

WASHKUK GRAMMAR SKETCH

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0 INTRODUCTION

The Washkuk language is spoken by about 3000 people living in the Washkuk and Ambunti hills and the swampland to the northwest of Ambunti in the East Sepik District of Papua New Guinea. There are two main dialects of Washkuk: Kwoma, spoken by those inhabiting the hills; and Nukuma, spoken by those living in the swampy areas further to the north and west. Ambunti, the sub-district administrative centre, is the furthest community of any size to the east of the language area, with all the other villages situated from five to twenty five air miles in a general northwest direction. Kwoma, with slight variation between some villages, is spoken by the people of Ambunti, Madiwai, Bangwis, Dokapa, Teyam, Beklam, Mino, Warambachi, Dangasham, some people of Yelagu, and Yakareway, a hamlet to the east of Ambunti about a mile. Nukuma is spoken by those of Kowaka, Wayuwas, Nakari, Amaki, and Ablatak.

Washkuk was studied and analyzed under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea. The language was first studied in 1961 in the village of Madiwai, situated on a lagoon off the Sepik River about fifteen miles west of Ambunti. The author left Madiwai in 1967 to take up residence in Ambunti, where he is living at present.

In the twelve year period of Washkuk language study, Buria, of the village of Madiwai, presently of Ambunti, has been of invaluable assistance. His knowledge of Washkuk, his clear speech, rapport with the people, and particularly his patience has been a vital factor in providing the author with a spoken and written knowledge of Washkuk. Harry Weldon of Ambunti has been very helpful providing a check on some of the utterances used in the paper. Martha Kooyers, my wife, has also been helpful in writing some of the examples and providing a check on Washkuk usage. Eunice Anarai of Punano has been much appreciated for typing much of the manuscript. And we also wish to express appreciation for many other Washkuk speakers, too numerous to mention, who have

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1 ABBREVIATIONS, ORTHOGRAPHY, MORPHOPHONEMICS

1.1 Abbreviations

@	~ allomorphic
[...]	enclosed material is not part of structure surrounding it
/.../	enclosed material is that being demonstrated
'...'	enclosed material is English explanation
<u> </u>	underlined material is Washkuk
.	period between English words in a gloss indicates that the two words translate a single vernacular word or morpheme
-	hyphen is used to separate morphemes in focus
+	obligatory tagmeme
±	optional tagmeme
	Note: In the array the tagmeme function name appears at the top of each column and the various classes and sub-classes of exponents are listed in the column under the tagmeme function name.
/	slash in English means 'or'
... ²	raised number indicates the number of times a function slot may be repeated, filled by an appropriate word, phrase, etc.
AC1	Active Clause
adj	adjective
adv	adversative
antic	anticipatory
assoc mar	associative marker
assoc	associative marker
appo	appositional

Attrib NP	Attributive Noun Phrase
ben	benefactive
compl	completive
cond	conditional
conseq	consequential
cont	continuative
dem pro	demonstrative pronoun
Dir Quo	Direct Quotation
Emb	Embedded
emph	emphatic
fem	feminine
fut	future
imp	imperative
incl	inclusive
indic	indicative
Ind	Indirect
Infl	Inflection
Instr	Instrument
instr mar	instrument marker
Int Adj P	Intensified Adjective Phrase
List NP	List Noun Phrase
Loc/Inst	Locative/Instrument
loc	locative marker
loc mar	locative marker
mar	marker
mas	masculine
Mod	Modifier
Mod NP	Modified Noun Phrase
neg	negative
nom demon pro	nominative demonstrative pronoun
Num P	Number Phrase
Obj	Object
obj mar	object marker
obj	object or object marker

Obj NP	Object Noun Phrase
Par Pro P	Particularized Pronoun Phrase
Pos	Positive
poss	possessed
Poss NP	Possessed Noun Phrase
poss pro	possessed pronoun
Pred	Predicate
Pres	Present
pro	pronoun
Q	Question or Interrogative
Quo	Quotation
q w	Question word
SCl	Stative Clause
Sent	Sentence
Sent Mar	Sentence Marker(s)
Sim	Similarity
Subj	Subject
Subj pro	Subject pronoun
Tim mar	Time marker
Uncer	Uncertainty
Un Ob	Unfulfilled Obligation
Un Ob Sent	Unfulfilled Obligation Sentence
voc	vocative
w/o	without
you.3	you (3 or more)
you.2	you two
you.1	you one

Phoneme	Phone	Description
p	p̥	voiceless bilabial fricative
b	mb	voiced prenasalized bilabial stop
v	b̥	voiced bilabial fricative
t	t	voiceless alveolar stop
d	nd	voiced prenasalized alveolar stop
s	s	voiceless alveolar sibilant
ch	č	voiceless alveopalatal affricate
j	nj (nj̥)	voiced prenasalized alveopalatal affricate
sh	š	voiceless alveopalatal sibilant
k	k	voiceless velar stop
g	ng (ŋ)	voiced prenasalized velar stop
h	h	voiceless vocoid
m	m	voiced bilabial nasal
n	n	voiced alveolar nasal
r	ɾ	voiced alveolar flap
ny	ɲ	voiced alveopalatal nasal
w	w	voiced bilabial semivowel
y	y	voiced alveolar semi vowel
i	i	voiced high front vowel
e	ɛ	voiced mid front vowel
ee	ɛ	voiced low front vowel
ii	ɨ	voiced mid central vowel
a	a	voiced low central vowel
u	u	voiced high back rounded vowel
o	o	voiced mid back rounded vowel

1.3 Morphophonemic Changes

There is limited consonantal and vowel fluctuation in Washkuk conditioned largely by the frontal alveopalatal phonemes.

-ta 'continuative' is replaced by -cha when it follows -chi 'benefactive', -chi 'completive', or wo 'say'.

- ta-wa 'continuative + pres' is contracted (in the Kwoma dialect)
 -to when it follows a class I morpheme,
 -tu when it follows a class II morpheme,
 -cho when it follows a class III morpheme,
 -chu when it follows a class IV morpheme.

The following are examples of verb classes according to allomorphs:

Class I - <u>to</u>	Class II - <u>tu</u>	Class III - <u>cho</u>	Class IV - <u>chu</u>
<u>otii</u> 'do'	<u>tuku</u> 'make fire'	<u>wo</u> 'say'	<u>i</u> 'go'
<u>a</u> 'eat'	<u>yimowu</u> 'bear'	<u>wohe</u> 'ask'	<u>chi</u> 'plant, bite, shape'
<u>saka</u> 'fall'	<u>sumowu</u> 'follow'	<u>yii</u> 'cut'	- <u>chi</u> 'ben'
<u>ya</u> 'come'	<u>ruwu</u> 'dress'	<u>po</u> 'chop'	- <u>chi</u> 'compl'
<u>akii</u> 'afraid'	<u>heechi</u> 'leave'	<u>kiyapo</u> 'encourage'	<u>pi</u> 'strike'
<u>uwa</u> 'call'	<u>pokii</u> 'teach'	<u>he</u> 'see'	<u>bach</u> i 'erase'

Monosyllabic verb stems ending in the vowel /a/ have allomorphs with the /a/ replaced with /ee/ which occur preceding suffixes -chi 'ben' or 'compl'.

Examples:

<u>a</u>	'eat'	<u>ee-chi</u>	'ate'
<u>ya</u>	'take'	<u>yee-chi</u>	'fetch'
<u>ha</u>	'give'	<u>hee-chi</u>	'give it'
<u>na</u>	'weave'	<u>nee-chi</u>	'wove'

This does not apply to polysyllabic stems, e.g., hama, hama-chi 'finished'.

A similar phenomenon occurs in the first person pronoun where Washkuk has ada or an for 'I' and eeji or een for 'my'. Also, in ordinary speech the imperative marker na is often pronounced ne when it precedes the vowel i 'go'.

2 WORD LEVEL

Washkuk in general has word-level inflections on pronouns and verbs only. There are various other suffixes which are analyzed as phrase-level or sentence-level clitics, so that written Washkuk may appear to have more suffixes than are described here on word-level.

2.1 Word Classes

Word classes which are uninflected at the word level include: Adjectives, Colours, Digits, Hesitation, Manner, Methods, Nouns, Proper Nouns, Quantifiers, Time Words, Negative Words, and Stative Verbs.

Adjectives are an open set, examples being as follows:

<u>harapa</u>	'large'	<u>karakada</u>	'small'
<u>mayaka</u>	'large'	<u>hisaw</u>	'large'
<u>tobo</u>	'short'	<u>gworo</u>	'long'
<u>hapaga</u>	'strong, hard'	<u>kapasek</u>	'bad'
<u>kepi</u>	'good'	<u>hadabas</u>	'wonderful'
<u>koba</u>	'pathetic'		

Colours are a closed set, the set being as follows:

<u>nayim</u>	'red'	<u>kehapa</u>	'black'
<u>neekiirii</u>	'blue, green, yellow'		
<u>apoma</u>	'white'		

Digits are a closed set, the set being as follows:

<u>podat</u> , <u>podar</u> , <u>podaten</u>	'one'
<u>upurus</u>	'two'
<u>piiriichar</u> , <u>diipiira kara</u>	'three'
<u>diipiira kapiira</u>	'four'
<u>yokotapa</u>	'hand five'
<u>ma</u>	'man twenty'

Hesitation word:

<u>nago</u>	'uh, er'
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Manner Words are a closed set. Examples are as follows:

<u>harapa</u>	'large'	<u>kapasek</u>	'bad'
<u>ameya</u>	'quickly'	<u>yeyada</u>	'without obligation'
<u>eshar</u>	'slowly'	<u>komas</u>	'after'
<u>kepi</u>	'good'	<u>mapo</u>	'before'

Method Words are a closed set, the set being the Method Demonstrative Pronouns:

<u>eecha</u>	'this way'	<u>diicha</u>	'this way particularly'
<u>kacha</u>	'that way'		

Nouns are an open set, examples being as follows:

<u>ma</u>	'man'	<u>mowey</u>	'sister'
<u>mima</u>	'woman'	<u>yaka</u>	'older brother'
<u>yikapwa</u>	'child'	<u>kumwoy</u>	'younger brother'
<u>asa</u>	'dog'	<u>poyi</u>	'pig'
<u>me</u>	'tree'	<u>uku</u>	'water'
<u>yega</u>	'ancestors'	<u>neja</u>	'descendants'
<u>mo</u>	'crocodile'	<u>aposhebu</u>	'cassowary'
<u>apokibi</u>	'flying fox'	<u>awi</u>	'mother'
<u>aka</u>	'house'	<u>eepi</u>	'father'
<u>kubu</u>	'stick'	<u>narem</u>	'daughter-in-law'

Proper nouns are an open set, examples being as follows:

<u>Mino</u>	'a village'	<u>Mukuchuwa</u>	'name of woman'
<u>Wayuwas</u>	'a village'	<u>Muwaya</u>	'name of girl'
<u>Meneeji Pa</u>	'name of river'	<u>Romadimi</u>	'name of boy'
<u>Buria</u>	'name of man'	<u>Hamikwa</u>	'name of clan'
		<u>Keyav</u>	'name of clan'

Quantifiers are a closed set, examples being as follows:

<u>karakada</u>	'few'	<u>amenda</u>	'few'
<u>nokwapa</u> <u>nokwapa</u>	'many'	<u>amendakada</u>	'very few'
<u>harapa</u>	'many'		

Time Words are a closed set, examples being as follows:

<u>iyi</u>	'tomorrow'	<u>yadii</u>	'day'
<u>apa</u>	'now' or 'today'	<u>niyi</u>	'night'
<u>iyavek</u>	'day after tomorrow'		
<u>yeerek</u>	'yesterday'	<u>komas</u>	'later'
<u>noboyeerek</u>	'day before yesterday'	<u>mapo</u>	'earlier'

Negative Words are a closed set, the set being:

<u>saka</u>	'not'
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Stative verbs are only two:

<u>ta</u>	'to be'
<u>sii</u>	'to be'

2.2 Inflected Words

2.2.1 Pronouns

Washkuk pronoun roots fall into three categories: subjective, possessive, and demonstrative. Subjective and possessive pronouns are classified as singular, dual, and plural in first, second, or third person. Masculine and feminine genders are distinguished only in singular, second, and third persons. Long and short forms are listed.

