Warembori
Grammar Sketch

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Annotated Warembori sketch

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Warembori is a language spoken by 600-700 people living in river mouths on the north coast of the island of New Guinea, in the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya. It has not been previously described in any grammatical detail, and this sketch presents some of the complexities of applicative and noun incorporation structures, as well as aspects of its interesting phonology. A structuralist approach is taken to the description, allowing the morphosyntax of the language itself determine the categories used in the description, rather than impose a particular theoretical model on the data. After surveying the main grammatical constructions in Warembori, including notes on the speakers' preferences for alternative constructions, notes on the genetic affiliations of Warembori with respect to nearby Papuan and Austronesian languages are given, and a short text to illustrate the language in context.

[in addition to this, this sketch is intended to serve as an illustrative guide to grammatical sketch writing, with frequent explanations as to why particular choices were made, and why some things were omitted or put in. It is not intended to discuss all the possible grammatical structures that might be encountered when examining a language, but is aimed at being a useful guide to the style of writing up grammatical information for a wider audience]

Note: the un-annotated version of the Warembori grammar was published at the end of 1999. It can be cited as follows:

DONOHUE, MARK. 1999. *Warembori*. Languages of the World/Materials 341. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.

Since all the annotations are absent in the published version, the pagination is not the same as this version. For those who wish to (try to) cite the pages of the published version, the table of contents of the un-annotated printed version has been included at the back of this document, following the references.

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Annotated Warembori sketch

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[This is written with two objectives; firstly, I've got to write up the work I did on Warembori sometime; the second is to give me a chance to annotate a grammar sketch, explaining how and why some decisions were made. This is probably more useful than the actual sketch on its own would have been, since those are pretty easy to come by. Any notes I add that aren't to do with the material itself, but rather with its presentation, will be in this format, indented and italicised. This whole thing is about 17,500 words, not counting the examples]

[you should read this in conjunction with the notes on grammar sketch writing that I made, as well as, let's see: certainly some other grammar sketches, if you can find them (Pacific Linguistics has several in their Papers in New Guinea Linguistics series, and plans to publish many more in the near future; good article by Tom Payne in Notes on Linguistics 44, January 1989; and, of course, colleagues' thoughts! A good counterpoint to this (hopefully) rather 'good' and 'complete(ish)' sketch is the Hatam notes one, also by me (and earlier, it was written in 1992), which is really barely good enough to be published; it's not a representative sketch of the language, but it does have some nice detail on some aspects of the language, but it's wildly unbalanced. It might be a good exercise to go through it and see what's missing or mentioned by inadequately explained. You can see for yourself; aim to make something better than that!]

1. Introduction

The Warembori language (locally: *Waremboivoro*) is spoken by the inhabitants of three villages located along the north-western coast of New Guinea, at and to the west of the mouth of the Mamberamo river, split between the districts (*kabupaten*) of Yapen-Waropen and Jayapura, in Irian Jaya. It is (probably) a non-Austronesian language, and has not previously received any linguistic attention past the level of basic wordlist collection (Galis 1955, Voorhoeve 1975). This grammatical sketch is intended to provide basic materials in an area of New Guinea that is poorly understood.

[this material is the basic stage setter; nothing particularly exciting, but necessary. Rather nice to have some local names in there, to give it a flavour]

1.1 THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

The three villages that are home to the Warembori language are (proceeding from east to west) Warembori, Tamakuri and Bonoi; each of these villages have approximately 200-300 inhabitants, and each is fairly homogenous in makeup. Marriage is usually with other Warembori speakers; there are no marriage links with the language groups inland of the Warembori (with the Anasi and other members of the Bauzi language family to the south-west, or with the Bagusa, a Kwerba language on the Mamberamo). Some, limited, exchange of women for marriage partners is found with the Austronesian speakers of the Cenderawasih Bay region, notably the inhabitants of Kurudu island and eastern Yapen island, but this is a minority pattern. The most common links outside the other Warembori villages are with the Yoke, to the east (and inland), who speak a related language.
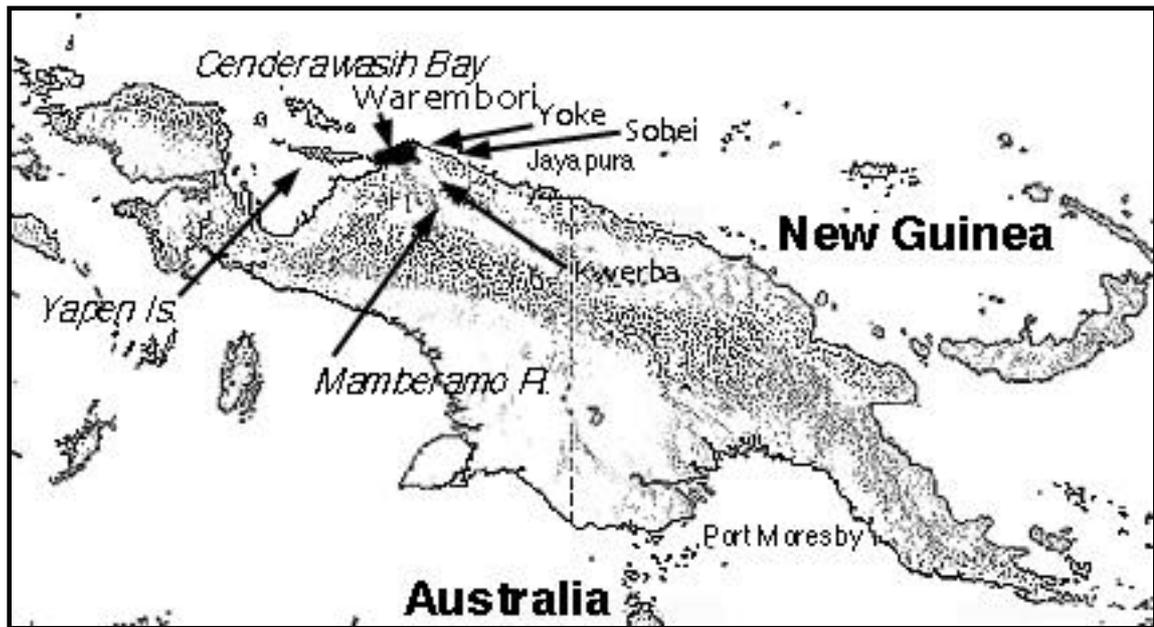
Map. The Warembori area in north-western New Guinea

The language is one of two known members of the Lower Mamberamo family; it is unlikely that there will prove to be any additional members of this small family, given what we know of the language situation in the region. Although it is not a member of a large genetic grouping, it is subject to some wide areal influences that are felt along the Mamberamo river (such as the shape of the subject agreement prefixes on the verb, which are identical to those found in the non-contiguous Kwerba languages), and has furthermore been subjected to extensive Austronesian influence, seen at all levels of its grammar from the lexicon to the structure of the verb and clause.

[some information about the genetic relations of the language is pretty normal; if you don't know, then either quote someone else's say-so, or say you don't know yet]

Indeed, this Austronesian influence is so strong that it is valid to question whether Warembori is really a Papuan language heavily influenced by Austronesian contact, or whether it is an Austronesian language that has taken on several of the (demonstrably diffusing) areal characteristics of the Lower Mamberamo region, as well as extensive amounts of vocabulary from a no-longer extant language which was related to Yoke (the evidence for Yoke being Austronesian is less convincing; this 'Austronesian Warembori' hypothesis would then leave Yoke as a language isolate, the last surviving member of the Lower Mamberamo family). I shall partially address these questions in section 16.3.

[not strictly necessary, but it sets the scene nicely, and is helpful for people who know the area reasonably well to know that you've thought through these issues as well; it lessens the shock of any surprises that might crop up in other circumstances]

1.2 HISTORY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Being a coastal population, the Warembori have a long history of contact with the outside world. The most common contact, both in the past and today, is with the Austronesian-language speaking peoples of Cenderawasih bay, with whom much trade is conducted and some marriages arranged. This pattern of extensive and lasting contact is reflected in the use of obvious Austronesian loans for many items, which will be discussed in more detail in section 16. Inland and upriver, relations were never good with the Bagusa, and the most common

interaction involved hit-and-run raids on parties working in gardens, or hunting and fishing away from the main village.

Warembori origin myths tell of seven brothers who originated in the middle Mamberamo region, north of the rapids around Edi Falen and Marina Falen, probably near the site of present-day Burmeso village, who travelled down the river on a tree that had been cut down by their angry mother. They first alighted on land on Pulau Monod, the southernmost limit of Warembori territory (approximately half-way to the nearest Bagusa settlements), and then continued down to the coast. Here, after some confusion, they eventually married six women of a coastal population (one brother failed to obtain a bride, and returned up the river that runs past Tamakuri, to become the forefather of the current Anasi people). This is taken as an explanation of the fact that the material culture of the Warembori perfectly reflects that of the Austronesians to the west, as do the dances and song cycles of the area, yet the language is separate from the closely-related group found in Cenderawasih Bay (or, for that matter, from Sobei, the nearest Austronesian language to the east).

> [again, not strictly necessary, but any historical linguists who get their hands on the material will be very grateful for anything you put in on this line of thinking. Makes their jobs so much easier]

Socially, the villages are divided into clans and sub-clans. The clans present in Warembori are the following; some sub-clans are shared in the different clans (totem animals are included in brackets for each clan):

Batawasa (cassowary)

> *Rumaikewi*, *Deromin*, *Samber*, *Kowi*

Tandarengga (crocodile)

> *Inggemamba*, *Iriori*, *Suaba*, *Rumaiyomi*, *Windesi*

Bamborya (fish)

> *Iriori*, *Surumi*, *Rumansao*, *Samber*

Three of these sub-clan names show obvious Austronesian influence: *Rumaikewi*, *Rumaiyori* and *Rumansao* all begin with the Austronesian *Rumaq 'house', used in many family names in Biak; these names are in fact taken from families in that area, with Rumaikewi being prominent in Kurudu. *Windesi* is a Waropen name, from Cenderawasih Bay. Further research into the Cenderawasih Bay area is likely to reveal further similarities in social naming practices.

Marriage within the clan is permitted, but not within the sub-clan (nor with anyone related through a grandparent, regardless of sub-clan affiliations).

> [remember that this is a linguistics write-up, not an anthropological one, so despite having masses of data it's worth while restricting yourself here. Just a few titbits, something to entice, but not necessarily cover the entire analysis]

1.3 ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The physical environment of the Warembori is a difficult one, with virtually no dry land anywhere in the territory of the people. The whole stretch of coast, from the village of Mantarbori (three hours by canoe east of the Mamberamo) to a point somewhere on the Waropen coast in Cenderawasih Bay, is a series of mangrove swamps punctuated by rivers of various sixes flowing out to sea. Inland, the mangrove gradually gives way to other varieties of swamp, but the hunting and gardening territory of the Warembori does not extend that far inland.

[OK, this isn't really linguistic at all, but is fun. This is the 'bedtime reading' part of the sketch, the bit that might inspire people to come and work in the area. Or scare them off]

The languages that abut on the Warembori range are, from east, curving to the south, to west, the Yoke (Warembori: *Patero*) in Mantarbori and the hinterland inland as far as Lake Rombebai, the Bagusa (Warembori: *Putampa*), who have now expanded north as far as Lake Rombebai, various small languages related to Bauzi (such as Anasi, spoken up the river on which Tamakuri is located, approximately two days' paddling away), and Kurudu to the west (technically not contiguous, since a large stretch of mangrove exists between Bonoi and Poiwai, the easternmost of the two islands where Kurudu is spoken). Of these, only Kurudu is Austronesian; Yoke is related to Warembori (in the Lower Mamberamo family); Bagusa is a variety of western Kwerba, and Anasi is related to Bauzi (Warembori: *Bakuseria*) and other languages of the hinterland between the Waropen coast and the Mamberamo.

[again, scene-setting, but handy for people with language atlases, and really recommended that you mention it; at the very least, if the language situation does not differ significantly from what's been described elsewhere in a publication by someone, refer to that]

Apart from Yoke, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited (and uninhabitable) territory between the Warembori and their neighbours. This reflects the not-so-distant patterns of reciprocal warfare that characterised the region, as well as the terrain, which is too swampy to permit permanent settlement. Although relations with the Anasi were relatively peaceful, the Bagusa (Warembori: *Putampa*) were always antagonistic, frequently indulging in small guerilla-style raids on outlying groups of Warembori who were hunting or gardening upstream. Warembori people do not attribute a similar violent history to themselves, of course; this may, however, reflect the practical difficulties of mounting a successful raid on a population that lives more than a day's hard paddling upstream.

1.4 THE FUTURE

Children under the age of twenty do not display any ability to speak the language at all; as a result of this, the language must be considered at the least highly endangered, though more likely moribund.

This loss of transmission must have occurred quite recently; young adults, male and female alike, in their twenties are hesitant but competent in their production of Warembori, and all adults above 30 regularly use the language in all aspects of life, apart from communication to children.

Whether a cause or an effect, an apparently true anecdote is worth relating at this point. Most adult Warembori remember a passing linguist, allegedly Japanese, who visited Warembori village in the late 1980s, and stayed for a reported three days. During that time he is supposed to have collected an extensive wordlist of the language; when asked why he was doing this, he is said to have replied "Just wait, in twenty years' time your children won't be speaking this language any more, and this will be all that's left of it" (indicating his notes). Whether this is true or not, this should serve as a caution to linguists working in the field not to underestimate the sociological effects that they might have on the populations with which they work (the date indicates that this might have been Min-Young Jung on a survey trip he conducted on 14-20 November 1988).

The first printed materials appeared in Warembori in 1998, with a small picture dictionary (Rumaikewi, Rumansao and Donohue 1998) and the first of hopefully more language primers,

Ekeoina (Rumaikewi 1998). Given the state of the language, however, these efforts will need to be supplemented to be of any real use.

> *[human interest value, always good; remember, the ethnographic part of the description is the part that people can tell their (non-linguist) friends about, and it's the part they're most likely to perhaps browse over before bedtime, so it's worth having something catchy in here. Remember, the point of the grammar sketch is to communicate, so you need attention-grabbing devices]*

1.5 PREVIOUS WORK

As mentioned earlier, there has been no detailed linguistic work done on the Warembori language; as a consequence of this, there are no earlier materials that can be checked. Useful work on languages that appear to have influenced Warembori include Anceaux' (1961) study of the Austronesian languages of Cenderawasih Bay, Held's detailed work on the Waropen language (1942a, 1942b, 1956), and work by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics on Ambai (Silzer 1983, D. & T. Price and P. & S. Silzer 1991, Price 1994), Bauzi (eg. D. Briley 1976, 1997; J. Briley 1976) and Kwerba (eg. J. & S. De Vries 1991, De Vries and De Vries 1997).

> *[even when there's nothing or little published on the language, it's a good idea to mention it here. If there's really nothing, then mention what the area holds. It demonstrates your knowledge of the field you work in, and helps a reader to get oriented in terms of the literature available]*

1.6 CURRENT WORK

The fieldwork behind this sketch was conducted in January and March 1998, as part of a survey of the northern Mamberamo river area. This work was carried out under the auspices of an Australian Research Committee grant to Bill Foley at Sydney University, and the help of these organisations is gratefully acknowledged.

The material presented here was gathered at Warembori village, whilst staying at the house of Luther Rumaikewi, the village head. Materials, both textual and elicited, were collected from members, male and female, of various households, and the use of language was observed in adults and children in most aspects of their lives. The material here cannot hope to be a complete account of the functions of the language, but suffices to shed some light on some of the interesting grammatical patterns found in this part of New Guinea.

> *[acknowledging your sponsors is always a help; including information on the type of database you are using is also helpful, as it adds (or detracts) from the credibility of your account. In your cases, adds]*

2. Phonology

The phonology of the language presents some unusual phonetic properties, but not particular problems for a phonological analysis. The details of word-internal phonological processes provides a robust test for word boundaries, and so for syntactic cohesion. Suprasegmental phenomena such as pitch accent, tone, or contrastive stress do not play a role in Warembori.

> *[having a concise statement is very handy, to let people know what isn't in the language as well as what is]*

2.1 BASIC PHONEMES

The phoneme inventory for Warembori is set out in the table below:

p	t	k		i	u
b	d			e	o
m	n				a
'b	'd	} 'heavy' consonants			
'm	'n	} 'heavy' consonants			
w	s	y			

[the other alternative is to list the phones, then the phonemes, as you see them. That's valid too, and even has some advantages]

Of these phonemes, /p t m n w s y/ and the vowels require little comment; they show remarkably little allophony, appearing with their expected phonetic values. The other sounds are all subject to either degrees of allophony, or (in the case of what have been labelled 'heavy' consonants) represent unusual phonetic forms, and are discussed in the following sections.

[note this: this is intended (hopefully, at least in part) for a wider linguistic audience, and so includes phonologists and phoneticians, who want to know not just how the orthography can be interpreted, but also what is unusual or special about this language, even if it's non-contrastive in the language. Other examples of this include the non-contrastive nasalisation of [a] and [æ] after /h/ in Bauzi, or the automatic inclusion of a glottal stop after a final vowel in Berik (Westrum and Westrum 1975: 4, in Irian IV: 1; this one is tremendously important for modern phonology, which (I think) would rule this sort of (non-contrastive) phonetic fact out as impossible). Make sure your statement is not only phonologically adequate, but also phonetically accurate, and detailed]

2.2 AUTOMATIC PROCESSES

Intervocalically there are several automatic examples of the lenition of voiced stops. Any occurrences of intervocalic /b/ or /d/ appear as a lenited [β] or [r], respectively; thus, we find alternations such as

/dodo-/ + /dan-/   [dororan.do]
'rain'   'water'   '(It is) rainwater'

in which the morpheme-initial /d/ in 'water', pronounced as such in isolation ([dando]) appears as a [r] when in a compound that places it in an intervocalic position. Identical processes are found with /b/:

/e-/   + /bodo-/   [εβoro.ro]
'1SG-'   'tongue'   '(It is) my tongue'

The only nasal + stop clusters that are found are homo-organic; compare the realisations of the morpheme-final nasal in the word for 'river':

/waren-/   + /bo-/   [warembo.ro]
'river'   'mouth'   '(It is a) mouth of a river'

/waren-/   + /-do/   [waren.do]
'river'   'IND'   '(It is a) river.'

These processes, nasal assimilation and intervocalic lenition, provide good tests for word boundaries, since they lenition not operate across word boundaries. Compare the example with /dan-/ and /boro/ above with the following examples which show non-lenited forms [d] and [b] when there is a vowel-final preposition preceding the word.

/nana/ + /dan-do/   [nanadando], * [nanarando]
'in'   'water-IND'   'in the water'

/nana/ + /bodo-do/   [nanabororo], * [nanaβororo]
'in'   'mouth-IND'   'in (it's) mouth'

[here, and elsewhere, it's just as important to include examples of what isn't attested in the language as it is to show what is; this helps people to see what the limits of grammaticality in the language are, something that can't be gathered from just describing what's there. You also need to point out what isn't there, to save people the time they'd spend speculating about it]

When preceded by a nasal, most stops evidence no change in characteristics (though see 2.3), but a /k/ acquires voicing, appearing as [ŋɡ].

/waren-/   +   /-kaindu/   ['warɛŋɡaindu]
'river'   'dual'   'two rivers'

When morpheme internal, of course, there is no alternation:

/onka/   ['oŋɡa]
'lie down'

[I don't have all my notes right here, but in principle it's important to exemplify whatever claims you make about the language, for obvious reasons. Too many examples are better than too few]

Finally, geminate clusters of identical consonants are reduced to a single instance of that consonant; continuing with 'river', note that the plural equivalent of 'river' does not have a geminate nasal:

/waren-/   +   /-nao/   ['warɛnao], * ['warɛnnao]
'river'   'plural IND'   '(It is) rivers.'

In a similar note, a nasal preceding another nasal does not surface; it must assimilate in place, and since geminate nasals are not allowed cannot be realised:

/on-/ + /min- / + /-do/   ['omindo], * ['onmindo], * ['omnindo]
'snake' + 'meat' + 'IND'   '(It is) snake meat.'

(compare this form with the phonetically identical, but underlyingly distinct, form for 'shark meat':

/o-/ + /min- / + /-do/   ['omindo]
'shark' + 'meat' + 'IND'   '(It is) shark meat.'

The underlying difference between the roots for 'snake' and 'shark' only becomes clear when a non-nasal morpheme follows them, such as the indicative *-do*: *ondo* '(It is a) snake', versus *oro* '(It is a) shark')

Stress is normally assigned to the penultimate syllable of a word or compound. This penultimate position shifts with affixation, so that, for instances, we have

/mena/   /mena-do/   /mena-na-o/
dog   dog-IND   dog-PL-IND
['mɛna]   [mɛ'naro]   [mɛna'nao]

Exceptions to this are found if a) the root ends in a nasal, or b) all the vowels in the word are the same (the presence of one of the heavy consonants in a word might also affect stress, as discussed in section 2.3).

