paralleled by a process of weakening of form in which *-si*, the shortened form, developed.

²⁵ Notice that a diachronic expansion analysis undermines our analysis of *-si(khi)* as expressing two semantic functions (Goal and Reason) and of *-ka* as expressing one function. It could very well be that the above-mentioned conceptual similarities only formed channels in diachronic processes without being relevant in the synchronic semantics of Wambon.

(Reason) and 'natural' causes in deterministic cause-and-effect sequences (Cause). Compare (158):

- (158) Kaiv-e mutke-nggol-o jandil-e
rain-con come.down.3sg.pres-Cause-coord road-conn
- okmakekhe
muddy.supp.3sg.pres
'Because it rains, the road is muddy.'

We have never found *-sikhi* with Causes. Furthermore, *-sikhi* is restricted to nominals (where it functions as postposition) and *-kot* to clausal constituents (where it functions as subordinator).

Notice the coordinator *-o* on *mutkenggol-o* in (158). According to Reesink (1984:213), a combination of a subordinator 'because' and a coordinator is found in many Papuan languages. *-o* occurs optionally with *-kot*; why these languages should use such a marked combination of relators is not clear.

3.10.5.2 Postpositions expressing pragmatic functions

3.10.5.2.1 (-)eve

With the connective *-e* (see 3.10.5.3) the deictic *ep-* forms the demonstrative *eve* (see 3.5.1). (159) shows the resumptive use of *eve*:

- (159) Ev-o kav-e ev-e na-mbap-nde
that-conn man-conn that-conn my-father-copula
'That man, that is my father.'

From this resumptive function *eve* developed into the direction of its secondary use as Theme/Topic relator by cliticizing to the constituent it originally pointed back to anaphorically. When *eve* thus integrates into the preceding constituent as clitic relator, in some contexts the need for a new anaphoric deictic is felt:

(160) Ko mba-khe-n-o kav-eve ev-e
 there stay-3sg.pres-tr-conn man-Theme that-conn

na-mbap-nde
 my-father-copula

'The man who sits over there, that is my father.'

In (160) the first *-eve* marks the Theme ('as regards the man over there') whereas the second *eve* resumes the Theme in the main predication. There is an intonational pause between the Theme and the main predication. Sometimes the pause marker *na* also appears to separate Theme and predication. This separation, intonationally and/or by the use of *na*, is the only difference between Topics and Themes in Wambon. Notice that in the Functional Grammar framework, Topics are clause-internal constituents and Themes clause-external (Dik 1978). In terms of informational status, Themes express the domain of discourse within which the predication is relevant and Topics are the entities the speaker wants to say something about. Wambon (-)eve occurs with both Themes (see 160) and Topics:

(161) Jakhov-eve kapkum ndakhet ande-lenggekkel-eve jakhov-e
 they-Topic spinach much eat-3pl.condit-Topic they-conn

met-ke-namalepke
 strong-supp-3pl.fut

'If they eat much spinach (kangkung), they will be strong.'

In (161) (-)eve occurs twice as Topic-marker; the first occurrence concerns the Topichood of *jakhop* 'they', the second the Topichood of the conditional clause to which we shall return below.

(-)eve as Theme/Topic relator does not always cliticize:

(162) Ev-o kav-e ev-e na... Manggelum-o kap
 that-conn man-conn Theme pause Manggelum-conn man

'As regards that man, he is from Manggelum.'

Sometimes (-)eve clusters with the first person deictic *nombo-* to form the Topic/Theme relator *nomboneve*:

- (163) Nombo-n-o buku gambar nomboneve ev-e
 this-tr-conn book picture Theme that-conn
- kanetop kayana kav-e tembet
 in.the.very.beginning man-conn not.be
 'This picturebook here, it shows how in the very beginning man was not
 (yet) there.'

Reesink (1984:198) points out that in many Papuan languages there are deictic-based topicality relators. Furthermore, Reesink claims that subordinate clauses tend to be Topics. Now in Wambon the Topic/Theme relator indeed occurs with a variety of subordinate clauses, namely, with conditionals (see (161)), temporals (De Vries 1986), causals (De Vries 1986) and relative clauses (see (136)). In De Vries (1986) topical subordination with (-)eve is extensively discussed.

3.10.5.2.2 -nde and -o

-nde has three functions: copula, Focus marker and coordinator. In De Vries (1986) the relations between these three uses of -nde are discussed. Here we shall concentrate on -nde as Focus marker (see 3.10.6 for -nde as coordinator and 3.1.4 for -nde as copula).

Focus constituents present information which is relatively the most salient or important in a given context and situation. Compare (164) and (165):

- (164) Jakhov-e keno-nde takhimo-knde?
 they-conn what-Focus buy-3pl.pres
 'What do they buy?'
- (165) Ndu-nde (takhimoknde)
 sago-Focus (they.buy)
 'Sago (they buy).'

Informationally the crucial constituent in (164) is the question word *kenonde* 'what' and in (165) *ndunde* 'sago', which presents the information requested. The type of Focus exemplified by (165) has been labelled *Completive Focus* by Dik et al. (1981:61). In De Vries 1985 it is shown that -nde also marks the other types of Focus mentioned in the Focus typology of Dik et al. (1981). Here we shall limit our examples to one more type of context that creates

informational saliency: Corrective Focus.

(166) Ndu-n-e takhimo-knde
 sago-tr-conn buy-3pl.pres
 'They buy sago.'

(167) Woyo, lakhai-nde takhimo-knde
 no, fish-Focus buy-3pl.pres
 'No, they buy fish.'

(167) presents the correction of (166); in that context the constituent presenting the correct information, *lakhai-nde* 'fish', has Focus.

Vocative/Exclamative Focus is not expressed by *-nde* but by *-o*. *-o* marks extra-clausal Focus, whereas *-nde* marks Focus within the clause. In both vocative and exclamative contexts the *-o*-marked constituent has intonational prominence. Examples:

(168) Ahituv-o, Ahituv-o, ndok!
 Ahitup-Focus Ahitup-Focus come.imp
 'Ahitup, Ahitup, come!'

(169) Ndu-n-o!
 sago-tr-Focus
 'Sago!'

(169) can be used in contexts of surprise or irritation or similar emotional exclamations.

3.10.5.3 The syntactic postposition/subordinator *-e*

Wambon has two syntactic connectives with the same function in two different domains, *-e* and *-o*. They express the prefield-centre relation, *-o* in NP (see 3.10.3.1), linking modifiers to the head, and *-e* in clauses, linking preverbal NP to the verb, the centre of the clause. It stands to reason, given their syntactic function, that *-e* and *-o* are very frequent, almost omnipresent.