2.2.1.1 Subjective Pronoun Roots

	First	Second	Third
Singular	<u>ada</u> @ <u>an</u> I	<u>miita</u> @ <u>mii</u> you.1.mas <u>nija</u> @ <u>nicha</u> @ <u>ni</u> you.1.fem	<u>riita</u> @ <u>rii</u> he <u>siita</u> @ <u>sii</u> she
Dual	<u>sicha</u> @ <u>si</u> we.2	<u>kicha</u> @ <u>ki</u> you.2	<u>piiriita</u> @ <u>piir</u> they.2
Plural	<u>nota</u> @ <u>no</u> we.3	<u>kwota</u> @ <u>kwo</u> you.3	<u>yecha</u> @ <u>ye</u> they.3

2.2.1.2 Possessive Pronoun Roots

Singular	<u>eeji</u> @ <u>een</u> my	<u>miiti</u> @ <u>mi</u> your.1.mas <u>niji</u> @ <u>ni</u> your.1.fem	<u>riiti</u> @ <u>ri</u> his <u>siiti</u> @ <u>si</u> hers
Dual	<u>siichi</u> @ <u>si</u> @ <u>shi</u> our.2	<u>kichi</u> @ <u>ki</u> your.2	<u>piiriiti</u> @ <u>piiri</u> their.2
Plural	<u>noti</u> @ <u>nowi</u> our.3	<u>kwoti</u> @ <u>kwi</u> your.3	<u>yechi</u> @ <u>yi</u> their.3

2.2.1.3 Demonstrative Pronoun

Demonstrative pronouns are classified as neutral, far and near in nominative, method, and locative.

	Neutral	Far	Near
Nominative	<u>eeta</u> @ <u>ii</u> it	<u>kata</u> @ <u>ka</u> @ <u>kar</u> that	<u>diita</u> @ <u>dii</u> @ <u>dor</u> this
Method	<u>eecha</u> this way	<u>kacha</u> that way	<u>jiicha</u> @ <u>jecha</u> this way
Locative	<u>eeka</u> here/there	<u>kaka</u> there	<u>diika</u> here

2.2.1.4 Pronoun Inflection

All three types of pronoun roots may be suffixed by an isolator and may occur with one of a number of phrase-level clitics.

Pronoun =	+ pronoun nucleus	± isolator
	subj pro root	-ba
	poss pro root	alone/only
	demon pro root	

Examples:

- (a) /Rii/ tawa.
 he is
 'He's alive.' or 'He's here.'
- (b) /Miita/ boy kapo ik?
 you question probably go.will
 'Are you going to go?'
- (c) /Siita-ba/ otiir.
 she-only worked
 'Only she worked.'
- (d) /Ada/-ka /riita/-ka saka irek.
 I-with he-with not went
 'I did not go with him.'
- (e) /Piiriiti/ veyi suwutar.
 their 2 canoe scorched
 'They scorched the canoe belonging to the two of them.'
- (f) Mima /yecha-ba/-n aboboy na hava.
 woman they-only-obj.mar food imp feed
 'Only give food to the women.'
- (g) Mari /sii/ /siiti/ mima yikapwa /siita/-ka iwa.
 Mary she her woman child she-with went
 'Mary went with her daughter.'
- (h) /Ada/ iyik /miiti/ yeebiiru Jon /rii/-na hakiita.
 I tomorrow your axe John he-obj.mar give.will
 'Tomorrow I will give your axe to John.'

- (i) Jon /riita/-ka /ada/-ka /sichi/ yopon /mii/-na hak.
 John he.with I.with our.2 banana you.1-obj.mar give.will
 'John and I together will give our bananas to you.'
- (j) /Kaka/ /eecha/ wato.
 there this.way lies
 'It is lying over there.'
- (k) /Jiicha/ na otii.
 his .way imp do
 'Do it this way.'
- (l) Jon, Muwaya /piiriita-ba/-n na kiyatayenak, /kwo/ na
 John Muwaya them.2-only-obj.mar imp help.when you.3 imp
ameya awasen ya.
 quickly return come
 'Only help John and Muwaya then come quickly.'
- (m) /Eeta/ maji /eeta/ Wanyi /yechi/ maji.
 it word it Wanyi theirs word
 'This story is of the Wanyi (clan).'
- (n) /Rii/ /eeka/ wato.
 he there sleeps
 'He is sleeping there.'
- (o) /Yechi-ba/-n yeechi ye ir.
 their-only-obj.mar fetch took away
 'They only took theirs.'
- (p) /Ada-ba/-ka /sii/ /eecha/ yir.
 I-only-with she this way sat
 'She only sat with me.'
- (q) Mino ichawa ma /eeta/ ta: Jon, Wanio, Buria, Shu, Aroa.
 Mino went man it be John Wanio Buria Shu Aroa
 'The men who went to Mino are these: John, Wanio, Buria, Shu, and Aroa.'
- (r) Boboy /ditta/ ta!
 thing here be
 'The things are here!'

- (s) Nokwapa nokwapa harapa wey ma /ye/ /riita/-na iwa.
 many many large very man they he-with went
 'Many of the big fellows went with him.'
- (t) Mino, Madiwai, Beglam nokwapa nokwapa harapa kwotay tawa ma /ye/
 Mino Madiwai Beglam many many big angry are men they
apak yato.
 now come
 'Many men of Mino, Madiwai, and Beglam are very angry and are coming here now.'
- (u) Inyaka kepi hiki tawa ma /ye/ kepi otiito.
 lungs good think be man they good doing
 'The men who think well in their hearts do well.'

2.2.2 Verbs

verb = + verbal nucleus ± benefactive ± inclusive

verb root	<u>-chi</u> 'for him'	<u>-ba</u> 'also/too'
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Rule: ta 'be' is excluded from the class of verb roots in the chart above. (ta 'carve' is included).

Examples:

- (a) Na /otii-chi-ba/.
 imp do-ben-incl
 'Do it for him too!'
- (b) Na /otii-chi/-chi /yaya/.
 imp do-ben-compl bring
 'Finish it for him and bring it.'
- (c) Sii ya /otii/ /chi-chi-ba/-ta-ken /ya/-r.
 she come do cook-ben-incl-cont in.order.to-obj come-past
 'She came to some planting for (him) too.'
- (d) Rii /otii/ /chi-chi/-niga /i/-wa.
 he do plant-ben-cont go-past
 'He completed planting it for him and went.'
- (e) Now /neekii/ /ta/-wa ma ye riina neekii-chi/-chi /heechi/
 paint paint be-past man they him painted-ben-compl left
/i/-wa.
 go-past

'The painters painted it for him and then left.'

- (f) Sii siiti yikapwa riina /homa-chi-ba/-wa.
 she her child him finish-ben-too-past

'She distributed it to her child too.'

- (g) Wanio rii /heechi/ riiti yeebiiru yee/-chi/niga kiya kwashik
 Wanio he left his axe took-compl-cont carry forest
/heechi/ /i/-wa.
 left go-past

'Wanio left, got his axe and carrying it on his shoulder, left for the bush.'

3 PHRASE LEVEL

Washkuk has a normal assortment of phrases. First there are the phrases which normally occur embedded in other phrases. These are the Intensified Adjective Phrase, Number Phrase, and Attributive Noun Phrase. Next are the basic noun phrases such as the Particularized Pronoun Phrase, the Modified Noun Phrase, the Possessed Noun Phrase, Listing Noun Phrase, and Appositional Noun Phrase. Finally, there are those phrases that occur in particular clause slots. These are the Time Phrase, Locative/Instrument Noun Phrase, the Object Noun Phrase, the Associative Noun Phrase, and the Similarity Phrase.

3.1 Intensified Adjective Phrase = Int Adj P

The intensified Adjective Phrase consists of an obligatory Head (filled by an adjective) and the obligatory Modifier (wey).

Int Adj P = + Head + Mod

adj		<u>wey</u> 'very'
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Examples:

- (a) Rii /karakada wey./
 he small very

'He is very small.'

- (b) Eeta me /hisaw wey./
 it tree large very

'The tree is very large.'

(c) Jon rii Ambunti akamak tawa ma yechi veyi gworo wey/-in apak
John he Ambunti village is man their canoe long very-obj now
tato.
carve

'John is now carving the very long canoe belonging to the people of Ambunti.'

(d) /Tobo wey ma rii bensin tokok yawa.
short very man he petrol buy.to came

(e) Aka hisaw /mayaka wey/ Bangwis ma ye kwowuk otiito.
house large large very Bangwis man they mountain.at working

'The Bangwis people are building a very large house on the mountain.'

(f) Shu rii siiti /harapa wey/ yopu akar ma riina toko hamar.
Shu he her large very banana other man him sold completed

'Shu sold her very large bananas to another man.'

3.2 Number Phrase = Num P

The counting system in Washkuk is based upon counting fingers, toes, and men.

Num P = ± (+ Scores + Digit) + Hand ± (+ (+ Compl + Hand)

<u>ma</u> man/twenty	<u>digit</u> <u>yokotapa</u> hand/five	<u>yokotapa</u> hand/five	<u>abo</u> all	<u>yokotapa</u> hand/five
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± (+ Compl + Foot) ± (+ Compl + Foot) + Digit

<u>abo</u> all	<u>yatii</u> foot	<u>abo</u> all	<u>yatii</u> foot	<u>digit</u> <u>abo</u> all
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Rules:

- (1) For '5', yokotapa abo 'hand all' is reduced to yokotapa.
- (2) For '20' and any multiple of '20', only the + (+ Scores + Digit) are used, e.g., ma upurus 'man two' = 'forty'.

Examples:

- (a) /Yokotapa abo yokotapa podat/ yayar.
 hand al' and one brought
 '(He) brought six.'
- (b) Mima /upurus/ otiito.
 woman two working
 'Two women are working.'
- (c) /Ma upurus yokotapa abo yokotapa abo yatii abo yatii
 man two(40) hand all(5) hand all(5) foot all(5) foot
piiriichar/ ma yar.
 three(3) man came
 'Fifty eight men came.'
- (d) /Ma podat yokotapa podat/ me-n yiiir.
 man one(20) hand one(1) tree-obj cut
 'Twenty one trees were cut.'

3.3 Attributive Noun Phrase = Attrib NP

The Attrib NP consists of a noun or nominal expression modified by a preceding noun or nominal expression, e.g., yam garden, Ambunti town.

Attrib NP = +	Attrib	+	Head
	noun List NP Attrib NP		noun Attrib NP

Rule:

Manifestations of the two slots must belong to the same semantic domain or should be semantically compatible.

Examples:

Following examples show Head manifested by a noun.

- (a) /Ambunti akamak/ eeta ta.
 Ambunti town it(is)
 'That is the town of Ambunti.'

- (b) /Kiiw nowo/ chichu.
yam garden planting.
'(he is) planting (the) yam garden.'
- (c) /Aka nubereja/ eeta kapasek.
house door it bad
'The door of the house is in need of repair.'
- (d) /Eyi me/ hapaga sa ta.
paddle wood strong imp be
'Paddle wood must be strong.'
- (e) /Veyi eyi/ nomoyato.
canoe paddle heavy.
'The canoe paddle is heavy.'
- (f) /Hami me/ hadabas siik wato.
hami wood wonderful fruit sleeping
'The hami tree bears a fine fruit.'

Following example shows an Attrib NP manifesting the Head slot of an Attrib NP.

- (g) /Kwow kiiw nowo/ eeta hisaw.
mountain yam garden it large
'The yam garden on the mountain is large.'
- (h) /Kiiw kwow nowo/ eeta eeyi.
yam mountain garden it mine
'The yam garden on the mountain is mine.'

Following examples show Attrib NP's manifesting both the Attrib and Head slots of an Attrib NP.

- (i) /Kiiw nowo me tobo/ sii sakar.
yam garden tree limb she fell.
'The limb of the tree in the yam garden fell.'

The following example shows Attrib NP Head manifested by List NP.