In the event that the root ends in a nasal, and there are two non-contiguous vowels, we find that stress does not shift with the addition of suffixes. compare the treatment of *mena* 'dog' above with *waren* 'river':

/waren/   /waren-do/   /waren-na-o/
river   river-IND   river-PL-IND
['warɛn]   ['warɛndo]   ['warɛnao]

A word with a final nasal, but with all contiguous vowels, such as /nuan/ 'coconut' (that is, one that requires the presence of an indicative marker to be well-formed, see 3.2), behaves normally, with penultimate stress: [nu'ando] 'coconut tree', * ['nuando]. Should all the vowels of a word be identical, then stress is ultimate, not penultimate: [bo'ro] 'fruit', [bowo'ro] 'round'.

In compounds, the primary stress stays with the first component of the compound, and does not shift; the second component of the compound does not receive a stress. In terms of stress assignment, then, the compounds of Warembori do not behave as single phonological words for stress assignment, but neither do they behave as two totally independent words. Other examples of the non-intersection of different definitions of 'word' can be found in the treatment of alienable and inalienable possession (section 8).

> *[keep those details coming. They may not seem particularly interesting or relevant to you, but they might just be what makes the language famous or attractive to someone else. Never forget, for many languages out there this might well be the only record of it to ever be made. Put in those little extras.]*

2.3 UNUSUAL FEATURES

There are two sets of voiced stops and nasals listed, /b/-/d/-/m/-/n/ and /'b/-/'d/-/'m/-/'n/. These represent a separate set of stops that are differentiated from the first set by a rather complex set of prosodic and segmental factors.

Firstly, in non-compounds, we can observe that a syllable beginning with a heavy consonant always bears the stress. Compare the stress patterns in the following minimal pair:

/bo-do/   /'bo-do/
fruit-IND   thorn-IND
[bo'ro]   ['boro]

(note that the ' mark in the underlying form for the word 'thorn' (in / /s) does not represent a stress mark, but rather the *'b* is the symbol used for the 'heavy' consonant. This practice is followed in the remainder of this chapter: stress is only marked in the phonetic representation)

> *[wherever there's a chance someone is going to mix things up with the symbols you use, spell it out, even if it's repeating something you've already said in the previous section, or wherever. At the least, give a reference to where you define the symbols]*

When preceded by a nasal, the heavy consonants have a lengthened nasal:

/nuan-bo-do/   /nuan-'bo-do/
coconut-fruit-IND   coconut-thorn-IND
[nu'amboro]   [nu'amːboro]

A heavy nasal itself (with no following oral stop) is additionally indicated by the presence of a slight glottal closure at its onset:

/ane-do/   /a'ne-do/
crocodile-IND   jungle-IND
[a'nero]   [a'ʔnːero]

Finally, the heavy stops do not lenite intervocalically:

/ayo/	+	/'bo/	+	/-do/		['ayoboɾo]
tree		thorn		-IND		

'tree thorn'

Although these phonetic characteristics have been clearly labelled above, in real speech the heavy consonants can be very hard to differentiate from the non-heavy ones. For that reason, it is not unlikely that a number of what have been given here as non-heavy consonants might in fact turn out to be heavy ones under more detailed, phonetically-oriented investigation.

[cover your bases. This is a sketch, remember, not the definitive document]

2.4 PHONOTACTICS

The language basically allows syllables of the shape CV(N), with the only final coda allowed being the nasal (which assimilates in place to a following consonant), the *r*, and the *y*. Most roots are of at least two syllables length, though a small minority are found with only one syllable; in these cases, the presence of the indicative (see section 3.2) is compulsory, making them then two (or more) syllables long in pronunciation.

Sequences of vowels are allowed, including identical vowels, such as /awaa-do/ 'citrus fruit-IND', [a'waɾo]. Since these behave identically to sequences of two identical vowels that are found across morpheme boundaries, such as

/ke-/	+	/bo/	+	/o/	+	/-do/		[ke'βoɾo]
1PL.IN.POSS-		mouth		tooth		-IND		

'tooth (in mouth)'

The two vowels become one long vowel, and, if in the correct position, attract stress as a unit. Minimal, monomorphemic, pairs exist, such as /da-do/ [daɾo] 'blood' and /daa-do/ [daɾo] 'crab'.

2.5 ORTHOGRAPHY EMPLOYED

Most of the phonemes are noted with the letter that is identical to the IPA representations of their underlying form, as described in the preceding sections, especially 2.1. The only exceptions are:

v is used for the [β] lenited allophone of /b/;

r is used for the [r] lenited allophone of /d/;

'b is used for /'b/ when not intervocalic, otherwise *b*;

'd is used for /'d/ when not intervocalic, otherwise *d*;

ng is used for the [ŋ] allophone of /n/ before /k/, which is written as *g* in this position;

These choices have been made in order to conform as much as possible to the orthography used for writing their own language by the Warembori, which is heavily influenced by Indonesian spelling norms. The use of the symbols *b* and *d* for two separate phonemes might seem confusing, but the different environments in which they appear makes the identity of the underlying phoneme unambiguous, and avoids the use of diacritics when not completely necessary. The use of *ng* for the allophone of /n/ before *k* is strictly not necessary, but was judged by the speakers to more accurately reflect the sounds of their language, and their preferences.

[even if you don't have an extensive section on phonology, and especially if it's all written up somewhere else, you should have something to tell people how to decipher your orthography in the examples]

3. Major Grammatical patterns

The following section is intended to be an overview of Warembori grammar. No details are presented here, though frequent references are made to the sections in which more detailed presentation and analysis are made.

[I'm a believer in the 'introduction-to-start-with' approach, then more specifics; a nice overview so that the sentences in the following sections won't be too confusing. These sections just let the reader know what's coming, and give pointers to where more detail can be found]

3.1 BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

The order of the basic verbal clause in Warembori is SVO, as seen in the following example:

(1)   *E=mena   tire   a=kue.*
        1SG=dog   see   2SG=chicken
        'My dog saw your chicken.'

[OK, the basics for glossing conventions: especially in a sketch, try to always include three-line glosses like the one above, so that information you didn't realise was important is still accessible to others; differentiate the lines somehow (the usual convention is to italicise the vernacular, but some prefer to use bold instead; whatever you use, also use this to refer to vernacular words in the main body of the text. Consistency. Finally, most publishers like to have abbreviations in small caps. Consult some recent linguistics journals for examples of standard abbreviations. Feel free to define your own, as you need to. The only hard and fast rule is: you must provide a list of all the abbreviations you use, and what they stand for (section 18). If they are unusual ones, then you should have a definition in the text, or minimally a reference to where someone else has defined that term, in print]

This word order is fixed; varying the order of the nominal elements of the clause will change the meaning:

(2)   *A=kue   tire   e=mena.*
        2SG=chicken   see   1SG=dog
        'Your chicken saw my dog.'

        * 'My dog saw your chicken.'

Pragmatic variation in word order is discussed in section 5. Given appropriate agreement marking on the verb, however, the whole clause may be reduced to simply the verb and it's agreement markers. In the example below, the subject prefix and the object suffix contain enough information that there is no (referential, non-pragmatic) need for any additional arguments in the clause.

(3)   *E-tir-awi.*
        1SG-see-2SG
        'I saw you.'

Oblique arguments in the clause may be present in the form of a prepositional phrase, but are more likely to be found as the object of an applicative construction. The two options are shown below; while they contain the same lexical information, they differ in the pragmatic status of the arguments, as indicated in the translations.

(4)   *Make   matin-do   nana   ipa-yave.*
        boy   wash-IND   OBL   river-DEF
        '(The) boy is washing in a/the river.'

(5)   *Make   matin-na   ipa-yave.*
        boy   wash-APPL   river-DEF
        '(The) boy is washing in the river.'

More discussion of the types of prepositions found is given in section 7.4.3, and more details concerning the applicative construction can be found in sections 5.3.1 and 10.1.

> [remember that a clause is often expanded past the bare minimum, and you need to at least note here how that happens: prepositions, cases, serial verbs, just add it in regardless? Note it here, and describe it elsewhere]

3.2 THE INDICATIVE

As has already been seen in the examples in the phonology section, indicative mood is marked on utterances, even if they are only single nouns (as might be supplied as citation forms during elicitation). This indicative marker is compulsory on words of only one syllable, or in case of a root with only contiguous vowels, but, as seen in the examples in 3.1, may be omitted in a fully specified clause for nouns with at least two syllables of length, suggesting that there is a minimal word constraint operating in Warembori. Compare the first sentence in 3.1 with the following:

(6)   *E=mena   tire   on-do*   (* *on*).
        1SG=dog   see   snake-IND
        'My dog saw a snake.'

Since /on-/ 'snake' is only one syllable long, it must appear with a form of the indicative, as seen above. This is true even when it is in subject position:

(7)   *On-do   tire   e=mena-ro.*
        snake-IND see   1SG=dog-IND
        'A snake saw my dog.'

> (while grammatical, this is unusual, since a subject tends to be definite, and so would appear with *-yave* 'definite': *Ondave tire emenaro*)

The only cases in which /on-/ does not have to appear with an indicative suffix are when it is marked for plurality or duality, *on+na* or *on+kaindu*, or definiteness, *on+ni* or *on+yave*, all of which are processes that allow the word to have more than one syllable, and so satisfy minimum word constraints.

> [languages aren't all neat and tidy, and your mess might just be someone else's neat development. Put these things in]

The indicative presented so far, *-do*, is the general non-specific form, and is in fact bimorphemic: *-d* and *-o*. We can identify *-o* as the indicative marker, and *-d* as the marker of singular nonspecificity with nouns (which then requires the *-o* to be complete); this singular reference will not in general be glossed, since it does not apply to the indicative when used on non-nouns, for which the basic form is phonologically conditioned. Alternatively, for a plural reference, we may encounter *-na*, and for a dual *-kaindu*. With some close kin terms, the plural is *-ti*, not *-na*; dual forms are not normally used with kin terms. Though their use with these kin terms was not judged to be wholly ungrammatical by speakers questioned, it was not heard in their speech, nor would they repeat the forms back with, for instance, *nainao* instead of *naiti* (see the paradigms below). With all but *-d*, the indicative may be absent when not in clause-final position, or may be replaced with a deictic *-ni* 'this' or *-yave* 'that, definite'. Compare the forms in the following paradigms:

(8)   *suan-*   'cassowary'
      suando   '(It is) a cassowary.'
      suangkaindu   '(They are) two cassowaries.'
      suanao   '(They are) cassowaries.'
      suani   'this cassowary'
      suandave   'the/that cassowary'
      suanani   'these cassowaries'
      suanayave   'the/those cassowaries'

[as always, present at least one complete paradigm list of each set of co-varying things, in this case nominal suffixes]

(9)   *nai-*   'mother'
      nairo   '(It is) a mother.'
    * *naikaindu*   '(They are) two mothers.'
      naitio   '(They are) mothers.'
      naini   'this mother'
      naiyave   'the/that mother'
      naitini   'these mothers'
      naitiyave   'the/those mothers'

Other nouns that take a non-singular form in *-ti*, rather than *-na* or *-kaindu*, include *ai* 'father', *(i)nai* 'mother', *totai* 'elder sister', *tei* 'elder brother', *amai* 'brother/sister in law', *naipai* 'mother's elder sister', *aipai* 'father's elder brother'. Note that these all end with /i/.

[boring, but the only place where such a list can logically appear, and remember, this might be the only record made of the language; if you have a detailed lexicon project going, then put it there, but do make it available]

In one case the indicative does not appear, when the paradigm it is in would suggest that it would. When a noun is suffixed for dual number, there is no indicative. Compare the singular, dual and plural forms of 'dog', with and without the definite marker:

(10) *mena-ro*   *mena-kaindu*   *mena-na-o*
      dog-(sg)IND   dog-DUAL   dog-PL-IND
      '(It is) (a) dog'   '(It is) two dogs'   '(It is) dogs'

(11) *mena-yave-ro*   *mena-kaindu-yave*   *mena-na-yave-o*
      dog-DEF-IND   dog-DUAL-IND   dog-PL-DEF-IND
      '(It is) the dog.'   '(It is) the two dogs.'   '(It is) the dogs.'

From the distribution shown here it is clear that the indicative suffix does not occur with *-kaindu* (* *mena-kaindu-o*); it might be that *-kaindu* already contains indication of indicativity, at least optionally.

Indicative marking also occurs on clause-final verbs; this is discussed in section 9.

3.3 VERBAL AGREEMENT

All verbs show agreement with the subject by means of prefixes; this is obligatory. The full set of subject prefixes is given in 9.1, but a partial paradigm can be given here to show the variation found:

(12) *e-vuene;*   *a-vuene;*   *i-vueni.*
      1SG-hide   2SG-hide   3SG-hide
      'I hide.'   'You hide.'   'S/he hides.'

For some verbs, one of the person markers (usually the third person singular, but for some verbs the first person singular) has no prefix; the reference of the verb is, however,

unambiguous, as all the other person/number combinations are fully specified by overt subject agreement prefixes.

(13) *E-tire;*   *A-tire;*   *Tire.*
       1SG-see   2SG-see   see
       'I see.'   'You see.'   'S/he sees.'

Although the interpretation of tire as having a third person singular subject is uncontroversial, the lack of an overt morpheme means that it shall not be glossed as such in the description following. In some cases, the allomorph of the initial consonant of the verb is unique for the third person singular, since that is the only environment that is not intervocalic:

(14) *E-rapen-do;*   *A-rapen-do;*   *Dapen-do.*
       1SG-fall-IND   2SG-fall-IND   fall-IND
       'I fell.'   'You fell.'   'S/he fell.'

[this isn't complete, sure, but it does serve as an introduction, enough to prepare the reader, and to set out the patterns, at least in part]

Further discussion of the different classes of verbal agreement, for both subject and object, is given in section 6.2.1 and section 9.

3.4 NOUN PHRASES

The noun phrase may be headed or not headed, with no different in the morphosyntax of the elements. All modifiers apart from a possessor appear following the head. An interesting feature of the use of adjectives in noun phrases is that they can only appear as modifiers if they are compounded with the head noun, as seen below:

(15) *parambe-ko-ro*   +   *bowo-ro*   =   *parambe-vowo-ro*
       wok-edible.sago-IND   round-IND   sago.pancake-round-IND
                                                   'round sago pancake'

Pronominal possession is either prefixed or encliticised, onto the noun, depending on whether or not the possessive relationship is alienable or inalienable; this is discussed in more detail in section 8. Further details of noun phrase structure are discussed in section 7.

[note: not much language information here, just the most surprising stuff; the rest of this subsection is just a signpost to where the more detailed information on various topics can be found later in the sketch. A tricky balance]

3.5 COMPLEX CONSTRUCTIONS

Various constructions in Warembori allow for clauses with multiple predicates, serialising two verbs together. While the extremes of complexity that have been observed for serial verb constructions in other languages (eg., Kalam, as described in Pawley 1993) are not encountered in Warembori, the presence of applicative morphology, and a variety of means of expressing causation, mean that there are sufficient complexities. These different constructions are presented in the appropriate sections (10, 11, 14).

4. Clause types

This section deals with the forms of the different basic clause types that have been documented for Warembori. Whilst not intended to be an exhaustive listing of the morphosyntactic possibilities for the different clause types, it is intended as a guide to the more detailed sections that follow.

4.1 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

There are very few non-verbal clauses in Warembori, the preference being for the use of existential or copular verbs in all contexts.

Non-verbal clauses are found with equative clauses, and with adjectival predicates. These clauses do not show either the agreement requirement of verbal clauses, nor the inflectional and derivational possibilities that are found with verbal clauses. They are infrequently encountered in both narrative or conversation, but are important scene-setters at the beginnings of a discourse.

> [it's amazing how many sketches, or even 'full' grammars, leave off mention of non-verbal clauses altogether. Be aware that there can be, and often are, different types of non-verbal clauses, corresponding to different types of predicates: equating, naming, showing location, etc.]

Examples of both equative clauses and adjectival predicate clauses are those seen below; they differ morphosyntactically in that the adjectival predicate requires the indicative ending, which is neither required nor permitted for the equative clause shown below.

(16)   *Iwi   kuru.*   *Ewi   pere-yo.*
       1SG   teacher   2SG   wet/cold-IND
       'I'm a teacher.'   'You're wet.'

The indicative can be used on the non-verbal predicate of a non-equative type, such as the comment in a Topic-Comment construction. In the example following, the comment is about the plurality of the fruits, so the plural ending and the indicative are appropriate:

(17)   *Nuan-dave   bo-na-o.*
       coconut.tree-DEF   fruit-PL-IND
       'That coconut tree has a lot of coconuts.'

       (glossing literally, 'That coconut tree, fruits (more than two).')

In the sentences above there is no possibility of derivation by, for example, applicative suffixation, causative derivation, or perfective marking. Any time reference in a non-verbal clause must be done by adverbials; any significant pragmatic variation is marked by intonation alone, as the pragmatically marked variation in word order found in verbal clauses (see section 5) is not available for these sentence types (that is, a sentence such as * *Kuru iwi* is not grammatical).

Non-verbal clauses involving a predicative prepositional phrase are allowed, as in the following examples:

(18)   a. *Yi   nana   Tamakuri.*   b. *E-mamieke   tana   Patena.*
          3SG   OBL   Tamakuri   1SG-daughter ALL   Mantarbori
          'He's in Tamakuri.'   'My daughter's gone to Mantarbori.'

Although grammatical, there is a strong preference to express these clauses with verbs. For static location, the verbs 'sit' or 'lie down' are used.

(19)   *Yi   y-ondo   nana   Tamakuri.*
       3SG   3SG-sit-IND   OBL   Tamakuri
       'He's in Tamakuri.'

(20)   *E-mamieke   da tana   Patena.*
       1SG-daughter   go ALL   Mantarbori
       'My daughter's gone to Mantarbori.'

Not all possible prepositions have been tested to see if they are acceptable as predicates. It is known that some prepositions, those with a wide range of meaning, must appear with an

existential verb in some functions. Compare the sentences using *tana* above, with the following, also using *tana*:

(21) *A=savaku   ba   tana   pembo-yave.   * Esavaku tana pemboyave*
      2SG=cigarettes   exist   on.top table-DEF
      'Your cigarettes are on the table.'

Without the existential, the sentence above can only be interpreted with a goal/direction meaning, and so (in the context of a discussion on the whereabouts of a packet of cigarettes) is nonsensical.

4.2 VERBAL CLAUSES

These clauses are characterised by the presence of an inflected element that marks both the person and number of the subject, and (probably) indicative status as well. They are discussed in detail in sections 5 and 9-13; the defining characteristic is the presence of a verb, inflecting for person and number of subject, and the strong head-marking characteristics that are found with these clauses, such as the (extreme, but not unusual) example below:

(22) *E-tire-pue-na-a'ne-pa-ta-o.*
      1SG-see-pig-APPL-jungle-big-PF-IND
      'I saw some pigs in the heavy bush.'

More information on the details of verbal clauses is found in the sections mentioned above.

4.3 INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

In general these clauses do not differ from the verbal or non-verbal clause types. There is not a requirement that a particular morphosyntax be used for questions, though a generally rising intonation is heard (there are no sudden high peaks at the end as is often reported). Additionally there are no special question particles or illocutionary force markers that indicate a question.

The fact that a content question necessarily places pragmatic focus on one element (*who* in 'Who did you see?', for instance) means that the most likely place for a question word referring to a subject or object to appear is in the pre-clausal position, as described in section 5.1. This is not peculiar to the interrogative construction, however, but is simply a result of the pragmatic force associated with questions.

(23) *Iti   a-tir-i-o?*
      who   2SG-see-3SG-IND
      'Who did you see?'

Sentences with more than one questioned element are not normally encountered, the more natural pattern being to question only one element at a time in the clause. More information on questions can be found in section 14.4.

4.4 NEGATION

Negation is simply expressed in Warembori by means of the negative *metin(do)* 'no, not', following the negated item. The *-do* suffix is the indicative, and the negated proposition need not have an indicative suffix itself unless called for for phonological reasons (such as described for *on-* 'snake' in section 3.2). The use of *metin(do)* with nominal, adjectival and verbal predicates is shown in the following three examples.

(24) *Iwi   dosen   metin-do.*
      1SG   lecturer   not-IND
      'I'm not a university lecturer.'

(25) *Tamakuri kokari metin-do.*
      Tamakuri far   not-IND
      'Tamakuri isn't far.'

(26) *Ayo-ave   akuni metin-do.*
      Wood-DEF   burn   not-IND
      'The wood isn't burning.'

Negation of non-predicate items, such as 'We saw no people' has not been observed. Negation of attributive elements in the NP is highly constrained; see section 7.4.1.

> [a more complete sketch will include information on negating different elements of the sentence: these just show predicates, but don't forget negating subjects, obliques (it's not me who's coming, it's not to Sentani that I'm going), and time, etc. Of course, these might be impossible to say ...]