-e may occur on all prefield constituents irrespective of their functional or structural specification. This point has been extensively documented in De Vries (1986). In (166) *-e* occurs on an Object, in (164) on a pronominal Subject, in (162) on the resumptive pronoun *eve*, in (155) on a Time phrase *alive*

'yesterday'. Below we shall see *-e* on subordinate clauses.

If *-e* is indeed the prefield-centre relator in clauses, we would not only expect it to occur with all sorts of constituents, irrespective of their functional and structural specification, but also never outside the clause domain and never sentence-finally.

Indeed *-e* never occurs outside the clause domain, for example with vocatives or within the NP domain, for example with attributive nouns:

(170) *Ahituv-*e*, ndok!
 Ahitup-conn, come.imp
 'Ahitup, come!'

(171) *Ahituv-*e* -n- ap
 Ahitup-conn -tr- house
 'Ahitup's house'

-e also never occurs sentence-finally, apart from its final use in songs. In Wambon songs *-e* is often added to the last word of the song to carry the final part of the melody; this final *-e* is lengthened and repeated several times. During this 'stretching' of the final *-e* the voice of the singer gradually dies away. In (172), a part of a magic song for prahu dedication, we find this song-related *-e* on the final imperative *nilup* 'descend!':

(172) Alev-*o* ngga-n-ok Kikhup niluv-*e-e-e-e-e*
 prahu-Focus your-tr-river Digul descend.imp-conn
 'Prahu, the Digul is your river, descend!'

Just as *-o* may substitute for the more specific relator *-ko* (see 3.10.3.2), *-e* substitutes for more specific relators:

(173) Alip-*ka* koma-tmbo
 yesterday-Circum die-3sg.past
 'Yesterday he died.'

(174) Aliv-*e* koma-tmbo
 yesterday-conn die-3sg.past
 'Yesterday he died.'

-ka in (173) relates the time phrase *alip* in a semantically specific way to

komatmbo, the verbal centre of the clause. *-e* in (174) relates the same phrase in a semantically and pragmatically neutral way to the verb.

-e not only links nominals to the verb but also clausal constituents as neutral subordinator. In De Vries (1986) examples are given of *-e* with conditional clauses, temporal clauses, Object clauses and counterfactual clauses. Here we shall give only one example, with a conditional clause:

(175) Jakhov-*e* wasi ndave-lenggekkel-*e*
 they-conn quick come-3pl.condit-sub
 'If they come quickly...

alipkekhetop-ka Manggelum nda-namat
 afternoon-in Manggelum come-3pl.fut
 '...they will arrive in Manggelum in the afternoon.'

The subordinate clause *jakhove wasi ndavelenggekhet* functions as NP with the semantic function of Condition within the main clause of which *ndanamat* is the centre; the conditional verb form expresses the semantic function Condition. Generally the topicality of conditional clauses is expressed overtly by the pragmatic subordinator *(-)eve* (see for example (161)) but sometimes, as in (175), *-e* substitutes for *(-)eve*. In (175) *-e* links the clause to the verb in a neutral way, thus expressing the syntactic relation of subordination.

The last point connected with *-e* is its role in 'leaking' processes (De Vries 1986). 'Leaking' refers to the phenomenon that in certain conditions NPs leak to the postfield, that is, occur after the verb, creating a marked construction in verb-final languages.

Every time there is an NP after the verb in Wambon, *-e* occurs on the verb, thus signalling the 'leaking' and functioning as 'therapeutic' relator (Kahrel 1985):

(176) Aliv-*e* nekhev-*e* ndu takhima-tmbo-n-*e*
 yesterday-conn he-conn sago buy-3sg.past-tr-conn

 nekho-mbut-sikhi
 his-brother.in.law-for
 'Yesterday he bought sago for his brother-in-law.'

In (176), because of overcrowding of the prefield (Dik 1983), the Beneficiary occurs in the postfield of the clause. The relator *-sikhi* on this Beneficiary does

not occur between its relata, the Beneficiary and the verb, thus it violates the relator constraint (Dik 1983). Now *-e* in (176) is a 'therapeutic' relator, linking the verb to the postfield Beneficiary in a position between these relata and at the same time signalling 'leaking'.

In Wambon only Subjects and Objects may occur without any relator at all (Oblique NP Constraint, see De Vries 1986) and this prevents the relator *-sikhi* from being dropped.²⁶

Notice that in the postfield of NP the relator *-o* never occurs, thus satisfying the relator constraint in that domain (see 3.10.3.1).

3.10.6 Coordinators

3.10.6.1 Coordination of NP

Noun coordination is not very frequent in Wambon. This has been observed for other Papuan languages as well (Reesink 1984:152). At least two things relate to the infrequency of nominal coordinations.

In the first place there are no specific coordinators, that is, there are no relators that function only or primarily as coordinator. All three coordinators in Wambon have several functions, one of which is coordination.

The second thing is the saliency of coordinated nouns. Coordination being infrequent, it is clear that 'in those instances where coordination of terms does occur, it concerns terms that are more salient than others' (Reesink 1984:52). In Wambon this saliency expresses itself in intonational prominence; furthermore, one of the coordinators (*-nde*) is a Focus relator that is used secondarily as coordinator. We shall now discuss the coordinators in more detail.

²⁶ We have not yet found semantic or pragmatic differences between expressions with Subjects/Objects that are without relators and expressions with Subjects/Objects taking *-e*. (201) and (202) have, as far as we know now, the same meaning:

(201) Ahitup ap-ka bakhe?
 Ahitup home-at he.stays
 'Is Ahitup at home?'

(202) Ahituv-e ap-ka bakhe?
 Ahitup-conn home-at he.stays
 'Is Ahitup at home?'

3.10.6.1.1 -kup

The relator *-kup* basically is an adverbial clitic with the meaning 'also':

- (177) Nu-kup ndave-lepo
 I-also come-1sg.past
 'I also came.'

Out of this basic 'also' meaning, the following functions developed. The Comitative function:

- (178) Nekhev-e nda-khe-n-e nekho-wanonambat-kup
 he-conn come-3sg.pres-tr-conn his-family-Comit '
 'He comes with his family.'

With body-part/numbers *-kup* forms attributive numerals (see 3.5.2).

In stative clauses *-kup* occurs as predicative element:

- (179) Nggup junop-kup?
 you(sg.) ulcer-with
 'You have an ulcer?'