- (j) /Yesan, Mayo, Yambon, Wagu akama/ karakada tawa.
Yesan Mayo Yambon Wagu village small be
'Yesan, Mayo, Yambon, and Wagu villages are small.'

3.4 Particularized Pronoun Phrase = Par Pro P

This phrase may occur almost anywhere that the subjective pronoun or nominative demonstrative pronoun can occur.

Par Pro P = + Pro Head	+ Particularizer
subj pro	<u>keena</u> 'in particular'
nom demon pro	

Examples:

- (a) /Riita keena/ otiik.
 he particular do.will
 'He in particular will do it.'
- (b) Wanio /riitaba keena/ saka otiikiitawak.
 Wanio he.only particular neg do.neg
 'Wanio, he's the one that won't do it.'
- (c) /Sii keena/ maji batak.
 she particular word speaking.will
 'She'll do the speaking all right.'
- (d) /Rii[-pa] keena/ otii yeechi ye ik.
 he-will particular do fetch take go.will
 'He's the one that will do it and take it away.'
- (e) /Piiriita keena/ saka yesokwa yayarek.
 they.2 particular neg raise.up bring.neg.past
 'They were not able to raise it up and bring it.'

3.5 Modified Noun Phrase = Mod NP

The Modified Noun Phrase consists of a Deictic, several possible Modifiers, a nominal Head, and a final appositional Summary pronoun. All are optional but at least one of these must be manifested in each occurrence.

Mod NP = + (\pm Deictic	\pm Mod ³	\pm Head	\pm Summary)
demonstrative pronoun	adjective color digit Num P quantity words Int Adj P	noun Attrib NP	pronoun Par Pro P

Rules:

- (1) If the Head is understood by context, only the Modifier(s) is necessary.
- (2) Modifiers can be shifted to positions following the Head but preceding the Summary.

Examples:

- (a) /Kehapa hisaw mayaka gworo wey hami veyi sii/ ir.
 black large large long very hami canoe she went
 'The very, very large long black canoe made of hami left.'
- (b) /Apoma karakada wey tobo apo sii/ sakar.
 white small very short bird she fell
 'The very small, short, white bird fell.'
- (c) /Hadabas boboy/ tawa.
 wonderful thing is
 'It is a wonderful thing.'
- (d) /Eeta hisaw gworo wey me/.
 it large long very tree
 'It is a very high and large tree.'
- (e) /Harapa wey Lae akama eeta/ bana bana tawa.
 large very Lae town it close be
 'The very large town of Lae is very close by.'

The following examples show phrases with modifiers permuted to post-post-Head position.

- (f) /Apoma tobo apo karakada wey sii/ iwa.
 white short bird small very she went
 'The very small, short, white bird went away.'

- (g) /Gworo kehapa veyi hisaw mayaka sii-n/ tato.
 long black canoe large large she-obj.m carving
 '(They) are carving the very large, long, black canoe.'
- (h) /Lae akama/ /harapa wey/ tawa.
 Lae town large very is
 'The town of Lae is very large.'
- (i) /Yokotapa yokotapa gworo nayi me hisaw mayaka ee-na/ yiid.
 five five long red tree large large it-obj.m cut.down
 '(They) cut down the high and very large ten red trees.'
- (j) /Hisaw papa yokotapa abo yokotapa podat eeta/ sakar.
 large stone hand complete hand one it fell
 'Six large stones fell down.'
- (k) /Nokwapa nokwapa apoma ma mima harapa mayaka ye/ yato.
 many many white man woman large large they coming
 'Many very large white people are coming.'

Noun phrases ending with an adjective and without a Summary are homophonous with corresponding Stative Clauses. For example, the Noun Phrase in examples (f) and (g) without the sii Summary is a Stative Clause.

- (l) Apoma tobo apo karakada wey.
 white short bird small very
 'The short white bird is very small.'
- (m) Gworo kehapa veyi hisaw mayaka.
 long black canoe large large
 'The long black canoe is very large.'

3.6 Possessed Noun Phrase = Poss NP

The Poss NP consists of a possessing nominal followed by the possessed nominal.

Poss NP = + Possessor	± Head
poss pro	Mod NP
Mod NP poss	
Emb Sent poss	

Rules:

- (1) When the Mod NP manifests the Possessor slot it must have a Summary slot manifested by a possessive pronoun.
- (2) The Embedded Sent poss must end with a possessive pronoun.
- (3) In context, if the Head is understood it may be omitted.

Examples:

- (a) /Riiti harapa yeebiiru kepi/ heechir.
 his strong axe good left
 '(He) left his good sturdy axe.'
- (b) /Siiti kwow/ nato.
 her string.bag weaving
 '(She) is weaving her string bag.'
- (c) /Noti aka/ hisaw mayaka tawa.
 our house large large is
 'Our house is very large.'
- (d) /Yechi veyi gworo kehapa ee/-na her.
 their canoe long black it-obj (I)saw
 '(I) saw their long black canoe.'

Note: the first four words of the preceding example are homophonous with a Stative Clause.

- (e) Yechi veyi gworo kehapa.
 their canoe long black
 'Their canoe is long and black.'
- (f) /Eeji kopi nowo/ harapa nosap.
 my coffee garden large ground
 'My coffee garden covers a large area.'
- (g) /Piiriiti nayi karakada yokotapa yokotapa gayetek/ siina har.
 their red small five five bead her gave
 '(They) gave her their ten small red beads.'
- (h) /Yesi ma riiti harapa mima kepi/-ka iwa.
 Yesan man his large woman good-with went
 '(She) went with the big, good wife of the Yesan man.'

The following example contains a Possessed Noun Phrase embedded in the Possessor slot of a Possessed Noun Phrase.

- (i) //Eeta karakada Yesi ma riiti harapa asa siiti/ yokotapa yi
 it small Yesan man his large dog her five pup
kepi/ ye har.
 good they died

'The five nice pups of the large dog belonging to the small Yesan man died.'

3.7 Listing Noun Phrase = List NP

The Listing Noun Phrase consists of two or more nominals juxtaposed in a coordinate relationship. It occurs in the environments where other noun phrases occur.

List NP = + List Head₁ + List Head₂ ± Summary

noun	noun	pronoun
pronoun	pronoun	Mod NP
Mod NP	Mod NP	
Poss NP	Poss NP	Par Pro P
List NP	Assoc NP	<u>eyey</u> 'all'
		<u>eyey ye</u> 'all they'

Examples:

- (a) /Madiwai, Bruganawi, Yesi akama/-k rii ir.
 Madiwai Bruganawi Yesan village-loc.mar he went
 'He went to Madiwai, Bruganawi, and Yesan.'
- (b) Rii /siiva, kiiw, yopo, emiyep ee/-na yayar.
 he coconut yam banana fish it-obj.mar brought
 'He brought coconuts, yams, bananas, and fish.'
- (c) /Nokwapa nokwapa ma, mima yikapwa, asa, boboy ee/-ka veyik
 many many man woman child dog things it-with canoe.by
eecha yar.
 this.way came
 'Many men, women, children, dogs, and cargo came together in the canoe.'
- (d) /Aponumay, apodowan, aposhebu, apokibi, eyey ye/ kwashika
 hawk pigeon cassowary flying fox all they jungle.with
tawa.
 be

'Hawks, pigeons, cassowaries, flying foxes, they are all in the jungle.'

- (e) /Pita riita riita mimaka piir/ Mino akamak heechi ir.
 Piter he his woman.with they.2 Mino village left went
 'Peter went with his wife to Mino village.'

- (f) Kiap rii riiti awo hu tawa ma riiti nareboy yechaka Beglam
 ADC he his cook be man his friend they.with Beglam
akaman hek iwa.
 village see.to went

'The administrative officer went with his cook and the cook's friend to see the village of Beglam.'

- (g) /Jon, Pita, Wanio yecha yechi mima-ka eyey/ Madiwai ma
 John Peter Wanio they their wives-assoc.mar all Madiwai man
yechi karakada veyi-k diika iyare-wa, apa-k.
 their small canoe-loc.mar here arrived now-at

'John, Peter, Bill with their wives, all just arrived here in the small canoe belonging to Madiwai.'

3.8 Appositional Noun Phrase = Appo NP

The App NP consists of two nominals which refer to the same individual followed by a Summary Pronoun.

Appo NP = + Appo Head	+ Appo Head	± Summary
proper nouns	proper nouns	Pronoun
Mod NP	Mod NP	Par Pro P
Poss NP	Poss NP	

Examples:

- (a) /Jon, eeji yikapwa, rii/ yar.
 John my child he went
 'John, my child, went.'

- (b) /Hisaw mayaka gworo wey veyi, eeji veyi,/ ye tato.
 large large long very canoe my canoe they carving.

'They are carving the very long and large canoe which is mine.'

- (c) /Siiti nokwapa, eeta karakada apokosaba mima, sii/ otii ato.
 her mother it small old woman she do eating
 'Her mother, the small old woman, is cooking food.'
- (d) /Eeji nosap, kata harapa kiiw nowo ee/-na ada riina
 my ground that large yam garden pro-obj.mar I him
hakiita.
 give
 'I will give him my land which is that large yam garden.'

3.9 Time Phrase = TP

The Time Phrase consists of an obligatory Time Head₁ and an optional Time Head₂ plus an optional time marker.

$$TP = + \text{Time Head}_1^3 \pm \text{Time Head}_2 \pm \text{Time Marker}$$

time words	nedii 'time'	-k @ -ek 'at'
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Rule:

The allomorph ek occurs when the preceding phoneme is a consonant.

Examples:

- (a) /Yadii nedii-k/ rii yar.
 day time-time.mar he came
 'He came during the day.'
- (b) /Niyi nedii/ riipa ikiita.
 night time he.will go.will
 'He will go in the night.'
- (c) /Uhadii nedii-k/ yecha uwar.
 dawn time-time.mar they cried.out
 'They cried out at dawn.'
- (d) /Mashi, apa, komas nedii God rii tawa.
 before now later time God he is
 'God has always been and always will be.'
- (e) Rii yato, /apa-k./
 he comes now-time.mar
 'He is coming now!'

- (f) /Iyi yadii/ rii kapo otiikiita.
 tomorrow day he probably do.will
 'He will probably do it during the day tomorrow.'
- (g) /Noboyeer-ek/ Ambunti ma ye diika yatar.
 yesterday-rime.mar Ambunti man they here came
 'Yesterday the Ambunti men came here.'
- (h) /Uku kiipar nedii-k/ ada kapo miiti akaman hekiita.
 water go.out time-time.mar I probably your village see.will
 'I will probably see your village in the low water time.'
- (i) Maji pokii tawa mima yikapwa ye kapo /apa hogo
 school woman child they probably now afternoon
yadii nedii-k/ yechi kwow nakiita.
 day time-time.mar their string.bags weave.will
 'The school girls will probably weave their string bags in late afternoon.'

The following examples show two time words linked by the Pidgin conjunction na 'and'. The use of the na seems to be restricted to use in Time Phrases.

- (j) /Mashi na apa/ rii hak otiito.
 before and now he die.to doing
 'He has been sick quite a while.'
- (k) /Apa na komas/ rii saka yakiitawak.
 now and later he neg come.neg.will
 'He won't be coming today or later.'

3.10 Locative/Instrument Noun Phrase = Loc/Inst Np

The Loc/Inst Np consists of a nominal with a Loc/Inst clitic attached. This noun phrase may manifest both clause level instrument and location. If context is enough to show function of the Loc/Inst NP the clitic may be absent. This is rare.

Loc/Inst NP = + Locative Axis + Locative Relator ± Summary

pronoun	-k @ -ek 'locative'	locative
List NP		
Mod NP		
Poss NP		
Emb Sent		

Rule:

The ek allomorph occurs following a consonant, -k following a vowel.