5. Pragmatic and syntactic variation

In addition to the basic morphosyntactic forms discussed in 4, there are various factors that can influence the shape of an uttered clause in Warembori. Given the lack of a voice system in the language, these are mainly pragmatic alternations in word order (with morphosyntactic consequences); there are, however, two other constructions that reflect pragmatic emphasis that are more traditionally thought of as part of the clausal morphosyntax.

5.1 FRONTING

In addition to the basic SVO word order seen in section 3.1, we also find examples with OSV order, as below; an important difference, however, is that these sentences often involve an intonational break between the O and the SV, which is not possible for the basic sentences (this intonation break is indicated in the examples with a comma ',', following normal orthographic practice). Additionally, this word order is only possible with an object agreement suffix on the verb.

(27) *A=kue,   e=mena   tir-i.*
      2SG=chicken 1SG=dog   see-3SG
      'My dog saw your chicken.'

      * *Akue emena tire*.

As indicated in the translation, the pragmatic effect of fronting to this pre-clausal position is to assign a strong degree of emphasis (individuation, contrastiveness) to the clause-initial argument. This construction is often used when the O is the controller of zero anaphora; in the following sentence, the chicken is the object of both verbs, and so appears fronted in the first clause:

(28) *E=kue,   e-muni   or-i-ve   kombe inai.*
      1SG=chicken 1SG-kill   give-3SG-SEQ   DAT   mother
      'I killed my chicken and gave it to mother.'

This fronting may occur with subjects as well, though since a subject is preverbal, it is not so obviously detected, if the intonational break is not present.

An oblique argument may not be fronted:

(29) * *Nana karapesa, iwi   on-do.*
      OBL   chair   1SG   sit-IND
      'On the chair, I sat.'

These arguments may only be fronted if they are first made into applicative objects (see section 10.1). When fronted, it is natural for the preposition (which is not normally necessary for the applied object) to appear

(30)   *Nana   karapesa, iwi   on-na.*
        OBL   chair   1SG   sit-APPL
        'On the chair, I sat.'

This is true for all prepositional NPs.

5.2 RESTRUCTURING

In addition to the 'morphology-free' processes of fronting and 'backing', there are two morphologically-signalled means of indicating more prominence on a nominal that is otherwise not an argument of the verb. The first, the use of applicative constructions, is in fact the normal way of mentioning settings, instruments and destinations in Warembori; an unimportant nominal of this sort is not usually mentioned, except as an afterthought. The second, the use of external possession constructions (also known as possessor raising) is used to show that the morphological possessor of the object of the verb was affected by the verb as well as the possessum, and that this possessor is more salient than the possessum.

> [a rather lengthy introduction, but we're dealing with tricky things here, and it's a good chance to mention some language-particular oddities (which is, after all, why we're bothering with this), and also a chance to define terms in prose]

5.2.1 Applicatives

In Warembori, oblique arguments are usually not mentioned unless they are considered salient to the discourse in which they occur; as such, they most frequently appear as the applied object of the verb, and not with the (alternative) oblique coding structure. A more detailed discussion of applicatives can be found in section 10.1, but an examples of their use can be seen in the following example.

The verb *na* 'eat' subcategorises for two arguments, an agent and a theme. An oblique location may be mentioned only if it is marked with either a preposition on the nominal, or with an applicative on the verb. Both options are shown below:

(31)   *E-na   nana   e-me-ro.*
        1SG-eat   OBL   1SG-house-IND
        'I ate in my house.'

(32)   *E-na-na   e-me-ro.*
        1SG-eat-APPL 1SG-house-IND
        'I ate in my house.'

The difference between the two structures above is not one of semantics, but rather is to do with the pragmatic salience associated with the 'house' argument in the two cases. This is discussed in more detail in section 10.1.

5.2.2 External possession

External possession is found in Warembori exclusively with the object of a verb, and is unconstrained as to which objects may appear with external possession. A contrastive pair of examples showing a clause without, and with, external possession are given below; for more discussion on the pragmatic differences between these two sentences, see section 10.3.

(33)   *Mena   pa'me   a=mani.*   (cf.   *Mena   pa'm-i*)
       dog   bite   2SG=lower.leg   dog   bite-3SG
       'The dog bit your calf.'

(34)   *Mena   pa'm-awi   a=mani.*
       dog   bite-2SG   2SG=lower.leg
       'The dog bit you on the calf.'

Since the external possession option is only used with particularly 'focussed' participants, pragmatic fronting is often encountered with these kinds of sentences, as discussed in section 10.3.

6. Word classes

We can recognise at least three distinct word classes in Warembori, though not all tests will separate out all of these classes. For this reason, an approach using the ideas of a discourse basis for word class recognition (eg., Hopper and Thompson 1984, Croft 1990) has been used, examining the types of distinctions necessary for different functions of words. The existence of morphosyntactically definable word classes in Warembori has been utilised to make the exposition below as accessible as possible, using the terms that will only be established following the exposition, for the sake of brevity and clarity.

[methodologically a bit unsound, but certainly the easiest way to run things]

6.1 OPEN WORD CLASSES: A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL APPROACH

We shall examine the morphosyntactic criteria that serve to identify the different major noun classes in Warembori by examining the appearance of different patterns when the same lexical items are used in different discourse functions (Hopper and Thompson 1984). Rather than follow the strict discover procedure elaborated in those works, I shall present the information required to establish the word classes that emerge in Warembori, preemptively labelling them noun, adjective and verb, although the justification for these terms can only be seen after the next few sections are considered.

[it's a good idea to at least briefly cover the reasons why you identify different word classes; and it's an even better idea to make sure that you do, rather than just transferring labels from English to the language under study. This approach, describing the differences through a few separate criteria, appeals to me, but to save time simply mentioning one or two key morphosyntactic differences is enough]

6.1.1 Predication

When predicative, we can clearly identify verbs as a class in that they invariably show agreement prefixes for their subject, whereas words of different classes do not.

(35)   *(Iwi)   e-perye.*   *Iwi   kuru.*   *Iwi   pere-yo.*
       1SG   1SG-exit   1SG   teacher   1SG   cold-IND
       'I'm going out.'   'I'm a teacher.'   'I'm cold.'

In this context it is clear that, apart from the agreement found on the verb, there are no derivational processes required of any of the word classes to function as predicates.

[for adjectives in particular it's amazing how hard this information is to find in a description: how they behave in anything other than an attributive function]

6.1.2 Attribution

Words used attributively show different patterns, with the verbs appearing in relative clauses, with no distinct morphology, whereas the adjectives form compounds with the head, and nouns appear either as part of a compound, or as the possessor in a possessive construction.

(36) *make-ni   perye.*   *kuru   i-vin-do.*   *bim-pere-ni.*
    boy-this exit   teacher   3SG-woman-IND   woman-dead-this
    'the boy who's going out'   'the teacher's wife'   'this dead woman'

Notice the position of *-ni* in the first and last of these examples, showing that the adjectives and verbs are treated very differently when attributive; the adjective appears compounded on the verb, whereas the verb is outside the [noun + adjective] unit. This is discussed further in section 7.3, and exceptions are mentioned in section 7.4.

6.1.3 Reference

Referentially we find that nouns are unmarked in this function, whereas a verb or adjective requires the dummy head *-na* in order to appear.

(37) *perye-na-yave.*   *kuru.*   *pere-na-yave.*
    exit-ones-DEF   teacher   cold/dead-ones-DEF
    'the one going out'   'teacher'   'the dead ones / death'

In this context we can clearly see that the nouns are the only word class that does not require overt additional morphology, in the form of *-na*, in order to appear.

6.1.4 Emerging patterns

We can summarise the patterns found in the preceding three sections in the table below.

	Referential	Attributive	Predicative
Nouns	root	possessive	root
Adjectives	dummy head	compound	root
Verbs	dummy head	agreement	agreement

Interestingly, the emergent patterns show that any word class (or semantic type of lexical item) appears in a morphosyntactically marked construction when attributive; there is no simple juxtaposition of word classes to indicate adjectives functioning as attributes in NPs, though it is worth noting that verbs in this function do not appear any more marked than if they were predicative.

6.1.5 Derivation

Apart from the generation of nominalisations with the use of *-na* discussed above, there do not appear to be many productive means of deriving one word class from another. In large part this is compensated for by the fact that a large number of lexical roots have both nominal and verbal forms (such as *pare* 'cast net for fishing' and *pamo* 'fishing net', or have extensive metaphorical extensions (such as *on-* 'snake, animal low to the ground' and *on-* 'sit, place body low to the ground').

One derivational suffix *-pai* exists that, applied to non-sentient nouns, produces a verbs meaning 'X adversely affects'; in combination with an applicative, it can then take an object specifying who or what was affected. An example of this is given with *dororo* 'rain':

(38) *Doro-pai-tan-e-o.*
    rain-affect-APPL-1SG-IND
    'I got soaked by the rain.'

Notice how the English translation puts what is the object in Warembori as the subject in English. More examples of this are in section 12.3.

> [Do this sparingly, comparing the language to a completely unrelated one like English, and only to highlight some typologically unusual features of it that might otherwise be passed over]

The place where an action is performed is can be indicated with the prefix da-:

(39) *da-mati*   *eme-ra-o*   *da-kambi*   *a'ne-ro*
      LOCNOM-wash   house-room-IND   LOCNOM-hunt   jungle-IND
      'bathroom'   'hunting range'

For other nominalisations, headless relative clauses are productively used with no special morphology.

6.2 CLOSED WORD CLASSES

In addition to the open word classes established in the previous section, there are various closed word classes, most obviously the personal pronouns. Demonstratives and other non-personal deictics are not found as independent words in Warembori, but rather as suffixes on nouns.

6.2.1 Pronouns

The pronominal system is split into those elements that can occur as free words, and those that are bound by another element (a noun, for possession, or a verb, for subject and object agreement). The free pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural numbers, and make an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person non-singular. The structural organisation, and phonological forms, of most of the free pronouns show substantial influence from Austronesian languages. They are shown below; 12 represents the inclusive (first and second person) category.

	SG	DU	PL	
1	*iwi*	*amui*	*ami*	(exclusive)
12	-	*kui*	*ki*	(inclusive)
2	*awi*	*mui*	*mi*	
3	*yi*	*tui*	*ti*	

The dual forms are in all cases clearly derived from the plural ones through the addition of and infix *-u-*; apart from *iwi* and *awi*, the first and second person singular forms, all the other forms are clearly derivable from known Austronesian forms (*ia 3SG, *kami 1PL.EX, *kita 1PL.IN, *kamiu 2PL and (less transparently) *siDa 3PL (through the path *siDa > **tiDa > **tira > ti); additionally, the dual formative *-u-* in Warembori is probably related to the use of *-ru-* or *-du-*, from the proto-Austronesian number *Dua 'two', as a dual formative in pronominal forms in the Austronesian languages of Cenderawasih Bay. Clearly, regardless of other linguistic factors and the final outcome of a detailed investigation into the genetic affiliations of Warembori, the influence of Austronesian languages on pre-Warembori must have been tremendous to so thoroughly affect even the independent pronoun system; a discussion of some other lexical indications of this contact are given in section 16.3.

> [again, this is going a bit far for a normal description, but given the position of Warembori it's interesting, and important, to note these things. Not required. Not much else to say about these pronouns, though, just listing them. An option here is to include all the pronominal forms, including the bound ones, like object and possessive markers. If so, discuss the formal similarities and differences]

6.2.2 Prepositions

In addition to the subcategorised arguments of a verb, the subject and (if bivalent) object, which may appear indexed on the verb, and in the preclausal position without any NP-level marking, other arguments may appear in a clause, typically showing the setting, means, or aim of an action. There appear to be three prepositional formatives, *na*, *ka* and *ta*, and one unanalysable preposition *kombe*. These may not, however, appear on their own, and in prepositional use must be either reduplicated or compounded together. The forms of overt prepositions that have been encountered include:

nana	'in, at, with, from'	general oblique
naka	'along'	perlative
tana	'to, to on top of, to inside of'	allative
tane	'up to'	instrument
tena	'using/with'	instrument
tata	'towards'	allative
kombe	'for, to'	beneficiary, recipient, addressee

Notice the position of the indicative marker on the verb in the following example, appearing before the preposition.

(40) *Make   matin-do   nana   ipa-yave.*
      boy   wash-IND   OBL   river- DEF
      'The boy is washing in the river.'

This is one of the factors that determine that nana is indeed prepositional, and not part of the verb. When a prepositional NP is found clause-initially for pragmatic effect, the preposition must be initial as well:

(41) *Nana   ipa-yave,   make   matin-na.*
      OBL   river- DEF boy   wash-APPL
      'In the river, the boy is washing.'

(42) * *Ipayave, make matindo nana,* * *Nana ipayave, make matindo*

The position of prepositionally-marked oblique arguments has been mentioned in section 3.1, and is discussed further in 7.4.3.

6.2.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are usually encountered as suffixal elements to the noun, marking two degrees of distance and appearing in place of the indicative suffixes. These have been discussed and exemplified in section 3.2.

With the dummy head *-na*, as seen in 6.1, the demonstratives may appear independently; thus *na-ni* 'this one', *na-yave* 'that one'; the only point of note in this construction is that, whereas an adjective or verb occurs before the *na*, with the demonstrative suffixes the *na* appears before the demonstrative.

[most languages will require more discussion of demonstratives than this; Warembori happens to have a very simple system, that can be described with the minimum of fuss, but most languages will make more distinctions, and have more restrictions, than this. Demonstratives and Pronouns? Time reference?]

The pre-modificational use of *na* is also found in some, as yet poorly understood contexts with adjectives that also have a following *-na*. For examples of this, see the text in section 17.2.

7. Noun phrases and oblique arguments

The Noun Phrase (NP) is used to provide referential information about a particular argument given the frequency with which arguments can be expressed with nothing more than a pronominal affix, this is rarely used in ongoing narrative, but is nonetheless an essential part of establishing contact at the beginning of a narrative or in a conversation. This section describes the form of the (modified) noun, and the positions of modifying elements in the NP.

[notice that different types of modifying elements in an NP can have different morphosyntactic restrictions on them; it's not enough to simply mention one or two things, but should at the minimum include examples of numbers (if they can occur in NPs), colours, physical dimension, quantifiers, demonstratives - if they contrast. Of course, if everything is the same, then explicitly state that. Always draw attention to similarities and differences that might not be apparent, and that you don't have the space to exemplify fully (just a sketch, remember)]

7.1 BASIC STRUCTURE

The noun phrase in Warembori is invariant in its structure for whatever position it may have in a sentence (subject, object, oblique). The elements of the NP may be ordered as seen below; note that the majority of NP modification is found in the form of compounding onto the noun itself.

NP   (Possessor NP) $[_N$ (poss)-N-(Adj)^1-(DET/IND)]   (Num, RC)^1

> Where poss = possessive prefixes, Adj = adjective, det = determiner, Num = a numeral, and RC = relative clause.

> *[starting with an overview, and then working our way to more complicated sections. I've omitted an example of the most simple sort of NP (just a noun) since we've already seen quite a few of them]*

It is rare to find all of these elements in the one noun phrase, the preference being to have maximally one element outside the noun, which may be compounded with an adjective, and additionally prefixed and suffixed:

(43)   *e-mamieke-pa-yave*
          1SG-daughter-big.ATTR-DEF
          'my big daughter'

NPs with more than one relative clause, or both a relative clause and a modifying numeral, have not been encountered, nor successfully elicited. This could well be a constraint against more than one modificational word in the NP, rather than a specific one against multiple relative clauses, but it nevertheless stands as a restriction found in Warembori.

7.2 THE USE OF THE INDICATIVE SUFFIXES

The indicative suffixes have been discussed in section 3.2, along with many restrictions describing where they must appear. In this section a few remarks will be made about the environments in which the indicative suffixes cannot be used. Detailed descriptions of these constructions will not be presented here, but rather reference to the relevant sections point to further details.

[this is, I admit, rather inelegant, splitting the discussion of the indicative suffixes into two sections. In my defence, I can point out that they are at least referenced to each other. In support of doing it this way, it's somewhat valid to

[*say that, given that the phenomenon is relevant to both the discussion in section 3 as well as the discussion of noun phrases, it makes a little bit of sense to include discussion of it in both sections. But it's still not the optimal solution, perhaps]*

Incorporation, both habitual (preverbal) and post-verbal, only appears without the indicative suffix on nouns, this construction is discussed in section 13.

7.3 THE POSITION OF ADJECTIVES

An adjective in an NP appears compounded with the noun, as can be seen in the following examples by the assimilation of the final /n/ to an [m] under the influence of the following word internal /p/.

(44)   *Dan-dave   pere.*
        water-DEF cold
        'The water is cold.'

(45)   *dam-pere-yave*
        water-cold-DEF
        'the cold water'

[a useful thing to note: when the example is a complete utterance, then it should get the punctuation and capitalisation associated with one, as should the translation. When not, then it gets only lower case, and no full stops]

Some verbs even have suppletive forms when used attributively, and so compounded with a noun; this is the case with the lexeme 'big', which when compounded appears as *-pa*, but when used a free form (predicatively, or attributively in a relative clause) is found as *tamake*.

(46)   *Nu-pa-ni   bania   pere-yo.*
        man-big.ATTR-this   will   die-IND
        'The big man will die (soon).'

(47)   *E-man-dave   make-ro.*
        1SG-husband-DEF   big-IND
        'That husband of mine is (pretty) small.'

(48)   * *Nutamakeni*

Notice that in the sentence above 'big' appears inside the [noun + determiner suffix] unit, indicating the compounding. This bracketing of the adjective by the noun and a bound suffixed modifier is also found with the dual and plural number markers:

(49)   *Ane-pa-kaindu   ya-ra-te-mo.*
        Crocodile-big.ATTR-DUAL   3SG-go-APPL-1PL.EX
        'Two big crocodiles came up to us.'

Notice the use of (set III, not the expected set V) singular verbal prefixes with a dual subject in the example above; dual subjects normally use the non-singular sets of verbal agreement affixes, unless their number is explicitly marked on the noun. With overt number marking on the noun the use of the non-singular subject prefixes is optional. This optionality does not extend to the plural arguments, which must use the non-singular prefixes regardless of whether a coreferent nominal marked for plurality is present or not.

The different morphosyntactic patterns for adjectives have been discussed in more detail in section 6.1.

[always keep referring to where more information on a topic can be found, it's very encouraging as a reader to have a roadmap. Alternatively, put in a great

index: recommendation: 2% of the total length of the sketch in index, minimum,
and a minimum of two pages]

7.4 OTHER MODIFICATION

In addition to NP-internal modification by adjectives, we also encounter, though rarely, modification by verbs or oblique (verbless) phrases. The modification of arguments by other (possessing) nouns is discussed in section 8 (Possession), and the sections following here will describe the appearance of numerals, verbs and oblique phrases as attributive elements in the noun phrase.

[always comforting to let people know what you're about to do, and what
you're not covering here, though have explained elsewhere]

7.4.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses modifying nouns have only very rarely been attested, and are certainly not a normal usage. Most Warembori speakers prefer to have the function of a modifying relative clause spread out over several independent sentences, so that verbs are always predicative. Nonetheless, there are cases of verbs apparently modifying a noun within an NP, though, because of the unusual pre-head position of the modifying verb, these are suspect constructions.

An example of a putative relative clause is the following

(50)   [NP *Ane-na-o*   [RC *ti-tir-eo*   ]]   *ti-make-o.*
              crocodile-PL-IND   3PL-see-1SG   3PL-small-IND
              'The crocodiles that saw me were all small.'

[since it's important that the reader understand the structure of this example,
I've included bracketing to show the constituency: titireo goes with anenao as a
unit, as opposed to timakeo. Use this device sparingly, as it takes time to both
write and to read. When necessary it helps out a lot, as in the examples in this
section]

In this example the sentence could equally well be interpreted as two adjoined relative clauses: 'The crocodiles saw me, and they were small.' When the head of a relative clause is the object of that clause, the verb is still postnominal, and the interpretation as a relative clause is more likely, though the sentence with the object as head could still be interpreted as 'The crocodiles, I saw them, and they were small.'

(51)   [NP *Ane-na-o*   [RC *e-tire*]]   *ti-make-o.*
              crocodile-PL-IND   1SG-see   3PL-small-IND
              'The crocodiles that I saw were all small.'

[the normal convention is to label, in subscript, the inside of the first bracket
that you have, and to use square brackets]

The relative clause position is also used for an adjective if the compounding position for adjectives is already taken. In this way more than one adjective may appear modifying the same noun:

(52)   [NP *Ane-pa-ni*   [RC *pere*]]   *e-pit-i.*
              crocodile-big-this   dead   1SG-shoot-3SG
              'I shot this big dead crocodile.'

As mentioned above, no more than one of either relative clause or modifying numeral has been encountered in the one noun phrase. In the two examples following the order of the two modifiers is not relevant to the bad grammaticality judgements.