In (180) we see *-kup* as coordinator:

- (180) Belanda-n-o kav-e loti-nggup susu-nggup en-em-o-knde
 Dutch-tr-conn man-conn bread-coord milk-coord eat-eat-supp-3pl.pres
 'Dutchmen usually consume bread and milk.'

Notice that *-kup* is a secondarily used Comitative relator. Furthermore *-kup* occurs attached to all members of the coordination. Finally *-kup* gives exhaustive enumeration, is never disjunctively used and never coordinates more than three nouns.

3.10.6.1.2 -nde

The relator *-nde* is basically a copula that also functions as Focus relator and as coordinator (De Vries 1986). Here we shall limit our attention to *-nde* as coordinator. For example (181):

- (181) Nuk-nde Kulop-nde
 I-and Kulop-and
 'I and Kulop'

Above we stated that *-nde* is a Focus relator that developed into coordinator via the saliency of coordinations in Wambon. Like *-kup*, *-nde* is attached to all members of the coordination.

3.10.6.1.3 -o

The last NP coordinator to be dealt with is *-o*. Within NP *-o* also functions as modifier-head linker (see 3.10.3.1). Confusion of these roles is prevented because *-o* as noun-coordinating connective always functions in the general Wambon coordination pattern (182) that we also find with *-nde* and *-kup*, namely, it is attached to all members of the coordination. Schematically (R = relator):

- (182) coordination: relatum-R relatum-R
 anggay-o kav-o
 'the dog and the man'

- (183) modifier-head: relatum-R relatum
 anggay-o kap
 'the man with the dog'

-o is a non-exhaustive, 'open-ended' enumerator that may have the disjunctive interpretation 'and/or'. (184) is an example from the Yonggom dialect (Drabbe 1959:145):

- (184) ui-o itir-o ragae-o ra mandonanin-e tagimojip
 pig-or cassowary-or fish-or take.SS come.3pl.fut-sub buy.1sg.fut
 'If they bring pig or cassowary or fish, I shall buy it.'

3.10.6.2 Clausal coordination

In De Vries (1986) three types of clauses are distinguished for Wambon: medial, final and subordinate clauses.

Final clauses occur as last clause of the sentence and contain only final verbs. Subordinate clauses function as NP within a main clause and contain final

verbs. The final/medial distinction has no relevance for them since their linear ordering should take the verb of the main clause as point of reference; they are preverbal or postverbal rather than final or medial.

Medial clauses occur sentence-medially, are always coordinated with the next clause and contain medial verbs or, under certain conditions,²⁷ final verbs. Since medial verbs imply coordination, we would expect coordination to be only marginally expressed, and indeed we find the clausal coordinator *-o* always lacking with SS verbs of the stem-only type (see 3.1.3.2.1.1), optionally occurring with sequence SS verbs and obligatorily occurring only with medial DS verbs, medially-occurring final verbs and simultaneity SS verbs.

-o is a connective that functions as modifier-head linker, as phrasal coordinator and as clausal coordinator. (185) is an example of *-o* with an SS sequence medial verb clause:

- (185) Oi takhimo-mbel-o ka-tmbo
 pig buy-SS.seq-coord go-3sg.past
 'He brought a pig and went away.'

In some constructions we find the coordinator *-nde* as clausal coordinator, for example in causative semi-subordinate constructions with *-kot* (see 3.10.5.1.3; De Vries 1986) and in adhortative constructions.

Adhortative constructions form one of the conditions in which we find medially-used final verbs. Medial clauses with final verbs are coordinated with the next clause. (186) is an example of *-nde* in an adhortative coordination:

- (186) Ande-va-mbe-te ka-va
 eat-1pl.adhort-seq-coord go-1pl.adhort
 'Let us eat and then go.'

(In the example (186) *-mbet + -nde > -mbete*.)

-o is crucially involved in distinguishing the different verb types. For example the formation *stem + -o* (SS.sim.medial verb; see 3.1.3.2.1.2) contrasts with the formation *stem* (SS conceptually close medial verb; see 3.1.3.2.1.1), while the final Intent. verb formation *stem + person-number* contrasts with the medial DS formation *stem + person-number + -o*.

Thus *-o* seems to be crossing the border between enclitical relator (category

²⁷ These conditions are mentioned in note 3, in this chapter, where medial clauses with final verbs are discussed (see 3.1.3.1).

a. of 3.10.1) and medial verb suffix (category b.) (see also De Vries 1986).²⁸ Since medial clauses are verb-final, the conditions for the integration of the clausal coordinating enclitic in the medial verb are optimal. There is evidence that Wambon is not the only TNGP language where coordinators have been integrated into the medial verb morphology (Haiman 1980:xlvi).

3.10.7 Verbs as relators

Medial or 'medialized' final verbs function as relators in Wambon. This use of verbs as relators is very frequent. Some of the verb forms that function relationally seem to have lost their verb status and have become relators; others still seem to function as verbs, periphrastically used. It is not easy to find evidence bearing on this distinction.

The relational medial verbs are always preceded by a medially occurring final verb, generally in the neutral-present, with *-o* connecting them to the relational medial verb. Often the relational verb also conveys aspectual meanings. For example (187):

- (187) Oi takhimo-kndeva-n-o kitmo-mbelo ap ka-levambo
 pig buy-1pl.pres-tr-coord be.finished-SS.seq.coord house go-1pl.past
 'After we had bought the pig, we went home.'

kitmombelo is a relational verb expressing the 'after' meaning with the aspectual notion of completion. Some other relational verbs have been discussed in De Vries (1986). Here we limit our attention to verbs of motion, a category of verbs that is frequently used as relator, also in some other Papuan languages (Reesink 1984:168).

Some of the motion-verb forms have become relators with discourse-connective functions. This concerns the SS.simultaneity forms of *nda-* 'to come' and *ko-* 'to go'. These forms (*ndano*, *kono*, *ndakono*) have lost their simultaneity meaning (they are no longer restricted to such contexts) and express discourse-connective meanings like 'next', 'and', 'furthermore'. One of the forms, *ndakono*, literally meaning 'coming-going', is a combination of the other two forms. The motion-verb based relators also occur in the stem-only form (*nda*, *ko*, *ndako*). (188) is an example with *ndano* and *kono*:

²⁸ This analysis of *-o* makes some qualification of De Vries (1985) necessary. In the first place, *-o* with final forms in medial clauses is a coordinator and not an SS-suffix, although indeed such medial clauses with final verbs generally are SS clauses. Secondly, *-mbelo* can now be analysed as *-mbet* plus *-o*.