Examples:

- (a) Siita /riita-k/ i riina /kubu-k/ piwa.
 she he-loc.mar go him stick-instr.mar hit
 'She went to him and hit him with the stick.'
- (b) /Kata Mino ma riiti karakada asa ee-ka/ sakar.
 that Mino man his small dog it-loc.mar fell
 '(It) fell on that Mino man's small dog.'
- (c) Jon riiti karakada mima yikapwa-n Shu riita /nokwapa siiti
 John his small woman child-obj.mar Shu he mother her
karakada awo-k/ pir.
 small bowl-inst.mar hit
 'Shu hit John's daughter with mother's small bowl.'
- (d) Pita rii /Jerusalem akama-k/ iyarer.
 Peter he Jerusalem town-loc.mar arrived
 'Peter arrived at Jerusalem.'

In the following example the Locative Axis is manifested by an Embedded Sentence which has a final locative marker followed by a summary slot manifested by eeka 'there'.

- (e) Subj Time Obj
Ambunti tawa ma mima ye uhadii nedii-k siiva, kiiv, yopo,
 Ambunti be man woman they dawn time-at coconut yam banana
 Loc
emiye ep ee-na /Ambunti akama-k tawa awoba-k
 fish it-obj.mar Ambunti town-loc.mar be market-loc.mar

Pred Pred

eeka/ toko-k gegiya-to.
 there buy-antic want-pres

'The people of Ambunti want to buy produce at the Ambunti market at dawn.'

(f) /Eeji yeebiiru harapa me mu-k kaka/ tawa.
 my axe large tree base-loc there is

'My axe is over by that large tree.'

(g) Sama upurus piir /biika upurus-ek diika/ yichu.
 grasshopper two they.2 leaf two-loc.mar here sit

'Two grasshoppers are sitting on two leaves here.'

(h) Rii siina /papa-k piwak, sii harapa keyato, /miiti
 he her stone-inst.mar hit she large crying your

aka-k/.
 house-loc.mar

'He hit her with a stone, and she's crying loudly at your house.'

3.11 Object Noun Phrase = Obj NP

The Object Noun Phrase consists of a nominal with an object marker clitic attached. The object marker may be absent if the context is enough to show that the nominal is manifesting an object of a verb.

Obj NP = + Object Axis ± Object Relator

pronoun	-n @ -na @ -en 'object marker'
Poss NP	(a clitic)
Mod NP	
List NP	

Rule:

The allomorph -n or -en 'object marker' is used with all except pronouns. The former is used following vowels, the latter following consonants. The allomorphs -n and -na are used on pronouns.

- (a) /Hami veyi-n/ tato.
hami canoe-obj.mar carving
'(They) are carving a hami canoe.'
- (b) /Kopi nowo-n/ dagiitar.
coffee garden-obj.mar cleared
'(They) cleared (land) for a coffee garden.'
- (c) /Rii-n/ pir.
he-obj.mar hit
'He was hit.'
- (d) /Eeta yokotapa abo yokotapa upurus karakada yikapwa-n/
it hand complete hand two small child-obj.mar
hawa.
gave
'(It) was given to the seven small children.'
- (e) /Kata nayim hadabas noko bi-n/ suwutu.
that red nice sago bark painting
'(He) is painting that nice, red, sago bark.'
- (f) Ri apoko rii Jon rii-na/ emiyp hawa.
his father he /John him-obj.mar fish gave
'His father gave John the fish.'
- (g) /Kata tiikiir-en/ ana ha.
that stool-obj.mar me give
'Give me that stool.'

3.12 Associative Noun Phrase = Assoc NP

The Assoc NP consists of a nominal with an associative marker attached. If context is enough to show function of this Assoc NP the marker may be absent. However, this is rare.

Assoc NP = + Assoc Axis + Assoc Relator

List NP	-ka @ -eka 'with'
Mod NP	(assoc mar)
Poss NP	
pronoun	

Rule:

-ka occurs following vowels; -eka occurs following consonants.

Examples:

- (a) /Riita-ka/ iwa.
 he-with went
 '(He) went with him.'
- (b) Mari sii /riita-ka/ ir.
 Mary she he-with went
 'Mary went with him.'

The following example shows a rather full Poss NP manifesting the Assoc Axis.

- (c) Sii/ Yesi ma riiti harapa mima kepi-ka/ yawa.
 she Yesan man his big woman good-with came
 'She came with the big good wife of the Yesan man.'

The following example shows a Mod NP manifesting the Assoc Axis.

- (d) Jon riita /eyey Madiwai ma mima yikapwa-ka/ anamesherokoto.
 John he all Madiwai man woman child-with
 'John is playing with all the Madiwai children.'

3.13 Similarity Phrase = Sim P

Sim P = + Sim Axis	+ Sim Relator
pronoun	-ga 'like'
noun	
adjective	

Examples:

- (a) /Aka-ga/ tawa.
 house-like is
 '(It's) like a house.'
- (b) /Veyi-ga/ eecha iwa.
 canoe-like this.way went
 '(It) went like a canoe.'

- (c) /Siita-ga/ sii eecha tawa.
she-like she this.way is

'She is like her.'

Though the above example is permissible the typical form is example

- (a) under Sim Sentence.

- (d) /Riiti-ga/ eecha tawa, eeji boboy.
his-like this.way is my thing

'My things are just like hers.'

Though the above example is permissible, example (b) under Similarity Sentence is the typical form.

- (e) Wanio rii /yikapwa-ga/ eecha otiito.
Wanio he child-like this.way doing

'Wanio is doing it like a child.'

- (f) Jon rii kata boboyen /mima-ga/ eecha kiyato.
John he that thing woman-like this.way carrying

'John is carrying that thing like a woman.'

- (g) Diita me /hapa-ga/ tawa.
this wood bone-like is

This wood is hard (like bone).'

- (h) Bensin siin /uku-ga/ eecha meejito.
petrol she.obj water-like this.way feels

'Petrol feels like water.'

- (i) Kata boboy /me-ga/ tawak, Jon rii tiimiwa.
that thing wood-like is John he cut

'The thing being like wood, John sawed it.'

- (j) Rii apokosaba /ma-ga/ eecha chishi tari, sii eecha
he old man-like this.way walk be.since she this.way
hikir siichi apoko eecha yatar.
thought her father this.way came

'Since he walked like an old man she thought her father was coming.'

- (k) Siivatabi /apoma-ga/ eecha heri, sii tokor.
cloth white-like this.way looked.since she bought

'Since the cloth was close to being white she bought it.'

4 CLAUSE LEVEL

Washkuk has only two clause types: the Active Clause and the Stative Clause. They tend to be rather similar, the main difference being that the Stative Clause has a complement slot and has as an optional copulative predicate manifested by the verb ta 'be' only. In Washkuk discourse, single isolated clauses are rare; they usually occur in multi-clausal sentences.

The word way @ woy @ wey may be inserted after any clause-level tagmeme exponent in a clause. It seems to add a bit of expressiveness to the clause or some part of the clause. We have not included this word in the clause formulas, but it can be added to almost any clause, most frequently just after a subject pronoun. See the Intensified Adjective Phrase.

4.1 Active Clause = AC1

AC1 = ± Subject ± Uncertainty ± Direct Object ± Indirect Object²

pronoun	<u>kapo</u> 'probably'	Obj NP	Obj NP
Mod NP			(This slot may occur twice, e.g. example (e))
Poss NP			
List NP			
Appos NP			
Emb Sent			
Par Pro P			

± Associative ± Instrument ± Locative ± Time

Assoc NP	Loc/Inst NP	Loc/Inst NP	TP
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± Manner ± Similarity ± Method ± Future + Predicate

manner word	similarity word	<u>eecha</u> this.way	<u>-pa</u> future	active verb
	<u>waga owaga</u>	<u>kacha</u> that.way	(permutes to attach to pronouns and negatives)	verb
	Similarity Sen	<u>jiicha</u> this.way		
	Similarity P	especially		

Rules:

- (1) For emphasis any one of the above slots can be placed after the predicate.
- (2)
 - a. Some verb stems such as ha 'give', toko 'sell', commonly occur with two objects. A few verb stems such as ba 'say' may occur with three objects. These could be called ditransitive verb stems.
 - b. Other verb stems such as pi 'hit', hiyiya 'steal', a 'eat', otii 'do' commonly occur with one object and could be called transitive verb stems.
 - c. Other verb stems such as i 'go', ya 'come', keya 'cry', wa 'sleep', ta 'to be' or 'exist' never occur with an object and could be called intransitive verb stems.

Following are examples of rule (1) a.:

- (a) Subj Obj Pred Pred obj
 /Rii kubu neeki/-chi /pi[-wa], eeta asan./
 he stick held-compl hit it dog
 'He hit the dog with a stick.'
- (b) Subj Time Loc Pred Assoc
 /Rii yeerek kwow nobok i[-r], Kiyav yechaka./
 he yesterday mountain road went Keyav they.with
 'He went yesterday over the mountain path with the Keyav people.'
- (c) Subj Obj Ind Obj Pred
 /Wanio rii riiti yeebiiru Muwaya siina ha/-r.
 Wanio he his axe Muwaya her gave
 'Wanio gave his axe to Muwaya.'
- (d) Subj Obj Ind Obj Pred
 /Ambunti ma ye yechi nosapen gavman toko/-r.
 Ambunti man they their land government sold
 'The Ambunti people sold their land to the government.'

Following are examples of rule (2) b.:

In the following example are three object nominals (Rule (2) a.). It appears that maji 'word' is the direct object and Pita rii-na 'to Peter' and Madiwai ma ye-nya 'about the Madiwai men' are both kinds of indirect objects.

- (e) Subj Ind obj Obj Obj Ind Obj
 /Jon rii Pita rii-na maji Madiwai ma ye-nya
 John he Peter him-obj.mar words Madiwai man they.3-obj.mar
 Pred Pred
 woshepii/ /ba/-r.
 lie spoke-past
 'John spoke falsely to Peter about the Madiwai men.'

Following are examples of rule (2) b.:

- (f) Subj Obj Pred
 /Eeta yikapwa ana pi/-wa.
 it child me hit
 'The child hit me.'

- (m) Subj Time Obj
- /Eeta ma riiti karakada yikapwa kepi sii yiirek asa
 it man his small child good she yesterday dog
- Loc Instr Manner Method Pred
- yi-n diika kubu-k harapa eecha pi/-r.
 offspring-obj.mar here stick-instr.mar big this.way struck
- 'The good, small child of the man hit the pup here yesterday very hard with a stick.'

In the following example there are two direct objects, but the second one, yo 'work' is a sort of idiomatic usage which serves as modifier of the verb.

- (n) Obj Subj
- /Kata hisaw wey veyi-n Ambunti akamak-k tawa ma ye
 that large very canoe-obj.mar Ambunti town-loc.mar be man they
- Instr Time Loc
- Madiwai ma yechi woyi-k apa-k miiti aka-k
 Madiwai man their adze-instr.mar now-at your house-loc.mar
- Manner Obj
- harapa yo ta/-to.
 large work carving
- 'The men of Ambunti are now carving that large canoe at your house using the Madiwai people's adzes, and working very hard at it.'

- (o) Loc Subj
- /Kwowo nowo-k eeji apoko, eeji nokwapa, piiriita-ka
 mountain garden-loc.mar my father my mother they.2-assoc
- Time Obj
- ada-ka iyik kiiw-on kiivii/-kiita.
 I-assoc.mar tomorrow yam-obj.mar plant-will
- 'Tomorrow I with my father and mother will plant yams in the garden on the mountain.'

The following example shows three clauses in a sentence.

(p) Obj

/Yokotapa abo yokotapa upurus karakada Madiwai yikapwa-n
 hand all hand two small Madiwai children-obj.mar

Subj Instr Time Pred Pred

Wanio rii kehapa veyi-k apakapa heechi/ /ye/
 Wanio he black canoe-loc.mar now.later leave take

Pred

/i/-kiita.
 will.go

'Shortly, Wanio will take the seven small Madiwai children in the black canoe.'

Following example shows two clauses together in a sentence.

(q) Subj

Time

Obj

/Ambunti tawa ma mima ye uhadii nedii-k siiva, kiiw, yopo
 Ambunti be man woman they dawn time-at coconut yam banana

Loc

emiyep ee-na Ambunti akama-k tawa awoba-k
 fish it-obj.mar Ambunti town-loc.mar be market-loc.mar

Pred

Pred

eeka toko/-k /gegiya/-to.
 there buy-antic want-pres

'The people of Ambunti want to buy produce at the Ambunti market at dawn.'