(53) #/* [_{NP} *Ane-ro*   [_{RC} *nan*(*-do*)] [_{RC} *e-tire*]]
       crocodile-IND   sleep-IND   1SG-see
     'the sleeping crocodile that I saw .'

(54) #/* [_{NP} *Ane-na-o*   [_{RC} *e-tire*] [_{RC} *wonti*]]
       crocodile-PL-IND   1SG-see   three
     'the three crocodiles that I saw'

These restrictions on modification may in part be due to the potentially ambiguous interpretation offered to the string of noun - verb - verb, given that the fully inflected verbs are capable as serving as the predicate of a main clause. This functional explanation would then require that the numerals be treated as uninflectable verbs, which may be the case, based on a comparison with other languages of the south-west Pacific area.

Negation is possible in relative clauses, as in the following:

(55)   [_{NP} *Mena-yave*   [_{RC} *pa'me-wi metin-do*]]   *i-min*   *dan-do.*
       dog-DEF   bite-1SG   NEG-IND   3SG-drink water-IND
     'The dog that didn't bite me is drinking water.'

As with other relative clauses, there is a strong preference to break this sentence up into two conjoined sentences (such as *Menayave imin dando, pa'mewi metindo* 'The dog is drinking water, it didn't bit me.').

Relative clauses may be headless, in which case the sentence appears to consist of a string of verbs, though the subject markers do not match:

(56)   *E-tire*   [_{NP} [_{RC} *iran-do*]].
     1SG-see   other-IND
     'I saw a different one.'

In this example *irando* appears with 3SG inflection (in this case, Ø), 'agreeing' with the empty NP head.

7.4.2 Numerals

The numerals from three upwards are represented in Warembori with independent numerals that appear wither in non-verbal clauses, or as attributive elements in the NP. Singular number is indicated with the singular indicative suffixes, and general plural with the plural indicative; for dual number, the specific dual suffix is normally used, though for both singular and dual the possibility of using the numerals *waiseno* 'one' or *waitiso* 'two' exists, though these forms are more natural if they appear as predicates. For instance, while the following sentence is grammatical,

(57)   *Mani-yave*   *wonti*   *te-buene.*
     bird-DEF   three   3PL-hide
     'The three birds hid.'

a more natural way of expressing this meaning is with a relative clause and a numeral predicate, as in the following:

(58)   *Mani-na-o   te-buene,   wonti.*
       bird-PL-IND   3PL-hide   three
       'The birds that hid, there were three.'

> *[if there is a strong preference to not use a particular (possible) construction, then mention it. This is important for the structuring of discourse, and reckoning that into a comparison with other languages]*

or, best of all, in a multi-clause construction:

(59)   *Mani-yave   wonti.   (Mani-na-yave   /   ti)   te-buene.*
       bird-DEF   3PL-hide   bird-PL-DEF   3PL   3PL-hide
       'There were three birds. (They / Those birds) hid.'

Notice how in the preceding examples the presence of an overt numeral in the NP does not require the use of the plural form of the noun (*mani-na-*); indeed, this use is not grammatical.

(60)   * *mani-na-o   wonti*
         bird-PL-IND   three

Quantifiers, such as *pasi* 'all', cannot appear within the NP, and are only found predicatively, either as the clausal predicate or in a non-contiguous serial verb construction (see 11.3).

> *[don't forget: you need to spend some time saying what's NOT possible just as much as you need to discuss what IS possible, to define the limits of what the language allows]*

7.4.3 Oblique phrases

In a couple of cases there are examples of oblique, verbless, phrases modifying a noun, within an NP. In this case it is clear that the PP is an attribute, since bare PPs cannot function as predicates in Warembori.

(61)   [NP *toro*   [PP *nana*   [NP *naaro-te*]]]
            sago.baking.pan   from   Kurudu-island
       'a sago baking pan from Kurudu'

> *[these sorts of things are often left out of grammatical descriptions: relative clauses without verbs. Pretty interesting things, try to include a couple. They're often good for making word-class distinctions]*

The only attributive PP that has been attested is this use of *nana* to mean 'from', as seen in the preceding example. A 'towards' preposition such as *tana* requires the appearance of a verb of motion as well as the directional preposition. Although grammatical as a relative clause expressing motion towards a goal, a more normal way of expressing this meaning is with the destination coded as the object of an applicative verb; both of these are illustrated in the following sentences.

(62)   [NP *nuro*   [PP * (*ti-ra*)   *tana*   [NP *Patena*]]]
            person   3PL-go   to   Mantarbori
       'a person going to Mantarbori'

(63)   [NP *nuro*   [RC *ti-ra-ta*   [NP *Patena*]]]
            person   3PL-go-APPL   Mantarbori
       'a person going to Mantarbori'

The applicative option shown in this last example is the only option for other semantic roles, such as instruments or locations.

7.5 OBLIQUENESS

The use of prepositions showing the setting, means, or aim of an action has been described in section 6.2.2, where the different prepositions were listed. The other means of encoding non-subcategorised for arguments are mentioned in this section.

7.5.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs such as *waperai* 'tomorrow', *terainti* 'yesterday' or *biswamba* 'earlier on' are fairly unconstrained as to their position in the clause, though there is a preference for initial position, and almost all occurrences are preverbal.

The following positions are attested; the only unusual position is between the verb and an object.

(64) *Biswamba   Putampa   i-totare   e-manivovi.*
      earlier   Bagusa   3SG-meet   1SG=friend
      'A Bagusa (person) met my friend earlier on.'

(65) *Putampa biswamba itotare emanivovi.*

(66) *Putampa itotare emanivovi biswamba.*

(67) # *Putampa itotare biswamba emanivovi.*

The presence of an oblique phrase in the clause will not affect the placement possibilities of a temporal adverb.

> [not what anyone would really call exciting stuff, but it's a part of what should be described for a language, even if only in passing, as here. The same remark applies to the next section as well. Spell out the options]

7.5.2 Directional and manner obliques

Most oblique phrases appear either clause finally or (more rarely) clause initially; they do not typically intrude between the subject and the verb, and may not appear between the verb and an object. The forms of the prepositions have been given in 6.2.2, and the distribution of these PPs in the clause is shown here.

(68) * *E-tire   nana   a'ne-ro   ane-na-o.*
       1SG-see   OBL   jungle-IND   crocodile-PL-IND

(69) * *E-manivovi   nana   a'ne-ro   tire   ane-na-o.*
       1SG=friend   OBL   jungle-IND   see   crocodile-PL-IND

(70) *E-manivovi   tire   ane-na-o   nana   a'ne-ro.*
      1SG=friend   see   crocodile-PL-IND   OBL   jungle-IND
      'My friend saw some crocodiles in the jungle.'

7.5.3 Preferred structure

Although a range of oblique prepositions are available in Warembori, the preference in texts is for apparently oblique functions (participants that are not subcategorised for by the verb) to be expressed by applicative constructions, as discussed earlier in section 5.2.1.

Some oblique notions do not, however, have applicative equivalents. An example of this is a general outer locative, as in

(71) *On-do   dare   naka   taneva.*
      snake-IND crawl   LOC   ground
      'The snake is crawling along the ground.'

In this sentence the ground is not an integral part of the verb, in the sense that it is essential to the conceptualisation of the activity. Similarly, while 'bed' in 'I slept in a bed', has an applicative equivalent, 'house' in 'I slept in the house' does not (though 'house' in 'I went to the house' does have an applicative equivalent, since it is an essential component of the predicate).

> [always mention semantic restrictions on what may or may not happen: it might be obvious to you, but it won't necessarily be obvious to the reader. There are languages that allow these outer locatives to be applicativised (or the equivalent of applicativised)]

In most cases, however, there is an applicative equivalent; examples of this are given at length in section 10.1.

> [again, being helpful with little references to different sections of the grammar is always a user-friendly thing to do]

8. Possession

Possession within the noun phrase is a pre-head category in Warembori, with a split into different categories (alienable and inalienable) based on the degree of cohesion that the bound possessive forms have with the possessum (although the form is identical form both alienable and inalienable possession). In the case of nominal possession, the possessum must still be marked with a bound possessive marker, and so the alienable/inalienable distinction is still obvious.

8.1 BOUND POSSESSIVE MARKERS

There are two sets of possessive markers, whose use appears to be purely lexically governed, not showing any strong correlations with the semantic type of either the possessor (human, non-human), the nature of the possession (temporary, permanent, reported, perceived), or the possessum (alienable, inalienable, etc.). There are very few differences between the two sets. The sets are:

		Set I	Set II	
SG	1	*e*	*e*	
	2	*a*	*a*	
	3	*i*	*Ø*	
NSG	1	*(ami)*	*(ami)*	(exclusive)
	12	*ki, ke*	*ki, ke*	(inclusive)
	2	*mi, me*	*mi, me*	
	3	*ti, te*	*ti, te*	

> [starting the section of with an overview of the morphemes involved]

While the plural forms are listed identically, there is a strong preference for the Set I possessive class to occur with the *ki mi ti* plural possessive markers, whereas set II is less predictable. It is obvious that the third person singular is the only real strong divider between the two classes.

Unlike the free pronouns, there is no difference between the dual and the plural in the marking of possession, both using a common set of non-singular markers; furthermore, there is not a special marker for the first person non-singular exclusive; the free pronoun, ami or amui for dual possessors, must be used instead (as with verbal indexing, agreement with a dual category is shown with the plural prefixes). The forms of the possessive prefixes show very strong similarities to the verbal subject agreement prefixes described in section 9.1.

An example of a full paradigm of a possessed noun with each of the sets can be seen in the examples below, exemplifying with *bera* 'arm' and *wa(ro)* 'canoe':

[having presented the overview, we now give some specific examples of the use of the morphemes. Remember, it's important to give paradigms of the different constructions that we're discussing]

(72) *everaro*   *ewaro*   'My …'
      averaro   *awaro*   'Your …'
      beraro   *iwaro*   'Her / His …'
      ami beraro   *ami waro*   'Our (excl.) …'
      keveraro   *kiwaro*   'Our (incl.) …'
      meveraro   *miwaro*   'Your (PL.) …'
      teveraro   *tiwaro*   'Their …'
      '… arm'   '… canoe'

[noone is going to claim that a list like the above one is exciting, but, given that this is the first, and perhaps only, account of even part of the language, it's important to put in a goodly amount of raw data, so that someone else can pick over your analysis if they feel like it, and come to their own conclusions]

Following a principle described in the following section, the forms in the first column for 'arm' may also appear with a preposed pronoun: *iwi everaro*, *awi averaro*, etc. This is used to show a particular emphasis:

(73) a. *Sie-ni*   *iti*   *i-me-ro*
         DEM.HEAD-this   who   3SG-house-IND
         'Whose house is this?'

      b. *Iwi*   *e-me-ro*
         1SG   1SG-house-IND
         '(It's) <u>my</u> house.'

The free pronoun is used as well as the possessive prefixes to indicate that the identity of the owner is not in any doubt. If the speaker wished to give more emphasis on the house pointed out, rather than the owner, he would have said *Sieni emero*.

8.2 ALIENABLE VS. INALIENABLE POSSESSION

Despite the forms of the possessive markers taking no account of any semantic differences between kinds of possession, a difference must be made between alienable and inalienable possession, based not on the form of the pronominal marker, but on its phonological cohesion with the noun. Compare the forms in the following minimally contrastive phrases:

(74) a. *e=bo-ro*   b. *e-voro-ro*
         1SG=coconut-IND   1SG-tongue-IND
         'my coconut'   'my tongue'

In the first of these examples we can see that the initial consonant in coconut, /b/, is present in its [b] allophone, indicating that the preceding *e* is not part of the same phonological word as it is. In the b sentence, however, we see that the initial /b/ in 'tongue' appears with the [β] allophone, showing that the preceding *e* in this case is part of the same phonological word.

Although the forms of the two affixes are the same for both alienable and inalienable use, their degrees of bondedness with the following nouns are different (there is no correlation between the two sets of possessive prefixes described in section 8.1 and the alienable / inalienable distinction).

Another difference is that the inalienable possessive construction optionally puts the free pronoun in from of the possessed noun; an emphatic alternative for *evororo* above would be *iwi evororo*, with the first person singular free pronoun, whereas the free pronoun doubling with an alienably possessed nominal (* *iwi eboro*) would be very unusual.

The most obvious difference between alienable and inalienable nouns is that the inalienable nouns must appear in a possessed form; it is impossible, for instance, to refer to tongue, which takes the set I possessive prefixes, as just *bororo*; it must appear possessed, and in case of a non-specific reference to tongues, appears with the 1PL.IN possessive prefixes: *kevoronao* 'tongues'.

The nouns that count as inalienable according to these criteria are all body parts, kin terms, and additionally three intimately associated objects: houses, canoes, and net bags. All else is alienable.

> [obviously you need to spell out where the limits are for the inalienable class, if you have one: it's not the same in all languages]

9. Basic verbs

The verb in Warembori is frequently the sole element in the sentence, and so bears a considerable functional load in terms of information content. As such, there are many devices for increasing the amount of information that may be indexed on the verb. These are described separately in the sections that follow

9.1 SUBJECT AGREEMENT CLASSES

All verbs must take a subject agreement prefix (though some verbs do not have a first or third person singular prefix, they all participate in paradigmatic alternations that do have overt agreement prefixes); this is one of the morphosyntactic characteristics that distinguish them from adjectives, as noted in section 6.1.1. We have seen many examples of tis already; an additional one is given below.

> (75)   *E-sua-ta   ipa-ro.*
>   1SG-jump-APPL   river-IND
>   'I jumped into the river.'

There are six different sets of verbal prefixes, which do not seem to be associated with particular semantic classes of verbs, but are rather simply lexically fixed. As with possessive markers, there is no difference in form between dual or plural subjects, but unlike the possessive set there is a distinct prefix for the first person plural exclusive. The person prefixes are (using NSG to indicate non-singular reference, irrespective of whether it is dual or plural)

		Set I	Set II	Set III	Set IV	Set V	Set VI	
SG	1	*i*	*Ø*	*e*	*e*	*e*	*ya*	
	2	*u,a*	*w*	*wa*	*a*	*a*	*a*	
	3	*i*	*y*	*ya*	*i*	*Ø*	*Ø*	
NSG	1	*ami*	*am*	*ama*	*ame*	*ami*	*ami*	(exclusive)
	12	*ki*	*k*	*ka*	*ke*	*ki,ke*	*ki*	(inclusive)
	2	*mi*	*m*	*ma*	*me*	*mi,me*	*mi*	
	3	*ti*	*t*	*ta*	*te*	*ti,te*	*ti*	

Clearly most of these verb classes are related, and some (set II and set III) are merely allophonic variants of each other, set II occurring before vowel-initial roots, and set III before consonants. In sets that contain both consonant initial and vowel initial roots, *i* alternates with *y* prevocalically, as does *u* with *w*. Examples of verb class membership are:

Set I: *kuni* 'burn (TR)', *sa(yo)* 'run, flee', *sua* 'jump (into)', *bane* 'wake up (TR)'

Set II: *ore* 'give', *on(do)* 'sit', *ane* 'eat (INTR)', *ande* 'laugh'

Set III: *bei-o* 'hang up (INTR)', *deve* 'stare at', *toi(yo)* 'stab', *piti* 'shoot with arrow',

Set IV: *buruambore* 'learn', *bei(o)* 'hang up (TR)', *totare* 'meet', *kandera* '(physically) tired', *buene* 'hide', *nan(do)* 'sleep', *an(do)* 'eat (TR)'

Set V: *teme* 'cut, slash', *dovora(yo)* 'say, speak', *bora* 'say', *bayane* 'search for', *pere(yo)* 'die', *waroporane* 'help', *busunan(do)* 'itchy', *tire* 'see', *dapen(do)* 'fall down', *da* 'go', *bane* 'make, cause', *nata* 'hear', *darabi* 'hit'

Set VI: *totere* 'receive, meet with', *dove* 'fly'

(this list is not exhaustive, but does reasonably represent the proportion of verbs in the different verb classes, form the information available)

[not exciting, but important for a record of the language to have some indication of the divisions of irregularity that occur; maybe another person can puzzle out some system even where we can't, later... but not if the raw data isn't there. If in doubt, and if space isn't too much of an issue, put it in]

Examples of paradigms illustrating the use of the prefixes are:

		Set I	Set II	Set III	Set IV	Set V	Set VI	
		'run'	'eat'	'stare'	'hide'	'go'	'fly'	
SG	1	*isayo*	*ane*	*ereve*	*evuene*	*era*	*yarove*	
	2	*asayo*	*wane*	*wareve*	*avuene*	*ara*	*arove*	
	3	*isayo*	*yane*	*yareve*	*ivuene*	*da*	*dove*	
NSG	1	*amisayo*	*amane*	*amareve*	*amevuene*	*amira*	*amirove*	(exclusive)
	12	*kisayo*	*kane*	*kareve*	*kevuene*	*kira*	*kirove*	(inclusive)
	2	*misayo*	*mane*	*mareve*	*mevuene*	*mira*	*mirove*	
	3	*tisayo*	*tane*	*tareve*	*tevuene*	*tira*	*tirove*	

[this is that principle of exemplifying everything that you claim to exist in the language, to make sure your point is clear]

In addition to these subject prefixes, a separate nominal, or even pronominal, element in the clause apart from the verbal prefixing indicating the subject is never ungrammatical, as in the following example:

(76)   *Iwi   e-ra-kia-o   Potampa.*
        1SG   1SG-go-COMP-IND   Bagusa
        'I went to Bagusa.'

In the above sentence the use of the prefix on the verb is sufficient, so the use of the free pronoun in addition is pragmatically marked, and would only appear for a particular emphasis - identificational focus on the subject, for instance.

> [this sort of thing si always worth mentioning, as it's important, and also a nice indication of that fuzzy line between morphosyntax and discourse]

9.2 VERB FINAL POSITION: OPTIONS

With intransitive verbs the end of the verb is usually an indicative marker, or alternatively (and commonly) an applicative, followed by a noun, usually bearing a marker of definiteness or indicativeness. With transitive verbs, however, this picture is complicated by the need to mark the presence or absence of the object as well. This is not to say that object agreement in a verb is obligatory; unlike subject agreement, it is, in fact, not required for most verbs (as discussed in the next section, though see section 12 for some exceptions). For a transitive verb, however, the presence or absence of an object is seen in the vowel ending on the verb.

9.3 OBJECT AGREEMENT

In addition to the obligatory subject prefixes, verbs may optionally appear with object suffixes; if so, there may not be a nominal object following. There are two forms of the object suffixes, here called the 'full' and the 'contracted' forms. They represent a difference in speed of speaking more than different environments, though the 'contracted' forms are only encountered before the indicative suffix. In addition to this, one verb, *dave* 'stare', has a special set of object suffixes, clearly derived from *-nd* and the normal set of suffixes. Following an applicative marker the first and third person singular objects appear as *-ne* and *-ni*, respectively. For some verbs, such as *nata-* 'hear', the object can only be mentioned with the use of an applicative suffix, so these forms of the object suffixes are the only ones encountered.

		'Full'	'Contracted'	'stare'	
SG	1	*-ewi*	*-e(o)*	*-nde*	
	2	*-awi*	*-a(o)*	*-ndau*	
	3	*-i*	*-i(o)*	*-ndio*	
NSG	1	*-mo*	*-m(o)*	*-ndamo*	(exclusive)
	12	*-ki*	*-k(o)*	*-ndeo*	(inclusive)
	2	*-mi*	*-m(o)*	*-ndemo*	
	3	*-ti*	*-t(o)*	*-ndeto*	

Examples of the use of these object suffixes (and their absence) are illustrated with *tire* 'see':

(77)   *E-tir-awi.*   *E-tir-ao.*   *E-tir-i.*   *E-tire.*
        1SG-see-2SG   1SG-see-2SG   1SG-see-3SG   1SG-see
        'I saw you.'   'I saw you.'   'I saw her/him.'   'I saw.'

The contrast with the other set of suffixes can be seen in these following examples, showing the suffixes used with *areve* 'stare', and the regular set of object suffixes with a verb that requires an applicative suffix in order to appear with an object, *nata* 'hear'.

(78)   *Areve-ndau.*   *E-nata-na-awi.*   * *E-nata-awi.*
        stare.at-2SG   1SG-hear-APPL-2SG   1SG-hear-2SG
        'I stared at you.'   'I heard you.'

> [it's important to note the distribution of agreement morphology and nominals. Some languages allow both in a clause, others only allow both in highly restricted circumstances]

(other verbs that require an applicative suffix to appear with an object are *pai* 'affect', which takes *-ta* (see 12.3), *dore* 'angry' and *ande* 'laugh', which take *-ane*, and *banai* 'resemble', which takes *-na*. *waroporan* 'help' might historically consist of *waropora + an applicative **-na*, but this is not the case synchronically)

Object suffixes differ from subject prefixes in that they are not obligatory, and moreover allow for a verb without an indicative suffix, as seen in the above examples. Another point of difference with subject prefixes, in which a subject prefix could be 'doubled' with an additional nominal or free pronoun referring to the same entity, is that an object suffix on a verb does not allow for a nominal referring to the same argument within the clause, as seen in the following examples with pronominal and nominal objects in the normal post-verbal position.