(188) Ndano la-levambo-n-o jatke-lo kono enov-andil-e
 next sleep-1pl.past-tr-coord become.day-SS and tree-trunk-conn

li-n-o...

cut-tr-SS.sim

'And we slept until the day and we cut tree-trunks and...'

A 3sg. neutral-present form of *ko-* that is used medially, functions as relator-verb with the 'until' meaning and the aspectual implication that the action expressed by the verb has a prolonged duration:

(189) Nda-kndeva-n-o ko-khe-n-o kutipke-lo
 come-1pl.pres-tr-coord go-3sg.pres-tr-coord night.become-SS

Kui mata-levambo

Kouh arrive-1pl.past

'We travelled on until the night fell and we arrived in Kouh.'

Again, the periphrastic relational verb *kokheno* is preceded by a medially used final form in the present tense.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

4.1 Wambon as a Papuan language

In this study we have come across the following features of Wambon that are mentioned by Wurm (1982:35, 36) as general Papuan characteristics.

In Wambon there is no phonemic contrast between [l] and [ɫ] and when the /l/ is realized as vibrant it is the flapped one.

Wambon's verb morphology is complex, featuring sentence-medial forms.

Nouns have no non-singular forms except marginally with kinship terms.

The counting system is based on body parts used as tallies. There are only two 'real', i.e. non-body-part-based, numerals.

Finally the SOV pattern of Wambon reflects the general Papuan verb-final pattern.

We found no evidence of dual numbers in person-markers nor in noun classification. Wurm (1982:36) mentions both features as frequently occurring in Papuan languages.

According to Reesink (1984:198) 'many Papuan languages extend the use of a deictic to mark textual relationships such as topic and relative clause'. The Wambon deictic-based Theme/Topic marker (-)eve (see 3.10.5.2.1) supports this claim, although of course much more research is needed to establish this feature as a TNGP characteristic, let alone as a general Papuan feature.

4.2 Wambon as a Trans-New Guinea Phylum language

4.2.1 Phonology

In Wambon we find prenasalization of voiced stops, a widespread feature of TNGP languages but also occurring in many Austronesian languages both within and outside New Guinea (Haiman 1980:xxxiii).

The Wambon syllable structure without CC clusters reflects the usual TNGP syllable structure (Reesink 1984:15).

In several TNGP languages we find restrictions on the consonants that may close the syllable (Reesink 1984:15; Haiman 1980:xxxiv). In Wambon only

nasals and voiceless stops may close the syllable.

The quite elaborate morphophonemics of Wambon represents a general TNGP feature (Wurm 1982:77).

Wambon has the usual TNGP five-vowel system, lacking the front rounded vowels which Wurm (1982:139) mentions as a special Awyu-family feature. Indeed such vowels do occur in most Awyu languages, for example also in Kombai and Korowai.

4.2.2 Morphology

Wambon employs suffixes in the verb morphology (but there is an imperative prefix) like most other TNGP languages. In the noun morphology we meet the usual possessive prefixes.

The category conflation of second and third person in Wambon verb paradigms (both in singular and plural) occurs commonly in TNGP languages especially in the non-singular (Haiman 1980:xxxix; Wurm 1982:83).

Medial verbs are another typical TNGP phenomenon that we also find in Wambon (Wurm 1982:83).

Wambon support-verbs *-mo* and *-ke* reflect a general TNGP pattern (Lang 1971) but there is no evidence that these verbs in Wambon function as classificatory verbs.

The tense-related suppletive stems of Wambon verbs seem to be a typical Awyu-family feature (Wurm 1982:139).

Leaving the verb morphology, we turn to pronouns. The base consonants of the Wambon personal pronouns of first and second person reflect the base consonants of Wurm's 'set I' pronouns (Wurm 1982:37, 38). According to Wurm, pronouns in Papuan languages belong formally to three different basic sets. In TNGP languages there is a 'preponderance of set I forms' (Wurm 1982:37). Compare the Wambon pronouns of (190) with the set I base consonants of (191). Wurm leaves the 3pl forms out of consideration.

(190) sg	1	nuk 'I'
	2	nggup 'you'
	3	nekhep 'he/she/it'
pl	1	nokhop 'we'
	2	nggokhop 'you(pl)'

(191) sg	1	n
	2	k ~ g ~ ŋg
	3	y ~ t ~ d ~ r ~ l ~ s, Vk(~ -g ~ -ŋ
pl	1	n
	2	k ~ g ~ ŋg ~ ŋ, t ~ d ~ r ~ s ~ y

The initial C of Wambon 1sg/pl and 2sg/pl forms reflects the set I base C. The 3sg pronoun of Wambon is deviant. In the plural Wambon has disyllabic forms and in the singular both disyllabic and CVC forms (see Wurm 1982 for a discussion of such forms).

4.3 *Digul-Wambon and Yonggom-Wambon*

Wambon has two main dialects, Digul-Wambon and Yonggom-Wambon. In this study we have described Digul-Wambon whereas Yonggom has been described by Drabbe (1959). In this section we shall make some comparative remarks, very tentatively, to give the reader an impression of the relationship between the two dialects.

Digul-Wambon is spoken along the Upper-Digul and Tsaw Rivers and Yonggom-Wambon in the Upper-Murup area (see Map 1).

Some Yonggom villages are: Kukubun, Ukyandit, Bukit, Inim. Some Digul-Wambon villages: Manggelum, Gaguop, Klofkam, Heyokobun, Bayanggop. Digul-Wambon speakers call their dialect simply Wambon, but the other dialect they call Yonggom.

Both dialects are regarded by native speakers as belonging to one language, Wambon.

According to Versteeg (personal communication¹), there is a 47% basic vocabulary correspondence between the two dialects. Since the real lexical correspondence generally turns out to be higher than shown in initial surveys (Voorhoeve, personal communication), the percentage could be up to 10% higher.

Similarly, initial research by De Vries (1985) overestimated the morpho-syntactic differences between the two dialects. Although there are indeed many and striking differences on the morphological surface, the basic build-up of the forms is the same. To illustrate this point we shall compare some of the verb forms of the two dialects.