(r) Subj

Instr

/Jon, Pita, Wanio yecha yechi mima-ka eyey Madiwai ma
 John Peter Wanio they their wives-assoc.mar all Madiwai man

Loc Pred

Time

yechi karakada veyi-k diika iyare[-wa], apa-k./
 their small canoe-loc.mar here arrived-past now-Tim.mar

'John, Peter, and Bill with their wives, all just arrived here in the small canoe belonging to Madiwai.'

- (s) Subj Obj Pred Subj Obj Pred
 /Sii yikapwa yimowu/-rek, /piir riiti hi, Jon, haba/-r.
 she child bore-past they.2 his name John call-past
 'She had a child and they named him John'

The following example of all clause slots manifested is a permitted Washkuk construction but its existence in Washkuk usage would be extremely unlikely

- (t) Subj Uncert Obj Loc
 /Jon riipa riiti kumwoy riitakapa kapo veyin Ambunti
 Johne he.will his brother he.with.will probably canoe Ambunti
- | <u>Instr</u> | <u>Time</u> | <u>Assoc</u> | <u>Manner</u> |
|--|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| akamak riiti karakada woyik iyik | akar maka | ameya | |
| town.at his small adze tomorrow other man.with | | quickly | |
- Uncert Method.Future Pred Ind Obj
 kapo eechapa teechi[-kiita], Buria riin./
 probably this.way.will carve-will Buria him
 'John will probably with his younger brother carve the canoe quickly for Buria at Ambunti tomorrow with his small adze with the other men.'

4.2 Stative Clause = SC1

The Stative Clause differs from the Active Clause by having an obligatory complement and an optional Copulative manifested by the verb ta 'be'. It also has fewer satellite slots.

SC1 = ± Time + Subjective + Complement² ± (± Manner

Time P	pronoun	adjective	manner words
	Mod NP	poss pronoun	
	List NP	Mod NP	
	Poss NP	Loc/Inst NP	
	Appo NP	Mod NP poss	
	Emb Sent	Poss NP	
		List NP	

± Method

+ Copulative)

<u>eecha</u> 'this way'	<u>ta</u> 'be'
<u>kacha</u> 'that way'	<u>sir @ so</u> 'be'
<u>jiicha</u> 'this way especially'	

Rules:

- (1) In the present tense the Copulative is usually omitted.
- (2) When the Copulative is absent the Manner and Method slots must also be absent.
- (3) When the SC1 is used to give a name the Copulative is not used. See Example (d).

Examples:

- (a) /Kata ma rii siiti apoko.'
that man he her father
'That man is her father.'
- (b) /Siiti karakada yikapwa eeta kepi./
her small child it good
'Her small child is a good child.'
- (c) /Diita boboy kapasek wey./
this thing bad very
'This thing is very bad.'

- (d) /Eeji apokosaba apoko riiti hi, Jon./
 my old father his name John
 'My father is old and his name is John.'
- (e) /Jon rii eeta eeji yaka./
 John he it my older.brother
 'John is my older brother.'
- (f) /Piiriiti awi siiti mowey./
 their mother her sister
 '(She) is their mother's sister.'
- (g) /Kata karakada asa eeta siiti./
 that small dog it hers
 'That small dog is hers.'
- (h) /Ambunti yatar ma yechi veyi./
 Ambunti came man their canoe
- (i) /Eeta harapa tatar me./
 it large carved tree(log)
 'It was a large tree that was carved.'
- (j) /Neer yeerek kehapa ta/-rek, /apa apoma ta/-wak, /iyik
 sky yesterday blue was now white is tomorrow
kehapa kawka ta/-kiita.
 blue again be.will
 'Yesterday the sky was blue, today it's white, and tomorrow
 it'll be blue again.'

The following example shows a Stative Clause acting as an Embedded Sentence.

- (k) /Ukarumpa ta[-wa] uku sii/ neekiireyawa.
 Ukarumpa be water she cold.came
 'Ukarumpa's water is cold.'
- (l) /Jon rii harapa yo otiirek, /riiti magiir kapasek ta/-wak, rii
 John he large work did his back bad is he
cheyek wato.
 bed sleeps
 'John strained his back doing heavy work so he's lying down.'

The following example has an embedded Stative Sentence in the Locative slot of the Stative Clause.

- (m) Iyik ma ye yechi yo hamanak veyi sii
 tomorrow man they their work finished.when canoe long she
yanak, /moto sii kepi ta/-nak, anapa ikiita.
 come.when motor she good be-when I.will go.will
 'Tomorrow after they finish their work and when the canoe
 comes and the motor is in good shape, I will go.'
- (n) Iyavek Madiwai kapasek otiir ma yen kiap rii anasanak,
 day.after Madiwai bad dod man them Kiap he court.when
 /eena eyey Madiwai ma ye anasak tawa akak
 that's.why all Madiwai man they court is house
siitii/-kiita.
 stand-will
 'When the Kiap takes the Madiwai miscreants to court, all the
 Madiwai people will be at the court house.'
- (o) /Bagwis yikapwa yechaka meshmesh eecha ta/-wa.
 Bagwis child they.with together this.way are
 'The Bagwis children are together.'
- (p) /Yikapwa ye eechaba eechaba kepi wey hadabas ta/-wa.
 child they always always good very wonderful are
 'The children are always very good and well.'
- (q) /Eeta boboy eeta Wanio, Muwaya piiriiti./
 it thing it Wanio Muwaya their.2
 'Those things belong to Wanio and Muwaya.'
- (r) /Ka Mino ma ta/wa.
 that Mino man are
 'Those are Mino men.'
- There's a special emphatic use of the Stative Clause which the Copulative verb ta is used without any inflection or sentence markers.
- (s) /Mino ichawa ma eeta ta:/ Jon, Wanio, Buria, Shu, Aroa.
 Mino went man it is John Wanio Buria Shu Aroa
 'The men who went to Mino are these: John, Wanio, Buria, Shu,
 and Aroa.'

- (t) /Boboy diita ta!/
 thing here be
 'The things are here!'
- (u) /Diika sii/-kiita.
 here be-will
 'It will be here.'
- (v) /Yeerek diika sii/-r.
 yesterday.Tim.mar here be-past
 'It was here yesterday.'
- (w) /Eeta so/-wa.
 it be-past
 'That's it!' or 'It's done well.'
- (x) /Rii Mino akamak sii/-chi awasen yawa.
 he Mino village.loc be-compl back came
 'He went as far as Mino village then came back.'
- (y) /Siita nobok sii/-rek, noku atar.
 she path.loc be-past sago ate
 'She ate the sago while on the path.'

5 SENTENCE LEVEL

The treatment of sentence level here complements the analysis in my other paper, "Hierarchy of Washkuk (Kwoma) Clauses."

First we have set up the Simple Sentence which corresponds to any link postulated in the other paper that contains no embedded links. And we have set up the Stative Sentence to take care of any Stative Clauses which have second, third, or fourth order markers on them. We have set up the Negative Sentence because any negative seems to apply to a whole Simple Sentence or Stative Sentence. Next we have set up the Imperative Sentence and the Interrogative Sentence. And then we discuss the Similarity Sentence, the Direct Quotation Sentence, the Indirect Quotation Sentence, the Conditional Sentence, the Negative-Positive Sentence, the Embedded Sentence, the Negative Evaluation Sentence, the General Evaluation Sentence, the Unfulfilled Obligation Sentence, the Intensified State Sentence, and the Complement Sentence, because these sentence types were not adequately treated in the other paper. Following this is a brief discussion of how one clause can be used to serve as a Sentence Topic for the next clause. The Sentence Markers conclude this section.

In this analysis we have assigned the first two orders of verbal suffixes to the verb itself, and, hence, to the clause. The other orders of verbal suffixes have been assigned to the sentence level where they are called sentence markers. See "Hierarchy of Washkuk Clauses" by Kooyers, another treatment of these suffixes.

We have set up the Simple Sentence to take care of single clauses with sentence markers on them and of series of clauses with sentence markers on the final clause only. The clauses in a simple sentence always have the same subject and the verbs of the clauses denote action in close sequence or denote simultaneous action.

5.1 Simple Sentence = Simple Sent

A single clause or cluster of verbs describing a rapid sequence or a simultaneous combination of actions or events form a Simple Sentence.

$$\text{Simple Sent} = \pm \text{Base}_1^n + \text{Base}_2 + \text{Markers}$$

AC1	AC1	any non-final or final sentence markers
-----	-----	---

Rules:

- (1) All clauses after the first one have very few and very brief satellites, usually none at all. The first clause has the most satellites.
- (2) The clauses all have the same subject.

Examples:

- (a) /Rii yawak,/ /ye yo oti-wa./
 he came they work did-past
 'They came and did some work.'
- (b) /Rii heechi ya-wak,/ /ye yo oti-wa./
 he left came they work did-past
 'He left and came and did some work.'
- (c) /Yecha yo oti-to./
 they work doing-pres
 'They are working.'
- (d) /Apo sii saka-r./
 bird she fell-past
 'The bird fell down.'

- (k) Subj Pred Pred
- /Mino ma ye ta ta ta hama-chi/ /neeki-chiniga/
 Mino man they carve carve carve finish-compl pull-continued
- Loc Pred Mod Pred Pred
- /pak rabo-chi-niga /eyey ye /i-chi i i i-niga/
 river.at toss-compl-cont all down go-compl go go go-cont
- Loc Pred
- /akamak iyar-er./
 village.at arrive-past

'The Mino men finished carving the canoe, pulled it (through the forest), put it in the river, then all of them got in it, went down (the river) and arrived at the village.'

- (l) Subj Obj Pred Obj Pred
- /Wanio rii riiti yo hama-chi/ /riiti boboy yee-chi/
 Wanio he his work finish-compl his things fetch-compl
- Pred Pred Loc Pred
- /kiya-chi/ /heechi/ /akamak i-wa./
 carry-compl left village.at go-past

'Wanio finished his work, grabbed his things, put them on his shoulder, and left for the village.'

- (m) Subj Loc Pred Obj Pred Loc
- /Beglam yatar ma ye diika gaye-chi/ /veyi heechi kwashik
 Beglam came man they here beach-compl /canoe left forest.at
- Pred
- akii i-cha-r./
 afraid go-cont-past

'The Beglam men beached the canoe here, left the canoe, and ran away frightened into the forest.'

5.2 Stative Sentence = St Sent

The Stative Sentence consists of a single Stative Clause plus sentence markers, since Stative Clauses do not occur in close conjunction as Active Clauses do. The Stative Sentence has a single Base.

St Sent = + Base

+ Sentence Markers

Stative Clause

final or non-final
sentence markers

- (k) Subj Pred Pred
- /Mino ma ye ta ta ta hama-chi/ /neeki-chiniga/
 Mino man they carve carve carve finish-compl pull-continued
- Loc Pred Mod Pred Pred
- /pak rabo-chi-niga /eyey ye /i-chi i i i-niga/
 river.at toss-compl-cont all down go-compl go go go-cont
- Loc Pred
- /akamak iyar-er./
 village.at arrive-past

'The Mino men finished carving the canoe, pulled it (through the forest), put it in the river, then all of them got in it, went down (the river) and arrived at the village.'

- (l) Subj Obj Pred Obj Pred
- /Wanio rii riiti yo hama-chi/ /riiti boboy yee-chi/
 Wanio he his work finish-compl his things fetch-compl
- Pred Pred Loc Pred
- /kiya-chi/ /heechi/ /akamak i-wa./
 carry-compl left village.at go-past

'Wanio finished his work, grabbed his things, put them on his shoulder, and left for the village.'

- (m) Subj Loc Pred Obj Pred Loc
- /Beglam yatar ma ye diika gaye-chi/ /veyi heechi kwashik
 Beglam came man they here beach-compl /canoe left forest.at
- Pred
- akii i-cha-r./
 afraid go-cont-past

'The Beglam men beached the canoe here, left the canoe, and ran away frightened into the forest.'

5.2 Stative Sentence = St Sent

The Stative Sentence consists of a single Stative Clause plus sentence markers, since Stative Clauses do not occur in close conjunction as Active Clauses do. The Stative Sentence has a single Base.