(79)   * *E-amai*   *tir-ewi*   *iwi.*
        1SG-Si.in.law see-1SG   1SG
        'My sister in law saw me.'

(80)   * *E-amai*   *tir-i*   *bimbuate.*
        1SG-Si.in.law see-3SG   yZ
        'My sister in law saw her younger sister.'

The only way in which an object may appear in the same sentence as an object agreement suffix referring to it is if it is in the pre-clausal position:

(81)   *Iwi,*   *e-amai*   *tir-ewi.*
        1SG   1SG-Si.in.law see-1SG
        'Well me, my sister in law saw me.'

This asymmetry between the occurrence restrictions on subject and object affixes probably reflects a difference in their status, with the object affixes being obligatorily pronominal in nature, following very closely the discussion and analysis of this issue in Bresnan and Mchombo (1987).

> [tough one here; how much should you refer to specialist literature? This paper here, Bresnan and Mchombo, is pretty much established as a 'classic', and so not too obscure, so it's maybe OK. If you think your reference is going to be hard to find, and it's really spot on, then you should summarise what of it is relevant to your exposition, with appropriate acknowledgment of the source]

9.4 NO OVERT OBJECT

When there is no overt object marked on the verb, either through noun incorporation or through the presence of an object suffix, then the verb takes the ending *-e*. Because this overt morpheme cannot be assigned any meaning (it occurs on both canonically intransitive and transitive roots), it is probably best thought of as a phonological filler, rather than a marker of non-referential, non-specific object. For examples, see section 9.3.

> [this is often ignored: how do transitive verbs behave when they have no (lexical) object? Some languages require an object ('thing'), some ignore the question. At the least, think about it and address it]

9.5 ASPECT

In a VP-final clitic, perfective aspect may be indicated with *-ta*, followed by the indicative. This aspect marking follows any incorporated objects, or pronominal object marking. Other common alternatives to show the completion of an action are to use a serial verb construction with the verbs *pase* 'finish' or *kia(wi)* 'completive' (now a suffix, but probably originally a verb). These are discussed in more detail in section 11.

(82)　　*E-rapen-ta-o.*
　　　　1SG-fall-PF-IND
　　　　'I've already fallen over.'

The position of the perfective aspect marker is an indicator of the incorporated status of some post-verbal objects, as will be discussed in section 13. The complete cessation of an activity voluntarily may be indicated with a serial verb construction using *pase*, as described in section 13.2, or the completeness suffix *-kia(wi)*, described in section 11.1.

9.6 DIRECTION

Although not a major part of the language, direction to or from the speaker may be specified by means of the suffix *-mo* 'hither' on the verb. This suffix involves a change of the verb to set III for choice of subject prefixes, and itself appears before any aspectual marking, but following any object suffixes, applicatives, or incorporated objects.

(83)　　*Ane-pa-yave*　　　　　　*ya-te-na-wi-mo-ta-o …*
　　　　crocodile-big.ATTR-DEF　　3SG-approach-APPL-1SG.OBJ-hither-PF-IND
　　　　'The big crocodile had already approached up towards me …'

In this example the use of the applicative is somewhat redundant, since *yatemo* already specifies that the action took place towards the speaker, but the choice to code the speaker as the object of the verb makes the story more exciting. Something less dangerous would be less likely to evoke an applicative coding:

(84)　　*E-mamieke*　　*ya-sayo-mo.*
　　　　1SG-daughter　3SG-run-hither
　　　　'My daughter came running up (to me).'

Although this suffix is an option on most motion verbs, it is used sparingly.

9.7 NEGATION

Negation of verbal (or non-verbal) clauses is expressed with *metin-do* 'not-IND' following the proposition negated. Negation always appears VP-final in verbal clauses, as can be seen in the second example following:

(85)　　*Iwi*　　*kuru*　　　　*metin-do.*
　　　　1SG　　teacher　　　NEG-IND
　　　　'I'm not a teacher.'

(86)　　*E-tire*　　　*e=mena*　　*metin-do.*
　　　　1SG-see　　1SG=dog　　NEG-IND
　　　　'I can't see my dog.'

Adjectives function identically to verbs in terms of predicate negation; an attributive adjective may not be negated (such as 'the person who isn't tall'), though a relative clause with a verb may show negation (see section 7.4.1).

9.8 SEQUENTIAL ACTION

When a verb is used in a narration, it may be followed by *-va* or *-ka*, which indicates that the action is part of a sequence of events. This does not have any switch-reference function, and serves merely to show that this is not the end of the discussion. the difference between the two suffixes is not yet known. The *-va* suffix is also frequently found on questions, probably implying that an answer is required; see section 14.3 for examples of this, and the text at the end for examples of the normal sequential use.

10. Valency increasing

There are not many means of increasing the valency of a clause in Warembori. Applicatives are the most productive means of increasing the number of arguments in a clause, though there are also a variety of strategies for causativisation.

10.1 APPLICATIVES

As mentioned earlier in sections 3.1 and 7.4.3, the use of applicatives is particularly abundant in Warembori, they being the preferred structure in which to introduce an argument that is not part of the argument structure of the verb. Although there are prepositional alternatives to all applicative structures, the applicative is a less marked coding mechanism that might be thought from a cross-linguistic perspective, and is perhaps better thought of as the neutral strategy.

   [a little introduction to the topic, in general terms]

The applicative may be used to present information about the source of an experience as in the following sentences, which show how the source of fear can be mentioned as the object of the applied verb:

(87)   *(Iwi)   avore.*
       1SG   scared
       'I'm scared.'

(88)   *Iwi   avori-na   ane.*
       1SG   scared-APPL   crocodile
       'I'm afraid of crocodiles.'

In the above sentence the applicative *-na* marks the cause of the fear; the same applicative suffix can be used to mark the object as any one of a variety of semantic roles. Compare the source applicative with *avore* with the following sentences, in which applicatives are found marking direction, instrument, and source, with different applicative markers:

(89)   *Ami   am-bu-na   Teba.*
       1PL.EX   1PL.EX-go.by.water-APPL   Teba
       'We went to Teba.'

(90)   *E-keoi-na   anta   ina   kee-ro.*
       1SG-fish-APPL   fish   INSTR fish.hook-IND
       'I fish for fish with a fish-hook.'

       (literally, 'I fish-for fish with a fish hook.'; the verb *keoi* is otherwise
        intransitive)

(91) *Manivovi-ti   ame-ra-ta   Putampai.*
      friend-PL   1PL.EX-go-APPL   Bagusa
      'My friend and I went to Bagusa.'

(92) *E-ra-mo-tane   Teba.*
      1SG-go-hither-APPL   Teba
      'I came from Teba.'

The different applicative suffixes show different ranges of meaning, but the verbs are also somewhat idiosyncratic in terms of the suffixes that may attach to them. In most cases, the verb form is paraphrasable with the most general applicative -*na*, which also covers the widest range of semantic roles.

[always useful to note how productive, or how idiosyncratic, a morpheme or set of morphemes is. You should mention the unproductive ones too, if they form a big enough set, and they should get a good coding in your lexicon to help to make that as accessible as possible, but their existence needs to come out here as well]

The use of an applicative construction allows an argument to appear in the pre-clausal emphatic position. Compare the applicative and non-applicative versions of the same (semantically, though not pragmatically) sentence:

(93) *Iwi   o(n)-na   karapesa.*
      1SG   sit-APPL   chair
      'I sat on the chair.'

(94) *Iwi   on-do   nana   karapesa.*
      1SG   sit-IND   OBL   chair
      'I sat on a chair.'

Given the applicative suffix on the verb, the chair, treated as the object of the verb, may appear pre-clausally, though it then require the preposition; without the applicative suffix, this is not allowed.

(95) *Nana   karapesa   iwi   o(n)-na.*
      OBL   chair   1SG   sit-APPL
      'I sat on a chair.'

(96) * *Nana   karapesa   iwi   on-do.*
      OBL   chair   1SG   sit-IND
      'I sat on a chair.'

It is not possible to have two applicative morphemes referring to the same semantic role (one for clarificatory purposes)

(97) * *A-rapen-na-wi-ta   wa-ro.*
      2SG-fall-APPL-2SG-APPL canoe-IND
      'You fell on that canoe.'

[here's that principle of mentioning what isn't possible as well as simply what is possible. If you know that something isn't allowed, and it's tied in to something that is allowed, then tell us about it]

It is possible for the applied object to be mentioned only by means of object suffixes, attached to the applicative marker. This does not interfere with the ability of the base object to appear marked with object suffixes on the verb.

(98) *E-to-mena-una   bava-ro.*
      1SG-throw-dog-APPL stone-IND
      'I throw stones at dogs.'

(99) *E-per-i-ta-e.*
      1SG-throw-3SG-APPL-3SG
      'I threw it into it.' (ie., a fish into the water)

10.2 CAUSATION

There are several different morphosyntactic means of expressing causation in Warembori, some involving a morphological strategy. Although some of the other strategies employed with various verbs (the choice of strategy si linked to the lexical identity of the verb) are not morphological, they shall nevertheless be discussed here in order to present the material in one area. The simplest alternations between intransitive and transitive verbs allow the same root to be used transitively as was used intransitively, as in the following pair:

[notice that here, as with applicatives, we do not need to define what terms like 'causative' mean; they can be assumed to be part of the body of knowledge of your average educated reader, and for the less-certain reader the meaning is obvious from the examples]

(100) *Mamieke-yave   matin-do.*
      girl-DEF   wash-IND
      'The girl is washing.'

(101) *Iwi   e-matin   mamieke-yave.*
      1SG   1SG-wash   girl-DEF
      'I am washing the girl.'

In these two examples the only differences between the form of the verb in the two cases is due to the presence or absence of an object in the clause, and is the same alternation that can be observed with canonically transitive verbs in similar contexts. It is not, therefore, part of a process of derivation of a transitive verb from an intransitive one. Other verbs displaying this pattern include *dipi(o)* 'boil', *bei-o* 'hang', *akiri* 'turn over'.

The next pattern encountered involves an overt intransitivisation prefix on the verb. In these cases the transitive verb is prefixed with *a-*, which takes the place of subject prefixes, to form an intransitive equivalent. This is seen with *kuni* 'burn'.

(102) *Ayo-ave   a-kuni-o.*
      wood-DEF   INTR-burn-IND
      'The wood is burning.'

(103) *Iwi   i-kune   ayo.*
      1SG   1SG-burn wood
      'I am burning wood.'

The same pattern, but with a *ke-* intransitivising prefix, is found with *kepasi* 'be open' / *pase* 'open (tr)'. The majority pattern for causative alternations is for them to be expressed periphrastically. With nonagentive verbs, the normal way of indicating this is with the verb *bane* 'make'. Its use can be seen by comparing the following two sentences; the lexical root is the same, and only the obligatory presence of the periphrastic causative makes the sentence transitive.

(104) *(Iwi)   avore.*
      1SG   scared.INTR
      'I'm scared.'

(105)   *Ane   ban-ewi   avori.*
        crocodile   make-1SG   scared-TR
        'Crocodiles scare me.'

This same verb is sometimes found with an effector to express that something afflicts the experiencer. This is discussed in section 12.3. Other verbs that behave like *avore* include *dore* 'angry', and *ande* 'laugh', though this last may also appear in a serial verb construction with the noun *yawi* 'humour, funniness' as the object of the verb *banavi* 'behave (humorously)', and then the laughter mentioned. Both options are shown below.

(106)   *E-vanavi   yawi   w-ande-o.*   *E-van-i   y-ande-o*
        1SG-behave   humour   2SG-laugh-IND   1SG-make-3SG   3SG-laugh-IND
        'I acted funnily, so you laughed.'   'I made her laugh.'

> [if the same morpheme serves several functions, always make sure you refer
> back and forth to the different references, or at least include mention of this in
> the introduction]

In other cases there is lexical suppletion, with separate words showing the transitive and intransitive uses. It may still require the use of one of the periphrastic causatives to be grammatical:

(107)   *E-rapen-do.*
        1SG-fall-IND
        'I fell.'

(108)   *E-vua   buave   nuam-bo-ro.*
        1SG-cause   drop.TR   coconut-fruit-IND
        'I dropped the coconut.'

A sentence such as * *Evua dapendo nuamboro*, with the intransitive *dapendo* appearing in the clause with *bua*, is not acceptable. Other cases of lexical suppletion do not require the use of *bua* with the transitive member, and include *pere-* 'die', *muni* 'kill', and *mamari-o* 'straight', *siotere-yo* 'straighten'; examples of the use of *bua* without lexical suppletion in the base verb can be found in most transitive verbs, and especially *ore* 'give'.

> [it might be that I'm going into a little too much detail here, but this something
> that I'm quite interested in, after all; and it is something other people are paying
> a lot of attention to as well, so it makes the sketch more valuable if you can say
> something in detail about this sort of alternation. Or any sort of thing, really;
> details are GOOD!]

With some nonagentive verbs, and all agentive verbs (even though employing other strategies), the ditransitive verb *ore* is often used to show causation, just as in many non-standard varieties of Malay (for example, Irian Malay *Sa=su-kas-tidur de* 1SG-PERF-give/CAUS-sleep 3SG for the sentence below):

(109)   *W-or-i   i-nan-do.*
        2SG-give-3SG 3SG-sleep -IND
        'You put her to sleep.'

Other verbs following this pattern include *on-do* 'sit down', *an* 'eat', tire 'see'. It is interesting to note that, in the case of *ore tire* 'show', at least, the (base transitive) causative predicate behaves as if it were a ditransitive verb, allowing both the base object and the causee to be marked as objects of the base predicate.

(110)   *W-ore   e-tire-oro-vo-yav(e)-eo.*
        2SG-give   1SG-see-sun-fruit-DEF-1SG.OBJ
        'Show me your watch.'

(glossing literally, 'You-give=[I-see-the watch]-me')

It is not possible to use *ore* as a causativiser when the main verb of the sentence is also *ore*; in this case, an alternative strategy must be employed, using *bua*. This can be seen in the following pair. The first shows a regular ditransitive sentence, and the second this same sentence with a causative agent added through the use of *bua*.

(111) *Ore   nuam-bo   kombe inai.*
     give   coconut-fruit DAT   mother
     'I gave a coconut to mum.'

(112) *Bua-awi   ore   nuam-bo   kombe inai.*
     make-1SG give   coconut-fruit DAT   mother
     'She made me give a coconut to mum.'

10.3 EXTERNAL POSSESSION

External possession (EP) is not a derivational process in that there is not any morphology added to the verb, but it is nevertheless a process which can change the number of apparently core arguments in the clause, and does involve morphosyntactic effects in the sentence, and so is included here. EP can apply to the objects of any verb, provided they are objects that are classified as inalienably possessed in Warembori (see section 8.2). Given this prerequisite, the semantic role of the possessum is not an important factor. The examples below show a patient and experiencer object with EP, and the ungrammaticality of EP with intransitive verbs, even ones with affected subjects.

[this one does get some definition because it is a more recent terms, for something that is also referred to in the literature as possessor raising, possessor ascension, dative-of-interest, and a couple of other names as well. I like this name best, but it then falls to me to make sure the reader knows what I mean by it. With something like 'causative', however, there's no popular alternative, so I can assume it as a given]

(113) *Mena pa'm-eo   e=mamieke.*
     dog   bite-1SG   1SG=girl
     'The dog bit my daughter.'

(114) *E-mera-kiaw-awi   awi   a=make-na-o.*
     1SG-meet-COMP-2SG 2SG   2SG=boy-PL-IND
     'I met your sons.'

(115) *E=nue   bosan-do.*   * *E=nue   e-vosan-do.*
     1SG-body sick-IND   1SG-body   1SG-sick-IND
     'I am sick.' (literally, 'My body is sick.')

Notice how in the sentences above the possessive marking on the object must be retained even when the possessor controls the object suffix on the verb.

Importantly, EP is (almost) never compulsory in Warembori; it is present as an option to the non-EP variant of a sentence, and is used to express a greater degree of attention of the consequences of the predicate on then possessor, and implies a stronger degree of (negative) affectedness. This can be seen by the fact that, with EP indicated on the verb, the possessor may appear in the emphatic pre-clausal position, which it may not otherwise do (unless it is also the subject). Additionally, some verbs of pain require external possession (see 12.5). In the sentences below the first tow show the presence or absence of EP in the clause, and the second two contrast the grammaticality of *Iwi* sentence-initially with the two variants.

(116)   *Mena-ro   pa'me e-ma-ro.*
       dog-IND   bite   1SG-heel-IND
       'A dog bit my heel.'   (but it wasn't serious)

(117)   *Mena-ro   pa'm-eo   e-ma-ro.*
       dog-IND   bite-1SG   1SG-heel-IND
       'A dog bit me on the heel.'   (poor me; it hurt me a lot)

(118) * *Iwi   mena-ro   pa'me e-ma-ro.*
       1SG   dog-IND   bite   1SG-heel-IND
       'As for me, a dog bit my heel.'

(119)   *Iwi,   mena-ro   pa'm-eo   e-ma-ro.*
       1SG   dog-IND   bite-1SG   1SG-heel-IND
       'Well me, a dog bit me on the heel.'

Another point of note is that external possession is not dependant on the construal of adverse affectedness on the part of the possessor; notice how in the example below external possession is allowed, even though there is no adverse result of the predicate:

(120)   *Waroporan-eo   e-make-ni.*
       help-1SG   1SG-boy-this
       'She helped this boy of mine.'

This is in contrast to other languages which require overt, often adverse results from the verbal predicate that displays the external possession (see Donohue 1999 for a discussion of the necessary conditions that underlie external possession constructions).

The pragmatic factors associated with external possession in Warembori work to ensure that a greater than average number of sentences occur with an NP representing the possessor in the pre-clausal position, as in the following example:

(121)   *Iwi   tir-eo   e-rimun-do,   dave   i-sai-yo.*
       1SG   see-1SG   1SG-head-IND and.then   3SG-run.away-IND
       'Well, it saw my head and so ran off.'

As the earlier examples show, this is not a requirement, but simply a coincidental artefact of the same pragmatic function being served by two separate aspects of the language's morphosyntax.

11. Serial verbs and complex predicates

Serial verbs constructions (SVCs) play a role in the grammar of Warembori, though not nearly as much as is found in other Papuan languages, due to the availability of other strategies (oblique case marking, applicative constructions) for encoding arguments that are not subcategorised-for by the main verb.

> [this explanation is only really relevant because of the perception that Papuan languages are such serial-verb using beasts, and that isn't the case in Warembori]

11.1 CONTIGUOUS SERIALISATION

This is not a frequent strategy in Warembori, where complex predicates are usually expressed with sets of independently inflecting verbs, which may often be separated by the object of one verb, or an adverbial modifier, in between the two (inflected) verbs.

With *pasi* 'all', however, we see some constructions in which, if it is treated as a verbal predicate, it must be serialised contiguously with the main predicate; this is described in 11.3.

With other verbs, the use of a contiguous serial verb construction is only rarely found, and then in arguably lexicalised formulae, such as

(122) *Ke-rava-rave   Warembori.*
  1PL.IN-cross-cut   Warembori
  'We crossed (the river at the area of) Warembori village.'

In this example the verb *ravayo* 'cross (a river)' requires the verb *raveyo* 'cut off' to co-occur with it; it may not be used with an object without the serial verb construction.

The use of *pase* 'finish' and *kia* 'completive (COMP)' as aspectual serialisation constructions are the only other use of contiguous serialisation. These two appear before the perfective marker, if it is present.

(123) *Make-yave   matim-pase-ta-o   nana   ipa-yave.*
  boy-DEF   wash-finish-PF-IND   OBL   river-DEF
  'The boy has finished washing in the river.'

As in the example above, a verb serialised with *pase* must also include the perfective aspect suffix *-ta*. The use of *pase* without the perfective *-ta* is ungrammatical, as in the following example.

(124) * *Make-yave   matim-pase-o   nana   ipa-yave.*
  boy-DEF   wash-finish-IND   OBL   river-DEF

The only other frequent serialisation strategy involves quantifiers, and is discussed in section 11.3.

11.2 NON-CONTIGUOUS SERIALISATION

This is a rarely encountered construction in Warembori, and in most cases can best be interpreted as independent clauses with null conjunctions, describing an event or situation independently. The only non-contiguous serialisation construction that cannot be interpreted in this way is serialisation involving a quantifier, which is discussed in the section following.

11.3 SERIALISATION WITH A QUANTIFIER

When the quantifier *pasi* 'all' appears in the sentence, the interpretation of its scope is revealing. With non-contiguous serialisation we find that it is interpreted as having scope over the immediately preceding NP, as in the following examples:

(125) *E=manivovi   ti-pasi   ta-piti   Putampa.*
  1SG=friend   3PL-all   3PL-shoot Bagusa
  'All of my friends shot the Bagusa.'