As far as the Same-Subject medial verbs are concerned, both dialects have the

¹ The lexical correspondence percentage is from an initial survey done by Rev. H. Versteeg (personal communication).

stem-only forms and the stem-plus *-lo* forms with the same meanings (see 3.1.3.2.1. and Drabbe 1959:132). In the temporally marked SS forms Yonggom only has the simultaneity form (Drabbe 1959:135) but no sequence SS forms are mentioned by Drabbe. Instead, Yonggom has an anteriority construction which is neutral with respect to Same-Subject or Different-Subject and which is absent in Digul-Wambon (Drabbe 1959:34).

Considering the Different-Subject forms, the forms are similar, but in Yonggom there is no coordinating clitic attached to the DS forms; this clitic is obligatory in Digul-Wambon DS forms (see 3.1.3.2.2 and Drabbe 1959:133).

Regarding the final verb forms, we limit our attention to the expression of tense.

According to Drabbe (1959:129), in the Yonggom dialect there are two present-tense formations which have about the same meaning. First, the *ken*-forms that correspond to the Digul-Wambon *kende*- forms (see 3.1.3.3.1) and second the *t*-forms that do not occur in Digul-Wambon as present-neutral formation. In Digul-Wambon the *t*-forms, possibly because they were redundant, have been used in the formation of other tenses and moods, viz. the Past, the DS Non-Future and the Conditional (see notes 6 and 10 of Chapter III).

The Future tense in Yonggom (Drabbe 1959:128) is formed by adding the Future marker *-in* to what Drabbe calls zero-forms (forms consisting of stem plus person-number). In Digul-Wambon (see 3.1.3.3.3) the Future forms can also be said to consist of zero-forms plus Future marker, but in Digul-Wambon the person-number suffix is repeated in the first-person forms and the Future marker is *-mat* and not *-in*.

If we compare Yonggom Past forms with Digul-Wambon Past forms, the superficial differences are striking. Compare the Yonggom paradigm in (192) (Drabbe 1959:130) with the Wambon paradigm in (193):

(192) etagarewan	'I saw'
etagan	'you(sg)/he(she, it) saw'
etagarewanan	'we saw'
etaganin	'you(pl)/they saw'

(193) hetakhalepo	'I saw'
hetakhatmbo	'you(sg)/he(she, it) saw'
hetakhalevambo	'we saw'
hetakhalembo	'you(pl)/they saw'

On closer comparative inspection, however, we find the same morphological pattern in both Digul-Wambon and Yonggom.

The underlying similarity becomes clear when we compare the pre-morphophonemic forms of (192) and (193):

(194) etaga-t-ep-an
 etaga-t-an
 etaga-t-ewan-an
 etaga-t-in-an

(195) hetakha-t-ep-mbo
 hetakha-t-mbo
 hetakha-t-eva-mbo
 hetakha-t-e-mbo

(194) corresponds to (192) and (195) to (193). Applying the rules of 2.1.1.5 to (195), we derive the actual paradigm (193), and applying the morphophonemics of Drabbe (1959:116) to (194) we get the actual Yonggom paradigm (192).²

Both (194) and (195) consist of *t*-form plus person-number plus Past marker. In Digul-Wambon the Past marker is *-mbo* and in Yonggom *-an*. Digul-Wambon /l/ corresponds to Yonggom /r/. In both dialects there is a morphophonemic process changing intervocalic /t/ into /l/ (Digul-Wambon) or /r/ (Yonggom).

² In (193) not only rule (1) of 2.1.1.5 is operative but also rule (2) of 2.1.1.5 (/p/ + /mb/ > /p/).

CHAPTER V

TEXTS

Apart from the magic formula recorded in 5.3, the texts in this appendix are narratives of everyday life. Drabbe (1959) gives mythical narratives. The story in 5.1 is a pig-hunting story from a first-person perspective. The story in 5.2 is also about a pig hunt, this time from a third-person perspective. The last story (5.4) tells about the sawing activities of the informant. This work, done with big hand-saws, is a popular way to acquire cash in the subsistence economy of the Wambon. In the texts the sentences are numbered.

5.1 A pig hunt

1. Aliv-e nukh-e ilo-ko-n-o lakhop
yesterday-conn I-conn go.down-go-tr-SS.sim garden

ko-kndev-o odo jandit wamip-ka oy-e hetak-mbel-o
go-1sg.pres-coord and road inside-in pig-conn see-SS.seq-coord

tambe-lev-o liki-lap-elo
shoot-1sg.non-fut.DS-coord break-take-SS.seq.coord

ka-l-o kilim-ke-kndev-o hetka-lepo-n-e
go-3sg.non-fut.DS-coord pursue-supp-1sg.pres-coord see-1sg.past-tr-sub

ne la-tmbo-nggelo¹ odo tamjo-p-ni-mo-kndev-o
close(?) lie-3sg.past-and and shoot-1sg.intent-supp-1sg.pres-coord

matulo topke-ka-l-o odo nu-khuv-a² topke-ko-n-o
go.up.SS run-go-3sg.non-fut.DS-coord and I-also-conn run-go-tr-SS.sim

¹ For the function of the relator *-nggelo* see De Vries (1986:49).

² In the speech of the person who told us this story, the connective *-e* sometimes appears as *-a*. We have not enough data to interpret this variation.

enop palip ka-lev-o oi nombo-n-e ko
 tree top go-1sg.non-fut.DS-coord pig this-tr-conn go.SS

tembet-ke-l-o odo mulo
 not.be-supp-3sg.non-fut.DS-coord and go.down.SS

kilim-ke-kndev-o hetakha-lepo-n-e ko la-tmbo-nggelo
 pursue-supp-1sg.pres-coord see-1sg.past-tr-sub there lie-3sg.past-and

odo ndomanop-mo uto tamja-lev-o matulo
 and slow-supp.SS go.in.SS shoot-1sg.non-fut.DS-coord go.up.SS

nda-ka-p nde-lo nggom-e hala-lo kopo-n-e
 come-go-1sg.Intent say-SS blood-conn put.down-SS there-tr-conn

asalop-ke-lo uto lelo-p nde-lo mitmbululop-ka
 much-supp-SS go.in.SS stand.up-1sg.Intent say-SS shudders-with

mata-lo ndako koma-tmbo
 go.down-SS next die-3sg.past

1. 'Yesterday I went to my garden and on the way I saw a pig and I shot it but the pig got rid of the arrow and went away and I pursued it and saw it lying close by and I wanted to shoot the pig but it got up and ran away and I also climbed quickly into a tree and the pig went out of sight and I came down to pursue it and I saw it lying there and slowly approaching I shot it and the pig wanted to go away but there the blood came down in large quantities and the pig wanted to go (into the jungle) and to stand up but shuddering it went down and died.'