St Sent = + Base

+ Sentence Markers

Stative Clause

final or non-final
 sentence markers

Rule:

Stative Clauses without the verb ta 'be' do not take sentence markers.

Examples:

- (a) /Rii ta-wa./
he be-past/Pres
'He is here.' or 'He is alive.'
- (b) /Sii tawa/-ga /sii eecha ta-wa./
she is-like she this.way be-past/Pres
'She is like her.'
- (c) /Ka Mino ma ta-wa./
that Mino man be-past/Pres
'Those are Mino men.'
- (d) /Kata ma rii siiti apoko ta-wa./
that man he she father be-past/Pres
'That man is her father.'
- (e) /Diita boboy kapasek wey ta-wa./
this thing bad very be-past/Pres
'This thing is very bad.'
- (f) /Eeta hadabas boboy.
it wonderful thing
'That is very, very nice.'
- (g) /Apa sii kepi.
now she good
'She's well now.'
- (h) /Yiapwa sii kapasek.
child she bad
'She's a bad child.'

5.3 Negative Sentence = Neg Sent

Neg Sent = + Negative + Base + Negative Inflection

<u>saka</u> 'not'	Simple Sentence without sentence marker	-kiitawak 'fut neg'
	Stative Sentence without sentence markers	-wak 'pres neg'
		-rek 'post neg'
		-kasakech 'tenseless neg'
		-nak 'non final heterpersonal negative'

Rule:

saka permutes to somewhere inside the first clause of the manifestation of the Base. It may also be repeated in the clause or sentence.

Examples:

(a) Subj neg Pred

Rii saka i-wak.
he not go-neg.Pres

'He didn't go.' or 'He isn't going.'

(b) /Eeji yikapwa sii saka ha-ta-nak/, eena anapa
my child she not give-cont-neg.fut that's.why I.will

nijaka i-k.
you.assoc.mar go-antic

'My child will not give (them) to you, that's why I'll go with you.'

(c) /Riiti awi sii riina aboboy saka ha-nak/, rii diika yaniga
his mother she him food not give-neg.fut he here come

nokun wohe-kiita.
sago ask-will

'When his mother will give him no food he'll come here and ask for sago.'

(d) Rii i-kasakech.
he go-not

'He didn't go.'

- (e) Mii i-kasakech!
you go-not
'Don't go!'
- (f) Yeerek ye heechi ya-kasakech.
yesterday they left came-not
'They did not leave and come yesterday.'
- (g) Siiti awi sii ta-kasakech.
her mother she be-neg
'Her mother is not here.'
- (h) Eeta harapa-kasakech.
it large-neg
'It is not large.'
- (i) Sii mima-kasakech.
she woman-neg
'She is not a woman.'
- (j) Kata me hapaga-kasakech.
that wood strong-neg
'That wood is not strong.'
- (k) Mino ma ye saka ta-wak.
Mino man they neg be-neg.
'The Mino men are not here.'
- (l) Diita papa eeta saka hapaga ta-wak.
this rock it neg strong be-neg.Pres
'This rock is not strong.'
- (m) Sii saka i-kiitawak.
she not go-fut.neg
'She will not go.'
- (n) Yikapwa yepa saka anamesheroko tawa boboy siitin hehar
children they.will not play be thing hers well
otii-kiitawak.
do-fut.neg
'The children will not do a good job on making her toy.'

- (o) Ambunti ma ye saka Mino ma yechi men saka yii-rek.
 Ambunti man they not Mino man their tree not cut-past.neg
 'The Ambunti men did not cut the tree belonging to the Mino people.'

- (p) Nopa Wewak akamak inyey, /nopa riina saka hehar maji
 we.will Wewak town go.if we.will him not well word
pokii-kiitawak./

'If we go to Wewak, we will not be able to teach him very well.'

5.4 Imperative Sentence = Imp Sent

The Imp Sent is marked by the introduction of the Imperative word and the absence of any sentence level inflections on the final verb. The Imperative word usually is introduced into the first clause. There are two Imperative words: na 'first person, second person', and sa 'third person'.

Imp Sent = ± Imperative

+ Base

<u>na</u> @ <u>ne</u> 'first person second person'	simple sentence without sentence marker
<u>sa</u> 'third person'	

Rule:

- (1) There are no inflections on the final verb of the manifestation of the Base.
- (2) When the action to be done is known by context the Base can be omitted and only the Imperative na is stated.
- (3) The Imperative permutes to any position in the sentence except that preceding the verb.
- (4) It can occur twice in the Sentence, even three times, though this is rare.

Examples:

- (a) Na otii.
 imp do

'Do it.'

- (b) Jon, na yeechi yaya.
 John imp fetch bring

'John, get it and bring it here.'

- (c) Hehar otii ta.
well do cont

'Be doing it well.'

The following example shows the Imperative function occurring in the first of two homopersonal clauses. The Imperative na could also occur before awasen.

- (d) Nota na otiinak, awasen yeechi ye i.
we imp do.when return fetch take go

'We must do it then return it.'

- (e) Miita miiti yo na hamachi eechiniga diika ya maji
you.1 your.1 work imp finish.compl eat.compl here come word

ba.
speak

'Finish your work and eat, then come here and (we'll) talk.'

- (f) Rii sa i.
he imp go

'He must go.'

- (g) Yecha sa hehar meeji-chi sa heechi i.
they imp well hear-compl imp leave go

'They must listen well then go.'

- (h) Piiriita sa otiitanak, notaka eeji nowon kikibak chi cha.
they.2 imp do we.with my garden together plant cont

'They must do it then work together with us to plant my garden.'

5.5 Interrogative Sentence = Q Sent

$$Q \text{ Sent} = \frac{\pm \text{Interrogative}^2 + \text{Base}}{\begin{array}{|c|c|} \hline \text{question word} & \text{Sentence} \\ \hline \end{array}}$$

Rule:

The interrogative word expounds some non-Predicate Clause Tagmeme of the first clause (or some following clause) of the sentence. Only certain pairs of question words may occur together in a Sentence, e.g., boyega secha 'how what = how'. kapo 'uncertainty' occurs frequently in clauses in an interrogative sentence, and may occur in several of the clauses especially if it's a heteropersonal sentence. The other interrogative words may appear on rare occasions in more than one clause.

In context, the AC1 without a question word may function as a yes-no question, in which case it may or may not be given less stress.

- (a) Rii iwa? Rii iwa!
 he went he went

'Did he go? He went!'

The following example has two clauses in the sentence.

- (b) Siita yechak i noku tokowa? Ayo, sii tokowa.
 she them.to go rice bought yes she bought

'Did she go to them and buy rice? Yes, she bought some.'

Yes-no questions may also be formed by using the words boy 'question word' and or kapo 'probably' in the uncertainty slot.

- (c) Rii boy iwa? Rii iwa.
 he q w went he went

'Did he go? He went.'

- (d) Siita boy yechak i noku tokowa? Yaho. Saka tokowak.
 she q w them.to go rice bought no neg bought.not

'Did she go to them and buy rice? No, she didn't buy any.'

- (e) Yepa kapo Ambunti akamak ik? Yepa kapo
 they.will probably Ambunti village go.will they.will probably
ik.
 go.will

'Are they going to go to Ambunti? I don't know if they are going to go or not.'

- (f) Kapo rii boy yawa. Rii yawa.
 probably he q w came he came

'Has he come? He came.'

- (g) Ye saka yawak? Ye yawa.
 they neg came they came

'Didn't they come? Yes, they came.'

- (h) Rii boy saka iwak? Ikasakech!
 he q w neg went go.not

'Didn't he go? No!'

- (i) Sii kapo saka otiikiitawak? Sii otiikiita.
 she probably neg do.will.not she do.will

'Will she not do it? Yes, she will do it.'

Information questions are formed by using an appropriate interrogative word in one of the clause slots (except Predicate slot).

- (j) Subj Q Pred

Jon rii siitak iwa?
 John he where went

'Where did John go?'

- (k) Uncer Subj Pred

Kapo siitak Wanio, Mukuchuwa, Buria ye iwa?
 probably where Wanio Mukuchuwa Buria they went

'Where did Wanio, Mukuchuwa, and Buria go?'

- (l) Subj Q Obj

Muwaya siiti nokwapa siitaka Buria riitaka siitak kata hami
 Muwaya her mother her.with Buria he.with where that hami

Pred

siik yayar.
 fruit get

'Where did Muwaya's mother and Buria get the hami fruit?'

- (m) Subj Q Pred

Ambunti Akademi yo siitiiyekega tasiir?
 Ambunti Akademi work when begin

'When did the work begin at the Ambunti Akademi?'

- (n) Subj Q Obj Pred

Rii siitiiyekega jeyn hakiita?
 he when book give

'When will he give the book?'

- (o) Q Subj Obj Ind Obj Pred

/Siitiiyekega Bangwis mima yepa boga riina hakiita?/
 when Bangwis woman they.will taro him give

'When will the women from Bangwis give him taro?'

- (p) Obj Q Instr
 /Awi siita mashi otiir nowo boyega kapo kubuk
 mother she before worked garden how probably stick.with
biyitu.
 break.up
 'How can you plough up mother's old garden?'
- (q) Q Obj Subj Pred
 /Boyega kapo Bangwis akamak anapa ikiita?/
 how probably Bangwis village I.will
 'How can I go to the village of Bangwis?'
- (r) Subj Q
 /Riita yo ishar ishar otiiney,/ boyega hamakiita?
 he work easy easy works how finish
 'If he does his work so slowly how will he finish it?'
- (s) Subj Q Instr Pred
 /Ada eeji asa boy boboyeka pikiita?/
 I my dog what something.assoc.mar fight
 'What thing shall I use to fight my dog with?'
- (t) Subj Q Obj Pred Subj Pred
 /Pita riitaka Noyigey riitaka boy yo tanak, piir otiikiita?/
 Peter he.with Noyige y he.with what work be.when they.2 will.do
 'What work is there that Peter and Noye y can do?'
- (u) Subj Uncer Q Pred
 /Kata yikapwa rii kapo boy boboy akiito?/
 that child he probably what something afraid
 'What is that child afraid of?'
- (v) Subj Q Pred Obj
 /Madiwai tawa Amakway sii boyewak akiito karakada asa?/
 Madiwai be Amakway she why afraid small dog
 'Why is Amakway from Madiwai afraid of the little dog?'
- (w) Time Subj Uncer Pred
 /Hogo sii nedii ye kapo boyewak akamak siikiita?/
 afternoon be time they probably why house.with be
 'Why will they remain in the village in the afternoon?'

- (x) Q Subj Method
 /Harapa yadii mayaka sowak, boyewak rii eecha wato?/
 large time large be why he this.way sleep
 'In the middle of the day why is he sleeping?'
- (y) Q Obj Subj Pred
 /Bwimey moto yecha yeechi ye ir?/
 which motor they fetched took away
 'Which motor did they take away?'
- (z) Uncer Q Q Pred
 /Kapo boyega secha otiik?/
 probably how what do.will
 'How will (they) do it?'
- (aa) Subj Uncer Q Time Pred
 Ada kapo namaka iyik ikiita?/
 I probably who.with tomorrow go.will
 'With whom will I go tomorrow?'
- (bb) Subj Uncer Q Pred
 /Rii kapo naman pir?/
 he probably whom hit
 'Whom did he hit?'

5.6 Similarity Sentence = Sim Sent

Similarity Sentences are always embedded in larger sentences except as an answer to a question.

Sim Sent = + Sim Axis + Sim Relator

Simple Sentence with final markings	-ga 'like'
---	------------

Examples:

- (a) /Sii tawa-ga/ sii eecha tawa.
 she is-like she this way is
 'She is like her.'