(126) *E=manivovi   ta-piti   Putampa   ti-pasi.*
  1SG=friend   3PL-shoot Bagusa   3PL-all
  'My friends shot all of the Bagusa.'

When it is found in a contiguous SVC with the main verb of the clause, the interpretation is unambiguous: it can only refer to the object of a transitive clause, or the subject of an intransitive one.

(127) *Ka-ra-pasi   ta   bunupune.*
  1PL.IN-go-all ALL   village
  'We all went to the village.'

  * 'We went to all the villages.'

  * *Kapasi kara ta bunupune*, * *Kara ta bunupune kapasi.*

(128)   *E=manivovi   ta-piti-pasi   Putampa.*
        1SG=friend   3PL-shoot-all   Bagusa
        'My friends shot all of the Bagusa.'

        * 'All of my friends shot the Bagusa.'

Although this is only a small part of the grammar, it is nevertheless clear that this is an ergative-absolutive pattern: the contiguously serialised quantifier can only have scope over an S or O argument, never an A or oblique one.

11.4 VALENCY REDUCTION

The only morphological means of monitoring a reduction in valency is the final vowel of the verb. As has been noted, a verb normally appears with *-e* as the final vowel, unless it is suffixed for an object, or appears with an indicative marker. When a verb is used with an indicative suffix directly, this final vowel is *-i* (or *-y*, if following a vowel).

The following sections give examples of morphological means of reducing the number of different arguments that may appear on a verb, though in both cases the verb is still marked for both subject and object.

11.4.1 Reflexives and emphatic subject

A reflexive action in Warembori is expressed through the use of the suffix *-taa(r)* on the verb, and the presence of object suffixes that are coreferential with the subject prefix, as in

(129)   *E-teme-taar-ewi.*
        1SG-chop-REFL-1SG
        'I chopped myself.'

With plural subjects, however, the use of *-taa(r)* is optional, and indeed less usual. It is common to simply having a verb with coreferent subject and object agreement.

(130)   *Ame-tem(e)-ame-na   pamarsa.*
        1PL.EX-chop-1PL.EX-APPL   knife
        'We chopped ourselves with knives.'

   [note all variation found; it's not enough to give just one listing, unless the forms for the rest of a paradigm (here, reciprocals) are completely regular]

The same reflexive morpheme, suffixed with an object agreement marker, may be used outside the verb to indicate an emphatically identified subject, as in

(131)   *Taake   te-ra   Tamakuri.*
        3PL.EMPH   3PL-go   Tamakuri
        'They themselves went to Tamakuri.'

        (Note that the 3PL agreement marker is *-ke*/*-ki*, not the usual *-ti*; this is regular for
        the *-taa(r)* morpheme in all positions, including when suffixed to another verb
        root, though *-ke*/*-ki* does not appear as a 3PL marker with other verbs)

This morpheme may also be found in emphatic possession, occurring with and before the normal possessive construction. An example of this can be seen in

(132)   *E-rovara-na   taare   e-vo-ro   "Metin-do!"*
        1SG-say-APPL   1SG.EMPH   1SG-mouth-IND   no-IND
        'I said "No!" with my own mouth.' (ie., on my own)

11.4.2 Reciprocals

Reciprocal actions are shown by the use of the morpheme *runee* 'reciprocal' in the verb, and the use of coreferential subject and object affixes on the verb; because of this, in a sense the verb does appear to be behaving as an intransitive verb. It should be kept in mind that the expression of undergoers in some intransitive verbs is not always carried out solely by means of the subject prefixes, and so the appearance of object suffixes on the verb forms does not preclude their being thought of as intransitive (or at least monovalent) predicates.

(133) *Ame-piti-runee-mo.*
1PL.EX-shoot-RECIP-1PL.EX
'We shot (at) each other.'

(134) *Yan   tu   Adam te-temai-runee-to   nana   parevo.*
Yan   and   Adam 3PL-cut-RECIP-3PL   INSTR machete
'Yan and Adam cut each other with machetes.'

Unlike the reflexives, the reciprocal meaning cannot be achieved without the suffix *-runee*. Notice that the reciprocal and reflexive constructions do share in common the fact that they both doubly mark their participants, with both subject prefixes and object suffixes, but apart form that use different morphology.

12. Undergoer in intransitive verbs

In addition to the basic verbal morphosyntax presented in sections 3.3 and 9, it is worthwhile to examine the means of marking the role of the undergoer in a variety of non-agentive, affective intransitive verbs (or, unaccusatives). There is a range of coding options available to the undergoer in these clauses, and these options are described below.

> [these are all minority patterns in Warembori, but even when you have them, if they're typologically unusual, then they deserve mention, albeit briefly. remember, the aim of the grammar sketch is to summarise the kinds of variation you encounter, even if there's a more 'normal' way to express something. This section became quite big only because there was quite a lot to say about this in Warembori, not because it's a thing that inherently requires a lot of talk]

12.1 CROSS-LINGUISTIC VIEW: THE OPTIONS

Undergoer subjects of intransitive verbs show interesting behaviour cross-linguistically, and in the New Guinea area often display behaviour that makes the identification of the grammatical functions in the clause more complicated than with simple transitive verbs. In addition to the simple choice of treating all the arguments of monovalent verbs the same, many languages show one or more splits in the treatment of intransitives. Frequently the undergoer of an experiencer predicate (be hungry, be sick, be tired) is expressed as the object of either a light verb (hunger does/strikes me), or a contentful verb with a pleonastic subject ((it) sickens me, (it) tires me). In these cases the apparent object of the verb (to judge by the morphological coding) is treated as the grammatical subject, rather than the external force or pleonastic affix, and this can be seen through the forms of switch reference morphology used with these verbs in context.

> [not strictly necessary, but for the non-specialist audience it's nice to give some areal context to the discussion]

12.2 THE 'WELL-BEHAVED' VERBS

Most experiencer/undergoer verbs appear with the normal range of subject prefixes indexing the person and number of the subject, as in the verbs below (both set IV), which, despite the fact that there is no control on the subject's part, still use prefixes to index the subject.

(135) *E-vuvio.*   *E-mamate.*
       1SG-cough   1SG-sneeze
       'I coughed.'   'I sneezed.'

It might be worth noting that these verbs are all highly punctual ones, without strong adverse effects on the experiencer. Other verbs like these include kandera 'physically tired',

12.3 EXTERNAL FORCE VERBS

> *[I'm making up the terms as I go along; crucially, I'm also explaining them as I go along, so that shouldn't be a problem for attentive readers]*

In addition to the verbs described in 12.2, we also find a range of derivational possibilities for some kinds of external objects affecting the speaker. Events which can be expressed with an experiencer subject in English find the experiencer expressed as the object in Warembori, and the effector either used as the base for a verbal derivation, or an overt cognate subject.

(136) *Ka-'bo-tu-e-o.*
       sago-thorn-affect-1SG-IND
       'I cut myself on a sago thorn.'

Other nouns that can occur with *tu* 'affect' include *wando-ayo* 'mangrove wood'. These may also be expressed as the non-incorporated subjects of *to-tene* 'stab-APPL'.

(137) *Wando-ayo-ro*   *to-tene*   *e-mani,*   *tivi-o.*
       mangrove-wood-IND   stab.at-APPL   1SG-lower.leg   break.off-IND
       'The mangrove tree stabbed at my leg, and broke off inside.'

The noun *dororo* 'rain' may also be found with *tu*, though it more naturally occurs with *pai*, 'affect', which requires the use of an applicative to indicate its object.

(138) *Doro-pai-tan-e-o.*
       rain-affect-APPL-1SG-IND
       'I got soaked in the rain.'

An alternative means of expressing the experiencer as the object of the verb is found with *bane* 'make' and *koma* 'enter', which have restricted use with inanimate stimuli, as seen in the following examples.

(139) *Mongge-na*   *ban-eo.*
       snot-PL   make-1SG
       '(My nose) is running with snot.'

(140) *Wame*   *koma-na-ne-o.*
       cold   enter-APPL-1SG-IND
       'I've got a cold.'

12.4 DOUBLE-MARKED VERBS

Some verbs have been recorded with co-referential subject and object affixes. These are the verbs *nsora* 'be full (of food), be satisfied (from eating)' (set II) (Malay *kenyang*), *baitumban* 'be tired, sleepy' and *'busunan* 'be itchy' (both set V). These verbs must appear with both subject and object affixes, which must index the same person and number combination.

(141) *Ka-nsora-ko.*
       1PL.IN-full-1PL.IN
       'We're full.'

(142) *A-vaitumban-eo.*
       1SG-tired-1SG
       'I'm tired.'

(143) *A-busunan-ao.*
       2SG-itchy-2SG
       'You're itchy.'

The used of these verb with just the subject, or just the object, agreement markers is not grammatical:

(144) * *Baitumban-ao.*
        tired-2SG
        'You're tired.'

(145) * *Ya-vaitumban.*
        3SG-tired
        'S/he's tired.'

With *'busunan* it might appear that the third person singular allows only object affixes, as in the following grammatical example of this putatively double-marking verb:

(146) *'Busunan-i-o.*
       tired-3SG-IND
       'S/he's tired.'

This is, however, merely a reflection of the fact that this verb belongs to set V, which has no form for the third person singular (see section 9.1).

Although these are the only verbs that require coreferential subject and object agreement markers, this pattern is also found in verbs with reflexive and reciprocal morphology, as described in section 11.4.1 and 11.4.2.

> [always nice to make it easy for readers to pull strands of any similar morphosyntactic patterns together. Remember, they might be interested in, or spot, something that you weren't, or didn't]

12.5 BODY PART EXPERIENCER

A particular set of pain verbs necessarily take a particular body part as the subject, and the experiencer/possessor may be expressed only by means of possessive prefixes on the body part. These are thus obligatory external possession verbs (see section 10.3)

(147) *E-rumun   bosan-do.*
       1SG-head sick-IND
       'I have a headache.'

Other verbs that behave like this include *bovana-o* 'dizzy', which requires its subject to be *ba-na* 'eyes', and *nivitia* or *bosan-do* 'sick', which require *nue* 'body' as the subject (*nivitia* may only occur with *nue*; *bosando* may occur with the specific names of parts of the trunk, but not of the limbs). The possessive marking on the cognate subject nouns gives the identity of the experiencer of the effect.

13. Incorporation

Nominal incorporation is a phenomenon found in many languages filling a range of different functions (see, for example, Mithun 1984). Warembori is unusual in that it presents two clear examples of incorporation constructions which differ in the order that they present with respect to the verb, one denoting purely habitual actions with non-referential nominals showing incorporation, and the other with clearly referential nominals.

13.1 HABITUAL INCORPORATION

Certain verbs that require the presence of a particular noun in order to be accomplished may incorporate that noun. If this is done, the noun appears in between the subject prefix and the verb root. The incorporated nominal may be the theme, or the instrument, of the verb, as in these following examples:

(148)   *E-pue-kambi.*
        1SG-pig-hunt
        'I hunt for pigs.' / 'I (go) pig-hunting.'

Intransitive verbs with affected undergoers, which are normally coded as subjects, can also display habitual incorporation, as in the following examples, the first showing a non-incorporated subject, the second showing one which has been incorporated into the verb (and which is necessarily non-referential, shown by the ungrammatically of a determiner on the noun; adding *-ni* to *nu* in the incorporated version is not acceptable * *Nunipereyo*; the same restrictions apply to incorporated objects: * *Epueyavekambi*).

[*nice to give contrastive pairs for these sort of examples, with and without*]

(149)   *Nu-ni   pereyo.*
        person-this   die
        'This person is dying.'

(150)   *Nu-pereyo.*
        person-die
        'People die.'

Notice that in the case of intransitive incorporation, there is no subject prefix on the verb. In the above example *pereyo* is a verb that has zero affixation for third person singular subjects, but does take overt marking for third person plural. A form such as * *ti-nu-pereyo*, with both subject prefixes and an incorporated nominal, is ungrammatical.

Preverbal incorporation of this sort is the only way for the subjects of the existential verbs *ma* 'exist' and *dapaa* 'not exist' to be expressed:

[*There could be a better place to introduce this, perhaps, and I should certainly refer to this here, but those existential verbs are tricky to deal with. Make sure you do somewhere*]

(151)   *Wa-rapaa-ro.*
        canoe-not.exist-IND
        'There aren't any canoes left.'

(152) * *Wa-na   rapaa-ro.*
        canoe-PL   not.exist-IND
        'There aren't any canoes left.'

The following example shows an applicative used with the positive existential verb:

(153) *Dan-ma-ka   kamarmandi.*
     water-exist-APPL   bathroom
     'There water in the bathroom.'

     (*kamarmandi* is a loan from Indonesian *kamar mandi* 'washing room'; it is now
     the usual way to refer to the shack at the end of the house platforms at the back of
     Warembori houses, which is *damati emerao* in traditional Warembori)

Again, an alternative without incorporation, something like * *Dando ma na kamarmandi*, is
not grammatical.

13.2 POST-VERBAL INCORPORATION

Postverbal incorporation can take referential nouns, even ones compounded with adjectives or
suffixed with deictics, and incorporate them. The incorporation can be demonstrated by the
appearance of object suffixes or applicatives following the incorporated nominal, and the
phonological interaction with the verb root. A simple example of this is the following example,
which contrasts the incorporated and non-incorporated versions of the same sentence. The
primary difference in the case of the following two is intonational, the first being pronounced as
one phonological word, the second as two separate words.

(154) *E-mune-mena-ro.*   [ɛ'muneˌmenaˌro] *E-mune   mena-ro.* [ɛ'munemeˈnaro]
     1SG-kill-dog-IND   1SG-kill   dog-IND
     'I killed a dog.'

The difference between preverbal and postverbal incorporation can be seen in the following
sentence, to be compared with the first sentence of 13.1:

(155) *Ki-kambi-pue-ro.*
     1PL.IN-hunt-pig-IND
     'We're off hunting pigs.'

Unlike the example of preverbal incorporation, which is unspecified for tense and aspect,
and is most likely to be interpreted as habitual, the post-verbal incorporation seen above can be
marked for a specific aspect (it is acceptable to add the perfective *-ta*: *Kikambipuetao*), and
unlike the preverbal incorporations may have a modified nominal, or even an inherently non-
generic nominal, such as a question word. The ungrammatical modification of a preverbally
incorporated nominal, and the grammatical use of an adjective on a post-verbal incorporated
nominal, can be seen in the examples below.

(156) * *E-pue-pa-kambi.*   *Ki-kambi-pue-pa-o*
     1SG-pig-big-hunt   1PL.IN-hunt-pig-big.ATTR-IND
     'I hunt big pigs.'   'We're off hunting big pigs.'

Examples of post-verbal incorporation of nominals with demonstrative suffixes, possessive
prefixes, and with question words, are shown below.

(157) *Ma-piti-pue-na-ni-o!*
     2PL-shoot-pig-PL-this-IND
     'You lot have been shooting these pigs!'

(158) *Ti-ban-[e-me]-ta-o.*
     3PL-make-[1SG-house]-PF-IND
     'They've finished making my house.'

(159) *Suan   y-am-baisa-vo-ro.*
      cassowary   3SG-eat-what-fruit-IND
      'What kind of fruit do cassowaries eat?'

      (note: the cassowaries in this example must be interpreted as referring to the
       generic class of cassowaries, and not a particular group of cassowaries)

In the example below, the presence of the applicative suffix *-na* following the incorporated
nominal *bindo* 'woman' shows that the nominal has been incorporated into the verb.

(160) *Ya-reve-vindo-na   wavu-ro.*
      3SG-stare.at-women-APPL   raised.platform-IND
      'He stares at women (while sitting on) the raised platform.'

      (the *wavuro* (*parapara* in Malay) is an extension of the floor of the house out
      over the river to the toilet, providing an area in which fishing materials are kept,
      and a place to do washing and cleaning)

In the following example the assimilation of the /n/ in *an-do* 'eat' shows that *baisavoro* is
part of the same word. This is an interesting example in the presence of an interrogative as the
incorporated element means that the incorporation cannot simply refer to habitual events.

(161) *Suan   y-am-baisa-vo-ro?*
      cassowary   3SG-eat-which-fruit-IND
      'What kind of fruit does a cassowary eat?'

      (a final /n/ does not assimilate to the place of a following consonant if there is a
      word break between them: *Aman boro* 'We eat fruit', not * *Amam boro*)

*[why bother with that note? To make sure they're aware that you have thought
about the alternatives, and that you can argue for the analysis that you present]*

The position of an aspectual marker in the sentence also serves to diagnose incorporation.
The aspect appears verb-finally, but (unlike negation) not VP finally, thus showing the
difference between a VP-internal unincorporated noun, and an incorporated noun.

(162) *Te-bayane-ta-o   ane-ro.*
      3PL-search.for-PF   crocodile-IND
      'They were looking for a crocodile.'

(163) *Te-bayan-ane-ta-o.*
      3PL-search.for-crocodile-PF-IND
      'They were looking for crocodiles.'

These examples clearly demonstrate that there is an incorporated version of a postverbal
object, as well as a preverbal incorporated form.

The presence of an object suffix does not prevent a following incorporation, provided that
there is an applicative suffix to support an additional object;

(164) *E-tir-awi-na-a'nerere-ta-o.*
      1SG-see-2SG-APPL-jungle-PF-IND
      'I already saw you in the jungle.'

The same argument may not be referred to by both an incorporated nominal and an object
suffix:

*[read the literature on any sort of constructions that you are dealing with in
detail. you won't necessarily have to quote it all, but you MUST be aware of the
sorts of issues that people discuss when they talk about them. Eve if it's just to
say "Information about such and such phenomena are not known": it shows
that you're aware of the issues, even if you haven't dealt with them yet]*

(165) * *E-tir-i-ane-ro.*   *E-tir-ane-i-ro.*
      1SG-see-3SG-crocodile-IND   1SG-see-crocodile-3SG-IND
      'I saw (a) crocodile.'

The next section will describe further aspects of the behaviour of nominal incorporation with applicatives.

13.3 INCORPORATION AND APPLICATIVES

More than one instance per verb of post-verbal incorporation has been noted; when a verb has two objects, through the use of applicative suffixes on the verb stem, then the applied object may also be incorporated; that is, sentences of the form below are also grammatical:

(166)   *Pume-anta-na-make-ro.*
       cook-fish-APPL-child-IND
       '(She) cooks fish for (her) children.'

(167)   *E=mena   tiri-kiawe-pue-o-na-anerere.*
       1SG=dog   see-COMP-pig-?-APPL-jungle
       'My dog saw some pigs in the forest.'

Importantly, the second incorporated object follows the applicative, and is not contiguous with the first [V+N] unit:

(168) * *Pume-anta-make-na-ro.*
       cook-fish-child-APPL-IND

This is the same position that is found when an incorporated applicative object is found with a verb with object suffixes:

(169)   *E-tir-kiawi-awi-na-anerere-ta-o.*
       1SG-see-COMP-2SG-APPL-jungle-PF-IND
       'I really saw you in the jungle.'

This treatment is important in the disambiguation of quantifiers. Recall (section 11.3) that pasi 'all', when serialised with the main verb, can only have scope over an absolutive argument, as seen in the example below (repeated from 11.3):

(170)   *Ka-ra-pasi   ta   bunupune.*
       1PL.IN-go-all ALL   village
       'We all went to the village.'

       * 'We went to all the villages.'

When an applicative is added to the verb, *bunupune* becomes the object of the now transitive verb, and then the quantifier must be interpreted as having scope over the destinations, and not over the travellers:

(171)   *Ka-ra-pasi-ta   bunupune.*
       1PL.IN-go-all-APPL   village
       'We went to all the villages.'

       * 'We all went to the village.'

When that applied object is incorporated, however, the scop of the quantifier shifts back to the travellers:

(172) *Ka-ra-pasi-ta-bunupune.*
1PL.IN-go-all-APPL-village
'We all went to the village.'

* 'We went to all the villages.'

The next example shows a verb with a pre-verbal habitual incorporation as well as a post-verbal incorporation

(173) *Ami-mena-vo-a-suan-do.*
1SG-dog-use.in.hunting-APPL-cassowary-IND
'We use dogs to (hunt) cassowaries.'

An exceptional example of an applicative and a serial verb construction, with a further applicative, and several incorporations, is the following. Square brackets have been added to help clarify the structure.

(174) *A-wambe-mena-yave-ta-ra-na-e-me-yave.*
2SG-chase-dog-DEF-APPL-go-APPL-1SG-house-DEF
'You chased the dog to (inside) my house.'

(175) *A*-[[*wambe*-[*mena-yave*]]-*ta*]-[*ra-na*-[*e-me-yave*]].
2SG-[[chase-[dog-DEF]]-APPL]-[go-APPL-[1SG-house-DEF]]

[PHEW! Not fun to meet, I can tell you. Nice to have something like this in there to shock people, and to show that (this always needs to be emphasised to people, shouldn't, but it's still true) this is not just English with different words! So make sure you don't limit your elicitation and investigation to English-based patterns and assumptions. Extend yourself]

Here the first verb takes *-ta* to indicate the purpose of the action, which is *wambemenayave* 'chase that dog'; the purpose is indicated with a serial verb construction attached straight on to the first complex verb, and involves the verb 'go', suffixed with an applicative *-na* to show the source, and the source *emeyave* then incorporated. That *ranaemeyave* is part of the same phonological word as *awambemenayave* can be seen by the lenition of the /d/ in /da/ 'go'.