2. Ndako koma-l-o odo nukh-e uto hetakha-lepo-n-e
 and die-3sg.non-fut-DS.coord and I-conn go.in.SS see-1sg.past-tr-conn

kamo koma-tmbo-nggelo odo et-mbel-o ap
 already die-3sg.past-and and leave-SS.seq-coord house

nda-n-o lokho-lev-o kav-e nuk
 come-tr-SS.sim speak-1sg.non-fut.DS-coord people-conn me

akmokhe-le-n-o kono oy-e talemo hali-mbel-o
 follow-3pl.non-fut.DS-tr-coord next pig-conn cut.SS carry-SS.seq-coord

lap-ndave-levambo
 take-come-1pl.past

2. 'It died and I approached and saw that it had already died and I left and on my way home I informed my people and they followed me and we cut the pig and carried it (to the village).'

5.2 Savanop and the pig

1. Savanop ko-khe-n-o kavat hetokho-p ne-mbel-o
 Savanop go-3sg.pres-tr-coord trap see-1sg.Intent say-SS.seq-coord

kono hetakhe-n-e lava-tmbo-nggelo odo uto
 and see.3sg.pres-tr-conn take-3sg.past-and and go.in.SS
 (= trapped)

tamja-lo odo oy-e ndano inande-tmbo.
 shoot-3sg.non-fut.DS and pig-conn next bite-3sg.past

1. 'Savanop went to see his trap and he saw that he had trapped a pig and he approached and shot it but the pig bit him.'

2. Jama-l-o et-mbel-o ap nde-tmbo
 thus.do-3sg.non-fut.DS-coord leave-SS.seq-coord house come-3sg.past

2. 'Thus the pig did and Savanop left and went home.'

3. Ap nda-khe-n-o kit-mbel-o nekho-salip
 house come-3sg.pres-tr-coord finished-SS.seq-coord his-wife

lokha-l-o ndano kap kap
 speak-3sg.non-fut.DS-coord next man man

lokha-l-o lap-ka-lembo
 speak-3sg.non-fut.DS-coord take-go-3pl.past

3. 'He went home and after that he informed his wife and she informed the people and they went (after the pig).'

5.3 Magic formula for prahu dedication

1. Alev-o Kikhup alev-o Sakhup alev-o
 prahu-focus Digul prahu-focus Tsaw prahu-hfcus

ngga-n-ok Kikhup niluv-e
 your-tr-river Digul descend.imp-conn

1. 'O prahu (dugout canoe), the Digul River, o prahu, the Tsaw River, o prahu, are your rivers, Digul, descend!'

5.4 Sawing

1. Koiv-o talom-o mben-o wakhol-eve Tuve-n-o
 last-conn year-conn seven-conn month-Topic Tuve-tr-coord

Titul-o nokhov-a² ilumtakhemo ndakono ...jakho-salip sakmo
 Titus-coord we-conn three and their-wife follow.SS

lavilo kono...(pause)...
 go.down.SS and

Mbonop-nggambun-ka mbakhe-mbel-o nggerkaji lavo-va
 Mbonop-whirlpool-at stay-SS.seq-coord saw take-1pl.Intent

ne-mbel-o ep-ka mba-levambo
 say-SS.seq-coord there-Loc stay-1pl.past

1. 'July of last year Tuve and Titus, the three of us...their wives also...we went down and stayed at the Mbonop whirlpool to saw.'

2. Ep-ka mba-levambo-n-eve sanov-e ilo ka-levambo.
 there-Loc stay-1pl.past-tr-topic monday-conn go.down.SS go-1pl.past

2. 'We stayed there (or: 'Given that we stayed there... (Tail-Head linkage: De Vries 1986)) and it was on a Monday that we went down there.'

3. Sanopkuniv-a² jat-ke-lo ...jat-ke-lo sanopkuniv-eve
 Tuesday-conn light-become-SS light-become-SS Tuesday-Topic

ilo nggap-mo-kndeva-n-o ko
 go down.SS cut-supp-1pl.pres-tr-coord go.SS
 (until)

alip-ke-lo ndave-levambo.
 afternoon-supp-SS return-1pl.past

3. 'On Tuesday morning we went down and cut (trees) until we returned in the late afternoon.'

4. Ndano la-levambo-n-o jat-ke-lo wesat-ke-lo kono
 next sleep-1pl.past-tr-coord light-supp-SS day-supp-SS and

enov-andil-e li-n-o nda-ndakha-mo-kndeva-n-o
 tree-trunk-conn cut-tr-SS.sim put-put-supp-1pl.pres-tr-coord

kit-mo-mbel-o odo sini-ngga ukhumo ndatkap-mo
 finished-supp-SS.seq-coord and stick-with put.under.SS lift.up-supp.SS

lap-ko-tulo mbait-ka halo-kndeva-n-o
 take-go-ascend.SS hill-on put.down-1pl.pres-tr-coord

kit-mbel-o ep-ka lavo nggulingge-n-o³
 finished-SS.seq-coord there-Loc bring.SS roll-tr-SS.sim-tr-coord

³ This word is a loan from Indonesian and based on the Indonesian *guling* (*berguling-guling*) 'to roll (intransitive)'. By *-ke* support this word has been integrated into the Wambon lexicon (see 3.1.2.2).

lap-ko hala-levambo.
take-go.SS put.down-1pl.past

4. 'Next we slept until daybreak and after cutting down a number of tree trunks, we put sticks under them and by lifting the sticks we brought the tree trunks uphill and from there we rolled them and put them down.'

5. Halo-mbel-o et-mbel-o ap-ka
put.down-SS.seq-coord leave-SS.seq-coord house-in

la-levambo-n-o jat-keho awaiktop-ka lavilo
sleep-1pl.past-tr-coord light-become.SS early.morning-in descend.SS

kono sifal-e⁴ hano-mo-kndeva-n-o
and measure.string-conn measure-supp-1pl.pres-tr-coord

kit-mbel-o mbup-ma-levambo.
finished-SS.seq-coord split-supp-1pl.past

5. 'We put them down and left and slept at home until the day and in the morning we went down (from the house) and measured the tree trunks and after that we removed branches etcetera ('refine') after which we split the trunks.'