- (b) /Riiti tawa-ga/ tawa, eeji boboy.
his is-like is my things
 /My things are like hers.'
- (c) /Ambunti ma ye otii tawa-ga/ na eecha otiiiba ta.
 Ambunti man they do is-like imp this.way do.also cont
 'Do it the way the Ambunti men are doing it.'
- (d) /Shu rii eena pichare-ga/ Buria rii eechema pir.
 Shu he it struck-like Buria he also struck
 'Buria struck it just the way Shu struck it.'
- (e) /Amakway sii yeerek harapa uwatare-ga/ Muwaya sii apak
 Amakway she yesterday large called.out-like Muwaya she now
uwabato.
calls.out.also
 'Muwaya is now calling out just like Amakway did yesterday.'
- (f) /Siita kapo otiitana-ga/ nija na eechema otii ta.
 she probably do.will-like you imp also do cont
 'Do it like the way she will probably be doing it.'

5.7 Direct Quotation Sentence = Dir Quo Sent

Dir Quo Sent = + Quo Formula + Direct Quote

Sentence with verb root	any utterance
<u>hiki</u> 'think	
<u>wo</u> 'say'	
<u>meeji</u> 'hear'	
<u>wohe</u> 'call'	
etc. and final sentence marker	

Rules:

- (1) The two slots may be permuted especially if the speaker forgets to put the Quote Formula before the Direct Quote.
- (2) The exponent of the Quote Formula must have the Sentence-final sentence markers.
- (3) Pronouns and tenses in the exponent of the Direct Quote are unchanged from the original utterance.
- (4) The Quote Formula Sentence usually contains eecha 'this way'.

- (a) Jon rii eecha wor: "Ada yak."
John he this.way said: I come.will
'John said, "I will come."'
- (b) Wanio rii ana eecha wowa: "Ada miiti veyi yak gegiyato."
Wanio he me this.way said I your canoe take want
'Wanio said to me, "I want to take your canoe."'
- (c) Pita rii Jon riina eecha wor: "Ana na kiyatay."
Peter he John him this.way said me imp help
'Peter said to John, "Help me."'
- (d) Ambunti yatar ma rii kata mima siina eecha woher: "Niji
Ambunti came man he that woman her this.way asked your
emiyep kapo tokok?"
fish probably sell
'The man who came from Ambunti asked that woman, "Will you sell your fish?''

5.8 Indirect Quotation Sentence = Ind Quo Sen

Ind Quo Sen = + Quo Formula	+ Ind Quote
Sentence with verb root: <u>hiki</u> 'think' <u>wo</u> 'say' <u>meeji</u> 'hear' <u>haba</u> 'call' etc. and final sentence marker	any utterance with pronouns and tenses changed

Rules:

- (1) The two slots may be permuted especially if the speaker forgets to put the Quote Formula before Direct Quote.
- (2) Final Verb in the Quo Formula must have sentence-final sentence markers.
- (3) In the exponent of the Indirect Quote the tenses and pronouns are adjusted to fit the viewpoint of the speaker of this sentence rather than the speaker of the original utterance.

Examples:

- (a) Jon rii siina wor sii sa heechi i.
 John he him said he imp leave go
 'John said that he had to go.'
- (b) Ada riina wowa riiti yo sa otii.
 I him said his work imp do
 'I told him that he was supposed to do his work.'
- (c) Sii wowa sii yeerek yar.
 she said she yesterday came
 'She said she came yesterday.'
- (d) Ada kapasek otiir, sii wor.
 I bad did she said
 'She said I did a bad thing.'
- (e) Sii iyik ikiita sii yeerek wor.
 she tomorrow go.will she yesterday said
 'She said yesterday that she will go tomorrow.'

5.9 Conditional Sentence = Con S

Con S = + Conditional + Conditional +Consequential + Sentence
 Base Marker Base Marker

ACL		ACL	any final or nonfinal markers
	-nan siiney @	ACL	
	-nyan siiney	SCL	
	-ney 'if(fut)'		
	-wey 'if(pres) since (pres)'		
	-yega 'if(past)'		
	-ri 'since (past)'		

Examples:

- (a) Rii i-nyan sii-ney, sii ya-kasakech.
 he go-neg be-if she receive-neg
 'If he doesn't go, she will not receive it.'

- (b) Ambunti ma ye nona kiyatayi-nan sii-ney, no apak
 Ambunti man they us help-neg be-if we today
hamakasakech.
 finish.neg
 'If the Ambunti men won't help us, we won't finish it today.'
- (c) Eeta sakar me kwo yeechi yaya-nan siiney, akar ma ye
 it fell tree you fetch bring-neg be-if other man they
kapo ye ikiita.
 probably take will
 'If you don't take the fallen tree the other men will probably take it.'
- (d) Siita otii-ney, rii ik.
 she do-if he go.will
 'If she does it, he will go.'
- (e) Rii yeerek riiti yon otii-yega, no owaga iwa.
 he yesterday his work do-if we would.have gone
 'If he had done his work yesterday, we would have gone.'
- (f) Madiwai mima ye noboyeerek nowo sagiin otii
 Madiwai woman they day.before.yesterday garden seed do
chi-chi-chi-ba-yega iyik diika kapo yakiita.
 plant-ben-compl-too-if tomorrow here probably come.will
 'If the Madiwai women planted the garden for him too the day before yesterday, (they'll) probably come here tomorrow.'
- (g) Buria, Mukuchuwa piiriita piiriiti yon hama-ri, piir
 Buria Mukuchuwa they.2 their.2 work finished-since they.2
yihapakato.
 resting
 'Since Buria and Mukuchuwa finished their work they are resting today.'

In the following example both clauses are in present tense so the translation is more of a 'since' or 'in as much'.

- (h) Rii apak cheyek wa-ta-vey, riita keena miina saka maji
 he now bed sleeping-since he particularly vou neg word
bata-wak.
 speaking-neg
 'Since he is sleeping in bed he won't be speaking with you.'

In the following example the conditional clause is in present tense and the consequential clause is in future tense, so that the conditional 'if' is used in the translation.

- (i) Rii apak yo otiita-vey, rii riiti yo hogo nediik
 he now work doing-if he his work late.afternoon time
hamakiita.
 finish.will

'If he is doing work now, he will finish his work by late afternoon.'

- (j) Riiti nokwapa sii riina yimowu-nan sii-yega, owaga kepi
 his mother she him borne-neg be-if would.have good
siir.
 was

'It would have been good if his mother had not borne him.' or
 'If his mother had not borne him it would have been good.'

5.10 Negative-Positive Sentence = Neg-Pos Sent

The Negative-Positive Sentence consists of Base₁ with the Negative Nonfinal Marker, which indicates negation or disapproval, plus Base₂ with its inflections. This might have been called a negative anticipatory sentence.

Neg-Pos Sent = + Base₁ + Neg Nonfinal Marker + Base₂ + Pos Final Infl

Simple Sentence w/o sentence markers	-nan @ -nyan 'neg'	Simple Sentence w/o sentence markers	-kiita 'fut' -to @ -tu @ -chu @ -cho 'continuous Present' -wa 'pres' -r 'past' -k 'antic'
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Rules:

The allomorphs of -to are phonologically conditioned. The exponents of the two Bases must have the same subject (actor).

Examples:

- (a) Ada i-nyan yuyawa.
 I go-neg dislike
 'I don't want to go.'

- (b) /Wayi van-nan siik/ eena riita God riina hehar wohe
rain rain-neg be.to it.obj.mar he God him well ask
siitiichir.
stand.for
'He asked God fervently for it not to rain.'
- (c) Rii ha-nan akiwa.
he give-neg afraid
'He was afraid to give.' or 'He was afraid to die.'
- (d) /Madiwai ma ye kapasek ta-nan siik/ eena rii yenya
Madiwai man they bad be-neg be-to it.obj.mar he them m
marasin hawa.
medicine gave
- (e) /Siita hak otii-nan siik/ ye siina harapa apo Wewak ye
she die.to do-neg be.to they her large bird Wewak took
ir.
went
'They took her in the plane to Wewak so she wouldn't die.'

5.11 Embedded Sentence = Emb Sent

Embedded Sentences (which correspond to relative clauses in English) are formed by permuting some noun out of the sentence and placing it at the end of the sentence where it becomes the noun modified by the rest of the Embedded sentence. The Embedded Sentence must have final sentence markers on it.

Emb Sent = + Emb Base + Emb Subject ± Summary

Sentence (minus noun)	noun	pronoun Par Pro P
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Examples:

- (a) Subj Pred
/Yawa ma rii/ har.
came man he died
'The man who came died.'
- (b) Subj Pred
/Karakada tawa yikapwa yechaba/ yato.
small be child they.only come
'Only the small children are coming.'

- (c) Subj Time
/Kiap rii Madiwai tar heechirek ir ma ye/ apa-k diika
 ADC he Madiwai are sent went man they now-at here
 Pred
iyarewa.
 arrived.
 'The men of Madiwai who the ADC sent have now arrived here.'
- (d) Subj Obj
Jisas rii /kapasek spiriteka tarek kuja diimiitar man/
 Jesus he had spirit.assoc be mouth closed man
 Method
eecha wor:
 this.way said
 'Jesus said to the dumb man with the evil spirit:'
- (e) Subj Obj Pred
Ada /riita kepi otiir aka-n/ heechi ir.
 I he good made house left went
 'I left his well made house.'
- (f) Obj Subj Ind Obj Time
Karakada arep ada /ameya heechi ir ma riina/ yeerek
 small knife I quickly left went man him yesterday
 Pred
har.
 gave
 'I gave the small knife yesterday to the man who left quickly.'
- (g) Obj Ind Obj
Nokwapa nokwapa kiiw siita /yeerek ameya heechi ir mima
 many many yam she yesterday quickly left went woman
 Pred
siina/ har.
 her gave
 'She gave many yams to the woman who left quickly yesterday.'

- (h) Subj Obj
- Ada /Madiwai akamak heechi diika yawa ma-ka/ yo
 I Madiwai village left here came man-assoc.mar work
- Manner Method Pred
- harapa eecha otiir.
 large this way worked

I worked hard with the men who left Madiwai and came here.'

The following two examples incorporate two Embedded Sentences.

- (i) Time Subj Instr Obj
- Iyavek anapa /Wanio riita ana har woyi-k/ /kata
 yesterday I.will Wanio he me gave adze-instr.mar that
- Pred
- harapa yesi tokor veyi/ taken otiikiita.
 large Yesan sold.it canoe.obj carve.to work will

'Tomorrow I will use the adze Wanio gave me to begin carving the canoe the Yesan people sold.'

- (j) Subj Obj
- /Yikapwa-ka tawa Josi riit/ /riiti apokc kwishik
 child-assoc.mar be Josi hc his father bush-loc.ma
- Pred
- otiir aka-n/ hik hayechi heechi amaba akii iwa.
 built house--obj fire set.fire left ran afraid went

'The child Josi set fire to the house his father built in the bush and ran away frightened.'

Examples with the verb ta- 'to be'.

- (k) /Madiwai tawa ma e/ iwa.
 Madiwai be man they went
 'The Madiwai men went.'
- (l) /Harapa tawa mima ye/ mapo ato
 big be woman they first eating
 'The big women are eating first.'
- (m) /Kehapa tawa sikk/ eeta kapasek.
 black be seed it bad
 'The black seeds are bad.'

- (n) /Ada otii tawa boboy/ na yeechi yaya.
I do be thing imp fetch bring
'That thing I made, bring it here.'
- (o) /Sii heechi tawa heebiya/ ii saka reekiwa.
she left be thing it fell broke
'The bowl she left broke.'
- (p) /Piir otii tar veyi/ heechi iwa.
they.two made be canoe left went
'The canoe the two made drifted away.'
- When the Embedded Sentence is in future tense the marker -na is used instead of -kiita 'indicative future.'
- (q) /Madiwai i-cha-na ma ye/ heechi iwa.
Madiwai go-cont-fut man they left went
'The men that were to go to Madiwai left.'
- (r) /Otii-na boboyen rii/ heechi yawa.
do-fut thing.obj.mar he left came
'That which (he) was to work on he left.'
- (s) /Diika ya-na ma ye/ kapo nona kiyatayik.
here come-fut man they probably us help.will
'The men who will come here will probably help us.'
- (t) /Nona ha-na yan/ kapo karakada.
us give-fut money probably small
'The money (he) will give us won't be much probably.'
- (u) /Ka sokwa-na me/ kapasek me.
that rise-fut tree bad tree
'The tree that'll grow up will be bad.'
- (v) /Riipa ba-na maji/ kapo woshepiikiita.
he.will speak-fut word probably lie.will
'What he tells (us) will probably be lies.'