14. Complex sentences

A few varieties of more complicated constructions will be described in the following sections, to give an idea of the morphological possibilities and requirements found in more normal Warembori speech.

[this is useful. In a short sketch you won't be able to go into too much detail here, but it's a taster of the sort of things that make theoretical linguistics very excited, and so some thing of sample would be a good idea to have. It is, obviously the link between the kind of rather dry thing that a grammatical description is, and the fluid notion of discourse in a live language that is what people really deal with]

14.1 CONJUNCTION

The most common form of conjunction is simple juxtaposition of sentences, without any overt conjunction used.

The conjunction of two noun phrases can be expressed through the inclusion of one as part of the reference of a verbal agreement marker, as in

(176) *Manivovi-ti*   *ame-ra-ta*   *Putampai.*
friend-PL.HUM   1PL.EX-go-APPL   Bagusa
'My friends and I went to Bagusa.'

In this example the reference of the *ame-* prefix on the verb necessarily includes the speaker, and so only the non-speaker referents, *Manivoviti*, need be mentioned for a full description of the subject of the sentence. If a free pronoun is used, it precedes the rest of the noun phrase:

(177) *Amo   Yan   ame-temai-runee-mo.*
       1PL.EX   Yan   1PL.EX-cut-RECIP-1PL.EX
       'Yan and I cut each other.'

Only rarely are both elements of a (third person) conjoined NP mentioned in the same clause; a sentence of the form 'My friends and their fathers went' is most likely to be expressed as follows:

(178) *E=manivovi-ti   ti-ra-ta-o,   ti-ai-ti   ti-ra-ta-o.*
       1SG=friend-PL.HUM   3PL-go-PF-IND   3PL-father-PL   3PL-go-PF-IND
       'My friends went, their fathers went.'

If the two elements are mentioned, then it is with the NP-level conjunction *tu* 'and'. Pronouns may be conjoined with other nouns in this way, and if so then the verbal agreement must agree with the entire conjoined noun phrase, and not just a part of it.

(179) *Yan   tu   iwi   ame-ra-ta-o.*
       Yan   and   1SG   1PL.EX-go-PF-IND
       'Yan and I went.'

Note that with the conjunction, the pronoun normally follows the noun, whereas in simple juxtaposition of a more inclusive pronoun and a nominal representing part of it (*amo Yan*, in the example above) the pronoun necessarily precedes the noun. Conjunction of elements within an NP (such as 'old [men and women]') is not possible.

14.2 SUBORDINATION

Subordination of two clauses may appear with no overt markers, though frequently *davi* 'and then' appears when there is a temporal relationship involved. Another form of subordination can be seen in the expression of cause and results, in which the verbal suffix *-ini* (see the last line of the text in section 17.2) shows that the first clause is the reason for the result expressed in the second clause.

Relative clauses have already been dealt with in section 7.4.1, and 'want' complements are discussed in the following section.

[messily done, but at least I do refer to where the discussion is]

14.3 WANTING, THINKING

The predicate *bania* 'want' is a complement taking predicate in Warembori; it may not be used with a nominal object, but requires a full clause, as in

(180) *E-vania   e-ra-tane-Teba.*
       1SG-want   1SG-go-APPL-Teba
       'I want to go to Teba.'

As can be seen in this example, there is no possibility of omitting the subject prefixes in the subordinate clause, and so there is no separate construction required to express wanting someone else to perform the action.

(181) *Bania   w-ane.*
       want   2SG-eat
       'She wants you to eat.'

There is also no possibility of the subordinate subject ('you' in the clause above) to be expressed on *bania* with object suffixes:

(182) * *A-vania-i   y-ane*
         2SG-want-3SG   3SG-eat
         'You want her to eat.'

The expression of opinions may be done with a complement of the verbs *paingge* 'think, believe, assume' (set III), or *onu(ro)* 'be sure of' (set II). While *paingge* appears directly preceding the normal verbal complement, *onu(ro)* appears with the indicative suffix. In both cases the verbs in the complement are not marked with any special morphology, nor is there agreement between the main verb and the complement verb, as is the case with *bania* 'want'. A peculiarity of this construction, however, is that verbs in the complement inflect for subject as if they were set III verbs. Examine the following sentences using *da* 'go'; *da* is a set V verb, and in the third person singular normally appears as *da*, but here appears with the set III third person singular prefix *ya-*.

(183) *E-paingge   ya-ra-yo.*
         1SG-think   3SG-go-IND
         'I think she's gone.'

(184) *Onu-ro   ya-ra-yo.*
         be.sure-IND   3SG-go-IND
         'I'm sure she's gone.'

*This verb must be used with other verbs; it cannot function as a predicate with a nominal object: * Evania antaro 'I want a fish.' Rather, a predicate must be added: Evania worewi antaro 'I want you to give me a fish.', for instance.[there could, and really should, be a lot more about this. Other VP-taking verbs that could make an appearance include 'try to VERB', 'promise to VERB', 'forget to VERB', and 'see (someone) VERBING' They might behave the same, or they might be completely different. The last one of these is not too hard to elicit]*

14.4 COMMANDS

Commands may be reported with *pave* 'command, tell, order' (set III), which must take object suffixes that index the same argument that carries out the action. The verb that indicates the action performed takes set III subject prefixes, and a sequential suffix *-va*.

(185) *Iti   ya-pav-awi   ya-ra-va?*
         who   3SG-order-2SG   2SG-go-SEQ
         'Who told you to leave?'

An alternative verb, *wava*, with much the same meaning, may be used; this verb does not require set III subject prefixes on the verb in the complement.

(186) *E-wava   manivovi   da-ta   bunupune.*
         1SG-order friend   go-APPL   village
         'I told (my) friend to go (back) to the village.'

[there could, and really should, be a lot more about this. Other VP-taking verbs that could make an appearance include 'try to VERB', 'promise to VERB', 'forget to VERB', and 'see (someone) VERBING' They might behave the same, or they might be completely different. The last one of these is not too hard to elicit]

14.5 QUESTIONS

[this is also a pretty stripped-down version of a description of questions. Much more could go in, including more (relevant) examples]

Any element of the clause may be questioned. If it is the subject or object that is questioned, then it may appear in the pre-clausal focus position.

(187) *Iti   mun-i-o   mena-ro?*
       who   kill-3SG-IND   dog-IND
       'Who killed the dog?'

This special position is, however, not required in questions, as can be seen from the following example. In this sentences the dog is presented contrastively in the preclausal position, and the question word appears in the normal position.

(188) *Mena-ro   iti   mun-i-va?*
       dog-IND   who   kill-3SG-SEQ
       'The dog, who killed it?'

The appearance in the preclausal focus position is more normal than questioning an object in place. The verb is often marked with the sequential *-va*; the use of this morpheme adds strongly to the expectation that an answer is forthcoming. This use of the sequential in questions is not found when an object is left in place following the verb.

(189) *Iti   mun-i-o   mena-ro?*
       who   kill-3SG-IND   dog-IND
       'Who killed the dog?'

Oblique arguments appear in their normal position, and the verb is not suffixed with the sequential suffix:

(190) *Awi   w-on-na   wate?*
       2SG   2SG-sit-APPL   where
       'Where did you sit?'

(191) *E=savaku   tai isi?*
       1SG=tobacco   on where
       'Where is my tobacco?'

       (*wate* differs from *tai isi* in that the latter implies that the speaker already knows
       the answer, whereas *wate* has no such implications)

This different treatment of oblique arguments can be related to the fact that obliques cannot appear in the sentence-initial position: they may only be in that position if they are first made the applied object of the verb, and then still require a resumption of the original preposition (see section 5.1 for discussion of the fronted position).

15. Wordlist

Since there has not been any published material of the Warembori lexicon (with the exception of the brief, though accurate, 40 items in Voorhoeve 1975a), a short lexicon is provided here. The only other source of Warembori lexical material is Rumaikewi, Rumansao and Donohue (1998), and survey wordlists in the possession of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Irian Jaya branch) in Abepura, collected by Larry Jones (Bonoi village, 1987) and Min-Young Jung (Tamakuri and Warembori villages, 1988).

> [I think, for the sorts of languages that we're dealing with here, that it's important to include some lexical material. I've modelled this on the standard survey wordlist, but whatever seems appropriate is fine, as long as it does cover the basics. Don't just dump a huge lexicon file in here, remember this is a sketch , not the be-all and end-all of language description]

15.1 BASIC LEXICAL MATERIALS IN WAREMBORI

An interesting feature, one that will become apparent from perusing the following list, is the extreme degree of homophony, or, given the semantic relatedness, metaphorical extension found in Warembori. Some examples of this are

on-do 'snake', 'fire'

o-ro 'tooth', 'shark'

Other examples can be gleaned from the following wordlist. It is not known quite how wide-spread this phenomenon is, and further investigation of Warembori poetics and songs will probably reveal a rich ground for symbolism.

The following wordlist is arranged by semantic fields; in accordance with behaviour shown in elicitation, the indicative in included on the form (though separated form the root with a hyphen), and verbs are quoted without subject agreement prefixes. Inalienably possessed nouns are given with the 1PL.IN possessive prefix *ke-*. The transcription has followed the rest of this grammar sketch, with the lenited forms of stops shown as *r* and *v* where appropriate, and the symbols *b* and *d* serving a dual function, depending on the position of the symbol in the word. See section 2.5 for further details.

[this will be a list of basic vocabulary items, arranged by semantic fields (body parts, kin terms, animals, plants, natural world, material culture, spatial orientation, colours, numbers, properties, verbs, you know the deal. If this is the first material to appear on the language, it's polite to give a wordlist as well, to let people know what the words look like, and to appeal to the historical linguists out there]

The abbreviations used in the section on kin terms follow normal anthropological usage: C child, D daughter, e elder, F father, H husband, M mother, P parent, S son, Si sibling, Sp spouse, W wife, y younger, Z sister. These apply to the following term, so that the gloss CSpZ for *mamiekero* indicates that the term can be used for a child's spouse's sister. Brackets show that the term is optional (*binimando* may be used for either a daughter's husband, or a grand daughter's husband), and an asterisk outside the brackets indicates that the term inside the brackets is iterative: *puavoro* may be used for a grandchild, or any descendants of a grandchild.

[maybe this isn't necessary, this list of kin term abbreviations, but it's very handy for the reader who doesn't know what they stand for]

A - Body parts

1.	Head	ke-rimun-do
2.	Hair	ke-vuran-do
3.	Eye	ke-va-ro
4.	Ear	ke-raran-do
5.	Nose	ke-na-ro
6.	Mouth	ke-vo-ro
7.	Lip	ke-vo-kue-ro
8.	Tooth	ke-vo-o-ro
9.	Tongue	ke-vo-ro-ro,
		ke-peren-do
10.	Arm	ke-vera-ro
11.	Elbow	ke-vera-'bua-ro
12.	Finger	ke-vera-kumbu-ro
13.	Fingernail	ke-vera-kivi-ro
14.	Breast	ke-tutu-ro
15.	Back	ke-bonggombo-ro
15.	Stomach	ke-waro-ro
16.	Liver	ke-tena-ro
17.	Leg	k-epi-ro
18.	Knee	ke-vua-ro
19.	Body hair	ke-vun-do
20.	Skin	ke-kue-ro
21.	Blood	ke-ra-ro
22.	Bone	ke-kombo-ro

23.	Flesh	ke-min-do
24.	Urine	mimi-ro
25.	Faeces	kova-ro
26.	Person, body	nu-ro

B - Human and kinterms

1.	Man	man-do
2.	Woman	bin-do
3.	H	e-man-do
4.	W	e-vin-do
5.	M	nai
6.	F	ai
7.	SpM	ino-vin-i
8.	SpF	ino-man-i
9.	S, (P)SiC(S), CSpB	make-ro
10.	D, SiD, CSpZ	mamieke-ro
11.	Firstborn S	mapito
12.	Firstborn D	mamiepito
13.	Middle C	nin-do
14.	Lastborn	mateta
15.	twins	pamasa-ro
16.	twins, DD	mamiemamasa
17.	twins, SS	mamamasa
18.	(C)DH	bini-man-do
19.	(C)SW	bini-vin-do
20.	CSpP	'barate-ro
21.	eZ, (P)*PeSiD	totai
22.	eB, (P)*PeSiS	tei
23.	yZ	bimbuate
24.	yB	mambuate
25.	SiSp, SpSi	amai
26.	MB, PZH	bavi
27.	MeZ	naipai
28.	MyZ	naimake
29.	FeB, FFeBS	aipai
30.	FyB, FFyBS	manggai
31.	FZ	amo
32.	PP, PPSi	mopi

33.	(C)SpPP	ipui
34.	CC	puma
35.	CC(C)*	puavo-ro
36.	Friend	manivovi-ro

C - Pronouns

1.	I	iwi
2.	You	awi
3.	He/she	yi
4.	We (EXCL)	ami
5.	We (INCL)	ki
6.	You (PL)	mi
7.	They	ti
8.	We (DU.EXCL)	amui
9.	We (DU.INCL)	kui
10.	You (DU)	mui
11.	They (DU)	tui

D - Animals

1.	Bird	mani-ro
2.	Wing	bapan-do
3.	Egg	man(i)-indowa-ro
4.	Rat	koya-ro
5.	Dog	mena-ro
6.	Tail	keere-ro
7.	Pig	pue-ro
8.	Fish	anta-ro
9.	Prawn	timativa-ro
10.	Crab	daa-ro
11.	Snake	on-do
12.	Goanna	anam rota-ro
13.	Gecko	paka-ro
14.	Worm	katete-ro
15.	Mosquito	ini-ro
16.	Louse	ki-ro
17.	Leech	kavatun-do
18.	Crocodile	ane-ro
19.	Cassowary	suan-do
20.	Cuscus	maya-ro

21.	Fly	namamba-ro
22.	Hornbill	waman-do
23.	Cockatoo	kao-ro

E - Plants

1.	Tree	ayo-ro
2.	Bark	a
3.	Leaf	andan-do
4.	Thorn	'bo-ro
5.	Seed	kanda-ro
6.	Flower	dote-ro
7.	Betel nut	dipi-ro
8.	Chewing betel	nan-do
9.	Green coconut	nuam-bo-ro
10.	Coconut	nuan-do
11.	Banana	uti-ro
12.	Salt	mamari-ro
13.	Cassava	timori
14.	Sago tree	upi-ro
15.	Sago flour	ko-ro
16.	Sago porridge	bu-ro, boro-ro
17.	Sago sinole	parambe-ko-ro
18.	Sago forno	toroko-ro
19.	Roasted Sago	onggo-ro
	(on- 'fire' + koro 'sago')	
20.	Rice	pasa-ro
21.	Kunai	womate-ro

F - Natural world

1.	Soil	taneva-ro
2.	Stone	bava-ro
3.	Sand	naper-mba
4.	Beach	napermba
5.	Water	dan-do
6.	Sea	uruan-do
7.	River	ipa-ro, waren-do
8.	Lake	don-do
9.	Cloud	manggamba-ro
10.	Rain	doro-ro

11.	Thunder	doroba-ro
12.	Lightning	deperepe
13.	Sky	doromo-ro
14.	Wind	wame-ro
15.	Sun	oro-ro
16.	Moon	karupe-ro
17.	Night	we-ro
18.	Star	emetata-ro
19.	Fire	on-do
20.	Smoke	kati-ro
21.	Ashes	aivu-ro
22.	Forest	a'ne-ro, anerere
23.	Mountain	dote-ro
24.	Mangrove	wando-ro

G - Human artifacts

1.	Garden	'bindo-ro
2.	House	me-ro
3.	Roof	matiran-do
4.	Village	bunupune
5.	Rope	wen-do
6.	Canoe	wa-ro
7.	Paddle	name-ro
8.	Path/road	anima-ro
9.	Machete	parevo
10.	Axe	man-do
11.	Bow	butun-do
12.	Arrow	ovo-ro
13.	Spear	poso-ro
14.	Knife	pamarsa
15.	Cloth	doi-ro
16.	Mosquito net	doi-me-ro
17.	Fish-hook	kee-ro
18.	Lamp (loan, Malay)	pandamara
19.	Wok	parambe-ro

H - Location

| 1. | This | na-ni |
| 2. | That | na-yave |

10.	Inside	mundiu-ro
11.	Outside	mavu-ro
12.	Left	berasu-ro
13.	Right	berawan-ro

I - Colour

1.	Black	mamani-ro
2.	White	pepera
3.	Red	meme-o
4.	Green	mamasi
5.	Yellow	mamasi

J - Counting

1.	One	waiseno
2.	Two	waitiso
3.	Three	wonti
4.	Four	wati
5.	Five	rinti
6.	Six	wanditi waiseno
7.	Seven	wanditi waitiso
8.	Eight	wanditi wonti
9.	Nine	wanditi wati
10.	Ten	wansambuto
11.	All	pasi
12.	Many	tekara

K - Properties

1.	Big	pita-ro
2.	Small	make-o
3.	Old (things)	ivari-o
4.	New	uvo-ro
5.	Hot	
6.	Cold	pere-o
7.	Good	mamana-ro
8.	Bad	taka-ro
9.	Near	kanainai-o
10.	Far	kokari-o
11.	Wet	pere-o
12.	Dry	bururandi-o
13.	Long	meta-yo

14.	Short	mitivi-o
15.	Short (height)	kapitari
16.	Heavy	mambayo
17.	Sick	bosan-do

L - Verbs

1.	See	tire-o
2.	Hear	nata-na-o
3.	Know	tire-o
4.	Speak	dovora-yo
5.	Afraid	avori-o
6.	Sleep	nan-do
7.	Sit	on-do, ongga-ro
8.	Wake up (tr)	bane-ro
9.	Stand	etan-do
10.	Walk	da-yo
11.	Run	sayo
12.	Swim	ate
13.	Fly	dove
14.	Wash (cloth)	wasi-o
15.	Scratch	nami-o
16.	Hold	watuni-o
17.	Split (wood)	dativi-ro
18.	Tie	eti-o
19.	Dig	ka-yo
20.	Stab	toiyo
21.	Fall	dapen-do
22.	Drop (tr)	buave-ro
23.	Bathe (tr)	matin-do
24.	Wash (intr)	asi-o
25.	Eat	ane / an
26.	Drink	mini-ro
27.	Die	pere-yo
28.	Kill	muni-ro
29.	Give	ore
30.	Come	da-mo
31.	Go	da
32.	Laugh	an-do

33.	Cry	atino-ro		46.	Vomit	tite-yo
34.	Sing	du-yo				
35.	Burn (intr)	akuni-ro				
36.	Burn	kuni				
37.	Cook	kuni,pume				
38.	Dry in sun	wau-ro				
39.	Blow	yuambi-o				
40.	Hit	darabi				
41.	Throw	wawi-o				
42.	Search	bayane				
43.	Shoot	piti				
44.	Bite	pa'm-e				
45.	Cough	buvio				

M - Miscellaneous

1.	No / not	metin-do
2.	Language	boro-ro
3.	Name	nan-do
4.	Yesterday	terainti
5.	Today	bito-ni
6.	Tomorrow	waperai
7.	Who?	iti
8.	What?	baisa
9.	Where?	wate

15.2 COMPARISON WITH YOKE

Yoke appears to be the only language that is closely related to Warembori. It shares not only a number of lexical items, displaying regular sound changes and ranges of meaning, but also a large number of structural features (in terms of valency-altering processes, word-order typology, and other typological characteristics).

15.2.1 Lexical comparison

On a 200-item word list the two languages share approximately 33% of basic lexical items, allowing for a rather loose set of cognate judgements. In these words, however, we can clearly identify regular sound correspondences, such as Warembori *b* for Yoke *ƀ*, Warembori *-ti-* for Yoke *-si-*, and Warembori *-n#* for Yoke *-mb#*. Importantly, the languages share a lot of bound morphology, with identical forms and functions in the two languages; examples of this include the pronominal subject/possessive prefixes, and the object suffixes; the forms of causative and applicative morphemes; the use of similar structures with adjectival modification; similar prepositions).

Phonologically the languages are similar on a gross level. While Warembori has a separate set of 'heavy' consonants, Yoke appears to have contrastive fricatives (/d/   /r/, /b/   /β/, k   /ɣ/). In most other respects they are very similar.

A selection of cognate words is given below; consonantal correspondences are noted.