6. Selem-o kat nombo selem-o kal-eve lap-kendeva-n-o
side-conn bark this side-conn bark-Topic take-1pl.pres-tr-coord

lap kono ndimit-mbel-o odo osi selem-o kal-eve
take.SS until end-SS.seq-coord and again side-conn bark-Topic

lap ko lap-kendeva-n-o ndimit-mbel-o enov-andil-eve
take.SS until take-1pl.pres-tr-coord end-SS.seq-coord tree-trunk-Topic

lap-nggumbulup-ma-levano nda-mata-l-o
take-push-supp-1pl.non-fut.DS.coord come-arrive-3sg.non-fut.DS.coord

⁴ *sifale* is based on the Indonesian word *sifat* 'characteristic'. In Wambon the loan *sifat* (or with the connective *-e sifale*) may mean 'characteristic' but also 'measure-string'.

osi ep-ka lap-kendeva-n-o lap ko
 again there-Loc take-1pl.pres-tr-coord take.SS until

ndimil-et-mbel-o osak sonop selem-e lap ko
 end-leave-SS.seq-coord again again side-conn take.SS until

ndimil-et-mbel-o la-levambo-n-o jat-ke-lo odo
 end-leave-SS.seq-coord sleep-1pl.past-tr-coord light-supp-SS and

kote-selem lap ko lap-ndamo lap-el-o lapulum
 bark-side take.SS until take-finish.SS take-SS.seq-coord turn.around.SS

halo-mbel-o sifat hala-levambo.
 put.down-SS.seq-coord measure.string put-1pl.past

6. 'We took off the bark (= sawed the bark off the trunk) on this side up to the end (of the trunks) and again we sawed off bark on the other side up to the end and after that we pushed the trunks over and again we sawed off the bark on this side up to and all over again on the other side up to the end and after that we slept until the day and having finished the removing of the bark on the sides we rolled them and measured them.'

7. Hano-mbel-o nda la-levambo-n-o jat-ke-lo
 measure-SS.seq-coord and sleep-1pl.past-tr-coord light-supp-SS

kumukh-eve osi ndave-levambo.
 Saturday-Topic again return-1pl.past

7. 'We measured them and after that we slept until the day and on Saturday we went back (to the village).'

8. Nukh-e osi ndave-lepo.
 I-conn also return-1sg.past

8. 'I also returned.'

9. Ndano kambom-ka la-lepo⁵ jat-ke-lo sembaya-ngge-mbel-o⁶
and village-in sleep-1sg.past light-supp-SS worship-supp-SS.seq-coord

la-lepo⁵ jat-ke-lo osak sanopkuniv-e ilo ka-lepo.
sleep-1sg.past light-supp-SS again Tuesday-conn descend.SS go-1sg.past

9. 'And I slept in the village until the day came and I went to church and after that I slept until the day and on Tuesday I went down again.'

10. Ilo ko la-lepo⁵ jat-ke-lo sonov-a²
go.down.SS go.SS sleep-1sg.past light-supp-SS again-conn

ilo nggerkaji-ke-levambo.⁶
go.down.SS saw-supp-1pl.past

10. 'I went down and slept until the day and we went down again to saw.'

11. Nggerkaji-ke-levambo-n-o ko-khe-n-o kutip-ke-lo
saw-supp-1pl.past-tr-coord go-3sg.pres-tr-coord ('until') night-supp-SS

nda-tulo la-levambo.
come-ascend.SS sleep-1pl.past

11. 'We continued sawing until the night fell and we went up (to the house) and slept.'

12. Ndoiwop-ndoiwop lap-kendeva-n-o kokheno ev-o
on.and.on-on.and.on take(= saw)-1pl.pres-tr-coord until that-conn

talom-e sonov-a² kokheno mujov-o wakhol-e javel-o
year-conn again-conn until eight-conn month-conn nine-conn

⁵ Occasionally with final verbs in medial clauses the coordinator (-o) is left out. The conditions in which this happens are not yet clear to us.

⁶ Both *sembayanggembelo* and *nggerkajikelevambo* are based on Indonesian words which have been integrated in the Wambon lexicon as verbs with *-ke* support (3.1.2.2). The first word is based on *sembayang* 'worship service' and the second on *gerkaji* 'saw (noun)'.

wakhol-e ema-mo-kndeva-n-o kokheno malin-o
 month-conn thus.do-suppl-1pl.pres-tr-coord until ten-conn

wakhol-e sonov-a² lap-kendeva-n-o
 month-conn again-conn saw-1pl.pres-tr-coord

minggu-n-e⁷ hitulop-kup tembet-ke-tmbo.
 week-tr-conn four-attr not.be-suppl-3sg.past

12. 'We continued sawing until August of that year and also in September we did so and in October also we sawed until four weeks were over.'

13. Osak nggokmil-o wakhot osak sirun-o wakhot ev-e
 also eleven-conn month also twelve-conn month that-conn

lap-kendeva-n-o kopo-n-eve kunjunan-o⁸ manev-o
 saw-1pl.pres-tr-coord there-tr-Topic visit-coord the.like-coord

ep-kup-kol-o tiga minggu⁹ ep-ka mba-lepo.
 there-also-because-coord three week there-Loc stay-1sg.past

13. 'In November and December we also sawed and we stayed there three weeks because of visits and the like.'

14. Jamo sonov-a² nombo-n-o talom-kup nombo-n-o talom-eve
 thus.do.SS again-conn his-tr-conn year-also this-tr-conn year-Topic

janowari-ngga ilo ko lap-kendeva-n-o kokheno
 January-in descend.SS go.SS saw-1pl.pres-tr-coord until

habis-ke-lo¹⁰ ndave-levambo.
 finished-suppl-SS return-1pl.past

⁷ The word *minggune* is based on the Indonesian *minggu* 'week'.

⁸ The word *kunjunano* is based on the Indonesian *kunjungan* 'visit'.

⁹ Both *tiga* 'three' and *minggu* 'week' are loans from Indonesian.

¹⁰ *Habiskelo* is based on the Indonesian word *habis* 'finished' and by *-ke* support integrated in the Wambon lexicon as a verb (3.1.2.2).

14. 'Thus doing, also this year in January we went down to saw until it was finished and we returned.'

15. Osak wakhot han ilo lap-kendeva-n-o hitulov-o
 again month one go.down.SS saw-1pl.pres-tr-coord four-conn
 minggu-ngge-lo ndave-levambo.
 week-supp-SS return-1pl.past

15. 'Again during one month we sawed and after four weeks we returned.'