5.12 Negative Evaluation Sentence = Neg Ev Sent

Neg Ev Sent = ± Evaluation + Base + Adversative Inflection

<u>opoche</u> 'not good'	Simple Sent w/o Sent Mar	-nakech 'adversative future'
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Rule:

opoche permutes to somewhere inside the first clause of the manifestation of the Base. It may also be repeated in the clause or sentence.

Examples:

- (a) /Opoche i-cha-nakech/.
not.good go-cont-adv.fut
'It is not good that (he) goes.'
- (b) /Yo otii-ta-nakech/.
work do-cont-adv.fut
'(He) shouldn't work.'
- (c) /Opoche iyik Buria rii yeebiiru ye-i-cha-nakech./
not.good tomorrow Buria he axe take-qo-cont-adv.fut
'Buria should not take the axe tomorrow.'
- (d) /Ada riina opoche woshepii maji ba-nakech./
I him not.good lie word speak-adv.fut
'I shouldn't lie to him.'
- (e) /Rii opoche heechi inyak, know nobok saka-nakech./
he not.good leave go.when mountain path fall-adv.fut
'It is not good that he goes and falls down on the mountain path.'
- (f) /Jon rii eena hehar otii-tawak, komas sii opoche
John he it.obj.mar well make.past later she not.good
kapasek otii-ta-nakech./
bad do-cont-adv.fut
'She shouldn't destroy it after John has done well on making it.'

5.13 General Evaluation Sentence = Gen Ev Sent

The Gen Ev Sent consists of a Stative Clause whose Stative Complement is manifested by kepi 'good' or kapasek 'bad', and another Simple Sentence or Stative Sentence that describes the action or situation that is evaluated, e.g., 'It is good that you have come'.

Gen Ev Sent = + Evaluation Base	+ Statement Base
Stative Sentence (with <u>kepi</u> 'good' or <u>kapasek</u> 'bad')	Stative Sentence Simple Sentence

Rule:

The two Bases permute freely.

Examples:

- (a) Eeta kepi rii yawa.
 it good he came
 'It's good he came.'
- (b) Siita otiitawak, eeta kapasek.
 she did it bad
 'It's bad that she did it.'
- (c) Eeta kapasek piir kata boboy yeechi kiyachi heechi ye ir.
 it bad they.2 that thing took carried left took went
 'That's no good that they took the things and carried them away.'
- (d) Eeta kepi siikiitawak, ka harapa.
 it good be.will that big
 'It'll be good that it's big.'
- (e) Eeta kepi siirek, eeta veyin tatar.
 it good was it canoe carved
 'It was good that the canoe was carved.'
- (f) Eeta kapasek Bagwis yikapwa yechaka mesh mesh eecha tawa.
 it bad Bagwis child they.with together this.way are
 'It is bad that the Bagwis children are playing together.'
- (g) Mii way twedi dola yawak, miiti kopi, eeta kepi wey!
 you I twenty dollar received your coffee it good very
 'You got twenty dollars for your coffee, that's very good.'

5.14 Unfulfilled Obligation Sentence = Un Ob Sent

This is a sentence which comments an action that did not happen but should have, e.g., 'He should have gone (but he didn't)'.

Un Ob Sent = Base₁ + Un Ob Infi + Base₂

Simple Sentence w/o Sent Mar	- <u>nak</u> @ <u>nyak</u> 'fut'	<u>ta-nak</u> 'be-fut'
Stative Sentence w/o Sent Mar		

Examples:

- (a) Rii otii-nak ta-nak.
he do-fut be-fut
'He should have done it.'
- (b) Madiwai ma ye diika ya-nak ta-nak, yeerek.
Madiwai man they here come-fut be-fut yesterday
'The men of Madiwai should have come here yesterday.'
- (c) Yeerek yecha yechi kiiw chi-cha-nak ta-nak.
yesterday they their yams plant-cont-fut be-fut
'They should have planted their yams yesterday.'
- (d) Yeebiiru diika ta-nak ta-nak.
axe here be-fut be-fut
'The axe should have been here.'
- (e) Wanio rii wo-nyak ta-nak, "Buria rii ya-kiita."
Wanio he say-fut be-fut Buria he come-fut
'Wanio should have said, "Buria will come."'
- (f) Wanio rii wo-nyak ta-nak, riipa ya-kiita.
Wanio he say-fut be-fut he.will come-fut
'Wanio should have said that he would come.'

Note: For negative unfulfilled obligation one way to say 'He shouldn't have sold it' is to use a General Evaluation Sentence:

Eeta kapasek rii toko-r
it bad he sold-past

'It was not good that he sold it.'

- (g) Rii saka toko-nak ta-nak. Karakada yan yar.
 he neg sold-fut be-fut little money received.

'He should not have sold it. He received so little money (for it).'

5.15 Intensified State Sentence = Int St Sent

This sentence is used to state an intensified condition or action, e.g., 'He was very, very angry'. It is constructed very much like Unfulfilled Obligation Sentence. The Intensifier wayan changes the sense completely.

Int St Sent = + Intensifier + Base₁ + Int St Infl + Base₂

<u>wayan</u> very.much This permutes to position inside the following clause	AC1 w/o Sent Mar	<u>-nak</u> 'fut' <u>-k</u> 'antic'	<u>ta-nak</u> <u>be-fut</u>
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Examples:

- (a) Hisaw wayi wayan va-nak ta-nak.
 large rain very.much rain-fut be-fut
 'It was an extremely heavy downpour.'
- (b) /Rii wayan man henokwo-nak ta-nak/ rii eeta akamak iwa.
 he very.much man.obj angry-fut be-fut he it village went
 'He was very angry with them so he left for the village.'
- (c) /Wayan pi-nyak ta-nak/ eeta poyin.
 very.much hit-fut be-fut it pig.obj.mar
 '(He) shot many pigs.'
- (d) /Wayan akii-nak ta-nak/
 very.much afraid-fut be-fut
 'He's very much afraid.'
- (e) /No koba ma wayan ha-ta-nak ta-nak/ mija maji
 we pathetic man very.much die-cont-fut be-fut sympathy word
eecha ba-ta-r.
 this.way spoke-cont-past
 'We miserable men were dying (like flies) and we spoke pathetic words (to each other).'

5.16 Complement Sentence = Comp Sent

The Complement Sentence consists of two Bases, the first of which is a semantic complement of the second; the complement clause may function as a quotation, reason, purpose, etc. to the second.

Comp Sent = + Comp Base ± Sentence Link + Statement Base

Sentence with Sentence Marker -k 'antic' preferred, but other third and fourth order 'narrative' sentence markers are possible.	<u>eena</u> 'it-obj.mar/ that's why'	any sentence
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Examples:

- (a) Rii sokwa-na boboyen he-k-en eena eeka yichar.
he rose-fut thing see-to-obj.mar it.obj there sit.cont.past
'He sat there to see what would happen.'
- (b) Rii Mino akamak heechi iwak, eena sii keyato.
he Mino village left went that's.wh why she crying
'He went to Mino; that's why she's crying.'
- (c) Sii heechi i-nyey, sii keya-ta-k, eena no siina maji
she left go-cond she cry-cont-antic that's.wh why we her word
bak.
will.speak
'If she goes, she'll cry; that's why we'll speak to her.'
- (d) Rii heechi i-wak, eena sii keya-to.
he left go-past that.wh why she cry-pres
- (e) Rii yeerek siina pi-ri, eena sii amaba heechi ir.
he yesterday her hit-sice that's.wh why she ran left went
'He hit her yesterday; that's why she ran away.'
- (f) Sii saka yikapwan boboy sagii toko-chi-cha-wak, eena
she not child.obj thing produce buy-ben-cont-pres that's.wh why
sii kwotayeto.
she angry.pres
'She wouldn't buy them for the children; that's why she's
angry.'

5.17 Sentence Topic

A third order clause or link with -ri conseq past or -we conseq pres may serve as a Sentence Topic for the subsequent clause. This -ri or -we clause or link is readily transformable into an embedded Sentence, but it tends to be used where the equivalent embedded sentence would be too long or awkward. The -ri or -we @ wey clause or link may also receive the -n object marker if the first nominal in it corresponds to the object of the subsequent clause.

Examples:

- (a) Harapa veyi niyik heechi i-ri, Ambunti ma yechi.
 large canoe night left go-conseq Ambunti man theirs
 'The large canoe which left at night belongs to the Ambunti people.'
- (b) Ambunti ma ye diika yari, eeta me yechi.
 Ambunti man they here come-conseq it carving theirs
 'That carving belongs to the Ambunti people who came here.'
- (c) Eeta ma rii aka otii-ri-n ada her.
 it man he house de-conseq-obj I saw
 'I saw the house the man made.'
- (d) Eeta veyi ma otii-ri-n ada her.
 it canoe man do-conseq-obj I saw
 'I saw the canoe the man worked on.'
- (e) Mino ma ye yeechi yaya-ta-we-n eena tokowa.
 Mino man they fetched brought-cont-conseq-obj it.obj bought.
 '(I) bought that which the Mino men brought.'
- (f) Kata boboy ye heechi-wey, na yeechi yaya.
 that thing they left-conseq imp fetch bring
 'Those things they left, bring them here.' or
 'Bring the things here that they left.'
- (g) Yeerek yopu toko-ri-n ii kwopa siito.
 yesterday banana bought-conseq-obj it rot is
 'The bananas which (I) bought yesterday are rotting.'
- (h) Otiik ya-ri, eeta hamawa.
 do.to come-conseq it finish
 'That which I came to do is finished.'

5.18 Sentence Markers

In the article "Hierarchy of Washkuk (Kwoma) Clauses" we discuss more fully the cooccurrences of clauses based on First-Fourth order affixation, so here we will only summarize sentence markers. First order clauses have no sentence markers. Fourth Order Sentence Markers are Sentence Final Markers. First, Second, Third order markers are non Final Sentence Markers.

1. First order - # (no Sentence Marker)
2. Second order Sentence Marker

± Aspect	± Conjunctive Relators
<u>-chi</u> 'complete'	<u>-niga</u> 'cont'
<u>-ta</u> 'cont'	<u>-k</u> 'anticipatory'
	<u>-nan</u> 'neg desire'

Second order sentences are subordinate to (or included in) Third and Fourth order sentences.

3. Third order Sentence Markers

± Aspect	± Tense
<u>-ta</u> 'cont'	<u>-rek</u> 'past'
	<u>-wak</u> 'pres'
	<u>-nak</u> 'fut'
	<u>-ri</u> 'conseq past'
	<u>-wey</u> 'conseq pres'
	<u>-yega</u> 'cond past'
	<u>-ney</u> 'cond pres/fut'

Note: In an earlier paper we used -we and -ne in place of -wey and -ney.

Third order sentences are subordinate to (or included in) Fourth order sentences.

In practical orthography, not: when -ta 'continuous' is used, we sometimes place a word break space before it, e.g., otiitawak is sometimes written as otii tawak.

4. Fourth order Sentence Markers

± Aspect	± Tense-Mood
<u>-ta</u> @ <u>cha</u> 'cont'	<u>-r</u> @ <u>-re</u> 'indic past'
	<u>-rek</u> 'neg past'
	<u>-wa</u> 'indic pres'
	<u>-wak</u> 'neg pres'
	<u>-na</u> 'fut (embedded)'
	<u>-kiita</u> 'indic fut'
	<u>-kiitawak</u> 'neg fut'
	<u>-k</u> 'anticipatory'
	<u>-kech</u> 'adverse pres'
	<u>-nakech</u> 'adverse fut'
	<u>-ta</u> 'emph'
	<u>-no</u> 'imp voc'
	<u>-wo</u> 'indic voc'
	# 'imperative'
	<u>-kasakech</u> 'neg'

Note: -ta -wa is contracted into -to @ -tu @ -cho @ -chu in the Kwoma dialect, see 'Morphophonemic Changes'.

Fourth order sentences are independent sentences.