Warembori	Yoke	gloss	notes
-kiaw	-kiaw	completive	k : k
-ndowa	-nduƀ(u)	'egg'	nd : nd
-ni	-ani	'this'	
an	aambi	'laugh'	-N : -mb
an	aaŋ	'eat'	
andan-do	tandu	'leaf'	nd : nd
anta	anta	'fish'	nt : nt
ayo	a	'tree'	

bera	βura-	'arm'	b : β
berasu	berasia	'left'	b : b
bo-ro	βundu-	'mouth'	involves -d- : nd
bowolo	boβua	'round'	b : b
bua	βuak	'knee'	b : β; final consonants lost in W.
bua, bo	βua	'fruit'	b : β
bun-	bo	'body hair'	b : b
da	da	'go'	d : d
dapen-	sapa	'fall'	d : s. Earlier high vowel environment?
dipi-ro	dipiβu	'betel nut'	d : d
dobe	duɣi	'fly'	d : d
don-	dumb-	'lake'	-N : -mb
dote-ro	dot-ia	'flower'	tV[-i] : t
epi	pi	'leg'	p : p
etan-	enta	'stand'	
ini	niɲa	'mosquito'	inV : iɲV, #VC : #C
keere	keri	'tall'	k : k
ki	niŋgi	'louse'	loss of initial syllable in W.
kombo	akombu	'bone'	initial vowel in long word lost in W.
koran	karamb-	'neck'	-N : -mb
totai	otay	'elder sister'	tV[-i] : t
mamana	mamana	'good'	
mamasi	mamasa	'green/yellow'	
man-	mamb-	'man'	-N : -mb
maŋgamba	ɲaŋgamba	'cloud'	ŋg : ŋg
mani	mani	'bird'	
matin	masi	'wash'	ti : si
matiran	maseraŋgan	'roof'	ti : se
maye	maraɣi	'cuscus'	
mena	ɲaaβ	'dog'	dubious: * imenaβa required
min	min	'drink'	
mopi	mopay	'grandparent'	p : p; i : ay
muni	mu	'kill'	
nan	nand	'name'	N# : nd#
nan-	na	'sleep'	
nan-	nans-	'betel pepper'	n# : ns#
nape	naupa	'beach'	p : p
nata	nanta	'hear'	t : nt
nuan	ɲia	'coconut'	dubious, * iɲian required
obo	aβua	'arrow'	b : β

ore	o	'give'	
pamarsa	pamaraasi	'knife'	(Malay loan word)
pere	piru	'die'	p : p, r : r
pere-	puru	'cold'	p : p, r : r
poso	poso	'spear'	p : p, s : s
pu-ro	pi-a	'tail'	p : p
pue	pua	'pig'	p : p
puma	puma	'grandchild'	p : p
rinti	-rimsi	'five'	ti : si
suan	sua(b)	'cassowary'	s : s
takaro	yaɣaɣa	'bad'	-k- : -ɣ-
timori	timorɓua	'cassava'	(ti : ti; loan word, widely attested in other languages of Cenderawasih Bay)
upi	upi	'sago tree'	p : p
uti	si	'banana'	ti : si, #VC : #C
wa-ro	wapi	'canoe'	w : w
wame	wamb-a	'wind'	w : w, -N : -mb
waro	waro	'stomach'	w : w, r: r
wati	ɣasi	'four'	w : w, ti : si
wauro	weru	'dry in sun'	w : w, r: r
wen-	wani	'rope'	w : w

15.2.2 Morphological comparison

In addition to approximately 30% of lexical material being shared, there are many correspondences in form and function amongst the morphology of Yoke and Warembori. In many respects the Yoke system of applicative and object suffixation is more complicated than that of Warembori, appearing to show divisions into different transitivity classes, but there are many correspondences.

The forms of the verbal affixes are as follows; for Warembori, the major allomorphs only are presented (fuller details in sections 9.1 and 9.3). For Yoke, the verbal agreement markers are more regular than in Warembori, and take the form shown. Ambai has been included in this table as an example of an Austronesian language of Cenderawasih Bay, for comparison (the forms listed in brackets for Ambai objects are free pronominal forms; there is not a full set of object suffixes in Ambai. Ambai does, however, have dual and paucal prefixes, which are not illustrated here).

		Warembori		Yoke		Ambai	
		SUBJ	OBJ	SUBJ	OBJ	SUBJ	OBJ
SG	1	*e-*	*-ewi*	*e-*	*-e*	*i-*	*(yau)*
	2	*w- / a-*	*-awi*	*a-*	*-a*	*bo-*	*(wau)*
	3	*i- / Ø-*	*-i*	*i- / ya- /Ø-*	*-i*	*di-*	*-i*
NSG	1	*ami*	*-mo*	*am-*	*-amo*	*amet-*	*(amea)*
	12	*ki-*	*-ki*	*ki-*	*-ㄷㄱㄷ*	*tat-*	*(ata)*
	2	*mi-*	*-mi*	*mi- / im-*	*-emu*	*met-*	*(mea)*
	3	*ti-*	*-ti*	*si-*	*-esi*	*et-*	*-sa*

There are obvious similarities between the forms and the functions of the agreement markers in Yoke and Warembori. A complication in Yoke which is lacking in Warembori is the presence of different 'augments' (*-ra*, *-na*, *-ka*) to the object suffixes that appear to divide the verbs into different transitivity classes. Other verbal morphology appears to be cognate: the perfective is *-ta* in Warembori, *-da* in Yoke; the completive *-kia* is identical.

Yoke nouns show a range of suppletive forms for the singular/plural alternation, whereas the Warembori nouns are much more regular; the forms are not comparable.

The prepositions of Warembori show similar form and function in Yoke, but Yoke also makes use of suffixed case markers for some functions (eg., instrumental *-a*), a feature lacking in Warembori.

15.3 Comparison with Austronesian languages: implications for contact history

[definitely getting sidetracked here, but I thought I may as well put it in. Above and beyond the call of the sketch grammar]

Since there is such a large amount of apparently Austronesian features in Warembori, at all levels form the lexicon, through morphology and morphosyntax to the linguistic type of the language, it is worth examining the language in the light of the known reconstructions for Austronesian languages generally, and the Austronesian languages of the nearby areas.

Examining the Austronesian languages to the east, such as Sobei (Sterner 1991), proves to be very unrevealing: there are very few words that could be cognates, and nothing in the way of bound morphology, from the small amount of materials available to me for comparison. For this reason, on purely empirical grounds, as well as taking into account the origin myths of the Warembori people (see section 1.2), I shall concentrate on the Austronesian languages to the west of the Warembori, in Cenderawasih Bay, as a focus of comparison.

15.3.1 Lexical comparisons

The lexical materials in Anceaux (1961) provide us with a wealth of data on the Austronesian languages of Cenderawasih Bay to examine with an eye to determining local lexical similarities; equally, the large amount of historical work on Austronesian historical linguistics from further afield also provides us with lexical information about cognates not found in the modern Cenderawasih Bay region. With these tools, we can prepare a list of Warembori words and compare them with both neighbouring and distant Austronesian lexical items to determine possible borrowings (or retentions).

We can give just a few examples here; the following words are possible cognates, found when comparing Warembori and the Austronesian languages of Cenderawasih Bay. Most Cenderawasih Bay examples are drawn from the Urei Faisei (Kai) dialect of Waropen, the language the author is most familiar with; these are marked with Ur. Other languages that have been drawn on for exemplification are (in order of distance from Warembori, furthest to least) Wandamen (Wand.), Dusner, Mor, Biak, Marau (Mar.), Munggui (Mung.), Ambai (Amb), Wabo, Kurudu (Kur.).

Attested in Cenderawasih Bay but not in proto-Austronesian:

Warembori		Cenderawasih Bay example
a'ne-ro	'jungle'	Ur. *ana*
anta-ro	'fish'	Ur. *ado*
ate	'swim'	Mor *ata*, Kur., Biak *as*
bera-ro	'hand'	Mung. *bara*, others (e.g. Amb) *wara*
boro-ro	'mouth'	Amb. *boro*
da / *ra*	'go'	widespread *ra*
dipi-ro	'betelnut'	Ur. *rifi*
doro-ro	'rain'	Ur. *dora*
kova-ro	'faeces'	Ur. *kaɸa*
man-do	'axe'	Ur. *mbano*
manivovi	'friend'	Ur., Amb. *manivovi*
matin	'wash'	Mer. *mati*
muni	'kill'	Ur. *muni*
name	'paddle'	Ur. *nama*
nan-do	'betel pepper'	Ur. *nano*
naper-o	'sand, beach'	Ur. *nafa*
nata-	'hear'	Ur. *nata*
nu-ro	'person'	Ur. *nuya*
pepera	'white'	*pepera*
pere-yo	'die'	Ur. *fero*
peren-do	'tongue'	Ur. *mbero*, Amb. *tapere*
suan-do	'cassowary'	Ur. *saro*
tire	'see'	Ur. *sira*
uruan-do	'sea'	*rawanam*
wame-ro	'wind'	Ur. *ɣame*

There does not appear to be a particular semantic type to these words, rather more or less random words. In addition to the words above, the following words, show similarities with Austronesian reconstructions for which no reflex can be discovered in the contemporary languages of the Cenderawasih Bay area.

Attested in proto-Austronesian but a clearly related reflex is not found in Cenderawasih Bay:

Warembori	proto-Austronesian	nearest in Cenderawasih Bay

don-do	'lake'	*Danaw	Amb. *ruru*
meme-o	'red'	*ma-iRaq	Wabo *kuru*, Amb. *berika*
min-do	'drink'	*ma-inum	Amb. *unu*, Biak *inem*
min-do	'flesh'	*minyak	widespread: *tarai*
on-do	'snake'	*ulaR	widespread: *tawai*

(many languages of Cenderawasih Bay use the word for 'blood' as their designator for 'red', with or without an affix, such as Ambai, in which *rika* is 'blood')

Finally, the following forms show cognates both in proto-Austronesian and in contemporary languages of the Cenderawasih Bay area.

Attested in both proto-Austronesian and in Cenderawasih Bay:

Warembori		proto-Austronesian	Cenderawasih Bay
ai	'father'	*ayaq	Biak *yai*, widespread *dai*
ai	'tree'	*kayu	*ai*
aivu-ro	'ashes'	*abu	Ur. *aβu*
an	'eat'	*kaen	Ur. *kan*, Biak *an*, Kur. *am(pi)*
andan-do	'leaf'	*Dahun	Ur. *rana*
bin-do	'woman'	*binahi	Ur. *bino*, Amb. *bina*
bun-do	'body hair'	*bulu	Ur. *βuro*, Mor *buru*
buran-do	'head hair'	*bulu ?	Biak *buram*
daran-do	'ear'	*taliŋa	Wabo *taranden*
da-ro	'blood'	*DaRaq	Ur. *rara*, Mor *rara*
dan-do	'water'	*Danu	Ur. *rauno*
ki-ro	'louse'	*kutu	Ur. *βui*
kue-ro	'skin'	*kulit	Dus. *iker*
man-do	'male'	*maRuqanay	Ur. *mano*
mani-ro	'bird'	*manuk	Ur. *mani*
nai	'mother'	*ina	*ina*
nan-do	'name'	*ŋajan	Ur. *nasan*
nuan-do	'coconut'	*niuR	Ur. *niβaro*
oro-ro	'sun'	*qalejaw	Ur. *ora*
pue-ro	'pig'	*beRek	Ur. *βo* (or pOc *poRok)
rinti	'five'	*lima	*rin*
tutu-ro	'breast'	*susu	Ur. *susi*, Wand. *susu*
uti-ro	'banana'	*pu(n)ti	Ur. *ui*
uvo	'new'	*baqeRu	Ur. *βoa*; *woru*
wa-ro	'canoe'	*waŋkaŋ	Ur. *βa*

The fact that apparent cognates of these words are found in Warembori, and yet no reflex of them has been reported for the nearby languages of Cenderawasih Bay (or in Sobei, the closest

language of the Sarmi coast, though until recent times there has been no contact between the Warembori and the Sarmi area) means that we have evidence of contact with an Austronesian population at an early date.

The fact that the Austronesian *b is not borrowed consistently as *p* (compare 'woman' and 'pig' may reflect either different stages in the borrowing (given the change of *b > *p from proto-Austronesian to proto-Oceanic), or might reflect a borrowing from several sources, none of which are extant today in the area in which Warembori is spoken.

15.3.1 Morphological comparison

We should also note that some of the core morphology found in Warembori, the subject prefixes (*e-* 1SG, *a-* 2SG, and *i-* 3SG), are shared in form and function with the Kauwera language (Kwerba family) spoken upriver along the eastern bank of the Mamberamo, and in Airoran further east along the lower Apauwer river. In light of the fact that Warembori shows almost no lexical similarities with these languages (averaging about 2% cognacy over a 200-item wordlist), and is structurally verb different in all other respects, the existence of these correspondences is surprising, to say the least, and cannot be adequately explained at present.

The free pronouns (section 6.2.1) show overwhelming similarities with Austronesian forms, both near and distant, but perhaps crucially the first and second person singular forms, the most resistant to borrowing on a cross-linguistic basis, are not cognate to Austronesian (or any other, apart from Yoke) forms. This implies that the Austronesian content of the language is borrowed, and not basic.

The Warembori word *muni* has cognates across many Austronesian languages of Cenderawasih bay. In the Austronesian languages, (for example, Ambai of eastern Yapen island), however, the root is *mun-*, and *-i* is the third person singular object suffix. In Warembori the final vowel is treated as part of the root: *muni-ti* kill-3PL 'kill them'. This is evidence that the word is a borrowing in one direction or the other: if inherited, we would not expect so readily the reanalysis of the morpheme in one of the daughter languages.

Another piece of morphology that is shared with Austronesian languages points to the Austronesian content being borrowed, and not basic, as was suggested by the pronouns. In Warembori the suffix *kia(wi)* imparts a completive sense to the clause; it cannot be used independently. In many of the Austronesian languages of Cenderawasih Bay, however (such as Ambai), the verb *kai* 'finish' is a regularly inflecting verb. In ambient serial constructions, it takes a third person singular inflection, the infix *-i-*, to produce *kiai*; this contrasts with the uninflected form, *kai*.

In Warembori the only form ever encountered is *kia(wi)*; there is no corresponding form **kai(wi)*. Furthermore, the third person singular is not formed with an infix, but with a prefix (*i-*, *y-*, *ya-* or Ø; see 9.1). The form *kia(wi)* in Warembori is thus an unanalysable unit, which implies that is was borrowed wholesale at some point from a language that, like Ambai today, uses this verb to, amongst other functions, give a completive sense to a clause, with the third person singular infix *-i-*, which has since become fossilised as part of the root in Warembori. This, and the ungrammaticality of using *kia(wi)* as the main verb in a clause (it is purely a suffix in Warembori), points to borrowing, rather than retention, as the source of the morpheme in Warembori.

16. Textual style

In this preliminary examination of Warembori morphosyntax only brief notes can be made on the style displayed in Warembori narratives.

Given the presence of verbal agreement, applicative constructions, and productive noun incorporation, there is often no need to include any lexical material outside the verb except for newly introduced items. The main body of a text, therefore, consists primarily of verbs with the occasional free nominal that introduces new lexical items into the discourse. Frequently lexical items found in NPs are the ones that are not going to be retained in the story.

[*massively general. You should be able to do better than this, really*]

17. Text

The following short text recounts a personal experience. While not by any means illustrating all of the grammatical patterns described above, it is a useful insight into the structure of narratives in Warembori, and shows the use of several of the grammatical patterns discussed in the preceding sections in a naturally occurring discourse.

17.1 BACKGROUND

The text was recorded in January 1998, from Luther Rumaikewi, the village head of Warembori village. A native of that village, his mother was from Tamakuri, and so sometimes his speech has a Tamakuri intonation to it, but none of the lexical or grammatical material in the following narrative reflects this origin.

17.2 EVOIVA 'FISHING'

The following text describes a day-long fishing expedition. Note the use of multiple place names to refer to areas that are far from any permanent settlement in lines 3 and 6. Highly explicit place-names are a feature of Warembori life.

[*this isn't a great text, but is the only one I have (nearly) fully glossed, which I really understand. This is a sketch, remember! A better choice would be a historical or mythological narrative, or something with more flavour ethnographically. In its favour this text does tell us some ethnographic details, so at least it's relevant to the context in which it occurs. And it's not bad for exemplifying several aspects of grammar*]

(1)   *Terainta   e-me-ni   anta-rapaa-ro.*
         yesterday   1SG-house-this   fish-not.exist-IND
         'There weren't any fish in the house yesterday.'

(2)   *E-vu   e-keoi-na.*
         1SG-paddle   1SG-cast.net-APPL
         'I went fishing.'

(3)   *E-vu-ka   Waraomandia.*
         1SG-paddle-APPL   Waraomandia
         'I paddled to Waraomandia.'

(4)   *E-vu-ka   e-me   e-noma   ane   toroko-ro.*
         1SG-paddle-APPL 1SG-house   1SG-lay.anchor   eat   sago.forno-IND
         'Arriving at the shelter, I anchored the canoe and ate some sago forno.'

(5)   *Am-pase   davi   e-vo-va.*
         eat-COMP   and.then   1SG-paddle-SEQ
         'Having eaten, I paddled on.'

(6)   *I-vu-kia   Domove   davi   e-pare   pamo.*
         1SG-paddle-COMP   Domove   and.then   1SG-cast.net   net
         'I paddled to Domove, and then cast my net.'

(7) *Anta-na   tekara-na   pamo-wapara-tete.*
     fish-PL   many   net-enter-APPL
     'Lot's of fish entered the net.'

(8) *Bisa   na ta-make-na,   bisa   na ta-pita-na.*
     exist   3PL-small-ones   exist   3PL-big-ones
     'There were big ones and there were small ones.'

(9) *I-vu-kia   wai-na   to-kia   e-me-ne.*
     1SG-paddle-COMP   carry-APPL   arrive-COMP   1SG-house-this
     'I paddled (them) back home.'

(10) *E-make   tire-o,   davi   ya-pa*
     1SG-son   see-1SG   and.then   3SG-yell

     "Ai   bu-kia   wa!"
     father go.by.paddling-COMP   !
     'My son saw me, and the yelled "Daddy's coming!"'

(11) *Nai   pume-anta-na tena   on-dave.*
     mother   cook-fish-PL on/INSTR   fire-DEF
     'Mother cooked the fish on the fire.'

(12) *Ama-na-ini   am-ansora-mo.*
     1PL.EX-eat-until   1PL.EX-full-1PL.EX
     'We ate until we were full.'

17.3 LINGUISTIC NOTES

One point that may be clearly seen in the short text above is the frequent presence of tail-head linkages between sentences; in many cases the motion verb of one sentence is repeated in the beginning of the next sentence. There is alternation between *e-* and *i-* as subject prefix on the verb; this alternation, when checked with informants, was felt to be not random, but can not be explained with the knowledge we have at the present time. There is a similar alternation between *u* and *o*.

Line (1) sees the preverbal incorporation of *anta* 'fish' into *rapaa* 'not exist', producing *antarapaaro* 'there were no fish'. Another preverbal incorporation can be seen in line (7); this is clearly a productive strategy. The use of the applicative in line (2), *ekeoina*, is interesting in that there is no object mentioned; it appears that applicative suffixes can serve a similar function to the empty suffix *-e* on verbs, as a filler in the absence of agreement or an incorporated object. We can see that, despite the existence of a special sequential verb form in *-va*, the preference is to use *davi* as an independent connective when linking two clauses, and providing temporal sequencing between them.

> [pretty low-level stuff here, but enough to make people aware that you're awake to these things, and to point out the use in a text of some of the features discussed in the grammar. It also helps to show that the analysis isn't just elicitation-driven]

Some details of the glossing are uncertain, namely *waina* in line (9); this has been indicated with a question mark in the glossing line.

18. Abbreviations

> [make sure you include this section, something telling the reader, in an easy to find section, what your abbreviations mean. Either at the beginning or at the end, but make sure it's in there somewhere]

The following abbreviations have been used in glosses of sentences and elsewhere. Portmanteau agreement markers use the following abbreviations: 1, 2, 3: first, second and third person; SG, DU, PL: singular, dual and plural number; A, S, O: syntactic roles, following Heath (1975) and Dixon (1979), for definitions see Andrews (1985: 68). The other, non-portmanteau, glosses used are: APPL applicative; DEF definite; EX exclusive; IN inclusive; IND indicative; INSTR instrumental; INTR intransitiviser; LOC locative; LOCNOM locative nominaliser; NP noun phrase; OBL oblique; PF perfective; RC relative clause; SEQ sequential;

19. References

[always a bit tricky knowing what to put in, and what to leave out. Clue: any areal things, the general audience won't know about, and should go in. Any theoretical stuff that was useful, to the point of being quoted, should go in as well. Any intro textbooks should not go in unless you're quoting them, and you shouldn't be. Some context-setting stuff (anthropological works, early survey reports, literacy materials) should go in, to give them some historical record]

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[obviously I need to check this reference as well]

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[in general it's a better idea to list published references, rather than unpublished ones, simply because that gives your audience a chance at ever finding them for themselves. In the absence of published sources, however ...]

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