16. Osak osakh-a² wakhot han lap-kendeva-n-o kokheno
 again again-conn month one saw-1pl.pres-tr-coord until
 takhemo minggu-n-eve takhem-ka lavo nda-mbel-o
 three week-tr-Topic three-in saw.SS finished-SS.seq-coord
 jat-ke-lo nukh-e hitulov-e ndave-lepo.
 light-supp-SS I-conn Thursday-conn return-1sg.past

16. 'And again we sawed one month during three weeks and after that I returned in the early morning on Thursday.'

17. Hitulop nombo-n-e nukh-eve mba-mba-mo ka-p
 Thursday this-tr-conn I-Topic hunt-hunt-supp.SS go-1sg.Intent
 ne-mbel-o mba-mba-mo ka-lepo.
 say-SS.seq-coord hunt-hunt-supp.SS go-1sg.past

17. 'That Thursday I wanted to go hunting and I did so.'

18. Oi tem hala-lepo.
 pig shoot.SS put.down-1sg.past

18. 'I shot a pig.'

19. Tem halo-mbel-o sal-e mali-ngge-tmbo-ngga
 shoot.SS put.down-SS.seq-coord sun-conn ten-supp-3sg.past-when (sub)
 ap ndave-levambo.
 house return-1pl.past

19. 'I shot a pig and, at ten o' clock, we returned home.'

20. Lap-nda-n-o alep-top ilo ka-levambo-nde
 take-come-tr-SS.sim prahu-inside go.down.SS go-1pl.past-coord
 alep-kup ukhu-mbel-o hali ndave-levambo.
 prahu-by put.in-SS.seq-coord carry.SS return-1pl.past

20. 'We brought (the pig) down to the prahu and having put (the pig) in the prahu we returned.'

21. Alep-top-ka lavilo halo-mbel-o matulo
 prahu-inside-in take.descend.SS finished-SS.seq-coord ascend.SS

ok-ndamtop-ka oy-e talemo olambat halo-mbel-o odo
 river-island-on pig-conn cut.SS intestine put.down-SS.seq-coord and

oi nombo-n-e jamo jakhov-a² mbetakma-lepo.
 pig this-tr-conn thus.do.SS they-conn distribute-1sg.past

21. 'Having taken down (the pig) by prahu we went up to an island in the river and we cut the pig and took its intestines out and after that I distributed (the meat) among them.'

22. Mitukhup li-kndeva-n-o kit-mbe-te
 all wrap.in.leaves-1pl.pres-tr-coord finished-SS.seq-coord

kenop-nde lava-lepo sakha-te lava-lepo
 hindleg-coord take-1sg.past foreleg-coord take-1sg.past

manggo-te lava-lepo.
 jaw-coord take-1sg.past

22. 'Having wrapped all in leaves I took the hindleg and I took the foreleg and I took the jaw.'

23. Jamo-mbel-o ketop kenop selem-ka sakhat
 thus.do-SS.seq-coord in.their.turn hindleg other.side-on foreleg

selem-ka mim-ka wamot-ka manggot-ka ev-e
 other.side-on back-Circum thigh-Circum jaw-Circum that-conn

jamo jakhop hala-lev-o jamo ande-lembo.
 thus.do.SS them put.down-1sg.non-fut.DS-coord thus.do.SS eat-3pl.past

23. 'Having done thus, I gave to them in their turn the other hindleg, the other foreleg, back, thigh and jaw, and they ate.'

24. Osak sonop jama-lepo.
 in.turn in.turn thus.do-1sg.past

24. 'Thus I did in their turn.'

25. Sonop jamo jakhop hala-lev-o ande-lembo.
 in.turn thus.do.SS them put.down-1sg.non-fut.DS-coord eat-3pl.past

25. 'Thus in their turn I gave (the meat) to them and they ate.'

26. Nukh-e ndo manggop-kup kenop-kup lava-lepo.
 I-conn only stomach-coord hindleg-coord take-1sg.past

26. 'I only took the stomach and the hindleg.'

27. Osak sonov-a² jamo kovana
 in.their.turn in.their.turn-conn thus.do.SS just

lokho-knd-eve takhem-o wakhol-a² ev-o
 tell-1sg.pres-Topic/sub third-conn month-conn that-conn

ndi-eve ev-e sanop ilo ka-lepo.
 week-Topic that-conn Monday go.down.SS go-1sg.past

27. 'Thus doing in their turn...what I just told you...it was in March on the Monday of that week that I went down.'

28. Sanop ilo ka-levambo.
 Monday go.down.SS go-1pl.past

28. 'On Monday we went down.'

29. Nukh-o eletemov-o¹¹ mom-keyay-o
 I-coord head.of.village.section-coord uncle-younger-coord

Nggindom-salim-o na-sitkom-o
 Nggindom-husband-coord my-brother.in.law-coord

29. 'I and the village head and my younger mother's brother...and the husband of Nggindom and my brother-in-law and...'

30. na-sitkom-eve Ambum mbisip-ka mba-tmbo-nde...
 my-brother.in.law-Topic Ambum clan.territory-at stay-3sg.past-coord

ev-e jama-tmbo-n-eve wasi na... enop
 that-conn thus.do-3sg.past-tr-Topic already pause firewood

le-khe-n-o alip-ke-lo ... matulo nde-tmbo.
 cut-3sg.pres-tr-coord late.afternoon-supp-SS go.up.SS come-3sg.past

¹¹ The noun *eletemovo* is based on the Indonesian abbreviation R.T. (rukun tangga), which denotes a village section under the responsibility of an officially appointed headman.

30. 'About my brother-in-law, he stayed at the Ambum clan territory and given that he did so, he had already come up, having cut firewood until the late afternoon.' (The brother-in-law had come upriver from the Ambum territory, which is lower on the Digul then the sawing spot, whereas the other persons from (29) had come downriver from Manggelumm, which is higher on the Digul then the sawing spot.)

31. Jamo lavilo Mbonop kambom-ka te-mbel-o
 thus.do.SS go.down.SS Mbonop village-at arrive-SS.seq-coord

'Woyo, nukh-e kono kavat hetko-p-ni' ne-mbel-o¹² kono
 yes, I-conn next trap see-1sg-intent say-SS.eq-coord and

hetka-lepo-n-e 'sudah!'¹³
 see-1sg.past-tr-conn/sub already (trapped something)

31. 'Thus we went down and arrived at the Mbonop village and I wanted to see my trap and I saw that I already had caught something.'

¹² This type of Intentional construction with 'to say' and a 'quoted thought' has been discussed in 3.1.3.3.4.3.1 (see example (64)).

¹³ *sudah* is an Indonesian loan meaning 'already'.

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